



*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	a, ā
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

Persian Letters

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

Long Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
آ, ا	ā, A
ای	ī, I
او	ū, U

Short Vowels

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



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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¹ *Ijtihad*: the practice of giving an independent judgment on a point of theology or law.

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Radio-Television Message

Date: March 21, 1988 [Farvardin 1, 1367 AHS / Shaban 2, 1408 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Implementation of justice as most important motive behind uprising of the Doyen of Martyrs

Occasion: Iranian New Year [*Nuruz*]

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Motive behind uprising of the Doyen of Martyrs

“O the Transformer of hearts and insights! O the Interchanger of nights and days! O the Changer of states and conditions! Change our conditions to a better one.”

May God make this New Year auspicious for all Muslims, our nation, and all the downtrodden people of the world. This year has a peculiar feature, which rarely happens. The New Year is at the threshold of the birth anniversary of His Holiness the Doyen of Martyrs; we should examine the motive behind his uprising, his aim, and his lifestyle and that of all the Imams (a), especially in the month of Shaban.

From the first day when the Doyen of Martyrs—may God’s peace be upon him—rose up for this affair, his motive was to dispense justice. He says, “As you see, what is good [*maruf*] is not observed while what is evil [*munkar*] is practiced.” The motive is to observe what is good and to eradicate what is evil. Deviations are all among the evil things. Everything except the straight path of monotheism [*tawhid*] is part of the evil and should be eradicated. We, who are the followers of His Holiness the Doyen of Martyrs, should examine what his lifestyle was. In fact his uprising and his motive was to forbid what is evil as every evil is ought to be obliterated. Part of this motive was dealt with the government of justice. Oppression and oppressive government should be removed. Meanwhile, once we read his litany [*munajat*], the litany, which is in the month of Shaban—and I am not of the opinion that all the supplications ever uttered are that of all the Imams. This supplication in Shaban [*dua-e shaban*], litany in Shaban [*munajat-e shaban*] is the litany of all the Imams, and in it there are a lot of issues; there

¹ In series of 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 20, p. 189, it has been dated as Esfand 30, 1366 AHS (March 20, 1988).

is a lot of knowledge and etiquette on how the human being should supplicate to God, the Blessed and Exalted. We are negligent of these concepts and its position. Perhaps, some of the ignoramus among us, believe that these supplications are fabricated in the name of the Imams and that these are nothing but formalities and ceremonial stuffs. They like to teach us in such manner notwithstanding the fact that it is not the real issue. The point is that the Imams stood humbly before God; they knew before Whose Majesty they stood. They are cognizant of God, the Blessed and Exalted, and know what to do. The *shabaniyyah* litany are among the litanies that calls for elaboration of sympathetic persons and concerned mystic, not pseudo-mystics. So doing would be very valuable. In fact, it needs explanation, just as all the supplications of the Imams (a) do.

Taking prophets and Imams (a) as model in resistance against falsehood

In the *Arafah* supplication of His Holiness the Doyen of the Martyrs, you will notice what issues are there of which we are unaware. The month of Shaban has this peculiarity; found our New Year is at the threshold of the birth anniversary of His Holiness the Doyen of Martyrs, to be followed by the birth anniversary of Imam Mahdi (a) in Shaban 15. Therefore, we might should say that these two birthdays are proof for us and that this coincidence of the noble day and New Year is a good man. Both these two great men have come for implementation of justice. The Doyen of the Martyrs—may God's peace be upon him—whose whole lifetime was devoted to eradication of evil, struggle against oppressive governments and preclusion of corruptions spread by the then governments. Good should prevail; evil should perish. Imam al-Mahdi — may God's peace be upon him and may our souls be sacrificed for him—will also come for the same aim. All the prophets have risen up in the world for this purpose. We do not know their unseen meanings. Once we study their life, we will realize that it has been dedicated to resistance against the arrogant powers from the very beginning. We should take this as model for true Muslims, who really love the infallible *Household* and the Prophet of Islam belonging to whichever religion. If they really love their religion, they should see for themselves how the religious leader has acted. What Musa, son of Imran did. What Prophet Abraham did in his life. All of them rose up against oppression and tyranny. Their uprising was meant for this concept. We should take lesson from them and rise up against oppression. The Muslims should rise up against tyrannies, oppressions and evils, just as the noble nation of Iran did. It can be said that this “transformation,” which is stated in the noble invocation, “O

Transformer of the hearts,” has found expression in our youth. Now, they have undergone transformation from one condition to another; they have found a new condition. In this month, which is the month of Shaban, we should pay attention to this point. What should we do? What shall we do with these *taghuts*? Our condition is similar to that of the Doyen of the Martyrs—may God’s peace be upon him. He sacrificed life, children and everything. He knew beforehand what would happen. Whoever listens to his words from the time he and his companions left Medina for Mecca and thence out will realize that he was fully aware of what he was doing. He had not come just for them; he had come to take the reins of government. It was indeed for this purpose that he had come and it is an honor. It is not as imagined by some people who argue that the Doyen of Martyrs had not come for the government. Imam Husayn and his entourage had come to take the reins of government. As a matter of fact, the government must be under the control of the likes of the Doyen of Martyrs and the adherents of the Doyen of Martyrs. This mentality constitutes the essence of the uprisings of prophets from the beginning up to the end. In the world, the uprising of prophets, whether armed or otherwise; were launched against those who aimed to crush the oppressed people.

Necessity for world Muslims to confront oppressors

We are suffering in this area. Muslims are suffering in this area. Muslims see what these powerful governments and superpowers and their followers bring about to Muslims, to people, to downtrodden and even to their own subjects. Almost all these governments and powers ostensibly proclaim, “We want to implement justice.” But which justice? “American justice!” What is meant by American justice? It means whoever is subservient to me is the one who is acceptable to us; whoever would sacrifice the interests of his country for us is the one who is acceptable to us! These rules also apply to the Soviet Union. All these superpowers are like this. We have to stand up against all of them just as our youth are now doing in the warfronts. Thank God, they have attained great victories. They should keep up their resistance to the end; they should avoid any form of sluggishness so that they would hand over the banner of justice to its rightful owner. This New Year begins while there is evidence sanctioning this conviction. The essence of the life of the Doyen of the Martyrs, the Imam of the Time (may God’s peace be upon him) and all prophets in the world the Adam up to now were associated with this mentality. They struggled to establish the rule of justice vis-à-vis oppression. It is unfortunate how much they dinned the ideal into the people, “What is

the benefit of government for you? Go and perform your prayer! Go to your mosque! That's it!" Of course, if we only go to the mosque and supplicate, but I should say, have nothing to do with the big shots, then they all would be in good terms to us! Which one is our duty: to go to the mosque and say prayers, or to rise up? The duty is that all of us should sacrifice everything we have for the sake of Islam as did our Imams. Now you can see that Saddam, who has received a blow that is about to obliterate him, does not understand what he is presently doing. You can see that he is unable to realize how all these victories have been attained; he cannot imagine these to have taken place here. He does not understand that tomorrow these reporters and these foreigners would inspect there and see what has happened. He is such a beast that has bombarded his own country and his own people and relations. He applied chemical bombardment against them whom our guards should render assistance.

Appreciation of the nation's sacrifices

I would like to thank our noble nation, especially those engaged in the warfront or those assisting them. We should thank and for the sake the people, especially the youth who sacrificed everything they had in the cause of Islam. You notice people come here; they have sacrificed whatever they had. In spite of this, they are still saying, "We wish we had other to go to the war!" They are proof for us; they are proof for those who are sitting inside their homes and nagging; they are sitting in their homes and suggesting people "to the warfronts!" I hope God awaken the opposition, whether doing intentionally or out of ignorance. I wish God will reform them in this New Year. I hope God will free the prisoners of war and those disabled in action, whom the nation endears. I hope God would acquaint us with our duty. If only somebody would come and translate these supplications of the Imams (a); these supplications need to be explained. If we can find a true and compassionate mystic to explain these supplications to people, everything is there, though they are just supplications. As you see, the supplications of Imam Sajjad are of profound nature. What are there in these supplications? Both spirituality and politics. Everything is there, including struggle against oppressive government. These supplications were all reflected in the conduct of all the Imams (a). However, deceitful regimes drummed into us to "mind our own business and not to involve in the government!" they had gone so far that even those who were aware had been deceived. Some of those who were active in the past and who shared our concerns began to question "what we were doing. They argued that we should mind our own business and not

be concerned with other things.” This is just an example of the then situation provided to deceive us. Now, the people contemplate every subject raised by these foreigners knowing that whatever all these foreigners put forward mean to deceive us. Those following the foreigners attempt to talk us into falling into their trap. We should be awake and alert and never commit a blunder. God will awaken our nation and help our people attain prosperity, dignity as well as their aim, which is the aim of Islam and cutting off the hands of all those who are oppressors. God willing, He would make this festivity auspicious for all of us, all the Muslims and all the downtrodden people.

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

Commendation

Date: March 26, 1988 [Farvardin 6, 1367 AHS / Shaban 7, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Commendation of the book, *Bimari-ye Sel* [Tuberculosis]

Addressee: Ali Akbar Wilayati

In His Most Exalted Name

By the will of God, the most Exalted, may honorable Mr. Wilayati render as much good service in matters of health as he does in political issues.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 6, 1367 AHS

¹ Imam Khomeini dedicated this memorial writing to former foreign minister Dr. Ali Akbar Valayati on the cover of the letter's book entitled, *Bimari-ye Sel* or tuberculosis. Vilayati is a specialist in children's diseases.

Permission

Date: March 27, 1988 [Farvardin 7, 1367 AHS / Shaban 8, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abu Jafar Muhammad-Hashim

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Abu Jafar Muhammad-Hashim—may he always succeed—has been authorized by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend the *zakat* and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. He is also permitted to collect the two blessed Shares and to spend the blessed Share of the Imam (a) for his own sustenance in economical manner. In cases of surplus in the collected funds, he is also permitted to spend one-third for promotion and propagation of Islam, and to remit the other two-third to this humble servant. Regarding the Share of the *Sadat* (descendents of the holy prophet), he is also permitted to give the half to the needy *Sadat* and remit the other half. May God’s peace and mercy be upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 8, 1408 AH

Message

Date: March 31, 1988 [Farvardin 11, 1367 AHS / Shaban 12, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need to participate in the elections and to observe Islamic ethics in the candidates' constituencies

Occasion: Elections for the 3rd Islamic Consultative Assembly

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

We are on the threshold of the elections for the 3rd Islamic Consultative Assembly. I do not think that there is anyone unaware of the role and importance of the elections and of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. Thank God, as the glorious Islamic Revolution proceeds, the committed Muslim people of our country become more familiar with the importance of their decisive presence and active role in all the scenes of the revolution, discovering the secret behind the survival and consolidation of their divinely revolution.

Now, taking into account the high political awareness of the God-conscious people of Iran, perhaps there is no need to reiterate the importance of participation in the elections. Nevertheless, I would like to remind you of the following points by way of precaution in observing our religio-political duty:

1. From the outset of the revolution up to now, one of the sinister objectives sought by arrogant powers of the world and its external and internal agents, have been to distance the people from the scenes of the revolution and to dissuade them into relinquishing their unwavering fidelity to the socio-political ideals of Islam. To accomplish this objective, they have resorted to numerous ruses and stratagems which, thank God, went flat. People displayed their great power in different events of the revolution. The victorious nation, exemplified it in their stormy sea of unity and solidarity that will not diminish. God willing, the world-devourers will die with their wish to undermine the sacred unity of our people unfulfilled. Nevertheless, the purpose behind the recent brutalities of Saddam in the missile attack on residential units is to threaten and intimidate people to dilute their turn-out on the one hand and to eclipse their successive defeats in the battlefields. At this moment, we should rest assured that the arrogant media apparatus will cover stories about people's low-key presence in the election. Through insidious

comments and insinuations mixed with threat and intimidation, they will try to distract people from election and preoccupy them with other issues. However, they are negligent of the fact that the Muslim people of Iran have demonstrated throughout the years that they are not afraid of these hullabaloes and will resolutely and vigorously stand against all superpowers. With the help of God, the most Exalted, the noble nation of Iran will decisively and effectively hold the elections on the appointed day with their massive turn-out. The people will through the polling precincts and fulfill their religious and divine duty even under missile attack.

And the undersigned will participate in the elections under whatever circumstance. God willing, the world will observe how the lovely people of Iran would repeat their epic presence throughout the Islamic country as in the early years.

2. As I have said time and again, the people are free in the elections; people do not need tutor. No individual, group or faction has the right to impose any candidate on people. The Islamic Iran, characterized by political insight and maturity, has accepted the Islamic Republic, its lofty values and the sovereignty of God's laws, remaining loyal to their noble pledge and commitment. The people are certainly able to identify and elect the best candidate. Of course, consultation in affairs is greatly recommended in Islam. By consultation, people can find the responsible and trustworthy candidate among themselves. Individuals, groups and clerics can introduce the candidate in their own constituencies within the deadline declared. However, nobody should expect that others would express their view and show their presence.

At any rate, people have identified the candidates in light of their insight, intelligence and research. They pay due attention to the background of the presidential aspirants and their commitment to religion, inquiring about their political leaning. The heroic people of Iran would meticulously cast their votes in favor of candidates who are devoted to Islam and committed to the people. They would elect ones who have a sense of responsibility in rendering services to people, who have experienced the bitter taste of destitution, and support the Islam of the barefooted on earth in their words and deeds. They should back the Islam of the downtrodden, the Islam of the oppressed people in history, the Islam of the combatant mystics, the Islam of the good-natured mystics. In a nutshell, they are supporters of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam. They rebuff the Islam of capitalism and expose it to people and brush aside devotees of this version of Islam, the Islam of the arrogant people, the Islam of the impassive wealthy, the Islam of the

hypocrites, the Islam of the luxury-mongers, the Islam of the opportunists and, in a single word, the American version of Islam. Islamic Consultative Assembly is home of the nation and hope of the downtrodden. At the present circumstances nobody should expect members to come from a particular group and class. There are still questions that should be resolved in favor of the deprived ones. It is not difficult to distinguish those dedicated to serving Islam and the deprived from others.

3. The advice of an old father to all the candidates running for Majlis (Islamic Consultative Assembly) is to try to perform your electoral campaigns within the framework of the lofty teachings and morality of Islam, and to avoid actions repugnant to Islamic standards. The objective behind the elections in the final analysis is to preserve Islam. If the etiquette of Islam is not observed in the campaigns, how could the campaigner be a preserver of Islam? Take care lest anybody should ever be insulted. In case one's political rival is elected finding his/her way into the Majlis, one should not break off relations or sever the bonds of friendship and brotherhood, which are sweeter than anything else.

The martyr-nurturing nation of Iran should know that these days are days of divinely trial. It is the day of dispute with those who have old animosity to Islam. It is the day of vengeance against disbelief and hypocrisy. It is the day of devotion and sacrifice. Today, is the day of Ashura. Today, Iran is Karbala. O followers of Husayn! Be prepared. "Equip yourselves with the inner qualities and arms." Do not be afraid. As you are not afraid, prepare yourselves. O free and noble ones! Stand on your own feet. The superpowers of the East and West want to crush you under their blood-stained boots and unclean clutches such that you cannot even afford to utter a moan. Today is the day of resistance. Strike Saddam, America and the Western imperialism such that its lightning would blind the eyes of the Eastern arrogance. Today is not the day for delay. Today is the day of polishing humanity of human beings. It is the day of war. It is the day of demanding justice. Right should be restored. To expect the world-devourers to help us is futile. Today is the day of presence in the bridal suite of *jihad* (holy struggle) and martyrdom in the battlefield. It is the day of joy for the lovers of God. It is the day of celebration and rejoicing for the divine mystics. Today is the day when angels sing the praise of our combatants. Today's delay will bring about tomorrow's slavery. Today, the garment of love of the world must be taken off and the armor of *jihad* and resistance worn. One should be in the vanguard of struggle, watching the dawn of victory from the horizon and guarantee the perpetuity of the ever lasting blood of the martyrs.

My children, the enemy has demonstrated the peak of its cruelty and brutality by chemical bombardment of the residential areas. By this chemical attack on the defenseless people of Iraq, it has even weakened the pillars of its own supports. Rush toward the warfronts so that your successive blows would take away the enemy's strength and security, emerging victorious. May peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 11, 1367 AHS

Speech

Time/Date: Morning, April 3, 1988 [Farvardin 14, 1367 AHS / Shaban 15, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Different versions of the concept of expectations for reappearance of Imam al-Mahdi

Occasion: Birth of Imam Mahdi (may God expedite his glorious reappearance)

Audience: Families of martyrs, captives and Muslim combatants of Lebanon and Palestine; Muhammad Gharadi (Post, Telegraph and Telephone Minister); officials and employees of the Ministry of Post, Telegraph and Telephone

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Waiting for reappearance of Imam al-Mahdi and its true meaning

May this auspicious festivity be a blessed one for all Muslims of the world and downtrodden people of the world, and especially for our nation. What I would like to relay to you today is the different versions of the concept of expectation for reappearance of Imam al-Mahdi. I will touch on a few of them. Some people hold: that they should sit and pray in the mosque, at the *husayniyyah* and at home and beg God for reappearance of the Imam of the Time (may God's peace be upon him). They are righteous people as they have such a belief. In fact, among them whom I used to know was a very righteous man; he had bought a horse and a sword waiting for the Promised Mahdi (may God's peace be upon him). They used to perform their religious duties as well, enjoining what is good and forbidding what is wrong. However, this was the only thing they did. Apart from this, they did not do any other things; they did not even reflect on such an important dogma.

Another group maintains that expectation means that we should not be concerned with what befalls the world, the nations including ours. We should not be concerned with these things. We are doing our duty. For preventing these affairs, His Holiness himself would come and set them right; we have no other duty. Our duty is to pray for him to come and not to mind whatever befalls the world or our own country. They were also righteous people.

Another group contends that "the world must be filled with sin so as for His Holiness to come; we should not forbid what is evil; neither should we enjoin what is good so that the people would do whatever they wish. The more the sins, the nearer the reappearance.

Yet another group and a more extreme one believes that "Sins must be committed; people should be urged to commit sins so that the world would be filled with tyranny and oppression, and His Holiness (may God's peace be upon him) would come. This was the most misguided among others. They were narrow-minded and misguided individuals who committed those acts to attain their objectives.

The last group argues that, "Any government that is established at the period of occultation is illegitimate and contrary to Islam." They were arrogant people. Those who were not actors were arrogant on account of some narrations to the effect that, "Any banner hoisted prior to the reappearance of the Imam of the Time, that banner is illegitimate." They imagined any government. However, the narrations means that anyone government hoisting the banner along al-Mahdi and in the name of "Mahdism".

Now, let us assume that there is really such a tradition. Does it mean that we have no more duties to perform? That is, is it not against the expediency of Islam and the Quran that we have to indulge in sin in order for the Prophet and the promised savior to come? For what does the Imam who would reappear? He comes to spread justice; to consolidate the governments and to eliminate corruption. It is contrary to the noble verses of the Quran if we refrain from forbidding evil and enjoining good. Should we spread sins so that the Imam's reappearance would speed up? For what the Imam would come? He comes to do the same things. Now, what else is our duty? Does it mean that man has no duty but to call on people to indulge in corruption? According to the opinion of this group some of whom are actors while others ignorant, we have to sit idly and pray for Saddam. Whoever curse Saddam acts in contrast to the expectation and thus delaying the Savior's reappearance! Everybody should pray for Saddam so as to increase this corruption. We should pray for America; we should pray for Soviet Union and we should pray for their puppets such as Saddam and the like so that they would fill the world with tyranny and injustice, paving the ground for the Imam's reappearance. What would the promised Mahdi do after reappearing? He would come to eliminate tyranny and oppression, the same thing that we are doing. Do we pray for the prevalence of tyranny and oppression? The promised savior comes to eliminate the same injustice. In case we have power, we must act and eliminate all the tyrannies and oppressions in the world. It is our religious duty, but we are incapable of doing so. What is certain is that His Holiness will fill the world with justice; it is not that you have to waive your duty; it is not that you have no more duty to perform.

We do have a duty. One who says that government is not necessary means that there should be chaos. If there would be no government in a certain country for a year; if there would be no system in a country, corruption would fill that country in an unprecedented manner. One who says that there should be no government means that there should be chaos. People should kill and oppress one another so that His Holiness would come. For what would he come? In order to eliminate corruption!

This man, making such arguments is clever, if not a fool. If he is not spiteful or if he has not done it for political purpose to deceive us so that we would not mind him anymore so that he would do whatever he wished, then he must be a stupid person!

Superpowers and dissemination of erroneous concept of expectation

The question is that this dogma has been politically motivated, just as the inculcation of the idea into nations and Muslims of the world that "Politics is none of your business. Mind your own business, and entrust politics to the emperors." Well, they would like to beg God so that people would remain unaware. These unaware people would entrust politics to governments and oppressor like America, the Soviet Union and their puppets. They would then take away the possessions of Muslims and those the downtrodden. Then, we have to sit idly and say that there should be no government. This is a silly argument, which has been politically motivated. These unwary individuals attempting to deceive people argue, "Do not mind politics. Government belongs to us. Go to your mosques; stand and perform prayer! What are you going to do with these political things?"

Those who argue that any banner hoisted and any government established is repugnant to expectation do not understand what they are saying. They have been induced to make these statements. They do not know what they are uttering. To have no government means letting people kill, strike and eliminate one another in contrast to the text of the divine verses. Even if we assume that their idea is substantiated by have two hundred narrations, we would throw all of them against the wall because they are contradictory to the verses of the Quran. If there is a narration forbidding us from proscribing evil, it should be cast aside. This kind of narration is fabricated. These ignoramuses do not know what they are saying, "All governments are illegitimate!" In fact, I heard some of these people argue: "Well, with the existing condition in Iran, we should no more engage in moral purification." These arguments are wrong! "Moral purification is not necessary now. The teacher of ethics should definitely be in an environment

where all the people are corrupt; where all the wine shops and, I should say, all centers of prostitution are open! If there is a decent place, moral purification is no more needed there.” These arguments are made by idiots if not politically motivated. However, they know what they are saying. They want to sidetrack us.

Of course, filling the world with justice is something that we cannot do. If we can, we will do, but since we cannot do, then Imam al-Mahdi has to come. Now, the world is full of oppression. If we could stop oppression, then we would do so; it is our duty. Islam and the Quran require us to do so. It has been our duty to act and do everything we can. But we could not do so. Since we could not do so, the Imam has to come to do it. But we should facilitate the labor, thus expediting his reappearance. We will perform the work such that the world would be fitting for reappearance of the promised savior (may God’s peace be upon him). At any rate, the afflictions experienced by Muslims and being exacerbated by arrogant powers are all meant to plunder the Muslims and ruin their dignity. They believed it so much. Now, perhaps, some also believe that there should be no government, that government should be established at the time of the promised Mahdi, and that any government not at the time of the Imam is illegitimate. This implies encouragement of chaos. The people of the world should be at logger heads with one another so that the promised Mahdi would come and set things right! We will set wrongs, thus paving the way for His Holiness to come.

May God help them to mend their way. May God make this day auspicious for all of you and us and curb the influence of oppressors. May God enable oppressed nations to overcome the oppressors.

May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Permission

Date: April 4, 1988 [Farvardin 15, 1367 AHS / Shaban 16, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Taqi Murwarid

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Taqi Murwarid—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the *zakat*, the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. As regards the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend sparingly the blessed Share of the Imam (a) for his own sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third for propagation of the sacred law of Islam. In case of the share of the *Sadat*, he is also permitted to give half of it to the needy *Sadat* and remit the remaining shares to this humble servant to be spent for promotion of Islam.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 6, 1988 [Farvardin 17, 1367 AHS / Shaban 18, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Manner of participation of the voters (combatants, patients and those confined in hospitals and prisoners) who have no national identification card

Occasion: Elections for the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Addressee: Sayyid Ali-Akbar Muhtashami (Interior Minister)

[To His Holiness Imam Khomeini (may his benign existence endure), the Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic:

May peace be upon you.

Concerning the votes to be cast by the combatants based in the warfronts and camps, Your Eminence is kindly notified that in Bahman 1366 AHS the Islamic Consultative Assembly has amended the law on voting, pending presentation of national identification card. However, there are so many persons with no identification card. These persons are interested in participation in elections to determine their own socio-political destiny. Your Eminence is kindly requested to express your opinion on participation in the elections of the 3rd Islamic Consultative Assembly by the beloved combatants stationed in the warfronts and camps and the patients in the hospitals as well as prisoners by providing them with identification card with the approval of the concerned authorities.

Sayyid Ali-Akbar Muhtashami
Interior Minister
Farvardin 16, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

In case there is justification for their lack of national identification card, by they can cast their votes provided that ID is issued in their name.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 17, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: April 9, 1988 [Farvardin 20, 1367 AHS / Shaban 21, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Openness to criticism

Addressee: Ali-Akbar Wilayati (Minister of Foreign Affairs)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Mr. Ali-Akbar Wilayati, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

I know you as a religious man and sympathetic to the revolution. You and our friends in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should tolerate criticisms, whether they are true or not. The open political atmosphere of the revolutionary, inexperience of some of the officials and relay any issue to the society even though it may be to the detriment of the people would not only make the works of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs difficult, it would also affect unfavorably some domestic policies. I pray for you and all the servants of Islam and Iran. I hope that only God is your focus in your service as in the past. I pray to God, the most Exalted, for the success of you and other servants of Islam. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 20, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: April 10, 1988 [Farvardin 21, 1367 AHS / Shaban 22, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expression of gratitude for the congratulatory telegram

Occasion: Arival of the holy month of Ramadan

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that the Muslim nations could benefit from the blessings of this holy month. Through unity and solidarity they can curtail the grip of the enemies of Islam from their countries and curb oppressions against the deprived and defenseless Muslims such as the helpless people of Halabchah who were massacred in such a brutal manner. Regrettably and unexpectedly, the heads of the Muslim countries in general have shown indifference toward this horrendous crime. They behave as if they have not heard anything of the news of this unprecedented tragedy. I beseech God, the most Exalted, to awaken the Muslim countries and grant them independence. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 22, 1408 AH

Statements

Date: Morning, April 11, 1988 [Farvardin 22, 1367 AHS / Shaban 23, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah , Tehran

Subject: Political duties in *Hajj*

Audience: Mahdi Karrubi (Imam's representative in and supervisor of the *Hajj* pilgrims); Sayyid Muhammad Khatami (Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance); Imam Jamarani (Head of the *Hajj*, Endowment and Charity Organization); Muhammad-Husayn Ridai (Head of the *Hajj* and Pilgrimage Organization)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Necessity for disavowing polytheists during the *Hajj*

This year, some 150,000 people will go for *Hajj* from Iran. The pilgrims will fulfill their duty to declare disavowal of polytheists, America and Israel. It is not possible for our pilgrims to go for *Hajj* but not participate in demonstrations against the world arrogance. Declaring disavowal of polytheists is among the political aspect of *Hajj*, without which our *Hajj* is no *Hajj* at all. The Saudi family should know that if they act otherwise, they have stood against Muslims of the world; if they act correctly, it is to their own benefit.

Message

Date: April 14, 1988 [Farvardin 25, 1367 AHS / Shaban 26, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulatory message on the occasion of the commencement of the Islamic solar *hijri* year (Iranian New Year)

Addressee: Li Xiannian (President of the people's Republic of China)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Li Xiannian, President of the People's Republic of China:

The receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of the Iranian New Year is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that in this New Year our heroic and combatant nation could attain the fruits of its years of epic resistance and struggle. I wish they can curtail the grip of the enemies of Islam and Islamic countries, especially the criminal America and its tottering mercenary, the blood-thirsty Saddam, who has no mercy on his own people. He has brutally and mercilessly martyred thousands of Kurdish women, children and defenseless civilians in Halabchah and other areas deploying chemical bombings. This century's criminal of the century should be tried and punished so that the two nations can continue with their peaceful and safe life with dignity and pride.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 25, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: April 14, 1988 [Farvardin 25, 1367 AHS / Shaban 26, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulatory message on the occasion of the commencement of the Iranian New Year

Addressee: Todor Zhivkov (President of Bulgaria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the Socialist Republic of Bulgaria:

The receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of the commencement of the Iranian new year is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that in this New Year the noble and heroic nation of Iran would curtail the grip of the enemies of Islam and Muslims. I wish the people could do away with the criminal Saddam, thus relieving their own Islamic country and Iraq. Saddam has mercilessly killed the Muslims of Iran and Iraq and committed on unprecedented crime in the town of Halabchah martyring defenseless women and children using chemical bombs. It is hoped that Iranian people along with other brothers in Islam and humanity could perform their sacred defense and historic mission.

Ruhullah al-Musawi
Farvardin 25, 1367 AHS

al-Khomeini

Message

Date: April 14, 1988 [Farvardin 25, 1367 AHS / Shaban 26, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulatory message on the occasion of the commencement of the Iranian New Year

Addressee: Károly Grósz (Prime Minister of Hungary)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Károly Grósz, Chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic of Hungary:

The receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of the commencement of the new Year is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that in this New Year the great and combatant nation of Iran would be victorious against the enemies of Islam and the Islamic country of Iran. I hope they could rid of criminals such as the blood-thirsty Saddam, who has butchered thousands of innocent people in the many years of his aggression on Iranian territory. In his latest unprecedented crime in the town of Halabchah, he has slain thousands of women and children within seconds through chemical bombs, thus dwarfing all the butchers of history. Unfortunately, this horrendous tragedy was not condemned by the world leaders though it was expected of them to do so, thus letting this criminal of the century commit the next mass killing in cold blood.

Ruhullah al-Musawi
Farvardin 25, 1367 AHS

al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 14, 1988 [Farvardin 25, 1367 AHS / Shaban 26, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Formation of *Majma-e Ruhaniyyun Mobarez* (Assembly of Combatant Clerics)

Addressees: Central Committee of *Majma-e Ruhaniyyun Mobarez*

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

To the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini—may Allah prolong his blessed life for the benefit of the Muslims,

With profound greetings and sincere salutations, you are kindly notified that in the blessed atmosphere of freedom of expression and expression of belief, which are among the achievements of the Islamic Revolution; under the auspices of the government of the Islamic Republic and under the present condition of the country and particularly by taking into account the repeated emphases of Your Eminence on the necessity of presence in the scene, especially by keeping in view the crucial duty of the clerics of the country in the enlightenment and guidance of the revolutionary society and proper involvement in the different socio-political issues and in consolidating the sacred Islamic system, the undersigned deemed it expedient that through cooperation and exchange of opinions with one another, to have a new establishment for our activities on political and non-political issues that have ample and significant effects on the fate of the revolution and the country. The commitment and promise of our society in these endeavors is to follow the principles and course of action of the revolution that have been described and elucidated by the Supreme Leader in the different speeches and messages.

Our policy is based on the principles lengthily stated in your “*Hajj Message*” last year and was justly called the “Charter of the Revolution”. It is a policy that you have described in the subsequent letters and messages, especially in elucidating the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam and in expressing its limits and distinction from the American Islam. We hope and are certain that in this divine commitment and in this new organization we can perform our Islamic duty more efficiently and offer what we owe to the revolution, Islam, the devoted and combatant nation of Iran and the beloved martyrs.

You are notified that before taking any step in this regard, there were ample efforts on the part of some of our brothers in making close the points of view within the framework of the principles and standards acceptable to the other respected clerics with whom we had common activity for years. Unfortunately, due to the insistence of those gentlemen on issues and cases, which we considered contrary to expediency and standards, such efforts did not bear fruit. Thus, it seems that in the new establishment our society can render more and better services to the Islamic Revolution.

However, as much as possible, this bifurcation and creation of a new organization and order should not acquire the taint of discord and dissension for the minds of some people, and not be used by some unwary individuals as a means of propaganda against unity, which has been always the point of Your Eminence's advise and emphasis. We deemed it necessary to call Your Eminence's attention so that whatever you considered inappropriate is not pursued. Through our esteemed brother, Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, we received the information on your blessed approval and endorsement, and then for the reflection of the said approval and endorsement in the mass communication media your consent had been asked again for which you granted and the matter was announced by the media. Once again, in a bid to have stronger certainty regarding Your Eminence's approval on the elections for the 3rd Islamic Consultative Assembly, your endorsement was sought concerning the activity of this assembly, which you had granted while advising that the candidates outside Tehran were not to be introduced. After undergoing these phases, this society under the name of "Combatant Clerics of Tehran" commenced its activities, and in relation to the elections, prepared a list of its candidates in Tehran and announced it to the noble people of Tehran. Now, with this successful experience and with the belief that the creation of this new formation, "Combatant Clerics of Tehran" is significant and essential in different aspects, especially in preserving the freedom of expression of belief for the other strata of the people; it continues its other activities, particularly in the verbal and practical pursuits of explaining and conveying content of the honorable Imam's messages to the different strata, in particular, the downtrodden stratum, which are part of the concerns and duties of clerics. And among these concerns and duties is the preservation and strengthening further of the link between the two great strata of the clerics and university people, which is one of the achievements of Your Eminence's leadership and the glorious Islamic Revolution. It is kindly requested that you write as you deem proper your blessed opinion in relation to what has been stated. At this juncture, we have

to extend our thanks and gratitude for the issuance of order for monthly financial assistance, which we refrained from announcing it in the mass media prior to the conduct of the elections.

In conclusion, we beseech God, the Exalted, to grant final victory to the combatants of Islam, to defeat the Baathist-Zionist enemy and to annihilate Saddam and other enemies of Islam, particularly the world-devouring America. We pray for longevity and health of the ennobled Imam.]¹

In His Most Exalted Name

¹ The signatories to the letter are the following (in order): Jalali Khomeini, the Imam's representative and Friday and congregational prayer leader in Khomein; Sayyid Mahmud Duai, the Imam representative in and manager of, *Ittilaat* daily and deputy in the Islamic Consultative Assembly; Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi, Head of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB); Sayyid Sirajuddin Musawi, member of Imam Khomeini's Office, chief security officer of Jamaran district and the Imam's representative in and commander of, the Islamic Revolution Committee; Muhammad-Hasan Rahimiyan, member of Imam Khomeini's Office and manager of the magazine, *Pasdar-e Islam*, and the university headquarters; Mahdi Karrubi, Deputy Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the Imam's representative in *Hajj* affairs, supervisor of the Iranian pilgrims and the Imam's representative in, and head of the Islamic Revolution Martyrs Foundation; Imam Jamarani, the Imam's representative in and head of the *Hajj*, Endowments and Charity Affairs Organization; Hasan Sanai, Head of the Financial Section of Imam Khomeini's Office and the Imam's representative in and head of the Khordad 15 Foundation; Muhammad-Ali Ansari, Head of the Politico-Cultural Section of Imam Khomeini's Office; Musawi Khuiniha, the Prosecutor General and member of the State Expediency Council; Ali Akbar Ashtiyani, member of Imam Khomeini's Office and the Imam's representative in and head of the Politico-Ideological Office of the Gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran; Sayyid Hamid Ruhani, historian and caretaker of the documents of the Islamic Revolution; Musawi Lari, member of the *Hajj* Council; Kiyan Arthi, deputy in the Islamic Consultative Assembly; Muhammad-Rida Tawassuli, member of Imam Khomeini's Office, the State Expediency Council and the General Secretariat of the Friday and Congregational prayer leaders; Majid Ansari, head of the Prisons, Security and Correctional Measures Organization and member of the Supreme Judicial Council; Muhammad-Ali Nizamzadeh, the Imam's representative in the Endowment Organization and member of the Jamiah az-Zahra Institute; Sayyid Muhammad Khatami, Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance and the Imam's representative in and head of Kayhan Institute; Sayyid Ali-Akbar Muhtashami, Interior Minister and member of Imam Khomeini's Office; Sayyid Muhammad Hashimi, member of Imam Khomeini's Office and representative of the Supreme Judicial Council in and secretary of IRIB Executive Council; Muhammad-Ali Saduqi, member of Imam Khomeini's Office and Deputy Chief of the Supreme judicial Council; Sayyid-Taqi Darchei, congregational prayer leader in Shahr-e Rey district; Asadullah Bayat, Majlis deputy and Director of the Executive Council of Narmak Central Mosque Institute; Hadi Ghaffari, Majlis deputy and director of Al-Hadi Institute; Muhammad-Ali Rahmani, member of Imam Khomeini's Office and *Basij* Commander; Sadiq Khalkhali, MP; Muntajabniya, MP and Isa Walai MP.

Their Eminences Hujjat al-Islams combatant clerics of Tehran—may their graces last,

The truth of the matter is just as you have written in the letter; organizational bifurcation for expressing an independent opinion and setting up a new organization do not mean discord. Discord takes place when, God forbid, one quarrels with others in advancing one's views. Thank God, as I know the clerics holding responsibility in the revolution, such a thing will not take place. I pray for you and all those whose hearts beat for the beloved Islam and beseech God, the most Exalted, to grant success to the gentlemen. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 25, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: April 16, 1988 [Farvardin 27, 1367 AHS / Shaban 28, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulatory telegram on the eve of the Holy Month of Ramadan

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Mamun Abdul-Qayyum, President of the Republic of Maldives:

I acknowledge the receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the arrival of the Holy Month of Ramadan with gratitude. It is hoped that the Muslims of the world could avail of the blessings of this holy divine month, curtail the cruelty of the enemies of Islam from their countries, regain their lost glory and cast away criminals such as the blood-thirsty Saddam. He martyred thousands of innocent women and defenseless children of Halabchah short period in a twinkle. Let us hope that God would remove this black mark from Muslim countries. Unfortunately, contrary to what was expected, heads of Islamic States have been indifferent toward this horrendous tragedy that happened in the Muslim world as if nothing has ever happened. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the awakening and independence of Muslim countries.

May peace be upon you. *Fa ilallahil-mushtaka.* (We do complaint to God)

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 28, 1408 AH

Permission

Date: April 17, 1988 [Farvardin 28, 1367 AHS / Shaban 29, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Hasan Purshamsiyan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny; may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Hasan Purshamsiyan—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of financial affairs, to collect religious funds and to spend the *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. In case of the two holy shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend the holy share of the Imam (a) for his own sustenance in economical manners. In cases of surplus in the collected funds, he is also permitted to spend one-third for propagation of religion and revival of Islamic theological seminaries. Regarding the share of *Sadat*, he is also permitted to give half of sum to the needy *Sadat* and remit the remaining shares to this humble servant to be spent for promotion of Islam.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban al-Muazzam 29, 1408 AH

Decree

Date: Circa April-May 1988 [Ordibehesht 1367 AHS / Ramadan 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Determining the representatives to study the second phase of the elections for the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Ansari Kermani (Imam Khomeini's Office)

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Ali Ansari—may his graces last:

Your honor is a religious and informed person and thus assigned as my representative along with two persons from the esteemed Guardianship Council and another two from the Minister of Interior to successfully conduct the elections in Tehran and perform the following:

1. The gentlemen should try their best for the second phase of the elections on Quds Day to be held and the 3rd Majlis be formed on its appointed time.

2. The supervising committee of the esteemed Guardianship Council is duty-bound to determine beforehand the number of ballot boxes for which there has been complaint.

3. The Ministry of Interior is also duty-bound to hand over today to the esteemed Guardianship Council all the ballot boxes for which there has been complaint.

4. At the time of vote counting, the Minister of Interior can assign individuals at the ballot boxes so that no doubt will ever be entertained by anyone.

5. Votes for all the candidates should be counted; not for only particular candidates.

The responsibility of handing over the ballot boxes lies on the Guardianship Council. Your honor is duty-bound to report the matter to the undersigned so that the Judiciary can decisively deal with anyone who is hindering the conduct of the activities. May God lead all to the straight path of guidance and save them from the trick of the ego. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 21, 1988 [Ordibehesht 1, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 4, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Authorities of the judge presiding over legal cases

Addressee: Sayyid Jafar Karimi

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

To the blessed presence of the Islamic Supreme Guardian and Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure:

With profound greetings and salutations, and wishing longevity for the esteemed Imam (may my soul be his ransom), I would like to draw your kind attention to the following:

As Your Eminence is well aware, at the beginning when I accepted the responsibility of legal cases entrusted by Your Eminence, on two personal meetings the undersigned asked before you about the manner of rendering the service as well as the limit of the responsibility, for which the esteemed Imam issued important and appropriate guidelines and essential prescriptions. However, the subject of the limits of authorities, and in turn, the function of the undersigned, which is undertaken in accordance with the religious standards and pursuant to the instruction of the eminent Imam, has been disputed on some cases by the respected officials of the Judiciary.

Now, keeping in view this task in the infringements of the respected appointed judges, it can sometimes be observed that the issued decree is against the well-known edict and contrary to the religion and law, and caused the wasting of the financial and non-financial religious and legal rights of the plaintiffs. So, as for me to have a religious proof in the manner of giving justice to the religious and legal rights of the complaint against the respected judges in cases similar to the abovementioned ones, I humbly request from the blessed presence of the esteemed Imam to enlighten me on the following points:

1. The prerogative on invalidating a decree contrary to the religion and law, which is in conformity with the religious standards;
2. Determining the Divine injunction and on guaranteeing the rights and properties of the accused;

3. Determining the punishments below the full amount prescribed by law for the violating judge,

4. Guide me on whether the verdict of this court can be taken to court of appeal or is final.

Humble pupil of the esteemed Imam,
Sayyid Jafar Karimi
Farvardin 28, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Your honor is authorized to act in accordance with the religious and legal standards on the mentioned cases, and on legal punishments below the full amount prescribed by law in which cases without punishments below the full amount prescribed by law, the procedure is not performed as advisable, you are authorized to enforce it. Exercise caution in all cases.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 1, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: April 23, 1988 [Ordibehesht 3, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 6, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Attending to the complaints about some electoral constituencies

Occasion: Holding elections for Majlis (Islamic Consultative Assembly)

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

[In His Most Exalted Name

After greetings, I would like to invite the kind attention of Hadrat Imam to the following:

Repeated telephone contacts with Ayatullah Imami and Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Muhtashami resulted in the following:

1. Boxes subject to complaint should be separated right now;
 2. The total votes cast in the boxes should be counted and not the votes of special representatives;
 3. In case the executive agents or supervisors face any variance in counting the votes in the boxes, the matter is to be immediately referred to Honorable Mr. Imami and Mr. Muhtashami so that someone be sent by Mr. Imami to recount the votes of the box in question in front of the supervisors and executive agents;
 4. The supervisory body appoints sisters equivalent to the number of sisters appointed by the executive committee; and
 5. The issue should be settled by the end of the week or within ten days.
- Peace be upon you.

Ahmad Khomeini
Ordibehesht 3, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Carry on exactly as indicated above; negligence is not permitted. May God, the Exalted, bless you with success and victory.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 3, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: April 27, 1988 [Ordibehesht 7, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Attending to the complaints on some electoral constituencies

Occasion: Holding elections for the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Addressee: Muhammad Imami Kashani (jurist-member of the Guardian Council)

[In His Most Exalted Name]

To His Holiness Imam of the *Ummah*—may his benign existence endure,

After greetings and salutations: At the Guardian Council's courtesy call in your presence, it was stated that it is the legal right of the Guardian Council to recount as it deemed necessary whatever number of ballot boxes and that the legal responsibility is in priority regarding the ballot boxes, having the reports of the supervisors and investigators. However, in the text of Your Eminence's decree to honorable Mr. Ansari, the word, "complaint" has been written. It is necessary for me to state that complaints will be attended to at the joint executive-supervisory committee, but the supervision of the Guardian Council at the present stage is to pay attention to the reports. Your Eminence is kindly requested to remove the ambiguity surrounding the word, "complaints" or "report". May Allah grant you longevity for Islam and Muslims.

Muhammad Imami Kashani
Ordibehesht 7, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

With gratitude for the efforts and sincerity of the supervisory-executive committee, the point in my writing is "complaint"; not "report". However, for more certainty, if both my representative¹ and the two representatives of the esteemed Guardian Council discerned that some of the reported ballot boxes need recounting, then it must be done.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Muhammad-Ali Ansari Kermani.

Letter

Date: May 2, 1988 [Ordibehesht 12, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 15, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for holding elections for the Islamic Consultative Assembly on Quds Day

Addressees: Members of the Guardian Council

In His Most Exalted Name

Esteemed members of the Guardian Council—may their graces last,

Taking into account the different reports as well as the investigation and report of my representative¹ on the affair of the elections whose accuracy is confirmed, I would like to announce them so that the elections be held on the appointed day—Quds Day. The final decision concerning the ballot boxes and votes is based on the majority votes of the representatives of the esteemed Guardian Council and the honorable Interior Minister as well as that of mine representative. Those who have caution or temptation for the affair of the elections, it is better for them to have the utmost caution for the preservation of the reputation of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Islam.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 15, 1408 AH

¹ Muhammad-Ali Ansari Kermani.

Letter

Date: May 3, 1988 [Ordibehesht 13, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 16, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Gratitude and acknowledgment of the services of the Chief of the Joint Army Staff of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Ismail Sohrabi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Brigadier General Ismail Sohrabi,

Your services during your term, as the Chief of the Joint Army Staff of the Islamic Republic of Iran are appreciated. In view of your experiences and knowledge in military affairs, the Supreme Council of War Logistics is recommended to avail of your consultations.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 13, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: May 3, 1988 [Ordibehesht 13, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 16, 1408 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the new Chief of the Joint Army Staff of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Addressee: Ali Shahbazi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dear Staff Colonel Ali Shahbazi,

In view of the merit and religious-revolutionary commitment that have been reported concerning you, you are hereby promoted to the rank of Brigadier General and appointed as the Chief of the Joint Army Staff of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I beseech God, the Exalted, for your success in serving Islam and the government of the Islamic Republic.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 13, 1367 AHS

¹ In the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 20, p. 209, it has been dated as Ordibehesht 17, 1367 AHS. Based on the date written at the original manuscript, however, Ordibehesht 13, 1367 AHS is correct.

Letter

Date: May 4, 1988 [Ordibehesht 14, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 17, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Prompt and urgent investigation of counting votes in the elections for the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Addressee: Imami Kashani (jurist-member of the Guardian Council)

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Imami, member of the esteemed Guardian Council,

Your honor know that I never wanted to talk about the elections. However, I saw the circumstances such that if I do not get involved, there will be a blow to the foundation of the system and Islam. Of course, in the previous round of elections, within a period of 31 days the esteemed Guardian Council approved, invalidated or postponed all the constituencies. But in this round that is more sensitive, up to now 26 days have already passed since the elections, you approved only 45 out of 196 constituencies. If you think there was differences in Tehran, attending to the vote counting in the towns was also possible. It must be tried that no right is ever violated. You also showed all your efforts to make it clear the condition of the second phase of the third round. My representative¹ and two representatives of the esteemed Guardian Council appointed by the gentlemen to attend to the condition of the elections in Tehran came to me a few days ago and bore witness to the soundness and fairness of the elections in Tehran.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 14, 1367 AHS

¹ Muhammad-Ali Ansari Kermani.

Permission

Date: May 8, 1988 [Ordibehesht 18, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 21, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Hasan Yazbak

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Hasan Yazbek—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as religiously prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend half of the share of the *Sadat* on the *Sadat* of the locality and district, and to remit the other half of the two blessed shares.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.”

May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Blessed Fasting Month 21, 1408 AH

Message

Date: May 11, 1988 [Ordibehesht 21, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram of congratulations for the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the arrival of the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*¹ is hereby acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate Your Excellency and the fraternal and Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the most Exalted, to bless with the glory to Muslim nations and pray for their victory over the enemies of Islam and Muslims. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 24, 1408 AH

¹ *Id al-Fitr*: the Islamic feast marking the end of the fasting month of Ramadan.

Message

Date: May 11, 1988 [Ordibehesht 21, 1367 AHS / Ramadan 24, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the telegram of congratulations for the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Rashid ibn Said Al Maktum (Deputy Head of State and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan 24, 1408 AH

Honorable Mr. Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan, Deputy Head of State and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the arrival of the auspicious *Id al-Fitr* is hereby acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate you and the Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the most Exalted, to grant prosperity to all Muslim nations. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: Circa May 1988 [Ordibehesht 1367 AHS / Shawwal 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Attending to the elections for the Islamic Consultative Assembly in Gorgan

Addressee: Guardian Council

In His Most Exalted Name

Esteemed Guardian Council—may God, the most Exalted assist them:

As I promised to Mr. Numufidi,¹ I will attend to the condition of the elections in that town. As what Ahmad² has deliberated with Mr. Imami,³ this task is not advisable for anybody except the Guardian Council. Having trust in all the members of the esteemed Guardian Council, I do hereby appointed Mr. Jannati⁴ to assume the responsibility of attending to the elections in Gorgan so that no right is ever trampled on.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Sayyid Kazim Nurmufidi, the Imam's representative and the Friday prayer leader of Gorgan.

² Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

³ Muhammad Imami Kashani, jurist-member of the Guardian Council.

⁴ Ahmad Jannati, jurist-member of the Guardian Council.

Speech

Time/ Date: Morning, May 17, 1988 [Ordibehesht 27, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran Husayniyyah, Tehran

Subject: Spiritual dimensions of “reception of Allah”

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President); Mir-Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister); Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly); Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice); Mahdawi Kani; Muhammad-Taqi Falsafi; various strata of people; religious, political and military personalities and local and foreign reporters

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Spiritual dimensions of “Banquet of Allah”

Before extending my greetings for this *Id*, I would like to thank the Iranian nation for its good presence in the scenes, especially in the elections. In spite of the fact that all were trying not to have peaceful elections as they deserved, thank God, they were held as such. May God make the blessed *Id* auspicious for all.

What I would like to talk is about an item in this sermon that the Noble Messenger has delivered in the month of Ramadan. One sentence from him is this: “God has made you all as His guests; has invited you to a banquet; you are guests of God in the blessed month; the Host is God while His creatures are the guests.” Of course, this banquet for the perfect *awliya*, devotees of God is not as what we imagine, or that our hands would access Him. We have to assess and see what this banquet has been and to what extend we have attended to this banquet. Although the entire universe is under the divine mercy and everything is His mercy and His mercy to everything is bountiful, the door of banquet is another door of His mercy; invitation to the banquet is another matter.

This banquet is all about abandonment; abandonment of desires such as for foods, drinks, and other things that human desire requires. God has invited us; that you enter the banquet hall. This banquet is nothing except abandonment; abandonment of carnal desires, abandonment of egotisms, abandonment of selves; abandonment of egoism. All these are in the banquet hall and we have to evaluate and see whether we entered the banquet hall, or we did not enter at all; whether they offered us access to the banquet hall, or not; whether we take benefit from the divine banquet, or not. Of course, the

account of the persons like of me, is with *kiram al-katibin*.¹ But I would like to acquire you, gentlemen, and anyone who would receive these words, particularly the young people: Have you entered to this banquet hall? Did you make use of it? Did you not pay attention to the desires, especially the emotional desires? Or, you just remind like me?

The youth should be aware that during the prime of youth they can reform themselves. The older the human being becomes the more his yearning for the world will be. The youth are nearer to heaven. The more one advances in age, the more one distances from God by worldly things. Bear in mind that only if you properly made an exit from the banquet then you have *Id* and feast. *Id* belongs to anyone who were admitted in this banquet and made use of it. Just as one is supposed to abandon the apparent desires, one has to control over his the inner desires, which constitute the greatest hindrance for man along the way. All these corruptions in the world are due to the fact that they have not been admitted in the banquet, or if ever they have been admitted they have not made use of it. It is addressed to all; all of you are invited to the banquet of Allah; you are all guests of God and it is the banquet of abandonment. If there is a speck of carnal desire in man, it means that one has not been admitted in the banquet, or in case of being admitted, he has not made use of it. All these hues and cries you witness in the world mean that they have not benefited from this banquet; they have not been admitted in this banquet; they have not accepted the invitation of God.

Exert effort to accept this invitation; for them to admit you there and once you were admitted, the problems will be resolved. The fact that our problems are not resolved means that we have not been admitted in the banquet of God. We have not entered the month of Ramadan at all. We made an abandonment of eating and drinking but what is supposed to be done has not been done. If the carnal desires would permit, in fact the man's natural disposition [*fitrah*] is divine; the natural disposition [*fitrah*]; *fitrah* of Allah. All will focus on him; however, it is this attention to the world, which is a secondary and crooked attention that prevents those issues that are supposed to be dealt with. If you observe war and dispute in the world and among you is, God forbid, also an exemplary arena of which, you should know that you were not admitted; you did not comprehend the month of Ramadan. He has made the month of Ramadan approach you: "The month of Allah is approaching you." But you refused it; you returned it.

¹ *Kiram al-Katibin*: the angels in charge of recording the account of deeds of every human being].

Devilish acts to create discord

Although the elections were held well, there were wicked ones who desired to plant a seed of discord. In elections in other countries, the foreign parties and agents will draw the people against themselves and beguile them. They talk about issues, which are all meant to make the people negligent. Although the elections were accomplished very well, some agents attempted to create discord, whereas they did not succeed. Thanks to God! You should beware that the enemies are always struggling to spoil us from interiorly. If you were truly admitted in this banquet, the enemies' hands would be virtually cut off. Once the human being observe the truth of this banquet, one will see that all the differences in the world would be resolved. The wicked ones are trying to create discord that there is dichotomy, but thank God, our nation, especially our clerics, are figures whose faces are bright. In this blessed month they have also been admitted in this banquet. God willing, the effect of this admission will be manifested if you act in unison, not in two factions.

Need for friendship despite of the existing difference in taste

Of course, there are two ideas, which must also be there. There are two opinions, which must also be there. Different tastes be must there but the different tastes must not make the people in bad terms with one another. As I have stated, it is like the seminarians who are discussing. At the time of argumentation, as if there were dispute and quarrel such that a person will think that they are inimical to one another. Once the discussion is over, they would socialize together in brotherhood manner and fellowship. If there is no difference of taste in a nation, that nation is flawed. If there is no difference of taste in an assembly, that assembly is flawed. Difference of taste leads difference in opinions, discussion and argumentation is essential. However, difference should not end in dichotomization and enmity with one another. We must be in dichotomy while we have difference; we must be friends as well. If we are admitted in this holy month's banquet, its fruits must remain for long after the holy month. This holy month is like a watch. If it is wound, it will automatically function. This holy month should be available such that it protects people up to the next holy months. I hope that we were really admitted and the gentlemen would spend this year in sound health, prosperity and pleasure.

I believe that the best prayer for the likes of the American president and his servants such as Saddam is for God to grant them the taste of death; this prayer is for them. If you want to curse them you should pray God to keep

them so that with every day passing, their punishment in hell becomes worse. The stages of hell, just like the stages of man, are endless. With each day passing for the sinners, the hell becomes worse and hotter for them. Thus if you want to pray for them, implore God to give them the taste of death so that the hell would not be so difficult for them. May God awaken us to understand that there are only a few days left for us. I will die sooner and you afterward. The present states would no longer exist after hundred years. All are transient and perishable. That which is not subject to destruction is our deeds. Man himself is responsible for deserving hell or heaven. Once man dies, he will start life in a new world, which he has been sent forward by himself. Nothing will come from outside; whatever is there emanates from man himself. Try to reform yourselves, God willing, on this day, at this time and these years. May God grant wellbeing to all the people of this country. May you all succeed in attaining your wholesome aspirations by gaining proximity to God and by winning the prayer of the promised Mahdi (may God's peace be upon him and may our souls be sacrificed for him) man aspires to reach God, while he is not aware of this. May God lift the veils so that all can "bserve" the glory and majesty of Him.¹

May God's peace and mercy be upon him.

¹ "To reach" and "see" God is not understood in physical but mystical sense.

Message

Date: May 22, 1988 [Khordad 1, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 6, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulatory message for the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that the Muslims of the world could earn the blessings of this holy month, curb the wickedness of the enemies of Islam in their countries; regain their lost glory and cast away criminals such as the blood-thirsty Saddam. Only in one of his criminal acts, he martyred thousands of innocent women and defenseless children of Halabchah in a twinkle. It is hoped that God will remove this black mark from the Muslim countries. Unfortunately, contrary to what was expected, heads of the Muslim countries have been remained indifferent toward this horrendous tragedy that happened in the Muslim world as if nothing has ever happened. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the awakening and independence of Muslim countries. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 6, 1408 AH

Message

Date: May 28, 1988 [Khordad 7, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 12, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission and function of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Occasion: Inauguration of the 3rd Islamic Consultative Assembly

Addressees: Deputies in the Islamic Consultative Assembly

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

For the favor and attention of the Sacred Essence of the Exalted Truth, I am thankful that once again the Almighty God honored the noble nation in performance of one of its socio-political duties. The people overcame the Great Satan¹ and its criminal agents working against the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran. God bestowed success to the Iranian nation in renewing their allegiance to their eternal vows. Notwithstanding the struggle of the ill-wishers, the elections for the 3rd Islamic Consultative Assembly were held peacefully on the appointed time. Thanks God, today, we are witness to the inauguration of the 3rd Islamic Consultative Assembly. I do not consider it necessary to recall the events at the time of the elections as well as the epical turn-out of our esteemed people. The importance and role of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Guardian Council in the Islamic Republic of Iran is not hidden to anybody. God willing, the respected Majlis representatives have felt their heavy responsibility and mission. They have realized well what the system and the people expect from them. The people demands and expects the Majlis to eliminate difficulties and deprivation and to improve in the devious administrative system of the country. This expectation should indeed be taken seriously. Before engaging with unnecessary bills, the respected Majlis representatives should reflect on crucial concerns of the country. Inspired by the dear Islam, they should work hard in the commissions to ratify laws and bills for elimination of the basic problems of the country. Majlis should enact and execute the fundamental policies of the country in cultural, economic, social, and political areas in a bid to help the deprived and remove their depriveness.

Today, the country, its system and management, as in the past is in need of courage in resolving the problems and eliminating institution hindering us

¹ Great Satan is a term applied by Imam Khomeini to the US government a day after storming of the American Embassy in Tehran to show its arrogant and diabolical character.

in attaining the higher objectives. I hope that through the concordance and unanimity of the representatives, strong coordination with the administrators, executives, and experts, consultation with the Guardian Council, the Majlis could take quantum leaps toward resolving the difficulties of the deprived and the barefooted. In difficult circumstances, Majlis could benefit from the power, decisiveness and swift action of the State Expediency Council, which is a great, blessed and fruitful support for our country.

Yet, what is important than all these matter, those who have found their way into the Majlis and have been selected as servants those who have performed their duties but who have not found their way into the Majlis as well as the partisans of both groups should know that all these are imaginary transient affairs. We are all in the presence of God that which is lasting in the book of our account is our deeds and that which will bring us prosperity and immortality is spiritual purification and the fruits of sincerity in servitude to God. We should not taint the sincerity of our action and Islamic society with the blemish of indignations and differences. The past electoral competitions should also not at all for trigger discord and dissension.

I am sure that the unclean hands of agents would not work to utilize the electoral races¹ to attain their own ends². In these circumstances the entire Iranian nation and all the clerics and officials of the country should be together and tread their sacred path hand in hand. Writers, speakers and the press should seriously be careful in their writings and speeches. The Majlis representatives should deal with one another justly and affectionately. They should avoid aggravating the problems; not deal on personal and factional issues, particularly on credentials. Pay attention to the personality and credibility of a Majlis representative during speeches before an agenda and the like; prefer above all things the sanctity of the Majlis, the system and the lofty Islamic morality; and in sum, the Majlis and the representatives should support the unity and integration of the society. The officials along with the people and the people accompanied and assisted by the officials should fulfill their respective duties. Benefit from the moral and spiritual blessings of their own sacred unity and not withdraw from the scenes. Today, perhaps there is no sin graver than withdrawal from the scenes and no excuse and pretext would ever be accepted for leaving the scene of the revolution.

¹ Competitions.

² Aspiration by presenting useless and meaningless issues, so they could separate the hearts from each other or put to question, the soundness and accuracy of elections by raising doubts and mentalities, and ultimately the legitimacy of Islamic consultative assembly.

After being relieved of the elections, as in the past the esteemed people of Iran should continue with their material and moral support for the warfronts and the combatants, looking after the “army of light”. All of them and the dear combatants should know that in any way victory is with us. We firmly believe in this matter and from the beginning of the war up to now we have witnessed the favor of God. The great Iranian nation should make certain that since the day we have taken a step along this sacred path, they have not lost anything that it would worry about an event and they have not sustained a loss triggering them to feel having been shortchanged or regretful. All their investments will remain intact in the Sacred Presence of the Exalted Truth.

Of course, it is possible for a country like Iran, which is on the threshold of giving reality its lofty Islamic objectives, to experience ups and downs just as Muslim did in early days of Islam. However, for a great nation there is victory higher than its unflinching decision, will and determination in attaining the truth which, thanks to God, has been granted by Him to the people of Iran, and by the power of God and the unwavering will and determination of the people vis-à-vis all problems, we will stand and just as through the blessing of faith and reliance of the people and the combatants (on God), we have attained great and miraculous victories and every day of ours has been a day of new trial and success, we continue treading our path afterward.

Our valiant combatants consisting of the Army, the Revolutionary Guard Corps and the *Basij* [voluntary mobilization force] would continue their defense by reliance of faith, arms and hope in God’s help and people’s support vanquishing the enemy. By their aspiration, they would present the honor of divine aid and victory, as the fate of the war will be charted in the warfronts and not at the negotiation table. By the help of God and the favorable prayer of the promised Savior (may our souls be ransomed for him), we will utter the last word to the Saddam forces and to the world-devourers in the epic scene of struggle and martyrdom. I pray for fortitude and relief from God. May God be the Helper and defender of our combatants. May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: May 31, 1988 [Khordad 10, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulatory message on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*¹

Addressee: Muhammad Ziaul Haq (President of Pakistan)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Muhammad Ziaul Haq, President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan,

The receipt of your greeting card on the occasion of *Id al-Fitr* is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I extend my congratulation to Your Excellency and to the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the prosperity and dignity of the Muslim nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 15, 1408 AH

¹ The said message had been sent in the form of greeting card.

Message

Date: May 31, 1988 [Khordad 10, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 15, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Chadli Benjedid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Chadli Benjedid, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria,

The receipt of your greeting card on the occasion of *Id al-Fitr* is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I extend my congratulation to Your Excellency and to the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the prosperity and dignity of all Muslim nations. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 15, 1408 AH

Decree

Date: June 2, 1988 [Khordad 12, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Designation of the new Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

Addressee: Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani

[president Khamenei, the President, in a letter to Imam Khomeini wrote,

“... The following suggestion stated orally and in writing by the undersigned read:

1. All the affairs related to the armed forces, the Army, Revolutionary Guard Corps and the Gendarmerie including operations and reinforcements, organizational and administrative affairs and others is to be entrusted to a single person;

2. The above-mentioned person to be designated by Your Eminence is duty-bound to manage the affairs closely and decisively; and

3. The martial court of the armed forces is duty-bound to obey Your Eminence's view and order in legally prosecuting the accused and implementing the penalties.

Taking into account all the dimensions, according to the undersigned, the only person deserving of taking charge of this important responsibility is Honorable Mr. Hashimi Rafsanjani.”

In reply to this letter, Imam Khomeini decreed, thus:]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ali Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani—may his graces last:

In view of the open confrontation of the world-devouring America with Islam and Iran, coordination of the East and the West and intransigent encounter of regional countries against the Islamic Revolution to sap the force of the victory of Islam, and by virtue of the suggestion of the esteemed President, the Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Khamenei (may his graces last), I hereby designate you as the next Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces with full authority. You are therefore responsible to implement the following orders:

1. Setting up of the Commander-in-Chief's Headquarters to prepare the ground for total unity;
2. Total coordination of the Army, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, *Basij* and the disciplinary forces in all areas of the sacred defense of Islam. It is evident that the acceptable and proper integration and merging of related and supporting offices and organizations will have a vital role in the coordination of all the armed forces;
3. Centralization of the military industry and necessary preparation for our sacred defense and integration of the reparatory, support, technical, engineering, fighting, educational, and research facilities, and the mobilization of all the facilities and equipments toward specific objectives are among the duties of the Commander-in-Chief;
4. Effort in utilizing in the best possible means the facilities and forces, and prevention of the utilization of the material and moral facilities on unnecessary cases, and in line with this, abolition or merging of overlapping and unnecessary organizations and formations;
5. Centralization of the cultural and propagation affairs of the armed forces in all areas;
6. Correct and decisive application of the martial court's laws at the time of war and penalization of the violator in every echelon; and
7. Taking proper benefit from the people's assistances in all aspects.

The legislative, executive and judicial powers are duty-bound to make use of all their facilities and policies for the requirements of the war.

Through revolutionary patience and fortitude, I ask the beloved people of Iran as well as the military and disciplinary forces to stand against the conspiracies of the World Arrogance vigorously, and they should be certain that victory belongs to those who persevere. Today's world is drown in foul plays and treacheries; and you, the soldiers of Islam, are in the peak of strength and nobility. I pray to all of you. May God be the Helper and Supporter of the combatants in His way. I beseech God, the Exalted, for your success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: June 2, 1988 [Khordad 12, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 17, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ismail Salihi Mazandarani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ismail Salihi Mazandarani—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (May peace and salutations be upon him), he is also permitted to collect and spend it for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in the expenditures, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagation of the sacred religion. He is also permitted to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the remainders of the two blessed shares to this humble servant.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 17, 1408 AH

Letter

Date: June 7, 1988 [Khordad 17, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 22, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Emphasis on the importance of preserving the properties and endowed estates of Imam ar-Rida's Holy Shrine

Addressee: Abbas Waiz Tabasi

[In the Name of Whose Station is Sublime]

To His holiness Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

With greetings and wishing you health and longevity, you are kindly notified that as Your Eminence has always paid special regard for preservation endowed properties and estates of Imam ar-Rida's Holy Shrine and for their utilization to remove the people's material and moral needs I ventured to write to Your Eminence to benefit from your guidelines on the concern over the endowments. Respects for religious rites have always been the focus of Your Eminence's attention. This humble servant has done my Outmost to act in line with what you have emphasized time and again. I have always acted in accordance with your Islamic and revolutionary decree and fulfilled my duty to implement the superior commands and emphatic orders of Your Eminence. At the threshold of the first decade of the Islamic Revolution, marked by goodness and blessings, I did not hesitate to offer assistance in cash and in kind to the warfront and to the beloved combatants. I contributed greatly to reconstruction of Hovayzeh and to the construction of the Radawi Islamic Sciences College building, the Great Central Library building and other cultural and research as well as pharmaceutical and medical centers and glorious Islamic structures. I can cite for instance the Quds and the Islamic Republic Courtyards and the current project on the surroundings of the Holy Shrine. This project is certainly incomparable with what had been done during the long years of the tyrannical and oppressive governments in the past. We have made unsparing efforts with respect to re-cultivation of plantation and agricultural lands, not to mention the development and improvement of the endowed properties. These efforts have indeed had a significant role in elevating the level of production and in promoting the sacred slogan of self-sufficiency of our Islamic country. We hope our efforts will gratify God, the Beneficent, and win us the satisfaction and pleasure of Imam Rida (a).

Nevertheless, uninformed elements have tried to harm the agricultural section consisting of the equipments and products of this Holy Shrine. This definitely creates obstacle on the trend of affairs, on the advancement of the plantation work and, finally, on contributing to the economy of the Islamic country.

Undoubtedly, by relying on the favors of God, the Exalted, and the especial approbations of Imam Ali ibn Musa ar-Rida (a) we are here to follow the wise directives of Your Eminence, as in the past, without an iota of doubt and procrastination. By acting according to your order, we believe we will perform our divine duty and religious responsibility. Therefore, we humbly request that Supreme Leader to provide us with Your Eminence's guidelines which have always been inspiring, and decisive at every juncture.

I pray to God, the Exalted, for the wellbeing and longevity that holy Imam and for the final victory of the Muslim combatants. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Abbas Waiz Tabasi
Khordad 14, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Waiz Tabasi, Guardian of Imam ar-Rida's Holy Shrine—may his graces last,

With greetings and wishing you more success, Your pre cum post-revolution efforts and in consolidating the nascent Islamic Republic and endurance of difficulties are not hidden to anybody.

You are among the luminaries of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, especially in the Province of Khorasan. All the officials of the Islamic Republic including you should remove the obstacles along the way and move in such a manner that will earn the pleasure of God. Along the way of truth and the sweetness of helping the downtrodden and the deprived, you have left no stone unturned and will always do so. As in the past, take note of the fact that without the least remission you have to act on the endowed estates of Hadrat Imam ar-Rida (a) as what the endowers of the endowments have done.

I hope all the endowed properties of Imam Rida (a) will be seriously preserved through your efforts and cooperation of the officials of the province. The concerned authorities should extend the necessary assistance

in any case you might need and render greater services to the oppressed people and thus gratify God. I beseech God to grant you success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 17, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: June 8, 1988 [Khordad 18, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Birruamili

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Excellency Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Ali Birruamili—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (may peace and salutations be upon him), he is also permitted to collect and spend it on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend half of it on propagating the sacred religion. As regards the share of the *Sadat*, he is also permitted to collect and give half of it to the needy *Sadat*, and to remit the other half of the two blessed shares to this humble servant to be spent on promotion of Islam.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 23, 1408 AH

Permission

Date: June 8, 1988 [Khordad 18, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 23, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Masih Shah-Cheraghi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Excellency Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Masih Shah-Cheraghi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (a) on propagating the sacred religion and to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the remainder of the two blessed shares to this humble servant to be spent on promotion of Islam.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 23, 1408 AH

Message

Date: June 12, 1988 [Khordad 22, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 27, 1408 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Harms of going beyond legal responsibilities and prerogatives

Addressees: Mir-Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister); members of the cabinet

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Prime Minister and Messrs. Ministers—may God, the Exalted, always assist them,

The issue I deemed it necessary to recall is that perpetuation of the Islamic Republic of Iran depends on unity in approach and action in totality of the Islamically acceptable policy. All of us should try lest our political, military, economic and social acts should not render a blow to the entirety of the system. The idea of the totality has been taken from the basic principles of Islamic laws, which elaborate the responsibility of guiding the individual and society. Every official and anyone committed to the system should try to act within the framework of the bounds of one's responsibilities for the advancement of the system. Forgoing this, possibility of the system's disintegration cannot be ruled out. Therefore, if every minister would interfere in the work of another minister—even though such interference improves the work—this is unacceptable. The harm of going beyond the framework of one's authority is far more than improvement in the work in another area. Obviously, consultation, coordination and cooperation are meant.

Sometimes, I deal on the stances of ministers and representatives who move beyond the bounds of their responsibilities for which I am taken by surprise. To cite an example, foreign policy of the country is the responsible of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. If the gentlemen have a complaint, they have to discuss it brotherly at the cabinet. If a convincing answer is given for the complaint, then the better; otherwise, it is the Minister of Foreign Affairs who is the decision-maker in this regard within the framework of the policy sketched by the Leader or by the Majlis (Islamic Consultative Assembly).

¹ In the 22-volume *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 20, p. 220, it has been dated as Khordad 23, 1367 AHS. Based on the date written at the original manuscript, however, Khordad 22, 1367 AHS is correct.

For any minister or representative to deliver comments whatever he wants at public gatherings is an undesirable method.

Messrs. Ministers, I advise you and the respected representatives not to undermine or sabotage the policies of one another. If the unity of method and action in the nascent Islamic system receive a blow, the conclusions which the world of arrogance would deduce from these approaches would be so damaging. Let us not do anything that will make the world think that given this difference in tastes and this expression of differences, the Islamic Republic of Iran will never find its way to stability. May God grant all of you the opportunity to render service to the good servants of God. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 22, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: June 14, 1988 [Khordad 24, 1367 AHS / Shawwal 29, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Determining the Supervisory Committee of the theological schools of Kermani students in Qum and Kerman

Addressees: Muhammad-Ali Ansari; Majid Ansari; Husayn Jawidi; Muhammad-Jawad Kashmiri; Husayn Hashimiyan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

It is approved as of the moment, Mr. Murtada Fahim Kermani is not supposed to interfere in political issues, the theological schools for boys and girls of the Kermani students in Qum and Kerman will be administered under the supervision of the following gentlemen: Hujjat al-Islams Jawidi, Muhammad-Ali Ansari, Kashmiri, Husayn Hashimiyan, [and] Majid Ansari. Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Fallah, the esteemed public prosecutor of Kerman, should visit the family of the diseased and console their bereaved family members on my behalf. Blood money should be given to that respected family and their status restored in whatever necessary manner.¹ I pray God, the Exalted, to grant patience, recompense and trust in God to the bereaved family of the diseased.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Khordad 24, 1367 AHS

¹ It refers to the murder case of a certain Mr. Fadai (one of the singers prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution), which was related to the currents during the F peak of the people's resistance against the ranks of pro-Shah's regime's oppositionists. His conviction that was apparently due to his past records and new inclinations had deficiency in religious and legal reputation. After receiving the report of the sentence of conviction Imam Khomeini immediately issued the order of investigation of the matter. He categorically dealt with Murtada Fahim Kermani—one of the revolutionary clerics who had been imprisoned during the Shah's regime and the judge of the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Kerman—and removed him from his office for issuing this unjust sentence whose issuance and execution have been also regrettably deplorable and beyond the due process of law. The Imam also banned him from interfering on political issues, and in accordance with the religious laws on consoling the family of Mr. Fadai, paying blood money and reinstituting the family's status for his execution, he issued pertinent order.

Decree

Date: June 25, 1988 [Tir 4, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 10, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of member of the Guardian Council

Addressee: Muhammad Yazdi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Yazdi—may his graces last:

Based on Article 91 of the Constitution in view of recognize you a man of religion and committed to Islam and the Revolution, as one of the jurists of the Guardian Council. I pray for your further success along the way of approving laws that can earn the pleasure of God and helping the downtrodden and deprived people of the Islamic society of Iran. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 4, 1988 [Tir 13, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 19, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to message of condolence on martyrdom of tens of Iranians as the result of downing of Iran's passenger plane by America

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Ayatullah Muntaziri—may his graces last:

Your message was a soothing one for the pains of those who have received a blow from the Great Satan, the deceptive America. The liberal people of the world have always been hurt by the superpowers, especially the criminal America, and so long as they do not take their definite decision to confront the global *kufir* [disbelief] and *shirk* [polytheism] and the domineering America, every day they will witness new crimes (committed against them).

The noble nation of Iran must pay attention to the fact that today is the day of war and struggle against all the devils who are trampling on the lawful rights of all the barefooted of the world for their wining and dining as well as development of weapons so that they always rule over the world of the starving ones.

Our war today is not war against Iraq and Israel. Our war is not a war against Saudi Arabia and the sheikhs of the Persian Gulf. Our war is not war against Egypt, Jordan and Morocco. Our war is not a war with the superpowers of the East and the West. Our war is the war of our school of thought against all forms of oppression and tyranny. Our war is the war of Islam against all the inequalities of the capitalist and communist world. Our war is the war of barefootedness against the luxuries of the indolent wealthy and rulers of the Muslim countries. This war knows no weapon. This war is not confined by frontier and territory. This war knows no home base, sanctuary, defeat, and the bitterness of shortage, poverty and hunger. This war is the war of ideology and the war of revolutionary ideological values against the filthy world of force, money and hedonism. Our war is the war of sanctity, dignity, nobility and fortitude against all forms of dastardliness and foul play.

Our combatants are breathing in the world of conviction and faith and the world Muslims is aware that it is the war between arrogance and Islam will

not allow the world-devourers to rest and will strike to all the palace-dwellers.

You, who are one of the assets of this revolution, has to spend your time in constructing a world of generosity and magnanimity with the support of Mr. Rafsanjani.¹ The noble people of Iran should beware that these days the unclean hands of the East and the West have joined to destroy Islam and Muslims. We should not allow the efforts of our revolutionary children go in vain at the warfronts. We should extend the hand of unity to one another for the implementation of the laws of dear Islam and move firmly and resolutely until the victory of Islam.

All the officials of the system should devote all their efforts to serving the war. These days we should endeavor to bring about far-reaching development in all issues related to the war. All should look toward the warfront for an all-out war against America and its followers. Today, skepticism in any form is a betrayal to Islam and negligence on the issues of war is a treachery to the Messenger of Allah (s). This humble servant is offering his unworthy life to the combatants in the scenes of warfare.

The explosion of the passengers' airbus² is an alarm for all air travels. We should try our best so that such painful scenarios would not happen again.

I extend my condolences to all members of the bereaved families in this tragedy and share with them in their sorrow and agony for the lost of their beloved ones. I pray for you and all those who are understanding effort for the attainment of the sacred objective of Islam. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tir 13, 1367 AHS

¹ Mr. Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani: the then Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and designated Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces on the affairs of war.

² On the morning of Tir 12, 1367 AHS (July 3, 1988), Monday, one passenger plane of the Islamic Republic of Iran en route to Dubai (United Arab Emirates) from Bandar Abbas, Iran, was shot down by two missiles fired from American naval warships stationed in the Persian Gulf, martyring all 290 passengers and the crew on board. Many years after the heavenly departure of Imam Khomeini, with the pursuance of the complaint of the Islamic Republic of Iran, The Hague Court convicted America and demanded it to pay indemnity.

Permission

Date: July 4, 1988 [Tir 13, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Qadah 19, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Hasan Musawi Khorasani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Hasan Musawi Khorasani—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* to spend one-third of the share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion of Islam and to remit the remainder of the two shares to this humble servant.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Qadah al-Haram 19, 1408 AH

Message

Date: July 17, 1988 [Tir 26, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1408 AH

His Excellency Mr. Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirates:

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the occasion of *Id al-Qurban*¹ (feast of sacrifice) is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate Your Excellency and the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. Albeit no room for greetings and festivity is ever left with these great tragedies that befell the Muslims of the world, especially the oppressed nation of Iran. Where is the room for greetings and festivity at a time when the forces of the world-devouring America would stealthily enter the Persian Gulf, shot with missiles a passengers' airbus and kill 290 defenseless people including innocent women and children while its irresolute and mercenary stooge, the criminal Saddam, would everyday raze to the ground hundreds and thousands of people in Halabchah as well as in the warfronts by lethal chemical bombs. More regretfully, the rulers in the region and the Muslim countries would even spare from making a rhetoric condemnation? May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ *Id al-Qurban* (Feast of Sacrifice): the Islamic feast marking the end of the *Hajj* rituals in the month of Dhul-Hijjah. It is associated with the offering of animals for sacrifice.

Message

Date: July 17, 1988 [Tir 26, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 2, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Rashid ibn Said Al Maktum (Deputy Head of State and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Rashid ibn Said Al Maktum, Deputy Head of State and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the occasion of *Id al-Qurban* is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate Your Excellency and the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the prosperity and wellbeing of the Muslim nations and their victory over the enemies. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 2, 1408 AH

Message

Date: July 20, 1988 [Tir 29, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Anniversary of the bloody Mecca Massacre and acceptance of the UN Resolution 598

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Allah hath fulfilled the vision for His messenger in very truth. Ye shall indeed enter the Inviolable Place of Worship, if Allah will.”¹

Despite the lapse of one year since the horrible and merciless massacre of the innocent faithful and monotheistic pilgrims by the puppets of America and of the House of Saud, the city of God and people of God are flabbergast. By killing the guests of God and slaughtering the best servants of God, the House of Saud not only stained Masjid al-Haram with the blood of the martyrs, but also the world of Islam, making the Muslims and liberal people bereaved.

For the first time, last year Muslims of the world celebrated in the martyrdom of the children of Ibrahim (peace be upon him) in the slaughterhouse of love and in the Mina of God's gratification, children who had returned from their battle against the world-devourers and their lackeys for umpteenth time. Once again, in contradiction with the way of freedom, America, Israel and the House of Saud killed our men and women, mothers and fathers of the martyrs, the defenseless disabled of the war. At the last moments, they also dastardly and mercilessly whipped the half dead bodies of our aged ones as well as the thirsty mouths of our oppressed ones, thus taking their revenge. Revenge on whom and for which crime? Revenge on those who migrated from their homes toward the House of God and the home of people! Revenge on those who for years had shouldered the burden of trust and struggle. Revenge on those who, like Ibrahim (a), were returning from breaking the idols; they had “broken” the Shah; they had “broken” America and the Soviet Union; they had crushed disbelief and hypocrisy. They were those who, after traversing all those ways, with the shout of, “*And*

¹ Surah al-Fath 48:27.

proclaim unto mankind the Pilgrimage. They will come unto thee on foot and on every lean camel,"¹ had come barefooted and bareheaded so as to delight Ibrahim; they had come to the reception of God to remove from their faces the dust and dirt of the journey by means of the Zamzam water, to extinguish their fire in the limpid water of the *Hajj* rituals, to be responsible with more strength, and on their perpetual wayfaring they took off not only in the stations of *Hajj* but also in the atations of action, the garment and veil of attachment and affection to the world. They were those who, for the deliverance of the deprived and servants of God, had forbidden for themselves the comfort of the comfort-seekers; worn the garment of martyrdom and made their definite decision not to become slaves of America and the Soviet Union and not to submit to any but God. They had come in order to tell Muhammad (s) again that they had not become tired of the struggle and that they are aware well that the Abu Sufyans, Abu Lahabs and Abu Jahls have been lying in ambush; and to acquire themselves, "Are Lat and Hubal still in the *Kabah*?" Yes, they are there being more dangerous than those idols but in their new visage and deceit. Today, the modern day idols know that the Masjid al-Haram is indeed the Masjid al-Haram but for America rather than for mankind! And whoever does not resppond to struggle against America and instead direct his steps toward the Lord of the *Kabah* will deserve vengeance—vengeance against the pilgrims whose entire specks of existence and all the movements and pauses of their revolution have revived the Abrahamic rituals of *Hajj*. Indeed, they will move to fill the atmosphere of their country and lives with the fragrance of responsiveness.

Yes, according to the logic of the global imperialism whoever likes to declare immunity against disbelief and polytheism will be accused of being polytheist, and the muftis and complimentary offspring of these grandchildren of Balam Bauras² will issue verdict for his murder and being

a disbeliever. Finally, in the history of Islam, that sword of disbelief and hypocrisy which were supposed to have been hidden behind the false attire of the followers of Yazid and the stipendiary of the Umayyads (may God's curse be upon them) for the annihilation and murder of the best among the righteous children of the Prophet of Islam; that is, Hadrat Abu Abdillah al-Husayn (a) and his loyal supporters, surfaces again from the garment of the same legacy of the offspring of Abu Sufyan and cut the pure and clean neck

¹ *Surah al-Hajj* 22:27.

² Balam Baura or Balam ibn Baur refers to scholars of the people of Israel who did bad to Musa and who rose up in opposition to him.

of the supporters of Husayn (a), at the same hot weather of Karbala of Hijaz and at the slaughterhouse of Masjid al-Haram; and the very accusations that the followers of Yazid leveled against the righteous children of Islam, introducing the latter as “aliens”, “atheists”, “polytheists”, and apostates whose blood is permitted to be spilled, were exactly leveled against those who are treading their path. God willing, we will remove the contrition of our hearts by taking revenge from America and the House of Saud at an appropriate time, and put on their hearts the bereavement and regret of sweetness of this mortal crime, and by celebrating for the victory of truth over the forces of disbelief and hypocrisy, and the liberation of the *Kabah* from the unlawful and illegitimate hands, we will enter the Masjid al-Haram.

However, the pilgrims of the countries, who certainly have traveled to Mecca under the control and intimidation of their states and governments, will miss their real friends, brothers, supporters and comrades in their midst. In a bid to cover their horrendous crimes last year and to justify “*but to turn (men) from the way of Allah,*”¹ and the banning of the Iranian pilgrims from performing the *Hajj*, the House of Saud will subject the pilgrims to their intense propaganda. The mass media and the press, the court-*ulama* and mercenary muftis (may God’s curse be upon them) in the Muslim countries, especially in Hijaz, will engage in shows and speeches and limit the scene for reflection and quest for the understanding and comprehension of the real philosophy of *Hajj* as well as for knowing the (real score behind) the Great-Satan-premeditated event on the massacre of the visitors of God. Certainly, in such circumstances, the mission of the pilgrims is so heavy. The most serious problem of the Muslim societies is that they have not yet comprehended the real philosophy of most of the Islamic laws. Notwithstanding all its secrets and splendor, *Hajj* has still remained a hollow form of worship and a futile and worthless activity.

One of the greatest responsibilities of Muslims is to discover this reality: What is *Hajj*? Why should they always spend part of their material and non-material facilities for its performance? So far, what has been described by the ignoramuses, spiteful analysts or sold-out servants as the philosophy of *Hajj* is that *Hajj* is a form of collective worship and a pilgrimage-tourist travel. It is in *Hajj* that Muslims learn how to lead life, how to struggle and how to take stand against the capitalist and communist world! It is in *Hajj* that the rights of the Muslims must be taken back from the oppressors! It is in *Hajj* that the Muslims should look for the solutions to their emotional and physical pressures! It is in *Hajj* that the Muslims should show themselves as the third

¹ *Surah al-Baqarah* 2:217.

great force and power in the world! It is *Hajj* that incites the Muslims to rise up against the surrogate governments! Instead, *Hajj* is that tourist journey for visiting the *Qiblah* and Medina, and that is all! *Hajj* is meant for seeking nearness to God and man's connection to the Owner of the House (i.e., God). *Hajj* is not mere movements, acts and utterances; man cannot approach God through hollow speech, utterance and act. *Hajj* is the center of all the knowledge on God, from which the essence of the policy of Islam in all aspects of life must be sought. *Hajj* is the messenger, creation and formation of a society far from material and spiritual vices. *Hajj* is the manifestation and recurrence of all the loving scenes of life of the perfect man and society in the world. And the rituals of *Hajj* are the rituals of life. While the society of the Islamic *ummah*, regardless of race and nationality, should be Abrahamic in order to be enlisted in the army of the *ummah* of Muhammad (s), be in unison and be a single hand, *Hajj* is the organization, training in monotheistic life. *Hajj* is the scene of showing as well as the mirror of assessing the material and moral talents and capabilities of Muslims. *Hajj* is similar to the Quran from which everybody will benefit, but if the scholars, researchers and afflicted ones among the Islamic *ummah* would take leap in the dark of Quran's knowledge and not be afraid of getting near and delving into social laws and policies, they would acquire gems of guidance, development, wisdom and freedom from the shell of this sea. They would be quenched forever by the fountain of its wisdom and knowledge. Yet, what is to be done and where to bring this great affliction for complaint? Like the Quran, *Hajj* has been antiquated. Such book of life, perfection and elegance has been hidden behind our self-made veils. Such treasure of the secret of creation buried and concealed in the deepest chambers of our perverted minds. Its language of affection, guidance, life and the philosophy of life retrogressed, turning into the language of terror, death and graveyard. *Hajj* has also met the same fate—a fate that every year millions of Muslims move to Mecca and take their steps in lieu of the steps of the Prophet Muhammad, Ibrahim, Ismail, and Hajar, yet nobody would ask who were Ibrahim and Muhammad (a) were and what they did. What was their objective? What have they demanded from us? As if the only thing that is not thought of is this one. Certainly, *Hajj* devoid of spirit, movement and uprising, *Hajj* without disavowal of polytheist, *Hajj* without unity, and *Hajj* that does not remove the traces of disbelief and polytheism is no *Hajj* at all. In sum, all the Muslims should endeavor to revive the *Hajj* and the Holy Quran and let these two return to the scene of their lives. By presenting the real and authentic commentaries on the philosophy of *Hajj*, the devoted researchers

should throw to the sea all the twists and turns of the court-*ulama*'s superstitions.

Nonetheless, what the dear pilgrims should know is that America and the House of Saud have described the Mecca event as sectarian strife and power struggle between the Shiah and Sunni. They introduce Iran and its leaders as having the ambition to create a great empire so that many of those who are uninformed of the trend of political events in the Muslim world and of the evil designs of the world-devourers would imagine that our shout of disavowal against the polytheists and our struggle for the nations' attainment of freedom is in pursuit of our political power and expansion of geographical domain of the Islamic government. Of course, for us and all the scholars and researchers who are informed of the evil intentions of the House of Saud establishment, it is not surprising that they would accuse of Iran and its government of creating dissension and division among Muslims, Iran's government from the emergence of the victory until now has called for the unity of Muslims and shared with Muslims in their adversity and prosperity in all happenings in the Muslim world. More serious than this, they accuse the pilgrims, who out of love in paying homage to the shrine of the Prophet and the holy precinct of security of God have gone to Hijaz, of forming and sending an invading army to siege the *Kabah*, set on fire the holy precinct of God and destroy the city of the Prophet, Medina! They would mention the presence of Revolutionary Guards, military men and officials of the country in the rites of *Hajj* as the evidence and reason behind their act of massacre! Yes, in the logic of the House of Saud the military men and Revolutionary Guards of the Islamic country should be alienated from *Hajj*; and such kind of travels for the government and military officials is surprising and conspiracy-laden. According to the world arrogance, the officials of the Muslim countries should go to Europe; what they have to do with *Hajj*?! The American stooges have equated burning the American flag as setting on fire the Masjid al-Haram and chanting of slogan, "Death to the Soviet Union, America and Israel" as hostility to God, the Quran and the Prophet. They have introduced our government and military officials who are wearing *ihram* as the leaders of conspiracy!

The fact is that the arrogant states of the East and the West, particularly America and the Soviet Union, have practically divided the world into two parts—the free and politically quarantined. In the free part of the world, it is these superpowers that do not recognize any limit, bound or law, considering encroachment on others' interests. Colonization, exploitation and enslaving of nations are necessary and totally justifiable, logical and in consonance

with all their self-made and international principles and standards. However, in the politically quarantined part, on which most of the weak nations of the world, especially Muslims, unfortunately, have been confined and imprisoned. There is no right to live and freedom of expression; all laws, rules and formulas will be the same dictated laws approved by the surrogate systems and ensuring the interests of the arrogant powers. Regrettably, most of the agents at this part of the world are the same imposed rulers or followers of the general lines of the arrogant who treat mere shout due to pain within these fortifications and shackles as an unforgivable crime and sin; they protect the interests of the world-devourers such that nobody has the right to utter a single expression that can undermine them or disturb their sound sleep. Since the Muslims of the world, on account of the pressure, imprisonment and execution imposed on them by the rulers of their own countries, have no courage to express the agonies, with utmost freedom the afflictions and pains at the holy sanctuary of security of God so that the other Muslims could think of a solution to their deliverance. Thus, on account of this we insist and maintain that the Muslims could, at least in the House of God and the holy sanctuary of security, feel themselves free from the conditions and restrictions of the oppressors and in a grand maneuver they could declare their immunity against anything that they abhor and utilize any means for their deliverance.

The government of the House of Saud has taken the responsibility of controlling the pilgrims to the House of God. It is owing to this that I mention with certainty that the event in Mecca is not separate from the principal policy of the world-devourers in suppressing the Muslims. By declaring immunity against the polytheists we decide for the liberation of the accumulated energy of the Muslim world. By the help of God Almighty and through the hands of the children of the Quran, one day this task would be realized. God willing, one day all the Muslims and those who are suffering would shout against the oppressors in the world, proving that the superpowers, their servants and mercenaries are among the most despised beings in the world.

The massacre of the pilgrims to the House of God is a conspiracy for the protection of the policies of the global imperialism and prevention of the influence of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam. The black and shameful record of the impotent rulers of the Muslim countries speaks of the exacerbation of the suffering and agony of the half-dead body of Islam and the Muslims.

The Prophet is not in need of aristocratic mosques and decorative minarets. The Prophet of Islam has been aiming at the honor and dignity of

his followers, who unfortunately have been in wretchedness due to the wrong policies of the puppet governments. Could the Muslims of the world forget the tragic mass murder of hundreds of scholars, and thousands of women and men of Muslims' various schools of thought during the ignominious period of House of Saud as well as the crime of massacre of pilgrims to the House of God? Could not the Muslims witness that today the centers of Wahhabism in the world have been converted into centers of sedition and espionage, which on one hand, are propagating the Islam of aristocracy, the Islam of Abu Sufyan, the Islam of filthy court mullahs, the Islam of foolish sanctimonious seminaries and universities, the Islam of abjectness and misery, the Islam of money and force, the Islam of deception, compromise and servitude, the Islam of domination of capitalism and the capitalists over the oppressed and the barefooted, and in a single word, "American Islam". On the other hand, they pay homage before their master—the world-devouring America.

The Muslims do not know where they can make their point with regard to the House of Saud, the guardian of the two holy sites that makes Israel certain that "they would not use their weapon against Israel"! In order to prove their word, they sever their relationship with Iran. Indeed, to what extent should the relationship of the heads of Muslim countries with Israel be warm and sincere that in the summit conference of Muslim states they superficial struggle against Israel from the agenda?! Had they only a speck of Islamic and Arab zeal and fervor, they would not have been ready to engage in such a dirty political deal.

Are these acts not shameful for the Muslim world? Is it not a crime and sin to be simply a spectator? Is there anyone from among Muslims to rise up so as not to tolerate so much disgrace and ignominy? Verily, we should sit idly so that the heads of Muslim states to ignore the feelings of one billion Muslims, endorse all the atrocities of the Zionists and again bring Egypt and the like to the scene. Now, would Muslims believe that Iranian pilgrims have risen up to occupy the House of God and the holy shrine of the Prophet and want to steal the *Kabah* and transfer it to Qum?! If Muslims of the world have believed that their heads are the real enemies of America, the Soviet Union and Israel then they would believe their propaganda against us.

Of course, we have time and again announced that in our foreign policy we plan to expand the influence of Islam in the world and curb the hegemony of the world-devourers. Now, if American agents label this policy as expansionism and idea of establishing a great empire, we welcome and are not afraid of it. We are in pursuit of desiccating the rotten roots of Zionism,

capitalism and communism in the world. With the help and favor of God Almighty, we have decided to annihilate all systems that are formidably standing on these three pillars; and to propagate Islamic system of the Messenger of Allah (s) in the world of arrogance. Sooner or later, the nations in chains will bear witness to it. We will try our best to prevent the expansion of black-mail and immunity of American agents even if it takes the form of violent struggle. God willing, we will not allow cry for compromise with America, the Soviet Union, disbelief, and polytheism be shouted at the *Kabah* and *Haji*—this great pulpit that should resound the outcry of the oppressed to be reflected to the entire world and reverberating the call of monotheism. We implore God to grant us the power to toll the death knell of America and the Soviet Union not only at the *Kabah* of the Muslims but also at the churches in the world.

The Muslims and deprived people of the world should feel a sense of pride and freedom from this endless purgatory our Islamic revolution has created for all world-devourers. Muslims should cry for freedom and liberation in their lives and destinies and salve it on their wounds as the era of impasse, hopelessness and breathing in milieu of disbelief is over. The rose-garden of liberation of nations is blossoming. I hope that Muslims would look to the lovely buds of freedom, fragrant breeze of spring and fresh flowers of love and affection. The limpid spring of your resolution is simmering. We should all come out of the quagmire, silence, and inertia implanted by American and Soviet functionaries who have spread the seed of death and captivity; we should proceed to the sea from which Zamzam has gushed forth. We should wash the *Kabah*, this divinely sanctuary, polluted by the ritually impure and alien hands of America and its offspring with our tears.

Muslims in all countries of the world, from where you have been enmeshed into gradual death due to the dominance of foreigners, should overcome the fear of death. Make use of the devoted and martyrdom-seeking youth who are ready to break into the lines of the front of disbelief. Do not think of maintaining the status quo; rather, think of escaping from captivity, deliverance from slavery and rising up against the enemies of Islam, as honor and life are under the aegis of struggle. Thereafter, decide on forbidding for yourselves the hegemony of the global disbelief and polytheism. Whether or not we are in Mecca, our heart and soul are with Ibrahim and Mecca. Whether they open or not the gates of the Messenger's city (Medina), the thread of our affection to the Prophet would never be cut or weakened. We perform our prayers toward the *Kabah* and will die while facing it. We

thank God for having abided with our pledge to the Lord of the *Kabah* and laid down the foundations of the declaration of immunity against polytheists with the blood of thousands of martyrs from among our beloved ones. We have not waited for the bad-natured rulers of some Muslim and non-Muslim countries to support our movement. We are always the oppressed, deprived and barefooted of history. We have nobody except God. If we were cut into pieces a thousand times, we would not give up the struggle against oppressors.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is thankful to the free Muslims of the world who, exposed the criminal secrets of America and the House of Saud and showed to the world our state of being oppressed in spite of the strangulation of the ruling policy over them, through conferences, interviews and speeches. The Muslims should become aware that so long as the balance of power in the world is not in their favor, the interests of the foreigners will always take precedence over their interests; and every day, under the pretext of protecting their interests, the Great Satan and the Soviet Union will create a scenario. By the way, if the Muslims would not seriously solve their own problems with the world-devourers and not bring themselves at least at the fringe of the world superpower, will they have peace of mind? Now, if under the pretext of protecting its own interests, America destroy a Muslim country, who will prevent it from doing so? Thus, no option has been left except struggle. The claws and teeth of the superpowers, especially America, must be broken. One of these two options must be chosen—martyrdom or victory—both of which in our school are victory. May God, by His will, grant all the Muslims the power to break the framework of the ruling and oppressive policies of the world-devourers. I hope will God grant them the courage to form trellises (laws) on the basis of human dignity and to accompany everybody from the ebb of abjectness to the peak of honor and dignity.

Prior to the bitter and sweet event of *Hajj* last year, some individuals had not comprehended well the philosophy behind the insistence of the Islamic Republic of Iran for march rally in declaring immunity against polytheists. They asked about the need for march rally and clamor for struggle at the *Hajj* journey and in such a hot weather. If there were ever shout of immunity against the polytheists accordingly, there is no harm if the world arrogance is taken into account. So many simple-hearted individuals used to deem that the so-called civilized world of the world-devourers will not only have the tolerance on such political issues but also allow the oppositionists even more than this extent of life, demonstration and march rally. The proof to this claim is the permit given to the march rallies in the so-called free countries of

the West. However, the point must be cleared that such kind of march rallies brings no harm whatsoever for the superpowers and powers. It is the march rally in Mecca and Medina that will lead to the closure of the oil tunnel of Saudi Arabia. It is the march rallies in Mecca and Medina that will end up in the annihilation of the staunch servants of America and the Soviet Union. It is exactly due to this that it is prevented by means of massacring free men and women. It is under the auspices of this immunity against the polytheists that even the simple-hearted will understand that one should not bow his head in front of America and the Soviet Union.

The beloved and valiant nation of Iran should be certain that the event in Mecca will become the origin of great transformation in the Muslim world, and paving favorable ground for the uprooting of corrupt systems in the Muslim countries and ostracism of the pseudo-clerics. Although no more than one year has passed since the epic declaration of immunity against polytheists, the fragrance of the pure blood of our beloved martyrs has diffused in the entire world. We can observe its effects in different parts of the world. The epic poem of the people of Palestine is not a fortuitous phenomenon. Does the world imagine who have composed this epic poem and on which ideal the people of Palestine have relied, who are heedlessly and empty-handedly resisting against the brutal attacks of the Zionists? Is it the mere call of patriotism that has made a world of resistance for their existence? Has it sold its tree of politicians since it is the fruit of steadfastness and the olive of light and hope that are falling? If that was the case, it is for years that these politicians are in the midst of the Palestinians and have taken their bread in the name of the Palestinian nation! There is no doubt that it is the call of "*Allahu akbar*"—cried by our nation that rendered the Shah hopeless in Iran and the Zionist usurpers in Jerusalem. It is (because of) the realization of that slogan of disavowal that the Palestinian nation, shoulder-to-shoulder with their Iranian sisters and brothers, shouted the loud cry of liberation of Quds¹ and uttered, "Death to America, the Soviet Union and Israel" at the *Hajj* demonstrations. On the same bed of martyrdom that the blood of our beloveds spilled that it (the Palestinian nation) rested in peace with the offering of blood and the rite of martyrdom. Yes, the Palestinians found their lost way through our way of disavowal. We observed in this struggle how the strong sieges were broken; how the blood over the sword, faith over disbelief, and shout over the bullet emerged victorious, how the dream of the Children of Israel of occupying the area from Nile to

¹ Quds: the Arabic word for Jerusalem and meaning the holy'. Jerusalem is revered as the third holiest city in Islam, after Mecca and Medina.

Euphrates was disturbed and how the shining star of Palestine was set ablaze from the blessed tree of our "Neither East nor West". Today, just as the widespread moves in the entire world to draw us to compromise with disbelief and polytheism are in full swing, the same continues for extinguishing the flame of wrath of the Muslim nation of Palestine. This is just one example of the advancement of the revolution. While those, who believe in the principles of our Islamic revolution, have multiplied in the world and we consider them as strong assets of our own revolution, those who sign the scroll of defending us with the ink of blood and respond to the call of the revolution with all their lives will take control of the entire world with the help of God. Today, the war has embarked on between truth and falsehood, poverty and affluence, oppression and arrogance, and the barefooted and the indolent affluent. I kiss the hands and shoulders of all the dear people across the world shouldering the burden of resistance, struggling in the cause of God and enhancing the honor of Muslims. I present my sincere greetings and salutations to all the buds of liberty and excellence. God has spread the effects and blessings of our spirituality in the world. Your luminous hearts and eyes have become the center of supporting the deprived, and the spark of your revolutionary wrath has frightened the rightist and leftist world-devourers. Of course, we all know that our country at the state of war and revolution has endured hardships and troubles. Nobody claims that the deprived, deprived and low-income classes, particularly workers and employees, are not experiencing the grips of economic problems. However, what all the people think as more important than this is the issue of preserving Islam and the foundations of the revolution. The people of Iran have proved that they can endure thirst and hunger but can never tolerate the defeat of the revolution and blow to its principles. The noble nation of Iran has always resisted against the most intense attacks by the entire world of disbelief against the foundations of its Revolution, all of which have no chance of mentioning here.

Has the valiant nation of Iran not resisted against the numerous crimes of America in the Persian Gulf? They have resisted the US military and intelligence support of Iraq, attack on the oil platforms, ships and boats and shooting down of passenger plane. Has not the Iranian nation stood firm against the war of diplomacy of the East and West against itself and the creation of political games for the international community? Has not the courageous nation of Iran withstood the economic, propaganda and psychological war and atrocious attacks and bombardment by Iraq on cities and residential areas, not mention the repeated chemical bombings of Iran

and Halabchah? Has not the beloved nation of Iran endured the conspiracy of the hypocrites and liberals, the pillage and hoarding of the capitalists and the pretense of the sanctimonious clerics? Have all these events and happenings not aimed at striking a blow at the foundations of the Revolution? If it were not due to the presence of the people, any of these conspiracies could render a blow to the foundations of the system. Thus, we thank God for making the Iranian nation succeed with flying colors in accomplishing its mission and not deserting the scene.

Our beloved nation, which constitutes the true and authentic combatants for the Islamic values has understood well that it is not appropriate to combat with welfare-seeking. Those who imagine that struggle along the path of independence and freedom of the downtrodden and deprived people of the world is compatible with capitalism and welfare-seeking are alien to the alphabet of struggle. While those who think that capitalists and indolent wealthy ones can be awakened through advise, counsel and admonition join the freedom-fighters or assist them are building castle in the air. Struggle vis-à-vis welfare and capital, uprising versus comfort-seeking and love of the world and the hereafter are two subjects that can never be mixed together. Only those who are with us up to the end would experience the pain of indigence, deprivation and weakness. The indigent and underprivileged are the true architects of revolutions. We have to undertake all our efforts to preserve in whatever way possible the fundamental line of defending the downtrodden. The government officials of the revolutionary Iran should become aware that in a bid to destroy the revolution some of those who are ignorant of God would immediately brand as "communist" and eclectic anyone who desires to work for the poor and indigent and tread the path of Islam and the Revolution. One should not be afraid of these accusations. God must be taken into account. One must exert his utmost efforts to please God and help the poor, and not to be afraid of any accusation. America and the world arrogance have agents in all areas working to defeat the Islamic Revolution. In seminaries and universities there are elements whose menace I have repeatedly pointed out. Through their ruse, they are destroying the revolution and Islam from within. Assuming the "true face" of proponents and votaries of religion and guardianship of supreme Muslim jurisprudent, they brand everybody as irreligious. We must seek refuge in God from their evil acts. Similarly, there are others who assail every cleric and religious scholar without exception and introduce the latter's Islam as "American Islam" are also treading a dangerous path God forbid that could, result in the

defeat of the pure Muhammadan Islam. We continue upholding restoration of the rights of deprived people in human societies up to the last drop of blood.

Today, the world is thirsty of the culture of pure Muhammadan Islam. In a grand Islamic organization, the Muslims will destroy the prosperity, sustenance and luster of the Red and White Houses. Today, Khomeini has opened his breast for the bullets of calamity and difficult events and in facing all the cannons and missiles of the enemies. Similarly, all the lovers of martyrdom are counting days for attaining martyrdom. Our war is an ideological war and recognizes no geography or border. In our ideological war we must undertake a general mobilization of the soldiers of Islam in the world. God willing, through its material and moral support for the revolution, the great nation of Iran is compensating the difficulties of the war with the sweetness of the defeat of the enemies of God in the world. Is there anything sweeter than the fact that the great nation of Iran has descended like a thunderbolt over the head of America? Is there anything sweeter than the fact that the Iranian nation has witnessed the fall of the pillars and components of the monarchical system and broken the mirror of life of America in this country? Is there anything sweeter than the fact that our beloved people have desiccated the roots of hypocrisy, nationalism and "eclectism"? God willing, the Iranian nation will taste its eternal sweetness in the hereafter. Not only those who have advanced up to the station of martyrdom, self-sacrifice and presence in the warfront but also those who behind the warfronts, have strengthened the war through their affectionate glances and benevolent prayers that can benefit from the prominent station and their great reward of *mujahidin*¹. Blessed are the *mujahidin*! Blessed are the inheritors of Husayn (a)!

The followers of America should know that martyrdom in the way of God is not a concept to be compared with victory or defeat battle. The station of martyrdom is itself the pinnacle of servitude to God and wayfaring in the world of spirituality. We should not degrade martyrdom to the extent of saying that in exchange for the martyrdom of the children of Islam, Khorramshahr and other cities were liberated. All these definitions of martyrdom are wrong assumptions of nationalists. Our aim is higher than that. The nationalists imagined that our aim is to implement the international Islamic objectives in the world of poverty and hunger. We say, "So long as the supremacy of the East and the West are there, there is struggle and as long as there is struggle, we are here." We do not have any dispute with

¹ *Mujahidin* (sing. *mujahid*): those who struggle in the cause of God for attainment of God's purposes on earth; those who perform *jihad*.

anybody over a city or country. We plan to hoist the banner of “*La ilaha illallah*” [There is no deity but Allah] on top of the lofty summits of glory and grandeur. Thus, O my children in the Army, Revolutionary Guards and *Basij* forces! Never be impressed by relinquishing a position (continuation of the war) and be glad and proud for taking another position (ceasefire). These are trivial matters vis-à-vis your goal just as the whole world is trivial compared to the Hereafter.

The fathers, mothers, spouses and relatives of our martyrs, prisoners of war, those missing in action, and disabled of the war should be aware that nothing has lost from what their children have attained. Your children are beside the Noble Prophet and the pure Imams. Victory and defeat make no difference for them. Today is the day for the guidance of the future generations. Fasten your seatbelt as nothing has changed. Today is a day, which God has willed to be so, and yesterday God had willed it as such, and tomorrow will be the victory day for the army of truth. But whatever is the will of God, we are ready to face it; and we obey the command of God. It is for this reason that we seek martyrdom. It is only for this reason that we do not submit to abjectness and servitude to anybody other than God. Of course, in performing the duty, we are all responsible to do in the best manner, precision and meticulousness all the works and matters related to ourselves. Everybody knows that we have not started the war. We have only defended ourselves for preservation and existence of Islam in the world. It is this oppressed nation of Iran that has been always the subject of attack by the world-devourers. By utilizing all political, military, cultural and economic stratagems, the world arrogance has assaulted us. Now, our Islamic Revolution has shown to the nations the ambushade of the Satan and the trap of the hunter. The world-devourers, capitalists and their agents expect us just watch the growing up of the children and the falling into the pit of the oppressed, and not give warning. However, our primary duty and that of our Islamic Revolution is to voice out in the entire world, “O those who are in slumber! O those who are in laxity! Wake up and take a look around your surroundings, as you have been situated beside that den of the wolf! Rise up as here is not the place for sleeping! America and Soviet Union have been lying in ambush; they will not relent unless you are totally destroyed.” If global mobilization of Muslims was organized would anybody have the courage to show such impudence and wickedness toward the spiritual children of the Messenger of Allah (s)?

Today, one of the great honors of our nation is the deployment of troops vis-à-vis the biggest show of force by American and European warships in

the Persian Gulf. I warn the American and European marines to leave the Persian Gulf before it is too late and before being plunged into the quagmire of death. It will not be always like the time when our passenger plane was shot down by your warship. The children of the revolution will send your warships to the bottom of the Persian Gulf.

I say to states and governments in the region, especially to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait that all of you would be accomplices in the adventures and crimes to be perpetuated by America. So far, we have not taken any action in order that the entire region would not plunge into the verge of fire, blood and instability. However, the stupid acts of Reagan will surely impose unexpected events that bring about dangerous consequences to all. Make certain that in this new page of events in the region, you would be the losers. Do not make yourselves, your countries and Muslim people so much abject and weak before America. If you have no religion, at least you must be free.

Thank God, through the blessings of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, windows of light and hope have been opened in front of Muslims of the world. It will be so when at the spark and lightning of its events, the shower of death and annihilation would fall upon the heads of the arrogant powers.

The important point to which we must pay attention and which must be considered as the basis and foundation of our policy toward foreigners is: Up to when and where would our enemies and the world-devourers tolerate us and up to what extent would they accept our independence and freedom? Certainly, they do not recognize a limit except deviation from all our spiritual and divine identities and values. According to the Holy Quran, they will not relent from killing you and having hostility with you unless they take you out of your religion. Whether we like it or not, the Zionists, America and the Soviet Union will be in pursuit of us so as to blemish our religious identity and our school's nobility. Some spiteful individuals are describing and taunting us as engaging in the policy of hatred and vengeance in the world gatherings. With their inappropriate sympathies and childish protests, they are saying that the Islamic Republic has been the source of hostilities and that it has been looked down by the West, the East and their allies! How good it is that this question be responded thus: "At what particular period that the Third World and Muslim countries, the Iranian nation in particular, have been respectable and creditable for the Westerners and Easterners that today they have become non-credible?!"

Yes, if the Iranian nation would deviate from all Islamic and revolutionary principles and standards and be destroyed by its own hands the house of honor and respect of the Prophet and infallible Imams (a). Then the

world-devourers will not possibly recognize it officially as a weak, poor and uncultured nation. To the same extent that they would be considered gentlemen, we are servants; they are superpowers while we are weak; they are lords and guardians while we are stipendiary and protectors of their interests. It is not an Iranian who has an Iranian-Islamic identity, rather an Iranian identification card would be issued by America and the Soviet Union; an Iranian who would serve as the chariot of American or Soviet policy. Today, all the afflictions and agonies of America and the Soviet Union, the East and the West are due to the fact that the Iranian nation has not only get out of their protectorate, it has also called on others to be rid of the domination of tyrants. If the control and call for elimination of destructive weapons in the world were true and sincere, it would be the wish of all nations. However, this is yet another old trick. This is the same thing that has recently been disclosed in the statements of the heads of American and the Soviet Union politicians. The recent contacts between the heads of the East and the West aimed at harnessing the Third World and, in reality, curbing the influence of the barefooted and the deprived people in the world of the capitalists' immeasurable and unbounded possessions. We must prepare ourselves, in face of the united front of the East and the West, to form the powerful humane-Islamic front with the same name and symbol of Islam and our Revolution, and the mastery and lordship of the deprived and the barefooted will be celebrated. Be certain that the powers of the East and the West are like the manifestation of the empty material world, which are not worthy of mentioning in face of the eternity and infinity of the world of spiritual values.

I do frankly mention that the Islamic Republic of Iran will invest to the utmost in reviving the Islamic identity of Muslims in the entire world. There is no reason why it would not call upon the Muslims of the world to follow the principles of acquiring power in the world, and not to restrain opportunism and acquisitiveness of the holders of power, money and trick. We must plan for the advancement of the objectives and interests of the deprived nation of Iran. We must exert all our efforts in communicating with the people of the world, attending to the problems and concerns of the Muslims, and defending the combatants, hungry and deprived. We must consider it as part of the principles of our foreign policy. I declare that the Islamic Republic of Iran is always the patron and refuge of the free Muslims of the world, and the country of Iran, as a military and invulnerable stronghold, fulfills the needs of the soldiers of Islam and familiarizes them with the religious and training essentials of Islam as well as the principles

and methods of resistance against the systems of *kufr* (disbelief) and *shirk* (polytheism).

Meanwhile, concerning the acceptance of the Resolution, which is indeed a bitter and unpleasant matter for all especially for me, until a few days ago I believed in the same mode of defense and stance that was announced during the war, considering the interest of the system, the country and the revolution in its implementation. However, owing to the events and factors, which I will presently refrain from mentioning with the hope that God make them clear in the future and by taking into account the view of all the high-ranking political and military experts of the country on whose commitment, sympathy and sincerity I rely, I agreed to accept the resolution and ceasefire. At the present moment, I consider acceptance of the resolution as a move in the interest of the revolution and the system. God knows that if it were not because of the motive that all of us as well as our honor and credibility must be sacrificed for the interest of Islam and Muslims, we would never be satisfied with this act while death and martyrdom are more pleasant for me. But what shall be done that all should be sacrificed in pleasing God, the Exalted? Certainly, the heroic and valiant nation of Iran has also been so and will remain so.

At this juncture, I thank and appreciate all my children in the warfronts of fire and blood, for undertaking their efforts and struggle regarding the war from its onset up to this day. I invite the entire nation of Iran to vigilance, fortitude and resistance. In the future, individuals will discuss this issue among people warily and unwarily asking: "What happened to the fruits of bloods, martyrdoms and self-sacrifices?" Most certainly, they are ignorant of the unseen worlds and the philosophy of martyrdom, not knowing that the events of time do not affect the immortality, perpetuity and lofty station of anyone who has gone to *jihad* only for the pleasure of God and offered his life out of sincerity and servitude. In order for us to have total understanding of the value and path of our martyrs, we should traverse a long way and search for it at the passing of time and in the history of the revolution and the future generations. Surely, the blood of the martyrs has ensured the survival of the revolution and Islam. The blood of the martyrs has been offered to the people of the world forever as the lesson of resistance. God knows that the path and rite of martyrdom never ends. It is these nations and future generations that will tread the path of the martyrs; it is this pure dust of the martyrs that will be the shrine of the lovers, mystics and compassionate as well as the hospital of the free people. Blessed are those who passed away

through martyrdom! Blessed are those who lost their lives in this caravan of light! Blessed are those who nourished these gems in their laps!

O God, keep open the notebook book of martyrdom for the lovers, and do not deprive us of approaching them. O God, our country and our nation are still at the beginning of the path of struggle and in need of the torch of martyrdom. Be the Keeper and Guardian of this radiant light. Blessed are you, O nation! Blessed are you, men and women! Blessed are the disabled of war, prisoners of war, those missing in action and the noble families of the martyrs! Woe to me who lag behind and have drank the poisoned chalice of accepting the resolution. I feel ashamed in face of the greatness and self-sacrifice of this great nation. Woe to those who were not in this caravan! Woe to those who passed by this great arena of war, martyrdom and immense divine trial while being silent and indifferent, or (even) critical and disputant!

Yes, yesterday was the day of divine trial which passed, and tomorrow is another trial, which will come to pass. All of us have also the day of the greater reckoning before us. Those who, for whatever reason evaded the performance of this great responsibility in these few years of the resistance and war, and have kept themselves, their lives, wealth, children, and others away from this fire of event for whatever reason should be certain that they have evaded the transaction with God, incurring enormous loss, damage and harm for which they will regret on the Last Day and in the reckoning of God. Again, I would like to say to all the people and officials to separate the account of this kind of individuals from the account of the *mujahidin* in the way of God, and not to allow these artless claimants of today and shortsighted officials of yesterday return to the scenes.

Whether I am in your midst or not, I advise and admonish you not to allow the revolution to fall in undeserving and alien hands. Do not permit the forerunners of martyrdom and blood to be relegated to the dustbin of oblivion in the twists and turns of your daily life. I emphatically urge the beloved nation of Iran to be vigilant and watchful. The acceptance of the resolution on the part of the Islamic Republic of Iran does not mean solution to the issue of war. By the announcement of this decision, the propaganda machinery of the world-devourers against us has slackened, but the landscape of events cannot be precisely and seriously predicted. The enemies have not yet abandoned their acts of wickedness. By various pretexts they would continue with their former interventionist styles. We must be ready and prepared for the next possible aggression of the enemy. As of the moment, our nation should not also consider the issue as a close case. Of course, we

officially announce that our objective is not a new tactic in continuing the war. So many enemies would like to pursue their attacks under these pretexts. Our military forces should never be unwary of the tricks of the enemies. In every circumstance, the defensive capability of the country must be in the best condition. Our people, who have sensed the dimensions of the rancor, cruelty and enmity of the enemies of God and themselves, should comprehend more seriously the menace of the world-devourers' aggression in different ways and forms. As in the past, all the military forces including the Army, Revolutionary Guard Corps and the *Basij* should presently continue their operations in the warfronts for defense against the evil of the world arrogant powers and Iraq. Once we pass by this phase of the event of the revolution in the same particular form and arrangements related to itself, I have some reminders for the period after that, the reconstruction of the country and the overall policy of the system and the revolution, which I will state at the appropriate time. Nevertheless, as for the moment, I am seriously requesting all the spokesmen, authorities and officials of the country as well as the managers of the mass media and the press to keep away from quarrels and quarrel-mongering. They should be cautious not to become tools unconsciously in the hands of radical minds and thoughts. With all the liberality with one another, they should watch for the conditions of the enemies.

During these days, it is possible that because of their emotions and sentiments, many individuals would talk about whys, dos and don'ts. Although this issue is a very nice value for them, now is it not the proper time to deal with it. So many are those who, until yesterday, had taken side against this system and only for the fall of the Islamic Republic system and government that they were ostensibly talking about peace and peace-seeking, are today delivering other deceptive talks with the same aim. The global imperialists sold-out servants wearing the mask of peace had thrust their dagger into the heart of the nation from the back, are today acting as the proponents of war. In a bid to get in vain the blood of the beloved martyrs and to eliminate the dignity and honor of the people, the uncultured nationalists commence their venomous propaganda. God willing, our dear nation will insightfully and warily respond to all the conspiracies.

I repeat again that acceptance of this matter is more lethal for me than poison. Yet, I am pleased with the pleasure of God and for His pleasure I drank this beverage. A point that needs recalling is that the officials of the country have decided on accepting this resolution by relying only on themselves; no person or country has a hand in this affair.

Beloved and noble nation of Iran! I treat each of you as my own child. You know that I love you all; I know you; you know me as well. In the present circumstances, what led to the affair was my duty to God. You know that I had made a pledge to you that I would fight up to the last drop of blood and up to the last breath, but the decision today was only for identifying what is expedient. Only because of the hope for His mercy and pleasure that I trampled on everything I said. If I ever had any respect, I have made a bargain with God. My dear ones, you know that I have tried not to make my comfort prevail over the pleasure of God and your comfort. O God, You know that we do not compromise with *kuf*r (disbelief).

O God, You know that the world arrogance and world-devouring America multiplied the flowers of the garden of Your message. O God, in the world of oppression, tyranny and injustice, You are our only support; we are alone and isolated; we do not know anybody but You. We do not want to know anybody except You. Help us as You are the best Helper. O God, compensate the bitterness of these days with the sweetness of the advent of promised Savior (may our souls be ransomed for the dust of his footsteps) and reaching You.

My revolutionary children, O you who are not ready for a moment to compromise your sacred dignity! You should know that every moment, my lifespan in the sacred path of love of serving you is passing by. I know that you have a hard time; yet, does your old father not also have a hard time? I know that martyrdom is sweeter than honey for you; is it not so for this servant of yours? But you have to persevere as God is with those who persevere. Keep your revolutionary spite and grudge at your bosoms; look at your enemies with wrath and rancor; you should know that victory belongs to you. I emphasize you should not think that I am not informed of the affair of war and those taking charge of it. The officials whom I trust are there. Do not taunt them for this decision that they have taken since such a recommendation has been also hard and unpleasant for them. By His will, may God make us successful in serving and pleasing Him.

At this point, I advise you, the beloved youth of our country—these great divine assets and reserves and these fragrant and newly blooming flowers of the Muslim world—to become aware of the worth and value of the sweet moments of life and to prepare yourselves for the great theoretical and practical struggle in attaining the sublime objectives of the Islamic Revolution.

I advise all the officials and authorities to provide in whatever possible way the means for the moral, religious, scientific and artistic development of

the youth, to accompany them up to the threshold of acquiring the best values and technologies and to keep in them alive the spirit of independence and self-reliance. Let there not be professors and teachers who, by means of contacts and travels to the so-called civilized world, would despise and taunt our youth who have been recently delivered from captivity and colonialism. God forbid, they would create idol out of the advancement and talent of the foreigners and inculcate in the minds of the youth the spirit of following, imitation and begging. Instead of saying, "Where did others go and where are we?" they should be asked to pay attention to their humane identity and to revive the spirit of capability and the path and rite of independence. At the circumstances of war and siege, we have been able to have the artistry, creativities and advancements. God willing, in the better circumstances we will provide enough ground for the growth of talents and researches in all affairs. Scientific struggle for the youth is the revival of the spirit of searching and discovery of realities and truths. Yet, their practical struggle has taken form in the best scenes of life, *jihad* (holy struggle) and martyrdom.

The other point that I would like to say out of my utmost goodwill and fondness to the youth is to take benefit from the presence of the committed clerics and *ulama* of Islam along the path of values and spiritualities. Never and under no circumstance whatsoever think that you are not in need of their guidance and cooperation. Throughout history and under most pressing conditions, the combatant and committed clerics of Islam, with hearts full of hope and feelings filled with love and affection, have always dedicated themselves to teaching, training and guiding the generations. They have always been the vanguards and shields over the people; they have endured calamities and experienced deprivations; they have been imprisoned, detained and exiled. Above all, they have been the target of sarcasms and calumnies; at the circumstances when most of the intellectuals had become dejected and hopeless in the struggle against the *taghut* (evil powers), they have revived the spirit of hope and vitality on the people and defended the true prestige and reputation of the people. Now they have also taken position in every stronghold of the preferred lines compared to the other stances. They are along with the people; in every sorrowful and tragic event, they have offered great martyrs. I am not aware of any country and revolution except the revolution of the beginning of the mission, the mission and lives of the infallible Imams of Guidance (a) and the Islamic Revolution of Iran in which the leaders of the revolution were so much subjected to attacks and hatreds. This is because of the sincerity and trustworthiness that are

epitomized in the existence of the committed *ulama* of Islam. Assuming responsibility in a country under siege with economic, political and military problems is not an easy task. Of course, the committed clerics of our country should prepare themselves for more sacrifices. In times of need and urgency, they should make use of their prestige and reputation in preserving the prestige of Islam and serving the deprived and the barefooted. It is amply worthy of gratefulness and appreciation that the brave and valiant nation of Iran knows the value of their true servants, and sums up the philosophy of their love and dedication to this sacred institution in a single word. The committed *ulama* and clerics of Islam have never and will never betray the Islamic ideal, authenticity, belief and objective of the nation. Of course, it is necessary to point out that in all writings and statements whenever I have mentioned "the clergy" and appreciated them, I mean the pure, committed and combatant *ulama*, as in every stratum there are those who are unpurified and not committed. The blow of the affiliated clerics exceeds that of any other unpurified individual. This group of clerics has always been the subject of curse and damnation of God, the Messenger and the people; the affiliated, sanctimonious and religion-selling clerics have been rendering the main blows to this revolution. Our committed clerics have always detested and shunned these uncultured elements. I frankly mention that if there were nationalists, they would easily extend their hand of abjectness and compromise toward the enemies in problems, difficulties and vicissitudes. In order to deliver themselves from the daily political pressures, they would break at once all the cups of fortitude and resistance and trample on all their claimed national and patriotic covenants and commitments. One should not imagine that we do not know how to compromise with the world-devourers. Yet, alas that the servants of Islam would betray their own nation! Of course, we are certain that also under the same circumstances, those who have old grudge with the noble clerics and cannot hide their own beliefs and envies, would curse the clerics. At any rate, that which is not true in the destiny of the clergy is compromise and surrender to disbelief and polytheism. Even if they cut us into pieces and scatter our bones, even if they hang us, even if they burn us alive in the flames of fire, even if they imprison our spouses and children and plunder our possessions before our eyes, we will never sign the peace pact of disbelief and polytheism.

God willing, the *ulama* and clerics are familiar with all the dimensions and aspects of their responsibility, but for the sake of reminding and emphasis, I do say that today, many of the youth and intellectuals in the free environment of our Islamic country feel that they can express their own ideas

on different Islamic issues and concerns. With a smiling face and open arms, their comments must be listened. If they are going astray, through words full of love and amity you should show the straight path of Islam to them. You should bear in mind that their spiritual and mystical emotions and feelings cannot be overlooked, nor their writings be immediately branded as *iltiqat* (eclectic) and deviant, nor all together subjected to doubt and suspicion. Undoubtedly, the hearts of those who are dealing with an issue like that today are beating for Islam and the guidance of the Muslims. Otherwise, they have no motive behind putting themselves in trouble for designing this issue. They believe that the positions of Islam on various cases are as what they are thinking. Instead of quarreling and sidetracking them, you should fatherly and kindly deal with them. If they do not accept, do not be discouraged. Otherwise, God forbid, they will be snared by the liberals, nationalists or the leftists and hypocrites; the sin of this is not less than that of being “eclectic”. We can be hopeful for the future of the country and the future-builders once we give them value in the different issues, forgive their minor lapses and have knowledge of all the means and principles that will lead to their proper training and education. The culture in the universities and non-seminary centers is in such a manner that it is more used to experiencing and feeling of realities than the theoretical and philosophical culture. To blend these two cultures and filling the gaps, the seminary and the university must be fused so that the ground for the spread and expansion of the teachings of Islam be widened.

The other point is that I consider their practical and ascetic value as the factor behind most of the successes of the clerics and their influence in the Islamic society. Today also, this value, apart from not to be relegated to the dustbin of oblivion, should be dealt with more as in the past. There is nothing more loathsome than the worldliness of the clergy. There is no means of polluting the clergy worse than worldliness. So many ignorant friends or clever foes, out of their inappropriate sympathies, desired to mislead the ascetic-inclination path of the clergy. There is also a group that spitefully or unconsciously accuses the clergy of siding with capitalism and capitalists. Under these sensitive and destiny-making circumstances in which the clergy is at the helms of affairs of the country and the menace of the others’ exploitation of the station of the clergy is conceivable, one should be extra careful of his own actions. There are so many individuals in political organizations, associations, establishments and the like—having a hundred percent Islamic appearance—who wanted to undermine their (clergy’s) credibility and reputation. Apart from guaranteeing their own interests, they

even wanted to make the clergy confront one another. Of course, the thing from which the clerics should never deviate and not remove from the scene due to the propaganda of others is the defense of the deprived and the barefooted people. It is because anyone who would deviate from it has deviated from the social justice of Islam. Under whatever circumstances, we should consider ourselves as the ones shouldering this gargantuan responsibility. Indeed, once we commit lapses in this regard, we have committed treachery to Islam and the Muslims.

In closing, in the Sacred Presence of God Who have granted boundless favors to this nation, I extend my gratitude and appreciation. We humbly request before the Sacred Presence of the Savior (may our souls be his ransom) to assist and guide us in our way and objective. I beseech God, the Exalted, to grant fortitude and reward to the families of martyrs as well as health to the wounded and disabled of the war; and make the prisoners of war and those missing in action return to their own country. O God, we ask You to bestow on us that which is for the interest of Islam and the Muslims. *"Verily, You are near and hearer (of prayers)."* May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1408 AH
Tir 29, 1367 AHS

Statements

Time/Date: Morning, July 22, 1988 [Tir 31, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Emphasis on the need for vigilance of the combatants and extensive presence in the warfronts

Addressee: Muhsin Ridai (Commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The political issues related to the war are the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry but the issues on the warfronts should be shouldered by the military, disciplinary and popular forces under the supervision of the Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

As what we said before, we are sincerely talking with our people. We are thinking of a permanent peace within the framework of the Resolution 598, and this is in no way a just tactic, but the fighters among the army of Islam should prepare themselves so that they could give an appropriate reply to the enemy attacks.

O my revolutionary children! Bear in mind that today is the day of extensive presence in the warfronts. Do not think that the war has ended already. Arm yourselves with the weapon of faith and *jihad* (Holy strive and struggle). Mercy is not permitted for the treacherous enemy. All of their words are trick. We wanted to prove to the world that Saddam does not believe in international organizations. Until the acceptance of the resolution by Iraq, we will give reply to the enemies of Islam in the warfronts.

Decree

Date: July 24, 1988 [Mordad 2, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 9, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Establishment of Special Court on War Crimes

Addressee: Ali Razini (Head of the Judicial Organization of the Armed Forces)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Ali Razini, Head of the Judicial Organization of the Armed Forces,

You are hereby responsible:

1. To establish the Special Court on War Crimes in all war zones, and to deal with the crimes of the offenders based on the religious standards and without observing rigid regulations.

2. Any act substantiated by the Court to, have led or may lead to the defeat of the front of Islam or to the loss of lives is subject to execution. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 2, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: July 25, 1988 [Mordad 3, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Hashim Wafai

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1408 AH

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Murawwij al-Ahkam and Sayyid al-Alam Sayyid Hashim Wafai—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to collect the religious funds and spend such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in his sustenance, he is also permitted to grant one-third of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat*, to spend one-third of the share of the Imam (a) on propagating the sacred religion, and to remit the other holy divine law of two-third of the two shares to this humble servant to be spent on promotion of Islam. May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: July 26, 1988 [Mordad 4, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to the congratulatory message for the auspicious *Id al-Qurban*

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the auspicious occasion of *Id al-Adha* (feast of sacrifice) is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I congratulate Your Excellency and the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the wellbeing and dignity of the Muslims in the world. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah 11, 1408 AH

Acknowledgment

Date: July 28, 1988 [Mordad 6, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 13, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Acknowledgment of the Air Force and Aviation pilots

Addressees: Setari (Commander of the Air Force); Ansari (Commander of the Aviation); brave pilots of the Air Force and Aviation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Brigadier General Setari, the Honorable Commander of the Air Force of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Brigadier General Ansari, Commander of the Aviation of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran; the beloved and heroic pilots of the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the brave and courageous pilots of the Aviation:

I am grateful for the tiresome efforts of you and all the committed and concerned individuals who have a role, one way or another, in preparations of the flights. During the imposed war, especially in the sensitive circumstances of today, you have exerted and will exert all your efforts in defense along with the combatants in the scenes of conflict and our Islamic country.

Your bravery has delighted the hearts of those who love their country and believe in Islam. At the difficult scenes of combat you taught lesson to the enemies of our beloved country not to imagine again for committing aggression against our country and our revitalizing school of our compatriots.

I shake the hand of each of you and pray for you from core of my heart. May God help and protect you. With hope for victory of the combatants of Islam over global *kufir* (disbelief). May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 6, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: August 7, 1988 [Mordad 16, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory telegram for the new Islamic lunar *hijri* year

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the new Islamic lunar *hijri* year is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that by getting inspiration from the progressive laws of Islam, in this New Year the Muslim nations could attain their true unity, and cut the evil and curb the influence of the enemies of Islam in their Islamic lands, exploiting their material and spiritual resources. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 23, 1408 AH

Message

Date: August 7, 1988 [Mordad 16, 1367 AHS / Dhul-Hijjah 23, 1408 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory telegram for the new Islamic lunar *hijri* year

Addressee: Rashid ibn Said Al Maktum (Deputy Head of State and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dhul-Hijjah al-Haram 23, 1408 AH

His Excellency Mr. Rashid ibn Said Al Maktum, Deputy Head of State and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates:

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the new Islamic lunar *hijri* year is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that in this New Year all the Muslims could regain their lost glory under the auspices of the lofty teachings of Islam and virtually cut the hands of the enemies from the Muslim countries. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: August 14, 1988 [Mordad 23, 1367 AHS / Muharram 1, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expression of gratitude for the dispatched gift

Addressee: Shamsi Nurani

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

To His Holiness the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini—may my soul be his ransom,

May peace be upon you!

As I do not want to take your time at these sensitive circumstances, I do hereby begin my remarks without any introduction.

I am the mother of a martyr whose name is Sayyid Ali-Asghar Kiya from among the great army of the beloved martyrs of Islam. At the early part of my conjugal life, I lost my husband in an accident. He was among the *Sadat* (descendants of the Prophet). I continued the remaining part of my life with four children as memory of the deceased. During the imposed war I offered one of them to Islam and to Your Eminence, and now am ready to perform my duty.

At the outset, your message that was full of pain and affliction on acceptance of the UN Resolution 598 reposed on the body and soul of the Iranian nation and the downtrodden of the world, especially the families of martyrs. Be certain that as you said, they drank it like a poisoned chalice but to endure whatever is for the pleasure of God and the interest of the beloved Islam is pleasant.

The sworn enemies of Islam have firmly decided to destroy and annihilate the sacred religion of Islam and they bequeathed it from their corrupt forefathers and predecessors. Yet, what a false imagination! O God, be the Witness that by emulating our forerunners such as Ibrahim, Muhammad (peace be upon him), Ali (*a*), Zahra (*a*), and their infallible progeny (may God's salutations be upon them all), and by following the eminent religious reference authority and shelter of the revolution, we have also firmly decided to resist against their unblessed objectives up to the last

man and the last breath. The march rally on the day of *Id al-Ghadir*¹ proved that the noble nation of Iran will die but do not endure ignominy, abjectness and meanness in front of the enemies of Islam. With this turn-out, they showed that they always listen to the order of their divine leader and that they consider this obedience as their religious duty on the basis of the noble verse, “*Obey Allah and obey the Messenger*”.

Let it not be that the circumstances of the day would have dirtied your divine skirt and afflicted your blessed heart. We assure you that we will wash your skirt and heart with the tears of our eyes and we will create river out of our bloods and dam out of our bodies in confronting the enemies of Islam in which they will drown and be confined to the ground.

I do hereby offer a paltry gift, which I saved and had thought and imagined tens of ways of spending it for my and my children's welfare, with the intention of meeting the needs in the warfronts and I have also vowed to offer my six months salary. Thus, I do hereby offer the abovementioned gift (one gold bracelet) along with the amount of thirty-thousand rials (one month salary), and I will also offer the rest, God willing.

In closing, I hope for your benevolent prayer and humbly ask you to respond to this letter with your blessed handwriting (though it may be short). I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, for Your Eminence's long life with sound health together with all the downtrodden, Muslims and Shiah.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Hajjah Shamsi Nurani, one of the students of the religious sciences and service staff of Imam Khomeini Relief Committee, and mother of Martyr Sayyid Ali-Asghar Kiya

In His Most Exalted Name

My dear daughter, Mrs. Hajjah Shamsi Nurani:

I read your emotional letter. I do not know how to appreciate you and persons like you. Before all these love and affection, I cannot do anything except gratitude and prayer.

I am hereby sending your bracelet as my gift for you. I myself will send to the warfront the amount as part of the six months vow. Convey my warm greetings to your dear children—these beloveds of the noble nation of Iran. May God assist and protect you.

¹ *Id al-Ghadir*: the feast marking the events of the Prophet's appointment of Imam Ali as his successor at a gathering near the pool of Khumm during his return to Medina from Mecca, after having performed the last pilgrimage in his life.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mordad 23, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: August 25, 1988 [Shahrivar 3, 1367 AHS / Muharram 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Extent of authorities of the Interior Ministry over the Law Enforcement

Addressee: Sayyid Ali-Akbar Muhtashami

[To His Holiness Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

With greetings and salutations, as you know, the disciplinary forces (including revolutionary committee, Gendarmerie and the police), Law enforcement, considering the solid steps in regard with commandeering and management, have a relatively good integration and power. The present security and order in the cities and their suburbs are owed to them. As confirmed by the authorities on war, the disciplinary forces fought with a strong morale in the warfront to the end without withdrawing. It is natural that the maintenance of the spirit of Islamic resistance of these beloveds is, firstly, dependent on their training and organization, and secondly, it is because of giving prerogatives that the Eminent Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces has conferred the Ministry of Interior in relation to the disciplinary forces, helping me to promptly and timely encouraging and warning the forces. Thus, what caused trouble is this: Pursuant to the decree on the designation of our brother, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Hashimi Rafsanjani, as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the creation of the Headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces with Mr. Prime Minister as the Chairman, a change has taken place in the military organization of the country and this transformation, in view of the ceasefire, is possibly in the best conditions but these are done simultaneous with the changes in the system of the disciplinary forces, and now the cultural officials have determined the intelligence and investigation securities; without informing me, they want to decide on the merging and destiny of the disciplinary forces while the responsibility on political, security and order issues of the country as well as the disciplinary forces is with the Ministry of Interior. (Of course, since a few months ago, the Ministry of Interior has assigned a group of experts to formulate an appropriate organizational structure of the disciplinary forces). It seems that the abovementioned acts led to the weakening and collapse of the disciplinary forces, and as the one responsible for the security of the country, I would like to inform your honor

that [such acts] are not expedient. It is hoped that we could benefit from the guidance of the Supreme Leader.

Meanwhile, I would like to ask the honorable Imam: Are the prerogatives conferred by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces to the ministers of the country, which I am included, still binding and in force, or not? May God perpetuate the existence of the Eminent Leader of the Islamic Revolution for us.

Your humble son,

Sayyid Ali-Akbar Muhtashami
Minister of Interior]

In His Most Exalted Name

In the framework of the Constitution, all the issues related to the Islamic Revolutionary Committee, Gendarmerie and the Police are with the Interior Ministry, but in the fields of the sacred defense, the prerogative is with the designated Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. In cases of doubt, the designated Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Minister of Interior will coordinate.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 3, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: August 28, 1988 [Shahrivar 6, 1367 AHS / Muharram 15, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Taqi Musawi Darchei

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Taqi Musawi Darchei—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in his expenditure, he is also permitted to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat*, to spend one-third of the share of the Imam (*a*) in propagating the sacred religion of Islam and to remit the remainder to this humble servant.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 15, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: August 29, 1988 [Shahrivar 7, 1367 AHS / Muharram 16, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Majid Ansari Kermani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Muharram al-Haram 16, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Abdul-Majid Ansari Kermani—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it in propagating the sacred religion of Islam. He is similarly permitted to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the surplus of the two shares to this humble servant.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: August 29, 1988 [Shahrivar 7, 1367 AHS / Muharram 16, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Baqir Hakim

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

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon the noblest of the prophets and the chief of the messengers, Muhammad and his righteous, pure and holy Household.”

(Here is the text of the permission written in Arabic.)

Muhsin Tabatabai Hakim
Dhul-Qadah 11, 1383 AH]

In His Most Exalted Name

He is permitted in all the items authorized by the late Ayatullah Hakim. May he be successful and triumphant by the will of God, the most Exalted.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 16, 1409 AH

Speech

Date: August 30, 1988 [Shahrivar 8, 1367 AHS / Muharram 16, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for people's participation in reconstruction efforts

Occasion: Government Week

Audience: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President); Mir-Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister); members of the cabinet

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Need for maintenance of readiness in facing the enemy

At the outset, I would like to thank the cabinet and the Iranian nation who performed the jobs efficiently and who preserved the dignity of Islam. In spite of the intense pressure on them during the days of the war, they managed to remove the thorns along the path. Today, I would like to touch on some issues. My statement is that: "We should not consider the war having come to its end" and that: "We are still engaged in war." To elaborate, our enemies—whether the major enemies such as America and the Soviet Union or their stooges such as Saddam and the like—are always preoccupied with plotting, since they are opposed to Islam and since they observed that Islam developed into a great power in the world against them. We should not be negligent of this issue. The people should be kept informed as well. So should the armed forces. The people should swarm the warfront. They should follow up this issue and not show laxity. Our enemy is one that acts on the basis of scheme.

Now, it is possible that they would thus spread in Iran: "Well, the issue was no more," and thus, they would make the people sluggish; since the issue has not yet come to an end, they are always looking for ways to perform their jobs even if through the nations or the governments. Since they cannot do it in Iran, as neither the nation nor the government are with them, they are currently pursuing other ways. We should be vigilant; people should flock into the warfront. We should consider ourselves in a state of war. As you see, they do not care for any of the affairs; today, they are saying, "War!" Tomorrow, they would say, "Peace!" and the day after tomorrow they would start the war. In view of this, our armed forces and our nation should be ready for this affair.

Need for people's participation in reconstruction and for government supervision

This is one issue; the other issue is that of reconstruction, which is of paramount importance. If the nation wanted to work alone for reconstruction, corruption would emerge. If the government desires to execute it independently, it has no power. It should be accompanied the people; although it has power, it has to bring them to the scene in this important affair. Of course, people's participation should be under the supervision of the government. On the question of which is priority and which is the least priority, this will finally be discussed. Based on what is appropriate, the Expediency Council, comprising of the officials of the country and the Prime Minister should identify, should identify what is expedient, which is the first and which is the next, and how is its condition. The people themselves should get involved, but not in an independent manner. The government should provide opportunity to the people to get involved in the tasks while the people should also give chance to the government to perform this important task in a gradual and well-planned manner. There are possibly hands at work that want to create disturbance in reconstruction and to create corruption. You should take care of this. It is the Expediency Council that should supervise over the affairs; it should give the chance to people to participate. In this the post-war period, people should be free in commercial activities but under the supervision of the government. They should not start again those items that they used to bring in from abroad and those corrupting stuffs that they used to bring in. The government should allow the people to bring item from abroad, to engage in commerce but this should be supervised by government so that corruption would not creep in. This is also an important subject, and one should pay serious attention to it.

There is also an issue which is wholly related to the fact we should be vigilant on these affairs; we should not imagine that all the jobs could be set right quickly. Now, it is possible that a certain group would go in the midst of the people persons who oppose us as they do; they are many—now they are also around: “Well, the war was no more; O Allah, end it soon!” The subject is not a subject that can immediately be resolved; it is a subject that they dealt with for eight years; they destroyed our cities; we have to follow it up at least to the same extent that they dealt with it and God willing, some years from now we could be able to do it. The people should not sit and listen to the words of persons saying, “It should be done immediately; everything should be set right immediately.” No, they cannot do it; it is a problem that

cannot be solved soon. This is also an affair for which they should pay close attention as well as in readiness in war.

I hope that God would confirm all of you; just as He has confirmed us so far; that we have so far progressed through the divine favors. The essential thing is trust in God, the Blessed and Exalted. Whatever has been accomplished so far has been done with His help. From now on up to the end, it is through His hand. We also are bound to do whatever tasks He ordains. You should also pay attention to the fact that you should increase your trust and your attention to God. We are nothing, we are nobody. That which exists is, He. The one who acts is, He. My duty is to pray. I pray for all of you. I pray to God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant success, health and wellbeing to all of you and the Iranian nation. May God annihilate the enemies of Islam.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Decree

Date: September 4, 1988 [Shahrivar 13, 1367 AHS / Muharram 22, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Abrogation of governmental right of punishments (below the full amount prescribed by law) delegated to the executive branch of government

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ali Khamenei—may his graces last:

My greetings and benevolent prayer for the honorable members of the Expediency Council. At this time when, thank God, the issue of war has reached to this point, I do hereby abrogate the governmental right of punishments below the full amount prescribed by law [*tazirat*].

The extend of *tazirat*, be it religious or governmental, is the right of the fully competent jurists; however, in a bid to prevent corruption, it is necessary for the Expediency Council to identify what is expedient in execution and non-execution, and they should act in accordance with the identification of what is expedient. May you be successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 13, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: September 5, 1988 [Shahrivar 14, 1367 AHS / Muharram 23, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Arena of encounter between the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam and the American Islam

Occasion: Martyrdom of Mr. Sayyid Arif Husayn Husayni

Addressees: Muslim nation of Pakistan; the *ulama* of Islam

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To the distinguished *ulama*, Hujjat al-Islams and the honorable nation of Pakistan:

The receipt of your messages and telegrams of congratulations and condolences in relation to the martyrdom of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Arif Husayn Husayni—this devoted aide of Islam, defender of the deprived and the downtrodden and righteous son of the Doyen of the Martyrs, Hadrat Abi Abdillah al-Husayn (a)—is acknowledged. Although this great event wounded the hearts of the Muslims, especially the committed clerics of Islam, it is an issue, which was not far from our expectation and that of the oppressed nations of the world, particularly the honorable nation of Pakistan, which has experienced the bitter taste of colonialism and which has attained its independence through resistance, *jihad* (holy struggle) and martyrdom.

The afflicted ones of the Muslim societies, those who have made blood compact with the deprived and the barefooted, should pay attention to the fact that they are the beginning of the path of resistance, and in order to overcome the hurdles of colonialism and exploitation as well as the attainment of the pure Muhammadan Islam, a long way is ahead of them. As an instance, Allamah Arif Husayn Husayni has not been a glad tidings that is higher than the fact that he would witness the bloody ascension of “*Return unto thy Lord*”¹ from the altar of worship to God, drink the cup of union with the Friend (God) through the nectar of martyrdom, and witness the arrival of thousands of thirsty for justice at the fountain of light. The greatest distinction of the committed clergy and *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars) of Islam with the pseudo-clergy is the very fact that the combatant *ulama* of Islam have been always the target of the fatal bullets of the world-

¹ Surah al-Fajr 89:28: “Return unto thy Lord, content in His good pleasure!”

devourers and the initial bullets of the event have pointed to their hearts. Yet, under the protective shelter of the gold-worshipping materialists, the pseudo-clergy have always been the promoters of falsehood or the eulogists and confirmers of their oppression.

So far, I have not seen a court-mullah or a Wahhabi cleric who might have stood against oppression, *shirk* (polytheism) and *kufir* (disbelief), particularly against the aggressor Soviet Union and the world-devouring America. In the same manner, I have not seen a single upright cleric who loves to serve God and His creatures to have peace of mind for just a moment without having extended help to the barefooted on earth and not to have resisted against polytheism and disbelief even at the cost of his life. Arif Husayni was like that. And the Muslim nations definitely have realized the reason behind this incident, why in Iran “Mutahharis”, “Beheshtis”, martyrs of the altar, and other dear clerics, and in Iraq “Sadrs” and “Hakims”, and in Lebanon “Raghibharbs” and “Kurims”, and in Pakistan “Arif-Husaynis”, and in all countries the clerics who are well-acquainted with the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam are the subject of conspiracy and assassination.

The noble Muslim nation of Pakistan, who has been indeed a revolutionary nation devoted to Islamic values with a long warm revolutionary, religious and cultural relationship with us, must preserve the thought of the martyred figure and not allow the army of Satan to prevent the growth of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam. Today, since it is still incapable of directly confronting the Muslim world, the Eastern and Western arrogance has experimented the way of intimidation and elimination of religious and political figures on one hand, and infusing and spreading the culture of the American Islam on the other. How I wish that all the aggressions of the world-devourers were as evident and face to face as the Soviet aggression against the Muslim and hero-nurturing country of Afghanistan in that the Muslims could have tarnished the false magnificence and might of the usurpers. However, the path of resistance with the American Islam has its own peculiar intricacy. All its angles should be cleared for Muslims. It is unfortunate, nevertheless, for most of the Muslim nations, the boundary between the American Islam and the pure Muhammadan Islam, and between the Islam of the barefooted and the deprived and the Islam of the sanctimonious reactionaries, God-ignorant capitalists and indolent affluent is not yet totally distinguished. Making clear this truth—which is not possible in a school and belief-system of two contradictory and opposite thoughts—is among the very important political obligations. If this task was only undertaken by the religious seminaries, most probably our beloved Sayyid,

Arif Husayni, was still with us. It is the duty of all the *ulama* to save the dear Islam from the hands of the East and the West by means of making clear these two ideas. Of course, the blood of these beloved martyrs will uproot all the dirt and straws by means of exalting the spiritual values and throw to the sea all the false propagators. We should not however be negligent of the fact that today is the day of red alert for all the enemies of Islam, the day of awakening for all the world-devourers. On that day when the Eastern and Western colonialism had been lulling the Muslims to sleep and mounting on the horse of desire, it was taking about the great and powerful menace in the name of Islam and the Quran. Yet, today when the Soviet Union and America have received hundreds of political, military and cultural blows subsequent to the sacred Islamic Revolution of Iran, and the bell of the danger posed by Islam toward their vital interests have rung in all parts of the world, all the tricks and ruses of the Eastern and Western arrogance must be carefully recognized and thwarted.

The Muslim nation should open with the superpowers' enmity towards them and foil their deceptions. Unless they witness, feel and believe its opposite. We have clung on the rope of the guardianship of God, the Prophet and the Infallible Imams (a). We must sternly abhor and keep aloof from any thing except their gratification.

For the martyrdom of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Arif Husayn Husayni, I do extend my congratulations and condolences to the committed clerics of Islam, the respectable family of the martyr and the Muslim nation of Pakistan. I give assurance to all my Muslim brothers and sisters in that country that the Islamic Iran is beside you and as a trustworthy friend and formidable stronghold, it will defend your Islamic nobility, independence, dignity and credibility.

I have lost a beloved son. May God grant us the opportunity to endure all afflictions and give us the capability to continue ever more traversing the luminous path of martyrs. May God help Muslims to recoil the tyrants conspiracies and deceit on them, making and the grand nation of Islam firm along the path of *jihad* and martyrdom. May peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 23, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: September 6, 1988 [Shahrivar 15, 1367 AHS / Muharram 24, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Disagreement with the resignation of the Prime Minister

Addressee: Mir-Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Mr. Musawi, the Honorable Prime Minister:

Your resignation letter is surprising.

Supposedly, if ever you decided on it, at least you must have informed me or the high-ranking officials of the system.

At a time when the people of the Party of Allah are bringing their children to the slaughterhouse for assisting Islam, is it the time for grievance and resignation? Continue your service at the stronghold of premiership and within the framework of Islam and the Constitution.¹ In case some of the ministers are not approved, it happens as in the past. It is the legal right of the Majlis to vote for the minister it likes.

From then on, punishments below the full amount prescribed by law is the prerogative of the Expediency Council; if it deems it expedient, it will delegate to the government (executive branch) to the extent it likes.

We should all seek refuge in God, and at the times of anger we should not do acts that the enemies would take advantage of.

¹ Mr. Mir-Husayn Musawi—who was one of the trustworthy (pubic) servants and liked and supported by Imam Khomeini during his tenure of office as the Prime Minister at the most sensitive and difficult phases of the Iranian history after the victory of the Islamic Revolution—expressed the discontinuance of his resignation through a letter after receiving the view of Imam Khomeini. The text of his letter is as follows:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To His Holiness Supreme Leader, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure:

With greetings and salutations, I heard Your Eminence's fatherly warning and message. I do consider dignity and expediency in following the Supreme Leader. I am hereby withdrawing my resignation, which I had tendered as motivated by sympathy for Islam, the Revolution and the interest of the country. I will personally convey the issues and cases seeking remedy for which I do consider as in accord with the interest of the country. At any rate, as a disciple and follower, I have been and am obedient to the Leader's command.

Mir-Husayn Musawi
Prime Minister

Our people have so much seen such problems in the course of the Revolution; these moves will never have any effect on the genuine and fundamental lines of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

As I am fond of you, we will talk about the issues at our meeting, God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 15, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: September 8, 1988 [Shahrivar 17, 1367 AHS / Muharram 26, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission of compiling and collecting the works of Imam Khomeini

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

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

My dear father and honorable guide:

After greetings, [I would like to draw your kind attention to the following points]:

1. One of the major issues that after you are gone, may God forbid, will cause disagreement between the children of the Revolution and various individuals and researchers, is their different political and non-political approach toward a single text, more spread than this is their different understanding concerning your published texts and what reaches us as political documents and the like from radio and films, and handwritten texts that are not published and are available to us. You know best that for various reasons, sometimes you yourself personally and sometimes I, or other concerned persons and even ordinary persons have suggested deletion of parts or changes in phrases or omission of words and the like in declarations which sometimes you reject and sometimes you accept. Now, if some day a decision is to be made, and it shall be made, that the texts of speeches, announcements, and others that are issued in your voice and handwriting, be published, certainly the handwritten texts or the original voice texts and films will be set up as the inviolable documents, and deletions or additions as mentioned above, no matter how important, are either shelved or will be subservient to the handwriting or the original text of the speech. This problem needs considerable attention.

2. Another issue which requires your attention is that the works published on your accounts in the newspapers, radio and television and even in bulletins are not uniform. Sometimes a newspaper or magazine, for various reasons, whether political or non-political, intentionally or unintentionally, have quoted a sentence from an announcement or speech by you which has not been quoted in other sources; in such a case which is to be regarded as genuine and original, the text with the sentence or phrase or the

text not bearing it? Surely this doubt arises when your voice or handwriting is not available, and this often happens because many a time I or some other friends write down your words and after your approval we give them to the press or elsewhere. In that case who is to decide whether the sentence is yours or not? Certainly the changing, omission or addition of one word may change the meaning of the whole sentence.

3. Will you kindly decide what is to be done with your unpublished letters, messages, films, tapes, and poems which are kept on file in the archives?

4. It is your files in the SAVAK (now with the Ministry of Information), which I keep a copy of them. I must inform you that your records in SAVAK in Tehran alone amount to 48 volumes each about 500 pages. The publication of these will surely reveal many facts and naturally, these are among the valuable documents of the Islamic Revolution.

5. Books and literary works that are purely academic or ethical are of the most valuable books that can be used as basic resource for a revolution in the theological, ethical, philosophical, mystical, and methodological foundations.

6. Utilization, research, analysis, and publication of documents, letters and bulletins that have been sent in your own name or to your office before or after the revolution and are at present available in the Office.

A couple samples of instances that prompted the writing of this letter are enclosed for review.

May God be your Friend and protector.

Your son,

Ahmad Khomeini]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My dear son Ahmad, may God keep and help him:

As I regard you an authority on political and social affairs and you have been and still are by my side in all the ups and downs, and manage my political and social concerns with veracity and sagacity, I therefore appoint you to arrange and edit all materials relating to me, for which, discrepancies and errors may have been made in the mass media. I implore Almighty God, who is Present and Observant, to grant you success. I hope that with care in good time you will accomplish the task.

May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Thursday
Shahrivar 17, 1367 AHS
Muharram al-Haram 26, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: September 9, 1988 [Shahrivar 18, 1367 AHS / Muharram 27, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ali Miqdadi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Excellency Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Ali Miqdadi—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God, and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend the blessed share of the Imam (a) on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third. He is similarly permitted to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Muharram al-Haram 26, 1409 AH

Reply to Queries

Date: September 10, 1988 [Shahrivar 19, 1367 AHS / Muharram 28, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Playing chess, and selling and buying of musical instruments

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

To the Respectable *Marja*,¹ His Holiness Imam Khomeini—may his blessings last:

1. Since the certain instruments for game and amusements have religiously permitted utilities such as singing songs, is there any problem to buy and sell them?]

In His Most Exalted Name

There is no problem to buy and sell “common” instruments with the intention of making use of its religiously permitted benefits.

[2. If chess is not used as a gambling instrument but as a mental game, what is the ruling on playing it?]

In His Most Exalted Name

As in the above case, if no gambling is involved, there is no problem.

¹ *Marja* or *Marja at-Taqlid*: the top religious authorities who are fully-competent to guide and advise the community on religious matters and practice.

Letter

Date: September 11, 1988 [Shahrivar 20, 1367 AHS / Muharram 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Confirmation of Mr. Muhtashami

Addressee: Majid Ansari Kermani (deputy in the Islamic Consultative Assembly)

[In His Most Exalted Name

To His Holiness Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

With greetings and best wishes, Your Eminence is kindly notified that one of the honorable deputies in the Islamic Consultative Assembly (may God Almighty assist him), has mentioned a subject in opposition to Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Muhtashami, the Minister of Interior. He has quoted your letter to the cabinet in which you have observed that every minister should act within the bounds of his authorities. The deputy argues that the letter is addressed to Mr. Muhtashami. Now, the question has arisen for the honorable deputies including me what our duties are. The command is with you.

Majid Ansari Kermani
Deputy from Kerman
Shahrivar 20, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Muhtashami (may God Almighty assist him) is among my old friends. He is a religious, devoted and combatant person with political acumen and has always been among the good servants of Islam and Iran.

Mr. Muhtashami is not what I meant in my letter to the cabinet. God willing, the gentlemen should be cautious in attributing things to other; they should observe religious considerations.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 20, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: September 12, 1988 [Shahrivar 21, 1367 AHS / Muharram 30, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Muhri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Muhammad Muhri—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in the expenditures, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion and to give half of the share of the noble *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit what is left from the two shares to this humble servant for promotion of Islam (may God Almighty protect it from incident).

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Muharram al-Haram 30, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: September 12, 1988 [Shahrivar 21, 1367 AHS / Muharram 30, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mahdi Mahdawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Muharram al-Haram 30, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Mahdi Mahdawi—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect them and spend the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in his expenditures, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third to this humble servant. He is also permitted to collect and give half of it to the noble *Sadat* (descendents of holy prophet; may God multiply their blessed generations) and to remit the other half. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: September 17, 1988 [Shahrivar 26, 1367 AHS / Safar 5, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation of the braveries of the Revolutionary Guards Corps and announcing the duty of the Revolutionary Guards Commanders at the time of peace

Addressees: Commanders and officials of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My dear children, the honorable commanders and officials of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps,

At the end of nearly eight years of the sacred defense that resulted in the independence and territorial integrity of the country and the defeat of the expansionist designs of the enemies of our Islamic Revolution, I do not know how to express my feelings and fondness in you, anonymous soldiers and valiant commanders, in whose bosom of combat scene the storm of anger of this nation of the *Hizb Allah* (Party of Allah) is gushing forth. It would be beneath the dignity of impolite to talk about worldly compensation and reward before monotheists and spiritual wayfarers. With all its deceptions, allurements and credits, the world is much more insignificant than the reward and promotion to be granted to the strugglers in the way of Allah. The struggler in the way of Allah is greater than the beautiful pearl of his deed that he assays on the fineness of the vanities of his world. Nevertheless, I deem it my duty is to thank, you, express gratitude and pray for all the members of the Revolutionary Guards Corps, *Basij* and the Army. All the armed forces of the country and you should make certain that as long as I am alive and I am breathing, I will not spare you my support and benevolently praying for you. I consider you as the best among my beloveds and companions; just as I had been with you during the days of war and perhaps each of you has felt my love and affection to you, it will be the same afterward. You are the embodiment of the oppressions suffered by this great nation. You are the symbol of the nation's braveries in the war arena and the illustrated history of the revolution. You are the children of the sacred defense, standard-bearers of the honor of the Muslims and the shield of this country from evil happenings. You have been the enlightened reminiscences, comrades, commanders, and officials who, today, have been dwelling in the Presence of God. Since I do not see any gap between you and myself, I understand your feeling and all lovers of the Islamic Revolution before being

inscribed in paper, I think that you, because of the sacred self-esteem and epical spirit which for years have been tempered in the fields of battle, at the time of fire and blood, and in the heart of the tough rocks of problems at the hot and cold atmosphere of events, and that all the specks of your existence have been amalgamated with bravery and restlessness, you would suffer on account of calmness and tranquility and your hearts would beat in such state and atmosphere of the war camp, so many of you would ask yourselves about the need for your existence at the times of peace, which is itself one of the spiritual blessings and transformation in our country, which after the eight years of the sacred defense you do not feel any sluggishness. Yet, I seriously and emphatically say that the revolution and the Islamic Republic and the institution of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, which indeed has been and will be one of the greatest defensive strongholds of the divine values of our system, need the existence of one another whether in times of peace or war. I would like to emphasize again that we are serious in our policy of attaining peace within the framework of the UN Security Council Resolution (598). We will not take step in undermining it, but we observe indications of violation on the part of Iraq and its military policy and gesture. It seems that the hand of some of the powers is behind these acts, while Saddam forces wanted so much to minimize their gloomy and dismal defeat.

At any rate, we must be prepared. Sensitive and destiny-making days are ahead of us. The Islamic Revolution will have other decisive years and months ahead. It is incumbent upon the forerunners of *jihad* and martyrdom to be present and ready in all scenes and not to be negligent of the trick and deceit of the world-devourers, America and the Soviet Union. Even at the times of rejuvenation of the armed forces our main attention should be focused on the enhancement of the forces and talents as well as transfer of military and defensive experiences to all members of the nation and defenders of the revolution. At the time of war there will be no opportunity to tackle all the dimensions of the strengths, weaknesses, projects, programs, and all-dimensional defensive strategy plan. However, at the normal circumstances these issues should be addressed with utmost endeavor and unbiasedly. All the resources, experiences, talents and plans should be used; efforts should be exerted in attracting the attention of as many as possible forces faithful to the revolution. Experiences should be transferred to others; efforts should be undertaken in mobilizing all the members of this country on the basis of the specific principles and formulas of an all-dimensional defense so as to achieve the true and genuine formation of the *Basij* and 20-million strong popular army. Along with this colossal responsibility of

following all the political lines of the system of the country, the same meetings of fondness, luminosity, brotherhood, and unity which have been existing in the fields of war and in the warfront, as well as the same spiritual relations existing between you and the dear clerics should be extended in the internal gatherings as well as in all the political, social and military settings so as to protect our Islamic Revolution from the danger of shortcomings, discords and indifferences. Let it not be that these great investments which have been the products of years of experience and endeavor in times of difficulty, and ups and downs be forgotten in the conduct of the daily life.

I pray for you and beseech God for your honor and prosperity in this world and the hereafter. God willing, may you remain faithful and upright under the protection of God and under the auspices of the promised Savior (may our souls be his ransom). May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 26, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: September 18, 1988 [Shahrivar 27, 1367 AHS / Safar 6, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Kazim Maliki

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Excellency Imad al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Kazim Maliki—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect them and spend on the blessed share of the Imam (a) for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it in propagating the sacred religion and to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat*, and to remit whatever left from the two shares to this humble servant.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and us.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar al-Khayr 6, 1409 AH

Message

Date: September 19, 1988 [Shahrivar 28, 1367 AHS / Safar 7, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Gratitude for attending to the cultural (educational) problems of the children of the martyrs and appreciation of the honor pupils from among the families of martyrs

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi (Supervisor of the Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi—may his graces last,

The receipt of the detailed report on the cultural and educational problems of the dear children of martyrs is acknowledged. I thank the officials and authorities, who have endeavored in this important affair and planned for the growth and blossoming of the enormous talents of the children and youth adults for their efforts.

What you have written that dear children of the martyrs, missing in action, disabled and prisoners of the war are seriously pursuing their studies, love and interest is a source of honor and delight. Kindly convey my warm greetings and sincere love to these valuable assets of the Revolution and mementos of the eternal teachers of the university of love and martyrdom. Tell them on my behalf that “I love them wholeheartedly. I wish each of them would become committed scholar and expert for the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam. They should turn to staunch opponent of the American Islam and the Islam of the affluent, serving as loyal standard-bearer for your own martyrs and those who sacrificed themselves. Through the light of knowledge, practice and piety, you could be able to extinguish the darkness of hypocrisy, mental crookedness, narrow-mindedness and sanctimoniousness from the bosom of Islam. The luminous record of martyrdom and self-sacrifice of your beloveds is an authentic certificate of their attainment of the highest spiritual stations. These stations have been signed with the seal of God’s pleasure, but your record depends on your endeavor and striving. Life in today’s world is life in the school of willpower. The prosperity and adversity of every person is issued on the basis of the willpower of that person. If you want to be cherished and honored, you must make use of the assets of your youthful age and talents.

With your upright willpower and resolution, move toward knowledge, practice and the pursuit of learning and insight. Life under the umbrella of knowledge and awareness is so sweet and intimacy with books, pens and similar treasures provide such memorable and lasting recollections that overshadow all failings and bitterness. Notwithstanding all his advancements in science and technology, man is still in the cradle of the knowledge's infancy. In order to attain maturity, a long way is ahead of him." I hope that through an extensive cultural movement, Muslim nations and the great Iranian nation could remove their intellectual deficiency and difficulty.

My repeated and emphatic advise to all officials and authorities of the country is to pay attention more than before to the cultural affairs of these beloved ones. I have no gift but benevolent prayer for the children of the immortal martyrs of history, especially those who have been among the honor roll in their studies. I hope that God would increase their zeal in pursuit of learning, develop their bosoms into ocean of knowledge and grant them the commitment to work. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 28, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: September 19, 1988 [Shahrivar 28, 1367 AHS / Safar 7, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Acceleration in construction of Khordad 15 Dam in Qum

Addressee: Hasan Sanai (Supervisor of the Khordad 15 Foundation)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To His Holiness the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may my soul be his ransom:

With greetings and salutations, you are kindly notified that in executing the blessed order regarding the construction of the Khordad 15 Dam to provide potable and agricultural water to Qum, effective measures for implementation of this momentous project have been taken. Thank God, there has been no problem in terms of financial resource so far. Concerning provision of the needed materials, particularly the equipment procured by foreign currency, there is a problem, which will hopefully be solved with your assistance. Presently, the only problem that slows down the speed of work is the lack of centralization in the executive decision-makings. This problem is the focal point of attention of the Eminent Imam, causing delay in implementation of the project. In view of this, the officials and the Khordad 15 Foundation have discerned that in order to expedite the pace of the project, the works should be only under the supervision of the Foundation and the Ministry of Energy. As such, your approval for the continuation of the project under the supervision of the two mentioned organs is requested.

Hasan Sanai
Supervisor, Khordad 15 Foundation

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sanai—may his graces last,

Taking into account the deprivation of the people of Qum and their difficulties during the struggle against the *taghut* (the followers of evil), the speed of work in constructing the Khordad 15 Dam is obviously necessary. While thanking all the persons who have and are undertaking effort in relation

to the said dam, I do hereby state my approval of your suggestion. I have had and have trust and confidence in you and you have always strived to help with the welfare of the deprived and oppressed people and sympathizing with them. The officials and employees of the blessed Khordad 15 Foundation should have a continuous effort in completing the dam and in other good works with their self-sacrifice and perseverance. God willing, the officials of the country will extend the necessary help in this context. I thank and acknowledge the valuable efforts undertaken by the ministry of *Jihad*. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 28, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: September 19, 1988 [Shahrivar 28, 1367 AHS / Safar 7, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: *Risalat* daily and the Society of Teachers of Qum Theological Seminary

Addressee: Ahmad Azari Qummi

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Azari Qummi—may his graces last,

With greetings and prayer, I have been and am always fond of you. I never remember that, God forbid, you have done anything contrary to Islam. You are among the erudite, combatant and sympathetic faces of the revolution. By writing good essays and research articles, you are striving to guide the people to the straight path.

Regarding the *Risalat* daily and the esteemed Society of Teachers of Qum Theological Seminary (May God Almighty assist them), I cannot give comments in this regard. Act upon as you and the Society deem appropriate. If I have ever said or written anything on these topics, I have acted upon as I have deemed it appropriate. May God protect you in helping Islam and Muslims. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 28, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: September 19, 1988 [Shahrivar 28, 1367 AHS / Safar 7, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expression of interest and emphasis on brotherhood and unity

Addressee: Ali-Akbar Natiq-Nuri

[In His Most Exalted Name

To the Eminent Leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini —may his benign existence endure,

With greetings and wishing longevity for you, this is to notify that as what is well-known to you, in relation to the casting of the vote of confidence to the esteemed members of (the executive branch of) the government, a query was posed to Your Eminence regarding Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Muhtashami, the honorable Minister of Interior, the reply to which was broadcasted on the day of the voting among the (Majlis) representatives and read from the floor of the Majlis, and he was again elected as the Minister of Interior, but some at the level of the Majlis, had reflected this even at the floor of the Majlis: “Those who did not give a yes’ vote to Mr. Muhtashami acted against your order.” As you deemed it appropriate, kindly clarify: Was it in your blessed opinion to give “yes” vote to him? Did those who did not give (positive) vote (on him) act against Your Eminence’s order—God forbid—which is naturally against the religion, or not?

Your humble follower,

Ali-Akbar Natiq-Nuri
Shahrivar 24, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Natiq-Nuri—may his graces last,

With greetings, in the Islamic Republic, except in rare cases posing a threat to Islam and the prestige of the system and that with discretion of erudite experts, nobody can impose his opinion on others. I hope that such a day would never come. I am trying all my best not to have anyone being

oppressed by attributing a subject to me. I also consider you as a committed religious combatant with political acumen. For me, there is no difference between Mr. Muhtashami and you. I consider both of you as sincere officials of the system. All persons like you whose hearts are beating for Islam and Iran are children of Islam and the revolution. We must all strive to make the spirit of unity and purity govern our working environment so that we could be able to force all the powers and superpowers to knell down. We must endeavor to separate the asceticism and sacredness of the pure Muhammadan Islam from the blemishes of the sanctimoniousness and narrow-mindedness of the American Islam and show them to our downtrodden people. If you succeeded in introducing a system on the pillars of true "Neither East nor West" policy and present the pure Islam free from pretension, trick and deceit, the revolution has emerged victory. I beseech God, the Exalted, for your success. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 28, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: September 20, 1988 [Shahrivar 29, 1367 AHS / Safar 8, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Murtada Amiri-Hamedani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wa Imad al-Alam Haj Shaykh Murtada Amiri-Hamedani—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God, and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and in case of the share of the *Sadat*, he is also permitted to give half of it to the needy *Sadat* (the descendent of holy prophet) and to remit the other half as well as what is left from the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) to this humble servant.

“And I advise him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar al-Khayr 8, 1409 AH

Message

Date: September 21, 1988 [Shahrivar 30, 1367 AHS / Safar 9, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation of the art and the committed artists

Addressees: Artists and families of the martyrs

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The pure blood of hundreds of sagacious artists in the warfronts of love, martyrdom, nobility, and honor is the inexhaustible assets of such an art, which must, in proportion to the dignity and elegance of the Islamic Revolution, always scent the fragrance of the beautiful and admired soul of the seekers of the Truth's Beauty. It is the only art acceptable to the Quran that would be the polisher of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam, the Islam of the Imams of Guidance (a), the Islam of the suffering poor, the Islam of the barefooted, and the Islam of the whipped ones of the bitter and disgraceful history of deprivations. It is a beautiful and pure art that would be the destroyer of modern capitalism and blood-thirsty communism, and the annihilator of the Islam of comfort and luxury, the eclectic Islam the Islam of compromise and ignobility, the Islam of the indolent affluent ones, and in a single word, American Islam.

Art in the school of love shows the blind and ambiguous points of the social, economic, political and military complexities. Art in Islamic mysticism is the lucid portrait of justice, nobility and equity, and the embodiment of the affliction of the hungry ones disfavored by power and money.

Art, in its true station, is a leech-like picture, which enjoys sucking the blood of the authentic Islamic culture, the culture of justice and purity. One must only pursue an art that would teach the way of fighting the world-devourers of the East and West, at the top of which are America and the Soviet Union. Our artists could conveniently lay to the ground the burden of responsibility only when they would be certain that their people, without relying on others and only within the framework of their school of thought have attained the eternal life.

Our artists were like that in the warfronts of our sacred defense in hastening toward the Celestial Court. They fought for the sake of God, their

honor and prosperity. In the way of the victory of the dear Islam, they disgraced the artless indolent claimants.

May their God associate them at the proximity of His mercy.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shahrivar 30, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: September 23, 1988 [Mehr 1, 1367 AHS / Safar 11, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Occasion: Sacred Defense Week

Subject: Appreciation of the families of the martyrs and the disabled

Addressees: Families of the martyrs, prisoners and disabled, and the Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

O God, everything is You and all are nothing except you. O God, You are cherished, and all are abject except You. O God, You are rich and all are poor except You. This year's Week of War has a different condition and atmosphere. After years of sacred defense, helping the religion of God has assumed a different form. Readiness for war has found more requisites. The enemies of God and His creatures are not once negligent and they are lying in ambush so as to destroy anything that is Godly. The families of the martyrs, up to the perpetuity of history, these torchbearers of the way of the *awliya* (devotees of God), have shouldered the honor of illuminating the way to Allah. The wounded and disabled inaction have themselves become light of guidance, who in the nooks and corners of this country show to those who believe in religion the way of attaining the bliss in the hereafter—the way of reaching the Lord of the *Kabah*. The war prisoners who are under the clutches of the executioners are themselves song of freedom, and the freemen of the world sing them. The beloved missing ones are the pivot of the boundless sea of God, and the inherent poor of the mean world are bewildered in begrudging their sublime station. As for the martyrs, nothing (enough) can be said. The martyrs are the light of the candle of the meeting of the friends. The martyrs are in their drunken cachinnation and in the happiness of their union with “*With their Lord they have provision.*”¹ They are among the “souls at peace” who have been addressed by God, thus: “*Enter thou among My bondmen! Enter thou My Garden!*”² Here is the talk about love and affection. In describing it, the pen will stop from inscribing by itself. Peace be upon you.

¹ Surah Al-i Imran 3:169: “*Think not of those, who are slain in the way of Allah, as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision.*”

² Surah al-Fajr 89:29-30.

Decree

Date: September 24, 1988 [Mehr 2, 1367 AHS / Safar 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: The criteria of selecting the student

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

[Messrs. Mahfuzi (member of the Central Committee for Recruitment Professors) Husayni-Nezhad (member of the Central Committee for Recruitment of the Ministry of Health, Treatment and Medical Education), Ardisiyan (Liaison Officer for Students Selections), Atri-Nezhad (member of the Central Committee on Recruitment of the Ministry of Training and Education) and Muidi, Aminzadeh and Khatai (officials in charge of recruitment) have called for investigation and clarification of duty through a letter to Imam Khomeini dated Mehr 2, 1367 AHS. The letter was prompted by voices raised against inconsistencies in the criteria of selecting the applicants for admission in universities presented by the Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution in the context of Imam Khomeini's message in 1363 AHS (Circa 1984) and the warning in regards to the penetration in universities of elements opposing the revolution and the Islamic establishment. In reply, Imam Khomeini has written, the following:]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Khamenei, the Honorable Chairman of the Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution—may he always succeed,

Investigate into matter. If it is true, the procedure is not to the interest of the universities and the country.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: September 24, 1988 [Mehr 2, 1367 AHS / Safar 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Ruling on playing chess and buying and selling musical instruments

Addressee: Muhammad-Hasan Qadiri

In the Name of God, the compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure:

With greetings, salutations and respect, recently there have been two replies to queries [*istifta*], one of which concerns about the buying and selling of amusement instruments and in reply to it, it is stated that there is no problem to buy and sell “common” [*mushtarakah*] instruments with the intention of making use of its religiously permitted benefits. In the other (case), it is assumed in the question that today chess has totally lost its being a gambling instrument and it is used only as a mental game, and in reply to it, it is stated that as in the above case, if no gambling is involved, there is no problem. And according to a certain trustworthy man, in some of the newspapers, “As in the above case” is not written.

Here, there are questions to be posed.

1. Buying and selling “common” instruments have no problem unless there is the intention of making use of its unlawful benefits. Thus, why in the reply to the first question “lawful intention” is mentioned?

2. In the second question, what is the basis of the questioner in claiming that today chess has totally lost its being a gambling instrument and it is used only as a mental game?

3. Here is a reliable narration from among the tacit approvals of Imam Sadiq (a):

“First: The Messenger of Allah (s) said: “Forbidden for you are [*az-zafn*] and [*al-mazmar*] as well as [*al-kawbat*] and [*al-kibrat*].

Second: The Messenger of Allah (s) prohibited the playing of chess...”

Az-zafn means dancing (reference: *Majma al-Bahrayn*) while *al-mazmar* is a term that absolutely includes flute while the prohibition of the Prophet (on playing chess) is the proof for its prohibition unless there is a contrary proof. And both of them have absolute basis.

Therefore, I beg to argue that to play on a flute is unlawful whether flute is a “special” instrument or a “common” instrument while playing chess is

unlawful whether gambling is involved or not. Dispensing dispute needs a proper origin which is not feasible and what can possibly be said is the like of overpowering or preponderance at that time which is not a proper origin. Of course, as far as I am concerned, for the reasons of inquiry I referred to your writings but I found no absolute proof contrary to the mentioned ones. The proofs of route and play compared to the instruments have no inconsistency with what is absolutely accepted, and an explicit reason is not also in the proofs. At any rate, in my opinion, it is better if the holy presence of Your Eminence is away from this kind of issues and no need for their publication can be seen. Otherwise, it depends on what you deemed fitting. I do apologize for daring and I beseech God, the Exalted, to grant longevity to Your Eminence. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Muhammad-Hasan Qadiri]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Qadiri—may his graces last:

After greetings, before treating the two questions and their answers, I express my regret for your understanding of the narrations and divine laws. Based on your writing, *zakat* is only for the uses of the poor and other affairs, which are mentioned, and since the uses have reached hundreds of their opposites, there is no way, and *rihan* [betting] in *sabq*¹ and *rimayah* [shooting] is specific for bow and arrow and horse-riding and the like, which had been used in wars in the past, and today, it is only for such cases. As *Anfal*,² has been lawful for the Shiah, today the Shiah, without any restriction, can also destroy the forests by means of such-and-such machines, eliminate that which causes the preservation and wellbeing of the environment and posing a threat the lives of millions of people, yet nobody has the right to stop them. The houses and mosques along the roads should not be destroyed although doing so is needed for solving traffic problems and

¹ *Sabq*: betting in horse-riding and shooting contests.

² *Anfal* (sing. *nafal*): booties, profits, grants. In the Holy Quran, *Surah al-Anfal* 8:1, the word, *anfal* is meant as follows: "They ask thee (O Muhammad) of the *anfal* (booties taken by Muslims with the absence of war and efforts such as minerals, barren lands without an owner, and the like). Say: The *anfal* belong to Allah and the Messenger (which the Messenger and his successors can give any amount to anybody as they deemed fitting), so keep your duty to Allah, and adjust the matter of your difference (concerning the ownership of the *anfal*), and obey Allah and His messenger, if ye are (true) believers."

saving thousands of lives, not to mention similar cases. In summary, on the basis of your understanding of the narratives and traditions, the new civilization should be obliterated and the people be slum-dwellers or always live in the desert.

Now, concerning the two questions, the first of which is about playing chess wherein its being a means of gambling is totally absent, I have to ask you to refer to the book, *Jami al-Madarik* [Compendium of Documents] of the late Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari in which playing chess without the involvement of gambling is considered permissible. It erases all reasons for concern in such a manner that the level of his prudence and piety as well as the degree of his knowledge and accuracy of opinion are known. However, what you have written, "What is the basis of the questioner in claiming that today chess has totally lost its being a gambling instrument?" is surprising to have come from you because the questions and answers are hypothetical. Thus, what I have answered is in the stated assumption, which has seemingly nothing wrong and in case of the absence of winning, they should not play. More surprising is what you have written, "Why instead of there should be no unlawful intention' lawful intention' is written'?" One would say that the act of an attentive and harbinger person can be done even without the intention; in that case, lawful intention' is equivalent to the absence of unlawful intention'.

Regarding the case of buying and selling "common" instruments for lawful intention, you have made a blunder in thinking that buying and selling for lawful benefits means unlawful utilization and this is contrary to what has been written. Of course, in this context there are many issues which my condition and time do not permit me to tackle. It was unexpected of you, who are an educated and hard-working person, to have such an understanding and attribute it to Islam. You yourself know that I am fond of you and consider you as an important person, but I give you a fatherly advice to strive to pay attention to God only and not to be influenced by the sanctimonious and ignorant *akhunds*. It is because if, by announcing and publishing the ruling of God, my status and position are undermined as far as the sanctimonious ones and the ignorant *akhunds* are concerned, let it be undermined more. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your success in serving Islam and the Muslims as in the past. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mehr 2, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: September 26, 1988 [Mehr 4, 1367 AHS / Safar 14, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Hashim Nasrullah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Hashim Nasrullah—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (a) on propagating the sacred religion and to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the remaining to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him may God, the Exalted, assist him to adhere to piety, and to be cautious in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar al-Khayr 14, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: September 30, 1988 [Mehr 8, 1367 AHS / Safar 18, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Hasan Misbah

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Hasan Misbah—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend the blessed share of the Imam (a) on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it in propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit what is left from the two shares to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar al-Khayr 18, 1409 AH

Message

Date: October 3, 1988 [Mehr 11, 1367 AHS / Safar 21, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: General policies of the Islamic system in the course of reconstruction of the country

Addressee: The Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

It is not hidden to any of the people and officials, that the perpetuity and consolidation of the Islamic Republic of Iran are based upon the policy of “neither East nor West.” Deviation from this policy is treason against Islam and the Muslims. It will cause the decline of the honor, credibility and independence of the country and heroic nation of Iran. The Islamic Republic of Iran should in no circumstance abandon its sacred and divine principles and ideals. God willing, the people of Iran will keep in the bosoms their sacred and revolutionary rancor and wrath, and use their tyranny-burning torches against the criminal Soviet Union, the world-devouring America and their puppets so that with the favor of God Almighty the banner of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam could be hoisted in the rooftop in the entire world, and the downtrodden, the barefooted and the righteous become inheritors of the earth.

On the issue of reconstruction, I am sure that the high-ranking authorities of the system, the esteemed officials and the loyal and revolutionary people of our country, as in the past, will never accept that the attainment of this objective would lead to the dependence of the Islamic Iran on the East or the West. Recently, the covert and overt hands of the East and West have resorted to a new trick with the aim of creating dichotomy among the supporters of the Islamic Revolution. They accused the beloved and high-ranking officials of the country, Majlis and government personalities and clerics of dependency thinking and inclination, deviation from the past stances and, finally, of Western-orientation and Eastern-orientation. By cunningly designing issues such as “So-and-so figure of the Islamic Republic system is rightist, centrist, or compromiser and Western-leaning,” or “So-and-so official has become radical and revolutionary,” they as a result would take away the people’s confidence in the officials of the system. However, with the help of God and the maturity and awareness of the people, the market for such insinuations in this country have become dull and its

costumers few. It is proved by the people that those who for years and many times have taken their examination in commitment to Islam and the Revolution whether before or after the Revolution, suffered in this way, imprisoned, assassinated, and lost their wellbeing, and have struggled under tortures of the Shah for independence and freedom, are not only not less concerned with the state of the Revolution and its achievements but are certainly ever more than the others do, and will never change their ideological, divine and vigorous course. As a duty to the people and zealous children of the Revolution, I mention: Let it not be that without taking into account the political considerations and the much intricate and sensitive situations in the country you would raise questions and problems by which the recounting and true analysis of the cases by the concerned officials of the system would lead to the unraveling of the secrets of the country and create problem for the system, and it would not only fail to solve the problems of the country but even exacerbate them.

I am paying close attention to domestic and foreign policies of the country. As long as I am alive, I will not allow our true political course to undergo change, and the officials do not desire anything but this and nothing is expected of them but this. I give warning to some officials to be very careful lest—God forbid—we should pour water to the watermill of the enemies and made them happy with our factionalisms. I say to the officials and authorities in every echelon that all of you are religiously obliged to strive in cutting the last roots and sources of dependency of this country on foreigners in every aspect. You will do so, God willing. If the interest of the system and Islam is in keeping silent, keep silent bitterly, as the reward for keeping silent in advancing the objectives of the system and Islam is much more than in defending against the accusation of being dependent (toward the foreigners).

As I have mentioned earlier, the policy of reconstruction and identifying the priorities in rebuilding the ruinations in country weigh heavily on the shoulders of the esteemed committed heads of the three branches of power in the government including Mr. Prime Minister. It should be pointed out that in view of the magnitude of the work and need for expediting the pace of reconstruction efforts rebuilding, definitely the views of the experts and authorities, especially the cabinet ministers and concerned commissions, in which committed and informed figures are abundant, are needed. They have realized that reconstruction is impossible except through cooperation and collective thinking. This country belongs to Islam and the entire Iranian nation. Just as all were together during the war, they should also be at the

side of one another at the time of peace and reconstruction. God willing, academic and university centers will also have a share in this important endeavor.

Ministers or other officials also have a share of opinion in the final decisions of the heads and the Prime Minister.

Yet, the points to be considered in the reconstruction effort are as follows:

1. Although I am certain that the noble families of the martyrs, disabled war veterans, prisoners of war and those missing in action have not been satisfied and will not be satisfied with the talk on welfare and material things for the sacrifice of their beloved ones. They did it only for the sake of God and attainment of perfection. Their ideal is loftier than these worldly matters, it is on the officials of the system to apply their aptitude, talent and ability in addressing as best as possible the spiritual, material, moral, and cultural affairs of these reminiscences of guidance and light, and not to deny them of the untainted and gratuitous service; even though the Islamic Revolution of Iran is receiving the blessing of the struggle of the martyrs and those who sacrifice themselves. I am aware of many of the dear families of the martyrs, disabled of the war, prisoners of war and those missing in action have not either consulted the officials on their hard living conditions or done it in a minimum degree all because of their magnanimity and moral excellence. We all know that majority of this stratum and the dear combatants of Islam came from deprived and low-income classes and that the affluent people are least sympathetic to the revolution, but it is our duty to be appreciative of their efforts to the extent possible. I myself do not want this appreciation to simply in ostentatious words and tribute. Instead, they must be provided with every kind of social, economic and cultural privileges. I do not see it necessary to advise these beloved ones, and to repeat the great mission of keeping the trust of the sacred blood of the martyrs. Thank God, the families of martyrs, prisoners of war, those missing in action and disabled of the war have so far served as guardians of the values of martyrdom and sacrifice. With the help of God, they will remain to be guardians.

2. With acceptance of peace, no one should imagine that we have become needless of strengthening the defensive and military infrastructure of the country and improving and expanding the arms industries. In fact, improvement and development of the industries and equipment related to the defensive capability of the country is among the essential objectives and priority in the reconstruction effort. In view of the nature of our revolution,

we should take seriously the possibility of another aggression by superpowers and their agents at any time and moment.

3. Attention to rebuilding of industrial centers should not deal the least harm to need for attaining agricultural self-sufficiency. Instead, precedence of this affair should be maintained. Officials should feel more obliged than in the past to implement it. They should strive for re-cultivating our lands, controlling water, constructing dams, encouraging farmers and poultry and cattle owners towards maximum utilization of the boundless favors of God. Certainly, self-sufficiency in agriculture is prelude to independence and self-sufficiency in other areas.

4. The most important factor contributing to attainment of self-sufficiency and reconstruction is development of scientific and research centers, centralization and monitoring of facilities and encouragement of inventors, discoverers and committed and specialist forces who have the valor to fight against ignorance, go out of the shell of the notion of the West's and the East's monopoly of knowledge, and show that they can keep the country stand on its own feet. God willing, these talents would not become tired and incapacitated in the twists and turns of the office hallways.

5. Planning on welfare commensurate with the common condition of the people in tandem with keeping the perfect Islamic ideals and values; avoidance of narrow-mindedness and extremisms; combat against the culture of consumerism, which is the utmost blight of a revolutionary society; encouragement of domestic productions and planning in improving the exports and expanding the grounds for exporting goods; deliverance from depending on oil exports; and exports and imports liberalization, which in general is, trade based on law and with the supervision of the government in kind and price.

6. Observance of the principles of security and protection of the centers and industries, and building of collective safe havens for the people and workers, which is not only allotted for the wartime but rather it is a means of precaution in every circumstance.

7. Using the great forces of the people in construction; benefiting from those faithful to the revolution, especially those who have gone to war; expanding the presence of the people in agriculture, industry, trade and the rebuilding the destroyed cities and towns; and breaking the spell of monopoly in the domestic and external trade of the specific affluent and rich individuals, and extending it to the masses of people and society.

8. Preservation and keeping of the form of one or some towns ruined in the war with the aim of manifest description of the aggression of the enemies

against our revolution and country and of showing the heroic defense and resistance capability of the nation as the future generations should not limit themselves in documents and writings. Of course, this task is to be accomplished with the total consent of the owners of estates and the creation of adjacent towns.

9. Emphasis on preservation of moral and social values and norms as well as morally purging of assemblies so that a group of ignorant of God and opportunists would not imagine that the people are indifferent toward their wicked intentions. May God protect all from the evil of the carnal soul and the enemies and endow them with the top account, tact in affairs, sincerity in action and sacrifice in the service to people. Ahmad¹ could better render service to Islam and the people of the country and he only participate in the meetings so that he could report more promptly the issues to me. May peace be upon those who follow the guidance.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mehr 11, 1367 AHS

¹ Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Letter

Date: October 4, 1988 [Mehr 12, 1367 AHS / Safar 22, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Qadiri

Addressee: Muhammad Hasan Qadiri (one of the employees of Imam Khomeini's Office in Qum)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Qadiri—may his graces last,

With greetings, prayer and wish for your success in implementing the laws of Islam, your first letter and my reply¹ was the subject of debate in theological seminary, lesson and discussion; otherwise, I consider you a *mujtahid*² and authority in jurisprudence [*fiqh*]. I always pray to God for you to be able to solve the difficulties of the country in all areas. I consider you one of my good old-time friends. I will never forget your efforts in the lesson and discussion as well as your helps in all aspects. We must strive to break the walls of ignorance and superstition so as to achieve the limpid fountain of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam. Today, the strangest thing is this very Islam, and to deliver it requires sacrifice. Pray for me to be one of those sacrifices. May God confirm you. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Mehr 12, 1367 AHS

¹ It refers to the letter dated Mehr 2, 1367 AHS in reply to the letter of Mr. Qadiri regarding the ruling on playing chess and buying and selling of musical instruments.

² *Mujtahid*: an authority on divine law and being entitled to give an independent judgment on a point of theology or law.

Permission

Date: October 11, 1988 [Mehr 19, 1367 AHS / Safar 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad-Mahdi Dastghaybi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Muhammad-Mahdi Dastghaybi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed Share of the Imam (a) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit what is left from the two shares to this humble servant. May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Safar al-Khayr 29, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: October 14, 1988 [Mehr 22, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Husayni

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Muhammad Husayni—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in the expenditures, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit what is left to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Mawlud 2, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: October 15, 1988 [Mehr 23, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Niyaz-Husayn Taqawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Niyaz-Husayn Taqawi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit what is left from the two shares to this humble servant to be spent on promotion of Islam.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: October 15, 1988 [Mehr 23, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Ishaq Naqawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi al-Awwal 3, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Ishaq Naqawi—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit what is left to this humble servant. May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: October 16, 1988 [Mehr 24, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 4, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad Qabil

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Muhammad Qabil—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion, to collect the share of the *Sadat* and give half of it to the needy *Sadat* and to remit what is left to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 4, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: Circa October-November 1988 [Aban 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Supervision of the Cultural Heritage Organization

Addressee: Tahamasib Mazahiri (Deputy Prime Minister and Supervisor of the *Mustadafan* [Downtrodden] Foundation)

[In His Most Exalted Name]

To His Eminence of Islamic Revolution Imam Khomeini (may his benign existence endure), the Leader and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

After greetings and with warmest respects, this is to inform the Eminent Leader that pursuant to the government decree dated Esfand 9, 1357 AHS [February 28, 1979], quantities of the properties related to the Pahlavi family and their agents and relatives were appropriated and put at the disposal of the *Mustadafan* Foundation. Due to the uniformity in the kind of structure or antiquity and such preciousness of some of these properties, they can be presented and shown to the Muslim people and young generation as outstanding artistic, cultural and historical works as antiques and museum properties, or as properties that speak about the lifestyle of the *taghut* (followers of evil).

These properties have been carefully and meticulously identified and categorized by the brothers working in the foundation. For all the existing items, an identification record containing technical, artistic and historical information has been prepared. They are transferred to the appropriate places for their preservation and protection and kept on the basis of precise and organized order and system.

Now, it is planned that, God willing, by preparing the venue conducive for exhibit, these properties would be opened for the public to visit and see, and while witnessing this collection and the above antique and artistic works as well as artistic and cultural utilizations for the interest of the Islamic Republic, the attention of the Islamic Republic to the preservation and vouchsafing of these properties and the attention and measures of the Foundation in preserving this cultural collection would be shown to the Muslim nation of Iran and the people of the world, and that this properties as a collection would remain at the disposal of the *Mustadafan* Foundation.

Since these properties are supposed to be utilized under the ought-to-be-followed supervision and discretion of the Esteemed Leader, you are kindly

requested to provide the necessary guidelines and instructions you deem advisable.

Tahamasib Mazahiri
Deputy Prime Minister and
Supervisor, *Mustadafan* Foundation]

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Mazahiri, Supervisor of the *Mustadafan* Foundation,

You are authorized to preserve in the appropriate place whatever is included in the artistic, cultural and historical works the sale of which would bring losses to the country. If possible, place them at the disposal of the public to watch. May you be successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: October 26, 1988 [Aban 4, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message for the birth anniversary of Hadrat Muhammad (s)

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Mr. Mamun Abdul-Qayyum, President of the Republic of Maldives,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the auspicious occasion of the birth anniversary of the Holy Messenger of Islam (s) is acknowledged with gratitude. Similarly, we congratulate Your Excellency and the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the prosperity and grant of Muslim nations. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Mawlud 14, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: October 26, 1988 [Aban 4, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Hadi Khamenei

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Hadi Khamenei—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to postpone their payments in a moderate amount, and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and moderately spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in the shares, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to collect the hare of the *Sadat* and give half of it to the needy *Sadat* and to remit what is left to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 14, 1409 AH

Message

Date: October 28, 1988 [Aban 6, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 16, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation of the Friday and congregational prayer leader of Yazd

Occasion: Passing away of Mr. Sayyid Ruhullah Khatami (Friday and congregational prayer leader of Yazd)

Addressee: The Iranian nation

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

Islam and Iran lost one of their most luminous faces of piety, sincerity and faith. Brother Khatami¹ was a luminary among other enlightened clerics indefatigable struggle in this land during the recent decades. He was a religious intellectual, respectable *mujtahid*, a trustworthy and matchless man. He appreciated the untiring struggle of the Ulama and tolerated afflictions as if one sips pleasant syrup. He was the helper and haven for the deprived. Throughout his life, he fought against narrow-mindedness and intransigence and was among the unwavering supporters of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam when deception and egotism were order of the day. He led a pure life and died a pure death; joined the mercy of his Lord clear from all impurities.

For this painful bereavement, I extend my condolences to the people of Iran, especially to the inhabitants of Yazd, to his respectable family, his religious children and our erudite, pious and committed son, Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Muhammad Khatami, the honorable Minister of culture and Islamic Guidance. May God shower him with His mercy.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 6, 1367 AHS

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ruhullah Khatami, the Imam's representative and Friday and congregational prayer leader in Yazd. After the martyrdom of Mr. Saduqi, he was appointed by the Imam as his representative and Friday and congregational prayer leader in Yazd. Earlier, he was the Friday and congregational prayer leader of Ardekan, Yazd.

Reminder

Date: October 29, 1988 [Aban 7, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 17, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Meetings and speeches of Imam Khomeini

Addressees: Employees at Imam Khomeini's Office

Please be noted that you should keep me away from delivering speeches unless if it will take only one sentence of prayer. My respiratory system is giving me trouble and as the war is no more, do not give me trouble. I do not refuse the coming, for example, of the families of the martyrs and their likes, and (assuming) that I can move my hand.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 7, 1367 AHS

¹ Imam Khomeini was ill at this date. In spite of that, special attention the Imam to the noble families of the martyrs is manifest in this short writing. The cancellation of the Imam's public meeting with the officials and people at the birth anniversary of the Noble Prophet (s) is related to this.

Decree

Date: October 30, 1988 [Aban 8, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Agreement to use unclaimed properties religious standards with a view to meet the needs of the Ministry of Information

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi Reyshahri (Minister of Intelligence)

[In His Most Exalted Name

The Great Leader of Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

May peace be upon you.

Owing to the budget constraint of the Ministry of Intelligence and the financial problems of the ministry, kindly give your permission for the use of properties discovered through intelligence operations of the Ministry of Information and recorded based on religious rulings to meet the needs of the ministry. May God grant longevity to that Great Imam for the Muslims of the world.

Reyshahri
Aban 8, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

You can use whatever you acquired based on religious rulings with the consent of Mr. Prime Minister on cases that are needed by the Ministry of Intelligence.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: October 30, 1988 [Aban 8, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Solving the problems and needs of prisoners

Addressee: Muhammad Ismail Shushtari (Supervisor of the National Prisons and Security-Correctional Measures Organization)

[Mr. Muhammad Ismail Shushtari, the then head of the National Prisons and Security-Correctional Measures Organization, in a letter reference number 20/m/3921/281 dated Aban 8, 1367 AHS, described the problems and need of the prisoners. Part of the letter to Imam Khomeini reads: "The Imam's order regarding the indispensable expenses of the prisoners should be fulfilled from the fines taken by the Judiciary or the Judicial Council. Meanwhile, light and heavy cars to be confiscated by the Judiciary should be turned over to the Prisons Organization for transportation of the prisoners." Imam Khomeini has given his consent for both cases by writing the following:]

In His Most Exalted Name

I give my consent for both cases; God willing, this work will be done immediately. May God make you successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: October 30, 1988 [Aban 8, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Transfer of some properties of the *Mustadafan* Foundation to the Islamic Revolutionary Committees

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi

[... While respectfully presenting my apology for taking your precious time, as Your Eminence well known, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin honorable Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has brought issues dealing with appropriation of all government properties, real estates and those belonging to the *Mustadafan* Foundation at the discretion of the Islamic Revolution Committee to Your Eminence's attention. Since Your Eminence has always showed kindness to your sons in this institution and as official registerion of the abovementioned properties in the name of the Islamic Revolution Committee calls for Your Eminence's order in writing, you are kindly requested to write this matter as you deem advisable.

Sayyid Sirajuddin Musawi]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Prime Minister:

I do hereby agree with the suggestion of honorable Mr. Sirajuddin Musawi, Commander of the Islamic Revolution Committee, provided that religious considerations are taken into account.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: October 30, 1988 [Aban 8, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 18, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Properties with unknown owners

Addressee: Sirajuddin Musawi (Overall Commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee)

[... While respectfully presenting my apology for taking your precious time, this is to inform Your Eminence that in many cases when the guards of the Islamic Revolution Committee is following the track of criminals and smugglers, or during inspections, they come across unclaimed cars which they record. With the lapse of months and years, no one comes to claim and these items are getting worn out under the sun and rain. Furthermore, numerous cases have been reported on the poor living condition of the hardworking committee guards. If Your Eminence deem advisable, kindly permit all the confiscated unclaimed properties at the disposal of the Islamic Revolution Committees throughout the country be up to the auction and the proceeds would be given away to the deserving guards. In case their owners referred, the same items, whose specifications in time of confiscation have been enlisted, or their equivalent amounts would be given to them.

May God prolong Your Eminence's affectionate shadow and blessed life.

Sayyid Sirajuddin Musawi
Aban 8, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Siraj—may his graces last:

While observing the relevant religious considerations under your personal supervision, I give my consent.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: November 1, 1988 [Aban 10, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Charter of brotherhood and openness of the gate of *ijtihad*¹ in Islamic government

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Ansari

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

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Muhammad-Ali Ansari—may his graces last,

I read your letter. You have designed an issue in such a way that responding to it becomes somewhat lengthy, but as I am fond of you, I know you as a religious and learned man—of course, a little bit emotional—and I am always grateful for your unsparing favors to me. As an advice to you and your likes whose number is not few, I will discuss the issue, hence:

The books of the great jurists of Islam are full of differences of opinions, tastes and understanding in various areas: military, cultural, political, economic and devotional. Since in issues in which there has been an alleged consensus there are opposing statement or statements and even in issues in which there is consensus it is also possible to have a contrary statement, we will set aside the difference between the *Akhbaris* and the *Usulis*. Since, in the past, these differences were confined to the circle of lesson, discussion and *madrasah* and were only recorded in scientific books and more, they were in Arabic, naturally, the masses of people were unaware of them. If they were ever aware of them, pursuing these issues were not attractive for them. Now, can it be imagined that since the jurists have differed in opinion to one another—we seek refuge in God—they have acted contrary to the truth and the religion of God? Never. Yet, today, with utmost delight due to the Islamic Revolution, the statements of the jurists and authorities have been extended to radio, television and newspapers. There is a practical need for such discussions and issues; for example; on the issue of ownership and its limits; on the issue of land and its classification; on booties and public wealth; on the intricate issue of money, foreign exchange and banking; on taxation; on domestic and external trade; on leasing a farm, bailment of a capital, renting, and mortgage; on *hudud* and fines; on civil laws; on cultural

¹ *Ijtihad*: the practice of giving an independent judgment on a point of theology or law.

issues and approach toward the art in its general sense such as photography, painting, sculpture, music, theater, cinema, calligraphy, and others; on protecting the environment, keeping sound the nature and controlling the cutting of trees even in private residences and properties; on the issues of foods and drinks; birth control to the extent necessary or determining the gap between births; on solving medical questions such as transplantation of human limb and others to other human being; on the issue of underground, ... and national minerals; changing the subjects of lawful and unlawful, and the expansion and contraction of some laws on divergent times and spaces; on legal issues and international laws and their comparison with the laws of Islam; the constructive role of women in the Muslim society and their destructive role in licentious and non-Islamic gatherings; limitations of the individual and collective freedoms; dealing with *kufr* (disbelief), *shirk* (polytheism) and “*iltiqat*” as well as blocs subservient to *kufr* and *shirk*; the manner of performing the obligatory acts of worship on the air and in outer space, movement against the moving direction of the earth or in accordance with it with a speed more than that of the earth or on direct ascension and neutralizing the earth’s gravity; and the most important of all these, describing and determining the sovereignty of the Guardianship of the Jurist [*Wilayah al-Faqih*] in the government and society. All of these are just part of the thousands of problems that are to be conveyed to the people and government. These have been discussed by great jurists who have different opinions with one another. If some of the issues have not been discussed in the past or that there were no such issues then, today, the jurists must think about them.

Thus, in the Islamic government the gate of *ijtihad* must always be open and the nature of the revolution and the system always requires that deductive-juristic views in various areas, though opposing one another, are freely expressed and no one can and should stop it. Yet, what is important is the correct understanding of the government and society on the basis of which the Islamic system could set a program for the benefit of the Muslims wherein the unity of the policy and action is necessary, and on account of this that the conventional *ijtihad* in the religious seminaries is not enough. In fact, if one person is the most learned in the specified sciences in the religious seminaries but could not identify the interest of the society or could not distinguish the righteous and important persons from the unrighteous ones and, in general, lacks the correct insight and power of decision-making on social and political aspects, that person is not *mujtahid* on social and governmental issues and cannot administer the affairs of society.

Nevertheless, please note that so long as there are differences and discussions within the confinement of the abovementioned issues, there is no threat for the revolution. If the difference were on the principles and foundations, it would lead to the slackening of the system. If there is difference among the individuals and parties affiliated to the revolution, it is purely political although an ideological color is given to it. It is because all are in common regarding the principles and it is on this account that I confirm them (all). They are loyal to Islam and the revolution; they are concerned of the country and the people; each (of the groups) has its own design and view for the advancement of Islam and serving the Muslims, which to my opinion, brings out deliverance. The overwhelming majority in both currents (parties) wants their country to be independent; both (parties) want to reduce for the people the wickedness and evil of the leech-like (elements) associated to the government, market and street. Both (parties) want noble employees, religious workers and farmers, and truthful merchants in the markets and streets to have a pure and wholesome life. Both (parties) want to have no graft and corruption in the government and private organs. In the realm of economy, both (parties) want the Islamic Iran to develop in such a way that the global market would be its own. Both (parties) want the cultural and academic conditions of Iran to be such that the students and researchers from around the world would flock toward the educational, scientific and artistic centers of Iran. Both (parties) want Islam to become the global power. So, the difference lies on what? The difference lies on the fact that each of them believes that its way is the one leading toward the realization of all these. However, both (parties) totally pay attention to the fact that assuming stances should be such that while preserving the principles of Islam throughout history, they should be the keepers of their and the people's revolutionary wrath and rancor against the Western capitalism, on top of which is the world-devouring American and the international communism and socialism, on top of which is the aggressor Soviet Union.

Both currents should undertake utmost efforts lest there should not be even an iota deviation from the policy of "Neither East nor West but the Islamic Republic". If there is, they should be corrected by means of Islamic justice. Both groups must pay attention to the fact that they have common arch enemies, which will have no mercy on neither of them. With utmost sense of brotherhood, the two currents should beware of the world-devouring America and the treacherous Soviet Union for the Muslim *ummah*. Both currents should inform the people that the deceptive America is their arch enemy but their dear children were martyred through the Soviet bombs and

missiles. Both currents should not be negligent of the tricks of these two colonialist fiends, and they should know that America and the Soviet Union are thirsty for their blood and that of Islam.

O God! Be the Witness that I said to the currents what I am supposed to say; they themselves should know. Of course, there is one thing that can possibly be the source of difference, from whose evil we should seek refuge in God; that is, self-love, which is no longer known to this and that current. It recognizes no President, Majlis Speaker, Prime Minister, Member of Parliament, minister, judge, Supreme Judicial Council, Guardian Council, Propagation Organization and propagation office; military and civilian, cleric and non-cleric, student and non-student and man and woman. There is only one way to combat against it and that is contentment.

If the gentlemen would look at the issues from the viewpoint, that all want to support the system and Islam, many of the difficulties and confusions would be resolved. This does not mean that all the people should follow only one current. I have said that constructive criticism does not mean opposition and new formation does not mean opposition either. Appropriate and constructive criticism brings about the growth of society. If the criticism is right, it will lead to the guidance of the two currents. Nobody should think of himself as absolute and exempted from criticism. Of course, criticism is different from factional and group confrontation. If in this system anyone or any group—God forbid—is wrongly thinking of eliminating or destroying others and consider as preminent the interest of his group and faction than that of the revolution, definitely, before he could render a blow to his rival or rivals, he has already inflicted a damage to Islam and the revolution. Anyway, one of the works on which certainly lies the pleasure of God, the Exalted, is making the hearts close to one another, endeavoring in cleansing the indignations and bridging the gap between the positions of rendering service. One must avoid the intermediaries whose only job is to induce pessimism toward the other faction. You have so many common enemies that you should exert utmost effort to stand firm against them, but if you saw someone who encroaches upon the principles, you should decisively confront him.

Of course, you know that the government, Majlis and the high-ranking officials of the system have never infringed upon the principles and frameworks. They have not deviated from the principles. For me it is clear that belief in and love of God and service to the people are hidden behind the institution of these currents. By exchanging constructive thoughts and ideas, the course of rivalries should be purged of pollution, deviation, extremism

and profligacy. I do urge once again that our country at the stage of rebuilding and reconstruction is in need of thinking as well as unity and brotherhood. May God grant success to all of those whose hearts are beating for the revival of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam and the annihilation of the American Islam; protect you and everybody under the shelter of His help and protection. God willing, may you be among the helpers of Islam and the deprived.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 10, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: November 3, 1988 [Aban 12, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 22, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Financial assistance to the Education Ministry of Qum

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

[In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Ayatullah Musawi Ardebili—may his blessings last,

With my greetings and prayer of your success, you are notified that the officials of the Education Ministry department of Qum have reported that every year approximately one-hundred classrooms or four schools needed in this town. At the present conditions, apart from holding the three shifts in of most of the schools, a conspicuous number is busy studying while sitting on the floor and even without floor mat. Alongside this, due to unemployment on weekly basis, the issue of moral corruption is discussed. For relatively solving this serious problem, considerable assistance is hereby requested from the properties, which are at Your Eminence's disposal as having unknown owners or without owners at all. With thanks and wish for health and long life for Hadrat Imam—may his benign existence endure for the Muslims.

Muhammad Fadil
Aban 12, 1367 AHS

In His Most Exalted Name

Since such cases are not included in the cases for which Hadrat Imam has granted permission in writing, I do give my consent for the payment of 50 million tumans on the condition that Hadrat Imam would give permission.

Abdul-Karim Musawi]

In His Most Exalted Name

I agree to the suggestion of honorable Mr. Fadil and wish him success
Mr. Ardebili is permitted to pay the said amount.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: November 3, 1988 [Aban 12, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 22, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abdul-Qaim Shushtari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abdul-Qaim Shushtari—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in the expenditures, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to collect the share of the *Sadat* and give half of it to the needy *Sadat* and to remit what is left from the two shares to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Mawlud 22, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: November 4, 1988 [Aban 13, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 23, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appointment of the Friday and congregational prayer leader of Yazd

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Saduqi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Ali Saduqi—may his graces last,

With profound sorrow for the departure of the esteemed clerics, the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Khatami¹ (may Allah, the Exalted, be pleased with him), I designate you as my representative and Friday and congregational prayer leader in Yazd. You are the son of the third martyr of the altar, the man of knowledge and practice, the beloved Saduqi (may Allah have mercy upon him), not to mention your qualification as a meritorious and manager. With the knowledge I have of you, I am sure you will succeed in fulfilling the needs and problems of the region. I hope you will familiarize the noble religious people of Yazd with their Islamic duties and serve them in the different aspects as you did in the past.

I hope the entire residents of Yazd, including the clerics, distinguished *ulama* and the revolutionary institutions of the province would extend their necessary cooperation and hold this unity-fostering and enemy-crushing act of worship as splendid as possible. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Ruhullah Khatami, one of the old friends of Imam Khomeini, had been the Friday congregational prayer leader of Ardekan, Yazd, prior to the martyrdom of Mr. Saduqi and at the hands of the MKO terrorists, popularly known as Munafiqin or hypocrites. Thereafter, he was designated as the Friday and congregational prayer leader of Yazd. On his departure, Imam Khomeini released a message appreciating him and his services.

Permission

Date: November 5, 1988 [Aban 14, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Ibrahim Amin

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Ibrahim Amin—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus in his expenditures, he is also permitted to spend half of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit what is left to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: November 5, 1988 [Aban 14, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Subhi Tufayli (Lebanese)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Subhi Tufayli—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. He is also permitted to collect the two blessed shares and spend the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend half of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the hare of the *Sadat* to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit what is left from the two hares to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi al-Awwal 24, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: November 10, 1988 [Aban 19, 1367 AHS / Rabi al-Awwal 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Providing some of the expenses for constructing residential units for religious seminarians of Mashhad

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

[In a letter dated Aban 19, 1367 AHS to Imam Khomeini, apart from indicating the allocation of a piece of land in the Holy Mashhad as *khums* for the construction of a number of residential units for the use of students of the religious sciences through the use of the funds received from students and partnership in banks based on Islamic contracts, Mr. Sayyid Hashim Rasuli Mahallati has requested for an amount from credits and funds at the disposal of the Judiciary as the initial expenditure for the construction of this religious complex. In reply, Imam Khomeini wrote as follows:]

In His Most Exalted Name

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

Kindly remit the amount of 15 million tumans to Mr. Rasuli for the housing of religious students of theology in Mashhad. I wish you success, by taking religious considerations into account.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 19, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: November 13, 1988 [Aban 22, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Emphasizing collection of documents related to Imam Khomeini from various centers

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

[In His Most Exalted Name

To His Holiness Imam Khomeini Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

After greetings, as indicated in the previous letter, numerous files compiled by the agents of the former regime regarding you are kept in centers such as the Security Organization, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Shah's Court, Prime Minister's Office, Military Joint Staff, etc... Presently, some of the files are kept in the above agencies and some in other foundations and government centers.

Now, in a bid to carry out your order efficiently and to survey and edit the documents and your blessed works, there is need for investigation and utilization of these records. If you deem it advisable, you are kindly requested to issue an order for these and other documents to be made available as they are instrumental in clearing and completing these records.

Ahmad Khomeini
Aban 22, 1367 AHS

In His Most Exalted Name

All records, files, letters, and the like that tend to clarify the documents or any document related to me shall be made available to you or your representative upon request. The concerned authorities are duty bound to make them available.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 14, 1988 [Aban 23, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Constructing the Tehran Prayer Ground

Addressees: Sayyid Ali Khamenei and Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani (Friday and congregational prayer leaders)

[In His Most Exalted Name]

To His Holiness Imam Khomeini, Leader of the Islamic Revolution — may his benign existence endure,

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Regarding the need for creation of Prayer Ground in Tehran and pursuant to the years of search and study, a conducive venue at the north central part of Tehran (Abbas Abad), which is under the ownership of the Tehran Municipal Committee, was identified and an appropriate and general design was prepared after conducting many consultations and setting competition for engineers from here and abroad.

Since the legal and registration problems and protocol of legal transfer cannot be solved very soon while the problems on the performance of the Friday congregational prayers in Tehran at the university are mounting, and it seems that this task will be settled through Your Eminence's willpower and motivation, your permission is henceforth requested for the allocation of one million square meters of the mentioned pieces of land along the Beheshti Avenue toward the north, whose main part was obtained with the consent of the City Mayor's Office and at the disposal of the Prayer Ground for its building and to the extent necessary in the axis of *qiblah* from the north for the other accompanying (establishments), and for the Friday congregational prayer leader to take charge of its affairs.

Similarly, (your permission is sought) for the projects in the precinct of the Prayer Ground to be foreseen later to be implemented with the consent of the Friday congregational prayer leader.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei
Akbar Hashimi]

In His Most Exalted Name

Provided that religious considerations concerning the mentioned land are observed, I agree with the suggestions made by Messrs. Khamenei and Hashimi. God willing, along with building the Prayer Ground of Tehran, you would also succeed in building the *kuf*r (disbelief)-negation insight of the Muslims. By the way, the simplicity of the Prayer Ground should be a reminiscence of the simplicity of the place of worship of the Muslims during the advent of Islam. And the hypocrisy and luster of the American Islam's mosque infrastructures must be strongly avoided. May God confirm all the workers for the erection of the mosques of Allah.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Aban 23, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: November 14, 1988 [Aban 23, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Hashimi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Muhammad Hashimi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is also permitted to collect and spend the blessed them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit what is left to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 3, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: November 21, 1988 [Aban 30, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abdullah Muhammadi-Isfahani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Abdullah Muhammadi-Isfahani—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. He is also permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half to this humble servant. In all circumstances, he has to exercise caution, for such is the way to salvation. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Statements

Date: Circa November-December 1988 [Azar 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for resistance against Zionists and compromisers

Addressees: Leaders of the *Intifadah*¹

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

Rabi ath-Thani 10, 1409 AH

At the time of the Shah when all the powers, America, the Soviet Union, and other Westerners supported him, we, the nation, stood in order to finish the job.

As you have been informed, among yourselves there are persons like those who are worse than them the Zionists such as Arafat. We have also such persons. This Arafat now desires the Jews to dominate there and wants every night to... them. The people should join hands and expel Arafat from among them. They could then be able to do the job. As long as there is a single Zionist there, one must stand and finish the job just as what we did. Through resistance the job would be done. ... Now, they are promoting Arafat because he is of the opinion that both the Zionists as well as we should be there while the fact is that the Zionists were not supposed to be there. at no time.

People should resist, expel from their circle those who oppose these issues, and they must persist so that this task is set right. God willing, it will be set right. I hope so; I will pray for you; may God protect you all. May you succeed by God's will.

¹ In 1987 (autumn 1366 AHS) a new trend, called *Intifadah* [Uprising], in the uprising and resistance against Israel were started by the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories. This uprising was the people's protest against the continuation of occupation of Palestine. *Intifadah* literally means uprising, action, movement. (See *Palestine from the Viewpoint of Imam Khomeini* Tibyan, v. 4, p: 199)

Decree

Date: Circa November-December 1988 [Azar 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Measures to be taken for the welfare of the disabled

Addressee: Mir-Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Prime Minister—may God, the Exalted, assist him,

Mustadafan Foundation is duty-bound to give priority to the welfare of the dear disabled of the war and meet all their needs.

Honorable Mazahiri¹ should undertake all his efforts in this regard and give report on the accomplishments to the undersigned.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Tahamasib Mazahiri: supervisor of the *Mustadafan* Foundation.

Message

Date: November 23, 1988 [Azar 2, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Role and station of the *Basij*

Occasion: *Basij's* Week

Addressees: Iranian nation and the combatant *Basijis*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Certainly, the formation of the *Basij* in the Islamic Republic of Iran was a blessing favored by God to the dear nation and the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

At the various events, especially the war after the victory of the revolution, there were many institutions and groups that ensured the country and the Islamic Revolution through their sacrifice, sincerity, devotion, and martyrdom. Yet, if we really want to present a perfect meaning of sacrifice, sincerity, devotion and love of God and Islam, was there anyone more deserving than the *Basij*?! *Basij* is a pure and fruitful tree whose blossoms give out the aroma of spring, the freshness of certainty and the story of love. *Basij* is the school of love and the academy of martyrdom. Its anonymous martyrs, whose followers have recited on top of its towering minaret the call to martyrdom and valor. *Basij* is the locus of the barefooted and ascension of the pure Islamic thought whose trained ones have gained name and fame in having no name and fame. *Basij* is the sincere army of God whose organizational account has been endorsed by the *mujahidin* (jurists and religious authorities) from the beginning up to the end.

I always envy the sincerity and purity of the *basijis* and pray to God to enlist me among the *basijiis*. In this world, my honor is to be a *basij*. I would like to recall to the honorable nation of Iran and the officials that, whether in war or in peace, the greatest simplemindedness is that we would imagine that the world-devourers, America and the Soviet Union in particular, have lifted their hands from us and the dear Islam. We should not be negligent of the trick of the enemies even for a moment. Trick and enmity toward the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam surge in the very nature and essence of America and the Soviet Union. We must be equipped with the powerful arm of patience and faith in order to break the waves of storms and seditions and to thwart the torrent of calamities. All the members of a nation, which is in the line with the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam and opposing the arrogance, money-

worship, narrow-mindedness, and sanctimoniousness, must be *basijis* (mobilized). They should be acquainted with the necessary military and defensive techniques because at the time there is a threat to an honorable and enduring nation, majority of them should have the necessary combat preparedness.

In a nutshell, if the melodious tune of *basiji* thought was resonated on a country, the covetous eyes of the enemies and world-devourers would become far from it; otherwise, every moment any eventuality must be expected. As in the past, *Basij* must continue with force and certainty of mind. Today, one of the most indispensable organizations is the student and seminary *Basij*. The students of theology and students of universities should exert their utmost efforts in defending the revolution and Islam in their respective centers. My *Basiji* children in these two centers should be the guards of the unalterable principle of “neither East nor West”. Today, the university and the seminary are more in need of unity and solidarity than any other time and place. The children of the revolution should never allow the agents of America and the Soviet Union to penetrate these two places. It is only through the *Basij* that this important task can be accomplished. Ideological issues of the *basijis* are on the shoulder of these two academic bastions. The seminary and the university should place the frameworks of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam at the disposal of all members of the *Basij*. The *basijis* of the Muslim world should think of the establishment of grand Islamic government. This is possible because *Basij* is not only confined to Iran; the nuclei of resistance should brought into being in the entire world, and the East and the West must be confronted. You showed in the imposed war that through proper and good management, Islam could dominate the world. You should know that your task has not yet ended; the Islamic Revolution in the world is in need of your self-sacrifices. Only through your support can the officials prove to those thirsty of truth and truthfulness that without America and the Soviet Union harmonious life mixed with peace and freedom can be attained. Your presence in the scene will cause the severance from the very bottom of the anti-revolutionary root in all dimensions.

I kiss the hand of each of you, the forerunners in deliverance. I know that if the officials of the Islamic system would neglect you, they would be burnt in hell. Let me emphasize again that negligence in forming the 20-million-strong army will lead to falling in the snare of the two global superpowers. I extend my gratitude to all the *Basijis*, particularly their beloved commanders. I will not be complacent in benevolently praying for these children loyal to Islam. May God make the dear martyrs and anonymous *Basij* enjoy the favor

of association with the *Ahl al-Bayt* (the household of the holy prophet) (a). May God bless with health to the dear disabled veterans; may He help the dear prisoners and those missing in action return safely to their homeland and may He increase the grandeur and glory of this sacred and popular institution, which is following the dear Islam and the promised Mahdi (may our souls be ransomed for him. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Azar 2, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: November 23, 1988 [Azar 2, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Designation of the Friday and congregational prayer leader of Bushehr

Addressee: Ibrahim Fadil Firdawsi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Ibrahim Fadil Firdawsi—may his graces last:

With gratitude for the many years of efforts of Hujjat al-Islam Madani¹ (may his graces last), whose personal problems have caused him to resign officiation of the Friday and congregational prayer in Bushehr, I appoint you as my representative and Friday and congregational prayer leader in that province. God willing, beside from conducting the dignified Friday and congregational prayer, you should acquaint the people with their important Islamic and revolutionary duties. Invite them toward unity and solidarity in facing the enemies of Islam. It is hoped that through the cooperation of the honorable inhabitants, institutions and officials of the Islamic Republic in that city, you can perform the Friday and congregational prayer with more splendor. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1409 AH

¹ Through a decree dated Safar al-Khayr 14, 1405 AH, Mr. Sayyid Mahmud Madani-Burujni has been designated by Imam Khomeini as the Friday and congregational prayer leader and his representative in Bushehr.

Decree

Date: November 23, 1988 [Azar 2, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Consent on the use of the buildings confiscated by the Prosecutor's Office as the dormitory of students

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[In His Most Exalted Name

To His Holiness Imam Khomeini, the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

With greetings, you are kindly notified that one of the current concerns of universities in the country is the students' dormitory. Notwithstanding the ample efforts to prepare the dormitories on time for the current year, unfortunately, it has not been made possible. In case you deemed proper, your consent is hereby sought for a certain needed number of the confiscated buildings at the disposal of the Prosecutor's Office to be handed over to universities to be used as dormitories.

The government guarantees that once the decree is issued on handing the buildings over to their respected owners, apart from vacating and handing over the buildings, all the prescribed legal rights from the Prosecutor's Office would be given to their owners. It is hoped that in this way we can reduce the dormitory-related problem of the students.

Mir Husayn Musawi
Prime Minister
Azar 2, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

On the condition that religious considerations are observed, I agree.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: November 24, 1988 [Azar 3, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 13, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Designation of the supervisor of the disabled war veterans' affairs and order on proper organization in this Foundation

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Engineer Mir Husayn Musawi, the Prime Minister—may God, the Exalted, assist him,

Since a few days ago His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi suggested through a letter that in order to attend to the affairs of the disabled war veterans and families of the martyrs more efficiently, the Office on the Disabled War Veterans of the Islamic Revolution and the Imposed War Affairs be entrusted to another institution or establishment, apart from extending gratitude and appreciation to him as well as all the officials and workers of the Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation and the Foundation's Medical Center, especially Mrs. Karrubi¹ who has shown utmost sacrifice and devotion during the war in relation to these beloved ones, I designate you to head the general office on the dear disabled war veterans' affairs. By making use of the cooperation and equipments of the Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation and the disabled war veterans as well as by allocating the best facilities of the *Mustadafan* Foundation, you have to undertake efforts in forming a new establishment for this noble and great affair. It is hoped that through insight, piety and commitment that I observe in you, all the affairs of these epic-makers and living martyrs of the Islamic Revolution would be completely attended. As in the past, through more comfort and amenities, the Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation have to attend to the affairs of the noble families of the martyrs, missing in action and prisoners of war.

Given it is possible that during these days there are individuals who desired to create doubts and insulations concerning the service-rendering government on the minds of the people and to besmirch your untainted and indefatigable efforts especially on the issue of war, it is necessary to evoke

¹ Mrs. Fatimah Karrubi is the supervisor of the Medical Center of Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation.

the point that as in the past I consider you as a worthy person sympathetic to the Islamic Revolution. I will not forget your efforts during the war and in mobilizing the guards of Islam. Now I also confirm and support you.

As the heads of the country and the consultative council on the construction of the country will express to the government the construction principles and policy a few days from now, you and the esteemed members of the cabinet have to address the affair of rebuilding the country and repairing the destructions with authority and decisiveness as well as total independence, and to place on top of your programs the attention to the deprived ones. The noble people of Iran, who have offered everything they have in sincerity and servitude to God, should pay attention to the fact that long way is ahead of them in attaining real independence. All are aware that on account of the great magnitude of the destructions immediate renovation and rebuilding of the affair cannot be expected. We are still at the beginning of the way. Many years are needed for the reconstruction and elimination of the problems through the efforts and endeavor of all the beloved officials and people of our Islamic homeland. So many spiteful individuals inimical to the revolution who failed to bring harm to Islam and the revolution in whatever way, now wanted through slogans and elevating the expectations of the people to achieve their objectives. By means of pointing to the problems that have been the result of the imposition of many years of war, they wanted to make the people pessimistic toward the officials, campaigning thus: "After the acceptance of the Resolution and the absence of war, why the problems cannot be solved?" It must be posed to these individuals: "Is this work easily possible? Has our country been relieved of sanctions? Can all the damaged electric and fuel centers as well as factories be run within a day such that we can say that yesterday there was war and thus there were excuses, and today that there is no war, why there scarcities?" Of course, there words are meant to be reminder for the faithful; otherwise, the loyal and revolutionary people of our country are far more ready to persevere and offer sacrifice for the attainment of real independence and self-sufficiency. I am sure certain that the Iranian nation will not exchange a moment of their independence and honor for a thousand years of life at the coquetry and mercy of a master subservient toward the aliens and foreigners.

In closing, I convey my gratitude once again to my good friend, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Karrubi, for his sympathetic and sincere efforts. I hope that all the individuals who have been serving the disabled veterans of the imposed war would sincerely cooperate with Mr. Prime Minister. May God Almighty grant fortitude and sacrifice to all officials, the service-

rendering government and the noble people of Iran in the way of Islam. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Azar 3, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: November 28, 1988 [Azar 7, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 17, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Prerogatives of the Expediency Council

Addressee: A group of deputies of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

[In His Most Exalted Name

To the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, His Holiness Imam Khomeini—may his benign presence endure:

With greeting, salutation and wish for your longevity, health and wellbeing as well as victory of Islam and Muslims and with apology for the disturbance, It has been for long time that, there are ambiguities on the manner of work of the esteemed Expediency Council for the deputies of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, for which we seek Your Eminence's guideline.

At the beginning of the establishment of the said council, the course of work was arranged such that the ratified bills of the Majlis, prior to the negative expression of the Guardian Council, is to be returned to the Majlis for revision. After revision, the Majlis would return the same to the Guardian Council. Then, that which was considered necessary for final revision would be referred to the Expediency Council. Yet, now, this council is also making laws. The most important of which is that presenting bills to this council is devoid of the whole prescribed regulations, which the bills have through common way: Drafting the bill in the cabinet, ratification of the same through the cabinet members,; signing of the Prime Minister and the concerned minister, presentation of the same to the Majlis and discussion in the commissions in an open session in the two councils. Naturally, given this process, anybody, even non-responsible positions, can make a new law for the country through putting forward the proposal to the Expediency Council, and can even abrogate ratified laws. Apart from rendering the Majlis impotent, this can also create ample contradictions in the laws of the country. Besides, the existence of numerous and parallel law-making centers in the country is itself a problematic issue and causes instability of the country's political system. Thus, it would be highly appreciated if you would enlighten

the deputies of the Islamic Consultative Assembly whose honor is to follow the Supreme Leader.]¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

With greetings, the issue you have raised is correct. God willing, I have the decision that in all aspects enactment is done in such a way that we act on the basis of the Constitution. What has been enacted during these years have something to do with the war. The interest of the system and Islam was demanding that the Gordian knots of the law be promptly untied at the interest of Islam and the people. I am grateful to all of you for your reminder and pray for you all.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The deputies who signed the letter are: Fakhruddin Hijazi; Sadiq Khalkhali; Musawi Lari; Najafqali Habibi; Asgharzadeh; Sayyid Husayn Musawi Tabrizi; Asadullah Bayat; Muhammad-Ali Saduqi; Hidayatullah Aqa'i; Majid Ansari; Husayn Hashimiyan; Ahmad Azizi; Salih-Abadi; Nurbakhsh Sidqiyani; Abbas Duzdüzani; Salamati; Hadi Khamene'i; Rasul Muntakhabniya; Ashrafi Isfahani; Murtada Al-Wayri; Ali Panahandeh; Sayyid Muhammad Husayni; Muhammad-Rida Behzadiyan; Sayyid Muhammad Ha'iri; Muadhdhinzadeh; Tajgardun; Muhammad-Husayn Jahangiri; Sayyid Muhammad Radawi Yazdi; Malik-Asa; Nurullah Abidi (Behbahan); Kabiri; Ahmad Zamaniyan; Rahchemni; Yadullah Islami; Abdul-Majid Shar-Pasand; Sayyid Rida Nuruzzadeh; Sayyid Husayn Qadizadeh; Ghulam-Rida Haydari; Abdul-Hasan Ha'irizadeh; Muhammad-Baqir Dhakiri; Muhammad-Rida Waqifi; Muhammad Qummi; Ali-Muhammad Gharibani; Masud Hashimzahi; Abdullah Nuruzi; Sayyid Kazim Mirwalad; Muhammad Majd-Ara; Hadrati; Nimatullah Asadi; Taslimi; Muzaffari-Nezhad; Yaghmur Qalizadeh; Shafii; Nawbakht; Shahrzad; Sayyid Ismail Dawudi; Ahmad Rubati; Asghar Nuruzi; Asadullah Jami; Ali Abdul-Alizadeh; Mustafa Mursali; Ahmad Himmati; Ali Karam Muhammadiyan; Sadiqi; Sayyid Muhammad Asghari; Subhanallah; Aqa'i; Ali Muhammad Suri; Partu'i; Ahmad Nazaripur; Mrs. Dastghayb; Barzanji; Mrs. Raja'i; Fakhruddin Ridazahi; Khoda-Karam Jalali; Muhammad-Husayn Pawdineh; Furutan; Majid Dabistani; Khak; Muhammad-Rida Behem'i; Ahmad Kharistani; Farviz Siqli; Khoda-Nazar Qasimi; Nur-Muhammad Muhammadiyan; Qahriman Rahmati; Sayyid Abbas Hidayati; Ali Muhaqqar; Ali-Muhammad Babakhas; Sayyid Abdul-Husayni Bandar-Langeh; and Hasan Mukhtari.

Message

Date: December 5, 1988 [Azar 14, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 24, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation for the strugglers of the *Jihad* for Reconstruction

Addressees: Those responsible for holding the *Jihad* for Reconstruction Seminar

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The incessant efforts of the *Jihad* for Reconstruction—this stronghold-builders without stronghold—in our sacred defense is among the subjects whose description transcends the confines of words. The love of the *Jihad* for Reconstruction in serving Islam and the people has illuminated the eye of the hearts of those who love to serve the religion and people.

The courage of the valiant men and brave women of our *Jihad* in our struggle against disbelief and oppression is proverbial. The scope of the altruism and self-sacrifice of the men and women in the *Jihad* [for Reconstruction] has encompassed the war and peace, the adult and youngsters, and the poor and rich of this land.

The *Jihad* is the portrait of the world of freedom and independence in the arena of action, endeavor and combat against poverty, indigence, meanness, and abjectness.

O my dear children in the *Jihad*! The only issue that you should think of is to stabilize the pillars of the pure Muhammadan Islam (s)—the Islam that will humiliate the West, on top of which is the world-devouring America and the East, foremost of which is the criminal Soviet Union, the Islam whose standard-bearers are the barefooted, oppressed people of the world and whose enemies are the atheists, unbelievers, capitalists, and money-worshippers, the Islam whose real followers have always been deprived of wealth and power while whose true enemies are the deceitful gold-amassers, playing power-holders and artless sanctimonious ones.

Through your worthy services behind the warfronts, as in the warfronts, you, my dear ones, have delighted the heart of the Imam of the Time (may my soul be his ransom).

I hope that you pass by the policy of the hard rocks of “neither East nor West, Islamic Republic” for if you would not build Iran on the pillar of true independence, then we would not have accomplished anything.

I pin my hope on you, Islamically zealous and mirthful re-constructors.
May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: December 6, 1988 [Azar 15, 1367 AHS / Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Rasul Muntajabniya

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Rasul Muntajabniya—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (*a*), he is equally permitted to collect and spend it for his sustenance in economical manner, to spend one-third of the surplus on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third; he is also permitted to collect the share of the *Sadat* (descendants of holy prophet), to give half of it to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit the other half to this humble servant. In all circumstances, he should exercise caution. May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rabi ath-Thani 25, 1409 AH

Letter

Date: December 12, 1988 [Azar 21, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in the religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida Tawassuli

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Rida Tawassuli—may his graces last,

With greetings and prayer, for long years you have been engaged in studies and discussions. From the beginning of the Islamic Revolution up to its victory and from the victory of the Revolution up to now, you have undertaken efforts. You are among the righteous persons whom I love. You are among my religious, sincere and pure friends. You have been my representative to perform all the religious law affairs as per commanded by religion. I implore God to bless you with success in rendering more and better service to Islam and the revolution. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Azar 21, 1367 AHS

¹ At the bottom of the Eminent Imam's handwriting, His Eminence Grand Ayatullah Muhammad-Ali Araki has also written something, thus:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I do hereby affirm that which has been written in the text by the late Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini (may his grave be illuminated), and you are hereby permitted and authorized by this humble servant on whatever you have been authorized. (You have) to observe caution for it is the way toward salvation.

Humbly yours,
Muhammad-Ali al-Iraqi
Dhu'l-Qadah 12, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: December 12, 1988 [Azar 21, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Asadullah Bayat

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Asadullah Bayat—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (a), he is equally permitted to collect and spend it for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third. Similarly, he is permitted to collect the share of the *Sadat* and to give half of it to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half to this humble servant to be spent on promoting Islam.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dedication

Date: December 13, 1988 [Azar 22, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 3, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Dedication of the book, *as-Sahifah as-Sajjadiyyah*

Addressee: Ali Khomeini¹

In His Most Exalted Name

“Humble Gift”

I am released from each of the two worlds by the countenance of Ali

Through the jug of the Friend I am young by the hair of Ali

I will traverse the terrestrial and celestial realms for the sake of the Friend

I will remember in the tavern the like of Ali's eyebrow

*As-Sahifah al-Kamilah as-Sajjadiyyah*² is a perfect exemplar of ascending *Quran* and among the greatest mystical litanies at the private abode of mankind. Whose blessings our hands fall short of obtaining. It is a divine book, which springs from the fountain of the Light of Allah and teaches the way of wayfaring of the great Imams and religious successor to the companions of the divine private abode. It is a noble book whose style of expressing the divine knowledge of the companions of knowledge, like the Holy Quran in having no formality in utterances, takes the form of prayer and litanies for those who are thirsty of divine knowledge. Like the Holy Quran, this sacred book is a divine table-spread in which all kinds of favors exist, and everybody, commensurate to one's spiritual appetite, can make use of it. Like the most precise divine Quran, this book of knowledge of the unseen, which stems from the divine manifestations in the mundane, celestial, heavenly, and spiritual worlds and beyond, would not come to your and my minds, and the hands of the seekers of its truths fall short, in its own peculiar way; the drops of its boundless sea of mysticism let them taste, and then efface and annihilate them:

“to Him is our return.”

¹ Ali Khomeini: a grandson of Imam Khomeini.

² *As-Sahifah (al-Kamilah) as-Sajjadiyyah* is a collection of the supplications transmitted from Imam Ali ibn al-Husayn (a).

Hence, O you writer who is deprived of all the knowledge and uninformed of the universe! Break the pen, close the *Sahifah*, and seek refuge in the everlasting grace of God—"Verily, He possesses vast mercy"—from your own bound of carnal desires which, like a cobweb, envelopes your whole existence and increases day and night.

And I offered as a gift this great book to my dear son in whose forehead I can see light and "light upon light", and that dear one who is a memento of Ahmad¹ from the pure progeny of the purified Imams (a), and trained at the pure lap of his mother who is of the progeny of the purified Imams (a) and Tabatabais who have the honor of being the seeds of Hasanayn (Imams Hasan and Husayn). I hope he would become one of the outstanding *ulama*, committed jurists [*fuqaha*] and mystic-strugglers in the way of Allah in both the outer and inner warfronts; meritoriously benefit from this sacred book; and pray for mercy and forgiveness for his old father, Khomeini, who has spent his life with carnal desire, sin and ungratefulness and now, with a black face and knapsack of sins without having hope—except through the mercy of the Most Merciful Lord—is passing from this abode and realm (world) to that abode and realm (hereafter).

O God! I entrust this family to Thee, and I pin my hope on nobody; through Your favors, place them under Your Own training.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Tuesday Night
Azar 22, 1367 AHS
Jumadi al-Ula 1409 AH

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Letter

Date: December 14, 1988 [Azar 23, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 4, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Consent to the use of registered properties based on law and courts' verdict for meeting the needs of the Judicial Organization

Addressee: Ali Razini (Head of the Judicial Organization of the Armed Forces)

[In a letter with reference number 35/67/5133 dated Azar 23, 1367 AHS, the Head of the Judicial Organization of the Armed Forces has sought permission for the use of properties registered as bands of financial corruption as decreed by law and as per courts' verdicts for meeting the needs of the mentioned Judicial Organization and affiliated establishments, and similar needs in the Armed and Disciplinary Forces. In reply, Imam Khomeini has written, thus:]

In His Most Exalted Name

I give my consent if religious considerations are observed and the honorable Mr. Prime Minister accepts.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: December 15, 1988 [Azar 24, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 5, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Emphasis on the legalization of the decisions, regulations and reference of affairs to the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

Addressee: Mahmud Muhammadi-Iraqi (Imam Khomeini's representative in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps)

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

To the great Leader of Islamic Revolution and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Imam Khomeini—may my soul be his ransom,

With my greetings and salutations of the devoted children of the Corps of Islam, It is deduced from Your Eminence's recent reply to the question posed by the esteemed deputies of the Islamic Consultative Assembly¹ that your blessed opinion is that after the war all the issues must be dealt with on the basis of the law. As what is well known to you, in the past, the only legal reference in ratifying all the legal rules and regulations in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps was the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps; hence, your blessed opinion is hereby sought in this context at the present time so as to determine the duty of the Corps' officials. This representative is committed to abide with the intentions of the Supreme Leader faithfully. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your long life and divine confirmation.

Servant-representative of the Imam in
the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps,

Mahmud Muhammadi-Iraqi]

¹ It refers to the reply dated Azar 17, 1367 AHS of Imam Khomeini to the letter of a group of the Islamic Consultative Assembly deputies, which is also included in this anthology.

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Mahmud Muhammadi-Iraqi—may his graces last,

As what you have written, from then on, as in the past, the manner of designing and ratifying rules and regulations in the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps should be maintained. The act of everybody must be in accordance with the law. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your success.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Azar 24, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: December 16, 1988 [Azar 25, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 6, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: New designation of the Head of the Supreme Disciplinary Court for Judges

Addressee: Hadi Murawwi (Head of the Supreme Disciplinary Court for Judges)

[In His Most Exalted Name

To the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

May peace be upon you. I beg to inform you that from the early days of the victory of the Revolution I, who used to be the representative of the Supreme Leader in Sulayman Mosque, was dealing with judicial affair through a decree issued to that effect. After the issuance of the eight-point order and the creation of the investigation council of the head of the disciplinary prosecutor's office and from Aban 3, 1363 AHS [October 25, 1984], I was designated as the head of the supreme disciplinary court of judges. Recently, in view of the bill of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, I have mental anxiety and apprehension for which I would like to request from the Supreme Leader that, in case he (Imam Khomeini) would designate this humble servant to the said post, rest assured that to the extent of my ability I can render humble service at the judicial establishment. The affair is with you, and may Allah grant your longevity for the Muslims.

Hadi Murawwi
Azar 21, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Hadi Murawwi—may his graces last,

You are permitted to keep on serving in the post of the disciplinary supreme court of judges; you should not have anything to worry. May you be successful and triumphant.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Azar 25, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: December 17, 1988 [Azar 26, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 7, 1409 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 be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wa Imad al-Alam Haj Shaykh Husayn Shariati—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is equally permitted to collect and spend the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit the rest of the two shares to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jumadi al-Awwal 7, 1409 AH

Letter

Date: December 22, 1988 [Dey 1, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Gratitude to the anti-hijacking mission of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps and emphasis laid on continuing the mission

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

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Muhsin Ridai, Commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps:

With gratitude for the valuable efforts of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps in guarding the airplanes and in confronting the hijackers, as in the past, the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps is responsible for protecting airplanes. In case of hijacking, IREC is the responsible body. In beginning and on the mode of operation, kindly make necessary coordination with honorable Musawi, the Prime Minister.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 1, 1367 AHS

¹ The order of Imam Khomeini was issued through Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini after the letter no. f/1-1374 dated Azar 10, 1367 AHS of Mr. Muhsin Rida'i. In this letter, the Imam designates the order issued by Imam Khomeini in 1363 AHS and holding the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps as responsible for preventing hijacking, reminding Mr. Rida'i of following: "In this mission, the Corps emerged with flying colors, and thwarted eight cases in the air and 12 cases on ground of hijacking conspiracy... After the apparent end of war, the presence of the Corps in different ways was subjected to various treatments, which in terms of maintaining the security issue of flights, have created problems for the Corps, and by reviving the previous law the entire existing organization in the airport denigrates the presence of the Corps by invoking the issue of "the absence of legal standing".

Decree

Date: December 28, 1988 [Dey 7, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 18, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs; designation of the Friday and congregational prayer leader and representative in Abadan

Addressee: Ghulam-Husayn Jami

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ghulam-Husayn Jami—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is equally permitted to collect and spend the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on his sustenance and to spend half of the surplus of share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the rest. He is also granted permission by the undersigned to postpone payment and other religious law affairs.

As he (may God, the Exalted, assist him) has been designated by the undersigned as the Friday and congregational prayer leader and representative in the city of Abadan, he is advised to conduct this enemy-crushing prayer. The local believers and inhabitants should avail of his presence and extend the necessary cooperation in preserving the unity of Muslims by fulfilling the entrusted duties. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jumadi al-Awwal 18, 1409 AH

Message

Date: December 29, 1988 [Dey 8, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 19, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Powers of the State Expediency Council and reminder to the Guardian Council

Addressees: Members of the Expediency Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable members of the Expediency Council—may their graces last,

With greetings, prayer and wish for success for the honorable council, Since the conditions of the war has been in such a manner that there is no urgent issue being directly designed in the council without being designed by the Majlis and supervised by the honorable Guardian Council, I deemed it necessary to remind you of the following points:

1. What have so far been approved in the council as expedient shall remain in force.

2. Those that are in the process of approval by the council shall be approved as deemed appropriate.

3. Then, only on cases with disagreement between the Majlis and the Guardian Council shall be worked upon as per the approved rules of the council. Of course, Article 5 shall remain in force in the manner I had amended: “Meeting shall become official with the presence of seven persons”. Article 10 is amended in this manner: The word “again” is omitted being replaced by the phrase, “only once”.

My fatherly reminder to the dear members of the Guardian Council is to take into account what is expedient for the system in dealing with these entanglements. One of the most important issues in today’s troubled world is the role of time and space in *ijtihad* and the kind of decision-making. The government determines the practical philosophy in dealing with polytheism, disbelief and internal and external difficulties. These altercations on the seminaries, which are within the framework of theories, cannot be resolved apart from the fact they bring us to impasses that would lead to the apparent defect of the Constitution. While you have to undertake your utmost effort for anything against the religious law not to take place (may God forbid that day to take place), you have to try your best also that—God forbid—in the economic, military, social, political meanders, Islam would not be accused of being incapable of administering the world. May God give opportunity to all

the members of the Expediency Council to better serve Islam. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 8, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: December 31, 1988 [Dey 10, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 21, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Consent on pardoning the prisoners and the convicted after the approval of the Anti-Narcotic Drugs Headquarters

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister and Head of the Anti-Narcotic Drugs Headquarters)

[In His Most Exalted Name

... with greetings and salutations. I respect my apology for taking your precious time and wish for Your Eminence's wellbeing and longevity. This is to notify that with the approval of the anti-narcotic drugs law by the honorable Expediency Council, the hope of those who are concerned about the revolution and the country in resolving this serious and destructive problem has tremendously increased. It is hoped that through the cooperation and sympathy of the responsible judicial and executive organizations and the will of the entire nation, a successful experience would be obtained in fighting against anti-social norms and the world arrogance's imposed conspiracies. As per prediction of the law based on Article 33 and with a view to the Headquarters, it is considered that all the executive and judicial operations and the intensification and reduction of the stages of information drive, disciplinary campaign, legal approach and treatment of the addicts by the concerned organizations shall be done with proper coordination. Based on the opinion of specialists, such an approach toward the criminals and violators from the stages of apprehension up to conviction would be done according a coordinated manner and observance of the socio-political considerations in preventing crime in the society, the repentance and giving up of others are effective. Hence, the Anti-Narcotic Drugs Headquarters requests Your Eminence that in case Your Eminence deems it appropriate, the subject of pardoning the drug-related prisoners and convicts including those who are addict and others be done with the view and cooperation of the Headquarters. In case Your Eminence's permission is presented, the method of its execution will be provided to Your Eminence.

Mir Husayn Musawi

Prime Minister and Head of the Anti-Narcotic Drugs Headquarters

Dey 10, 1367 AHS

In His Most Exalted Name

I do hereby give my consent to proposal to pardon the drug-related prisoners and convicts with the approval of the Anti-Narcotic Drugs Headquarters.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: January 1, 1989 [Dey 10, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 21, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Invitation to Islam and expressing the deficiency of the materialist thought in determining the needs of humanity; prediction of the defeat of communism

Addressee: Mikhail Gorbachev (Chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Your Excellency Mr. Gorbachev,¹ Chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

With due wishes for the happiness and prosperity of Your Excellency and the people of the Soviet Union,

Since your assumption of office, there has been the impression that in analyzing world political events, particularly those pertaining to the Soviet

¹ Born on March 21, 1931, in Stavropol territory in the Southwestern Russian SFSR, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev joined the *Komsomol* (Young Communist League) in 1946 and proved a promising *komsomol* member. He became a member of the Communist Party in 1952 and was named a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1971. He became a candidate member of the Politburo in 1979 and a full member in 1980. He owed much of his steady rise in the party to the patronage of Mikhail Suslov, the leading party ideologue. During Yuri Andropov's tenure (1982-84) as the Secretary-General of the Communist Party, Gorbachev became one of the Politburo's most highly active and prominent members. After Andropov died and Konstantin Chernenko became Secretary-General in 1984, Gorbachev became a likely successor to the latter. Chernenko died on March 10, 1985, and on the next day the Politburo elected Gorbachev, the youngest member of the Politburo, as Secretary-General of the CPSU.

Upon his succession, Gorbachev quickly set about implementing policies heralded by Andropov, and having retired an older generation of dogmatist or incompetent high officials, he liberalized and democratized the party and the USSR. He sharply criticized Brezhnev's policies that had brought the Soviet economy to stagnation and revealed Stalin's tyrannical excesses in an unprecedented manner. Gorbachev's tenure as chief political leader of the Soviet Union, characterized by glasnost and perestroika, marks a new era in the history of Marxism, and the changes Gorbachev brought about is the most significant event in the Western world in the latter half of the 20th century.

In a speech he delivered on March 25, 1991, Gorbachev summed up the wrong policies of former communist authorities in one sentence, "In the past we were negligent of one thing—the intrinsic tendency of people toward religion."

Union, you have found yourself in a new era of reassessment, change and confrontation. Your boldness and initiative in dealing with the realities of the world is quite likely to bring about changes that would result in upsetting the equations of power dominating the world. I have therefore found it necessary to bring certain matters to your attention.

Even if your new approach and decisions are merely used as a means to overcome the party crisis and to resolve some of the problems confronting your people, your courage in reappraising a school of thought that has for decades enchained the revolutionary youth of the world behind its iron curtain is indeed worthy of praise. If, however, you are considering taking a step forward, the first thing that will ensure your success is that you reevaluate your predecessors' policy of obliterating God and religion from society.¹ This policy has, no doubt, the heaviest blow to the Soviet people. Rest assured that this is the only way whereby world problems can be dealt with realistically.

Of course, it is possible that as a result of wrong economic policies of the former communist leaders, the Western world, an illusory heaven, will appear to be fascinating, but the truth lies elsewhere. If you hope, at this juncture, to cut the Gordian economic knots of socialism and communism by appealing to Western capitalism, you will, far from remedying any ill of your society, commit a mistake which those to come will have to erase. For, if Marxism has come to a deadlock in its social and economic policies, capitalism has also bogged down in this as well as in other respects, though in a different form.

Mr. Gorbachev,

¹ Ever since the emergence of communist governments, the struggle to uproot religious faith has been at the top of the agenda of communist leaders. This endless struggle has taken different forms depending on the circumstances of religious societies. After the victory of the Russian Revolution, the struggle found an ideological basis. Marxism, in Lenin's words, "considered all religions and religious institutions as instruments in the hands of the bourgeoisie to exploit the non-propertied proletariat." As early as 1919, the Russian authorities set up a complex machinery for anti-religious education and set about implementing administrative policies such as closing the mosques and churches.

Viewing Islam as a remnant of the pre-socialist stage, Marxists took two major approaches to confront it: to wipe out Islam as an alien element from the scene of public life by openly challenging it, and to assimilate Islam into Russian society by Russianizing Muslims. Stalin, the most notorious of all communist leaders, persecuted Muslims on a large scale by banishing certain Muslim peoples collectively to Siberia and Asia Minor. The astonishing number of Russian anti-religious publications distributed in Islamic countries is part of the Soviet government's universal struggle against Islam. The occupation of Afghanistan was the Soviet Union's last attempt to penetrate the Islamic world.

Reality must be faced. The main problem confronting your country is not one of private ownership, freedom and economy; your problem is the absence of true faith in God, the very problem that has dragged or will drag the West to vulgarism and an impasse. Your main problem is the prolonged and futile war you have waged against God, the source of existence and creation.

Mr. Gorbachev,

It is clear to everybody that from now on communism will only have to be found in the museums of world political history, for Marxism cannot meet any of the real needs of mankind. Marxism is a materialistic ideology and materialism cannot bring humanity out of the crisis caused by a lack of belief in spirituality—the prime affliction of the human society in the East and the West alike.

Mr. Gorbachev,

You may not have turned your back on certain aspects of Marxism in theory. You may continue to profess your heartfelt loyalty to it in interviews, but you know that this is not the case in reality. The leader of China¹ struck the first blow to communism and you have struck the second and, apparently, final blow. Today, we have no such thing as communism in the world. I earnestly call on you not to get trapped, while tearing down the walls of

¹ Mao Zedong's policies in early years were based in many respects on, as Mao later said, "copying from the Soviets." But soon Mao took steps that were to lead to the breakdown of the political and ideological alliance with Moscow. The source of difference was what Mao called Sinification of Marxism—its adaptation not only to Chinese conditions but to the mentality and cultural traditions of the Chinese people. This manifested itself in the Rectification Campaign of 1952-53. This program aimed to giving a basic grounding in Marxist theory and Leninist principles of party organization to new members. But a second and equally important aspect of the movement was the elimination of what Mao called "foreign dogmatism"—in other words, blind imitation of Soviet experience and obedience to Soviet directives. After Stalin's death in 1953, the ideological split with the Soviet Union became public and irreparable. In the ideological dispute that followed, Mao accused the Soviets of revisionism; the Soviets, in turned, called Mao a revisionist, a chauvinist.

Mao's inflexible approach of his version of Marxism, on the one hand, and his obstinate stance against imperialism, on the other hand, isolated him from his Soviet alliances as well as the Western world. It was against this background that he proclaimed the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom"—that is, the freedom to express many diverse ideas—designed to prevent the development in China of a regressive political climate analogous to that in the Soviet Union under Stalin and to foster an enthusiasm for economic development in the country. Other movements such as the Great Leap Forward, and the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution that represented attempts by Mao to achieve these goals resulted in deep changes and revisions in Marxist ideology.

Marxist illusions in the prison of the West and the Great Satan.¹ I hope that you will attain the honor of removing the decayed layers of 70-year communist aberration from the face of history and of your country. Today, your allies who are genuinely concerned about their homelands and people are no longer willing to sacrifice their subterranean and surface resources to keep alive the myth of success of communism—an ideology the sound of whose collapse has already reached the ears of their children.

Mr. Gorbachev,

When after 70 years the call of “Allah is Great” and the testimony to the prophethood of the Seal of Prophets, Muhammad (peace be upon him and his progeny) were heard from the minarets of the mosques in some of your republics, all the followers of genuine Muhammadan Islam were moved to tears out of ecstasy. Therefore, I have found it necessary to request you to reflect once again on the materialistic and theistic worldviews. Materialists consider *sense* to be the sole criterion of knowledge and are of the opinion that whatever cannot be known through the senses falls outside the realm of knowledge. They identify existence with matter and consider as nonexistent anything that has no material form. Inevitably, they regard the world of the unseen—God Almighty, Divine Revelation, Prophethood, and the Resurrection—as mere illusion. On the other hand, theists consider both *sense* and *reason* to be the criteria of knowledge and maintain that whatever can be known through reason lies within the realm of knowledge, although it is not perceptible. To theists, therefore, existence is inclusive of both the unseen and the manifest. For a thing to exist, it is not necessary to have a material body.² In the same way that a material thing depends on an incorporeal thing,³ sensory perception is dependent on rational perception.

¹ A term applied by Imam Khomeini to the American Government to show its arrogant and diabolical character. The term was first used by the Imam during a lecture he delivered a day after the storming of the American Embassy in Tehran.

² Human knowledge is dependent on both experience and reason. Experience provides the “manifold” or material of knowledge; reason provides the necessary, infallible principles by which to abstract the general and to order the manifold of experience. In other words, human knowledge begins with sensory experience, which is an awareness of the concrete particular. Sense experience, however, gives the particular and never the general. Knowledge of the general is possible only on the possession of rational powers. Sense and reason, then, are two faculties which, while quite different, can supply objectively valid judgments of things only in conjunction with each other.

³ To have sense and sense organs is prerequisite for perception and the acquisition of knowledge about the external world. Sense organs receive impressions of perceptible objects and transmit them as raw materials to the mind. In addition, sense organs can report to the mind the precedence of the impressions, but it is not in the capacity of sense to comprehend the relations or establish connections among the sensory impressions. For instance, through the action of sense organs we do feel the curative effect of medicine after we take it, and, this experience repeated, we deduced that “medicine is the cause of cure.” The implicit syllogism underlying this conclusion consists of the premise that “medicine precedes cure cannot be accidental.” In other words, in argumentative syllogisms, if, for instance, the minor premise is reached through sense organs, the major premise must be general, rational law so that a conclusion may be drawn. Thus, to deduce a conclusion from sense impressions depends on the reasoning power of the intellect, without which man’s knowledge must be a pile of unrelated sense impressions.

The Holy Quran reprobrates the fundamentals of materialistic thought and, addressing those who say: "We shall never believe in thee until we see God manifestly,"¹ proclaims: "Vision comprehends Him not, and He comprehends all vision; and He is the Knower of subtleties, the Aware."² I should not like to present here Quranic arguments concerning Divine Revelation, Prophethood and the Resurrection, which from your point of view are debatable. In fact, I do not wish to entangle you in the twists and turns of philosophical arguments, particularly those of Islamic philosophy. I will content myself by presenting one or two simple, intuitive examples of which even politicians can avail themselves.

It is self-evident that matter, whatever its nature, has no awareness of self. Consider a stone statue: each side is ignorant of the other side, whereas human beings and animals, we clearly observe, are aware of their surroundings. They know where they are and are aware of what goes on around them. There must be, then, an element in men and animals that transcends matter and is separate from it, living beyond the life of matter. Intrinsically, man seeks to attain absolute perfection. He strives, as you well know, for absolute power over the world; he is not attached to any power that is defective. If he has the entire world at his command, he naturally feels inclined to have command of another world once he is informed of its existence. No matter how learned a person may be if he learns of some other branch of knowledge, he naturally feels inclined to attain mastery of that branch of knowledge as well. Therefore, there must be some Absolute Power and Absolute Knowledge to which man is attached. It is God we all seek although we may not be aware of it. Man strives to attain Absolute Truth, so that he may be annihilated in God. Basically, the desire for eternal life that is

¹ A reference to the Quran 2:55: "And when you said: O Moses, we will not believe in thee till we see Allah manifestly, so the punishment overtook you while you looked on."

² A reference to the Quran, 6:103. The physical vision of man, working as it does only within narrow limits and being able only to see bodies, cannot comprehend the Infinite One. He sees everyone and everything but cannot be seen.

inherent in every individual is proof of the existence of an Eternal World to which destruction cannot find its way.

Should Your Excellency desire further information on these matters, you may command those scholars of yours who are well-versed in this field to study the writings of Peripatetic¹ philosophers, al-Farabi² and Avicenna,³

¹ A school of philosophy founded by Aristotle and expanded by his disciples. It is so called because Aristotle taught philosophy while moving about. According to the Peripatetic philosophy man can reach the truth through meditation and reasoning provided he directs his thoughts correctly. Most Muslim philosophers including Farabi and Avicenna were followers of this school.

² One of Islam's leading philosophers, al-Farabi was born at Farab, situated on the Jaxartes (Syr Darya), the modern Otrar. Coming to Baghdad, he studied under the Christian doctor Johanna, son of Hilan. Another of his teachers was Abu Bishr Matta, known as a translator of Greek works. He next proceeded to Aleppo, to the court of Sayf ad-Dawlah, son of Hamdan, and led a somewhat retired life under his protection, assuming the garb of a Sufi. When this prince captured Damascus, he took the philosopher with him, and there Farabi died in 339 AH/950.

Farabi's literary production was considerable, but a great number of his works was lost very early. They were chiefly commentaries or explanations of the Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle. He wrote *An Introduction to Logic*, *A Concise Logic*, a series of commentaries on the *Isagoge of Porphyry*, the *Categories*, the *Hermenias*, the *First and Second Analytics*, the *Topics*, *Sophistic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics*. The whole formed an *Organon* divided into nine parts. In the sphere of Moral Philosophy he wrote a commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*; in that of political philosophy, he made a summary of *Plato's Laws*, and composed a short treatise on the *Ideal City*. To psychology and metaphysics he contributed numerous works, with such titles as *Intelligence and the Intelligible*, *The Soul*, *The Faculties of the Soul*, *The One and Unity*, *Substance*, *Time*, *The Void*, and *Space and Measure*. He also commented on Alexander of Aphrodisias' book, *de Anima*. Believing that Greek philosophy was a unity, he labored to reconcile Plato and Aristotle, and with this idea wrote treatises on *The Aims of Plato and Aristotle* and *The Agreement between Plato and Aristotle*. He also discussed certain interpretations of Aristotle proposed by Galen and John Philoponus, and composed *An Intervention between Aristotle and Galen*.

In the sphere of science, Farabi wrote commentaries on *Aristotle's Physics*, *Meteorology*, *The Heavens*, and *The Universe*, besides commenting on the *Almagest of Ptolemy*. To him also is due an essay explaining some difficult propositions from the *Elements of Euclid*. The occult sciences interested him, and he left writings on alchemy, geomancy, genii, and dreams.

This great philosopher was also a talented musician, a somewhat exceptional combination. In this sphere he was at the same time composer, virtuoso, and theorist.

³ Abu Ali al-Husayn ibn Abdullah ibn Sina, or Avicenna, entitled *al-Shaykh al-Ra'is*, or *Hujjat al-Haqq* by his compatriots, simply *Shaykh* by his disciples, and the *Prince of Physicians* in the occidental world, was born near Bukhara in the year 370 AH/980. When Ibn Sina was five years old he and his family moved to the city of Bukhara, where the young boy had a greater opportunity to study. At the age of ten he already knew grammar, literature, and theology as well as the whole of the Quran. When the famous mathematician, Abu Abdullah al-Natili, came to Bukhara, he was invited to stay at the house of Ibn Sina in order to teach him mathematics. Under his tutelage Ibn Sina mastered the *Almagest*, the *Elements of Euclid* and some logic, all of which he soon knew better than his teacher. Having mastered mathematics, he then turned his attention to physics, metaphysics, and medicine. By the time he was sixteen Ibn Sina had mastered all the sciences of his day and was well known as a physician. In another two years, thanks to the commentary of al-Farabi, he was also to complete his understanding of Aristotle's metaphysics which at first had presented considerable difficulty for him.

Despite the loss in part or *in toto* of several of his major works, such as the twenty-volume *Kitab al-Insaf* on the arbitration of Eastern and Western philosophy and the *Lisan al-Arab* in ten volumes, over two-hundred and fifty books, treatises, and letters of Ibn Sina have survived. They range from the voluminous *Kitab ash-Shifa* and *Al-Qanun fi't-Tibb* to treatises of only a few pages like *Risalat al-Fil wal-Infial* and *Risalah fi's-Sirr al-Qadar*.

His books can be roughly divided into four separate groups: the philosophical, religious, cosmological and physical, and finally the symbolical and metaphysical narratives.

Kitab ash-Shifa, a vast philosophical and scientific encyclopedia, is probably the largest work of its kind ever written by one man. *Al-Qanun fi't-Tibb* is the most famous single book in the history of medicine in both the East and West. In the West, this book became the only medical authority for several centuries and Ibn Sina enjoyed an undisputed place of honor. In the East his dominating influence in medicine, philosophy and theology has lasted over the ages and is still alive within the circles of Islamic thought.

peace be upon them in addition to the works of Western philosophers. It will then become clear that the law of causation on which all knowledge depends is a rational, not sensible law. Likewise, perception of general laws and concepts on which all reasoning rests is reached not by means of sensory experience but through rational argument.¹ Your scholars may further refer to the Ishraqi² theosophy of Suhrawardi³ and explain to you that the flesh, as

¹ See footnote 5.

² One of the most valuable schools of Islamic philosophy, the philosophy of Illumination combines Neoplatonic and Islamic ideas. According to this philosophy, the source of all things is Absolute Light. That which is visible requires no definition, and nothing is more visible than light, whose every nature consists in manifestation. We may distinguish two illuminations, i.e. modes of being of the Primal Light: 1) pure, abstract, formless; 2) accidental derivative, possessing form. Pure light is self-conscious substance (spirit or soul), knowing itself through itself for whatever knows itself must be pure light'. Accidental light is related to pure light as effect to cause and only exists as attribute in association with the illuminated object.

Accidental light is of two kinds: a) dark substance; b) dark forms, i.e. quantities, and the combination of these two make up a material body. Since darkness is nothing but the absence of light, and light is identical with reality, the substance and forms of the universe consist of illumination diffused from Primal Light in infinite gradation of intensity. It follows that everything partakes of reality in proportion to the radiance which it receives and toward which it ever moves "with lover's passion, in order to drink more and more of the original fountain of Light." This perpetual flow and ebb of desire produces the revolutions of the heavenly spheres, the processes of nature, and all human activities. While the entire universe is eternal as emanating from Eternal Light, but contingent if regarded as the object of irradiation, some illuminations are simple, others compound and therefore inferior. The intelligences, the celestial spheres, the souls of the heavens, time, motion, and the archetypes of the elements belong to a higher world, which may be called eternal in contrast with all below it, though in the relation existing between them not posteriority but parallelism is implied.

³ A figure of the Illuminationist School of Islamic Philosophy, Siḥab ad-Dīn Yahyā Suhrawardī, was born in Suhraward, near Zanjan, Iran in 1155. After studying in Isfahan, a leading center of Islamic scholarship, Suhrawardī traveled through Iran, Anatolia and Syria. Influence by mystical teachings, he spent much time in meditation and seclusion, and in Halab (modern Aleppo) he favorably impressed its ruler, Malik az-Zāhir. His teachings, however, aroused the opposition of established and learned religious men [*ulama*], who persuaded Malik to have him put to death. The appellation *al-Maqtul* [the killed one] meant that he was not to be considered a *shahid* [martyr].

Suhrawardī wrote voluminously. The more than 50 works that were attributed to him were classified into two categories: doctrinal and philosophical accounts containing commentaries on the works of Aristotle and Plato, as well as his contribution to the Illuminationist School; and shorter treatises, generally written in Persian and of an esoteric nature, meant to illustrate the paths and journeys of a mystic before he could achieve *marifah* (gnosis of knowledge). For a brief account of his doctrines see footnote 13.

well as any other material thing, is in need of Pure Light which has no material entity. Man's witnessing of his own truth does not take place by means of any sense organ.¹ You may also have the scholars familiarize themselves with Transcendental philosophy² of Mulla Sadra³ (may Allah be

¹ Man's knowledge is of two kinds: acquired and intuitive. As for the former, this kind of knowledge is "acquired" through an intermediary, a conception of the thing, concrete or abstract, that is formed in the mind and is gained either through rational argument or sensory impressions.

Intuitive knowledge is the immediate apprehension or cognition of things without the help of an intermediary. It is evident that man's knowledge of his self, of his attributes and moods, is of the second kind and that man's apprehension of concrete particulars is dependent on the knowledge of his self.

² A school of philosophy founded by Mulla Sadra (see footnote 17). After centuries of philosophical development in Islam, Mulla Sadra brought complete order and harmony to philosophical problems for the first time. He organized and systematized them like mathematical problems and at the same time wed philosophy and gnosis, thereby bringing about several important developments. He gave to philosophy new ways to discussing and solving hundreds of problems that could not be solved through Peripatetic philosophy. He made possible the analysis and solution of a series of mystical questions which, to that day, had been considered as belonging to a domain above that of reason and beyond comprehension through rational thought.

By following the methods he had developed, Mulla Sadra succeeded in proving "transubstantial motion." Earlier Muslim philosophers, following Aristotle, believe that motion is possible only in accidents of things, not in their substance. Mulla Sadra asserted on the contrary, that whenever something partakes of motion, its substance undergoes motion and not just its accidents. Mulla Sadra also discovered the intimate relation of time to the three spatial dimensions in a manner that is similar to the meaning given in modern physics to the "fourth dimension" and which resemble the general principles of the theory of relativity. It should be noted here that Mulla Sadra based his philosophical arguments on pure reasoning, without appealing to intuition and illumination, but he found reason in need of illumination and intuition.

³ Mulla Sadra (d. 1050 AH/1640), also called Sadr ad-Din Shirazi and Sadr al-Mutaalihin, was a philosopher who led the Iranian cultural renaissance in the 17th century. The foremost representative of Ishraqi [Illuminationist] School of philosopher-mystics, he is commonly regarded by Iranians as the greatest philosopher of Iran. A scion of a notable Shirazi family, Mulla Sadra completed his education in Isfahan, then the leading cultural and intellectual center of Iran. After his studies with scholars there, he produced several works, the most famous of which was his *Asfar* (Journeys). *Asfar* contains the bulk of his philosophy, which was influenced by a personal mysticism bordering on asceticism that he experienced during a 15-year retreat at Kahak, a village near Qum in Iran.

Toward the end of his life, Mulla Sadra returned to Shiraz to teach. His teachings, however, were considered heretical by the orthodox Shiite theologians, who persecuted him, though his powerful family connections permitted him to continue to write. He died on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

pleased with him and resurrect him with the prophets and the pious) so that it may become clear that the nature of knowledge is different from the nature of matter and that intellect, far removed from matter, cannot be restricted by the laws governing matter.

I will not tire you further by mentioning the works of mystics, in particular Muhyid-Din ibn al-Arabi.¹ If you wish to make yourself acquainted with the doctrines of this celebrated mystic, send a number of your brilliant scholars, who are well-versed in this field, to Qum² so that, by

¹ Muhyi'd-Din ibn al-Arabi, the celebrated Muslim mystic whose influence came to permeate the intellectual and spiritual life of virtually the entire Muslim world, was born at Murcia in Southern Spain in 1165. Much of his youth was spent in Seville, where he devoted himself to literary, theological and mystical studies. After visiting Granada and other Spanish towns, as well as Tunis, Fez, and Morocco, he set out in 1202 for the East by way of Egypt, whence he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He did not return to Spain. Many of the remaining years of his life were passed in the neighborhood of Mecca, but he also traveled extensively to Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Syria, everywhere gaining disciples and spreading his doctrines through dialogues with scientists and scholars.

Whether we regard the extent of his theological writings or their influence on the subsequent development of Islamic mysticism, Ibn al-Arabi can justly claim the supreme position among Sufi authors which posterity has accorded him, and which is attested by the title, *Ash-Shaykh al-Akbar*, conferred on him by the almost unanimous voice of those who are best qualified to judge. The list of his works drawn up by himself contains 289 titles, and some of them are of enormous length. The most famous and important is the *Futuh al-Makkiyah*. In this, as in many of his works, Ibn al-Arabi professes to communicate mysteries revealed to him in ecstatic vision by prophets, angels, and even God Himself.

² Since the third century AH, Qum—the burial place of Fatimah Masumah (peace be upon her), the sister of Imam Rida, the eighth Imam from the Prophet's Progeny—has been a center of learning and pilgrimage. In the mid-14th century, the great scholar and *faqih*, Ayatullah Ha'iri settled in Qum and reorganized the religious teaching institution. Following Ayatullah Ha'iri, scholars from other cities came to Qum and it was not long before Qum was elevated to the status of the center of religious learning in Iran. At present thousands of students from Islamic and non-Islamic countries are studying in Qum. The students, having completed introductory courses, embark, depending on their interests, on a wide range of Islamic sciences, including jurisprudence, exegesis, *usul* [the principles of religion or dogmatic theology], philosophy, mysticism, history, and *hadith*.

reliance on God, they may glimpse the depth of the delicate stages of gnosis after a couple of years.¹ It would be impossible for them to acquire this knowledge without making such a journey.

Mr. Gorbachev,

After mentioning these problems and preliminary points, let me call on you to study Islam earnestly, not because Islam and Muslims may need you but because Islam has exalted universal values which can bring comfort and salvation to all nations and remove the basic problems of mankind. A true understanding of Islam may forever release you from the problem of Afghanistan² and other similar involvements. We treat Muslims of the world as Muslims of our own country and will ever share in their destiny.

By granting certain liberties to some of your republics in matters pertaining to religious practices, you have shown that you no longer consider

¹ A stage of gnosis, or *maqam* is a spiritual stage that periodically marks the long path followed by Muslim mystics (Sufis) leading to the vision of, and union with, God. The Sufi progresses by means of his own *mujahadah* (strife or self-abnegation) and through the help and guidance of the masters (*shaykhs*). In each *maqam* the Sufi strives to purify himself from all worldly inclination and to prepare himself to attain an ever-higher spiritual level.

The order and number of the *maqams* are not uniform among all Sufis. The majority, however, agree on seven major *maqams*: 1) the *maqam* of *tawba* (repentance), which does not mean remembrance of sins and atonement for them but rather forgetting them along with everything that distracts from the love of God; 2) the *maqam* of *wara* (fear of the Lord), which is not fear of hellfire but rather the dread of being separated eternally from God; 3) the *maqam* of *zuhd* (renunciation, or detachment), which means that the person is devoid of possessions and his heart is without acquisitiveness; 4) the *maqam* of *faqr* (poverty), in which he asserts his independence of worldly possessions; 5) the *maqam* of *sabr* (patience), the art of steadfastness; 6) the *maqam* of *tawakkul* (trust or surrender), in which the Sufi knows that he cannot be discouraged by hardships and pain, for he is in total submission to God's will and finds joy even in his sorrow; 7) the *maqam* of *rida* (satisfaction), a state of quiet contentment and joy that comes from the anticipation of the long-sought union.

² Following a bloody Marxist coup in Afghanistan in 1978, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan on December 27, 1979 to prop up a friendly regime. Within months, 100,000 Soviet troops had dug in for a long war of attrition against Muslim fighters in the mountains. Opposition to the Soviet spread rapidly. Men were drafted only to desert at the earliest opportunity, and the Afghan military dropped from its 1978 strength of 105,000 to about 20,000-30,000 by 1987. As the result of this bitter war, a great number of cities and towns were devastated and the Soviet and Muslim fighters suffered considerable casualties. The continuation of resistance resulted in a series of short-lived, Soviet-backed government, bringing more and more discredit upon the Soviet Union.

religion as the “opiate of people.”¹ Indeed, how can Islam be the opiate of people—the religion that has made Iranians as firm as a mountain against superpowers? Is the religion that seeks the administration of justice in the world and man’s freedom from material and spiritual shackles, the opiate of people? Only that religion is the opiate of the people that causes the material and spiritual resources of Islamic and non-Islamic countries to pass into the clutches of super- and lesser powers and that preaches religion to be separate from politics. This, however, cannot be called a true religion; it is what our people call an “American religion.”

In conclusion, I declare outright that the Islamic Republic of Iran as the greatest and most powerful base of the Islamic world can easily fill the vacuum of religious faith in your society. In any case, our country honors good neighborhood and bilateral relations as in the past. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance.²

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 11, 1367 AHS

¹ A reference to Lenin’s notorious statement: “Religion is the opiate of people.”

² A reference to the Quran 20:47. The verse contains a clear warning to Pharaoh of his end in case of rejection. Moses and Aaron were directed to convey this message. The full verse reads: “So you go to him and say: Surely we are two messengers of thy Lord: So send forth the Children of Israel with us: and torment them not. Indeed we have brought to thee a message from thy Lord, and peace be upon those who follow the guidance.”

The delegation representing Imam Khomeini, headed by Mr. Abdullah Jawadi Amuli, one of the Imam’s disciples, accompanied by the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Muhammad-Jawad Ardeshtir Larijani, and a lady representative of the Majlis, Mrs. Mardiyyah Hadidehcheh (Dibagh), arrived in Moscow on Dey 13, 1367 AHS [January 3, 1989]. This delegation was welcomed by Muntashioly (?) (Secretary of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Deputy Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Friday and congregational prayer leader of Moscow and the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Moscow. The detailed commentary on Imam Khomeini’s message to Mikhail Gorbachev written by Mr. Jawadi Amuli after return from the journey was published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini’s Works under the title, *Ava-ye Tawhid* [A Call to Divine Unity].

Decree

Date: January 1, 1989 [Dey 11, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 22, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Judicial mission to address the reports of the cities of Semnan, Sirjan, Islamabad, and Durud

Addressee: Nayyiri

[In His Most Exalted Name]

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Nayyiri—may his graces last,

Numerous have reached me reports regarding alleged weakness of the judiciary. The committed noble people of Iran expect more serious treatment with different issues. You and Hujjat al-Islam Raisi are given a judicial mission to attend to the reports of the cities of Semnan, Sijan, Islamabad and Durud and without observing office formalities, the law of God should be carefully and speedily implemented in the mentioned cases. Try your best lest anybody's right would ever God forbid, be, trampled on. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 11, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: January 3, 1989 [Dey 13, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 24, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Fadil Maliki

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Jumadi al-Awwal 24, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Fadil Maliki—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect the two blessed shares and to spend the blessed share of the Imam (a) on his sustenance economical manner, to spend one-third of the surplus on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third to this humble servant. He is also permitted to give half of the Share of the *Sadat* to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Reply to a Query

Date: January 7, 1989 [Dey 17, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 28, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Consent on allocating income of confiscated estate to expenditures of theological schools for girls in Kerman

Addressee: Majid Ansari Kermani

[To Honorable Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini—may my soul be his ransom,

With greetings and wish for health of His Holiness, This is to inform Your Eminence that about 150 years ago an estate in Kerman has been endowed to a religious seminary, its students and teachers. For many years the seminary had been in a ruined state. After the Revolution, it was renovated and used by the female students of theology, and as the moment, a number of female seminary students studying there. Your Eminence is kindly requested to present your opinion on how to use the income of confiscated estate for the expenditures of the seminary and the female students.

Majid Ansari Kemrani
Dey 17, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

The income of the mentioned estate can be spent on expenses of the female students; in this aspect there is no difference between male and female seminary students.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: January 8, 1989 [Dey 18, 1367 AHS / Jumadi al-Awwal 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the commencement of the New Year

Addressee: Erich Honecker (President of East Germany)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Erich Honecker, President of the Democratic Republic of Germany,

The receipt of your congratulatory message on the occasion of New Year is acknowledged. It is hoped that, today, the world full of corruption and wickedness can make use of this opportunity and benefit from the lofty and human-building teachings of the Holy Jesus [Messiah] (a) for the elimination of the confusions and tyrannies as well as for the deliverance of the deprived people of the world in practical and real manner.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 18, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: January 10, 1989 [Dey 20, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation of workers in the oil industry and other production and industrial centers in reconstruction efforts

Addressees: Workers in the oil industry and other production and industrial sections

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

During the struggle and victory of the revolution and from the outbreak of the war up to now, the noble nation of Iran has witnessed the sincerity, and efforts of the dear workers and esteemed officials of industries and factories, especially the dear ones in the oil company. The oil industry workers have indeed rendered the most meritorious services at the most sensitive circumstances. The value of their struggle with the *taghuti* (followers of evil) regime of the Shah in staging strike and shutting of the oil pipelines to foreigners and rendering a decisive blow to them will never be forgotten. Yet, more important than this is the fact that during the imposed war, notwithstanding the probability of enormous dangers and perpetual bombings of the oil and industrial centers, by relying on God Almighty and self-confidence, the officials and workers committed and sympathetic to the revolution have never become sluggish. Through firm determination they preserved the prestige of the revolution and honored Islam and Iran. In the most difficult times and circumstances, they kept on with the production and exportation of oil at the highest extent. Apart from repairing the destroyed centers, they continued the development of this important industry and the exploration deep in the heart of the seas, on the ground, and on top of mountain peaks. For many authorities these accomplishments are astonishing because at the height of enemies' nonstop attacks both the oil production and exportation of this country was not cut for even a day. This is nothing but favor of God, attention of the Savior (may our souls be his ransom) and love concealed in the hearts of these beloveds, the same love of the *Basijis* to the sacred defense. I have observed numerous cases of struggles of these lover-artists in reports and pictures. I am certain that if it were not for love of God and the school of thought, they would never be willing to continue working in, factories and refineries that have been surrounded by different kinds of dangers and being replete with incendiary materials. Congratulations to you,

employees, employers and thinkers who bought for yourselves the fire of this world for the sake of pleasing God.

Apart from thanking the managers of the country's industries, especially the oil and gas industry, and ask them to prove to the world that through their effort and idea they can turn the wheels of the country's economy. God willing, through the glad tidings of the complete operation of the oil, gas and petrochemical industries in the not-too-distant future, they will bring delight to the eyes and hearts of the people of Iran. Through effort in this sacred attempt, you will prove to the people of the world that the post-war economic pressures will not make us dependent on any country. The anti-revolutionaries inside and outside the country as well as the imperialists of the left and right are campaigning in all arenas so that the post-war economic pressures would break the backbone of the nascent Islamic system. They have to bury this wish. People, who have prepared themselves for a protracted struggle under bombardments and in all vicissitudes, would never be willing to have the least leniency in facing the World Arrogance. The fact that post-war inadequacies cannot be immediately solved is among the self-evident truths. Some years' time is needed for elimination of the shortages. The dear ones who are working in the factories affiliated to the light and heavy industries, oil, gas, mines, energy, post and telegraph and telephone, transportation and other centers have to pay attention to God, not to listen to the enemies' propaganda. Remain firm and steadfast in running the wheels of the country's economy and industry.

Today, the world is closely watching your and our actions to see what we are doing and to what extent do we have the ability to confront difficulties. Today, your old father, Khomeini, asks you, workers, industrialists and experts to be careful lest the people should be again under the clutches of powers and superpowers. Post-war problems will surface one after another our nascent system will stand firm in facing them like a mountain. And the dear ones under the pressure of the wheels of life and economy, just as they have so far struggled for the sake of God and His religion, will also struggle to the utmost thereafter; otherwise, all the efforts during these years full of pain, anxiety and honor will be blown in the wind. The people's vigilance at the present condition is one of the factors for their victory over falsehood. And the people should not imagine that the penetrating hands of the (World) Arrogance and America have relented from act of wickedness. Everywhere and in every subject, the probability of their presence and sabotage is there. One must be extra careful lest there would be hand at work, spreading the propaganda that there was no more war and yet, the condition of the country

has not improved. Will the effects of war end in a year or two? I kiss the hands and arms of all those who are working sincerely for the independence and self-sufficiency of the country. I advise you again to rely on God and never be under the East and the West. The people have to take their decision: Either comfort and consumerism, or enduring difficulties and independence. It is possible that this issue will take some years, but certainly our people will choose the second, which is independence, prestige and honor.

I do not see the need to point out the importance of oil in the world equations and international economy as well as crucial role of oil and energy industry in countries and policies. God willing, with enough attention, insight and meticulousness those who are taking charge of the affair would take care of these God-given treasures and reserves; to strive in improving and more and better utilization of them; and they would be successful in guaranteeing the needs of the society and the barefooted as well as in giving priority to the deprived regions. May God preserve this sacred spirit of military service and self-sacrifice in all the workers, employees and experts till the attainment of total independence and self-sufficiency. May God shower His martyrs with mercy and blessings; give health to the disabled war veterans; and allow the missing in action and prisoners of war to return to their country and lap of their dear families. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 20, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: January 10, 1989 [Dey 20, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Husayn Muzaffari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Husayn Muzaffari—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect and sparingly spend the blessed share of the Imam (a) for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the remaining other two-thirds. He is also permitted to collect and give half of the share of the *Sadat* to needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jumadi ath-Thani 2, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: January 13, 1989 [Dey 23, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 5, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Warning to judicial officials and mission to attend to judicial problems of the towns of Sijan and Durud

Addressees: Nayyiri; Raisi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Since high-ranking judicial officials of the country have not showed any reaction to the above shaking issues, Hujjat al-Islams Messrs. Nayyiri and Raisi are hereby commissioned to act upon the mentioned cases according to their discretion within the framework of the dear Islam. It is surprising that such incidents would happen in the Islamic system such that utmost indifference the implementation of the laws of God is postponed and that others works would take priority over judicial work.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dey 23, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: January 14, 1989 [Dey 24, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 6, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message for the New Year

Addressee: Todor Zhivkov (President of Bulgaria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the Republic of Bulgaria,

The receipt of your congratulatory message on the arrival of the New Year is acknowledged. It is hoped that in the New Year, the rulers in the world, especially the Christian countries, would take the lofty and heavenly teachings of the Holy Messiah (a) as the guide for their acts and take serious action in eliminating discriminations and deprivations suffered by oppressed and deprived nations.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 24, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: January 15, 1989 [Dey 25, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 7, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Quran as comprehensive secrets of divine knowledge; value of books by mystics

Addressee: Fatimah Tabatabai¹

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. May peace and salutation be upon Muhammad and his pure, chaste and infallible progeny; may God's curse be upon all their enemies till the Day of Judgment. During the youthful days, I used the book, *Fusus al-Hikam*,² and other mystical books, which the great teachers of mysticism have left for the service of some mystic teachers³ (may Allah be pleased with them). Since in my old age, my dear daughter (Fati), Mrs. Fatimah Tabatabai, requested this incapable one to write something, I have to say that the mentioned books, notwithstanding all the value and station that they have and the fact that they have a lot of valuable help in understanding the Holy Quran—this plentiful fountain of the knowledge of Allah as well as the books of supplication of the Infallible Imams (may God's peace be upon all of them), which must indeed be called the “ascending Quran”⁴ and the *hadiths* of those holy ones—do not possess the sweetness, elegance and comprehensiveness of the Divine Book.

To cite an example, the blessed *Surah al-Hamd* (*al-Fatihah*) consists of comprehensive secrets of the divine knowledge to endure, something that is beyond the capability of this writer whose hands and feet are fettered. You should know, my dear daughter, that “*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the worlds*” connote knowledge and secrets, which are beyond our comprehension. If a mystic, who possesses secret, would contemplate on “*All praise is due to Allah*” along with the holder of authority [infallible

¹ Spouse of Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

² *Fusus al-Hikam*: a book on mysticism written by Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ali, known as Muhyiddin ibn al-Arabi (d. 638 AH).

³ It refers to Mirza Muhammad-Ali Shahabadi, Imam Khomeini's teacher.

⁴ The Holy Quran is the revealed [descending] book while the supplications transmitted from the Noble Prophet (s) and the infallible Imams (a), which are in fact repetition of the Quranic concepts in human language, are called the “ascending Quran”.

Imams (a)], he would realize that in the universe there is no person or thing, but Allah. If there were any, then there would be no particular praise to the Divine Essence. You yourself have read the detailed *hadith* from this compendium. Thus, they have to break the pens if it would be imagined that there are similar unto Him.

You, my dear, should read also the books of the mystics and *awliya* (friends and devotees of God) (a) with the intention of understanding or tasting this comprehensive noble word. May God protect you, my dear Ahmad, and your dear children who are the apple of my eyes. I expect your benevolent prayers, beg for especially after my death. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Sunday, Dey 25, 1367 AHS
Jumadi ath-Thani 7, 1409 AH

Letter

Date: January 15, 1989 [Dey 25, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 7, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission to write the history of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Hamid Ruhani (Ziyarati)—may his graces last,

With gratitude for your efforts in bringing to fruition the Islamic Revolution and for your appreciative endeavor in writing the history of the Islamic Revolution: I hope that you would be able to precisely record the history of the epic-making and unique Islamic Revolution of the heroic people of Iran as it is.

As a historian, you should bear in mind what a grandiose task you are shouldering. Most of the historians are writing the history as they like or as what has been dictated to them; it is not as what it has happened. From the beginning, they know what result it is support to have, and in the end it will reach that result.

I ask you to try your best to clarify the objective of the people's uprising because historians are always sacrificing the objectives of revolutions before the altar of their own whims or that of their masters. Today, as in the constant history of revolutions, some, who are subservient to the East and the West, are busy writing the glorious history of the Islamic Revolution. The history of the world is replete with admiration and abuse of a particular group for or against another group, or did not discuss the reality. If you can document the history with sound and film containing the various subjects of the Revolution in the words of the oppressed masses of people, then you have done an excellent and outstanding job in the history of Iran. The foundations of the history of the Islamic Revolution, like the Revolution itself, should be on the shoulder of the barefooted to the chagrin of the powers and superpowers.

You have to show how the people rose up against tyranny and oppression, intransigence and retrogression, and how they replaced the idea of the monarchial Islam, the Islam of capitalism, *iltiqat* (the eclectic) Islam, and in a single word, the American Islam, with the pure Muhammadan (*s*).

You should show that at the stringency of the religious seminary at that time when every movement had been accused by them of being a communist or British movement, some of the *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars) faithful to the religion took the hands of the people of the alleys and bazaars and poor and tortured people, and put themselves on fire and blood, and through this, they came out triumphant.

You have to unequivocally write that in 1341 AHS (circa 1962/3), the commencement year of the Islamic Revolution and the struggle of the noble clergy at the slaughterhouse of intransigence and sanctimoniousness, what oppressions were perpetrated against a number of pure clerics, what painful groaning they had, what blood of the hearts they had taken; they were accused of espionage and infidelity but through reliance on God Almighty they made up their mind; they were not frightened by the calumny and abuse, drew themselves toward the storm of affliction; and in the unequal war of faith and disbelief, knowledge and superstition, enlightenment and intransigence, they emerged with laurels of success though drown in the blood of their friends and companions.

There are many things to be said but I cannot write more than this. May God grant you, whom I am fond of and yourself one of those who suffered for this Revolution, the opportunity to be His true servant so that by focusing attention to Him, the Blessed and Sublime, you would be able to record the realities for the future generation. I will pray for you and thank the Cultural Unit of the Martyrs' Foundation for helping you to accomplish your work, God willing. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Dey 25, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: ?

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Inconsistency of the proposed design of the Supreme Judicial Council with the Constitution and approval of the proposed design of the heads of the three branches of the government

Addressee: Supreme Judicial Council

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Supreme Judicial Council—may God, the Exalted, assist it,

With thanks for the efforts of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Khamenei,¹ the design agreed upon by the gentlemen is contrary to the Constitution. I agree with the design approved by majority vote at the meeting of the heads of three branches of the government.

It is hoped that the consent of the esteemed members of the Council at all periods could resolve the judicial deficiencies of the country. I beseech God for the success of the gentlemen.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to Mr. Sayyid Ali Khamene'i, the then President.

Letter

Date: January 17, 1989 [Dey 27, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 9, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reminders to the members of the Supreme Judicial Council

Addressee: Supreme Judicial Council

In His Most Exalted Name

Supreme Judicial Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

I would like to point out the following issues:

1. You, who have judicial responsibility and the highest judicial authority in the country of 50 million population, should not engage in other works at office hours. Is it not better for you to settle the judicial affairs and be engaged in judicial work beyond the office hours?

2. Dividing the judicial work makes us know with whom we are dealing with. Evidently, this affair is necessary; preservation of law is also possible in this manner.

3. I cannot tolerate postponing of God's decree. If there would be any deficiency in work, I would directly take measure as I have done on some cases.

I am fond of you but in relation to the religious duty I cannot afford to be indifferent. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dey 27 ,1367 AHS

Permission

Date: January 18, 1989 [Dey 28, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 10, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Diyauddin Radawi Pakistani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Diyauddin Radawi Pakistani—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to collect the religious funds and to spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as religiously prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect and sparingly spend the two blessed shares on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (a) on propagating the sacred religion of Islam, and to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the rest to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jumadi ath-Thani 10, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: January 18, 1989 [Dey 28, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 10, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Yasin Musawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Sayyid al-Alam wa Thiqat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Yasin Musawi—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds and spend the likes of *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as religiously prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect and spend the two blessed shares for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (a) on propagating the sacred religion, and to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the rest to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jumadi ath-Thani 10, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: January 21, 1989 [Bahman 1, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 13, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission to attend to the dead files in the Supreme Judicial Council

Addressee: Supreme Judicial Council

In His Most Exalted Name

Supreme Judicial Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

You should turn over to Hujjat al-Islams Messrs. Nayyiri and Raisi all the files that have up to now have surprisingly been placed at the Council and thus, the execution of the decree of God has been delayed, so that they execute the decree of God as soon as possible, for delay is not permitted. I have also strictly advise Messrs. Nayyiri and Raisi to completely observe the religious considerations. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 1, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: January 22, 1989 [Bahman 2, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 14, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Implementation of penal code and lextaliones

Addressees: Husayn-Ali Nayyiri and Sayyid Ibrahim Raisi

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

To the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

Thank God that the dear and esteemed Imam has favored us by choosing us to take a step in implementing the decrees and *hudud* (penal codes) of God. Your Eminence is requested to announce whether your directive dated Bahman 1, 1367 AHS¹ is meant for the implementation of the penal codes of God or it also includes decrees in cases of *qisas* (lextalionis).

Sayyid Ibrahim Raisi
Husayn-Ali Nayyiri
Bahman 2, 1367 AHS

In His Most Exalted Name

Their Excellencies Nayyiri and Raisi:

The mission I have assigned you is to execute the decrees after proper investigation into the files that have remained at the Supreme Judicial Council comprising cases of penal codes and lextalionis provided that relevant religious considerations are observed.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 2, 1367 AHS

¹ It refers to the issued decree dated Bahman 1, 1367 AHS addressed to the Supreme Judicial Council, which has been included in this anthology.

Decree

Date: January 23, 1989 [Bahman 3, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 15, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Scope of duties of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps in protecting airplanes - need for political behavior of airport agents with people

Addressees: Muhammad Muhammadi-Reyshahri (Minister of Information);
Muhammad Saidikiya (Minister of Transportation); Muhammad-Jawad Irawani
(Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs)

[In His Most Exalted Name

The Great Leader of Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

With greetings, In relation to Your Eminence's order on the responsibility of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps in dealing with hijacking cases,¹ in preparing and drafting the implementing rules on protecting airplanes and mode of administering the airports of the country, this question arises: Does Your Eminence's view on protecting airplanes as the responsibility of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps in all affairs of the airport include the protection of the airplanes' parking, runaway, entrance and exit of the runaway and halls, as well as the responsibility of the city police, customs and intelligence disciplinary forces (permanent guarding at the airport)? Or, is the responsibility of the Corps only in guarding the flight to combat against hijacking of airplanes while flying? It is to be noted that the control of the traffic, affairs related to securities, disciplinary affairs, customs affairs, etc. are also being performed based on the current laws and regulations by the concerned organs. Kindly guide and enlighten us.

Muhammad Saidikiya (Minister of Transportation)

Muhammad Muhammadi-Reyshahri (Minister of Information)

Muhammad-Jawad Irawani (Minister of Economic and Financial Affairs)

In His Most Exalted Name

¹ It refers to the decree dated Dey 1, 1367 AHS included in this anthology.

Based on incoming reports, condition of the airport is very bad. Sometimes, on account of a small quantity of gold and the like that was not sent out, they annoy the people. The airport of every country is the evident countenance of that country as far as foreigners are concerned. I have said earlier that protection of the airport is with the Corps. Its preliminaries and finales are still with the Prime Minister, who should hold meeting with the concerned officials and resolve the problem. Now, I again emphasize that Mr. Prime Minister has to resolve the problem as soon as possible, to give its report to the undersigned and not to allow the people to suffer beyond this. Peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: January 29, 1989 [Bahman 9, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 21, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation and encouragement of the Judiciary Chief and the members of the Supreme Judicial Council

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili, Chief of the Judiciary,

With greetings and prayer for you and all officials in the Judiciary and wishing success for all: It is heard that the fatherly advises of your old spiritual father have offended some judicial officials of the country.¹ Those who are not familiar with the culture of theology seminary have thought that the bitterness and sweetness of such discussions and notifications have lessened my interest in you, dear ones in the Supreme Judicial Council and officials of the Judiciary. It is not the case. I know you as righteous and religious person and as good friend of mine and the revolution. I want you and the other members of the Supreme Judicial Council, whom I love, to attend judicial affairs, better and more carefully and seriously to eliminate the deficiencies and deviations. Our Islamic Revolution is your own revolution. Like you, I am also in the service of the revolution. In the Islamic Revolution, all should open the way for the prosperity of the society by criticism. May God give reward and recompense to you, Hujjat al-Islams Messrs. Prosecutor General Musawi Khuiniha, members of the Supreme Judicial Council, Muqtadai and Bujnurdi as well as Mr. Marashi, who, with my consent, has decided to serve elsewhere with my consent; and for the entire (judicial) workforce to eliminate as soon as possible the numerous problems of the Judiciary. May God's peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ It refers to Imam Khomeini's letter dated Dey 27, 1367 AHS addressed to the members of the Supreme Judicial Council, included in this anthology.

Letter

Date: January 29, 1989 [Bahman 9, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 21, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Strong protest against broadcast of a sacrilegious radio program

Addressee: Muhammad Hashimi (Executive Manager of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting)

In His Most Exalted Name

Mr. Muhammad Hashimi, Executive Manager of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting,

With utmost regret, the previous day¹ a subject on the model of women was broadcasted from the Islamic Republic of Iran's Broadcasting (IRIB), which a wicked person is recounting. Anyone who has broadcast the program is to be penalized and fired, and his superiors will be punished. In case it is proven that there has been an intention to insult, undoubtedly, the insulting person is to be sentenced to death. If there is a repetition of such incidents, the high-ranking officials of the IRIB would be subject to severe punishment. Obviously, the Judiciary has to take action in all aspects.²

¹ That is, Saturday, Bahman 8.

² After the issuance of Imam Khomeini's letter, a telegram from Mr. Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice of the Supreme Court) has been transmitted as follows:

[In His Most Exalted Name]

Regarding the conviction of the four responsible persons for broadcasting "Model Women," I talked with the presiding judge; their offenses are negligence and carelessness in the performance of important duty, and in the opinion of the judge, in view of the sensitiveness of the responsibility, the penalty is not disproportionate but it is said that these persons are good public servants and there is no proof to establish their having bad intention, and besides, these days their existence is needed. Seemingly, this attitude would lead to their punishment so that this kind of negligence is not repeated. I humbly request from Your Eminence for their acquittal from all the determined punishments.

Abdul-Karim Musawi
Bahman 12, 1367 AHS]

[In His Most Exalted Name]

The text was read before Imam Khomeini. He said: "I pardoned (them)."

Ansari
Bahman 12, 1367 AHS]

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 9, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: February 6, 1989 [Bahman 17, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Sajid-Ali Naqvi (a renowned Shiah *ulama* in Pakistan)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Sajid-Ali Naqvi—may his graces last—has been my representative in taking charge of the financial affairs, which is among the duties of the duly competent jurist during occultation of the Imam of the Time (may our souls be his ransom). He is also permitted to collect and spend the religious funds such *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God as religiously prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is equally permitted to collect and spend them on his sustenance in economical manner. If there is surplus, he is also permitted to spend half of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on propagating the sacred religion, to give half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the rest to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have advised by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jumadi ath-Thani 29, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: February 6, 1989 [Bahman 17, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ali Burhan Mehrizi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Ali Burhan Mehrizi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, to collect the religious funds such *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as religiously prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (*a*), he is equally permitted to collect and spend it for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third; he is also permitted to collect the share of the *Sadat*, to give half of it to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half to this humble servant. In all cases, he should exercise caution. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Jumadi ath-Thani 29, 1409 AH

Reply to a Query

Date: February 7, 1989 [Bahman 18, 1367 AHS / Jumadi ath-Thani 30, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Referral of the affair of determining judgment to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court concerning the question posed

Addressee: Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

[Bahman 18, 1367 AHS – I said to Mr. Musawi Ardebili: “Regarding the person who is sentenced to death, the Imam said: It must be done based on religious law’.” He said: “Based on my view [and discernment]?” I said: “Yes.” Thereafter, I doubted; perhaps I should not act according to his view. By the way, time and again, you have permitted him to act according to his view. Kindly state below this letter whether he has to act according to his view, or your view.¹]

In His Most Exalted Name

He should act according to his view.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ The above letter of Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has been given to Imam Khomeini. It is to be noted that in the judicial laws of Islam, the duly competent judge must be a *mujtahid*, and since difference of opinion among the *mujtahids* on jurisprudential and judicial laws is a normal affair, the above question is related to this: On the subject of the dialogue, does Mr. Musawi Ardebili have to act according to his view and opinion, or according to the edict of Imam Khomeini?

Decree

Date: February 8, 1989 [Bahman 19, 1367 AHS / Rajab 1, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Giving amnesty to prisoners affiliated to anti-revolutionary splinter groups

Occasion: Anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Muhammad Muhammadi-Reyshahri

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Reyshahri, Intelligence Minister—may his graces last,

Your suggestion concerning the grant of general amnesty to the prisoners of the anti-revolutionary splinter groups¹ is approved.² I hope that the honorable families of the prisoners from the splinter groups would admonish their children not to commit acts that will end up again in their and their families' annoyance. God willing, the officials of the Islamic system would treat them brotherly and kindly; providing employment facilities would inspire confidence in them. May God, the Exalted, show us the path of guidance and truth. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 19, 1367 AHS

¹ In his letter, Mr. Muhammadi-Reyshahri has requested the Imam of grant general amnesty to all prisoners affiliated to the anti-revolutionary splinter groups with the exception of 900 of them who have been convicted of committing murder.

² This is based on the duties and responsibilities of the Leader as stipulated in Article 110 of the Constitution.

Permission

Date: February 8, 1989 [Bahman 19, 1367 AHS / Rajab 1, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Khurshid Anwar Jawadi (Pakistani)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Khurshid Anwar Jawadi—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to collect the religious funds such *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (*a*), he is equally permitted to collect and spend it for his sustenance in economical manner, to collect the share of the *Sadat* and to give half of it to the needy *Sadat*. If there is surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third along the other half of the share of the *Sadat*. In all cases, he should not spare from consulting and seeking the opinion of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Sajid-Ali Naqvi (may his graces last). He has to exercise caution in every circumstance. May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Rajab al-Khayr 1, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: February 12, 1989 [Bahman 23, 1367 AHS / Rajab 5, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Resolving the religious questions of non-Iranian students of theology

Addressee: Hasan-Ali Ibrahimi

[In His Most Exalted Name

After extending greetings, obviously, resolving the religious problems of non-Iranian students of theology and scholars is pending Your Eminence's permission. Your Eminence's permission as religious guardian is also required for settlement of many of the questions dealing with by-laws of the World Center of Islamic Sciences (Foreign Students Supervisory Council) and Islamic groups and associations in different countries that have relations in one way or another with us or the non-Iranian students of theology and scholars.

If you deem it appropriate, allow me to resolve the questions. By the way, if Your Eminence could render more material and non-material support to us, it would generate more encouragement and opportunity for us. May Allah grant you longevity. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Hasan-Ali Ibrahimi
Council Secretary and Chairman,
Executive Committee of the
World Center of Islamic Sciences
Bahman 9, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Ibrahimi, Council Secretary and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the World Center of Islamic Science—may his graces last,

With greetings to you, I grant permission to you to resolve the religious questions of the non-Iranian students of theology and scholars, calling for permission of the *Wali-ye faqih* (Supreme Muslim jurist). You should resolve

the questions based on the laws of Islam. May God, the Exalted, bless you with success and all officials of the Islamic system. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 23, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: February 12, 1989 [Bahman 23, 1367 AHS / Rajab 5, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Division of labor in the Judiciary

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President)

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Khamenei—may his graces last,

With greetings, You should invite the members of the Supreme Judicial Council to participate in the meeting of the heads of the three branches of government to discuss proposals regarding the division of labor to administer the Judiciary more efficiently. We should try our best so that the implementation of the laws of God is not delayed or suspended. You should give report of the work to the undersigned. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 23, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: February 13, 1989 [Bahman 24, 1367 AHS / Rajab 6, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for decisive measures against the promiscuous acts in Tonekabon

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

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Musawi Ardebili—may his graces last,

According to the intelligence report, there have been promiscuous acts in Tonekabon. As you said, you should inform of these issue. A investigation, you should dispatch strong-minded persons of the Judiciary such as Mr. Nayyiri to the city so that the laws of God would be implemented immediately.

I hope that they would exercise the necessary caution so that nobody is ever oppressed.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 24, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: February 13, 1989 [Bahman 24, 1367 AHS / Rajab 6, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Designation of the Director of Politico-Ideological Organization

Addressee: Rasul Muntajabniya

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Rasul Muntajabniya—may his graces last,

I am grateful for the valuable efforts of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Muwahhidi Kermani, my representative and the honorable head of the City Police Politico-Ideological Organization of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He is an erudite and religious person sympathetic to Islam and the revolution. His valuable services to all personnel of the city police is worthy of appreciation.

As he has resigned due to heart disease and requested that another person should take the post, I designate you, who are an erudite and combatant person sympathetic to Islam and the revolution, as my representative and Director of the City Police Politico-Ideological Organization of the Islamic Republic of Iran. I hope that, like Mr. Muwahhidi, you also would not neglect striving in the path of Islam and service to the dear personnel of the city police. I beseech God, the Exalted, for your success. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 24, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: February 13, 1989 [Bahman 24, 1367 AHS / Rajab 6, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Brandt Washtap (?) (President of Hungary)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Brandt Was,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that the other deprived and enchained nations of the world could deliver themselves from the domination of the world-devourers by taking inspiration from the struggles of the heroic and great Iranian nation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 24, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: February 13, 1989 [Bahman 24, 1367 AHS / Rajab 6, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Mamun Abdul-Qayyum (President of Maldives)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Bahman 24, 1367 AHS

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

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that the other deprived and downtrodden nations of the world could deliver themselves from the domination of the imperialists by taking inspiration from the struggles of the heroic Iranian nation. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 14, 1989 [Bahman 25, 1367 AHS / Rajab 7, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Death sentence to Salman Rushdie, author of the blasphemous book, *The Satanic Verses*

Addressees: World Muslims

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Verily, to Allah we belongs and to Him we shall return.”

I would like to inform the valiant Muslims of the world that the author of the book, *The Satanic Verses*, which has been written and published against Islam, the Prophet and the Quran, as well as the publishers aware of its content, are sentenced to death. I request the valiant Muslims to execute them promptly wherever they found them so that nobody else would dare to insult the sanctities of Muslims. Anyone, who would be killed in this path, is a martyr, God willing. Meanwhile, if anyone has access to the author but does not have the courage to execute him, one should introduce him to the people so that he could get the reward for introducing him. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 15, 1989 [Bahman 26, 1367 AHS / Rajab 8, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Responsibilities of the Supreme Judicial Council

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei

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

To His Eminence Imam Khomeini, the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution—may his benign existence endure,

With greetings, Pursuant to Your Eminence's directive dated Bahman 23, 1367 AHS, special meeting of the heads of the three branches of the government was held on Bahman 24, 1367 AHS attended by members of the Supreme Judicial Council. In the course of three hours of discussion and exchange of views, the division of judicial duties among the present four members of the Council was approved by majority vote (five out of eight) in the following order:

1. The scope of responsibility of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court¹ is as follows: All affairs related to the branches of the Supreme Court, High Court of Qum, public prosecutor's offices, Revolutionary Courts, disciplinary court of judges, Inspector General's Office, Judicial Police, Prisoners and Security-Rehabilitation Measures Organization and eliminating their judicial and administrative problems.

2. The scope of responsibility of the Prosecutor General² is as follows: All affairs related to the Prosecutor's Office of the Supreme Court, prosecutor's offices, public courts (penal and legal 1 and 2), prosecutor's office and disciplinary court of judges (except the part related to the Revolutionary Court) and eliminating their judicial and administrative problems.

3. The scope of responsibility of His Eminence Mr. Muqtadai is as follows: Prosecutor's offices and military courts, notary public office and official journal.

4. The scope of responsibility of His Eminence Mr. Bujnurdi is as follows: administrative justice court, special civil courts and college of judicial sciences.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili.

² Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khu'iniha.

5. The scope of responsibility of the Minister of Justice is as follows: All affairs related to the implementation of justice and legal medicine.

6. The scope of responsibility of the council is as follows: budget allocation, endeavor to remove deficiencies in the housing of judges and workers, performance of common activities such as holding seminars and establishing contact with the Majlis and the executive branch of the government and determining the lawyers of the Guardian Council, determining the Judiciary's representative in the Supervisory Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting with the recommendation of the Minister of Justice.

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is the Chairman of the Council, and responsible for determining the time of meetings, the number of meetings and supervision over the council's affairs and members.

It is worthy to mention that the meeting as agreed upon expressed the belief that the proposal for the concentration of responsibilities in the sense that one of the members of the Supreme Judicial Council has to take charge of all the judicial activities and the others to have supervisory function, is better and more important than the proposal for the division of responsibilities among the members. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Sincerely,

Sayyid Ali Khamenei
Bahman 26, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Khamenei—may his graces last,

I thank you for your efforts. The proposal agreed upon by the gentlemen is contrary to the Constitution. I agree with the approved proposal in that meeting by the honorable Supreme Judicial Council. It is clear that division of labor is not only related with this period. In the future periods, the members of the Supreme Judicial Council of each period have to decide. I wish for the success of the gentlemen in implementing the law of God.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Permission

Date: February 15, 1989 [Bahman 26, 1367 AHS / Rajab 8, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ahmad Azari-Qummi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ahmad Azari-Qummi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, which at the period of occultation of the Master of the Age (may our souls be his ransom) is dependent on the permission of the duly competent jurist. He is also permitted to collect the religious funds such *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as religiously prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect and spend the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) on his sustenance in economical manner. If there is surplus, he is permitted to spend half of it on propagating the sacred religion of Islam and to remit the other half. He is similarly permitted to collect the share of the noble *Sadat* (may Allah multiply their blessed generations) and to give half of it to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab al-Khayr 8, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: February 15, 1989 [Bahman 26, 1367 AHS / Rajab 8, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Qurban-Ali Shahmiri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rajab al-Khayr 8, 1409 AH

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Qurban-Ali Shahmiri—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect and spend the blessed Share of the Imam (a) on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third. He is similarly permitted to collect the share of the *Sadat* and to give half of it to the noble *Sadat* and to remit the other half to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Notice

Date: February 18, 1989 [Bahman 29, 1367 AHS / Rajab 11, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Notice of Imam Khomeini's Office on incumbency of killing Salman Rushdie and refuting rumors

Addressees: Muslim nation of Iran and Muslims of the world

In His Most Exalted Name

[Imperialist foreign mass media attributes a lie to the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran, alleging that if the writer of the book, *The Satanic Verses*, repents, the death sentence against him would be lifted. Imam Khomeini (may his benign existence endure) said:]

This matter is absolutely false. If Salman Rushdie repents and even becomes the ascetic of the time, it is incumbent upon the Muslims to make use of his life and property in sending him to hell.

[Imam Khamenei added:]

If a non-Muslim knows his location and has the power to do such a thing that the Muslims could execute him soon, it is incumbent upon the Muslims to give him as a reward whatever he wants for doing so.

Decree

Date: February 18, 1989 [Bahman 29, 1367 AHS / Rajab 11, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Pardoning the prisoners

Addressee: Ali Razini (Presiding Judge of the Special Court for the Clergy)

[After extending greetings and congratulations for the commencement of the second decade of the victory of the glorious Islamic Revolution in Iran under the leadership of His Eminence, this is to note, thus:

Pursuant to the inclusion of Islamic favor and mercy regarding the convicts of the splinter groups and Your Eminence's grant of amnesty to most of them, those convicted by the Special Court for the Clergy and their families are also expecting for mercy and amnesty to be granted by the Islamic Republic. The announcement of your blessed opinion is highly sought.

Razini
Presiding Judge of the Special Court
of the Clergy
Bahman 29, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

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

I approve of giving amnesty to all the prisoners convicted by the Special Court for the Clergy provided that they have incurred relative punishment substantiated by the court and that their freedom would not bring any harm to the Islamic society.¹

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Bahman 29, 1367 AHS

¹ This order was issued below the request letter dated Bahman 29, 1367 AHS of Mr. Ali Razini concerning the amnesty of the convicts of the Special Court for the Clergy on the occasion of the second decade of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

Letter

Date: February 19, 1989 [Bahman 30, 1367 AHS / Rajab 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Problems and future of the Islamic Propagation Organization (IPO)

Addressee: Muhammad-Rida Mahdawikani

[In the detailed report of Mr. Mahdawikani dated Bahman 30, 1367 AHS in which the short history of the Islamic Propagation Organization (IPO), its organizational structure, number of personnel, and related problems and constraints have been tackled, and the fact that the past two or three years the needed assistance has not been extended..., and the suggestions in relation to the supervision of the Organization and assistance to solve its financial needs are attached in the said letter. In reply, Imam Khomeini has written the following:]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mahdawikani—may his graces last,

With greetings to you, regarding what you have written:

1. There is not problem for me that in a decree I would designate His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Jannati as the Director of the Islamic Propagation Organization provided that you discuss it with the gentlemen, the esteemed members of the Propagation Organization, so that the gentlemen, God forbid, would not become anxious.

2. Concerning the spending of the blessed Share of the Imam (a) that comes to you, you are free to act as you deem advisable. I also permit those who have permission from me on the Share to spend through you in the Islamic propagation the exact amount permitted on them, if they are willing.

3. Regarding the endowments that can be spent on the Islamic propagation, I will ask His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Imam-Jamarani to extend the necessary assistance. I beg for your prayer and hope, as in the past, you would always be successful and triumphant in spreading and propagating Islam. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 21, 1989 [Esfand 2, 1367 AHS / Rajab 14, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Acknowledgment of the efforts of Mr. Sanai during the periods of the revolution and confirmation of him

Addressee: Hasan Sanai (Imam Khomeini's representative in and supervisor of the Khordad 15 Foundation)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Hasan Sanai—may his blessings last,

I do not know what to write about my acquaintanceship with you. You are one of the persons who have been with me for long time. You had no beard yet when I realized your sincerity—years prior to the commencement of the Khordad 15 struggle.

You are an anonymous soldier of this revolution; you yourself are aware that there is nothing better than anonymity. You are a person who has sweet and bitter memories of the struggle from the distant past. You are smart, taciturn, intelligent and prudent. In the whirlpool of the struggle you have always been bereaved. I had hardly found in others your rancor against the Shah. During the crises and pressures you had never doubted me although sometimes you were tired and dejected. Amidst the pressure of the Shah's apparatus, you who were taking charge of the office on theology students' stipends, at the time when you were surrounded by the enemy, in order not to give any information to the enemy, in many occasions you were swallowing the receipts of the charity funds—like digestible food—during the fifteen years of struggle. May your reward with God be wholesome too!

Your talent, your soul's purity and your sincerity are not things that I can forget. You are hot-tempered and rational. I pray to God to make your rationality prevail over your hot-temper. I totally trust you. Thus, you are my proxy in all aspects of the religious law. I wrote these few lines so that I could have offered a small amount of the abundant rights that you have on me and the revolution. May God assist and protect you.

Forget me not in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message (Charter of the Clergy)

Date: February 22, 1989 [Esfand 3, 1367 AHS / Rajab 15, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Determining the strategy of the Islamic Republic establishment - mission of the theological seminary; charter of the clergy

Addressees: Clerics, religious reference authorities, seminary students and leaders of the Friday and other congregational prayers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To esteemed clerics throughout the country, grant reference authorities of Islam, honorable teachers and students of theological seminary, and leaders of the Friday and congregational prayer—may their blessings last:

Salutations and peace of God and His Messenger be upon the pure souls of the martyrs especially the beloved martyrs of theology seminaries and the clergy! Benedictions be upon the carriers of the trust of revelation and the mission of the martyr-guards, who have shouldered on their red and bloody commitment the pillars of the grandeur and prestige of the Islamic Revolution! Peace be upon the ever-living epic-makers among the clergy who have written their intellectual and practical mission at the threshold of martyrdom with the ink of blood, and on the pulpit of guiding, exhorting and addressing the people they have made carbuncle out of the candle of their lives! Glory and eulogy be upon the martyrs of the seminary and the clergy who, at the time of warfare, severed the bonds of attachments to lesson, discussion and school, and took away the bond of yearnings to the world from the foundation of the truth of knowledge and the light-winged ones attended the banquet of the empyreans and have sung the song of presence at the gathering of the celestials!

Peace be upon those who ... in quest for truth, and became the sincere fear-strikers for their community and nation, whose drops of blood and limbs of torn bodies have borne witness to the articulate account of their sincerity! And, indeed, nothing can be expected from the upright clergy of Islam and Shiism except the fact that in the invitation to the truth and the bloody path of their people's struggle, they would offer the initial sacrifices and the seal of their life account would be martyrdom. Those who have comprehended the circle of remembrance of the mystics and the dawn supplication [*dua sahar*] of the supplicants of the seminaries and the clergy have not seen anything but martyrdom in the ecstasy of their presence and of the gifts of

God in the banquet of sincerity and proximity they have not requested anything but the gift of martyrdom. Of course, all the desirous and seeking ones have not accomplished the objective of martyrdom. One, like me, has remained his whole life in the darkness of veils, unable to boast of anything in the sphere of action and life except papers and books, while others have rent asunder the black bosom of desires at the first winter solstice's night of life and signed the contract of union with God and martyrdom with the dawn of love. Condition of the negligent one who has not yet been brought into being from hiding men, how could I have an attribute existence from the attribute of the leaders of caravan? I and those similar to me, we can only hear the sound of bell from this caravan... There is no doubt that throughout the history of Islam and Shiism, the religious seminaries and committed *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars) have been the most important stronghold of Islam vis-a-vis onslaughts, perversions and deviations. Throughout their lives, the great *ulama* of Islam have strived to propagate the issues of what is religiously lawful [*halal*] and unlawful [*haram*] without any omission or commission.

If it was not because of the beloved jurists, it would not be clear today what kind of sciences were imparted on the masses under the name of the science of the Quran, Islam and the Household of the Prophet. The compilation and preservation of the sciences of the Quran and Islam, the works and narrations of the Noble Prophet, and the traditions and life style of the infallibles (*a*), as well as recording, classifying and expurgating them at the times when the facilities have been so limited, and the kings and tyrants were utilizing all facilities at their disposal to eradicate all works (traces) of the Messengership [*risalah*] and mission (of Prophet Muhammad) have not been an easy task. Thanks to God, today, we can witness the result of such efforts in blessed books and works such as the Four Books¹ and other books of the early and recent authorities in jurisprudence and philosophy, mathematics and astronomy, fundamental of jurisprudence and theology, *hadith* and *rijal*, commentary of the Quran and ethics, gnosis and language and all the divergent sciences. If we would not label all these efforts and hardship as struggle in the way of Allah, then what shall we term them?

There are so many things to mention about the intellectual services of the religious seminaries that mentioning them is not possible in this short

¹ It refers to the most important collections of Shiah traditions collectively famous as the Four Books, viz. Shaykh al-Kulayni, *Al-Kafi*; Shaykh as-Saduq, *Man la Yahduruh al-Faqih*; Shaykh at-Tusi, *At-Tahdhib* and *al-Istibsar*.

account. Thank God, in terms of sources and methods of argumentation and *ijtihad*, the seminaries are rich and innovative. I do not think that there is a more appropriate method of in-depth study of all facets of the Islamic sciences than that of the early *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars). The more than one thousands years history of study and research of the upright *ulama* of Islam bears witness to our claim in the fruitful way of laying the sacred edifice of Islam. For hundreds of years the clergy of Islam has been the support of the deprived ones. The downtrodden have always become quenched by the limpid fountain of the knowledge of the esteemed jurisprudent. Not to mention their intellectual and cultural struggles, which are indeed superior to the blood of martyrs in many aspects,¹ in every period they have endured hardship and pains in defending Islam and their homeland. Along with enduring captivities and banishments, prisons, injury, tortures and foul languages, they have offered worthy martyrs to God. The martyrs of the clergy are not confined to the martyrs of the struggle and war in Iran. Certainly, the number of the anonymous martyrs of the seminaries and the clergy is too many. In propagating the divine knowledge and laws, they have lost their lives as strangers at the hands of mercenaries and dastards.

In every divine and popular movement and revolution, the *ulama* of Islam have been the first persons who have drawn blood and martyrdom on top of their foreheads. Which popular-Islamic revolution we know in which the seminary and the clergy have not been in front of the garb of martyrdom, not undergone the afflictions of the world, and their pure corpses have not stood on the cobblestones of the bloody events toward martyrdom? On Khordad 15 and on the events before and after the victory, the pioneer martyrs have been from which stratum? We thank God that from the walls of the Faydiyyah (Madrasah) up to the horrible and isolated prison cells of the Shah's regime, from the alley and street up to the mosque and the altar of Friday and other congregational prayers leadership, from the offices and workplaces up to the initial line of the warfront and mine fields, the pure blood of martyrs of the seminary and the clergy has floriated the horizon of jurisprudence. At the glorious end of the imposed war the number also of the martyrs, disabled war veterans and those missing in action from the seminaries is greater compared to other strata. More than two thousand and five hundred students of religious seminaries throughout Iran have been martyred during the imposed war. This figure shows to what extent the clergy has been ready to defend Islam and the Islamic country of Iran.

¹ It alludes to the *hadith*, "The ink of the scholar is holier than the blood of the martyr."

Today, as in the past, the imperialist predators throughout the world—in Egypt, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Lebanon, Iraq, Hijaz, Iran, and the Occupied Territories—have been looking for the lionhearted clergy opposing the East and the West, and relying on the principles of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam. Hence, the Muslim world is also a witness from time to time to the outburst of the world-devourers' wrath against a good cleric. The authentic *ulama* of Islam have never been subservient to capitalists, money-worshippers and khans, and have always kept this nobility for themselves. It is blatantly unjust for one to mention that the noble clergy advocating the pure Muhammadan (s) is one siding with capitalists. God will not forgive those who are spreading such lies. The committed clergy is thirsty for the blood of leech-like capitalists; they have never been nor will they be in good terms. With asceticism, piety and contentment, they have received their education. After attaining intellectual and spiritual positions, they have also lived in the same ascetic way, devoid of attachment to the glitters of the world; they have never acquiesced to favor and abjectness. The meticulousness and study in the lives of the early *ulama* speak of their poverty and ultimately, magnanimous spirit in acquiring knowledge—how they have studied under the candlelight and moonlight, and how they lived with contentment and dignity.

In propagating spirituality and jurisprudence, neither force nor asset of the money-worshippers and the affluent people is at work, but rather their skill, sincerity and commitment for their being anointed by the people. The opposition of the clerics in the past toward some manifestations of civilization has been merely out of their fear of foreign influence. The sense of threat of the spread of the alien culture, particularly the cliché culture of the West had made them deal cautiously with inventions and phenomena. The upright *ulama*, who had seen enough lies and deceits of the world-devourers, were not relying on anything. For them, devices such as radio and television were prelude to imperialist penetration. Thus, sometimes they would issue a decree, prohibiting their use. Were the radio and television not responsible for presenting the Western culture in countries such as Iran and others? Was the previous regime not using the radio and television to discredit religious beliefs and disregard national customs and ceremonies? At any rate, noble characteristics such as contentment, bravery, patience, asceticism, quest for knowledge, lack of dependency toward the powers, and above all, sense of responsibility for the masses have revived, perpetuated and endeared the clergy. Is there any honor more sublime than the fact that the clerics, with poor facilities, have implemented the authentic Islamic

thought in the land of Muslims. Have they not implanted the sacred bud of jurisprudence at the rose-garden of the lives and spiritualities of thousands of researchers? By the way, if somebody would think that imperialism have not and do not monitor the clergy with all these eminence, grandeur and influence, is this not simplemindedness?

The Satanic Verses,¹ is a calculated move aimed at striking at the root of religion and religiosity, on top of which stand Islam and the clergy. Certainly, if the world-devourers could only do so, they would have burnt the root and name of the clergy, but God has been always the guardian of this sacred torch. God willing, from then on it will also be so provided that we would recognize the deceit, trick and ruse of the world-devourers. Of course, this does not mean that we have to defend all the clerics because the surrogate, sanctimonious and intransigent clerics were and are not also few in number. At the religious seminaries, there are individuals who are engaged in activities against the revolution and the pure Muhammadan Islam. Today, posing as sanctimonious, some are undermining religion, revolution and system as if they have no obligation other than this. The menace of the foolish reactionaries and sanctimonious clerics at religious seminaries is not insignificant. The dear seminary students should not neglect, even for a moment, the thinking of these outwardly good serpents. They are propagators of the American Islam and are enemies of the Messenger of Allah. Should the unity of the dear seminary students not be preserved in facing these vipers?

When the (World) Arrogance was frustrated in effacing the clergy and the seminaries, it chose two ways to render a blow; one is the way of intimidation and force while the other is the way of deceit and influence in the contemporary century. When the weapon of intimidation and threat was not so effective, ways of influence were intensified. The first and most significant move is the induction of the slogan of separation of religion from politics. Unfortunately, this weapon has been so effective in the seminary and the clergy so much so that involvement in politics was considered unbecoming of a jurist and entrance in the arena of statesmen would bring

¹ The author of the book, Salman Rushdie, is an Indian-borne British citizen who is a member of the British Royal Literary Association. In the said book, the sanctities of Islam, the Holy Quran, and the lofty status of the Noble Prophet (s) in the context of an obscene and immoral novel, have been desecrated. The Zionist authorities, the US government and the Western world have stood up in support of the publication of the book. By issuing the religious edict of Rushdie's apostasy and the obligation to kill him and the publishers of his immoral book, Imam Khomeini stood up against the cultural onslaught of the enemies of Islam and brought into being the tide of awakening and struggle in the Muslim world.

about accusation of being affiliated to foreigners. Certainly, the combatant clerics have incurred more wounds from this penetration. Do not imagine that the accusation of being affiliated to the foreigners and the calumny of impiety have made by non-clerics toward the clergy; not at all. The blows of the wary and unwary mercenary clergy are definitely more effective than that of the non-clerics.

At the beginning of the Islamic struggle, if you would say that the Shah is a traitor, you would hear a reply that the Shah is a Shiah! A number of the retrogressive sanctimonious ones used to declare everything as unlawful and nobody could have had the courage to challenge them. The intense suffering that your old father has experienced from this group of reactionaries can never be compared to the pressures and sufferings brought by others. When the slogan of the separation of religion and politics became prevalent and when jurisprudence in the logic of the ignorant was equated with drowning in individual and devotional precepts and the jurist were also naturally not permitted to go beyond this limit not to interfere in politics and government, the folly of a cleric in associating with the people became virtue. In the opinion of some people, the cleric is worthy of respect and honor when he removes the folly from the totality of his existence; otherwise, the “political” cleric and clever and shrewd cleric were something else. These issues were prevalent in the seminaries in that anyone who was deviant was acknowledged as “more religious”. Learning a foreign language was considered a sign of infidelity, and philosophy and gnosticism an indication of sin and a sign of polytheism. At the Faydiyyah Madrasah my child, the late Mustafa, drank water from a jug; they rinsed the jug with water because I was discussing philosophy! I have no doubt that if such trend continued, the status of the clergy and the seminaries would have become that of the churches of the Middle Ages. However, God granted favor to the Muslims and the clergy and preserved the true dignity and eminence of the seminaries.

The religious *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars) were trained in the same seminaries and separated their ranks from others. Our great Islamic uprising has radiated from the same ray. Of course, the seminaries are still associated with both ways of thinking and one must be careful for the idea of separation of religion and politics from the layers of thinking of the intransigents not to permeate the young seminary students. One of the issues that must be described to the young seminary students is this case—during the heydays of influence of the ignorant sanctimonious and illiterate simpleminded ones, how a number of people have resolved to do something and sacrificed their lives, honor and assets for the deliverance of Islam, the

seminary and the clergy. The conditions were not like what is today; anyone who did not believe in the struggle would retire from the scene to the house under the pressures and threats of the sanctimonious ones; the propagation of the notion of the Shah as the shadow of God, or one cannot resist empty-handedly against cannons and tanks, or that we are not obliged to engage in *jihad* and struggle, or “Who will take responsibility for the blood of the killed ones?” and the most fragile of all, the misguided slogan that “any government prior to the advent of the Imam of the Time (a) is illegitimate” and thousands of other *in qultus* were serious and life-taking problems, which could have been prevented through admonition, passive resistance and propaganda; the only solution was struggle and sacrifice of blood whose means God had provided. The committed *ulama* and clergy had prepared their bosoms in facing every poisonous bullet which would be shot toward Islam, and they arrived at the slaughterhouse of love. The first and most significant bloody chapter of the struggle was written on the *ashura* of Khordad 15. On Khordad 15, 1342 [June 5, 1963] it was not only facing the bullets of the Shah’s guns and machineguns; if it was only so, it would have made the confrontation easy. Instead, apart from it, there was the bullet of deceit, sanctimoniousness and intransigence within our own front; it was the bullet of foul language, hypocrisy and two-facedness that would burn and tear the heart and life a thousand times than gunpowder and lead could do. At that time not a single day would pass without any event to take place; the obvious and secret agents of America and the Shah resorted to rumors and accusations, even accusing those who had the responsibility of guiding the struggle of abandoning obligatory prayers and of being communists and British agents. Indeed, the true clergy were shedding tears of blood in isolation and captivity as to how America and its servant Pahlavi want to take out the root religiosity and Islam, and a number of informed or beguiled sanctimonious clerics. A number of those affiliated (to the foreigners), whose faces became clear after the victory, used to pave the way of this severe treachery.

Islam so much has received a blow from these sanctimonious and pseudo-clerics such that it has not received from any other strata. Its obvious example is the oppression and alienation experienced by the Commander of the Faithful (a), as is clearly recorded in history. Let it be so and I would not make the taste bitter more than this. Yet, the young seminary students ought to know that the case of thinking of this group is still open and the method of sanctimoniousness and selling religion has changed. Those who were defeated yesterday have become the political players of today. Those who

were not allowing themselves to get involved in the political affairs became supporters of those who came forward to overthrow the system and stage a coup. The riots in Qum and Tabriz¹ with the collaboration of the leftists, monarchists and secessionists of Kurdistan are not the only example that we can cite; in that event we were frustrated but they did not relent as they staged the Nuzheh Coup d'état,² again, God disgraced them. Another group of pseudo-clerics who, prior to the revolution, used to consider religion as separate from politics and used to frequent the royal court, suddenly became religious and accused of being Wahhabis and even worse than Wahhabis the beloved and noble clerics who experienced all those tortures, displacements, imprisonments, and banishments for the sake of Islam. Yesterday, the foolish sanctimonious ones used to say that religion is separate from politics and that resistance against the Shah is unlawful; today, they are saying that the officials of the system have become communists! Till yesterday they used to consider selling liquor and being indulged in fornication, debauchery, government of the oppressors as important and paving the ground for the advent of the Imam of the Time (may our souls be his ransom); today, on account of the fact that religious violation occurs in a certain corner, which the officials never want, they are shouting, "Oh Islam"! Yesterday, the Hujjatiyyahs³ had declared unlawful the struggle and in the midst of the struggle they tried their best to frustrate the protest on putting lights on *Nisfu Shaban*⁴ to the benefit of the Shah; today, they have become more revolutionary than the revolutionaries! The Wilayatis⁵ who, yesterday, have found the reputation of Islam and the Muslims in their silence and

¹ In 1358 AHS, under the pretext of defending Mr. Shariatmadari, the supporters of the new *Khalq-e Musalman* [Muslim People] Party staged riots and disturbances in the cities of Qum and Tabriz, but through the vigilance of the valiant Muslim people of Azerbaijan and Qum, this conspiracy was thwarted and the said party was dissolved.

² On Tir 19, 1359 AHS [July 10, 1980] the event of coup, which was prepared long time ago through CIA agents in Iran and at the threshold of executing the coup operation according to which the house of Imam Khomeini and strategic centers of the Islamic Republic system were supposed to be bombarded and Tehran occupied by elements affiliated to foreigners, was miraculously detected and agents of the coup were arrested. For discussion of the event of coup, see the book, *Kudeta-ye Nuzheh* [Nuzheh Coup] published by the Political Studies and Research Institute. This coup was named so due to the selection of the Nuzheh Airbase in Hamedan—which was known as the Shahrokhi Airbase prior to the victory of the revolution and changed into Hurr Airbase and then named as Shahid Nuzheh Airbase on account of the martyrdom of one of the officers—as the first base of gathering and execution.

³ Hujjatiyyahs: members and those affiliated to the Hujjatiyyah Society.

⁴ *Nisfu Shaban* [middle of the Islamic lunar month of Shaban]: birthday of Imam al-Mahdi (a).

⁵ Wilayatis: members and those affiliated to the Wilayah Society.

intransigence, broken the back of the Prophet and the infallible and pure *Ahl al-Bayt* in practice, and for whom the title of *wilayah* [guardianship] has been nothing but for business and pleasure. Today they designate themselves as the founders and inheritors of *Wilayah* and begrudge the *wilayah* during the Shah's period! By the way, from whom that the American, Russian and eclectic accusations, as well as the accusation of making lawful what is unlawful and vice versa, and the accusation of killing pregnant women and sanctioning of gambling and music would be issued? From the irreligious persons, or from the intransigent and foolish sanctimonious ones?! Declaring aloud the unlawfulness of fighting with the enemies of God, calling in requisition the culture of martyrdom and the martyrs, and expressing sarcasms and ironies regarding the legitimacy of the system are done by whom? Done by the common or specific people? Specifically by which group? By those who are apparently having turbans (*ammameh*), or those who have no turbans? Let it be as too much has already been said. All of these are the product of influence of foreigners at the site and educational system of the seminaries; to confront these threats seriously is also so problematic and complicated.

It is no easy job explain the truths and realities and to implement what is rightful and just as much as we can on the one hand and, on the other, to be watchful for the helms of power not to fall into the hands of the enemies.

Although in our country there is no favoritism between the clerics and non-clerics in the implementation of justice, once a violator from among the clerics with good or bad records is to be seriously dealt with religiously and legally, the groups will immediately shout, "Why are you sitting? The Islamic Republic wants to remove the prestige of the clergy." In case a certain person deserving amnesty is pardoned, they will propagandize that the system is giving unsuitable privilege to the clergy.

The beloved people of Iran should be vigilant so that the enemies could not take advantage of the system's decisive dealing with the offenders from among the so-called clerics, and not make the minds pessimistic toward the committed clerics by creating commotion through propaganda. They should consider it the proof of the justice of the system that no privilege is ever given to anybody. God knows that personally I do not entertain in my mind a speck of immunity, right and privilege for myself. If I ever commit an offense, I should be punished. Now, the question is what should be done in order to prevent the repetition of those painful events and to have certainty in cutting the influence of foreigners in the seminaries? It is problematic, yet what solution is to be sought? The foremost religious and divine duty is to

preserve the unity and solidarity of the revolutionary seminary students and clergy, or else, a gloomy night is ahead of us and the fear of wave and whirlpool is so horrible.

Today, there is no religious and rational reason why the differences in tastes and understandings and even attempt to weaken the administrators would shatter intimacy and unity of the committed seminary students and *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars). It is possible that in his mentality and ideas, each person has criticism of the performances, management and tastes of others and of the officials but the purport and explanations must not deviate the minds of the society and future generation from the way of recognizing the real enemies and superpowers that are the source of all the problems and inadequacies, the secondary issues. God forbid, all the weaknesses and problems would be attributed to the management and responsibility, and as such, it would be interpreted as monopoly. This act is totally unjust and will eliminate the credibility of the officials of the system and prepare the ground for emergence of indifferences and indolence in the scene of the revolution.

I am of the opinion today that it was not clear that the most powerful individuals in the fight against all these conspiracies, enmities and war-provocations existing in the world against the Islamic Revolution could achieve more success compared to the existing individuals. I have to say that in a fair analysis of the events of the revolution, especially the events during the ten years after the victory, in most of the objectives and arenas the Islamic Revolution of Iran has been successful. With the help of God Almighty, we are not overpowered and defeated in any arena. Even in the war, victory belonged to our nation; the enemies achieved nothing in imposing all those damages.

Of course, if all the means and causes were at our disposal, we could have seen and achieved loftier and higher objectives in the war, but this does not mean that in our basic objective, which was to repeal aggression and to prove the dignity of Islam, we have been subdued by the enemy. Every day of ours in the war we have had a blessing from which we have benefited in all scenes. In the war, we have exported our revolution to the world; in the war, we have proved our being oppressed. We exposed the tyranny of the aggressors. In the war, we removed the curtain from the face of trickery of the world-devourers. We have recognized the friends and foes, we have arrived at the conclusion that we have to stand on our own feet and we undermined the pageantry of the two superpowers of the East and the West. We strengthened the roots of our fruitful revolution and gave expression to

the sense of brotherhood and patriotism in each of our people. We showed to the people of the world, particularly the people of the region, that one can resist against all the powers and superpowers for many years. Our war led to the assistance of Afghanistan; our war will lead to the conquest of Palestine; our war made all rulers of the corrupt systems to fell humble before Islam; our war led to the awakening of Pakistan and India. It was only during the war that our military industry attained a growth. Most important of all, the perpetuity of the spirit of revolutionary Islam was realized in the war.

All of these were from the blessing of the pure blood of the beloved martyrs of the eight-year war. All of these stemmed from the effort of the dear mothers, fathers and people of Iran during the ten years of struggle against America, the West, Soviet Union and the East. Our war was the war between truth and falsehood and it continues; our war was the war between poverty and affluence; our war was the war between faith and meanness. This war exists from Adam till the end of life. How shortsighted are those, who imagine that, since we have not attained our ultimate aim in the warfront, all our martyrdom, valor, devotion, self-sacrifice and firmness are in vain! This is while the voice of Islamic inclination of Africa is from our eight-year war; the people's interest in the knowledge of Islam in American, Europe, Asia and Africa, that is, in the entire world, is from our eight-year war.

At this juncture, I do formally ask apology from the mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, spouses and children of the martyrs and disabled war veterans for the erroneous analyses these days. I invoke God to admit us in the company of the martyrs of the imposed war. Even for a moment we do not repent and regret for our function in the war. By the way, have we forgotten that we have gone to war to perform our duty and the result has been its offshoot? So long as our nation felt that it had the capability and the duty to go to war, it performed its duty. Blessed are those who did not doubt till the last moment—that time when the expediency of perpetuating the revolution was in the acceptance of the Resolution—submitted and have performed their duty again. Should they worry for they have performed their duty? We should not act wrongly in expressing opinions and beliefs just for the sake of pleasing some mercenary liberalists in such a way that the beloved Party of Allah would feel that the Islamic Republic is deviating from its essential positions. Would expression of the idea that the Islamic Republic of Iran has achieved nothing, or has not succeeded not end in debilitation of the system and taking away the confidence of the people?! Delay in achieving all the objectives cannot be a reason for us to deviate from our

principles. All of us are bound to perform our duty and obligation, and not wait for the result. If all the prophets and Infallibles (a) are responsible for the result on their respective time and place, they had not been supposed to go and say beyond the scope of their capability. To mention the overall and long-term objectives that have been feasible in their apparent lives. However, by the grace of God Almighty, our nation has succeeded in most aspects in which it has chanted slogan. We have witnessed in actuality the slogan of overthrowing the Shah's regime; we have ornamented the slogan of freedom and independence in our practice; we have watched the slogan of "Death to America" in the action of the zealous and heroic Muslim youth in occupying the US den of corruption and espionage; we have tested in practice all of our slogans. Of course, we confess that many hindrances have emerged along the way of action that has compelled us to change approaches and tactics. Why we have to underestimate ourselves, the nation and the officials of our country and sum up all talent and management of the affairs in the thinking of others?

I give warning to the dear seminary students to take lesson from the bitter experience of coming to power of the pseudo-revolutionaries and the so-called brain of the community who have never been in good terms with the principles and objectives of the clergy. Be watchful of the insinuations of the pseudo-clerics and sanctimonious clerics and people. Let not their past thinking and treason be forgotten, and inappropriate sympathy and simplemindedness allow them to take key and destiny-making positions in the system.

Today, ten years after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, I confess as in the past that some of the decisions in the early part of the revolution on entrusting important posts and affairs of the country to a group that had no pure and real belief in the pure Muhammadan Islam, whose bitter effects do not easily go away. Although at that time I was not personally amenable to their coming to power, I deemed it expedient with the approval of the friends and agreed. Even now I hardly believe that they will be contented on anything less than deflection of the revolution from all its principles and every move leading toward the world-devouring America, while in other works they have skill except speaking and claiming. Today, I do not regret that they are not in our midst. They have been among us from the beginning. The revolution is not indebted to any group. We still suffer from the prick of giving our confidence on the groups and liberals. The bosom of the country and the revolution is always open to all those had and have to intention to return and render service, but not at the expense of their putting into question

all the principles—"Why did you cry, Death to America"? Why did you join the war? Why are you implementing the law of God in relation to the hypocrites and the anti-revolutionaries? Why have you chanted, Neither East nor West'? Why you have occupied the den of espionage?" and hundreds of other "whys". The important point in this connection is that we should not propagate under the influence of inappropriate and compassions to the enemies of God, oppositions and violators of the system in such a manner that the laws and limits of God be put to question. I do not consider some of these cases as beneficial to the country. I believe that the enemies make benefit from them. To those who have access to the radio-television and the press as well as those who are uttering so much the words of others, I categorically declare that as long as I am around I will not allow the government to fall into the hands of the liberals. As long as I am around, I will not allow the hypocrites to eliminate Islam of these helpless people. As long as I am around, I will not deviate from the principles of "Neither East nor West." As long as I am around, I will virtually curtail the hands of the agents of America and the Soviet Union in all arenas. I am totally certain that all the people, in principles, as in the past, are backing their system and Islamic Revolution. Apart from the tens and hundreds of scenes of announcing their presence and readiness, on this year's Bahman 22 [February 11] march rally they also showed to the people of the world the veracity of their total readiness and really surprised the enemies of the revolution—to what extent they are willing to sacrifice. At this point, I consider myself embarrassed and more humble than that which I would praise and appreciate them. God will give the magnificent reward for all these sincerity, maturity and servitude, yet I advise those who are unconsciously accusing our noble and dear people of turning back from the principles what the revolution and the clergy should be careful and meticulous in speeches, words and writings, and not to attribute their inapt understandings and notions to the revolution and the people. The other issue is that today, confronting and disintegrating the clergy is to whose benefit? The enemies have long been ready to sow discord among the clergy. Negligence on it means spoiling everything. Now, let the difference be in any form; intense pessimism with respect to the officials might be high; the demarcation between the traditional and dynamic jurists, and the like. If the students and teachers of the religious seminary are not harmonious, it cannot be predicted who would be successful. If assuming the pseudo-clerics and intransigents became intellectually dominant, what answer the revolutionary clerics would give to God and the people?

God willing, there is no difference within the society of revolutionary teachers and students; if there is any, about what—about the principles or about the tastes? Have the esteemed teachers, who have been strong pillars of the revolution in the religious seminaries—God forbid—deserted Islam, the revolution and the people? Were they not the one who issued a decree on the illegitimacy of monarchy during the period of struggle? Were they not who, when a cleric apparently occupying the post of religious authority [*marjaiyyah*] drifted away from Islam and the Revolution, introduced him to the people? Did the beloved teachers not support the warfront and the combatants? If, God forbid, they were defeated, which force would replace them? Will the agents of (the World) Arrogance, who have consolidated the pseudo-clerics up to the level of *marjaiyyah*, make other persons have control over the religious seminaries? Could those who, during the storm of fifteen years of struggle prior to the revolution and the ten years of back-breaking events after the revolution, have neither worried for the struggle nor cared for the war and the administration of the country nor been touched by the martyrdom of the dear ones, and with peace of mind and tranquility have been engaged in the lessons and discourses, be the support of the Islamic Revolution? By the way, the victory which party and which current will the defeat of any party of the revolutionary *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars) and seminary students, the combatant clerics and clergy, and the society of seminary teachers ensure? Party that would emerge victorious is certainly not the clergy and if that party has to refer to the clergy, to which stratum and way of thinking of the clergy will they go? The difference, in whatever form, is crushing. When even among the forces faithful to the Revolution the terms “traditional jurisprudence” and “dynamic jurisprudence” are distinguished from each other, that will open the way of the utilization of the enemies. Factionalism will finally bring about dispute. Every faction chooses terms and slogans for the removal and ostracism of the other faction; one will be accused of leaning toward capitalism while the other will be accused of eclectic; to maintain the balance between the factions I have always given bitter and sweet reminders because I consider all as my own children. Of course, I have never been worrying for acrimonious argumentations on the branches and principles of jurisprudence, but I am worrying for the confrontation and altercation of the factions faithful to the revolution lest it should end up in consolidating the faction of the indolent destabilizing comfort-mongers.

I come up at the conclusion that if the clerics supporting the authentic Islam and the revolution do not move immediately, the superpowers and their

servants will settle the issues to their interest. The society of seminary teachers should consider the dear revolutionary students who have suffered, beaten and gone to war as among themselves. They should definitely meet them and welcome their proposals and views while the revolutionary students should deem honorable the dear teachers supporting the revolution and treat them respectfully. They should altogether be a single hand in facing the incompetent, opportunist and destabilizing specter. They should make themselves more ready for sacrifice and martyrdom in the way of guiding the people whether the people and society are seeking the truth like in our period in which the people have truly been and will be loyal to the clergy more than what we think of, or are not seeking the truth like in the period of the Infallibles (a). Yet, the noble nation of Iran must be aware that a sort of anti-clerical propaganda taking place is aiming at effacing the revolutionary clergy. At the time of vicissitudes and hardships, the legions of Satan approach the people, saying that the clergy is the source of problems and inadequacies. It refers to which clerics—the indolent and irresponsible clerics? No. It refers rather to the clerics who, in all the events, are closer than others to the verge of danger. Nobody is claiming that the people and the barefooted have no problem and that all facilities are at the disposal of the people. Obviously, the effects of ten years of blockade, war and revolution will manifest in all places and inadequacies and needs will surface, but I bear witness with certainty that if only non-clerical individuals were at the forefront of the revolution and decisions, today nothing would have been left for us except disgrace, abjectness and shame in front of America and the world-devourers, as well as deviation from all Islamic-revolutionary beliefs.

It needs to be mentioned that recalling some of the events of the revolution and the clergy does not mean that the dear seminary students and clerics have to demonstrate radical and revolutionary acts after this writing. The aim instead is knowledge and awareness of the points in choosing insightfully the way, and better recognition of the dangers, passages and ambush sites. But concerning the lessons and research in the seminaries, I am in favor of the traditional jurisprudence and Jawahiri¹ *ijtihad* and do not allow for infringement of them. *Ijtihad* is the same correct method but it does

¹ It refers to Shaykh Muhammad Hasan ibn Baqir an-Najafi (passed away in Sha'ban 1266 A.H.), renowned as *Sahib al-Jawahir*, literally means Owner of the *Jawahir*, was a great *faqih* (jurisprudent) as well as a prominent source of religious imitation. His reputation as *Sahib al-Jawahir* was for writing the book, *Jawahir al-Kalam*, on various subjects of *fiqh* (jurisprudence).

not mean that the jurisprudence of Islam is not dynamic; time and space are the two determining elements of *ijtihad*. An issue having a ruling in the past is apparently the same issue that a new ruling can possibly be found on the dominant relations of politics, society and economics of a system. It means that with precise recognition of the economic, social and political relations, the same earlier issue which apparently makes no difference with the one in the past has indeed become a serious subject, which naturally calls for a new ruling. The *mujtahid* should be knowledgeable of the issues of his own time. It is inadmissible for the people, the youth and even the laymen for their *marja* to say, "I will not express opinion on political issues." Familiarity with the method of dealing with the tricks and guiles of the dominant culture in the world. Economic insight and outlook; information on the manner of dealing with the dominant economic system in the world, understanding the policies and even the statesmen and their dictated formulas, and comprehension of the stance and points of weakness and strength of the two blocs of capitalism and communism, which actually design the strategy of ruling over the world, are among the peculiar features of a competent *mujtahid*. A *mujtahid* must have the acumen, tact and sagacity of guiding a grand Islamic and even non-Islamic society. Apart from sincerity, piety and asceticism that the *mujtahid* must possess, he must be really a manager and efficient. Government in the view of the true *mujtahid* is the practical philosophy of the entire jurisprudence in all aspects of man's life. Government is the manifestation of the practical dimension of jurisprudence in dealing with all the social, political, military and cultural questions. Jurisprudence is the real and complete theory of administering man from cradle up to the grave.

The main purpose is how to implement the way we desire it the firm principles of jurisprudence in the practice of individual and society and how we could have answer to the intricate questions. All the fear of (the World) Arrogance emanates from this issue that jurisprudence and *ijtihad* would find objective and practical dimension, and bring into existence the power of confrontation for the Muslims. By the way, for what reason were the world-devourers so inflamed following the issuance of the religious and Islamic decree unanimously agreed upon by all the *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars) concerning a foreign mercenary¹, and the heads of *kufr* (disbelief), the Common Market and the like have engaged in suicidal efforts and search? Is it other than the fact that the heads of (the World) Arrogance have

¹ It refers to the decree on the incumbency of killing the apostate Salman Rushdie and the publishers of his immoral and anti-religious book.

been alarmed by the power of Muslims' practical dealing on understanding and resisting their wicked conspiracies, that they recognize today's Islam of the Muslims as a proud, dynamic and epical school, and due to the fact that the area of their wickedness has been limited and their mercenaries cannot be certain, as in the past, to defame the sanctities, they have been disturbed? I have said before that all the conspiracies of the world-devourers against us from the imposed war to the economic sanction and the like is for us not to say that Islam is the answer for the society and for us to definitely ask their approval for our issues and steps. We should not be negligent; verily, we have to move in such a way that, God willing, all the veins of dependency of our country on such a frightened world would be cut off.

The Western Arrogance might have imagined that as they would mention the "Common Market" and "economic sanction", we will be afraid and reconsider the implementation of the decree of God Almighty. It is so interesting and surprising that these outwardly civilized people as well as thinkers, when a mercenary writer will hurt the feelings of more than one billion Muslims through the stroke of his venomous pen, for some of them it does not matter if some of them become martyred in this regard, and this is exactly the catastrophe of "democracy" and "civilization". Yet, when there is a discussion on the implementation of the decree and justice, they will recite the elegy of affection and humanitarianism. We can obtain the rancor of the Western world with the Muslim world and jurisprudence from these very points. Their case is not the case of defending an individual; it is the case of defending anti-Islamic and anti-value current that the Zionist establishments, Britain and America have operated. Through their folly and haste they have put themselves in confrontation with the entire Muslim world. Of course, we have to observe how some of the Muslim states and governments deal with this great disaster. The fact is that it is no longer the issue of Arabs vis-à-vis non-Arabs, Persians and Iran; rather, it is insult to the sanctities of Muslims from the advent of Islam up to now and from today throughout history; it is the result of the foreigners' influence on the culture of the school of Islam; if we neglect, this is just the beginning of the episode and imperialism has so much in store of these dangerous vipers and pens for hired stories.

In such circumstances, it is not necessary for us to pursue extensive relations and links because the enemies would possibly think that we were so much dependent on, and interested in, their existence such that in spite of the insult to our religious beliefs and sanctities we remain silent and calm. They still believe so and analyze that we have to reconsider our policy, principles and diplomacy, that we have become rude and that we should not repeat the

mistakes of the past. They believe that the harsh slogans or war caused the pessimism of the East and the West toward us, and finally, the isolation of the country. If we act realistically, they will also behave humanely with us and mutually respect our nation, Islam and the Muslims. This is an instance that God wants the publication of the blasphemous book, *The Satanic Verses*, to take place at this time, so that the world of vanity, arrogance and barbarity would reveal its true face in its old enmity to Islam so that we desist from simplemindedness, not to attribute everything to mistake, mismanagement and inexperience, and for us to totally comprehend that the issue is not our mistake but rather the design of the world-devourers in annihilating Islam and the Muslims; otherwise, the individual issue of Salman Rushdie is not so much important for them such that all the Zionists and (the World) Arrogance have to stand behind him.

The Party of God's dear clerics and people as well as the esteemed families of the martyrs have to be thoroughly aware that through these wrong analyses and notions, the blood of their beloved ones would not be disregarded. My worry is that ten years from now, today's analysts would sit to make judgment, saying that it should be seen whether the Islamic religious edict and sentence to death of Salman Rushdie has been in conformity with the principles and rules of diplomacy or not. They will arrive at the conclusion that since the declaration of the decree of God has had consequences, and the Common Market and the Western countries have taken stance against us. We should thus not be rude and pass by those who insulted the sacred station of the Prophet, Islam and the school of thought! In sum, without paying attention to the deceitful West and the aggressor East and devoid of the dominant diplomacy in the world, we have to rise up to realize the practical jurisprudence of Islam, or else, so long as jurisprudence is remained hidden in books and bosoms of the *ulama* (distinguished religious scholars), it is not harmful to the world-devourers. So long as the clergy has no active involvement in all issues and problems, it cannot realize that the current *ijtihad* is not enough in administering the society. The seminaries and the clergy should always have at their disposal the pulse of thinking and future need of the society. They should always be ready for some steps of appropriate reaction ahead of the events. So, many existing methods of administering the affairs of the people would change in the coming years. Human society would find the need for the new issues of Islam in order to solve its problems. The honorable *ulama* of Islam should think of this subject from now on.

The last point, attention to which is necessary, is that the clerics, *ulama* and seminary students should consider judicial and administrative works as sacred affair and divine value for themselves. They should believe in their personality and merit and should not just stay in the seminary but rather simply leave the seminary in order to implement the decree of God and occupy posts in the Islamic government. If a seminary student sees vacancy for the post of Friday and congregational prayer leader or of judging on the affairs of the people and has the administrative ability but would not assume responsibility under the pretext of lesson and discourse or being fond of *ijtihad* and lesson, he would surely be called to account in the Presence of God Almighty. His excuse would never be accepted. If we do not render service to the system today and overlook the people's unprecedented acceptance of the clergy, we would never have another opportunity and circumstances better than this. I hope that we have not been hurt by the friendly advices and reminders of this old father and humble servant of yours. At the time, when prayers are accepted, with your sacred spirits and radiant hearts, you would pray and ask forgiveness for me. I am not also negligent of praying benevolently for the true clergy and the religious seminaries.

O God! Increase the ability of the *ulama* and the clergy in serving Your religion. O God! Perpetuate forever the religious seminaries—this fortress for guarding jurisprudence and the authentic Islam. O God! Shower the martyrs of the clergy and the seminaries with boundless grace and bounties of Your Presence. O God! Endow health to their disabled veterans and patience and recompense to the families of the martyrs. Let the missing in action and prisoners of war return to their homeland as soon as possible. O God! Increase in our hearts and sights the value of rendering service to Your religion and the people, and show forever that “Verily, You are the Owner of grace”. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 3, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: February 23, 1989 [Esfand 4, 1367 AHS / Rajab 16, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for supervising the writing of textbooks and preventing historical distortion in the textbooks

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei

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

To the Great Leader of Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini—may Allah let the Muslims benefit throughout his noble existence,

With greetings, reference to letter dated Bahman 11, 1367 AHS, it is to be noted that understanding and interpretation of the liberals and materialists of many published history books after the victory of the Islamic Revolution are indeed worrisome and distressing. Some of the writings are far from the truth and distortions in the history textbooks for schools and universities. While apologizing for taking the precious time of the dear Imam, I will henceforth cite instances of the above points:

1. The book, *Contemporary History of Iran*, written for the intermediate levels in high school, dwells on encouragement of people to take refuge the British Embassy in the course of the Constitutional Movement. According to the existing evidence, happened through the design of the infidel and foreigner-worshipping Freemasons who were ignorant of God, thus writes in page 77:

“From the middle of the way, Behbahani sent a message to the people advising them that they can take sanctuary at the British Embassy, prompting about twenty-thousand people to take refuge in the garden of the foreign embassy and...”

This comment in textbooks of the Islamic Republic establishment with this degree of certainty is taking place in circumstances that basically the subject is subject to dispute by historians. In this connecting the anti-Islamic Kasravi writes in page 109 of his book, *History of Constitutionalism*:

“It is inconceivable that Behbahani or Tabatabai has ever been glad in asking the people to take asylum in the embassy, and so with such dialogue on his presence. We ourselves observed what hardships and fears they experienced, and in spite of this, they did not go out of the mosque. And finally, as they had no alternative, they went to Qum. Where is such

courageous and life-risking behavior of theirs, and where is the pleasure in asking the people to take refuge in the embassy of a foreign state?!"

2. The book, *An Analysis of the Islamic Revolution of Iran* published for some universities, writes in page 21:

"In the midst of migration, the event of seeking refuge in the British Embassy takes place in which Behbahani was influential."

Approximately one year prior to its publication, the author of this book along with the author of the book, *Contemporary History of Iran* met with me. In the meeting, this author reproached the author of the book, *Contemporary History of Iran* for raising a question that is subject to dispute by historian with such degree of certainty and absoluteness. And that he did in the textbook of high school students. That author also apparently admitted his mistake and he was supposed to correct it. Yet, not only that up to now, this line has been existing in the textbook of high school students without the least alteration, but also in the university textbook, as what you will notice above, it has been repeated, which itself is a manifestation of spite and ill-will, and not mistake.

3. The book "*An Analysis of Islamic revolution of Iran*" presents the event in Marmar Palace and the attack against the Shah by a zealous and self-less soldier named Rida Shamsabadi, as a communist motivated move. Page 95 reads:

"Shamsabadi was active in one of the Marxist-Maoist groups. He had informed his group of the possibility of assassinating the Shah, being met with opposition of the central committee. Finally, Shamsabadi attempted to assassinate the Shah, without informing his group, but failed."

However, existing documents at the SAVAK Office and other evidence available since which were pre-revolution period I have cited in the first volume of the book, *Revolution of Imam Khomeini*, the said person had an Islamic motive and has had no relation whatsoever with the communists. It seems that mysterious hands are at work to give credit to the lies and fabrications of the distorters of history throughout the past one hundred year bearing the emblem and title of Islamic Republic. They attempt to put on the garment of truth to distortions of treacherous writers of the past by resorting to these writings comments in the Islamic Republic and even in textbooks.

During the past few years I took recourse to and warned each of the officials calling on them to attend to this current. However, it is a pity that nobody paid attention to this pain afflicting from within. Having no alternative, I deemed it my duty me to inform my Imam to work out a

solution. “To Allah do I complain for every sort of my problem and sorrow.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Sayyid Hamid Ruhani]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Khamenei, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution—may his graces last,

The letter of His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayid Hamid Ruhani is a warning to everyone whose heart is beating for Islam and the revolution. It is surprising and regrettable that the educational system of the Islamic country of Iran would attribute something to the late Behbahani (may Allah have mercy on him) that even Kasravi, with his anti-Islamic records, did not do against him. The religious Kasravi praises the gentlemen; Behbahani and Tabatabai¹ and rejects having ordered people to seek asylum in the embassy of a foreign state. I emphatically ask Your Eminence as sympathetic to Islam and the revolution to keep you abreast of all such cases. Other points in Mr. Ruhani’s letter are also noteworthy. Provide me with account of your work. May God’s peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 4, 1367 AHS

¹ Eminent Ayatollahs. Sayyid Abdullah Behbahani and Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba’i are among the renowned *ulama*’ and founders of the Constitutional Movement.

Permission

Date: February 25, 1989 [Esfand 6, 1367 AHS / Rajab 18, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mumtaz Ali Sharifi (a Pakistani)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Mumtaz Ali Sharifi—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs, and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (*a*), he is equally permitted to collect and spend it on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third. He is similarly permitted to collect the share of the *Sadat* and to give half of it to the noble *Sadat* (may Allah multiple their blessed generations) and to remit the other half to this humble servant. In all affairs he should not spare from consulting and asking the view of my representative, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Sajid Ali Naqvi (may his graces last). May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab al-Khayr 18, 1409 AH

Statements

Date: Morning, February 26, 1989 [Esfand 7, 1367 AHS / Rajab 19, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: A window opening into the vast and eternal world

Audience: Eduard Shevardnadze (Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union); Ali-Akbar Wilayati (Iranian Foreign Minister); Muhammad Jawad Larijani (Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister); Ali-Rida Nawbari (Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Moscow)

[In this meeting, Soviet Foreign Minister handed over the written message of Mikhail Gorbachev to the Imam and briefed the Imam on the content of the message.

In this meeting, Shevardnadze first said:

"I am so thankful of finding the opportunity to meet you. I am commissioned to submit the reply message of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Your Reverend. I will try to brief you on the content of this message. At the outset, I would like to say that exchange of the messages between the leaders of our countries is an unprecedented development in our bilateral relations. We believe that conditions have been provided for our bilateral relations entering a new qualitative phase for cooperation in all areas.

In his message, Mr. Gorbachev points out that Your Eminence's message addressed to the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is replete with abundant concepts.

All members of the Presidium of the Soviet Union studied the text of Your Eminence's message. There is no doubt that we share similar opinion on the main points, but that there are cases wherein we have disagreement, yet, this is not important.

In your message, there are profound observations on the destiny of mankind. Mr. Gorbachev believes that we share one and the same view on the most important point, i.e. human beings should assist each for survival. If human beings are not united, humanity should be exposed to catastrophic threats, because the potentials are implanted in human beings to generate such catastrophe.

Mr. Gorbachev believes that struggle for the attainment of a world free from nuclear weapons and coercion is the responsibility of all nations.

On foreign policy of the Soviet Union, our aim is to generalize preference of values all nations and superiority of these values to all other

interests be the class-oriented or national whether they are that of a certain class or nation.

Mr. Gorbachev writes to you that the words of the Imam regarding the goodwill of the Iranian leadership on having good neighborlihood and bilateral relations with the Soviet Union have met with favorable reaction on the part of the Soviet leaders. We share a very long common border as well as ancient traditions of cultural ties between our nations.

We have good grounds for the continuation of our relations based on new foundation; that is, on the basis of the principles of mutual respect, equal rights and non-interference in domestic affairs of each other.

Mr. Gorbachev writes that in the international politics, we follow a fundamental principle; i.e., the principle of respect for the freedom of choice for each human being and nation. Consequently, our country and our entire nation have welcomed in good faith your great revolution. The monarchical despotism in Iran exploited its own people, used really barbaric methods and trampled on the dignity and reputation of its own nation to earn the pleasure of the foreign forces. Your revolution has been chosen by your nation and we have always supported this choice and continue to do so.

Mr. Gorbachev in his message writes that our nation also made its choice and that in 1917. Along our way, there were both big problems and remarkable achievements and blunders and human rights violations. We correct and condemn these mistakes. In spite of all problems we were able to defend our achievements, because the choice of the people has been right.

I would to bring to your attention that the issue of freedom of choice is on the agenda of the present international daily life. We have a question to ask ourselves, as we have to find the way to continue: Is this way of ours the old and dogmatic path, or the new and revolutionary one? Our choice is in favor of the second way. We have a revolution in our country, but a peaceful revolution without trenches and without resorting to force; we would like the Eminent Imam to know that in our country the trend of renewal and reconstruction persists. Economic and political reconstruction, renewal of our evaluation and our way of thinking and renewal of the views that we held before.

Mr. Gorbachev points out those enormous transformations have recently happened in the world. We think it can be said we are on the threshold of a new political and economic order.

Very important treaties have been concluded; one class of nuclear weapons will be demolished.

A good prospect has been opened for elimination of chemical weapons. A good prospect has also been opened for prevention of military confrontation among states. But this is not a gift of the imperialists; it is the will of the nations; it is the will of the time.

There is no other option; arms race and bringing them to the space will bring about human catastrophe. Bloody conflicts are about to end in the different parts of the world.

We welcome the end of the Iran-Iraq War. We are ready to cooperate with you for consolidation of peace in the Middle and Far East the region and the entire world.

We are concerned over the extensive military presence in the Persian Gulf. I mean the military presence of foreign countries. This phenomenon is very dangerous and must be ended.

We also want to have good cooperation with you in looking for a just solution to the affairs of Afghanistan. Let the people of Afghanistan themselves determine their own destiny without any foreign intervention."

Shevardnadze added: "Another point in the message of Mr. Gorbachev is that he expresses readiness for promotion cooperation in economic matters and in areas we had good cooperation in the past.

We are also ready for the establishment and continuation of contacts between individuals, representatives of social groups and clerics.

Your Eminence's invitation to Qum was relayed to the Islamic scholars of our country; we have no doubt that they will avail of this invitation."

In the end, the special envoy of the Soviet Leader said: "This was the gist of the message of Mr. Gorbachev.

He extends his best wishes and greetings to Your Eminence.

He wishes for Your Eminence's longevity for the interest and prosperity of the Iranian nation."]

May he be healthy, by the will of God. But tell his Excellency I wanted to open a bigger horizon before him.

[In the end, Imam said:] I wanted to open for a window opening into a bigger world for Mr. Gorbachev; i.e., the world after death, which is an eternal world. This was the theme of my message.¹ I hope that he would think again in this context.

[Imam Khomeini welcomed the retreat of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan, emphasized good neighborlihood and expansion of strong

¹ It refers to the famous message of Imam Khomeini to Gorbachev (dated Dey 10, 1367 AHS/January 1, 1989) in which he has predicted the downfall of communism and warned Russia against Rolling into the trap of Western capitalism and America.

relations in the different dimensions in dealing with the devils of the West and withdrawal of foreign forces from the Persian Gulf and wished the people of the Soviet Union and Iran would always live in peace and tranquility.]

Letter

Date: February 26, 1989 [Esfand 7, 1367 AHS / Rajab 19, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Providing the land for the housing of personnel of the self-sufficiency industry of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC)

Addressees: Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Majlis); Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[In the letter, reference number 3028-10/70 and dated Bahman 20, 1367 AHS, apart from describing the activities of the self-sufficiency industry of the IRGC ministry in the area of arms and ammunitions mobilization and support for the warfronts, Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Alizadeh, head of the self-sufficiency industry of the IRGC ministry, requested Imam Khomeini as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces to issue permission for allocation of four tracks of land in Tehran for construction of housing units for the personnel of the IRGC industry. In reply, Imam Khomeini has written, thus:]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Hashimi, the Honorable Speaker of the Majlis and Honorable Mr. Musawi, the Prime Minister,

In this context, it is appropriate to render help to the IRIGC, if possible by the will of God; of course, with observance of the religious considerations.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: February 27, 1989 [Esfand 8, 1367 AHS / Rajab 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Allocating the expenses of the Documents Office of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Mahdi Karrubi (Imam Khomeini's representative and superintendent of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation)

[To the Eminent Religious Authority of the Shiah World, the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution, His Holiness Imam Khomeini—may Allah grant favor to the Muslims throughout his noble existence,

... It is to be noted that as what is well known to Your Eminence, with the aim of gathering historical documents and writing the history of the Islamic Revolution, the Documents Office of the Islamic Revolution was established in 1359 AHS (circa 1980) with the cooperation of my brother, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Karrubi.¹ At the beginning of function of this Office, instruction was taken from Your Eminence regarding administration of the affairs and expenses. Your Eminence favorably granted as you verbally assigned the allocation of its expenses to Mr. Karrubi and the Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation. Then, in reply to my letter, my brother Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini also highlighted Your Eminence's view about the payment of the expenses of this office by the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation. In spite of this, in order to eliminate any worry that may occur in the future, I beg to ask Your Eminence to write your blessed view, as you deem it appropriate, for the administration of affairs and expenses of this office to be entrusted to Haj Aqa Karrubi, as in the past... May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Hamid Ruhani
Esfand 8, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

¹ One of the most important steps taken by the Documents of the Islamic Revolution Office is the publication of the book, *Revolution of Imam Khomein*] in three volumes. This anthology, which reflects the various stages of the Islamic Revolution, is used by scholars and researchers.

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Karrubi—may his graces last,

The expenses of the Documents of the Islamic Revolution Office whose administration is with Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Hamid Ruhani, is in charge to the Martyrs' Foundation, as in the past.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: February 27, 1989 [Esfand 8, 1367 AHS / Rajab 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Theological Seminary of Ahwaz

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Jazairi (Imam Khomeini's representative and Friday and congregational prayer leader of Ahwaz)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Jazairi, the honorable Friday and congregational prayer leader of Ahwaz—may his graces last,

I acknowledge the receipt of your letter and am thankful for your compassions; it is obvious that the dear people of Ahwaz should primarily attend to the needs of the theological seminary of that city and to remit the surplus for administering the seminary. I beseech God, the Exalted, for your success. Convey my greetings to the religious and beloved people of Ahwaz. May you be successful and triumphant by the grace of God. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: February 27, 1989 [Esfand 8, 1367 AHS / Rajab 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Suharto (President of the Republic of Indonesia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. General Suharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia:

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution in Iran is acknowledged with gratitude. During these ten years, the great combatant people of Iran has withstood various conspiracies of the enemies of the revolution one after the other and frustrated them through their efforts by relying on faith in God and taking inspiration from the lofty teachings of Islam. Recently, they have come for a war against all Muslim nations and sanctities of Islam with a new agent. By hiring a group of mercenaries, they have resorted to writing and publishing the blasphemous book, *The Satanic Verses*. It is hoped that through the vigilance of the Muslims and making use of the rich resources at their disposal, they could also thwart this treacherous conspiracy and take action in performing their Islamic duty of virtually cutting the hands of these mercenaries. Having the greatest number of Muslims in your country, you have a graver responsibility in performing this divine duty. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the success of all Muslim nations in this way till the total victory over the enemies of religion and the Quran. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 8, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: February 27, 1989 [Esfand 8, 1367 AHS / Rajab 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Rajiv Gandhi (Prime Minister of India)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of the Republic of India,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution in Iran is hereby acknowledged with gratitude. During the past ten years, the enemies of the revolution contrived widespread and extensive plots against the Islamic and true Revolution, all of which were thwarted with the help of God, the Exalted. Now, by writing and publishing the blasphemous book, *The Satanic Verses*, they have come for their war against the dear Islam. As in the past, this conspiracy will also end in futility with the help of God Almighty. It is hoped that having the largest Muslim population among the non-Muslim countries, you would also help the Muslims of India along this way, and that you would expand your traditional relations with Iran and other Muslim countries.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Esfand 8, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: February 27, 1989 [Esfand 8, 1367 AHS / Rajab 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Carlos Salinas de Gortari (President of the Republic of Mexico)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, President of the United Mexican States,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution of Iran is acknowledged with gratitude. It is hoped that the true Islamic Revolution, which succeeded by taking inspiration from the lofty teachings of Islam, reliance on faith in God, and fortitude and steadfastness vis-à-vis the conspiracy of the enemies, would serve as a model for other nations under the yoke of colonialism and through this method, they could deliver themselves from the dominance of the colonialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 8, 1367 AHS

Permission

Date: February 27, 1989 [Esfand 8, 1367 AHS / Rajab 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sikhawat Husayn Sandralwi (Pakistan)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rajab al-Khayr 20, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Shaykh Sikhawat Husayn Sandralwi—may his magnificent success last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) and spend it on his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on reviving religious seminary, propagating the sacred religion and to remitting the other two-third. He is similarly permitted to collect the share of the *Sadat*, to give half of it to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit the other half to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) to exercise caution in all affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Meanwhile, on the mentioned affairs he should not spare from consulting and asking the view of my representative, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Haj Sayyid Sajid Ali Naqvi (may his graces last), God willing.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 5, 1989 [Esfand 14, 1367 AHS / Rajab 26, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Seeking Imam Khomeini's opinion on *istikharah* [seeking the best from Allah] for academic course shifting

Addressee: Muhammad Imami Kashani (jurist-member of the Guardian Council)

[In a letter dated Esfand 14, 1367 AHS addressed to Imam Khomeini, Mr. Imami Kashani has asked about the Imam's opinion regarding some *istikharahs* he has undertaken for shifting his son's academic field of study from medicine to theology in Qum.

Imam Khomeini replied in the following words:]

In His Most Exalted Name

Let your son choose freely what he desires. You and his mother have to pray for his success along his choice.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: March 7, 1989 [Esfand 16, 1367 AHS / Rajab 28, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mirza Ali-Asghar Marandi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Mirza Ali-Asghar Marandi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) and spend it for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and remitting the other two-third. Regarding the share of the *Sadat*, he is similarly permitted to collect, give half of it to the noble *Sadat* and remit the other half to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Rajab al-Khayr 28, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: March 8, 1989 [Esfand 17, 1367 AHS / Rajab 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Abdul-Ali Jawidan

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Rajab al-Khayr 29, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Abdul-Ali Jawidan—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) and spend it for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of it on propagating the sacred religion and remitting the other two-third. Regarding the share of the *Sadat*, he is similarly permitted to give half of it to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) to exercise caution in all affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 8, 1989 [Esfand 17, 1367 AHS / Rajab 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution

Addressee: Todor Zhivkov (President of Bulgaria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Esfand 17, 1367 AHS

His Eminence Mr. Todor Zhivkov, President of the Republic of Bulgari,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Islamic Revolution in Iran is acknowledged with gratitude. During these ten years, the noble Iranian nation proved to the world that by reliance on God, the Exalted, as well as fortitude and steadfastness, one can withstand all plots brewed by imperialists and removing all problems. It is hoped that this glorious Islamic Revolution would serve as a model for other colonized nations suffering under the yoke of world oppressive powers so that they could emerge triumphant over their enemies by taking inspiration from struggle of the Iranian nation.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: March 9, 1989 [Esfand 18, 1367 AHS / Shaban 1, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Designation of the representative in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

Addressee: Abdullah Nuri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Abdullah Nuri—may his graces last,

It is apropos to commemorate the self-sacrifices of one of the great commanders of the Islamic revolution in Iran, the late Martyr Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Fadlullah Mahallati. He was among my faithful companions and one who suffered during the period of the blood-shedding struggle of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. I implore God to bestow mercy on him and admit him in His Proximity. I would like to express my gratitude to the efforts of his deputy, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Iraqi.¹ He was a religious and righteous person who has rendered praiseworthy services during the war and, God willing, from now on he would be at the service of Islam, Iran and the Islamic Revolution. I designate you I believe that you are an erudite, combatant, and pious person with unique political acumen, not to mention being among the honorable families of the martyrs, an honor by itself—as my representative in the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps (IRGC). It is necessary to remind you as well as my dear children in the IRGC of the following points:

1. The duties legally entrusted to you must be carefully observed; you should never disregard them. My children in the IRGC should not commit the least violation of the law.

2. Your being my representative encompasses the military, administrative and ministerial affairs of the IRGC. Thus, all the cultural, political-ideological and intellectual issues, propagation and press activities, preservation of information, and other legal issues are under your supervision, and you must be the guide in all the mentioned cases.

3. All my children in the IRGC including the commanders and others should always make necessary coordination with my honorable representative; violation of this order would be dealt with accordingly.

¹ Mr. Muhammad Muhammadi Iraqi.

4. From now on, confirmation of the dismissal and appointment of the commanders lies with you.

5. As you are also my representative in the *Jihad* for Reconstruction, I pray to God, the Exalted, that with the cooperation of the IRGC and the *Jihad* for Reconstruction you could make these two sacred institutions of the revolution cooperate and assist each other so that they would serve Islam, the revolution and Iran.

I pray to God, the Exalted, for your success and confirmation. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 18, 1367 AHS

Letter

Date: March 10, 1989 [Esfand 19, 1367 AHS / Shaban 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Attending to the problems of Iran-based Iraqis

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (Iranian's President and Chairman of Defense Council)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Khamenei—may his graces last,

With greetings, His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Baqir Hakim is among my dear guests and that of the Islamic Republic of Iran.¹ It is rumored that the affair of the Iraqi brothers in Iran is facing problems, for which actions have been taken many times, but to no avail. I sincerely ask you to call upon Mr. Hakim, Mr. Sadr and Mr. Salik and fix an appointment to solve the issue. May you be successful. Give report of the affair to me.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 19, 1367 AHS

¹ In his letter dated Rajab 28, 1409 AH (Esfand 16, 1367 AHS) addressed to Imam Khomeini, apart from describing the unfavorable condition of the Iraqis residing in Iran in terms of their undermined identity (nationality) and legal status, problems related to traveling inside Iran and abroad, housing problem, existence of draconian rules for them, fear of returning to Iraq, etc., Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Hakim, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, requested the Great Leader of the Revolution to take necessary measure to solve the problems of this group. In his letter, Mr. Hakim noted that concerning the above issues he has submitted proposals to the government officials.

Message

Date: March 12, 1989 [Esfand 21, 1367 AHS / Shaban 4, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Chadli Benjedid (President of Algeria)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Chadli Benjedid, the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution in Iran is hereby acknowledged with gratitude. During these ten years, the great and proud people of the Islamic Iran showed Muslims and nations under the yoke of the world tyrannical powers that by relying on God, the Exalted, fortitude and steadfastness in facing the plots and problems, they could overpower the superpowers of the world. It is hoped that by taking inspiration from similar approach, the other Muslim nations would struggle against the enemies of Islam, overtake them and not allow the enemies to insult and make a plaything of the sanctities of Islam. It is unfortunate that many of the heads of the Muslim countries were indifferent to such a grave conspiracy and also did not perform their Islamic and religious duty on sentencing to death the conspirators like the writer of the book, *The Satanic Verses*, and his supporters.

I beseech God, the Exalted, to awaken all Muslim nations. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 21, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: March 12, 1989 [Esfand 21, 1367 AHS / Shaban 4, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Lee Shian Nian (?) (President of the Republic of China)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Esfand 21, 1367 AHS

His Excellency Mr. Yang Shankon, President of the People's Republic of China,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution is acknowledged with gratitude. During these ten years, the great and combatant nation of Iran withstood different kinds of plots hatched by the Western and Eastern enemies of the Islamic Republic with the help of God Almighty, always emerging with flying colors. As the enemies of the Revolution were frustrated in eradicating it, they have come to wage war against Islam. By publishing the book, *The Satanic Verses*, they have risen up to deal a blow to Islam and its Noble Prophet. We are certain that this time they would not succeed and that they would obtain nothing except embarrassment and losses. We are expecting all liberal nations of the world to prevent insult on the sanctities of more than one billion Muslims of the world and condemn this sinister conspiracy.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 12, 1989 [Esfand 21, 1367 AHS / Shaban 4, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Erich Honecker (President of East Germany)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Erich Honecker, President of the Democratic Republic of Germany,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution is acknowledged with gratitude. During these ten years, the noble nation of Iran withstood different kinds of plots and hostilities of Western and Eastern. Now they are facing a new conspiracy concocted by the Zionists and their Western allies, by publishing the blasphemous book, *The Satanic Verses*. They have thus insulted and ridiculed over one billion Muslims of the world. With the help of God, they would not again succeed. They would not obtain anything except disgrace and loss of their gains.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Esfand 21, 1367 AHS

Message

Date: March 12, 1989 [Esfand 21, 1367 AHS / Shaban 4, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Ranasinghe Premadasa (President of the Republic of Sri Lanka)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Premadasa, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the anniversary of the Islamic Revolution is acknowledged with gratitude. I beseech God, the Exalted, to grant victory to the deprived and downtrodden nations over imperialists and arrogant powers.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 21, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: March 15, 1989 [Esfand 24, 1367 AHS / Shaban 7, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Assistance in constructing Ayatullah Marashi Najafi Library

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Prime Minister, Mr. Musawi —may God Almighty assist him,

The library of Hadrat Ayatullah Aqa Najafi Marashi (may his blessings last) is among the exceptional libraries, and perhaps it can be said, unmatched in Iran. Its precious Shiah-related literature and unique books and manuscripts are among the richest cultural sources of Islam and Iran.

Reportedly, the library's area does not provide save preservation facility, while study section of the library is limited for those interested in the books of library.

You are duty-bound to provide the best facilities to meet for the needs of the library. His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Mahmud Marashi Najafi— who is himself one of the competent experts in bibliography and book and recognizing the environment conducive to preservation of books, is the best person who can help you in this endeavor. God willing, by constructing the building as soon as possible at the threshold of Islam, the Revolution and the religious seminary of Qum, a significant step along the advancement of the teachings of Islam would be taken. Obviously, not whatever is erected in that area is at the discretion of Ayatullah Najafi Marashi or any person he would appoint. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your success. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 24, 1367 AHS

Decree

Date: March 18, 1989 [Esfand 27, 1367 AHS / Shaban 10, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission to promptly attend to the condition of the non-convicted prisoners

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khuiniha

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khuini—may his graces last,

With greetings! Your report about the condition of non-convicted persons in the prisons is disappointing and touching. Messrs. Hujjat al-Islams Musawi Ardebili¹ and Muqtadai² and you—each in his respective area of responsibility, should choose individual prisoners to put an end to such unpleasant condition. You should solve this problem as soon as possible.

On my behalf, tell all the workers in the judicial affairs of Tehran and municipalities that God would not be pleased if non-convicted persons remain in prisons unduly, and if the gentlemen fail to sensitivity to this matter. I beseech God, the Exalted, to grant success to you and all those who are working hard in the judiciary. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 27, 1367 AHS

¹ Mr. Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

² Mr. Murtada Muqtada'i, member of the Supreme Judicial Council.

Permission

Date: March 18, 1989 [Esfand 27, 1367 AHS / Shaban 10, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Ibrahim Ansari

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shaban 10, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Shaykh Ibrahim Ansari—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (*a*), he is equally permitted to collect and spend one-third of it on his sustenance, propagating the sacred religion, and to remitting the other two-third to this humble servant. Regarding the share of the *Sadat*, he is similarly permitted to collect and give half of it to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) to exercise caution in all affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: March 20, 1989 [Esfand 29, 1367 AHS / Shaban 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

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

Addressee: Brandt Washtap (President of Hungary)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Excellency Mr. Brandt Washtap, Chairman of the Presidential Council of the Republic of Hungary,

The receipt of Your Excellency's congratulatory message on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory of Islamic Revolution of Iran is acknowledged with gratitude. I pray God, the Exalted, to grant success to other deprived nations suffering under the yoke of the world aggressors so that they could deliver themselves from the dominance of the world-devourers and imperialists.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Esfand 29, 1367 AHS

Last New Year's (Radio-Television) Message

Date: March 21, 1989 [Farvardin 1, 1368 AHS / Shaban 13, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: New Year's and religious festivals' greetings

Addressee: Iranian nation

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“O the Transformer of the hearts and insights! O the Interchanger of the nights and days! O the Changer of the states and conditions! Change our condition to a better one.”

Changing condition for the better signifies that in this New Year, we would undergo a spiritual transformation. That is, there is really a transformation on faith meaning that, as it has been the case of the conduct of prophets from the beginning to the end, war and peace have been for the sake of God. No prophet waged a war except for the sake of God; they have made peace only for His sake.

This New Year has come between two festivities: one is the auspicious feast of the birth anniversary of Imam Husayn (may God's peace be upon him) who was a reviver of the religion of Islam from the beginning till the end of time; the other is the Shaban 15, feast for the Imam of the Time (may our souls be his ransom) who will revive the religion of God, the Blessed and Exalted till eternity. I hope that in this New Year our nation would put into practice what has been the conduct of the prophets and he would put in to practice what has been the conduct of the *awliya* (the friends and devotees of God). The essence is that carnal desires would be eliminated. Throughout his life, man is afflicted with this carnal desire that needs to be satisfied. I myself, who am the speaker, did not succeed in this endeavor. I hope that the Iranian nation and all Muslims of the world would undergo a transformation in this New Year such that they would work for the sake of God. It would not be for their dominance; it would not be for their victory; it would not be for carnal desires. May God, by his grace, grant us opportunity to strive in the way of God, the Blessed and Exalted. May this day be blessed for all, God willing. May God unify all Muslims against the global disbelief.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

[Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini]

Message

Date: March 22, 1989 [Farvardin 2, 1368 AHS / Shaban 14, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for resistance against the military, political and cultural onslaught of world-devourers

Occasion: Mid Shaban month – Birth anniversary of the Imam of the Time (May God hastens his reappearance)

Addressees: Refugees of the imposed war

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To the dear refugees comprising sisters, brothers and children of the imposed war—may God, the Exalted, assist them,

With greetings and salutations to holy Imam of the Time who was born in the middle of Shaban and the last in the chain of Imamate, the promised Mahdi (may our souls be his ransom), the sole ultimate administer of justice and the great standard-bearer of deliverance of mankind from the bonds of oppression and tyranny! Greetings to him and to those who are truly waiting for him to reappear, who truly apprehended his reappearance and who saturate with the cup of his guidance and knowledge.

Greetings to the great Iranian nation who pave the way for his reappearance by their self-sacrifice, devotion and martyrdom. Greetings to you sister and brother refugees who have suffered from numerous emotional, material and financial losses during the imposed war! You, beloveds, have been forced to leave your residence and abandon your comfort in days of the barbaric raids of Saddam after the days of heroic defense you have indeed led a life full of adversity at a place away from your home. You, dear refugees of the imposed war, have understood every moment of the war and its hardships. God willing, Islamic Republic will place your towns and villages at your disposal in a better state than in the past in the not-so-distant future, but you have to prepare yourselves in helping the officials. You should render assistance to them in rebuilding and reconstructing your towns and villages. Thank God, your small children during those days have become adolescents today who, defend their Islamic homeland like their other brothers and sisters.

Everybody knows that enduring the eight years of pressure and hardships has been only for the sake of the dear Islam. Thus, being more formidable than before in defending Islam, the officials must strive to the utmost to stand

firmly against the military, political and cultural onslaught of the world-devourers because today the world arrogance, the West in particular, has realized the threat posed by the growth of the pure Muhammadan (s) Islam to its illegitimate interests.

Today, the East and the West know well that the only force that could drive them away from the scene is Islam. During these ten years of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, they have suffered serious blows from Islam and have decided to annihilate it by any means possible in Iran, as the center of the pure Muhammadan Islam. If they can, they would do it through military force; if not, then through spreading their pervert culture and alienating the nation from Islam and its own national culture. If none of these work, they would do it through their sold out agents from among the hypocrites, liberals and irreligious mercenaries for whom killing the clerics and innocent people is a piece of cake. They infiltrate into government establishments to obtain their sinister aims. The interlopers have announced time and again that they made their own voice heard out of the tongue of plausible simple-minded people.

I have stated again and again that I have not concluded a pact of brotherhood with anyone in whatever position he might be. The framework of my friendship lies in the correctness of the way of the person. Defending Islam and the Party of God is an inalterable principle of the policy of Islamic Republic. We must be defendants of those whose were beheaded by the hypocrites in front of their wife and children at the fasting table. We should be the staunch enemy of those whose records of cooperation with America were discovered at the den of espionage (American embassy). All our love should be devoted to God and not to history. Those who defend the hypocrites and liberals have no place before our dear martyr-offering nation. If the foreign agents and deceived ignoramuses, who have carelessly become the mouthpiece of others, would not relent these movements, our people would discard them without any chance of forgiving them.

Our officials should be aware that our revolution is not confined to Iran. The revolution of the people of Iran is the starting point of the grand revolution of the Muslim world under the stewardship of promised Mahdi (may our souls be his ransom). May God would grant to all Muslims and people of the world and let his reappearance take place at the present age. If economic and mundane issues would make the officials deviate from their mandated duty, serious danger and dreadful treachery would ensue. The government of the Islamic Republic should try its best to administer the people in the best possible manner. This does not mean deviating from the

sublime objectives of the revolution; that is, establishment of the global Islamic government.

The dear Iranian people, who are truly radiant face of the great history of Islam in the contemporary time, should try to endure the hardships and pressures for the sake of God so that the high-ranking officials of the country could perform their fundamental duty which is the propagation of Islam in the world, calling on them to take into account only brotherhood and cordiality within the framework of the interest of Islam and Muslims. Who is there not being aware that our dear people are in hardship and that inflation and inadequacy are exerting pressure on the downtrodden class. Nobody is unaware, too, that rejecting the culture of governments of the world today and establishing a new culture on the basis of Islam in the world, and decisively dealing with America and the Soviet Union in Islamic terms would entail pressure, hardship, martyrdom and hunger. Nevertheless, our people have chosen this path and will pay the price for it, feeling proud of this. It is more that clear that defeating the culture of the East and the West is not possible without martyrdom.

I again call on the high-ranking officials of the Islamic Republic to fear nobody and nothing except God Almighty, to give up the lions without give up struggle against corruption of Western capitalism frivolity and aggression of communism, for we are still on the initial stages of the global struggle against the East and the West.

Is it more than the assumption that we will apparently suffer defeat from the hands of the world-devourers and be destroyed? Is it more than portraying us in the world as supporter of violence and dogmatism? Is it more than trampling the dignity of Islam and Muslims through the penetration of their murderous and devious agents in our circles? Is it more than sending the children of the pure Muhammadan Islam throughout the world to the gallows? Is it more than taking the women and small children of the Party of God in the world captives? Let the cheap world of materiality do so to us, but we would perform our Islamic duty.

Today, the spite and animosity of imperialism against the pure Muhammadan Islam have been revealed more than ever. Their mobilization of the public in defending a sold-out writer bespeaks this reality. Perhaps they had not predicted all this disgrace and ignominy for achieving their sinister goals, as today they are shamefully and contemptuously retreat while feeling sorry for their deed.

Probably, the question of struggling against *hijab* (Islamic veil) of the Muslim women in academic milieu is a deflectory move to dilute the

magnificent image of the Muslim world's act of defending the Noble Messenger (s). Notwithstanding the fact that this reality is itself one of the hardships with which the Muslim nations are suffering, Muslims, would ask how comes that in the so-called free world banning the *hijab* (Islamic veil) for the Muslim women and girls is the very democracy and that we, who have said that whoever insults the Prophet of Islam (s) is to be sentenced to death as per consensus of the Muslim jurists, are accused of acting against freedom! By the way, why the world has remained silent against anyone who would not permit Muslim girls wear Islamic dress as their choice to study or teach in the universities? Is it other than the fact that the interpretation and understanding of freedom and its use are at the disposal of those who are against the foundation of freedom? Today, God has made us responsible; we should not be complacent. Today, one should silently and calmly, and yet firmly, struggle and maintain the fervor and enthusiasm of the revolutionary movement. I will tell again that all the officials of the system and the people of Iran should be aware that the East and the West will not sit silently unless they succeeded in dragging you from your Islamic identity toward their empty illusion. Neither should you be satisfied in forging relations with the aggressors nor suffer for the severance of relations with them. You should vigilantly and consciously watch the enemies and do not let them stay in tranquility, for if you do so, they will not let you stay in tranquility even for a moment.

Of course, we acknowledge the efforts of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; they should seriously continue with their works. God willing, they will succeed in performing their gargantuan divine and political responsibility.

I pray to God for our dear refugees to return to their residence as soon as possible and replace the bitterness of strangeness and hardship with the sweetness of returning home.

In conclusion, we ought to thank and acknowledge all those who have and are entertaining the dear migrants as well as the esteemed officials of the Foundation for Refugees who have undertaken great efforts. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: March 26, 1989 [Farvardin 6, 1368 AHS / Shaban 18, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Dismissal of Mr. Muntaziri as acting Supreme Leader

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dear Mr. Muntaziri:

With a wounded and broken heart, I am writing to you a few words so that people would come to know the affair once. You have written in your recent letter that religiously you would give preference to my view than yours. I take God into account and I point out some issues. As it has become clear that after me you would hand over the country and the dear Islamic Revolution of the Muslim people of Iran to liberals and through their channel to hypocrites, you have lost the merit and legitimacy of being the future leader of the system. You showed in most of your letters, interviews and positions that you are of the opinion that the liberals and hypocrites should rule over the country. The questions you raised were so dictated by the hypocrites that I did not see any use of replying to them. For example; in your defense of the hypocrites, who had been sentenced to death for their armed struggle against Islam and the revolution. You observed what valuable services you rendered to imperialists. In the case of Mahdi Hashimi, the murderer, you considered him one who was most committed to faith of any other pious people. Although it was proven to you that he was a murderer, you constantly sent message, not to execute him. Cases like that of Mahdi Hashimi are many and I am not in the mood to relate them. From now on, you are not my representative. Tell the theology students who bring money for you to refer to the house of Mr. Pasandideh in Qum or to Jamaran in Tehran. Thank God, from now on, you are not engaged in financial affairs. If you religiously give preference to my view than to yours—something that the hypocrites do not deem advisable and you would be involved writing things that will make worse your hereafter I would like to give some pieces of advice to you, who were the product of my life with a broken heart out of the flame of unkindness. By relying on God, the Exalted leaving the decision to you:

1. Try to reform the members of your household so that the blessed share of the Imam would not reach the throats of the hypocrites, liberals and the group of Mahdi Hashimi.

2. Since you are simpleminded and can easily get incited, you should not get involved in any political matter. Perhaps, God would forgive your shortcomings.

3. Do not write letter to me anymore, and do not allow anymore the hypocrites to transmit each and every secret of the country to the foreign radios any longer.

4. The letters and speeches of the hypocrites, that were transmitted to people through you via the mass media dealt serious blows on Islam and the revolution and resulted in a great treachery to the anonymous soldiers of the Imam of the Time (may our souls be his ransom) and the pure blood of the martyrs of Islam and the revolution. In order not to be burned in the abyss of hell, confess your mistakes and sins. Perhaps, God would help you.

I wear by God that from the beginning I was opposed to your nomination; then I knew you as simpleminded with no acumen and produce for leadership. But you are an educated person useful for theological seminary. If you persist in such kinds of activities, I have definitely a different duty. You know that I do not turn away from my duty. By God, I did not vote for Bazargan to become premier, yet I considered him a good person. By God I did not give my vote for Bani Sadr to be president and in all the cases, I accepted the views of the friends.

I have a few words with the dear people. With an aching and broken heart and with sorrow, I have pledged to my God not to waive the evil of persons, which I am not bound to ignore. I have concluded a contract with my God to give preference to His satisfaction over that of the people and friends; if the entire world would rise up against me, I will not relinquish support of truth and right. I have nothing to do with history and what will happen; I should only perform my religious duty. Next to God, I have concluded a pact with the good, noble and righteous people to inform them of the realities at the right time. The history of Islam is replete with the treachery of its great men to Islam; try not to be influenced by the dictated lies, which these days are enthusiastically and passionately aired by foreign radios. I pray to God to grant patience and forbearance to the old father of the dear people of Iran, to forgive him, and to take him away from this world so that he would not experience the bitter taste of friends' treachery. Our gratification lies in God's gratification. We have nothing of our own; whatever exists is deprived from Him. Peace be upon you.

Letter

Date: March 28, 1989 [Farvardin 8, 1368 AHS / Shaban 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Approval of Mr. Muntaziris resignation from being the acting supreme leader

Addressee: Husayn-Ali Muntaziri

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

To His Eminence Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

After greetings and salutations, I acknowledged the receipt of kind letter dated Farvardin 6, 1368 AHS. While extending my gratitude for Your Eminence's advices and guidelines, you are notified: Rest assured that just as from the beginning of the struggle up to now I have been a self-sacrificing, devoted and obedient soldier at your side and in the path of Islam and the revolution, I still deem it incumbent upon me to obey and carry out Your Eminence's order, because perpetuity and stability of the Islamic system depend on obeying the Supreme Leader. There is no doubt for everybody that under Your Eminence's leadership and guide lines, this glorious revolution has withstood important threat and has humiliated and driven away from the scene numerous enemies such as the blind-hearted hypocrites whose hands have been smeared with the blood of thousands of our dear people and figures one of whom was my own son¹ and other crimes of the oppositionists, anti-revolutionaries, conformists, and the crooked-minded pseudo-liberals. Are the horrendous crimes and cowardly blows of these blind-hearted guilty ones against the revolution, the country and dear nation and our self-sacrifices forgettable? If their mouthpieces and foreign radios imagine that through scenario-making, spreading lies and rumor-mongering under my name, they can achieve their ulterior aims and undermine the solidarity of our nation, then they are seriously mistaken.

Concerning my designation as acting leader, I myself was not amenable from the beginning; in view of the enormous problems and the burden of responsibility, on that very moment I wrote a letter to the Assembly of Experts, stating that my designation is not advisable. Now, I categorically

¹ It refers to Martyr Muhammad Muntaziri who was martyred in the bomb explosion of the Headquarters of the Islamic Republic Party at Tehran along with tens of other religious and political figures.

announce my absence of readiness. I request Your Eminence to order the Assembly of Experts to take into consideration the future expediency of Islam, the revolution and the country. Kindly allow me, as a simple and humble student as in the past in the theological seminary, to engage in teaching, academic activities and service to Islam and the revolution under Your Eminence's wise leadership. If mistakes and weaknesses, which are natural for human beings, would emerge through the guidance of Your Eminence, they will be eliminated, God willing.

I request all the dear brothers and sisters as well as enthusiasts not to take any action or utter something about the decision of the Supreme Leader and the Assembly of Experts under the pretext of supporting me because the Supreme Leader and the esteemed Experts Assembly want nothing except what is good and expedient for Islam and the revolution.

It is hoped that this humble student would always enjoy your valuable guidelines and hope you would not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Husayn-Ali Muntaziri
Farvardin 7, 1368 AHS]

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Muntaziri—may his graces last,

Greetings and wishing you success! As what you have written, leadership of the Islamic Republic system is a difficult job and a heavy and crucial responsibility, which needs more than your endurance. It is for this reason that both you and I were not amenable with your designation, and in this context we had a parallel view. But the Experts Assembly had arrived at that conclusion, and I did not want to interfere in their legal bounds. I sincerely thank you for announcing your lack of readiness for being the acting Supreme Leader after acceptance. Everybody knows that you have been a product of my life and that I am very much fond of you. In order not to repeat the same mistakes, I advise you to purge your of unrighteous persons, and strictly prevent the coming and going of those who oppose the system, who are acting in the name of your interest toward Islam and the Islamic Republic. I also reminded you of this in the case of Mahdi Hashimi.¹

¹ Sayyid Mahdi Hashimi was among those who, prior to the Revolution, were accused of complicity in the killing of Mr. Shamsabadi and were convicted. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, he was freed from prison and assigned with heavy responsibilities. Yet, he soon showed his real image and due to participation in some cases of murder and illegal acts, he was tried in court, sentenced to death and finally executed.

I view the welfare of you and the Revolution in you to be a jurist whose views will be beneficial for the system and the people. Do not be touched by the foreign radios' broadcasting of the lies. Our people know you well, and have also recognized well the tricks of the enemy who, by attributing every thing to the Iranian officials, is showing its spite for Islam.

The dear seminary students, esteemed leaders of the Friday and congregational prayer, newspapers, and radio-television should make clear to the people the simple issue that in Islam the interest of the system is among the issues, which take precedence over anything else, and all must follow it. God willing, through your lesson and discourse, you would give warm to the seminary and the system. May God's peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 8, 1368 AHS

Letter

Date: March 31, 1989 [Farvardin 11, 1368 AHS / Shaban 23, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Approval of allocation Cultural Section's budget of the *Mustadafan* Foundation to the Teacher Training University

Addressee: Mir-Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[In His Most Exalted Name]

To Great Leader of Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure for the people,

With the best salutations, This is to call your kind attention to the fact that one of the enormously significant achievements of the Cultural Revolution is a Professors' Training University, which has been established in order to train professors, thus playing a key role in cultural independence. It has so far trained 300 professors in various fields; it is presently training more than one-thousand and one-hundred trainers. The applicants are selected with special conditions; they undergo a special religious-scientific training in systematic manner and ideal environment. By the grace of God, most of them have so far served as catalysts of revolutionary transformation wherever they have gone.

Meanwhile, in view of the necessity of cultural independence, increase in population and consequently rise in the number of trainers inside the country; the need to pay the ever multiplied expenses abroad and not to mention enduring abjectness, humiliation and educational deviation; the existence of strong scientific rivalry in the world to such an extent that in some countries relative to the population they have 10 times more students than we have; the existence of law approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly concerning the restriction of dispatching students abroad, except in needed cases; extreme lack of professors in the country which is a product of the condition prior to the Revolution and the departure of the *taghuti* (the followers of evil) professors after the Revolution; and the many times increase of students inside the country, the expansion of universities and at the top of which is the Professors' Training University is an inevitable affair and acknowledged by all officials of the three branches of government such that the President¹ has accepted the chairmanship of the board of trustees of the university.

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ali Khamene'i.

Yet, in view of the general condition of the country and lack of budget and foreign currency, after eight years of the birth of the university we have not been able to provide the necessary facilities satisfactorily. We suffer from shortage in learning environment, laboratory, dormitory, housing for professors, library, transportation, worker, etc. Due to the need for expanding the university's activity, we have recently met with serious problems, which might disrupt efforts to widen the scope of activity of the university, thus harming the ideal education in universities as a whole.

In this connection, Board of Trustees of the university at a meeting proposed to request Your Eminence to agree with allocation of budget of the Cultural Section of the Disabled Veterans of the Islamic Revolution Foundation to this university. The Board of Trustees believes that training professors for the universities by this allocation would be the most beneficial cultural activity in the country. The decision rests with you. With prayer for longevity of Your Eminence!

Board of Trustees
Professors' Training University

In His Most Exalted Name

I approve of the view of the Board of Trustees of the Professors' Training University regarding the financial need and the possible fulfillment of this need through the *Mustadafan* Foundation.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei]

In His Most Exalted Name

I have objection. God willing, Mr. Prime Minister will take the necessary action.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 11, 1368 AHS

Permission

Date: April 2, 1989 [Farvardin 13, 1368 AHS / Shaban 25, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Yaqub-Ali Tawassuli

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Yaqub-Ali Tawassuli—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the blessed share of the Imam (*a*), he is equally permitted to collect and spend it for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is authorized to spend one-third of it in propagating the sacred religion and to remit the other two-third. Regarding the share of the noble *Sadat* (may Allah multiply their likes), he is similarly permitted to collect and give half of it to the *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) to exercise caution in all affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shaban 25, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: April 3, 1989 [Farvardin 14, 1368 AHS / Shaban 26, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Designating Head of the Islamic Propagation Organization (IPO) affairs

Addressee: Ahmad Jannati

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ahmad Jannati—may his graces last,

In connection with the request of the honorable and esteemed members of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Propagation Organization to designate a person who will be the only responsible one for the organization in a bid to advance better activity, I appoint you as head of the organization.

It is clear that you—one of the good religious persons, with a long record in struggle and dedicating his life to theological seminaries—can render valuable service to Islam and the revolution.

I hope that through incessant effort and utilization of all the forces loyal to Islam and the revolution, you can do your part. Propagation—which is exactly introduction of what is good, encouragement of its practice, describing what is bad and showing the way of avoiding and controlling it—is among the highly important principles of the dear Islam.

God willing, to the extent of your ability, you would reveal and make clear to the noble people of Iran and the Muslim world the unknown and unfamiliar points. You would show the framework of the pure Muhammadan Islam, which is the outline of sacred and revolutionary rancor, anger and spite against the Western capitalism and aggressor communism of the East as well as the path of struggle against pretension, deceit and trick to the people, particularly to our devoted youth.

The fact that the system is serious in its objectives, not making joke with anybody and that in case of endangering the Islamic values, it would deal decisively with anybody in whatever position, should be propagated as an inalterable principle to all the workers and people.

I beseech God, the Exalted, for your success as well as that of the esteemed and honorable members of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Propagation Organization and all the people in the Organization. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 14, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: April 3, 1989 [Farvardin 14, 1368 AHS / Shaban 26, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Attending to the request of the Ministry of Health and Medical Treatment and Education

Addressees: Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khuiniha (Public Prosecutor General); Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice of the Supreme Court)

[In his letter dated Farvardin 10, 1368 AHS, reference number 176-m to Imam Khomeini, apart from describing the fundamental changes in the pharmaceutical system of the country with the arrests of the then executive manager of the stock-based pharmaceutical company of the country and the then executive manager of the stock-based pharmaceutical distribution company following investigations by the National Investigation Office, Mr. Ali-Rida Marandi, the Minister of Health and Medical Treatment and Education, has indicated and noted that despite the release of the pharmaceutical-distribution executive manager (through the petition of a group of ministers and Majlis representatives) the file of this case is still open in Branches 12 and 13 of the Islamic Revolutionary Court.

The Health Minister requested that the file be attended by those to be appointed by the Imam thereby giving final decision. Initially, the Imam assigned it to Mr. Musawi Khuini(ha), the Public Prosecutor General, but in his letter, dated Farvardin 24, 1368 AHS, he stated: “Based on the division of labor of the Supreme Judicial Council, performance of which is within the scope of responsibility of the Chief Justice.” In his subsequent letter, Imam Khomeini assigned the task instead to Mr. Musawi Ardebili, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The text of the Imam’s letters is as follows:]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Musawi Khuiniha—may his graces last,

You should appoint two good and well-versed persons to make clear the case of the person being requested by Honorable Dr. Marandi so that the task would be performed in accordance with religion and law.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 14, 1368 AHS

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Musawi Ardebili—may his graces last,

With greetings and tanks to Musawi Khuini(ha) for his reminder that it is beyond the scope of his responsibility, you should assume what I have written for him. May you be successful and triumphant.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Farvardin 24, 1368 AHS

Decree

Date: April 6, 1989 [Farvardin 17, 1368 AHS / Shaban 29, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Expressing opinion about clerical representatives in universities and touching on lack of communication with them

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President of Iran and Chairman of the Supreme Cultural Revolution Council)

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Khamenei, Chairman of the Supreme Cultural Revolution Council:

With greetings! The essence of need for clerical representatives in universities, designating individuals acceptable to the students in case of necessity and limits of their prerogatives is not related to me. The Supreme Cultural Revolution Council should do whatever it deems appropriate without attributing to me or other persons. I pray God, the Exalted, for your success as well as that of other esteemed members (of the Council). May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 17, 1368 AHS

Decree

Date: April 7, 1989 [Farvardin 18, 1368 AHS / Shaban 30, 1409 AH]¹

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Mission to hand over and spend the people's assistances (at the disposal of the People's Assistances Headquarters) to the warfronts

Addressee: Muhammad-Ali Rahmani (Head of the *Basij-e Mustadafin*)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Rahmani, Honorable Head of the *Basij-e Mustadafin*—may his graces last,

With gratitude for your efforts as well as that of all *Basiji* sisters and brothers and workers in the People's Assistances to the warfronts of truth against falsehood which, through your efforts during the days of epic struggle and *jihad*, rendered valuable services to Islam and the Revolution. You, who are among the experienced combatants and among my good friends, should strive six months to spend whatever is at the disposal of the People's Assistances Headquarters for spending and to perform the task. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your success. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 18, 1368 AHS

¹ In *Sahifeh-ye Nur* (22-volume series), vol. 21, p. 114, it has been dated Farvardin 19, 1368 AHS but based on the date written on the manuscript, Farvardin 18, 1368 AHS is the correct date.

Decree

Date: April 8, 1989 [Farvardin 19, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 1, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for sending amnesty request for prisoners through the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court

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

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Musawi Ardebili—may his graces last,

With greetings! This is to inform the Judiciary that from then on, amnesty request for prisoners is to be sent to me through you.¹ I pray God, the Exalted, for your confirmation and success as well as that of all engaged in the judicial affairs. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 19, 1368 AHS

¹ The order of Imam Khomeini was relayed by the Chief Justice in the letter dated Ordibehsht 27, 1368 AHS, reference number 6/4141-d-r to all prosecutor's offices, courts, Islamic Revolution Courts and Judicial Organization of the Armed Forces throughout the country.

Letter

Date: April 9, 1989 [Farvardin 20, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply letter on construction of the library of Mr. Najafi Marashi in Qum

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Ayatullah Najafi Marashi—may his blessings last,

With greetings and prayer for your health! I acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter with gratitude. I hope your ailment has been cured. Do not worry about the library. Ahmad¹ is supposed to tell the *Jihad* for Reconstruction to undertake the construction work in there with dignity. God willing, you would not forget me in your benevolent prayers. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 20, 1368 AHS

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Decree

Date: April 9, 1989 [Farvardin 20, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Tax exemption of Imam Rida's Holy Shrine and the affiliated companies and institutes

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[In His Most Exalted Name

To the Eminent Reference Authority Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

With best salutations! This is to inform Your Eminence that the financial resources of Imam Rida's Holy Shrine are a collection of endowments and vow charities, which are spent on deprived people; promotion of Islamic culture, propagation of the pure Muhammadan Islam, renovation and maintenance of Imam Rida's shrine and its precinct, construction and expansion of the buildings and, finally, welfare of the Muslim society in accordance with the prescription of endowers in the prescribed cases.

It is to be noted that due to its being a non-profit institution since the beginning of its existence, that this sacred establishment has not been liable to pay taxes in any period and stage of history.

In 1365 AHS (circa 1986) the tax bill was debated in the Economic and Financial Commission of the Majlis. In the said bill, the name of the Holy Shrine had been omitted from the list of organizations liable to pay taxes. The facts were mentioned by the esteemed brother, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Ahmad to Your Eminence and you ordered the following: "Imam Rida's Holy Shrine has is exempt from tax; the honorable Prime Minister should be informed that not taxes should be taken from Imam Rida's Holy Shrine." However, since Your Eminence's orders were not conveyed to the concerned authorities in writing, the tax law approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly in 1366 AHS did not consider the subject of non-payment of taxes by Imam Rida's Holy Shrine and the affiliated companies.

In view of the implementation of the said law as of this year, problems and concerns have arisen with regard to Imam Rida's Holy Shrine. It is kindly requested that Your Eminence's orders on the non-payment of tax the

Holy Shrine and the affiliated companies and institutes be communicated in writing to the concerned authorities.

I pray to God, the Glorious, for Your Eminence's health and longevity as well as perpetuation of the Islamic Republic establishment at the luminous precinct of the Holy Shrine. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Sincerely yours,

Abbas Waiz Tabasi
Farvardin 10, 1368 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

Honorable Mr. Musawi, the Prime Minister:

As I have said before, Imam Rida's Holy Shrine and the affiliated companies and institutes are exempted from paying any kind of taxes. You should convey my view to the concerned authorities.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 20, 1368 AHS

Permission

Date: April 12, 1989 [Farvardin 23, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 5, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Muhammad-Hasan Fadil Golpaygani

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Muhammad-Hasan Fadil Golpaygani—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is equally permitted to collect and spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (a) on his sustenance on propagating the sacred religion and remitting the other two-third to this humble servant. He is similarly permitted to give half of the blessed share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 5, 1409 AH

Letter

Date: April 15, 1989 [Farvardin 26, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 8, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Dismissal of Mr. Muntaziri from being the Deputy Supreme Leader

Addressees: Representatives of Islamic Consultative Assembly and the ministers

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Dear children, the honorable representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the honorable ministers—may their graces last,

With greetings! I heard that you are not aware of the affair concerning His Excellency Mr. Muntaziri and that you do not know what the real issue is. You should be aware that for more than two years, in the communiqués and messages your old father has tried his best for this issue not to end up here, but unfortunately he could not succeed. On the other hand, he had to demand the religious duty in order to take the necessary decision for the preservation of the system and Islam. Thus, with a wounded heart, I set aside the product of my life for the interest of the system and Islam.

God willing, it will be made clear for the sisters and brothers. There is no need to enjoin the matter that defending Islam and the system is not a joke. In case of infringement, anybody in whatever position will immediately be introduced to the people. I pray God, the Exalted, for the success of everybody. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 26, 1368 AHS

Decree

Date: April 15, 1989 [Farvardin 26, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 8, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Removal of the pictures of martyrs from Tehran-Qum Expressway

Addressee: Ali Akbar Ashtiyani (Imam Khomeini's representative in the Gendarmerie)

[To the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may my soul be his ransom,

May peace be upon you. It is respectfully informed to Your Eminence that according to the views of the police officers dealing with highway accidents of the Gendarmerie of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the pictures of the esteemed martyred clerics as of the outset of the Islamic movement up to the victory of the Revolution as well as the honorable martyrs of the imposed war, who sacrificed their lives and who hastened to meet God having been posted at the middle of Tehran-Qum Highway¹—notwithstanding their effectiveness in terms of propaganda and expression of the direct participation of the beloved society of clerics throughout the history of the Revolution—distract drivers, leading to many accidents. In view of this, announcement of Your Eminence's opinion in this regard is hereby requested in order to implement it exactly as it is. In closing, I pray God to grant health and longevity to the Eminent Imam and I hope that God maintain and spread the Imam's shadow full of love and affection over the Muslim community of the world as well as for this organization of the downtrodden, God willing.

Your humble soldier,

Ali Akbar Ashtiyani
Farvardin 26, 1368 AHS]

¹ Tabloids of the martyrs' pictures had been posted in close interval at both sides of the super Highway.

In His Most Exalted Name

The pictures must be removed from the highway. In case it does not elicit accidents according to the view of the experts, they are to be posted at the squares of the city of Qum.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: April 16, 1989 [Farvardin 27, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 9, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Abdullah Gharifi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise to be Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Abdullah Gharifi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. On the two blessed shares, he is equally permitted to collect and spend one-third of them for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of the surplus, he is similarly permitted to give half of the blessed share of the *Sadat* to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit what remains from the two shares.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan al-Mubarak 9, 1409 AH

Message

Date: April 17, 1989 [Farvardin 28, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory telegram on the arrival of the blessed month of Ramadan

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan 10, 1409 AH

His Excellency Mr. Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the onset of the holy month of Ramadan is acknowledged with gratitude.

It is hoped that in this blessed month, Muslims of the world would perform more than ever their crucial duties in protecting Islamic territory and in the struggle against plots of the enemies, which are becoming more manifest day by day, and regain their lost grandeur. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Message

Date: April 17, 1989 [Farvardin 28, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory telegram on the arrival of the blessed month of Ramadan

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan is hereby acknowledged with gratitude.

I pray God, the Exalted, for the success of all Muslims of the world in performing their Islamic duties and divine obligations. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 10, 1409 AH

Message

Date: April 17, 1989 [Farvardin 28, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 10, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Acknowledgment of appreciation of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Occasion: Army Day (Farvardin 29)

Addressees: Iranian nation; the Armed Forces

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Greetings to the brave nation of Iran and all the armed forces of the country on the occasion of Farvardin 29, marking the anniversary of the heroic and gallant Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran!

Congratulations to the army, broke the barriers driving it to obey the *taghut* (the followers of evil). The army burnt down the ramparts of the monarchial regime and the 2,500-years of monarchial rule and released itself from the bonds of tyrants and American advisers, who had made “an island of stability” with thousands of aspirations and dreams for their interests in Iran. Although the mercenary heads of the Army tried to rescue the crown and throne of the monarchy up to the last ignominious days of the Pahlavi government, the decision of the noble personnel of the Army including officers, high-ranking officers and soldiers was so decisive and courage that robbed the enemies of God and people of thinking and making any decision. Joining of the Army, particularly the Air Force, with the divine ranks of the nation was a moment of joy for the servants of God and grief and hopelessness for the tyrants. Those sweet and memorable days and hours of the Army’s love for Islam and the Islamic homeland will never be forgotten by the Iranian nation. Indeed, the Air Force has offered a greater share. The joining of the Army with the people revealed the true value of the Army and brought resentment to the world-devourers.

At the outset of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Eastern and Western agents and those, who had not recognized the sincerity, fidelity, religiosity and patriotism of the army at the epic event of victory, decided to eradicate the Army. Through their apparently revolutionary and deceitful slogans, they determined to break it up, plunder the arms and destroy the defensive facilities of the country. So, many simpleminded individuals who were influenced by their insinuations paved the way of this sinister objective, but God, the Exalted, rescued our country and Islamic Revolution from their

sinister plots. The honored Army of Islamic Iran confronted the conspirators like lightning and thunderbolt. At every nook and cranny of borders these conspirators had dreamt of disintegrating Iran. However, the armed forces made Kurdistan, Gonbad and Turkeman-Sahra as graveyards of these blind-hearted ones, thus registering the historic and unforgettable honors of the heroic Army.

Yet, the most important of all is the epic event of the eight-year holy defense mounted by the Army, IRGC (Islamic Republic of Guards Corps) and disciplinary and popular forces. They indeed stood against all the world-devourers, and sent the aggressors to the quagmire of death and perdition. These aggressors had promised to conquer Khuzestan and expected the fall of Tehran within three days. Verily, the Army, IRGC and *Basiji* forces fought an unfair war with the least facilities. They offered the golden certificate of honor, respect, nobility and martyrdom to the dear Islam as a gift. The unmatched bravery of the Air and Aviation Forces and the valiant pilots in penetrating deep into the enemy's territory. They encountered the most sophisticated facilities supplied by exploitative powers to the forces of Saddam, defending the air space of the country. They are showcases of commitment, love and faith to God, Islam and the Islamic homeland. Preparing, repairing and rebuilding the complex implements of airplanes, radars, anti-air craft, and missiles, and protecting the country display the high scientific talent and expertise of these dear ones and the values they cherish. May God enhance their potential and faith.

The heroic ground forces, who have truly been at the tip of arrow of the dastard attacks of the enemies in all events, really showed their upright and unyielding nature in defending the vast borders of our country. Presence and defensive preparedness are not easy in the western, southern and northwestern borders with all those geographical peculiarities and intolerable cold and hot regions and other deficiencies aggravated by blockades. The Army was able to shatter the lines of the soldier of disbelief and take the sacred occupied territories of our beloved homeland out of control of the aggressors in cooperation with IRGC and *Basij* in most arenas of combat. Shoulder to shoulder with the dear IRGC and *Basij*, they were able to achieve grand victories and honors in great operations. They broke siege of Abadan and carried out Fath al-Mubin, Bayt al-Muqaddas operations and tens of other glorious operations. Now, the army can protect the borders powerfully and proudly by commanding total preparedness against any possible threats.

Thank God, like other forces, the Navy, has been shining like a luminous gem in the waters of the Persian Gulf and other sea borders of the country in the scene of the sacred defense of our Islamic country, and stood firmly on its deck of honor and dignity. The Navy's confrontation with the enemy and all those honors in combat coupled with valor and love of martyrdom are indications of its authority. Control and inspection of ships in the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz and, above all, its heroic battle against the American aggressors and their strong presence in the international waters be token of our Navy's credibility and its great and revered forces. The Iranian nation should be proud of such a faithful and loyal army. The great armed forces should become aware that all these honors have been achieved by the blessings of faith in God and defending the country of the Imam of the Time (may our souls be his ransom). The army should know that these honors have been achieved under the auspices of unity, integration, unanimity, brotherhood with one another, and the people's support. In order to achieve the pinnacle of this Islamic honor and glory, it has offered in the way of God enormous capital and valuable martyrs, and up to the end, the same conduct and policy, i.e. faith, unity and order must be maintained and strengthened, and the armed forces of the country including the IRGC and the Army should strive alongside one another in rebuilding, improving and strengthening the defensive infrastructures of Islam and the country.

I will remain an unwavering supporter of the Army, IRGC and the *Basij* and I consider it unlawful to weaken them. As Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, I ask the officials and decision-makers not to be negligent in all circumstances in strengthening the armed forces. They should uplift their ideological and military trainings and developing their necessary expertise, especially in moving toward military self-sufficiency. Keep this country in total preparedness in defending the values of the authentic Islam, the deprived and the downtrodden of the world. Beware lest other programs would lead to negligence in this vital affair. Surely, negligence in strengthening the defensive infrastructure of the country will bring about experiencing aggression and encroachment of the foreigners and finally, imposition of wars and conspiracies.

During the reconstruction effort, the Army and other armed forces should also pay enough attention to the essence of spiritual and ideological reconstruction. All have learned and experienced how spirituality and faith are effective in attaining victory and successes in the arena of combatant and increasing the capability and steadfastness of the forces.

While being grateful for the efforts of the dear clerics and officials of the Politico-Ideological Office of the Army, particularly my representative, Hujjat al-Islam Safai, who is among the faithful, good and truthful figures of this revolution, I emphasize that the issue of ideological and moral trainings should be given more attention.

Military service for the country's youth is the best opportunity. The system, the Army and the officials of the Politico-Ideological Office can make use of them and mature them with advanced empirical, scientific and ideological methods of defense so that they would always be the soldiers of Islam and defending the Islamic homeland throughout their lives.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all the armed forces, especially the dear, faithful and self-sacrificing forces of the Army, officers, soldiers, high-ranking officers, various commissioned and non-commissioned officers, dear commanders, my representatives in the Army and advisory offices, the Defense Ministry and all the organizations affiliated to the Army. I pray God to increase the power, dignity and glory of these upright defenders of the Islamic homeland and to associate their honorable martyrs with great martyrs of Islam. We have all achieved the gift of security, freedom and independence thanks to their sacrifices. I implore the Almighty God to grant health to the disabled war veterans, to let those missing in action and the prisoners of war return to their homeland and to grant patience and reward to the noble families of the martyrs.

I emphatically advise the entire great nation of Iran, especially the officials in the blessed system of Islamic Republic, and those who are concerned with the Islamic Republic system and the dear Islam—whatever happened during the long years of the revolution from the miraculous victories against all powers, superpowers and owners of the world mass media, which have been determined to wipe out the Islamic Republic and in reality the great Islam, but failed by the grace of God, have been out of the blessings and favors of God, the Exalted, the faith of all the strata committed to the fundamentals of Islam, and undoubtedly, the blessed prayer of Hadrat Baqiyyatullah (may God's salutations and peace be upon him and may my soul and that of the universe be ransomed for the dust of his footsteps). In gratitude for this great blessing, it is necessary for all of us to strive in preserving these favors. May peace be upon the righteous servants of God.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Farvardin 28, 1368 AHS

Decree

Date: Circa April-May 1989 [Ordibehesht 1368 AHS / Ramadan 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Providing drinkable water for the people of Semnan through the cooperation of the clergy in the region

Addressee: Provincial Governor of Semnan

In His Most Exalted Name

Distinguished *ulama*, esteemed clerics and eminent Friday and congregational prayer leaders are hereby granted permission on my behalf to take action in this matter and to do whatever they can.

I pray God, the Exalted, for the success of everybody. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Permission

Date: April 22, 1989 [Ordibehesht 2, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 15, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Mirza-Ali Muqbil

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan 15, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Mirza-Ali Muqbil—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. He is equally permitted to collect and spend one-third of the blessed share of the Imam (*a*) for his sustenance and other affairs for the strengthening Islam and to remit the surplus. He is similarly permitted to collect and give half of the blessed share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: April 23, 1989 [Ordibehesht 3, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 16, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Fakhruddin Hidayati

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Fakhruddin Hidayati—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is equally permitted to collect, spend one-third of them on his sustenance and propagation of the sacred religion, to pay the other half of the share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the remainder to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ramadan 16, 1409 AH

Decree

Date: April 24, 1989 [Ordibehesht 4, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 17, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amendment of the Constitution

Addressee: Sayyid Ali Khamenei (President)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

To His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Khamenei, the Honorable President of the Islamic Republic of Iran—may his graces last,

In view of the fact that after acquiring ten years of actual and practical experience in administering the country, most of the officials, workers and experts of the Islamic Republic of Iran are of the opinion that the Constitution has some defects and flaws. Notwithstanding its very good and enduring strong points, some aspects have been given less attention as the constitution was drafted aimed burning atmosphere in the early days of the victory of the revolution. Lack of precise understanding of the intricacies of administering the society also had a role in this inattention. Fortunately, however, the issue of amending the Constitution after one or two years has also become the subject of discussion in various meetings. Removing the faults is an inevitable necessity in the Islamic society and revolution. So Delay in this attempt led to emergence of bitter shortcomings and consequences for the country and revolution. Based on my religious responsibility, since long I have been contemplating to correct the oversights, but the war and other issues hindered me to do so.

By the help of God Almighty and the benevolent prayer of the Imam of the Time (may my soul be his ransom), the Islamic system established in Iran is now treading its path of reconstruction, advancement and progress in all dimensions. Accordingly, I appointed a commission to address the question. After making the necessary revision in the cases cited, ratification will be done in a general referendum by the noble people of Iran.

a. I have considered the following for this significant task: (a) Mr. Mishkini, (b) Mr. Tahiri Khorramabadi, (c) Mr. Mumin, (d) Mr. Hashimi Rafsanjani, (e) Mr. Amini, (f) Mr. Khamenei, (g) Mr. Musawi (Prime Minister), (h) Mr. Hasan Habibi, (i) Mr. Musawi Ardebili, (j) Mr. Musawi Khuini, (k) Mr. Muhammadi Gilani, (l) Mr. Khazali, (m) Mr. Yazdi, (n) Mr. Imami Kashani, (o) Mr. Jannati, (p) Mr. Mahdawi-Kani, (q) Mr. Azeri-

Qummi, (r) Mr. Tawassuli, (s) Mr. Karrubi,¹ and (t) Mr. Abdullah Nuri. These honorable gentlemen are from among the Assembly of Experts, Legislative, Executive, Judiciary, Expediency Council and others, as well as fifty representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly chosen by the Majlis.

b. The subjects to be treated consist of: (1) leadership, (2) centralization in the management of the Executive Power, (3) centralization in the management of the Judiciary, (4) centralization in the management of the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB) in such a way that the three branches of government have supervisory power over it, (5) number of representatives in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, (6) Expediency Council for resolving intricate problems of the system and the leadership counsel in such a way that they are not within the scope of any of the branches, (7) Way of reviewing the Constitution, and (8) Changing the name of the “National Consultative Assembly” into “Islamic Consultative Assembly”.

c. Timetable for this task is two months at most

I pray to God, the Exalted for the success of the honorable gentlemen. May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 4, 1368 AHS

¹ The complete names of the gentlemen (whose first names are not mentioned in the letter) are respectively as follow: Ali Mishkini, Sayyid Hasan Tahiri Khorramabadi, Muhammad Mu’min-Qummi, Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani, Ibrahim Amini, Sayyid Ali Khamene’i, Mir Husayn Musawi Sayyid Abdul-Karim Musawi Ardebili, Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khu’iniha, Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, Abu’l-Qasim Khazali, Muhammad Yazdi, Muhammad Imami Kashani, Ahmad Jannati, Muhammad-Rida Mahdawi-Kani, Ahmad Azeri-Qummi, Muhammad-Rida Tawassuli (Mahallati), and Mahdi Karrubi.

Decree

Date: April 26, 1989 [Ordibehesht 6, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 19, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Determining representatives to investigate into unclaimed funds and properties

Addressees: Mahdi Karrubi; Hasan Sanai; Habibullah Asgar-Awladi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Honorable Mr. Habibullah Asgar-Awladi—may he always succeed:

With greetings! All unclaimed the funds and properties, inheritance without inheritors, properties due to *khums*, fulfillment of one's obligation and pursuant to Article 49 of the Constitution and other laws are at the discretion of the His religious vicegerent or guardian [*wali al-faqih*] are at the disposal of Hujjat al-Islams Mahdi Karrubi and Hasan Sanai. The gentlemen are my representatives to take action as they deem appropriate in all aspects of selling, keeping and administering them. Obviously, if they like they can give part of them at the disposal of the Ministry of Economic and Financial Affairs.

I ask the gentlemen to exercise caution so that the accrued income can be spent most efficiently on religiously prescribed cases and if possible, contributing to the Martyrs' Foundation, Khordad 15 Foundation, Housing Foundation, Imam Khomeini's Relief Committee, Rehabilitation Organization, Shahid Rajai Project,¹ Disabled Veterans of the Islamic Revolution Foundation and other cases under their consideration. In all cases, religious rules must be meticulously observed. I wish for your success as well as that of the gentlemen in rendering service to the families of the martyrs, disabled war veterans, those missing in action, captives and the downtrodden. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 6, 1368 AHS

¹ On account of this Project, persons who retired from work are under the auspices of public services and assistance.

Decree

Date: April 26, 1989 [Ordibehesht 6, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 19, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Occupation of the released prisoners

Addressee: Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister)

[In His Most Exalted Name

To the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

With greetings! This is to note that after Your Eminence's order on the release of prisoners of anti-revolutionary splinter groups and providing vocational facilities for the released ones, the government has exerted its effort in this regard. However, since some of these people had been engaged in sensitive posts such as teaching and rendering of service prior to their imprisonment term, your consent is requested to provide them with opportunity to work in less sensitive posts. Now it seems to be not advisable for them to be reinstated in their previous posts, because this would have unpleasant effects and consequences. Your Eminence consent is therefore call for so that government would give them works in other less sensitive government posts.

I pray God, the Exalted, for the health of the dear Imam.

Mir Husayn Musawi
Prime Minister
Ordibehesht 6, 1368 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

It is consented. May you be successful by the grace of God, the Exalted.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 27, 1989 [Ordibehesht 7, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Elections in religious seminary of Qum

Addressee: Ali Mishkini (Chairman of the Assembly of Experts and member of the Teachers' Society of the religious seminary of Qum)

In His Most Exalted Name

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

After greetings and wish for your success; I acknowledge the receipt of your letter regarding elections theological seminary of Qum. I thank you and other workers. On my behalf convey to my revolutionary children that extremism does not end well. If they would not get the attention of the gentlemen in the honorable society, they would share the fate of those who are propagators of the American Islam.

Again, I would like to say that if the revolutionary students of theology and teachers supporting the revolution would not cooperate with each other, both of them would suffer. All efforts should be undertaken to reach this vital point. The gentlemen vividly observed what blow the enemy rendered to Islam and the clergy due to their weak points. The faithful should not repeat the same mistake. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 7, 1368 AHS

Letter

Date: April 27, 1989 [Ordibehesht 7, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Report on the condition of prisoners

Addressee: Murtada Muqtadai

[In His Most Exalted Name

To the Great Leader of Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

This is to inform Your Eminence that in connection with your letter addressed to the honorable Public Prosecutor General calling for prompt investigation into condition of non-convicted prisoners, the Judicial Organization of the Armed Forces was requested to prepare the statistics of non-convicted prisoners immediately under temporary detention of the organization from Tehran and other cities. Based on the precise statistics it is attached herewith, and makes it certain to Your Eminence that the number of all the accused under the detention of this organization is 635 throughout the country. More than half of them, i.e. 365, were imprisoned in the month of Esfand and the current Farvardin; 130 of them in the last Bahman while the rest, based on their files, are related to earlier months.

... Apparently, the figures presented to Your Eminence by the Prisons' Organization regarding the prisoners of the Judicial Organization of the Armed Forces has been related to the date of the first letter of amnesty for the military convicts dated Bahman 11, 1367 AHS. Many prisoners of this Organization on that date were pardoned and many files settled.

Your Eminence is kindly requested not to spare this humble servant of your wise counsels and fatherly admonitions. I hope Your Eminence will not forget to pray for me and wish me success in performing my duties and serving Islam, Muslims and the deprived. May God keep your blessed existence in good health under the grace of the Imam of the Time (may God expedite his reappearance and may our souls be his ransom).

Murtada Muqtadai
Farvardin 23, 1368 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Muqtadai—may his graces last,

With greetings! I thank you for the report you gave on the condition of the prisoners. We should all try to act in such a way that no one is ever oppressed. God willing, through your effort this important task will be performed. I pray God, the Exalted, to bless you with success and confirmation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 7, 1368 AHS

Letter

Date: April 27, 1989 [Ordibehesht 7, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 20, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Emphasis on continuing the rendering of service at the 8-member council (related to turning over of agricultural lands)

Addressee: Fadil Harandi (Imam Khomeini's representative in the 8-member council)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Aqa Fadil Harandi—may his graces last:

After greetings and gratitude for your efforts as well as that of other workers, as in the past, you and the other gentlemen should continue with your work. As of today, you are my representative. Try to do what is the best in the implementation, Religious matters should be strictly observed. I pray God, the Exalted, for your success and confirmation. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 7, 1368 AHS

Letter

Date: April 29, 1989 [Ordibehesht 9, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 22, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Amendment of the Constitution - *marjaiyyah* not requisite qualifications of Leader

Addressee: Ali Mishkini (Chairman of the Expediency Council)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

After greetings, Regarding your question on my view on amendment of the Constitution, the gentlemen should act as they deem advisable. I will not interfere. Only concerning the Leadership [that I have something to say]; we cannot abandon the Islamic system without having someone to supervise. We should choose a person who will defend our Islamic prestige amid of politics and deceit. From the beginning, I believed and insisted that the being a *marjah* is not necessary. A just *mujtahid* approved by the honorable experts throughout the country is enough. If the people voted for the experts in order to determine a just *mujtahid* to act as the leader of their government; once they also determine a person to assume the Leader, naturally he is also acceptable to the people. He is the guardian chosen by the people, with his decree being binding. I was saying this regarding the Constitution, but the friends were insisting on the qualification of *marjaiyyah*, and I accepted knowing of its impracticability in the not-so-distant future. I pray to God, the Exalted, for the success of the gentlemen. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 9, 1368 AHS

Letter

Date: April 29, 1989 [Ordibehesht 9, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 22, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Designation of the representative in the council on turning over lands

Addressees: Ali Akbar Muhtashami (Interior Minister); Ghulam-Rida Farvaresh (Minister of Reconstruction *Jihad*); Isa Kalantari (Minister of Agriculture)

[In His Most Exalted Name

To the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, His Eminence Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

As Your Eminence well know, the Revolutionary Council passed a law after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, with the aim of resolving the problems related to lands. Ayatullah Muntaziri, Mishkini and the innocent martyr, Dr. Beheshti, upon Your Eminence's order drafted the law that stipulates creation of an 7-members council and central headquarters to turn over lands. The council consists of representatives commanding absolute authority. They comprise (1) the Supreme Muslim Jurisprudent (2) Ministry of Interior (3) Ministry of Agriculture, (4) Ministry of *Jihad* for Reconstruction, and (5) Ministry of Justice. In provinces the representative of the Ministry of Agriculture will participate instead of Justice Ministry's representative.

Subsequently, during the recent years other laws related to land such as the law on temporarily cultivated lands, the law on nullifying the documents of uncultivated lands, and the law on barren lands have been ratified in which special responsibilities for the representatives of the *Wali al-Amr* and the fully competent jurist have also been taken into account.

Since Hujjat al-Islam Muhyiddin Fadil Harandi, who is currently assuming this responsibility, has been designated to represent the Supreme Muslim Jurisprudent and the qualified jurist in the central headquarters of the 8-member council as of the beginning based on the authority developed by the Supreme Leader on Ayatullah Muntaziri; we beg to inquire about Your Eminence's opinion on the case. As you deem advisable please kindly pronounce your view on the representative of the Supreme Muslim Jurisprudent in the said council.

Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami
(Minister of Interior)

Ghulam-Rida Farvaresh
(Minister of Reconstruction *Jihad*)

Isa Kalantari
(Minister of Agriculture)
Farvardin 23, 1368 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

From now on, Hujjat al-Islam Fadil Harandi is my representative in the said headquarters (central headquarters of the 7-members council on turning over lands).

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: April 30, 1989 [Ordibehesht 10, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 23, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Bank account of the Public Prosecutor on funds related of Article 49 of the Constitution and *khums*

Addressee: Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Khuiniha (Public Prosecutor General)

In His Most Exalted Name

Ordibehesht 10, 1368 AHS

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Khuini—may his graces last,

With greetings! Ahmad¹ said that you had inquired whether the permission granted to you regarding Article 49 and *khums* of the Constitution had been cancelled by the permission to Messrs. Karrubi² and Sanai³ or not. I am fond of you and consider you a trustworthy and religious person, being authorized to act according to your discretion. As in the past, you can keep open your account and to deposit in my account whatever deposited in it. You can also deposit to the account of the Ministry of Finance Economic Affairs and closing your account. Or, you can do whatever you deem advisable. May you be successful.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ Mr. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

² Mr. Mahdi Karrubi, Imam Khomeini's representative and superintendent of Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution Foundation.

³ Mr. Hasan Sana'i, Imam Khomeini's representative and director of Khordad 15 Foundation.

Letter

Date: May 2, 1989 [Ordibehesht 12, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 25, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan (Head of State of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan 25, 1409 AH

His Excellency Mr. Shaykh Zaid ibn Sultan Al Nihyan, Head of State of the United Arab Emirates,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the arrival of the auspicious *Id al-Fitr* is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I extend my congratulation to Your Excellency and to the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for arrival of this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the Exalted, grant prosperity and glory to Muslim nations. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 2, 1989 [Ordibehesht 12, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 25, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory message on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Rashid ibn Said Al Maktum (Deputy Head of State and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan 25, 1409 AH

Honorable Mr. Shaykh Zaid Bin Sultan Al-e Nihyan, Deputy Head of State and Prime Minister of the United Arab Emirates,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the arrival of the auspicious *Id al-Fitr* is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I extend my congratulation to Your Excellency and to the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for arrival of this great Islamic feast. It is hoped that this festivity is mixed with prosperity and glory for all Muslims of the world. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Permission

Date: May 3, 1989 [Ordibehesht 13, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 26, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Murtada Niknam

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Ramadan 26, 1409 AH

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Murtada Niknam—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is equally permitted to collect, spend the blessed Share of the Imam (*a*) for his sustenance in economical manner to spend one-third of the surplus on propagating the sacred religion, to pay half of the share of the *Sadat* to the deserving *Sadat* and to remit what remains from the two shares to this humble servant.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace and mercy be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Letter

Date: May 5, 1989 [Ordibehesht 15, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Appreciation of the efforts of the Amnesty Council

Addressees: Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani; Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi; Mahdi Qadi; Muhammad Musawi Bujnurdi

In His Most Exalted Name

With appreciation of the valuable efforts Messrs. Muhammad Muhammadi Gilani, Muhammad Musawi Bujnurdi, Sayyid Muhammad Abtahi, and Mahdi Qadi, this is to notify that the Amnesty Council, has the same discretions as in the past. The only difference is that from now on, requests will be transmitted to me through the honorable Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

May God grant more success to you so as to render more services. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 15, 1368 AHS

Decree

Date: May 5, 1989 [Ordibehesht 15, 1368 AHS / Ramadan 28, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Ceding the discretions of [Chastity Foundation] to the Prisons' Organization

Addressee: Fallah (Public Prosecutor of the Islamic Revolution, Kerman)

[In His Most Exalted Name]

To the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Imam Khomeini—may his benign existence endure,

May peace be upon you. This is to inform Your Eminence that based on the bill of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, management of all prisons, detention camps and rehabilitation centers of the country has been ceded to the Prisons' Organization. Since its creation, the organization has been administering all the prisons and detention centers following the instructions of Your Eminence.

In article 5 of the said law, all the movable and immovable properties related to the prisons are to be transferred to the organization. In Mahan, Kerman, with government credits and facilities as well as the people's assistances, an institution under the name of Chastity foundation has been established... where in female prisoners are presently detained. In view of the fact that the management of all prisons is legally with the Prisons' Organization and considering that the by-laws of the foundation, copy of which is enclosed herewith, subject its dissolution and any decision to the opinion of the *Wali al-Faqih*, Your Eminence's consent is requested for this foundation, like other centers authorized to detain prisoners, to be also transferred to the Prisons' Organization. This foundation is presently at the disposal of the Organization.

Fallah

Islamic Revolution Public Prosecutor, Kerman

Member of the board of trustees of the Chastity Foundation

Bahman 10, 1367 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

The Chastity Foundation, which has been established with people's help and assistance provided by people, is to be transferred to the Prisons' Organization.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 15, 1368 AHS

Message

Date: May 7, 1989 [Ordibehesht 17, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need for keeping the pillars of jurisprudence and its principles in the religious seminary with the assistance of new methods needed sciences

Addressee: Administrative Council of Qum theological Seminary

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Administrative Council of Qum Theological Seminary—may its graces last,

With greetings and prayer for you dear ones! Your efforts are not things that might be unknown to anyone. God willing, through the assistance of the workers in the affairs of the seminary, may you succeed in responding to the questions of the Muslim world.

The fact should not be forgotten that in no way that the firm pillars of the jurisprudence and its principles prevalent in the religious seminaries be encroached upon. Of course, while firmly and steadfastly propagating the Jawahiri *ijtihad*, the merits of the new methods and sciences needed by the Islamic seminaries must be utilized.

I would like to admonish my good and revolutionary children that I do approve the administrative council of the Theological Seminary of Qum. They should try not to be radical, for radicalism will lead to their defeat.

The young seminary students should assist the esteemed professors of the seminary, who at the service of the Revolution, Islam and the Islamic sciences so that they could achieve the important objectives of teaching and training. The administrative council and dear professors should also be aware that without the revolutionary seminary students they could not achieve any of their legitimate aims. The revolutionary and combatant seminary students are the forerunners of our authentic Islamic Revolution. The bright image of the seminaries of Iran in the Muslim world is indebted to the imprisonments and tortures suffered by these beloveds.

The matter must be taken into account that the administrative council of the religious seminary of Qum has to pray to God for the dear seminary students not to face problems while busy in their studies and learning. If in some aspects they will not succeed, at least those are beyond their capability. Constant chanting of slogans belongs to those who are poor in practice.

I pray to God, the Exalted, for the success of the commanders and soldiers of the Islamic sciences. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 17, 1368 AHS

Letter

Date: May 7, 1989 [Ordibehesht 17, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 1, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Meeting the financial needs of the Islamic Propagation Organization (IPO) through the religious funds

Addressee: Ahmad Jannati (Head of the Islamic Propagation Organization)

[In His Most Exalted Name

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

With greetings and gratitude for the favors Your Eminence has given to propagation, which is among the important affairs, and to the Islamic Propagation Organization, which continues functioning through its efforts in spite of the many problems for years. Definitely, some of our problems were solved, but some others, which are financial matters, remain. They are in deed of Your Eminence's favor. As what is stated in the letter of honorable Mr. Mahdawi addressed to Your Eminence, in case you give permission, religious funds, absolute endowments and the endowments that are concordant with the affair of propagation are to be spent. Of course, if the endowment could commit to solve through the confiscated properties, this problem would also be solved. It is hoped that you also solve this case as you deem advisable. The decision is with you. May God grant you longevity and make Islam and Muslims benefit from noble existence.

Ahmad Jannati
Farvardin 23, 1368 AHS]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Jannati—may his graces last,

The group of people whom I granted permission can extend assistance, commensurate to the extent of permission they have, to you for spending in the Islamic propagation. You are also permitted to spend the funds you would receive in the Islamic propagation. Messrs. Karrubi and Sanai will help you as much as they can based on Note 35.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 17, 1368 AHS

Permission

Date: May 8, 1989 [Ordibehesht 18, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 2, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Haydar-Ali Jawadi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Haydar-Ali Jawadi—may his graces last—has been granted permission by the undersigned to take charge of the financial affairs and to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed Shares, he is equally permitted to collect and spend the blessed Share of the Imam (a) for his sustenance in economical manner. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend half of it on propagating the sacred religion and training theology students and to remit whatever remains. Regarding the Share of the *Sadat*, he is similarly permitted to pay half of it to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the other half.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 2, 1409 AH

Letter

Date: May 9, 1989 [Ordibehesht 19, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 3, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need to expedite investigation into the case of plunderers of the public treasury

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

... With greetings sincere salutations and expression of gratitude for the confidence you have in me. This is to inform Your Eminence that in implementing your order dated Ordibehesht 6, 1368 AHS concerning the properties at the disposal of the *Wali-e-Faqih* (His religious vicegerent or guardian) based on the opinion expressed by the authorities, there are many cases related to the subject of your decree about the plunderers of the Public Treasury and affiliates of the former *taghut* regime in the courts, waiving the complicated problems of conventional investigations which takes many years. This matter leads to the loss of the Public Treasury and the rights of the society's deprived and downtrodden people. In a bid to expedite the cases and not to trample on the right of the poor and indigent, Your Eminence is kindly requested, as you deem advisable, to give order to the concerned judicial authorities to attend to these cases beyond the strict regulations prevalent in the courts and according to the luminous religious standards and appoint a person to address the matter. Since His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Nayyiri is an upright and decisive person who is favored by Your Eminence and the country's Judiciary, he is hereby suggested to assume the responsibility. May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Mahdi Karrubi and Hasan Sanai]

In His Most Exalted Name

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Musawi Ardebili—may his graces last,

With greetings and prayer! This task is related to you. God willing, you will take action. I agree with the suggestion of Messrs. Karrubi and Sanai and the selection of Mr. Nayyiri for this task. Of course, with the discretions

that you could have, make the necessary decision. May you be successful and triumphant. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 19, 1409 AH

Letter

Date: May 9, 1989 [Ordibehesht 19, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 3, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Management of Dar ash-Shifa Madrasah in Qum by the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution

Addressee: Ahmad Ahmadi (member of the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution)

[In His Most Exalted Name]

To the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini—may I be ransomed for him:

With salutations! This is to inform Your Eminence that in view of the need to teach religious sciences in the universities and the present inadequacies, since last year about 90 students of the Theological Seminary of Qum having spent two years studying in the advanced level have been selected to engage in teaching religious sciences courses in universities after undergoing a three-year special program. Now, they have spent about one year pursuing this program at Dar ash-Shafa Madrasah. The selection of theology students is supposed to continue in the future as per needed. Main part of the implementation, teaching and program is under my supervision. In view of the present condition, Your Eminence is kindly requested to settle this matter.

Dr. Ahmad Ahmadi

Member

Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution]

In His Most Exalted Name

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

From now on, with the consent of the administrative council of the Theoloical Seminary of Qum, Dar as-Shafa Madrasah is under the supervision of the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution. In case of agreement, the right of cancellation is with the administrative council of Qum. May you be successful. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 19, 1409 AH

Message

Date: May 10, 1989 [Ordibehesht 20, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 4, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to congratulatory telegram on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

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

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr* is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I extend my congratulations to Your Excellency and to the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the Exalted, for the prosperity and glory of all Muslims of the world. May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 4, 1409 AH

Permission

Date: May 10, 1989 [Ordibehesht 20, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 4, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Permission in financial and religious law affairs

Addressee: Sayyid Hashim Shakhs Musawi

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds; may peace and salutations be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny, and may God’s curse be upon all their enemies.”

It is hereby confirmed that His Eminence Thiqat al-Islam Sayyid Hashim Shakhs Musawi—may he always succeed—has been granted permission by the undersigned to collect the religious funds such as *zakat*, and the expiation and injustices alms of the servants of God and to spend them as prescribed. Regarding the two blessed shares, he is equally permitted to collect and spend them for his sustenance. In case of surplus, he is also permitted to spend one-third of the share of the Imam (a) on propagating the sacred religion, to pay half of the Share of the *Sadat* to the needy *Sadat* and to remit the remainder.

“And I admonish him (may God, the Exalted, assist him) as we have been admonished by our pious predecessors to adhere to piety, to evade carnal desires and to be meticulous in his worldly and afterworld affairs.” May God’s peace, mercy and blessings be upon him and upon our faithful brethren.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Shawwal al-Mukarram 4, 1409 AH

Message

Date: May 15, 1989 [Ordibehesht 25, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 9, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Reply to felicitations on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr*

Addressee: Dawda Kairaba Jawara (President of the Republic of Gambia)

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Shawwal 9, 1409 AH

His Excellency Mr. Dawda Kairaba Jawara, President of the Republic of Gambia,

The receipt of your congratulatory telegram on the auspicious *Id al-Fitr* is acknowledged with gratitude. Reciprocally, I extend my congratulations to Your Excellency and to the fraternal Muslim nation of your country for this great Islamic feast. I beseech God, the Exalted, to grant the prosperity and glory to all Muslim nations. May peace be upon you.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Decree

Date: May 18, 1989 [Ordibehesht 28, 1368 AHS / Shawwal 12, 1409 AH]

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Need to expedite investigation into cases related to Article 49 of the Constitution

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

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam Musawi Ardebili—may his graces last,

You should choose Mr. Nayyiri to investigate into the cases of the decree of Mr. Sanai and Mr. Karrubi¹ so as to investigate into every case in the country related to it. As what you have written, to prevent the rights of people from being taken away, you should require the Supreme Islamic Revolutionary Court to review the cases. Messrs. Hujjat al-Islams Marifat and Nayyiri are duty-bound to investigate into case beyond the strict laws and should consider only its concordance with the religious standards so that nobody's right is ever trampled. Naturally, all the issued verdicts to be approved by the Supreme Islamic Revolutionary Court are final and binding. I pray to God, the Exalted, for your success. It is necessary to note that the cases of the towns would be sent to the Supreme Court by Mr. Nayyiri.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini
Ordibehesht 28, 1368 AHS

¹ Refer to the decree dated Ordibehesht 16, 1368 AHS issued by Imam Khomeini.

Last Message

Explanation on the manner of writing the Last Testament of Imam Khomeini:

Imam Khomeini finished writing his politico-religious testament, which is indeed his everlasting message and summary of all testaments and messages of his blessed life on Bahman 26, 1361 AHS [February 15, 1983]. In the course of a message dated Tir 22, 1362 AHS [July 13, 1983], he entrusted a sealed copy of it to the first Assembly of Experts. Several years later, Imam Khomeini reviewed his last testament. By making changes in it, he entrusted two copies of the edited text to his representatives. On the envelopes the Imam's hand writing read: "The text of my politico-religious testament for safekeeping with the Assembly of Experts and Imam Rida's Holy Shrine" to be handed over to the mentioned centers. To submit the copies of the testament, ceremonies were held by a group of officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran on Azar 19, 1366 AHS [December 10, 1987]. The Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB) covered the ceremony. Present at the ceremony were Messrs. Muntaziri (the then Deputy Supreme Leader), Khamenei (President), Hashimi Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly), Mir Husayn Musawi (Prime Minister), Mishkini (Chairman of the Assembly of Experts), Safi (Secretary of the Guardian Council), Musawi Ardebili (Chief Justice), Musawi Khuiniha (General Public Prosecutor), Mahdawi-Kani (Secretary of the Society of Combatant Clergy), Karrubi (Secretary of the Assembly of Combatant Clerics), Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini and members of Imam Khomeini's Office. After the meeting, those present went to the Islamic Consultative Assembly for sealing the testament. At the presidential room, Mr. Mishkini first delivered a speech and then Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini submitted the testament to him. The sealing ceremony took place in the presence of the group. Messrs. Mahdawi-Kani, Karrubi, Tawassuli, and Sanai carried the copy to Imam Rida's Holy Shrine in the Holy city of Mashhad. The previous copy kept with the Assembly of Experts was sent to the Imam by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Politico-Divine Will

Date: Date of writing, February 15, 1983, [Bahman 26, 1361 AHS / Jamadi al-Awwal 1, 1403 AH]

Date of Editing: Azar 19, 1363 AHS

Date of Reciting: Khordad 15, 1368

Place: Jamaran, Tehran

Subject: Politico-divine will (ever-lasting message of Imam Khomeini to the contemporary ones and next generations)

Addressee: Iranian nation, Muslims and peoples of the world and next generations

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

His Holiness Mohammad, the Prophet of Allah (s) has said: “I leave among you the *Thaqalayn*:¹ the Book of Allah and my *Itrah*.² Verily, they will be inseparable from each other until they join up with me at the *Howd*.³”

To Allah belongs all praises and thanks and hallowed be Thou. O’ Allah, bless Muhammad (s) and his household who are manifestations of Thy Beauty and Magnanimity and the treasures of secrets of Thy Book, which crystallizes Thy Oneness through all Thy Glorious Names even the Supreme One that no one knows other than Thee. Curse be upon those belonging to the root of evil tree that transgressed upon them (the Prophet and his progeny).

To being this prologue, it is apropos to touch on the two most exalted and precious things (the *Thaqalayn*). My explanation does not dwell on the transcendental, spiritual or mystical aspects of the *Thaqalayn*. It is a domain, the cognition of which covers all circles of beings, from earth to heaven and beyond to His Divine Presence including circles that lie beyond our comprehension. Nor do I mean to comment on that which has befallen humanity by his negligence of the true nature and status of the greater trust or precious thing, i.e. *Thiql-e Akbar* (the Holy Quran) and that of the great

¹ The term *Thaqalayn*’ means two *thiqls*’. The term *thiql*’ is used in explanatory accounts of traditions and narratives as well as in interpretations of the Holy Quran in various senses and concepts such as weighty heritage’, great thing’, a precious thing’, an invaluable trust’, etc. However, in the *Thaqalayn* narration, by the two precious things it is meant the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet’s household.

² Members of the Prophet’s family.

³ *Hawd*’ means a pool, pond or ditch dug in the ground to store water. In Islamic literature, the term *Hawd*’ usually precedes the word *kawthar*’. According to narratives, it means the *Kawthar* Pond, a stream located in Paradise.

trust, i.e. *Thiql-e Kabir* (the progeny of the Prophet—s) which is greater than anything except *Thiql-e Akbar* which is absolutely great. Nor will this explanation speak of the harm that enemies of Allah and the *Taghutis*¹ have done to these two *theqls*, for it is impossible for someone like me, with limited knowledge and time to give an account of all the wrongs done to the *Thaqalayn* by the *Taghutis* and the enemies of Allah. I only considered it appropriate to summarize the sufferings which the two *theqls* have endured.

Perhaps the phrase “*they will be inseparable*” is an indication that, after the passing away of the Holy Prophet (s), whatever has happened to one of these two *thiqls* has also happened to the other. Once one is left abandoned, the other is left abandoned too. Until these two abandoned *theqls* join the Prophet of Allah (s) at the *Howd*. This *Howd*, however, may be the similitude of the station at which multiplicity connects to the unity. It may imply merging of droplets in an ocean or anything else, which is incomprehensible by the intellect and understanding of human beings. Moreover, the cruelty which these two Divine trusts have suffered, was also imposed on the Islamic nation and even the entire humanity. The transgression wrought by tyrants and their stooges defy description by pen.

The concatenate Hadith of *Thaqalayn*² has been quoted by both Shiite and Sunni schools as a positive proof for mankind, especially for Muslims. References to this noble hadith are frequently made in such reliable Sunni sources like the famous Six Correct Texts³ as well as in countless cogent Shiite texts. *Thaqalayn* Hadith has been narrated in several occasions by the Holy Prophet (s). This tradition has been accepted as an irrefutable proof for all Muslims regardless of their schools of thought. For the Muslims who are informed of this tradition, it is incumbent to act upon it. If there is an excuse for the uninformed, there is none for the scholars of the various schools of thought.

Now, let us see what has befallen to the Book of Allah, this Divine trust and legacy of the Prophet of Islam (s). The sad events, for which tears may well be shed, began to take place following the martyrdom of Imam Ali (s).⁴

¹ The term *Taghutis*’ means followers of *Taghut*, a term used in the Quran on various occasions. *Taghut* was also the name of an idol of the Qoraysh tribe in pre-Islamic days. This name has also been used to mean Satan, oppressor, tyrant and dictatorial governments.

² In Islamic teachings, it means words and sayings as definitely coming from the companions of the Prophet (s) or the Infallible Imams (s).

³ These six correct volumes which the learned Sunni authorities and jurists selected from among the many volumes of traditions and designated them as the base and source from which to deduce religious laws, tenets, commands, interpretations and a part of the history of the early days of Islam.

⁴ Ali (s), the first Infallible Imam of Shiite Muslims, was born 600 A.D. to Fatimeh daughter of Asad and Abutalib paternal uncle of the Prophet (s). Ali (s) grew up in the house of the Prophet (s) since the age of 6. He was the first male person who embraced Islam and pledged himself to assist the Prophet (s). When the Prophet (s) called his own kins to Islam early in his Prophetic mission, he announced at a gathering attended by his relatives: “The first among you to believe in and accept my faith shall succeed me.” He repeated this sentence three times and each time Ali (s) was the only person who professed his faith. On the night of hejira (migration of the Prophet—s from Mecca to Medina), Ali (s) lay down in the Prophet’s bed to foil the plot woven by the enemy to kill the prophet in his bed.

The Quraysh had plotted to assassinate the Prophet (s) that night and Ali (s) thus demonstrated his fidelity to the prophet (s), who adopted Ali (s) as his own brother; on return from his Last Hajj pilgrimage (at a place called *Ghadir*, where the Prophet (s) publicly declared Ali (s) as the guardian of the Muslims and administrator of their affairs. Ali (s) was a companion of the Prophet (s) in his lonely days and his assistant in hardships and dangers.

For a period of 25 years after the Prophet’s demise, Ali (s) was deprived of government administration and leadership by his opponents. After the third Caliph was killed, the companions and a number of other people swore allegiance to Ali (s) and selected him as the fourth Caliph. Imam Ali (s) administered the affairs of the Islamic world for nearly four years and nine months. He restored the changes that had occurred after death of the Prophet (s). The dissidents whose interests were threatened, rose on every side and, pretending to avenge the blood of the 3rd Caliph, set off bloody internal wars that lasted during the entire period of Ali’s (s) rule, until, finally, they martyred this unique man of history next to the Prophet (s) in the altar where he was performing prayers.

Selfish people and followers of *Taghuts* abused the Holy Quran as a means by which to establish anti-Quranic rules.

To achieve this mischievous target, they forced off the scenes the true interpreters of the Quran as well as those who had received all of the Holy Book directly from the Prophet (s) and their ears still echoed with the voice of His Holiness Muhammad (s) who declared: "... *I leave among you the Thaqalayn* ..." Thus, by abusing the Holy Quran, which was to be man's guide to moral and material life to the Last Day, was shelved and the rule of Divine justice that is one of the doctrines of the Holy Book was into oblivion. They laid the foundation for deviation from the religion of Allah, the Holy Book and the Tradition to the point that pen is ashamed to explain.

The more this deviated trend advanced, the more the Holy Quran, which has been sent down by the Almighty God for guidance of mankind, was forced out of the scene. The Holy Book, which was descended to guarantee the progress of mankind, to bring unity not only among Muslims but also among entire humankind, to deliver mankind to its final destination, to liberate the offsprings of Adam to whom Allah has taught the names of objects, to permit the entire existence to achieve justice and equity and to hand over the government to the Infallible Imams' in order that they, in turn, leave it to those who would rule for the good of the entire humanity, was so

forced out of the scene that it appeared to have no role to play in guiding mankind. This deviation reached a point where the role of the Glorious Quran in the hands of the oppressive rulers and their wicked clerics who were more corrupt than the *Taghutis*, was distorted and abused as an instrument to continue their oppression and corruption and to justify the wrong doings of the enemies of Allah. Unfortunately, the Glorious Quran, which is capable of helping mankind to find his path in life, was not given a role other than to be recited in cemeteries because of plots of its mischievous enemies as well as ignorant friends. So, this Holy Book, which was to be the source of unity and guidance for man's life, was either used as a means to generate discord and conflict or totally driven out of the scene. We witnessed that if anyone spoke of an Islamic government or politics, which according to Quran and Tradition is the major role of Islam and the Prophet (s), one would be treated as if one had committed the greatest sin. The label 'politicized cleric' was made to parallel 'irreligious cleric'. This wrong concept still persists in certain groups and governments throughout the world.

Recently, satanic superpowers by employing anti-Islamic governments have deceptively attached themselves to Islam, have published that beautifully designed Qurans and dispatched volumes all over the world for the sole purpose of forcing out the Holy Quran from the scene and, thus attaining their satanic objectives. One of the examples that we all observed is the Quran published by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi¹ and, thereby succeeded in deceiving some people including a few Muslim clerics and preachers who, being unaware of the aims of Islam, praised him for it. Now, we witness Malik Fahad² spends regularly enormous sums of the people's wealth on publishing certain versions of the Holy Quran and supporting anti-Quranic ideas to propagate the baseless and superstitious dogmas of Wahhabism.³ He

¹ The king of Iran.

² King Fahad is the king of Saudi Arabia. The extent of Al-e Saud's dependence on major powers, especially on the world-mongering America, the role of this family in the spread of the false and pervert creed of Wahhabism, their ancient historic animosity towards the followers of Ali (s), their hypocritical approach towards the fighting people of Palestine, their massacre of the pilgrims of Iran and other countries in the House of God, their intrusion on the Divine sanctuaries, suppression of the Arab strugglers in and out of Saudi Arabian Peninsula, squandering the wealth of the Muslims ... and other atrocities of this family are all known to the whole world.

³ Wahhabism was founded by Muhammad Bin Abdul-Wahhab Najdi toward the end of the 12th and the early 13th century A.H. and is ascribed to British colonialism. The adherents of Wahhabism are of the opinion that all Islamic sects, are idol worshippers. They regard respect and reverence toward the shrine of the Prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams (s) a kind of heresy and paganism. Supported by Muslim wealth, the Wahhabis are active in cultural propaganda; they are instruments for implementation of the destructive plans of the superpowers.

abuses the Quran and urges negligent people and nations to side with the superpowers. Thus, he uses the noble Islam and the Holy Quran to destroy both.

We and our dedicated nation are proud that we adhere to a religion, in which the Holy Quran speaks of unity of all Muslims and the oneness of mankind. We are proud that our faith has retrieved the Quran from the cemeteries and saved this Holy Book, which is the best prescription for liberating human beings from all physical, mental and intellectual chains shaking their hands, feet, hearts and minds and dragging them towards non-existence, destruction, slavery and subjugation under the *Taghutis*.

We are honored that we follow the religion established by the Command of Allah through His Prophet (s). We are proud that we are the followers of Imam Ali (s) the embodiment of a man detached from all worldly chains, ones who was, in turn, appointed as the liberator of mankind from all chains of slavery.

We are honored that Nahjol Balagheh,¹ as a religious guiding book next the Glorious Quran and as the most elevated constitution for spiritual and material life and the greatest book for liberation of mankind together with its political guidelines, is authored by Ali (s), our Infallible Imam.

We are honored that the twelve Infallible Imams² from Ali Bin Abitalib (s) to Imam Mahdi³ (May God hasten his glad advent) the Savior of mankind

¹ A religious guiding book by Imam Ali (s). The contents of this book revolve around the three essential subjects of God, the universe and man, comprising scientific, literary, religious, social, ethical and political topics. Next to the words of the Holy Quran and statements by the Prophet (s), no words regardless of the source and author, can equate those of the Nahjol-Balagheh in significance and eloquence. So far more than 101 exegeses and commentaries have been written about the Nahjol-Balagheh, indicating the importance of this book to the authorities in science, research and study.

² Explicit Islamic texts indicate that after the Prophet (s), the holy leaders and infallible caliphs of the Prophet known as Imams number 12. They are:

1. Ali ibn Abitalib - Imam Ali (s).
2. Hasan Bin Ali - Imam Hasan (s).
3. Husayn Bin Ali - Imam Hossein (s).
4. Ali Bin Hossein - Imam Sajjad (s).
5. Muhammad Bin Ali - Imam Muhammad Baqir (s).
6. Jafar Bin Muhammad - Imam Jafar Sadiq (s).
7. Musa Bin Jafar - Imam Musa Kazim (s).
8. Ali Bin Musa - Imam Rida (s).
9. Muhammad Bin Ali - Imam Muhammad Taqi (s).
10. Ali Bin Muhammad - Imam Ali Naqi (s).
11. Hasan Bin Ali - Imam Hasan Askari (s).
12. Hujjat Bin al-Hasan - Imam Mahdi (May God hasten his reappearance).

³ The era of leadership of the 12th Shiite Imam, His Holiness Hujjat Bin al-Hasan Askari (May God hasten his reappearance) began when he was only 6 years old. Because of the conditions prevailing at the time and by Allah's will, His Holiness went into occultation. The period of occultation of Imam Mahdi (May God hasten his reappearance) is divided into two parts: the lesser and the grand occultation. The lesser or minor occultation lasted 69 years. During this period, His Holiness was indirectly in communion with the people through the medium of four representatives. Then began the grand or major occultation which has continued to this date and will be effective until his reappearance and the triumph of Truth over falsehood. Islamic thought holds to the view that the extensive challenges of Imam Mahdi (a) and his impending reappearance would be the last link in the chain of the fights of supporters of Truth against adherents of falsehood. This means that the struggles of the followers of Truth will continue throughout history and that grounds for the victory of Truth become better prepared with each day passing and culminate in the reappearance and rise of the Promised Mahdi (a) with the eventual dawn of the light of Truth and justice in man's horizons, marking his intellectual, moral, and social maturity.

who by the grace of Allah lives in occultation, and supervises and watches our doing, are all our leaders.

We feel honored by our Infallible Imams who have authored such exalted and life-giving supplications as the Shabaniyeh Orisons;¹ the Arafat Prayer of Imam Husayn (s);² the *Sahifeh-ye Sajjadiyeh*,³ known as

¹ Because of richness of contents and importance, this invocative litany has been frequently recited during the month of Shaban by Imam Ali (s) and other Infallible Imams. On the importance of this prayer as often emphasized by Imam Khomeini in the course of his blessed life, suffice it to say that no other invocation is said to have been recited by all the Infallible Imams (s).

² Arafat is a station for Hajj pilgrims in the vicinity of Mecca. The Prayer of Arafat is ascribed to Imam Husayn (s) and was often recited by him and Imam Sajjad (s) on the 19th of the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah in the desert of Arafat. This prayer is expressive of the lovely supplications made by the Master of Martyrs (Imam Husayn - s) invoking the mercy of his beloved God, the One and only Creator of universe. The Arafat Prayer, contains deep and lofty concepts as does other prayers of the Infallible Imams (s).

³ In view of the dominance of tyranny in time of Imam Sajjad (s), the fourth leader of the Shiite Muslims of the world, a collection of his advices, exhortations and counsellings have been handed down to us in the form of prayers and supplications. This collection which contains 54 of such entries is known as the *Sahifeh-ye Sajjadiyeh*; it is a veritable encyclopedia that has been constantly referred to us a source of inspiration to Muslims and seekers of the Path of Allah in the course of history of Shi'ism. This book has a great impact on the readers through its educational influence.

the Zabur¹ (psalms) of the Household of Muhammad (s) and the Sahifeh-ye Fatimiyeh,² revealed by Allah to Her Holiness Fatimeh Zahra (s).

We are honored that Baqirul-Olum³ the fifth Infallible Imam, who is the highest personality of history in the domain of Divine knowledge, belongs to us. His station is known only by Almighty God, the Holy Prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams.

We are honored that we follow the Jafari school of thought⁴ and that our jurisprudence (*fiqh*),⁵ which is the infinite ocean of knowledge, is from Imam Jafar Sadiq (s). We are proud of all our Infallible Imams (pbut) and devoted to following them.

We are honored that all of our Infallible Imams (pbut), who suffered in prisons and exiles, finally became martyrs as a result of attempting to eradicate oppressive governments and *Taghuts* of their own time in order to raise the status of Islam and to implement the teachings of the Holy Quran, one of whose aspects is to establish a just government. Today, we are

¹*Zabur* is the name of a Divine Book that was sent down to His Holiness Davud (David), a great Prophet of Allah. It contains plenty of phrases and sayings of knowledge and wisdom. The *Sahifeh-ye Sajjadiyeh* is also known as "the *Zab ur* of the family of Mohammad".

² The word *Sahifeh* means letter or book. The term *Fatimiyeh* implies the realities and topics ascribed to Her Holiness Fatimeh (s). Thus the *Sahifeh-ye Fatimiyeh* is a book attributed to Fatimeh Zahra, daughter of our noble Prophet (s) and consort to Ali (s), man of equity and virtue and the first Imam of Shiites. Fatimeh is the mother of Imams Hasan and Husayn (s), who are the 2nd and the 3rd Shia leaders. She was born in Mecca in the 2nd or the 5th year after divinely appointment of Mohammad (s) to Prophetic mission. Comment on the qualities and attributes of Fatimeh, this grand lady of Islam and symbol of Muslim woman, is beyond the scope of this writing. Her love and attachment to her father was so intense that people called her *Umma Abiha* (her father's mother). Fatimeh (s) was a helper of the Prophet (s) and Ali (s) during the most eventful terms of their Divine mission. She passed away young because of the great pain and hardship she went through following the death of her father, the Holy Prophet of Allah (s).

³ The term *baqir* means 'splitter' or 'dissector' and Baqirul-Olum or Dissector of Sciences and Knowledge was a title accorded to the 5th Imam or the leader of the Shiite Muslims of the world. This title which is a proved prophecy was given to him before his birth by the Prophet of Allah (s).

⁴ The Jafari religion or Jafari Islamic School of Thought is attributed to Imam Jafar Sadiq (s), the sixth leader of the world of Shiism. He extended the means of teaching Islamic truths and arranged classes for lessons, discussions and debates and also succeeded in furthering the education of the faithful believers and the establishment of a great theological center.

⁵ *Fiqh* is a science dealing with deduction of religious rules and the practical aspects of religion for every individual in his private and social life. The objective of this science is understanding the Divine commands and acting according to them. The sources from which *fiqh* deduces Allah's Commands include: Holy Quran, Tradition of the Prophet (s) and of that Infallible Imam (s); consensus among the Islamic learned men about issues the correctness of which cannot be doubted, and reason.

honored that we are determined to implement the concepts of the Glorious Quran and those of the Traditions. Our people, with outpouring enthusiasm sacrificed their lives, properties and beloved ones in the way of Allah.

We are honored that our women, young and old, prominent or unknown, attend cultural, economic and military scenes side by side with men or sometimes more active than men in raising the status of Islam and achieving the goals of the Holy Quran. Those, who have the ability to fight, take courses in military training program, which is obligatory in defense of Islam and the Islamic nation. Our women have liberated themselves from the deprivations imposed on them, on Islam and Muslims by the enemies of Islam and by inadequate knowledge of friends of Islamic tenets and the Holy Quran. They have bravely discarded the superstitions created by enemies through some ignorant clerics. Those women who are unable to fight have served behind the front lines with such distinction and valor that has thrilled the heart of the nation with joy and delight while making the hearts of the enemies and the ignorants, who are worse than the enemies, tremble with anger and frustration. We have repeatedly witnessed that our honorable women cry out, as did venerable Zeynab (s),¹ that they are proud of losing their sons in the way of Allah and the beloved Islam and that they are willing to sacrifice everything they have. They well know that what they have earned is higher than the blessed Paradise as a reward, not to mention the cheap worldly belongings.

Not only our nation but also the entire Muslim community as well as all of the oppressed people of the world are proud of the fact that their enemies, who are the enemies of Allah, the Holy Quran, and the beloved Islam are the ones who ferociously commit any crime or treason to achieve their gastly criminal purposes. The chief among these enemies, who does not distinguish friends from foes in obtaining power and satisfying greed, is America. This

¹ Zeynab-e-Kubra (the Great Zeynab), the brave lady of Islam is the third child of Imam Ali (s) and Fatimeh Zahra (s) after Imam Hasan (s) and Imam Husayn (s). She was born in the 6th year A.H. and Fatimeh nurtured and raised under the care and education of the Prophet (s), Ali (s) and Fatimeh (s) like her two brothers. Zeynab's (s) traverse was an eye-witness to the long thorny passage up to the tragedy of Karbala. In that great tragedy, Zeynab (s) was an eye-witness to the martyrdom of her holy brother Imam Husayn (s) and other young men of her family. She traveled to Iraq in captivity and then to Sham (Syria) and supervised the remaining family members of Imam Husayn (s). During this tragic event, Zeynab did not, for a moment, lose her fortitude and patience. She managed to create a center to vent their anger and wrath against Yazid, the blood-thirsty Umayyeh Caliph. With unique courage, she hoisted the banner of challenge against the criminals. By performing an awe-inspiring role, she took the initial steps toward perpetuation of the epical deeds of Imam Hussein and his companions in Ashura and the struggle of truth against falsehood in all ages.

master of international terrorism by nature has set fire to everything and everywhere. The US close ally is the international Zionism that commits such crimes that are too shameful to be mentioned by tongues or written by pens in order to achieve its greedy ends. The Zionists idiotic fantasy of Greater Israel¹ urges them to commit all types of crime. The Muslim community and the oppressed people of the world are proud that their enemies are Husayn of Jordan,² this vulgar professional criminal, Hasan of Morocco³ and Husni Mubarak of Egypt,⁴ who are all allies of the criminal Israel and who commit any treason against their own people in order to serve America and Israel. We are proud that our enemy is Aflaqi Saddam, whose friends and enemies alike consider him a criminal and a violator of human rights. Everyone knows that his acts of treason against the oppressed people of Iraq and the Sheikdoms of the Gulf are no less than what he has committed against the Iranian nation.

We and the oppressed people of the world are proud that the mass media and the world propaganda apparatus accuse us of any crime and treason that the criminal superpowers dictate to them to propagate. What can be a better source of pride than that the US government with all its war equipment and military might, boastfulness, claims, allies among puppet regimes, all the wealth it has stolen from the oppressed countries of the world and control over mass media has become so disgraced. It is helpless to face the brave nation of Iran, the hand of the Savior (May God hasten his glad advent). The US has become so desperate that it does not know to which way and to

¹ The only ideal and objective in which the Zionists strongly believe is the formation of Jewish government to exercise sovereign rule over the entire world. According to them, such a government will rise from Palestine and would extend to the Egyptian territory between the Nile and the Red Sea Sina, Jordan, Syria, the greater part of Iraq with a window opening to the Persian Gulf and the western part of the Saudi domain. Because of the immeasurable natural resources which they shall thus acquire, they think and believe that sovereignty over this area is sovereignty over the entire world.

² The present king of Jordan, known as Malik Husayn has taken a stand beside the Saudi Arabian monarchy, the reactionary Arab rulers and Saddam as of the victory of Islamic Revolution, challenging the Islamic Revolution. Hussein's betrayal of the ideals of the people of Palestine, bloody massacre of Palestinians and his support of Israel have made him a hated figure among Muslims.

³ Shah Sultan Hasan II, the monarch of Morocco is one of the despotic kings who, like the king of Jordan and Arabia considers the collapse of the previous regime of Iran and the formation of the Islamic government, a major threat to their thrones. He has not spared any mischievous action in opposition to the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

⁴ Mubarak is the current president of Egypt who, after the terror of the treacherous Anwar Sadat, goes on with the shameful Camp David Treaty and the humiliating peace with Israel. He is a sworn servant of America.

whom to turn. This is not but with assistance of Almighty God, Who has awakened all nations, particularly the Muslim Iranian nation and guided the nation from darkness into the light of Islam.

I now take this opportunity to advise oppressed and noble nations, including our people, to stay firmly on this Divine straight path that leads neither to the atheistic East nor to the oppressive West, but to the path that Almighty God has decreed for us. I further advise not to neglect in thanksgiving for this blessing even for a single moment. They should not let the polluted hands of superpowers and their agents, whether domestic or foreign, affect your intentions and determination. They should know that the more the world mass media use harsh words and the more the Western and Eastern satanic powers oppress the people of the world, is a proof of their Divine Power and Almighty God will remunerate them for their acts here and in the Hereafter. *“Truly, He is the Benefactor of all blessings and in His hand lies the dominion over all things.”*¹

I humbly and earnestly advise the Muslim community to follow the Infallible Imams and the political, social, economic and military teachings and culture of these great guides to humanity with devotion, sincerity and sacrifice. I would like to enjoin all of you to safeguard and observe the *Fiqh-e-Sunnati*² (traditional jurisprudence) or religious canons. These set forth the schools of Prophetic mission and Imamate and guarantee the growth and development of the nations through their primary and secondary decrees,³ both of which are the schools of Islamic jurisprudence. My advice is that they should not deviate an iota from the teachings of both schools of Islamic jurisprudence and not listen to the whisperings of the slinking devils, who are the enemies of religion and truth. They should know that the slightest deviation is the beginning of the downfall of the religion, rules of Islam, and

¹ The Holy Qu'ran (23:88).

² The term *fiqh* was defined earlier. *Sunnati* is a method transmitted to us by the ancients. With this explanation, the *Fiqh-e-Sunnati* or Traditional Jurisprudence is a method for deducing and extracting religious rules and decrees from authentic and reliable sources, a procedure pursued by the learned authorities of the Shiah denomination from the earliest days of the Infallible Imams to the present; they accept no alternative to it.

³ The Book and the Tradition embody many of the laws or precepts concerning social relations needed by the Muslims and their decrees are specified in whole or in part. This group of commands are known as primary decrees. However, in the administration of the society, the Islamic government occasionally faces issues and problems for which primary decrees do not point to a solution. In instances like this, Islam has empowered the governor to use his sovereign right of *wilayat* or guardianship and, by considering the interests of the society, legislate a set of rules and regulations and thereby solve those difficulties. This type of laws are counted as secondary decrees.

the Divine Government of Justice. They should never neglect Friday prayer ¹ and daily congregational prayer, ² which exhibit the political aspect of prayer. Indeed, they must never neglect Friday prayer, one of the greatest blessings of Allah, the Exalted, which is best performed in the Islamic Republic of Iran. They should also not neglect the mourning ceremonies for the Infallible Imams, especially for the leader of the oppressed and the most prestigious of the martyrs, His Holiness Imam Husayn; ³ May the Peace and Blessings of Allah, His Prophet, His Angels and the righteous be upon his great and brave soul! They should know whatever decrees there are from the Infallible Imams about honoring the mourning ceremony regarding historical martyrdom of Imam Husayn (s) and whatever maledictions and curses there

¹ Friday *Namaz* or prayer is one of the Islam's major act of worship and social rituals. It is performed every Friday in congregation by believers. Prior to the start of *namaz*, the leader of the mass performs two sermons during which he acquaints the Muslims with their individual and social duties and keeps them abreast of the current problems of the country, the world and Islamic issues. Friday Prayer is a tradition of the Prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams (pbut). It is so important that even prison inmates must participate in it. In the course of Islamic history, nothing has been as effective as Friday Prayer in unifying the people, imparting information to them and making them alert.

² In the Divine disciplines of the Prophet, *namaz* or *salat* prayer is the ascension of the terrestrial men to the highest moral stature and a means for approach to the Creator of the world. He who prevents man's depravity and mental pollution. On the other hand, *namaz* or *salat*, if said in congregation with its particular characteristics, develops an ideal society and purges human societies of pollution and rust. It is by means of this support that the Islamic government can approach its goals and achieve unity which is one of the Divine covenants of the Prophets (s) and is emphatically recommended by the Infallible Imams (pbut). Therefore, saying *namaz* in congregation is confirmed and emphasized by the great authorities of Islam.

³ Hussein (s) was the hero of Ashura, the greatest epic event in man's history, which happened on the 10th day of Muharram when Imam Hussein (s) was martyred. He was born to Ali (s), the man of justice and chastity and Her Holiness Fatimah (s), the symbol of a Muslim woman, in the 4th year A.H. After the martyrdom of Imam Hasan (s) in 50 A.H., Muaviyeh the Caliph increased his pressure and ordered all his governors to delete the names of the Shiite Muslims (followers of Ali—s)—from the rosters of the Muslim treasury, to apprehend and put to death any one accused of sympathy with Ali (s). Yazid succeeded his father Muaviyeh as a caliph and followed the path of his sire. He suggested that Imam Hussein swear allegiance to him or be slain should he refuse.

Imam Hussein did not yield to Yazid, this prototype of meanness and villainy. Imam resorted to the sword and undertook the fundamental Ashura move so that he might thus kindle a light of hope amid the darkness of oppression and initiating history's eternal epic event. By sacrificing his life and the lives of his kins and followers in the Path of Allah, Imam Hussein (s) became a model and an example for all his followers in the path of Allah; Imam Hussein (s) became a model and an example for all those who died in the path of Truth. Many books have been written about the personality of Imam Husayn (s) and a great deal has been talked about him. Friend and foes testify to Imam Husayn's matchless courage, patience, fight against cruelty and injustice, courtesy and humbleness, kindness and compassion.

are on those who transgressed against the *Ahl al-Bayt*¹ (the progeny of the Prophet—s) are the same cries of protest of the oppressed against criminal leaders throughout history until the end of time. You should know that maledictions, curses and cries of protest against the oppressions of Bani Ummayeh,² Allah's curse be upon them, though they have already been perished and gone to the Hell, also reflect the cries of protest by the oppressed against the oppressors of the world. It is the perpetuation of such cries of protest that shatters oppression.

It is necessary that the crimes of the tyrants in each age and era be regularly condemned in the cries of lamentations and in the recitals of elegies held for the Infallible Imams. In this age which is the age of oppression of the world of Islam by America and Russia and their satellites, including the Saudi family these traitors to the great Divine sanctuary, His Prophet and His Angels—the crimes of these oppressors must be strikingly reminded, cursed and imprecated. We all should know that it is these politico-religious ceremonies that give Muslims, particularly the Shiite Muslims, (these followers of the Infallible Imams), the unity they should enjoy; these also preserve the nationality of all Muslims.

This politico-religious testament of mine is not intended for the great nation of Iran only. Rather, it is recommended to all Islamic nations and the oppressed peoples of the world regardless of their religion or nationality.

I humbly pray the Almighty God not to leave us and our nations to ourselves even for a moment. May He not withhold His blessings from the children of Islam and the cherished Muslim combatants.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

¹ In common usage, the term *ahl-ul-beyt*' refers to those who live in a man's house and all together make up his household including wife, sons and daughters. Unimpeachable narratives, recorded and quoted in both Sunnite and Shiite books and other reliable sources, indicate that the term *ahl-ul-beyt*' is a blessing' that applies to the family of the Prophet (s), Ali (s), Fatimeh (s), Hasan (s) and Husayn (s) exclusively. However, according to these narratives and others, nine other Infallible Imams who are of Imam Hossein's progeny are included in the *ahl-ul-beyt* or household. The Holy Quran recommends love for the *Ahl al-Bayt* or the Prophet's Household by the Muslim community. Such love is deemed as the reward of the Prophet (s).

² Muawiyah, son of Abusufyan and the grandson of Ummayah declared himself the Caliph of Muslims in 41 A.H. (661 A.D.) just after His Holiness Imam Ali (s) was martyred. The Ummayeh clan held the caliphate until 132 A.H. (720 A.D.) The Ummayeh rulers revived aristocracy and the hereditary monarchy which is in sharp conflict with basic Islamic faith. History is replete with accounts of painful events in the Islamic world during the Ummayeh rule, events like ruthless massacre, imprisonment and banishment of the Household of the Prophet (s), martyrdom of Imam Husayn (s) by agents of Yazid (son of Muawiyah), etc.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The glorious Islamic Revolution of Iran, which is the product of efforts of millions of valuable human beings, thousands of martyrs and disabled of the war—these living martyrs—is the source of hope for millions of Muslims and the oppressed people throughout the world. It is so great that its assessment is beyond written prose and expression. I, Ruhullah Musawi Khomeini, despite all my shortcomings, do not give up hope in the great generosity of Allah, the most Exalted. The sustenance of my perilous path to the Hereafter is my hope in the generosity of the Absolute Benefactor. As a humble student of theology, like other Muslim brothers, I have hope in this revolution, perpetuation of its outcome and its increasing fruition. I would like to express some matters to the beloved present and future generations. Even though they may sound repetitious, I beg the Forgiving Allah to bless my remarks.

1. We know that this great revolution, which has virtually cut off the hands of the world aggressors and oppressors from Iran, succeeded only with Unseen Divine blessings; otherwise, it would have been impossible for a nation of 36 million to succeed despite all the anti-Islamic and anti-clerical propaganda, especially in the last century. The revolution triumphed despite immeasurable discord triggered by international writers and orators in the media and through speeches, meetings, gatherings, poems, anecdotes and jokes in circles indulged in immorality, debauchery, gambling, drugs and alcohol. All of these were used to lead the younger generation, who should have been active for the progress and excellence of their beloved country, to corruption and to indifference towards evil deeds of the corrupt Shah and his ignoramus father, puppet governments and parliaments imposed upon our nation through the embassies of the powerful foreign governments. The most flagrant was the condition of the universities, high schools and educational centers, on which the future of the country depends. These centers employed teachers and professors who were fascinated with the West or the East and were absolutely opposed to Islamic culture and to patriotic values. Among these teachers and professors were, of course, some committed and considerate ones. However, they were too few and too restricted to take appropriate action. Along with these and tens of other problems, including exile and isolation of the clerics and defaming many of them through malicious propaganda, it would have been impossible for this nation to revolt unitedly throughout the country. They were not unified in target with the

motto of *Allahu Akbar* and with dazzling and miraculous sacrifices to drive away all the internal and external powers and to take the reins of power into their own hands. Therefore, the Islamic Revolution in Iran is totally different from all other revolutions. The inception, the nature of the struggle and the incentive for Revolution¹ were all different. There is no doubt that it was a Divine gift and blessing from the Unseen granted by Allah the Almighty to this oppressed and pillaged nation.

2. Islam or Islamic government is a Divine phenomenon the implementation of which, guarantees the happiness of its followers in this world and the Hereafter in the best possible way and has the potential to eliminate tyranny, corruption and transgression, and leading humankind to its ultimate desired goal. It is a school of thought that, unlike polytheistic schools, carefully intervenes and supervises individual, social, material, spiritual, cultural, political, military and economic aspects of life and does not neglect any point which may have a bearing on the growth of man and society as well as their material and spiritual progress. It warns people of all difficulties and obstacles standing on the way of perfection in order to eradicate them. Now that, with the blessed support of Allah and with the endeavor of the committed nation the foundation of the Islamic Republic has been laid, we should bear in mind that what is important in establishing the Islamic government is Islam itself and its progressive rules. It is formidable for the great nation of Iran to ensure the implementation and protection of Islamic values in all aspects of life. The safeguard Islam itself is the most important obligations. All Great Prophets from His Holiness Adam (s) to His Holiness Muhammad (s) have strived and sacrificed for the protection of the concept of Islam;¹ no deterrent ever stopped them from fulfilling this great obligation. After the Prophets, their committed followers and the Infallible Imams (s) strove for the protection of Islam to the point of sacrificing their holy blood. Today, it is an obligation for the Iranian nation, in particular, and the Muslim community, in general, to protect ardently this Divine trust, which has been officially established in Iran and which has already generated an outstanding outcome in such a short time. They must struggle to provide the means for its perpetuation and for removal of all obstacles. It is hoped that the reflection of its light shall reach all Islamic communities and lead governments and nations to obtain an understanding of this vital issue in order to curb the grip of world-devouring superpowers, the worst criminals in the history of mankind, from the oppressed people of the world.

¹ Islam as a concept means total submission to Almighty God.

Knowing that I am approaching my last breath of life, I deem it my duty to address the present and future generations and explain what could affect the protection and perpetuation of this Divine trust, warning against the perils and hindrances posing a threat to the revolution. I beg the Creator, the Sustainer of the universe to grant prosperity and felicity to all.

A. The secret of the perpetuation of the Islamic Revolution is undoubtedly the same that led the revolution to its success. This is known to the nation today; the future generations would learn through history that its two essential foundations are: a) Divine incentive to establish the Islamic government and b) solidarity of people all over the country struggling for the same incentive and aspiration with one voice.

I advise all present and future generations that if you want Islam and Allah's sovereignty to prevail and if you want the influence of superpowers and external and internal exploiters to be curtailed over your countries, do not lose the Divine incentive the Almighty God has revealed in the Glorious Quran. That which defies this incentive which is the secret of success, is to neglect the prime aspiration that would eventually result in disunity and discord. This is why the trumpets of propaganda are sounding off everywhere. Local agents are spending millions of dollars on sowing the seeds of discord for distortion of facts by spreading rumors and lies. Frequent visits of the enemies of the Islamic Republic to our region prove their malicious motivations. Unfortunately, among them are the leaders of some Islamic states who think of nothing except their own personal interests and who have been totally submitted to the will of USA. Some pseudo-clerics have also joined the club'.

What is important for the Iranian people and the Muslims of the world today and in the future is to challenge these divisive and destructive propaganda. My recommendation to Muslims, especially to Iranians in the present age, is to defy strongly these conspiracies and consolidate their unity in any possible way in order to disappoint the *Kuffar*¹ and *Munafiqin*.²

B. One of the most important conspiracies against Islam, being clearly observed in the present century, particularly in recent decades and after the success of the Islamic Revolution, is the vast and multidimensional propaganda aimed at discouraging nations, particularly the devoted people of Iran. Sometimes they adduce the clumsy argument that the modern world

¹ Unbelievers.

² Hypocrites.

cannot be administered by laws established 1400 years ago. They naively argue that Islam is a retrogressive religion opposed to innovation or manifestation of modern civilization. They claim that it is not becoming of a country to be isolated from the modern progressive world. At other times, they claim that Islam and other Divine religions simply deal with spiritual matters and purification of the soul, rejecting worldly affairs. Cunningly and shrewdly, they pretend to be defending the sanctities of Islam, arguing that acts of worship, remembrance of God and supplication bring man closer to Almighty God, but keep man away from material life. They further argue that being involved in governmental politics and political affairs defies all those great ideals and sublime spiritual objectives, arriving at the conclusion that all this is to make man's material life better and is, therefore, against the principles of the Great Prophets. Unfortunately, this latter argument has influenced some of the clerics and religious people being informed of Islam to the degree that they consider—and perhaps some still do—that participation in governmental and political affairs is sinful and corruptive. This was a tragedy, which had befallen Islam.

The proponents of the first argument are either incognizant or intentionally act as if they were incognizant about government, law and politics, because many are the concepts that are not liable to passage of time. Implementing law based on equity and justice, opposing tyrannical and oppressive governments, establishing individual and social justice, suppressing corruption and immorality, spreading liberty based on intellect, justice and independence; fighting against colonization, exploitation and dictatorship, observance of *Hudud*,¹ *Qisas*² and *Tazirat*³ based on justified criteria to protect communities against immorality; governing and ruling nations based on intellect, justice and fairness and hundreds of similar questions are not things that could become outdated in the course of history or man's life. It is absurd to say that social justice, which was to be practiced from the beginning of creation and fighting against crimes and cruelties, which were to be avoided, can no longer be exercised in the age of atom. The claim that Islam is against modern innovations—like the same claim made by the deposed Muhammad Rida Pahlavi to the effect that “These people (Islamic Revolutionaries) want to travel with four-legged animals”—is nothing but an idiotic accusation. If innovation and new features of civilization mean inventions, new scientific discoveries and industrial

¹ In Islamic law, a fixed punishment for committing acts of immorality and transgression.

² A punishment determined by Islamic court.

³ In Islamic law, it means a punishment against criminals and assailants.

progress, it should be known that neither Islam nor any other monotheistic religion has ever opposed such things. On the contrary, Islam and the Holy Quran emphatically cultivate scientific and industrial development. If, however, 'civilization' and 'modernization' are what is implied by some professional intellectuals, i.e. freedom to indulge in all sorts of immoral and perverse acts, including even homosexuality, then all Divine religions, noble scholars and wise men of reason are opposed to them, even though some pro-Eastern or pro-Western individuals promote these ideas blindly.

The second category of the adversaries of Islam, who entertain more vicious plots, suggest that religion and politics are incompatible and should not be integrated. These ignorant individuals should be informed that the Glorious Quran and the Tradition of the Prophet of Islam (s) accommodate more rules and decrees regarding government and politics than any other subject. In fact, a great deal of Islamic laws concerning worship such as Congregational and Friday Prayer have political aspects as well. Neglecting such politico-religious ceremonies has led to many disadvantages. The Prophet of Islam (s) founded a government just like any other governments but with the spirit and motivation of promoting social justice, equity, and human rights. The early caliphs of Islam ruled extensive governments. The history of Islam clearly reveals that the government of Ali Bin Abitalib (s) had even a broader and more extensive dimension to institute his administration. Unfortunately, most of the later Islamic governments were only nominals. Even now there are plenty who claim that they are running Islamic governments and following Islam and the Holy Prophet (s).

In this final will and testament, I briefly mention these points in passing and hope that writers, sociologists and historians can elaborate on the ideas, which have influenced the Muslim nations wrongly. This conviction that the prophets and Islam are only concerned with spiritual and moral issues and that governments are only concerned with secular or temporal matters are totally wrong. What must be opposed are satanic governments, dictatorial rules, injustice, thirst for power, greed for wealth and, finally worldly matters that would make a human being neglect Almighty God. This is what all the Prophets of Allah (pbut) and the Infallible Imams (pbut) have repeatedly warned against. The Divine rule that is for the benefit of the dispossessed and the oppressed and that seeks to prevent cruelty and injustice is exactly what Sulayman Bin Dawud and the Great Prophet of Islam (s) tried to establish. This is one of the greatest Divine duties and ranks among the highest acts of worship same as the sound and healthy politics which existed in the above-mentioned governments and is among the essentials. The alert nation of Iran

must, frustrate these conspiracies with an Islamic insight. Committed writers and preachers must rise up to help the nation to stop the plotting devils.

C. Of the same sort of conspiracies, if not more insidious, are the widespread rumors throughout the country, such as: "Islamic Republic has done nothing for the people of Iran. These innocent people made sacrifices with great zeal and enthusiasm to remove the oppressive regime of the *Taghut* but became captives of a worse regime. The transgressors have become more transgressive and the oppressed more oppressed. Prisons are filled with the youth who are the hope of the future. Torture is more inhumane and severe than before. Everyday a number of men are executed in the name of Islam. If only it was not called The Islamic Republic'. Today is worse than the time of Reza Khan and his son. People are suffering from hardship. Inflation is driving people mad. The authorities are leading this regime toward communism. People's properties are being confiscated. Freedom is totally spared from the people and so forth." Such rumors are proofs of planned conspiracies that are carried out daily in different forms, in different towns and boroughs, in taxi cabs, in buses, at small gatherings, and so on. As soon as one false rumor wears off, a fresh one takes its place. Unfortunately, even some simple-minded clerics unaware of the satanic tricks believe in such baseless rumors being contacted with a few agents behind the conspiracy. The fact is that many of those, who listen to the rumors and accept them, are persons lacking knowledge of the world conditions, of world revolutions, and of post-revolutionary events and their inevitable aftermath. They lack knowledge of the events that have occurred in favor of Islamic values. They hear such rumors and accept them blindly and naively either deliberately or delinquently.

My humble request to everyone remains, not to criticize the present situation before studying the present world condition and comparing the Islamic Revolution of Iran with other revolutions. Do not find fault before becoming familiar with the predicament of other revolutionary countries and nations during and after their revolutions. Before any criticism you should probe into the sufferings of this country pillaged by the *Taghuti* actions of Reza Khan and his son Mohammad Reza. His pillaging has entangled the present government with many problems to resolve. These problems range from disastrous dependencies all the way to the ill-managed ministries, governmental offices, the economy and the armed forces. Centers of debauchery and liquor stores were on the increase. Permissiveness in all walks of life, education in high schools and universities and conditions of the

cabarets and brothel houses, the youth, clerics and religious people, committed freedom-seekers and virtuous oppressed young women and mosques during the *Taghut* rule are part of predicament. Inquire into the files of those who were executed and imprisoned and inspect the conditions of prisons and the persons in charge of them. Investigate into the wealth of the wealthy people, large land-grabbers and hoarders of products and trade monopolists and speculators. Compare the conditions of the courts of justice and the judges in pre-and post-Revolution. Appraise the personality of the representatives of the Islamic parliament, members of the government, provincial governors and other public officials. Investigate into the performance of the government and works of the Reconstruction Jihad¹ in poor villages, where are deprived even from drinking water and hospitals. Consider the consequences of the imposed war, such as accommodation of several millions of Afghani and Iraqi refugees. Take into account handling and supporting the disabled and the martyrs' families, not to mention the imposed economic sanctions against Iran and conspiracies by America and her international and local agents. Add to the above-mentioned problems, lack of well-trained Islamic missionary to propagate true Islamic values as well as low number of qualified religious judges, the chaos raised by the corrupt enemies of Islam and the revolution plus ignorant friends and tens of other difficulties. My request again is that, before you have become familiar enough with these problems, avoid nitpicking and engaging in destructive and poisonous criticism. Think considerately of this lonely present day and Islam how it was left alone during centuries of rule of oppressive rulers along with the ignorance of the masses and its newly born infant, i.e. the Islamic Revolution, which is threatened by external and internal enemies. You, the fault-finders, should question yourselves. Is it not better to try to correct the situation instead of making harsh criticisms instead of defending the hypocrites, oppressors, owners of wealth and trade monopolists who lack divine consciousness, would it not be better to defend the oppressed and the deprived people? Furthermore, ask yourselves if it is not better to try to take into consideration either the martyred clerics or the devoted officials instead of indirectly defending rebellions?

¹ Performing *Jihad* in the path of Allah is one of the most important duties of every Muslim. In 1980, Imam Khomeini (s) asked the people to participate in the Reconstruction Movement. Thus a revolutionary institution called the Reconstruction Jihad¹ was formed that began to operate on a voluntary basis. This was later expanded into a ministry known as the Ministry of *Jihad*.

I have never claimed, and will never do, that Islamic laws have been fully implemented after the revolution. I do not say that some personalities do not violate Islamic rules due to ignorance or certain complexes. But I do say that the legislative, judicial and executive branches of the government are trying their best to Islamize this country with the support of the entire nation. So much the better if these minority groups introspect and wake up to the reality. Even if they do not join the awakened mass, still Islamic and humanistic ideals would be actualized as our masses of people are informed, alert and considerate. Deviant groups shall be defeated by the roaring tide of the mass.

I am highly convinced that today the Iranian nation enjoy greater integrity than the people of Hijaz at the time of the prophet (s) and the people of Iraq and Kufah at the time of Imam Ali (s) and Imam Husayn (s). When the holy prophet Muhammad (s) was still alive, people of Hijaz disobeyed him and feigned excuses for not going to war fronts. For this, Almighty God has rebuked them severely in *Surah Al-Baraah* of the Glorious Quran. So much, they accused the prophet (s) of lying and the holy prophet cursed them for such as accusation on the pulpit. Imam Ali's (s) complaints against mistreatments and disobedience of the people of Kufah have provided food for many books of tradition and history. Disobedience and infidelity of the people of Iraq and Kufah toward Imam Husayn (s) resulted in history's greatest tragic epic event, i.e. martyrdom of Imam Husayn (a). Those who did not participate in the act of martyrdom either fled or sat idly. They watched that historic crime taking place. But today, we observe how the Iranian nation wholeheartedly supports its armed forces, the police, *Sepah*,¹ *Basij*,² and tribal volunteers making unthinkable sacrifices at the war fronts and behind the front lines. We are delighted at the invaluable assistance by people all over the country. We are proud to see the families of our martyrs and the disabled war veterans and their kins meet all of us with open arms and displaying such reassuring reactions and words. All this is due to their deep faith in Almighty God and their love for Him, Islam and the Hereafter. All these are taking place at a time when they are neither in the company of the prophet (s) nor an Infallible Imam (s). They are purely motivated by their belief and certainty in the Unseen. This is the divine mystery behind the

¹ The Islamic Revolution Guard corps.

² A volunteer group besieged to defend the revolution and to render nationwide services to maintain Islamic values. This group came into existence in 1979 following the order of Imam Khomeini.

victory in various aspects. Islam is proud of training such children. We are all honored to live in this age and in the presence of such nation.

Here, I advise those who oppose the Islamic Republic with any incentive and those boys or girls, who have been misled by *Munafiqin*¹ and opportunists, to pass judgments objectively and open-mindedly. I advise them to examine the content of the propaganda put out by those who wish to see the fall of the Islamic Republic. They should carefully watch the enemies' behavior towards the deprived masses, and the support they receive from foreign agents, the suspicious groups, and individuals who have joined them, their unethical communal code of practice and behavior, and the treacherous shifting of their stance in confronting different situations. They should study the character of those martyred in this Islamic Republic by *Munafiqin* and the corrupt people. They should evaluate and compare the martyrs with those who martyred them. Recorded cassettes and video tapes of both groups are available for ultimate judgment to see which group is the defender of the deprived and the oppressed people.

You will not read these pages before my death. You will read them after my death, when I am no longer among you. Then you cannot accuse me speaking for my self-interests or convincing you to acquire certain position or power or influencing your minds and hearts. Since you are a worthy generation, I wish you to spend your young days in the way of Allah, the beloved Islam and the Islamic Republic in order to earn prosperity in this world and the Hereafter. I beg the Forgiving Allah to guide you to the straight path of humanity and to forgive our sins through His Expansive Mercy. You too, in your own privacy, beg the same thing from Allah because He is the Guide and the Compassionate.

I also extend my advice to the noble people of Iran as well as other nations who are suffering under corrupt governments that are at the service of the superpowers. I specifically address you, the beloved people of Iran, to protect and guard the blessings of this revolution, which you have earned with your great holy war and with the blood of your brave children and dear ones. Cherish it as the most precious thing to you. Guard and preserve it as a supreme divine blessing of Allah. Do not fear the difficulties, which will appear on this straight path because: *"If you assist the religion of Allah, He*

¹ Literally, it means hypocrites. In this context, it means the partisan fighter group called *Mujahidin* that was formed in 1965 to challenge the Shah. But after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, a group under the same title took a position against the revolution; they martyred a large number of government officials and true believers of the Islamic Revolution. This is why the nation called them "*Munafiqin*", meaning hypocrites.

will assist you and will make your steps steadfast”.¹ Take part wholeheartedly and sincerely in resolving the problems of the Islamic Republic. Consider yourselves as part of the government and the parliament and safeguard them as precious belongings.

I also advise the parliament, the government and the authorities to appreciate the people of this country and serve them well, particularly the oppressed and the deprived who are the light of our eyes and whose sacrifices made the formation of the Islamic Republic possible, perpetuation of which is due to their devotion. The authorities should regard themselves attached to the people and recognize them as part of their own being. They are also recommended to condemn the *Taghuti* governments constantly, a band of notorious plunderers and empty-headed bullies, of course in a manner which is becoming an Islamic government.

I advise the Muslim nations to consider the government of the Islamic Republic and the crusading people of Iran as an ideal example and to resist their oppressive governments strongly, since they do not submit to the will of their nations. They should remember that the cause of plight of Muslims are the governments which depend on the East or the West. I emphatically recommend these nations, not to pay attention to the sirens of antagonistic propaganda against Islam and the Islamic Republic sounded by those who cunningly attempt to force Islam to the sidelines in order to foster the interests of the superpowers.

D. Isolating the clerics is a satanic plot of colonialists and exploiters and has been employed for a long time. In Iran, this plot gained momentum during the reign of Reza Khan and continued up to the time of Mohammad Reza. Reza Khan pursued the conspiracy using several methods such as: persecution, forcing the clerics to abandon their clerical robes, imprisonment, exile, insultation, execution, and so on. Mohammad Reza employed different approach such as creating animosity between university professors and clerics employing a great deal of propaganda. Unfortunately, due to the fact that both groups were unaware of the satanic conspiracy of the superpowers, grave consequences were deduced as it was planned. Efforts were made to choose teachers, professors and presidents of high schools and universities from among those who were fascinated by the West or the East and those deviated from Islam and other religions in order to leave the committed believers in minority. So that the would-be-managers who are expected to run the government in future would be brought up from the very childhood in

¹ The Holy Quran (47:7).

such a manner that they would detest all religions in general, Islam in particular, and the religious propagators, especially the Muslim clerics. Muslim clerics were accused of being British agents at that time and later on (at the time of Muhammad Rida) were accused of being supporters of capitalists, land mongers, and reactionaries opposed to civilization and progress. On the other hand, through malicious propaganda, they created doubts among the clerics towards the university scholars as well as students, accusing them of secularism, recklessness, and opposition to all aspects of Islam and other religions. The results were that government officials would become anti-religion, anti-Islam, and anti-cleric, thus the masses of people who loved the religion and the clerics would become anti-government and whatever related to it. The deep gap between government and the nation, and between the university and the clerics opened the way to the exploiters and the plunderers so much so that the fate of the people and all the resources of the country fell into their hands and pockets and the nation suffered as we all witnessed.

Now, by Allah's will and sacrifices of the entire nation including clerics, university people, businessmen, people of bazaar, workers, agricultural and industrial workers and other segments, fetters of bondage have been removed and chains of enslavement broken. Arrogant powers have been repelled and the country saved from their clutches of these powers and their domestic puppets. I would like to advise the present and future generations "not to slacken their efforts". Let the university professors and students strengthen their bonds of friendship and mutual understanding with the clerics and the students of theology. They should never underestimate the plots of the cunning enemy. Whenever they see someone trying to sow the seeds of discord, they should provide counsel and guidance for them. If their advice to such individuals is not effective, they should turn away from them, isolate them and not let their conspiracies take root, for "prevention is better than cure". If, among the professors, there is someone who tries to mislead the students by distorting the truth, they should guide him; if he keeps up with causing deviation, they should reject him by boycotting his classes. This duty is mainly directed towards the honorable clerics and the religious students. Altogether conspiracies have a special trend in the universities. The alert individuals and students must react wisely and promptly to all sorts of conspiracies.

E. One of the most effective conspiracies that has unfortunately left an undeniable mark on the nations, including ours, is the alienation of the

people of colonized countries with their own cultures. In other words, 'Westernized' or 'Easternized' intellectuals became alienated with their own cultures; they came to regard the people related to the superpowers as having superior culture and race compared to that of their own. They looked upon the superpowers as their *Qiblah*¹ and thought that affiliation with either of the two power poles is an inevitable issue. This sad story has a lengthy background. The blows we have received, and are still receiving, are seriously devastating and fatal.

Another unhappy and mischievous plot woven by the superpowers is to prevent the oppressed and colonized nations from progression and to keep them backward in order to make them consumers rather than producers. The imperialistic powers have so frightened us through their satanic might that we dare not venture into any initiatives. Rather we have submitted our minds and fates to them and became their followers with closed eyes and ears. This shallowness and state of feeling absurd has resulted in losing our self-reliance and power of initiation, thus blindly imitating the West and the East in every aspect. Whatever heritage we possessed whether cultural, scientific or industrial was belittled, criticized and ridiculed by ignorant writers and lecturers bewitched by the West or the East that constantly suppressed and frustrated our own native potentiality. They promoted foreign culture and imposed it on us. No matter how vulgar, shameful and degrading, they propagated it. For instance, if books contain a number of foreign words and terms, they are accepted right away with respect irrespective of their meanings. Their authors and speakers are regarded as scholars and bright individuals. If whatever and wherever we look at from cradle to grave has a Western or Eastern label, it is favored and valued, being considered as a sign of progress and civilization. If anything has a domestic and traditional label, it is rejected and considered as outdated, backward and useless. Choosing foreign names for our children is regarded as a prestigious matter, whereas choosing traditional names is considered as fanaticism and backwardness. Streets, avenues, stores, companies, drugstores, libraries and even local products must bear foreign names in order to be attractive and acceptable to people. Imitating western mannerism in all walks of life and in all aspects of social association is regarded as a token of honor, civilization and progress. On the contrary, traditional modes of conduct and customs are deemed as retrograde and ancestor-praising. Going abroad for treatment even for minor ailments that are easily cured at home is the thing to do, thus causing

¹ It is the Ka'ba in Mecca, the direction to which Muslims face when saying daily prayers.

disappointment and degradation for our well-qualified physicians. Making a trip to England, France, U.S.A., or Moscow enhances one's dignity while paying pilgrimage to Mecca or visiting other holy shrines and blessed places is considered sign of being backward and old-fashioned. Overlooking whatever related to religion, rituals and spirituality is a sign of open-mindedness and civilization whereas commitment to these issues a sign of being backward and old-fashioned.

I do not say that we have everything. It is a fact that in the course of recent history, especially during the last decades, we have been deprived of any progress. The treacherous statesmen of the Pahlavi regime and their propaganda belittled every domestic product and created inferiority complexes in us, thus depriving us from achieving any advancement. Importation of all types of goods from abroad, particularly entertainment and luxurious commodities such as cosmetics and childish games, which provided channels for our young men and women, and mainly the youth, was meant to make them preoccupied with such trivial things and cause them to be consumers of such things as well as items of luxury which has a long and sad story. No effort was spared in diverting the attention of our youth, as most dynamic members of the society, to establishing centers of debauchery and pleasure-seeking. Tens of these malicious plots are all conceived only for the purpose of keeping countries like ours backward. Now that the Iranian nation is, to a large extent, freed from such traps and the deprived generation has risen to create and construct at its own initiatives, commodities, many examples of which we are witnessing, such as aircraft spare parts, that were thought could not be provided locally and our hands were extended to the West or the East for manufacturing such items. This is because economic blockade and the compelling conditions of the imposed war¹ made their domestic production without assistance of foreign experts possible. Such items were produced more economically and they satisfied our needs. Our people have proved to be able to do things if they want.

¹ Because of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the U.S.A. lost one of the most sensitive strategic areas of the world and its access to the immense oil reserves was cut off. Therefore, by hook or by crook, America tried to restore its losses. Actions taken by the U.S.A. in this connection include: aid to domestic insurgents, military attack on Iran (known as Tabas incursion) and masterminding a coup d'état. As none of these were effective, America tried something else; it made the adventurous Iraqi regime to impose an undeclared war on the Islamic Revolution. The cost several hundred thousand of human lives; hundreds of thousands men maimed, wounded or taken captive. The superpowers and their bonded servant Saddam Hussein (president of Iraq) could not achieve any one of their objectives.

I humbly recommend our people to be alert and watchful and do not let the West-or East-affiliated politicians draw us back towards the international plunderers. Take decisive actions to do away with all dependencies.

Be sure that the Aryan or Arab races are in no way less graded than the European, American or Russian races. If you succeed in finding your true selves and do not let despair overtake you and rely on yourselves and expect nothing of others, you shall be able to do and make everything in the long run. This is possible provided that you rely on Almighty God, earn self-reliance and cut off all ties of dependencies on others. Moreover, you should endure hardship in order to achieve an honorable state of life and attain liberation from the influence and domination of others.

It is incumbent on the authorities both in the present and the future governments to cherish and appreciate their experts and specialists and encourage them through moral and material support to take initiatives. The government and political leaders should not allow import of goods that encourage consumerism and destroy domestic economy. Let the people be content with whatever they have until they can make everything themselves.

I ask the youth, boys and girls not to compromise their freedom, independence and human values for luxury, pleasure-seeking and other vices that are offered to them by the corrupt agents of the West or the East. Experience has taught us that these affiliated puppets think of nothing except degenerating the youth and making them feel indifferent towards their own destinies and that of their country. The agents are engaged in plundering our natural resources and expanding the level of consumerism among people. In short, they work to pave the way for colonization and exploitation. For all these reasons, they try to keep a highly civilized nation such as ours in a state of backwardness, underdevelopment, and semi-primitive conditions.

F. One of their major plots mentioned earlier, is to take over the educational centers, especially the universities whose trained output would naturally take the control of the country in their hands. Their methods with respect to the clerics and the schools of Islamic sciences is different from that of the universities and high schools. Their plot is to remove the clerics from the scene and to isolate them. During the time of Reza Khan, a great deal of torture and persecution were used to achieve this purpose, but, thank God, the result was reversed. With propaganda, false accusations and devilish plans, they tried to segregate the educated and the so-called intellectuals. This continued during the time of Mohammad Reza cunningly and without apparent violence.

As to university, their plan is to alienate the youth with their own values and cultural identity in order to draw them over to the East or the West and to select the statesmen from among them. These selected individuals were instituted in positions of authority and doing whatever they want to the country. They plundered the country's resources and exploited the people through their internal agents. Nevertheless, the clerics, who had been isolated, despised and defeated, reacted passively to the case. This is the best way to hold a nation in a backward state and to plunder the countries under their domination. It is easy for superpowers and of no cost to them while the whole wealth of nations goes to their pockets smoothly.

Now that due to the revolution¹ we are involved in the act of purging the universities and teacher-training colleges, it is necessary for all of us to help the officials and not ever let these institutions deviate from the right path. Take the necessary action as soon as you notice any deviation. This vital task should be primarily carried out by universities students. To save the university from deviation and perversion is to save the nation and the country.

I hereby urge our youth, their parents and friends as well as statesmen and intellectuals who care for the country to participate in this important task wholeheartedly to maintain the safety of the country and to deliver purified universities to the next generation. I also advice coming generations to guard the universities against tendency to the West or the East, as this is necessary for salvation of themselves, the country and beloved Islam. This humane and Islamic act cuts off the hands of superpowers from the country and makes them lose all hope. May Allah bless and protect you!

G. Commitment of the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly is a major issue. We witnessed the damage that Islam and Iran suffered at the hands of the corrupt and perverted representatives of the former parliament since the constitutional regime¹ was initiated in the

¹ By the end of 19th-and early 20th-centuries, the Iranian people had become obsessed with the cruelty and injustice of the rulers and agents of despotism and dictatorship as well as with chaotic conditions of the country and the atrocities of the government agents.

Weakness and incompetence of Muzaffaruddin Shah, the monarch of the time, in administering the affairs of the state and the increasing awakening of the people and other factors, like the rise of the clerics and religious authorities, provided grounds for a revolution known as the Constitutional Movement,² which triumphed in 6091after long and hard struggle.

Though not led in the right channel, the movement effected great changes in the social structure of Iran, breakdown of class distinction, upsetting the power position of the courtiers, the big landlords and the institution of law and justice. However, the Constitutional Movement failed to yield the desired results because of the influence of pro-West elements and removal of the clerics from politics and government rule; hereditary monarchy was reinstituted with a coup d'état by Rida Khan.

country through the era of the Pahlavi dynasty. Such parliament representatives were worthless individuals, servants of foreign powers; they betrayed the country and the nation. During the fifty years of the tyrannical rule of the Pahlavi regime, a majority of sham parliament representatives was forged, carrying out the dictates of the Soviet Union, England and America in order to exploit the country and the nation. After the constitution was initiated in Iran, its major articles were almost always ignored. Before Reza Khan came to power, the country was in the hands of a number of treacherous pro-West feudal overlords. Then came the tyrant Pahlavi regime and its cruel agents.

Now that by the Grace of Allah and the determined and spirited endeavors of the nation, the destiny of the country has fallen in the hands of the people and their true representatives are elected and sent to the parliament without foreign interference and intervention of government feudals, it is hoped that, all sorts of perversion would be stopped with their dedication to Islam and to the interests of the country. My recommendation to the present and future generation is to elect righteous, upright and educated candidates in every election. The candidates should be individuals committed to Islam and the Islamic Republic. Persons who come mostly from the deprived middle classes of the society and are neither perverted nor gone astray from the Straight Path; individuals who are aware of the problems of the nation and the laws and policies of Islam.

My advice to the honorable clerics, specially the religious authorities, is not to show indifference to parliamentary and presidential elections of the Islamic Republic. You all witnessed and future generations shall learn how politicians who were followers of the East and the West removed the clerics, who were greatly influential in laying the foundations of the Constitution in the country. They would come to realize how clerics were deceived by such politicians who inculcated in them that involvement in the affairs of the country and of the Muslims were outside the parameters of their holy position and status. Consequently, they relinquished the realm of politics to pro-West or pro-East elements who dealt with the Constitutional Law, the country, and Islam damages in a way that would take ages to remedy.

Now that the obstacles have been removed, no excuses would remain. A free atmosphere is made available to all to involve and participate in the

affairs of the country. So it is an unforgivable sin to neglect the affairs of Muslims. Every individual should be available to serve Islam and the country to the extent possible. Everyone should try his best to prevent the influence of the pro-West and pro-East elements and those who deviate from the great school of Islam. All should realize that the opponents of Islam and Muslim countries or the superpowers and the international exploiters infiltrate into our country and into Islamic states cleverly and gradually and manipulate the people into colonialization. You must all be alert and vigilant. As soon as you discover such infiltration, you should not hesitate act to neutralize it. Give them no chance! May Allah help you!

I ask the present and the future representatives of the parliament to reject the credentials of any deviate delegate who has gained the votes of his constituents through fraud and political intrigues. Let no sabotaging element find his way into the parliament.

I advise the recognized religious minorities¹ to learn lessons from the situation of the parliament during the Pahlavi regime and elect representatives who are dedicated to their own religion and committed to the Islamic Republic of Iran, persons who are not dependent on the world-mongering powers, persons with no leaning towards any deviationist, forged or atheistic school of ideology.

I ask all parliament delegates to treat one another with utmost goodwill and brotherhood and be careful not to pass legislations contradictory to Islamic law. All of you should try to be faithful to Islam and its Divine law to earn prosperity in this world and in the Hereafter.

My advice to the Guardian Council,² now and in the future is to perform its Islamic and national duties with candor and take great care not to be influenced by any power and not to sanction any law, rule or regulation that is opposed to Islam and the Constitution. The Council should be attentive to the exigencies of the country that must be dealt with sometimes by secondary

¹ Article 13 of the Constitutional Law of the Islamic Republic of Iran recognizes Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity as true religious minorities who are free within the limits of law to perform their own religious rites and to act according to the dictates of their own faith in matters of personal status.

² In order to ensure the conformity of the legislation approved by the Majlis with tenets and teachings of the Holy Quran and the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a council named Guardian Council being composed of 6 jurisprudents and 6 lay jurists or legal experts from various branches of the law was formed as provided by Article 92 of the Constitution. These men are elected for a period of 6 years (Article 92). The Islamic Consultative Assembly is not legally valid without the Guardian Council (Article 93). All legislation enacted and approved by the Majlis should be sent to the Guardian Council to confirm their conformity with Islamic laws (Article 94).

decrees and sometimes by the decrees of the Guardian of the Theologian or Jurisconsult.

My advice to the honorable nation is to participate actively in all parliamentary and presidential elections and those of the Assembly of Experts¹ to determine the Council of Leadership or the Leader.² The election of such representatives should be based on solid and creditable criteria. For example, if election of the Assembly of Experts is not in conformity to religious laws and standards, irreparable damages would be inflicted on the religion and the country, in which case all would be responsible before Allah the Exalted.

Thus, non-participation in elections by the people ranging from religious jurists and authorities to bazaar people, workers, farmers, civil servants, etc. whether among the present or future generations indicates their irresponsibility towards the destiny of the country and Islam. In certain cases, any failure to participate in the affairs of the state and elections would be taken as capital sins. Therefore, all must bear in mind that "Prevention is better than cure." If necessary action is not taken in advance, control of affairs would get out of all hands. This is a reality we all have experienced after the Constitutional Regime was proclaimed in the country. No remedial action is more effective than the people, nationwide performing the task and duties assigned to them in accordance with the Islamic constitution and Islamic laws and standards. In parliamentary and presidential elections, voters should consult educated and open-minded persons. Such persons should be aware of the channels of action. They should not be affiliates of any superpower. They should be dedicated to Islam and the Islamic Republic and reputed for their virtues. Such consultation should also be entered into

¹ In the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, public affairs must be administered on the basis of public opinion and by means of elections. If in an election, whether presidential or parliamentary, etc. obtaining a majority of votes is not possible or if achieving a purpose requires argumentation and discussion, in that case the people elect their trusted experts who convene in an assembly called the Assembly of Experts wherein they discuss the issues that are of concern to the people. Example: The Experts on the Constitutional Law, the Experts on the Leadership, etc.

² Whenever a qualified religious jurisprudent is recognized and confirmed by majority of the people as a Leader, such a leader and religious authority assumes all the responsibilities that ensue the title. If this does not materialize, the experts elected by the people study and consult among themselves the qualifications of all those who meet the standards set for leadership and from among them select three or five competent religious authorities and present them to the people as members of the Leadership Council'. In the review of the Constitutional Law of the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI), this article was amended; the leadership council of the Muslim community is not envisaged.

with dedicated and chaste clerics. Care should be taken to ensure that those elected as president of the Islamic state and as delegates to the parliament are individuals who have felt and experienced the conditions of the deprived and oppressed classes of the society and who are concerned about the well-being of such people. The president and the parliament deputies should not hail from high-ranking and land-mongering capitalist classes sunken in carnal pleasures and are unable to understand the bitterness and pains of the deprived, the barefoot and the oppressed people.

We should realize that if the parliament delegates and the president are competent, devoted to Islam sympathetic with their fellow countrymen, most difficulties would not emerge. If they do, they will be solved without any delay. This also applies to the election of the Assembly of Experts to determine the Council of Leadership or the Leader. For, if the experts are elected by the nation with care and consultation with prominent religious jurists and authorities of the time, and if learned, dedicated, and virtuous persons go to the Assembly of Experts, because of the selection of the most competent individuals as the Council of Leadership or the Leader by them, then most of the major problems would not arise. In case it did, they would be dealt with efficiently. With regard to Articles 109¹ and 110² of the Constitution concerning the grave duty of the nation in electing the Experts' and the Delegates' to determine the Leader or the Council of Leadership, it becomes clear that the least oversight and negligence in their related elections would create gross harm to Islam, the country, and the Islamic Republic. Because of the paramount importance of the probability of their incidence, their occurrence surely entails Divine responsibility.

My advice to the Leader and the Council of Leadership in this era which is to dedicate themselves to the service of Islam and the deprived people of

¹ Article 109 of the Constitution of the I.R.I. is devoted solely to a declaration of the qualities and qualifications of the leader and of the members of the Leadership Council. These terms or conditions include: academic competence, the necessary righteousness, political and social insight, courage and sagacity and sufficient administrative ability. These principles were modified somewhat in amendment to the Constitution under the heading of Conditions and Qualities of the Leader'.

² Article 110 of the Constitution of I.R.I. deals exclusively with the leader's powers and responsibilities, which mainly include: appointment of the *fuqaha* the members of the Guardian Council, appointment of the highest judicial authority of the country, appointment and removal of the commanders of the armed forces, introduction of the Supreme Defense Council, declaration of war and peace, endorsement of the credentials of the president following his election by people, removal of the president from office in a view of the country's interests, grant of amnesty to convicts or reduction of their sentences within Islamic rules. In amendment to the Constitution, this article has been somewhat modified.

this country. They should not think that leadership is per se a gift or an exalted position for them. Rather, it should be thought of as a heavy and grave duty in which errors caused by mean and low considerations would subject the perpetrator to life-long shame in this world and to the wrath of Allah in the Hereafter.

I beg the Almighty God to admit us while we have to His emerged successful in this trial. This threat exists, though to a lesser degree, to presidents, governments and authorities now and in the future, each in proportion to their responsibility. They should also be mindful of the fact that God is present and oversees their actions. May Almighty God guide and protect them!

H. Justice is another essential issue to threat. It is involved with people's lives, properties and family chastities. My advice to the Leader and the Council of Leadership is to do their utmost in selection and appointment of highly qualified, deeply committed, dedicated persons and experts in Islamic law and politics for the relevant responsibilities.

I ask the Supreme Judicial Council¹ to clear up the woeful conditions in which all legal and judicial matters had sunk during the former regime, to cut off from this sublime tribune the hands of those who play games with the people's lives and properties, and those judges for whom Islamic justice has the least meaning. Try hard to change the Department of Justice gradually and appoint qualified judges whom the theology centers, especially the Qom Theological Seminary, train and introduce instead of judges who do not possess the required Islamic qualifications so that by Allah's will, Islamic justice would be implemented all over the country.

I advise the present and future judges to keep in mind the Islamic traditions ascribed to the Infallible Imams (s), regarding the importance of judging and great danger, which lurks behind the position of judging and unjust adjudication. They should not allow this position to go to people who do not deserve it. Those who are qualified for these positions should not reject to accept these appointments. Let those who qualify as magistrates assume the responsibility of this great task. Let all know that as the responsibility of adjudication is hazardous and great, its rewards and

¹ This council, which was the highest judicial authority in the Judicial Power of the I.R.I., was deleted in the process of adding an amendment to the Constitution and the status of the country's highest judicial authority was vested in an individual person.

excellences are also considerable and grand. All should know that assuming the position of a judge is a religious duty.¹

I. My advice to the holy theological seminaries, as I have often said, is that opponents of Islam and the Islamic Republic are determined to uproot Islam in every satanic way possible. A major approach they make towards their ominous objective which is dangerous to Islam and the theological seminaries, is to have deviate and corrupt individuals infiltrate into the seminaries. In the short run, this poses the danger of casting aspersions on the conduct of the students of theology, accusing them of having perverted and unethical behavior and character. Infiltration into theological seminaries by such evil agents poses a serious threat. Some of them may attain to high positions through their machinations. With the help of their sham knowledge of Islamic laws and rules, they may work their way into the confidence and hearts of the people and then at the right time deliver fatal blows to the seminaries, to Islam, and to the country. We are aware that the superpowers have implanted agents in various communities under different guises such as: nationalists', pan-Iranists', liberals', pseudo-intellectuals' and pseudo-clerics'. This last group, if given the opportunity, is highly insidious and dangerous. Such agents live, sometimes for decades, among nations with patience, Islamic pretensions, deportment, sham patriotism, and other designs and carry out their missions at the proper time during the short span of time. Since the triumph of the revolution, our people have seen such agents under the titles of *Mujahid-e Khalq*',² *Fadai-ye Khalq*',³ *Tudeh*',⁴ and other such

¹ An obligatory duty incumbent on every Muslim; if fulfilled by some members of the Islamic community it ceases to be obligatory to others.

² The term *Mujahid-e-Khalq*' literally means 'people's fighter' or one who struggles for the people'. However, in reality and in the political history of the Iranian nation, *Mujahidin-e-Khalq*' is the name of a guerrilla or partisan fighter group that came to be in 1965 (1344 A.H.) to challenge the Shah. Due to the inadequacy of the familiarity of its leaders with the principles and all-inclusive teachings of the school of Islam, this organization adopted an eclectic ideology and, within a short time after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, took position opposite to the revolution. Its forces martyred a large number of people's true servants, the dedicated clerics and religious authorities and finest youths. They also detonated scores of bombs all over the country and burned houses and street buses full of passengers; they started a stream of running blood. This group spared nothing in fighting the Islamic Revolution but in the long run, after going through several stages, was suppressed by the revolutionary forces and some of them fled to foreign countries. Those who were once daubed anti-imperialism and afraid to have their identity revealed, are today spending their last shameful day in the laps of imperialists in utter ignominy. The terrorist group of *Mujahidin-e-Khalq* has been equated by the public with the hypocrites'.

³ The *Fada'iyan-e Khalq* were a partisan or guerrilla Marxist group that started their political, terrorist, anti-revolutionary moves after the victory of the revolution. The group's birth dates back to 1966 when a number of Marxists student had gradually become disenchanted with Orthodox Marxism and leaned towards Maoism. In spite of their terrorist activities against the Shah's top brass, their popular base among the lay student and university leftists remained undeveloped; they were unable to gain public recognition. This group struggled for rapid institution of the socialist discipline in Iran. However, political and ideological crisis gradually divided this process into several branches. The Marxist's international crisis and the circumstances in the former Soviet Union deeply affected these elements and caused their political abashment.

⁴ The *Tudeh* is the oldest Marxist-Leninist organization in Iran. Remnants of the communist party of Iran proclaimed existence in 1920. It began its activities in 1942 under the title of The *Tudeh* Party of Iran. Because of its direct affiliation in its political life with the former Soviet intelligence Service, the *Tudeh* Party assumed positions that made it notorious as treacherous group. The most important of such positions was the *Tudeh* Party's support of the separation of Azarbayejan and Kordestan from Iran by the Soviet troops and its support of granting oil concession in the north of Iran to The Soviets. After the coup d'État of August 19, 1953 and the continuation of Mohammad Reza Shah's monarchy, the activities of the *Tudeh* Party within Iran ceased until 1979 marking the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The central committee of the *Tudeh* Party was stationed in Leipzig, East Germany. With the victory of the Islamic Revolution, favorable grounds were provided for the party and other groups to resume activity. However, because of atheistic beliefs and hypocritical tactics, the *Tudeh* Party failed to find a firm base among the people in spite of years of struggle and

appellations. It is necessary for the whole nation to cooperate in neutralizing such conspiracies. All should be alert to the danger of these agents. The purging of the theological centers takes priority. This is the task of the honorable scholars and teachers of Islamic texts and the well-known men of theological centers with the approval of the religious authorities of the time. Perhaps the thesis that "Order lies in disorderliness" is one of the vicious inspirations of these plotters.

At any rate, my advice is that at all times, especially at the present times it is necessary in which plots and intrigues have increased, it is necessary to rise and bring order to the seminaries. Let the canonists, the scholars, and the instructors spend time and, by careful, sound planning, purge and preserve the major theological centers, especially the Qum Theological Center.

It is necessary that the honorable and distinguished scholars and theologians prevent perversion and distortion from creeping into the teaching materials concerning religious jurisprudence. Let there be no deviation from the methods of the grand learned authorities of religious law in the teachings of the principles of jurisprudence. Only in this way can the real Islamic

jurisprudence be preserved. Efforts should be made for a daily increase in the consciousness of views, investigative methods, research and creative work. Traditional jurisprudence, which is the heritage of our worthy ancestors, must be preserved and maintained, because deviation from it weakens the foundations of research. Let research studies in jurisprudence be increased and developed to the utmost. With respect to other sciences, to be sure, research programs should be arranged with a view to the needs of the country and Islam. Students should be trained to do research work at the highest levels and in as many areas as needed. Research, its learning, teaching, and practice must be made available to all. Islamic moral sciences such as ethics, ego-purging, mystical teachings, etc. should be covered in the course of such educational research. This is especially necessary with the 'Spiritual Journey', purification of the soul, and the ego known as 'Greater Crusade'. May Allah bestow it upon us!

J. One of the areas that need purging, reform and care is the Executive Power of the country. Sometimes beneficial and progressive laws are enacted by the parliament, seconded by the Guardian Council and communicated by the concerned cabinet minister to the proper administrative unit or department for implementation, but is thwarted by bureaucracy, by incompetent personnel, by open violation of rules and regulations. Such actions are sometimes deliberately taken to create dissatisfaction and anxiety in the community.

My advice to the related present and future cabinet ministers is that they and their employees are earning on public funds and should, therefore, be sincere public servants, especially to the deprived. Creating uneasiness for the public and not doing one's duties are interdicted and may incur the wrath of Allah. You all need the nation's support, especially that of the deprived classes. It was by their support that victory could be achieved and the hands of tyrants virtually cut off from the country and its wealth. If you become deprived from this support some day, the oppressors would put you aside and take your place just the way you ousted the oppressive monarchical regime. In view of these tangible facts, you should make efforts to satisfy the nation and earn their confidence. Avoid inhumane and un-Islamic conduct.

Following this motivation, I recommend that our state ministers in future take great care in selecting provincial governors. They should make certain that such men are competent, wise, agreeable and dedicated to Islam and the Islamic Republic and can get along with the people so that peace and tranquility would prevail throughout the country. It should be remembered

that although every cabinet minister has the responsibility of Islamizing and regulating the affairs of his own area of responsibility, yet, some of them have special responsibility. Take, for example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is in charge of our embassies abroad. Since the early days after the victory of the revolution, I have often warned the ministers of foreign affairs about the pro-*Taghuti* nature of our embassies abroad and about the need for their purge and conversion into embassies worthy of the Islamic Republic. Some of them, however, either could not or did not want to take positive steps. Now that three years have passed since the victory of the revolution, the present Foreign Minister has undertaken this task and it is hoped that, by hard work and devotion this important matter can be accomplished in due time.

My advice to the present and future foreign ministers is that their responsibilities are heavy and sensitive indeed, whether in reforming your offices and embassies or in the area of foreign policy. You should preserve our independence and secure the interests of the country in the area of having suitable relations with the countries that do not intend to interfere in our internal affairs. Anything that might smack dependence in its various aspects and dimensions should be avoided. You should know that dependencies in some affairs, even though they may seem appealing and attractive in appearance, will result in the destruction of the roots of the country. Thus make every effort to improve relations with Islamic countries and to awaken their statesmen and invite all to unity and alliance. Know that Allah is with you.

My advice to Muslim nations is: Do not look for outside help in achieving your goal, which is Islam and implementation of the Islamic rules. You yourselves should rise up and undertake this vital issue, which will make liberty and independence a reality. Let the grand religious authorities and honorable preachers in Islamic states call on their governments to extricate themselves from dependence on superpowers and come to an understanding with their own nations, in which they would embrace victory. They should invite nations to unity and alliance and avoid racism, which is contrary to the teachings of the Holy Quran. They should shake hands in friendship with their fellow believers in any country and race, since the great Islamic faith has termed them all brothers'. If, by Allah's Grace, this spirit of brotherhood-in-faith is realized, you will see that one day the Muslims constitute the world's greatest power. God willing, this brotherhood and equality may manifest itself soon.

My advice to the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance at all times, especially at the present with its own particular characteristics, is to propagate the truth versus falsehood and to present the reality of the Islamic Republic. Now that we have virtually cut off the hands of the superpowers from our country we are subjected to enormous propaganda aggression of all mass media organizations dependent on the superpowers. Consider the baseless accusations leveled against us by the writers and speakers of these mass media apparatus subservient to the superpowers.

Regrettably, most of the Islamic states of the region that should show us brotherhood, by the command of Islam have risen in opposition to us and to Islam. They have placed themselves at the service of the superpowers for invasion against us from every side and quarter. It is to be mentioned that our propaganda mechanism is very weak while the world today revolves around publicity and propaganda. The so-called intellectual writers are either pro-West or pro-East. Their selfishness and monopolism do not let them think of independence and freedom of their own country. These factors do not allow the writers to consider the interests of their own nation and draw comparison between freedom and independence in the Islamic Republic today with that in the former tyrannical regime. Such writers and speakers do not stop to weigh and measure the worthy and honorable life in this country today against the partial losses in comfort and physical pleasures. In time of the former regime they were indulged in pleasure seeking, dependency, servitude, praising, and eulogizing those nuclei of corruption and vice. Foregoing this, they would desist from bringing such false and totally inaccurate accusations against this newly-born Islamic Republic. They would use their pens and tongues against the *taghuts* in favor of this nation and government.

The issue of propaganda is not only the function of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. Rather, it is a duty incumbent on all writers, speakers, artists and scholars. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should see to it that the embassies are supplied with public relations literature to reveal the brilliant image of Islam to all the world. If the glorious and immaculate image of Islam, which the Holy Quran and the Tradition have invited all to their various dimensions, would emerge from under the veils by the opponents of Islam ignorant friends, Islam would overwhelm the whole world and its banner of honor unfurled everywhere. How tragic it is that, the Muslims possess the most valuable gem, unparalleled in the world from its very commencement to the end of the world, yet being not only have unable to present this Divine gift, which every human being aspires by nature. They

themselves are negligent and ignorant of its value and sometimes run away from it.

K. One of the most important and fateful issues is the question of educational institutions from kindergarten to university. Because of its far-reaching importance, I repeat the matter in passing. The pillaged nation should know that during the past fifty years, all the devastating blows to Iran and Islam have been mainly dealt with universities. If universities and other centers of learning and education were engaged in educating, purifying and training the youth armed with Islamic and patriotic programs for the benefit of the country, our country would have never been swallowed first by England and then by America and Russia. Such ruinous agreements or treaties would not have been imposed on our deprived nation. Nor would foreign advisers have been admitted to the country. Our resources, including the black gold would never go down the pockets of the satanic powers. Similarly, the Pahlavi family and its dependents could not have plundered the people's wealth and build for themselves at home and abroad private parks and villas over the bodies of the oppressed people. Foreign banks could not become rich with the wages of our deprived people and such funds would not have been spent by the *Taghut* and his offsprings and kinsmen on carnal whims and debauchery. If the parliament, the government, the judiciary power and other organs had come from Islamic national universities, our nation would have not been facing these ruinous problems today. If chaste personalities, with sound Islamic and nationalistic inclinations, not like that which is offered as Islam today, were dispatched from the universities to the three centers of power: 1(the legislative power, 2(the judiciary power, and 3(the executive power, we would be in different circumstances. We could see different days and our homeland would not be like this. Our deprived people would have been liberated; the cruelty and oppression of the monarchy would have been foiled by people much sooner as would the centers of vice, addiction and pleasure houses, one of which was enough to corrupt a whole generation of our young people. This disastrous legacy would not have been left for our people. If our universities were Islamic, humane and nationalistic, they would have trained, educated and presented to the society hundreds and thousands of teachers and professors. How sad it was that these institutions were administered and our children trained and educated, with a few exceptions, by people who were either Westernized or Easternized. These persons were installed in vital positions with special planning and design. Our dear, oppressed and innocent children were

unfortunately trained by such wolves affiliated with the superpowers. They occupied high legislative, executive and judiciary positions and carried out the orders of the tyrannical Pahlavi regime.

Now that by the will of Allah, the Exalted, universities have been liberated from the grip of criminals, it behooves the nation and Islamic governments at all times not to permit corrupt elements, who are either the followers of deviant schools of thought or lean toward the West or the East, to influence the colleges, universities or the centers of education. Make guards against such individuals from the beginning and before they have achieved any mischievous plan.

My advice to the students of the teachers training centers, colleges and universities is to rise bravely and oppose all deviation and perversion so that their and the nation's independence and freedom would remain safe and secure.

L. The entire armed forces, including the army, navy, air force, *Sepah*, police, *Basij* volunteers the enlisted tribal militia enjoy special status. They are the mighty arms of the Islamic Republic. There are also the border guards. These forces ensure the safety of the roads, towns and rural areas. Indeed, they provide peace and security for the nation; therefore, they are entitled to receive special attention by the nation, the government, and the parliament. All should remember that the armed forces are manipulated and taken advantage of more than any other group or institutions by the superpowers with their destructive policies. It is through the armed forces that the superpowers carry out their political intrigues and arrange coups d'état thus changing governments and regimes. The treacherous profiteers buy off some heads and commanders of such forces and, through them, work out their vicious conspiracies. They take over a country or dominate some oppressed nation, stripping them of their freedom and independence. If military commanders are upright and chaste, there can be no occasion for a military coup d'état in a country, nor for its occupation. If any such moves are taken, they occur, will be defeated or neutralized by the dedicated commanders. In Iran, where the Islamic Revolution this miracle of the age, was performed by the nation, the devoted and committed armed forces and their pious and patriotic commanders had a considerable part in it.

But, today, the accursed war imposed by Saddam Takriti at the instigation, order, and through the assistance of the U.S.A. and other powers have met with the political and military defeat of the aggressive Bathist army after two years, its strong supporters and allies. The armed forces,

security police, public militia and *Sepah* with unsparing help of the people have brought us honor at both the battlegrounds and behind the front lines. The internal intrigues and acts of mutiny by the puppets of the West or the East aimed at overthrowing the Islamic Republic were defeated by the youth of the Revolutionary Committees, Revolutionary Guards, mobilized volunteers, and police with the help of the nation. It is these zealous youths who stay awake at nights so that families may rest in peace. May Allah help and assist them!

Therefore, in these last few steps left to the end of my life, my brotherly advice to the armed forces who love Islam, who give their lives at the war fronts for the love of gaining proximity to God, and who carry out their devotional work everywhere in the country, is that you stay alert and vigilant and beware the treacherous political ruses of the pro-West or pro-East elements at play behind the scenes! Rest assured that the sharp edges of their blades are, from every side, directed at you more than at any other time. They want to make use of you, who have given your lives so that the revolution could triumph and Islam revived. They intend to overthrow the Islamic Republic. By shamming Islam and pretending to serve the country and the nation, they mean to separate you from Islam and the nation. They work to toss you down into the laps of one of the two world-mongering poles, they attempt to foil your efforts and sacrifices by political tricks.

My emphatic counsel to the armed forces is to observe and abide by the military rule of noninvolvement in politics. Do not join any political party, group or fraction. No military man or security policeman, no revolutionary Guard or *Basiji* is allowed to enter politics. Stay away from politics. You will be able to preserve and maintain your military powers and thus immune from internal division and dispute. Military commanders should prevent the men under their commands from entering into political parties. As the revolution belongs to all the nation, its preservation is also the duty of all. Therefore, the government, the nation, the Defense Council and the Islamic Consultative Assembly are all charged with the religious and national responsibility to oppose from the very beginning any interference in politics or any action against the interests of Islam and the country by the armed forces, regardless of category, class, branch, and rank. Such involvement will surely corrupt and pervert them. It is incumbent on the Leader and the Leadership Council to prevent such involvement of the armed forces by decisive action so that no harm would befall the country.

My sincere advice to all the armed forces in these last days of my earthly life is to remain faithful to Islam, as you are faithful to it now. Islam is the

only true ideology of liberty and independence and Almighty God invites us all to attain to the exalted status of humanity by the light of Islam. Islam saves you, the country, and the nation from the shame of dependency and leaning on powers that desire slavery for you only. It desire to keep your country and your cherished nation retarded and as a consumer market under the yoke of subjugation. You should prefer an honorable life with difficulties to comfort and pleasure gained through slavery for strangers. You should know that as long as you extend your hands begging for advanced industrial needs, the power of initiative and inventiveness will not bloom in you. An objective example you witnessed after the economic blockade was those that seemed to be unable to make or repair anything. They were impelled to use their minds and brains and succeeded in manufacturing a good many things that met the needs of the army and the manufacturing plants. This war, the economic blockade and the expulsion of foreign specialists were divine blessings in disguise of which we were negligent. Now, if the government and the army would boycott the products of the world-mongers and make more effort to encourage inventiveness, the country may become self-sufficient and does not have to beg anything from the enemy.

After such prolonged artificial backwardness, our need for foreign-manufactured goods is an undeniable fact. This, however, does not mean that we should become dependent either of the two poles in advanced sciences. The government and army should send the students who are committed to Islam to countries that command advanced technology but are not colonizers or exploiters. They should not send students to America or Russia or to countries that follow these two poles. Perhaps, by the will of Allah, the day shall come when these powers see their mistakes and fall in the line of philanthropy, humanism and respect for the rights of others. Or, by the will of Allah, the oppressed people, alert nations and devout Muslims make them see their positions. May that day come!

M. Radio, television, the print media, cinema, and theaters are the most effective means for stupefying and corruption of nations, especially the younger generations. During the past century, especially the second half of it, great plots were hatched and executed through these media against Islam and its faithful servants, the clerics. The mass media are used also in the colonial propaganda networks of the West and the East. They have been used to create markets for goods, especially for the sale of luxury and decorative commodities. The media are focused on making people imitate other cultures, particularly in areas like clothing, consumption of alcoholic drinks,

styles of architecture and in many other things. To look Westernized was the thing of which one should be proud. Especially, ladies in higher or middle income groups imitated the westerners in all forms and manners, in attire, in talking, in deportment, in all facets of behavior and in social relations. Foreign words and terms were used in speeches and writings in such a way as to be difficult to comprehend by most people, even by the peers of their users. Television films depicting Western or Eastern products made young men and women stray from the normal course of their work, slinging life and industry into oblivion irrespective of themselves and their personalities. They produced pessimism in people vis-à-vis their own beings, their country, culture and even about highly valuable works of art and literature of the West and the East through the treachery of middlemen and collectors. Magazines printed pictures and articles detrimental to morality. Newspapers took pride in directing the youth towards the West or the East by publishing anti-Islamic and anti-indigenous culture and articles. Extensive publicity promoted centers of vice like pleasure houses, gambling, casinos and lotteries. Large retail stores sold luxury goods, cosmetics, alcoholic beverages, etc. All this came to the country financed by export of oil, gas and other valuable minerals. If the Pahlavi regime had survived, our youths would have been ruined before long. These children of Islam and the country, who are the nation's hope for the future, would have been lost by the satanic conspiracies of that corrupt regime and through the mass media and pro-West or pro-East liberals and intellectuals. Or, they would have ruined their own lives in the centers of vice or turned stooges of the superpowers and destroyed the country. Almighty God has, by His Mercy, saved us from the mischief of evil-doers.

My advice to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, to Presidents, to the Guardian Council, to the Supreme Judicial Council and to Governments, now and in the future, is to maintain the news agencies, the press and the magazines in the service of Islam and the interests of the country. We must all know that Western-style freedom degenerates the youth and is therefore condemned in Islam's view and by intellect. Propaganda literature, articles, speeches, books and magazines that oppose Islam, public morality and the interests of the country are forbidden and their suppression is incumbent on us and on all other Muslims. Harmful liberties must be restrained. If all that is forbidden' and against the path of the nation, the Islamic state, the country and the prestige of the Islamic Republic is not decisively controlled, then all are to be held responsible. If people and the Hezbollah youth (lit., the members of the Party of Allah) encounter with a violation of these rules, they

should report it to the appropriate authorities. If they fail to act, then the people themselves should take preventive measure. May Allah, the Exalted, help all!

N. My advice to the bands, groups, and persons especially their ringleaders abroad or at home, actively opposing the nation, the Islamic Republic and Islam, is that long experience whether acting in conspiracy in different ways or in asking foreign authorities and states for support, should have taught you. You regard yourselves wise and know that the direction of a self-sacrificing and dedicated nation cannot be altered by acts of terror, sabotage, explosion of bombs, spread of meaningless lies and baseless rumors. No state or government can ever be toppled by such inhumane and illogical methods, particularly a nation like that of Iran, whose youth, old men, women and children all sacrifice their lives in the path of the Holy Quran, their religion as well as the Islamic Republic. You should know - and you will be thinking naively if you do not - that the nation is not with you and that the army is against you. If you assume that they are with you, your crude moves and the acts of crime perpetrated by you, have caused separation between you and them. You have gained nothing but the enmity of others.

As a well-wisher, my advice to you at the close of my days is that: you are fighting an oppressed nation that after 2500 years of suffering, under the tyrannical rule, liberated itself by sacrificing the lives of its finest children and youth from the yoke of the oppressive Pahlavi regime and the world-mongering East and West. How can the conscience of a man allow him to behave so cruelly and mercilessly with his nation and country only for the sake of probability of gaining political power?! I advise you to give up such useless and unwise actions and not be fooled by the world-mongers. If you have not committed any crime, you can come back from wherever you are and submit yourselves to the fostering lap of Islam. You should repent to Allah, the Most Compassionate and the Most Forgiving and by the Will of Allah, the nation and the Islamic Republic may pardon you. If you have committed a crime for which Divine punishment is decreed, you should return to Him from the middle of the way and repent. If you courage, you should accept your punishment and thereby save your soul from the painful chastisement ordained by Allah. You should not waste your lives any longer; you should change your attitude; you should do something that is best for you.

Then, I ask the followers of these groups, whether domestic or foreign, why you ruin your lives and the life of the youth. These people who, as has been proven, are at the service of world powers, follow their plots and unknowingly have fallen in their traps? Why do you do wrong about your own nation? What for and for whom? They have been manipulated and fooled by the world powers. If you live here in this country, you can see with your own eyes that these multi-million strong masses are faithful to the Islamic Republic and are dedicated to it. You can see that the present government is most sincerely serving the people and the oppressed people. Those groups and bands who falsely claim that they belong to the people or are *Mujahid* or *Fadai*s have actually risen in opposition to Allah's servants. Young boys and girls have been deceived by these groups, to serve their own objectives or the objectives of one of the two world-mongering poles, while themselves live in pleasure in the lap of one of these two poles of crime. Or, they live in luxury and comfort of elegant team-houses or residential villas and continue their crimes for which they sacrifice their lives.

My kind advice to you, the youth, who live in this country or abroad, is to give up the wrong path. Return and join up with the deprived people of the country who are serving the Islamic Republic wholeheartedly. Act to serve the free and independent Iran, so that the country and the nation may be rid of the enemy's sedition and mischief. Live in honor altogether and unitedly. Why and how long do you want to listen to the commands of leaders of the bands and groups who fight their own nation with the support of superpowers that think of nothing except their own personal gain, immolating you for their sinister aims? You have noted since the victory of the revolution, that their words and deeds are two different things. Their claims are made to deceive pure-hearted youths. You know you have no power vis-à-vis the torrential movement of the nation. Your actions can result only in the loss of your own lives. Hereby I have discharged my duty to advice you through my last will and testament. I hope you will listen to it and act upon it when it reaches you after my death. Then, there can be no question of personal gain and power-seeking motives on my part. By listening to these advices deliver yourselves from the painful chastisement decreed by God. May God, the Merciful, guide you to the straight path!

My advice to the groups such as communists, guerillas and other leftists is that without prior study about various schools of thought and consulting the authorities on Islam, how could you bring yourselves to embrace an ideology that is already dead? What was your incentive? What did make your hearts settle for isms" that have already been proved null and void by

researchers? What is your purpose in pushing your country to the lap of the Soviet Union or China? What do make you fight against your own nation in the name of love for the masses or make plots against your own people for the benefit of foreigners?' You see very well that those, who claimed and adhered to Communism since its inception, have been and still are the most dictatorial, power-hungry, hegemonist authorities and governments. How many a nation has not been crushed under the Soviet Union's pressure. Yet, the Soviets claim they are supporters of the masses. The people of the Soviet Union, Muslims or non-Muslims, are all struggling and writhing under the pressure of the Communist Party and suffering under a suffocating censorship that is worse than the censorship exercised by any other dictatorial governments. We witnessed coming to power of Stalin¹ and his stepping down and luxurious and aristocratic manner. He was one of the most distinguished faces of the party. Even now that you, the deceived individuals of this country, are ready to sacrifice your lives out of your love for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, their deprived people and its satellites such as the people of Afghanistan, etc. are perishing under the Soviet regime's cruelty. Meanwhile, you, who claim to be siding with the masses, hurt and harm your own people in any possible way. You committed unimaginable crimes against the respectable people of Amol whom you had erroneously regarded as your staunch supporters and, by deception, sent many of them to fight the Muslim people and the Islamic government as a result of which many of your comrades were killed.² You, who claim to be

¹ Joseph Stalin was a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and a director of the Pravda Newspaper, the official organ of the former Soviet Communist Party. In 1922, Stalin was elected as Secretary General of the party. He was then actually placed at the head of the Soviet government. The story of Stalin's cow has often been referred to by Imam Khomeini in his talks. The story is about the Tehran Conference of the heads of the allies during World War II. It is related that the Anglo-American heads of state, in spite of their imperialistic beliefs, had not much observed formalities and protocols while Joseph, in spite of his proletarian background, had brought a cow to Tehran with him in his aircraft so as to have his own exclusive fresh milk every morning. Such attachments and such proletarian slogans that are in sharp contrast and mutually contradictory are the sort of things Imam Khomeini has often recalled.

² An incident was perpetrated in Amol, a city in the north of Iran, by a group called 'Communist Union'. This group, which was a small Maoist group, had no activity inside Iran during the time of the Shah. However, as soon as the revolution triumphed, elements of the group entered the country from the U.S.A. and Western Europe and started their activity in Amol. During this incursion, nearly 50 armed elements of this group who were committing terrorist acts against Iran in the forests of the north, entered the city of Amol in a calculated and planned act. The objective of these terrorists was the military occupation of the city. They had figured that if they took the city, the people of surrounding territory would join them and thus an insurgent base against Islamic Revolution would be set up. Contrary to their fancy, the people of the city spontaneously resisted this armed invasion from its onset and the city became the battleground of intense fighting between the unarmed defenders and the armed men of the group. After 5 hours of fighting, all the invading elements were captured or slain by the people and the plot was defused. A considerable number of defenseless men, women and children were also killed in this incident.

supporters of the people, want to hand over the innocent and deprived people of Iran to the Soviet dictatorship. For this, you disguise yourselves as *Fadaiyan-e-Khalq* and supporters of the oppressed. Now, this is being carried out by the *Tudeh* Party and its cohorts by weaving plottings and intrigues under the guise of supporting the Islamic Republic and by other leftists groups using arms, terrors, bombings, etc.

I advise the political parties and groups, whether those known as leftists—although indications point to their affiliation with American communists—or those who receive their sustenance as well as their inspiration from the West, to join their own nation. This also holds true of those who, are taking up arms and ruin the lives of the deprived people of Kurdistan¹ and other localities in the name of self-rule² and support for the Kurds² and Baluchis,³ you have thus thwarted the Islamic government's efforts to implement educational, medical and economic services as well as reconstruction activities in those provinces. I similarly advise the Komoleh⁴ and Democrat⁵ Parties, whose

¹ A province inhabited by Iranian Kurds, located in the west of the country.

² One of the Iranian ethnic people who mostly live in western provinces.

³ One of the Iranian ethnic people living in eastern provinces, mostly in Sistan and Baluchistan.

⁴ Immediately after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Komoleh Group, consisting of a number of adventurous anarchists with an ideology leaning toward Maoism, was founded. According to existing documents, this group was instantly placed under serious material and military protection and support of Western intelligence services, especially those of England and its dependent Baghdad regime. The reputation of the Komoleh was mostly due to its brutal torture savage killings of the people and defendants of the revolution.

⁵ Another ethnic-minded group that undertook armed and terrorist actions against the revolution, after it had triumphed, was the Democrats of Kordestan of Iran. The Democratic Party was formed in 1945 when a part of the Iranian territory was under the occupation of the Soviet troops. It framed an autonomous government in Kordestan on the strength of the Soviet army. After the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Iran, this party had no actual existence but its name or title was retained by the pro-Soviet Party, the *Tudeh*. In the meantime a member of the *Tudeh* Party named Qasimlu was able to obtain a Ph.D. degree through one of the scholarships that the Checkoslovak government made available to the *Tudeh* Party. Qasimlu meanwhile married a Jewish Check lady.

On the basis of available document Qasimlu was engaged in intelligence relations through his wife with the Israel intelligence services. After a while, he migrated to Baghdad and continued the publication of the new series of the magazine termed *Kordestan*, with the help of the Bath Party of Iraq. With the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Qasimlu quickly entered the Kordestan of Iran announced the start of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and ethnic autonomy' in the Revolutionary Iran.

activities thus far show that they have done nothing but harm and bringing nothing but misery to those areas. Therefore, it is to their own benefit as well as to the benefit of their nation and their provinces to cooperate with the government, avoid insurgency and refrain from serving the foreigners and doing treason to the country. Rather, they should participate in the country's reconstruction and rest assured that Islam is better for them than the criminal West or the dictatorial East. Islam can better fulfill man's wishes.

My advice to the Muslim groups, who have mistakenly acquired Westward' or Eastward' leanings and sometimes supported the *Munafiqin* (hypocrites), whose treason was proven, is not persist in making such mistakes. Let these groups and individuals show Islamic courage and admit their mistakes. Please Allah, line up behind the government and the parliament join the people. All together rescue the oppressed people from the mischief and wickedness of the oppressors. Remember what that great Muslim jurist, Mudarris¹ said at a sad parliament meeting of his time: Now that we must be destroyed, why do we do it ourselves?"

In memory of that great martyr of Allah, I say to you today that it is much better we be eradicated from the surface of the earth with honor by the

¹ Mudarris is regarded, in the history of Iran, a champion of freedom, a pro-independence cleric and a fighter against dictatorship. He was born in 1886, in a village and received his elementary education in Isfahan and his higher education in the holy city of Najaf. Simplicity and easy to understand parlance, kindness of temper and disposition as well as simple living, placed Mudarris in a position of leadership and guidance among the people. During the second legislative session of the National Consultative Assembly of Iran in 1949, Mudarris was elected by the religious scholars and clerics of Najaf and Iran as one of the five religious jurisprudents to supervise the enactment of laws. At the end of the 2nd session of the Majlis, Mudarris was elected as a delegate representing Tehran. Mudarris was opposed to puppet governments and their treacherous anti-nationalistic action and the agreement signed with England in 1919, the ratification of which he presented in the Majlis. Because of all this, Mudarris and his supporters were arrested by the command of the British through Reza Khan, commander of the Cossack Brigade. They were imprisoned and tortured. Public pressure and demonstration led to their release after 3 months of imprisonment service. In the Majlis, Mudarris disclosed Reza Khan's plan for republic form of government for Iran. This and his opposition to the rule of Reza Khan who acted according dictats of the British government helped Mudarris to be recognize as the most steadfast figure of anti-colonialism and anti-dictatorship.

Foreigners and their puppets who were mortified by the influence of Mudarris and saw that the plots to terrorize him fell through one after the other, decided to smother this vociferous and clear call to Islam and liberty. Therefore, they prepared plans to apprehend and deport him and finally, one day in the month of Ramadan 1316 [1937], they poisoned this great scholar while in a state of fasting and then strangulated him.

treacherous hands of America and Russia and meet our Allah in glory than to live in comfort and luxury under the flag of the Red Army of the East or under the flag of the Black Army of the West. Such has been the practice of Allah's great Prophets, Infallible Imams and the men of religion. This is also the line we should follow. We should bring ourselves to believe that if a nation wants to, it can survive without any dependency and that world powers cannot impose anything against a nation's resolution.

A lesson should be learned from Afghanistan. While that usurping government and the leftist parties had and still have the Soviet Union on their side, they have not been able to suppress the people. Moreover, today, the deprived nations of the world have awakened and soon enough their consciousness shall result in uprisings, movements, insurgencies and revolutions. They shall liberate themselves from the domination of the arrogant oppressors. You, Muslims, who care for Islamic values can well see that keeping away from the West or the East is revealing its blessings. Native intellects and minds have become active and are moving in the direction of self-sufficiency. All that the treacherous specialists of the West or the East claimed to be impossible for Iranian people to achieve is markedly achieved by the hands and brains of the nation. By Allah's will the trend shall continue in the future. Alas, this revolution took place rather late! Had it taken place even as early as the beginning of Mohammad Reza's rule, this pillaged country would have been something else today.

My advice to the writers, orators, intellectuals, fault-finders and those with inferiority complex is to reflect one night on what you are doing. You are spending your time pursuing a course contrary to that of the Islamic Republic and doing all you can to vitiate the parliament, the government and other public servants with your pessimism and ill-will, thereby pushing your country into the path of superpowers. Sit one night in seclusion with your Allah; if you do not believe in Allah, sit in seclusion with your conscience, and study your inner motives, of which people are often unaware. Think of the reason why and by what standard of fairness you ignore the blood of all young martyrs strewn everywhere on the battlefields and in towns and cities throughout the country. Why have you started a psychological war against a nation that has shaken off its neck the pressures of foreign and domestic oppressors and plunderers and has paid dearly for its freedom and independence with the blood of its beloved youth and now wants to preserve it with further sacrifice? Why do you reopen the way for the arrogant oppressors by brewing treacherous plots and by creating discord and disunity? Is it not better that you guide the government, the parliament and

the nation by your pens, words and minds in order to preserve your homeland? Are the deprived not worth of your assistance? Is it not better that you try to support the Islamic government? Do you regard this parliament, this president, this government and this judicial system worse than what we had in the former regime? Have you forgotten the cruelty with which the former regime treated this oppressed nation? Are you not aware that this Islamic country was a military base for the US and was, in effect, a US colony? Do you not know that the parliament, the government and the military forces were under the US control? Do you not know that foreign specialists, advisors, and industrialists played havoc with this nation and its resources? Have you forgotten the spread of immorality throughout the country nationwide, centers of vice including gambling, bars, nightclubs, liquor stores, cinemas, etc.? Each one of these was a major cause of corruption of the youth! Have you forgotten the pornography which was encouraged by the corrupt mass media during the former regime? Now that the vice markets do not exist, are you crying in protest for trial of several young men. They were mostly from deviant and pervert groups, who had acted to defile and tarnish Islam and the Islamic government by their terroristic acts. Are you protesting the execution of a number of people who had revolted against Islam and the Islamic Republic? You befriend individuals who have overtly condemned Islam and have risen against it with the sword' or with their pens and tongues which are more dangerous than armed struggle. You have made friends with people such as these and shake hands with them as brothers! You call individuals whose blood is lawful to be shed, the apple of your eyes! You sit beside these actors' and watched them create the carnage of 14th of Isfand¹ (March 5, 1981) calamity in which the youth were beaten up. You then call such acts Islamic and ethical! But, when the government and the courts of justice rightly punish the enemies and the atheistic perverts, you cry out in protest and claim that these perverts are innocent! I feel sorry for you brothers with whose past I am somewhat familiar, and like some of you. I do not feel sorry for those who were evil-doers draped in the clothes of benevolence, those wolves in the clothes of sheep. These game players fool around, making fun of everyone. They were intent on destroying the country and the nation. All the time they were in the service of either of the two plundering poles. Those, who martyred our valuable young men, our cherished religious authorities, educators and instructors of the community with their filthy hands in fact deprived

¹ It refers to a violence between leftist groups and Hezbollah which resulted in martyrdom of several innocent young men.

themselves from Allah's Mercy. They showed no mercy toward innocent Muslim children and thus have no way of return, as they are governed by their devilish self.

But why you, the believers, do not aid the government and the parliament that are trying to serve the oppressed and the barefooted people who are deprived of all facilities? What is your complaint? What does ail you? Have you thought of evaluating the amount of service rendered by this government and by the various foundations of the republic in comparison with limited development of the previous regime? All these were accomplished despite the imposed war with all its damages, destruction, millions of local and foreign refugees, with all acts of sabotage in a relatively short time. Do you not know that the development programs and works in the former regime were confined, almost entirely, to cities and that to well-off areas and people? The poorer classes had little or no share of it, whereas the present regime and the Islamic foundations wholeheartedly serve the deprived groups. You believers, support the government so that projects are accomplished faster. Thus, when you eventually appear in God's presence you are marked with the sign of service to His servants.

O. One of the issues that requires comment is that Islam does not support oppressive and uncontrolled capitalism which deprives the masses. The Book and the Tradition seriously condemn this type of capitalism and regard it as opposed to social justice. Although some have wrongly thought that Islam favors uncontrolled form of capitalism, that is not true! Such mal-reasoning veils the shining face of Islam and paves the way for biased attacks of the enemies of Islam. They consider it as a capitalist regime on the order of the U.S.A., England and other Western plunderers. Relying on such baseless accusations and wrong understanding, the enemies rise to challenge Islam without referring to Islamic sources for clarification of the point. Islam does not oppose private the ownership, like Communism, Marxism, and Leninism. From the earliest days until now these schools have taken a variety of forms. They sanction homosexuality and sharing of spouses. They have always been accompanied by dictatorship.

Rather, Islam is a balanced and moderate school that recognizes ownership and respects it in a limited form of production and consumption. If it is implemented, a sound economy and social justice would result from it, for social equity is a prerequisite to having a healthy regime. Here, too, a number of unaware and illogical persons with no knowledge of Islam and its ideas for a healthy economy, have risen in opposition to the first group. By

appealing to some Quranic verses and reciting phrases from the *Nahj al-Balaghah*, they consider Islam as being in agreement with the deviationist schools such as Marxism and his peers. Such men do not pay attention to the other parts of the *Nahj al-Balaghah* and the Quranic verses. As a result of their inadequate understanding, they have risen to follow a communist idea. They ignore the inherent atheism, dictatorship and strangulation of human values by a minority party treating human masses as animals!

I advise the parliament, the Guardian Council, the Government, the president and the Supreme Judicial Council to be obedient to the commands of Allah and not to be influenced by the inane propaganda of the cruel, rapacious pole of capitalism and the atheistic pole of communism and to respect ownership and private capital within Islamic limits. I advise you to reassure the nation so that private and creative initiatives proliferate in order to make the country and government reach self-sufficiency in all areas including light and heavy industries.

I advise those who lawfully acquire wealth to invest their legitimately gained wealth for innovative development works in agriculture, rural development and industries. This in itself is a commendable act of worship.

I advise all people to make ceaseless efforts for the welfare of the deprived classes. This is considered as good deeds both in this world and the Hereafter. These groups have suffered throughout the long and oppressive feudal and monarchical history. How fair it would be if the wealthy classes could voluntarily provide housing and other relief aids to the slum-dwellers. It will be a blessing to them on earth and in the Hereafter. It is far from fairness that one person owns scores of buildings while scores of other people of his community is deprived of a single room where in to live.

P. I have a piece of advice to the pseudo-clerics who oppose the Islamic Republic and devote their time to uproot it. They help the enemy carry out its plots and political intrigues. As has been reported, they make large financial contributions provided by Godless capitalists to sabotage works. You have gained nothing so far from your wrong-doings. I think, you will not achieve anything. Thus, if you do all these evil acts for the sake of gaining in this world, God shall not let you gain anything. It is better for you, then, to repent while there is a chance. Beg for God's forgiveness and join ranks with the oppressed nation. Support the Islamic Republic, which has found reality by the sacrifices of the nation. However, I do not think you will repent.

To those clerics who are against the Islamic Republic and who make every effort to overthrow it I say you had better make a comparison between

the two regimes in your private. You think this regime is worse than the monarchy or similar to it. Your judgments are mostly based on the complaints received from wrong-doers opposed to Islam. Think about the Islamic Republic with sincerity in your seclusion. Make a fair and impartial comparison between it and the former regimes and consider that world revolutions have all entailed disruption, riots, confusion and disturbances. Opportunists always struggle to take advantage of such conditions for their own selfish aims. Consider the fact that the Islamic Republic faced all these. It had to withstand false accusations, propaganda, lies and armed attacks from outside and inside of its borders. It had to fight the unavoidable infiltration of corrupt and anti-Islamic elements, who were trying government organs, to generate dissatisfaction and unrest. Moreover, most of the public servants in the regime were inexperienced; many old-timers were dissatisfied because of their resentment by spreading lies and baseless rumors. All this, plus a shortage of judges, strenuous economic entanglements, difficulties in purging corrupt personnel and a shortage of qualified and competent personnel and many other problems had to be and were dealt with. On the other hand, biased monarchists, with immeasurable capital acquired by usury, foreign exchange manipulations, profiteering, exorbitant commodity prices, extortionist rates of services, smuggling, hoarding, and similar evil acts place the deprived classes under extreme pressure and draw the society to vice and disintegration. Men of this category come to you with deceptive purposes. To make you believe what they say, they sham Islam and even pay the Imam's share and shed false tears. They enrage and incite you to opposition. Many of these individuals sponge the people's blood or exploit them by some illegitimate ways and means and make the country's economy go bankrupt.

My brotherly, humble advice is that you, honorable people, be not influenced by rumors. Support and strengthen this republic for the sake of Allah and for the preservation of Islam. Be sure that if the Islamic regime falls, a republic acceptable to Imam of the Time and pleasant to you would not be realized. Rather, a regime acceptable to either one of the two power poles would replace it much to the disappointment of the world's deprived peoples who have turned to Islam and the Islamic government. Islam shall become isolated for ever and you would regret your conduct some day when it is too late! If you, gentlemen, expect all things to be Islamized overnight, you are making a mistake. Such miracle has never happened in any part of history of mankind. When the Great Reformer reappears, do not think that the entire world would be put aright in a day! Rather, it is by hard work and

sacrifices that the oppressors would be exterminated. If you think, as some misguided laymen do, that for reappearance of that graceful Imam, the world must be entirely overwhelmed with cruelty and injustice so that the Imam should reappear sooner, then we should seek refuge in God

Q. My advice to all Muslims and oppressed peoples of the world is that you should not sit and wait till your own authorities or rulers, or some foreign powers make a gift of freedom and independence to you. During the last century, we have observed the infiltration of the world's major powers into all Islamic countries and smaller lands. Reliable history has related this for us. None of the rulers of any of these countries have been concerned with freedom, independence and welfare of his nation. Rather the majority of such rulers have been cruel oppressors who tried to strangle their own people. Whatever good they did was to benefit themselves or some special group. Such rulers promoted the welfare of the already well-to-do classes but never did a thing to benefit the deprived groups and slum-dwellers. These last groups were deprived even of their daily bread. The miserable and deprived groups were taken into the service of the profligate pleasure-seeking or they were made puppets of big powers, doing their best to make their countries more and more dependent on foreign powers. The rulers of such countries, who were only nominal, secured the interests of their Eastern or Western masters, turned their countries into markets for the consumption of the manufactured products of their overlords and kept their own homelands in an undeveloped condition. They are doing so even now.

O, you deprived people of the world! O, you Muslims and Muslim countries of the world! Rise up and fight for your rights! Do not be afraid of the propaganda operations of the superpowers and their mercenaries. Drive out from your lands your wicked rulers who hand over your earnings to your enemies and the enemies of Islam. You, yourselves and the dedicated public servants should take charge of the affairs of your country. Gather, all of you, under the proud banner of Islam and fight the enemies of Islam and of the deprived peoples of the world. Advance toward an Islamic sovereign government with so many free and independent republics. If you realize this, the arrogant powers would retreat to their own places. All deprived people would come to inherit the earth and attain guardianship over it. Looking forward to the day when Allah's promise shall be fulfilled!

R. At the conclusion of this testament once more I say to the honorable Iranian nation that in this world the vastness of one's pains, sufferings,

devotion, deprivations and sacrifices is commensurate with the vastness of one's cause and its value and station. You, noble nation, have risen and given your lives and wealth for the noblest, most sublime and most valuable cause. This cause has been put forth since time began. No such cause would be ever presented again. This cause is the school of divinity' in its broad sense. It is the idea of Monotheism in its lofty dimensions whose ultimate and creative foundation lies throughout the expanse of the world of being. It unfolds at the levels and degrees of Occultation and Presence as made fully manifest in the school of Muhammad the Prophet (s). For its realization, the Prophets and the Divine Guardians (s) worked hard. Absolute perfection and utmost glory and beauty cannot be attained except by the Supreme Divinity Who has exalted the earthly man above the heavenly beings. That which accrues to the earthly man from progression in His path does not accrue to any other being whether perceptible by the eye or veiled.

O you, the struggling nation! Move under an emblem and banner waving everywhere in the moral and material world! Whether you are aware of it or not, you are treading a path that was traversed by all Prophets. It is the only path to happiness and bliss! This is the incentive of the prophets in accepting and embracing martyrdom. This is what makes martyrdom sweeter than honey to them. Your youth have experienced this at the battlegrounds. It has made them live in ecstasy ever since. It is reflected in the soul and conduct of the brothers, sisters and families of the martyrs. We should truly say: *"We wish we were with you (the martyrs), perhaps we, too, could be blessed and receive salvation."* May they enjoy the breeze that delights the heart and that exhilarating manifest.

We should know that a fragment of that manifestation is displayed in the hot and agricultural cultivated fields, in enervating factories and workshops and in industrial centers of research, development, and inventions. It was partially reflected among the nation on the whole; in the bazaar, in the streets and in rural areas. Only a portion of it was displayed among all who those serve Islam and the Islamic Republic, working toward progress and self-sufficiency.

As long as this spirit of cooperation and dedication prevails in the society, our country shall, by Allah's will, be immune to worldly woes. Thank God that the theological centers, the universities and the younger generation in educational institutions have all been blessed with the Divine spirit. They have control over all these agencies, which are safe from encroachment by the saboteurs and pervers.

My advice to all is to advance towards self-awareness, self-sufficiency and independence with the remembrance of Almighty God. Without any doubt, His Hand is with you if you are with Him and continue with this spirit of cooperation for the advancement of the Islamic country.

I pray that what I observe in the noble nation as alertness, intelligence, commitment, devotion, spirit of resistance and courage being employed in the path of Allah, shall, by His Grace, be transmitted to the successive future generations with increased momentum.

With a peaceful mind, a certain heart, a happy soul, and a conscience hopeful for Allah's mercy, I take my leave of all brothers and sisters to journey to the eternal abode. I need your prayers and beg for Almighty God's pardon and forgiveness for my inadequacies.

I hope, the nation, too, will forgive my shortcomings and failings, move ahead with power and determination and know that the departure of a single servant shall not leave a scratch on the steel shield that is the nation. Worthier servants of greater stature are in service and Allah preserves the nation and the oppressed people of the world.

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

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

February 15, 1983 [Bahman 26,
1361 AHS / Jamadi-al-Awwal 1,
1403 AH]

In His Most Exalted Name

My son Ahmad will read this will and testament to the people after my death. If he has any excuses for not doing so, the President of the Islamic Republic or the Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly or the President of the State Supreme Court shall kindly accept the task, if they too, are excused, let one of the religious authorities of the Guardian Council accept the trouble.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

In His Most Exalted Name

I would like to add at the end of this will and testament with its prologue the following points:

1. While still here with you, I would like to declare that certain false statements have already been imputed to me; this state of affairs might increase after I am gone. Therefore, I hereby declare that nothing ascribed to me has my confirmation unless it is in my handwriting, has my signature or is my voice confirmed by experts, or what I have said on the television of the Islamic Republic.

2. Some individuals have claimed, even while I am alive, that they have been writing my statements. This is hereby denied. All such statements have been prepared and written by myself only.

3. Apparently some claim to have arranged my visit to Paris, France. This is a lie. After I was turned back from Kuwait, I chose Paris in consultation with Ahmad for it was probable that Islamic states would decline admission as they were under the Shah's influence but Paris was not.

4. In the course of the movement and the Revolution, I spoke favorably of certain individuals who had pretensions to Islam but I later realized their deception. My favorable comments were made at a time when they pretended to be committed to the Islamic Republic. Such matters should not be taken advantage of. The criterion for everyone is his current conduct.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Endnotes:

The following are explanations of terms and phases in the testament of Imam Khomeini written by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works:

1. The Messenger of God (s) said: I am leaving among you two weighty things [*thaqalayn*]: the Book of God and my progeny (i.e. Imam Ali and the other purified Imams (a) as explained in other traditions). These two will never separate from each other until they meet me at the Pond of Kawthar (i.e. until the Day of Judgment).

2. This is the vanguard of the politico-religious testament, which that eminent *qiblah* of the people of the heart has began his immortal testament with sentences containing the loftiest subjects of Islamic knowledge.

3. Imam Khomeini has divided the world of creation into three realms as follows: (1) material, (2) celestial and (3) intellectual.

4. The Messenger of God (s) said: "Verily, the Quran has exterior and interior (forms) and its interior has seven interiors. See *Tafsir as-Safi*, Preliminary 8.

Imam al-Baqir (a) said: "Except for the successors of the Prophet, nobody can claim to know the interior and exterior of the entire Quran." See *al-Usul Min al-Kafi*, vol. 1, p. 228.

The Commander of the Faithful (a) said: "Verily, the affairs of us, Household of the Prophet, is difficult and arduous. Except the Archangel, commissioned prophet or noble faithful whose heart has been endowed with faith by God, nobody can acquire such knowledge or comprehend it." See *Basair ad-Darajat*, p. 27.

Abu Abdullah al-Husayn (a) said: "Verily, the affairs of us, Household of the Prophet, is a secret within a secret, a hidden secret, a secret that has no benefit except another secret, a secret over another secret and secret hidden behind another secret." See *Basair ad-Darajat*, p. 28.

5. By "greater weighty thing" is meant the Book of God, the Quran while "great weighty thing" signifies the Household of the Prophet (a). Since the Quran is greater than all things including the Household of the Prophet, it is the greater absolute.

The Noble Prophet (s) is reported to have observed:

“O people, verily I am leaving among you two weighty things [*thaqalayn*]. If you firmly adhere to them, you will never go astray after me. One is greater than the other: the Book of God which may be likened to a rope extended from Heaven to earth and my progeny. Be aware that these two will never separate from each other until they meet me at the Pond of *Kawthar*.” See *Bihar al-Anwar*, “*kitab al-Imamah*,” vol. 23, p. 117.

6. It refers to the collective return of the creatures and physical realms to their celestial essences on the Day of Resurrection and the Hereafter. In other words, it is the return of multiplicity in the world of being to a unity from which it has emanated. It is the same station of the union of multiplicity with unity.

7. This is a term related to *hadith* and principles of jurisprudence. It is a report transmitted by a congregation such that it is an important knowledge, i.e. a common knowledge and it is impossible all have combined in fabricating it. In short, one of the ways of acquiring common knowledge is the *mutawatir* report or news. Most of our information and knowledge in relation to historical affairs is through this way. Thus, sometimes a number of people transmit a report uniformly, or it is similar in thought and not in wordings. It is impossible that all have combined (in fabricating it); therefore, what is important will be the certainty. See *Farhang-e Ulum Doktor Sajjadi beh Naql az Maalim*, p. 101; *Talwih-e Taftazani*, p. 429.

8. *Sahih Sittah* [“Six Authentic Collections”] are the following in chronological order: (1) *Sahih al-Bukhari* or *Al-Jami as-Sahih* by Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ismail al-Bukhari (d. 256 AH); (2) *Sahih Muslim* by Abul-Husayn Muslim ibn Hajjaj Qashiri Nayshaburi (d. 261 AH); (3) *Sunan ibn Majah* by Muhammad ibn Yazid ibn Majah al-Qazwini (d. 273 AH); (4) *Sunan ibn Dawud* by Sulayman ibn Ashath ibn Ishaq as-Sajistani (d. 275 AH); (5) *Jami at-Tirmidhi* or *Sunan at-Tirmidhi* by Abu Isa Muhammad ibn Isa ibn as-Sawrah (d. 279 AH); and (6) *Sunan Nisai* (called *Mujtaba*) by Abu Abdur-Rahman Ahmad ibn Shuayb (d. 303 AH).

The abovementioned books, with the addition of *al-Muwatta* and *Musnad ibn Hanbal* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241 AH), constitute the primary *hadith* collections of narrations by Sunni people.

9. For information on the abundant references and proof of this noble *hadith's tawatur* [uninterruptedly transmitted], one can refer to the valuable book, *Aqabat al-Anwar*, written by the great *mujahid* (religious authority), Allamah Mir Hamid Husayn Hindi (d. 1306 AH) whose six volumes are allotted for the sources and commentary of this *hadith* through the Sunni *ulama*.

In this precious work, the revered scholar has cited 40 books for this *Hadith ath-Thaqalayn* [*Hadith* on the Two Weighty Things] from the Sunni sources. He has also pointed out that the Sunni transmitters of this noble *hadith* in chronological order have been 16 persons during the 2nd century, 33 during the 3rd century, 21 during the 4th century, 13 each during the 5th and 6th century, 16 during the 7th century, 17 during the 8th century, 5 during the 9th century, 18 during the 10th century, 10 during the 11th century, 13 during the 12th century and 11 persons during the 13th century. They are among the great Sunni figures.

In *Ghayah al-Maram*, section 28 about the *Hadith ath-Thaqalayn* Allamah Sayyid Hashim Behrani cited 82 ways for this *hadith* through the Shiah *hadiths* and *hadith* scholars.

In this manner, this noble *hadith* has been transmitted with 268 sources from both Sunnis and Shiah's, and thus there is no doubt concerning its *tawatur*.

10. Based on the noble *ayah*, “*And Adam knew all their names*” (*Surah al-Baqarah* 2:31), Hadrat Adam (a) through the divine teachings became the one knowledgeable of the names and thus deserving of being the vicegerency of God on earth.

By “the son of the knowledge of names” Imam Khomeini is referring to the human beings who are all sons of Hadrat Adam.

11. *Nahj al-Balaghah* (Peak of Eloquence) is a collection of sermons, wise sayings and letters of the Commander of the Faithful, Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib (a) compiled by Sharif ar-Radi Muhammad ibn al-Husayn (d. 406 AH/1016). Contents of the book concern the three essential topics of God, man and the universe, also including comments on scientific, literary, social, ethical, and political issues. Not only to the words of the Glorious Quran and of the Holy Prophet (s), but also no other words of man can equate it in eloquence. So far, more than 101 exegeses have been written on the *Nahj al-Balaghah*, indicating the importance of this treatise for scholars and learned men of research. For more information, visit: <http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul>.

12. “Ascending Quran” is referring to the supplications recited by the Infallibles (a).

13. The accomplished scholar, Ali ibn Tawus, narrates this prayer in “the practices of the month of Shaban” from Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Khaluyah. He writes that the Commander of the Faithful and his children (a) always recite this prayer during the month of Shaban. See *Iqbal al-Amal*, p. 685; *Mafatih al-Jinan*, “practices on the Day of Arafah.”

14. The valuable *Dua Arafah* [Supplication in Arafah] is a litany that Hadrat Aba Abdillah al-Husayn (a) recited in the afternoon of the Day of Arafah in open sky at the plain of Arafah while shedding with rain-like tears. See *Iqbal al-Amal*, “practices on the Day of Arafah,” p. 339; *Zad al-Imad*, p. 265; *Mafatih al-Jinan*, “practices on the Day of Arafah.”

This supplication is expressive of the loving secret and need of the Chief of the Freemen and the Doyen of the Martyrs with his Beloved and Object of Worship, the Sole Creator, and comprising extremely high and profound concepts.

15. Imam as-Sadiq (a) said: “Fatimah remained alive for 75 days after the demise of the Noble Prophet (s). During this span of time, she lamented for the passing away of her father. On account of this, Jibril (Gabriel) regularly visited her and wished for her health that was deteriorating due to lamenting for her father. The angel was her consoler. At times, he would talk about the status and station of her revered father, while at other times he would inform her of the events to befall her progeny after her. The Commander of the Faithful (a) would write all the things that Jibril said to her, being known as *Mushaf Fatimah*. See *Al-Usul min al-Kafi*, vol. 1, p. 241. In another *hadith* in the book, *Al-Kafi*, the Commander of the Faithful (a) is reported to have said: “In this *Mushaf* not only lawful and unlawful things but also knowledge of what has happened and would happen were discussed.”

16. *Baqir al-Ulum*: The blessed name of His Holiness is Muhammad and his famous title Baqir. The title was given to him by the Messenger (s) according to a certain narration. His famous epithet is Abu Jafar and his age was 57.

Among the Imams (a) Imam al-Baqir has two merits. First, his paternal grandfather is Imam al-Husayn (a) while his maternal grandfather is Imam al-Hasan (a). In view of this, he is rightfully called, “the Alawi (related to

Imam Ali) among the Alawis, the Fatimi (related to Lady Fatimah) among the Fatimis, and the Hashimi (related to the Hashimite clan) among the Hashimis”.

His other merit is that he was the founder of Shiah cultural revolution. Though the spread of Shiah learning was done by Imam as-Sadiq (a), it was founded by Imam al-Baqir. During the period of Imam al-Baqir (a) the Umayyad dynasty was in decline and the people abhorred it. Owing to the existence of persons such as Umar ibn Abdul-Aziz, which apart from the fact that it was greatly beneficial for the Shiah, fatally harmful for the Umayyads, brought into being serious discord in the Muslim lands, and every one in the corner was rising up, the caliphs were easily replacing one another such that during the Imamate of Imam al-Baqir for 19 years, five caliphs came to the office of the caliphate: Walid ibn Abdul-Malik, Sulayman ibn Abdul-Malik, Umar ibn Abdul-Aziz, Yazid ibn Abdul-Malik, and Hisham ibn Abdul-Malik. Thus, being relieved from the oppression of the Umayyads was a golden opportunity for him to commence the intellectual revolution. He gathered great men from among Sunnis and Shiahs around him and propagated the truth of Islam, the favors of Islam and finally the teachings of Islam. On this account, the Noble Messenger (s) has given him the title, “Al-Baqir”. The author of *Lisan al-Arab* says: “Imam al-Baqir is addressed with this title because he is the Cleaver of Knowledge. He understood the foundation of the Islamic sciences, comprehended their branches, propagated them and spread root means propagated one.

Both Sunnis and Shiahs narrate that the Noble Messenger (s) has said to Jabir ibn Abdillah al-Ansari: “O Jabir! You will remain alive and meet a man from the progeny of al-Husayn. His name is Muhammad who will cleave the knowledge of the prophets. When you meet him, extend my greetings to him.”

17. Zionism is an extremist thinking of the fanatic Jewish capitalists, which came into being in Europe during the latter part of the past century and has now become the official ideology of the Quds-occupier regime. The name is derived from “Zion”, a mountain near Jerusalem.

Zionism is based on racial discrimination and considers the Jewish people to have a special status in the world. Believing to be the Chosen People of God, they have a special mission. On the basis of this thinking, in 1897 a society named International Zionist Congress came into being whose objective is to transfer the Jews around the world to Palestine. Now, this

Congress has an enormous financial power equal to that of the largest monopolist companies of the world. Its center is located in the United States of America, controlling the activities of the Zionist societies in more than 16 countries in the world. At present, nearly 18 Zionist organizations are active in the world. Similarly, in the US there are 281 national Jewish organizations, 251 Jewish local federations as well as different kinds of advisory societies, funds and others. The US government is one of the principal supporters of the International Zionism which has intelligence and espionage centers in most countries of the world, having contacts with the Mossad and CIA.

The most important and effective weapon of the International Zionism is utilization of the mass media the world over. A total of 1,036 newspapers and magazines are at the disposal of the International Zionism, the most famous of which being the New York Times.

18. From the beginning, the followers of Zionism have been striving for the realization of a fundamental and main aim: establishment of a Jewish state and global government under the Jewish dominance under the name of, Greater Israel in Palestine. Based on this, after establishing the State of Israel in 1948, the Zionists have been determined to create the Greater Israel. In justifying this policy of theirs, they considered this policy to be in conformity with the teachings of the Torah.

The map of Greater Israel encompass many Muslim countries or parts of them. The said map exists in the research report of Benjamin Marzar (?), which was published under the supervision of the Israeli government. In the said map, they have defined the territory of Israel as extending from the Nile to the Euphrates Rivers, and Israel as encompassing the entire Persian Gulf, Northern Iraq, Muscat, Oman, Najaf, Turkey, Syria, South Lebanon, East Palestine, West Jordan, part of Egypt and South Sudan. In addition, the map of the Greater Israel, which can be the next phase after realizing the Great Israel design, also includes Kurdistan, southeastern region of Iran, southwestern Afghanistan and part of northwestern Pakistan.

19. Husayn Bin Talal was born on November 4, 1935 in Amman, Jordan. He spent his childhood in the British kindergarten in Amman. Then, he studied at the Victoria Academy of Alexandria, Egypt, and continued his studies at Harrow School in London, England. In 1951, his grandfather, Abdullah, was killed by a young revolutionary Palestinian. His influence in his family and the policy of Britain demanded that the monarchy should remain in this

family; hence, with the British aid, Talal, the father of Hussayn, was crowned King, and Husayn, the Crown Prince.

Few months after the coming to power of Talal on August 11, 1952, the rubberstamp parliament of Jordan declared him unfit to rule and designated King Husayn in his stead. After this succession, King Husayn became the bridge of the British and on May 2, 1953, he returned to Jordan and took control of the government. Throughout his rule, he had always enjoyed the British support.

Following the British withdrawal from East Suez Canal and the gradual replacement of America in the region, he earned the American support. The policies of King Husayn's government in the Middle East have been always towing the lines of the American and British policies. In 1967 when the Arab-Israeli War erupted, the Zionists were able to occupy the West Bank of the Jordan River and annex it to Israel thanks to betrayal of King Husayn. As a result, 400,000 Palestinians were displaced and driven to Jordan. King Jordan not only did not make any step in fighting for the legitimate rights of the Palestinians but also left forever an ignominious stain on the government of Jordan through the September 1970 tragedy, known as Black September, by killing the oppressed people and displaced Palestinians in the Jordanian soil.

20. King Hasan of Morocco, the son of Sultan Muhammad V, was born in 1929. He has studied in France. After passing away of his father, he ascended the throne under the name, Sultan Hasan II. With coming to power of King Hasan II, France-Morocco relations were extended as it was expected. Morocco was subjected to cultural onslaught by the West more than in the past. Morocco also enjoyed the support of France in cultural, economic and political sectors.

It is said that Anwar Sadat, the treacherous president of Egypt, he was associated, was introduced to the Zionists by King Hasan because he had longtime relations with them and because the annual conference of Jews is held in Morocco. Perhaps it is the only Arab country wherein the Zionists have officially freedom of action to such an extent that in 1991 King Hasan appointed a Jew named Andara Azuli as his supreme adviser (?).

21. Husni Mubarak was born in the province of al-Manufiyyah, Egypt in 1928. In 1947, he entered the Military Sciences University, taking aeronautics training courses there. Later, he went to the Soviet Union for completion of his training.

He became the Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force in 1972. During the Arab-Israeli War in October 1973, Mubarak was the Air Force Commander of Egypt.

He was one of closest allies of Anwar Sadat, the architect of the disgraceful Camp David Accord, attending his important meetings.

He married a British woman named Susanne and has two sons named Ala and Jamal.

After the assassination of Sadat at the hands of the revolutionary colonel, Martyr Khalid Islambuli in 1981, Mubarak took the helms of affairs of Egypt. He announced that he would pursue all the policies of Sadat in domestic and foreign areas. In an interview by the American ABS TV channel in 1982, he said: "Our gates are open to the Arab friends but not at the expense of severing our relations with Israel. We can play a good role in eliminating any kind of confusion that would come into being anytime between Arabs and Israel."

22. "Titles"—that is, actions and essences—on which there is a religious ruling are in two conditions:

a) The first condition: the "title"—reconsideration of whatever condition and attribute for which has a ruling—is called primary ruling or law.

b) The second condition: the "title"—in case new condition and attribute must be formulated for which such as state of compulsion, unwillingness, fault, loss, corruption, etc.—is called secondary ruling or law. For example, eating the flesh of corpse, as a "primary title", is unlawful, but if the person is in a state of compulsion or necessity, he is permitted in doing so. See Ayatullah Ali Mishkini, *Istilahat al-Usul [Terminologies on the Principles of Jurisprudence]*, p. 124.

23. National tendencies are not absolutely abominable and wrong. Instead, that which is abominable is that kind of nationalist tendency that trigger separation of races and nations from one another and creates discrimination and division. Naturally, if "nationalism" is confined to a simple feeling of love toward the land, homeland and nation, it does not become a sort of idol to be worshipped, and does not sacrifice all the divine truths before its altar, it will not be blameworthy. However, if this feeling is supposed to replace the humane and Islamic truths and values, to be excessively given attention and consideration as a lofty value, and to emerge as a school and ideology, it will not bring anything except misguidance, polytheism and corruption. Islam is strongly opposed to such tendency.

Martyr Murtada Mutahhari (may God be pleased with him), in this regard, writes: "Nationalism is rationally condemnable when it assumes negative aspect for itself; that is, when it separates individuals from one another under the name of different nations, bring about hostile relations among them and disregards the true rights of others..." See Murtada Mutahhari, *Islam and Iran: A Historical Study of Mutual Services*, <http://www.al-islam.org/al-tawhid/iran/mutual.htm>.

Imam Khomeini has repeatedly pointed out the menace of nationalism and nationalist tendencies, describing them as factor responsible for discord and separation among nations and hindrance for the advancement of Islam: "Through the hands of the corrupt governments, these racisms and factionalisms among Muslims have developed; placing the Arabs against the Persians, the Persians against the Arabs and the Turks, and the Turks against the others, and all races against one another. The reason why I repeatedly point out that this nationalism is the source of misfortune for Muslims is that this nationalism places the nation of Iran against the other Muslim nations, the Iraqi nation against the others, and a certain nation against another nation. These are plots woven by imperialists in order for the Muslims not to be united..."

24. *Hudud* is the plural form of *hadd* and literally means hindrance, gap between two things and the endpoint of anything. *Tazirat* is the plural form of *tazir* and literally means to reproach and to blame. While technically describing *hadd* and *tazir*, Muhaqqiq Hilli said to the effect:

Hadd: whenever the punishment for a crime is specified by the canon, it is called *hadd*; for example, punishments for stealing, murder, etc.

Tazir: whenever the punishment for a crime is not specified by the canon, it is called *tazir* and its limit is entirely determined by the judge and competent jurist. See Shahid ath-Thani, *Sharh al-Lumah*, "kitab al-hudud wat-tazirat"; Muhaqqiq al-Hilli, *Kitab al-Hudud wat-Tazirat*.

25. *Surah at-Tawbah* 9:38-39: "O ye who believe! What aileth you that when it is said unto you: Go forth in the way of Allah, ye are bowed down to the ground with heaviness. Take ye pleasure in the life of the world rather than in the Hereafter? The comfort of the life of the world is but little in the Hereafter. If ye go not forth He will afflict you with a painful doom, and will choose instead of you a folk other than you Ye cannot harm Him at all. Allah is Able to do all things."

26. “And verily, at the time of the Messenger of God (s), they told lies to him to such an extent that he stood up to deliver a sermon, saying: “Whoever intentionally and knowingly tells a lie on me, his abode will be in the fire of hell.” Fayd al-Islam, *Nahj al-Balaghah* Sermon 201.

27. *Surah Muhammad* 47:7: “O ye who believe! If ye help Allah, He will help you and will make your foothold firm.”

28. The communist organization, *Cherik-ha-ye Fadai-ye Khalq* [Guerillas Devoted to the People], was organized in 1349 AHS by the youth who were dissatisfied with the policies of the Tudeh Party that was dependent on the Soviet Union. They chose the Alborz mountain ranges, Siyahkol jungle in particular, as their base for operation and incited the villagers of the region to rise up against the regime. With the effort of the Shah's regime, this organization suffered a painful defeat in early 1354 AHS. In Ordibehesht and Khordad 1355 AHS it disintegrated. After this defeat, nothing was seen from them except a few cases of assassination and clash with the police forces in operation. With the beginning of the Islamic Revolution and the creation of a favorable atmosphere, the organization reorganized itself and intensified its resistance against the Army and revolutionary forces from early 1357 AHS. Of course, in comparison with the roaring wave of the people who, under the guidance of their leader and savior, His Eminence Imam Khomeini, had made tyranny tremble, this intensity of resistance was inconsiderable. With the victory of the Islamic Revolution, this organization stuck on its imported principles and policy notwithstanding its lack of popular base. Thus, in tandem with the World Arrogance, it engaged in opposing the Islamic Revolution and assassinating common people and religious forces. With the discovery of their large bases and team houses, the organization was divided into the majority and minority branches. The majority, in consonance with the Tudeh Party, identified the principle on political negotiation to earn reputation while the minority adhered to armed struggle and selected Kurdistan for continuation of its operation. Finally, through the effort of the self-sacrificing Muslim people of Kurdistan and forces loyal to the revolution, they left the region and escaped abroad.

29. *Tudeh* (Masses) Party was formed in 1320 AHS on the remnants of the *Idalat* (Justice) Party, which was created in 1299 AHS after the entry of the Red Army to Rasht. In line with the policy pursued by Qawwam as-Saltanah of emptying Iran, three communist ministers entered the cabinet. With the

exit of the Russian forces, the defeat of the Democrat Party of Azerbaijan and the split occurred within the party in 1326 AHS, some members experimented the party's independence from the Soviet Union. Following an attempt on the life of the Shah in Bahman 1327 AHS for which a Tudeh assailant was identified, martial law was declared, members of the party apprehended and the party considered illegitimate and dissolved. By announcing Marxism-Leninism as the party's platform in 1328 AHS, it completely revealed its policy. With the beginning of nationalization of the oil industry, Tudeh Party assumed two factions—that of Kiyanuri and Qasimi. Later, by keeping silent in face of Mordad 28, 1332 AHS coup and behind-the-scene activities, it played a pivotal role in the fall of Musaddiq. With the arrest of officers of military and other networks of the party by the Shah's regime in Mordad 1333 AHS, so many expressed disgust for their party's backgrounds and collaborated with the Shah's regime and its security organization. In the party's congress itself in early 1950s, the party praised the regime and discouraged resistance. From 1350 to 1356 AHS when the clergy started the struggle with new methods, the Party reorganized itself. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, it held its 16th party congress in Tehran and announced its support for the Islamic Republic. The party's objective after the Islamic Revolution was to incite dissension among the revolutionary forces in graduation and infiltrate the economic and cultural posts of the country. Finally, with the arrest of the principal leaders and cadres of the Tudeh Party, a wave of confessions commenced. With the lengthy and extensive confessions of figures such as Kiyanuri and Tabari on espionage and endeavor to destroy the Islamic system, the true nature of this party became known to everyone and its 42 years of treacherous existence in Iran came to an end.

30. Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili, known as Jospheh Stalin, was born on December 21, 1879 in Georgia. He was introduced to Marxism at the age of 15. From then on, he engaged in political activities. Because of these activities, he was apprehended and imprisoned for many times.

In 1907, at the Conference of Social Democrats of Russia in London, Lenin bestowed him the title, "Stalin", meaning "man of steel" in Russian.

The 341,000 ruble robbery of Tbilisi Bank on June 26, 1906, the then biggest robbery, made him a famous hero among the communists.

In 1912, the Bolshevik Party was formally organized. At the suggestion of Lenin, Stalin became member of its Central Committee. Later, he published the newspaper, *Zuzda* (?) and then *Pravda* [Truth]. Following the victory of

the October Revolution, at Lenin's behest, he became a member of the new government's Soviet (Council) of People's Commissars (Russian acronym, Sovnarkom), heading the Commissariat for Nationality Affairs. He was elected Secretary General of the Communist Party in 1922 and took control of its organization.

Lenin died on January 21, 1924. His testament, which had an expression of his discontentment with Stalin, along with his anti-Stalin articles strong, was handed over by his widow to Kamenev, who in turn handed it over to the Political Bureau of the Party. This affair generated the anger of Stalin and became the prelude to his subsequent bloody purge. With the seven-hour speech of Stalin at the 15th Congress of the Party in December 1927, the plan to accelerate the advancement of communism was approved. The collectivization of agriculture was one of its manifestations, leading to the murder of 10 million kulaks or affluent farmers during the Tsarist period. Stalin then pursued his bloody purges until 1939; only in 1935, some 536,500 people were killed. With the outbreak of the World War II and the occupation of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, Stalin advanced the Soviet Union into a global power.

Finally, this infamous dictator of history died in a suspicious manner on March 5, 1953 and his 30-year rule of strangulation, terror and murder came to an end.

31. Amol Incident happened on Khordad 30, 1360 AHS following the announcement of armed resistance of the oppositionists against the nascent Islamic system. By evaluating the geographical conditions, the Union of Communists in Iran, consisting of Marxist-Leninist leftists, identified the jungles of Amol as appropriate for guerilla operations and stationed there. The idle imagination of the union was that owing to the social condition of Amol region and the population fabric of the surrounding villages, in case of attack on the city, the sporadic resistance of the revolutionary forces would be swiftly suppressed. In the second phase after cutting off the communication lines and consolidating the opposition forces inside the city, the other regions of Mazandaran would be occupied by the union. Thereafter, the whole people, in chain reaction throughout Iran, would rise up and the Islamic Republic would fall.

Their assault began on the night of Bahman 6. They were divided into two groups. The first group entered the city, patrolling around and assassinating anyone whom they identified as so-called "*Hizbullahi*". They then attacked the Islamic Revolutionary Committee of the city. The people of Amol, who

had come to the streets due to the gunfire and become aware of the happenings, became ready for confrontation. On the following morning, the epic struggle of the people commenced. Through entrenchment in the city and confronting the forces of the union, the people of Amol shattered their formation. As a result, the forces of the union, which had not taken the people's faith and resistance into consideration, were divided into smaller groups. However, because of the intensity of the people's resistance, their communication with one another was cut and until the sunset they were routed. In this happening 34 communists killed, some wounded and 30 taken captives, while 40 of the noble people of Amol were martyred.

32. The term, "American communist" is used in relation to the operation of some leftist parties in different countries of the world, especially in Muslim countries. Though apparently believing in the principles and fundamentals of communism, these parties are toeing the line of the Western policies in their stances and conducts.

Like so many communist parties in Iran, such as Paykar, Kumeleh and Democrat, which had always tried to topple down the Islamic Republic of Iran in tandem with the policies of the CIA, were receiving financial aids from the World Arrogance. In a more in-depth study, it can be said that, in general, the communists' confrontation with the Islamist movement in Muslim countries, particularly in Iran, irrespective of the slogans and kind of relations and dependency of the communist parties to the member countries of the communist bloc in the past, has always been in line with the interests and in consonance with the hostile policies of America and the West against the Islamic Revolution.

33. This party was founded in 1322 AHS by Qadi Muhammad through the sponsorship and encouragement of the ex-Soviet Union.

In Bahman 1324 AHS, Qadi Muhammad, as the Secretary General of the Party, established a government in Mahabad in line with the Soviet policies and the disintegration of Iran, but after the treaty between Iran and the ex-Soviet Union, Qadi Muhammad along with his brother, Sayf Qadi, and about forty to fifty members of the Party were executed.

In 1338 AHS, attempts were made to revive the party, but ended in failure.

With the passage of time and the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, this Party again started activity. By making use of the party's background and exploiting the weakness of the provisional government and with some treacheries, its new leaders succeeded in consolidating their position in some

parts of Kurdistan by occupying a number of military camps and looting the arms. Ideologically, though leaning on Marxism, the Democrat Party did not believe in the validity of class struggle. On account of this, local feudal lords and khans were occupying special positions within the Party and its cadre of leaders.

After the Islamic Revolution, the leadership of the Party was shouldered by Abdur-Rahman Qasimlu. In 1338 AHS, by giving commitment to the Shah's SAVAK, he left Iran. He resided in the Soviet Union, Iraq, Eastern Europe and France for 15 years. In France, he engaged in activity in as-Sanah ash-Sharqiyyah, one of whose functions is to teach and train spies in Eastern countries. During his stay in the Soviet Union, he was busy broadcasting in the Persian radio service. In Iraq, he had also an important government position. His family is among the notable feudal chiefs of the region.

On Monday, Tir 22, 1368 AHS, Qasimlu was assassinated in Vienna, Austria. Under the guise of "autonomy", the Democrat Party's strategy was the secession of Kurdistan from the Islamic Republic of Iran. Like other parties in the region, with continued schisms within its structure, this Party became aimless and went astray. Its existence largely depended on the Baath Party and its Western patrons.

Based on the documents obtained from the American den of espionage in Iran, the American government has made the maximum use of the Democrat Party in exerting pressure on the nascent Islamic system. Continuous creation of disorder in the region and complete support for the Democrat Party and other belligerent groups in Kurdistan were part of the CIA programs.

34. According to the claim of this party, 1348 AHS is its founding year but its lack of any form of activity until 1357 AHS and absence of sufficient evidence make this claim seems doubtful. In 1357 AHS, following the murder of a certain Muhammad Hasan Karimi whom the party considered one of its members, the party proclaimed existence. Thereafter, in a bid to acquire funds and mobilizations acceptable to the people, it exploited the suburbs by chanting the slogans of defending the peasants against the feudal lords of Kermanu. In view of the particular background, psyche and culture prevalent in the region, their common deceitful slogans proved effective to a considerable extent and brought into being an anti-government atmosphere in the region. Along with this, through the arms they plundered from the military headquarters of the region and the sorts of assistance they were receiving from the Baathist regime, they entered into an armed confrontation with the Islamic Republic. Ideologically, this Party has taken inspiration

from the viewpoints of Mao. After the expansion of the military mobilization of the Islamic Republic, the organization set up by the said group was shattered and their remains sought refuge in the town of Bukan.

Considering its affiliation to the World Arrogance and the aids of the Baathist regime to it, Kumeleh Party took stance in tune with the propaganda blows against the Islamic Republic of Iran in the imposed war and announced Iran as responsible for the war. Throughout the war, members of the Kumeleh, like other communist and hypocrite parties, acted as the fifth column of the enemy and worked as mercenaries of the Iraqi government.

In terms of morality, by proposing ideas such as “free love” and others, this party showed the moral corruptions of its interior.

Anyhow, the current transformations in the Kurdistan region and the consolidation of power of the central government in the region led to the total isolation and extermination of the Kumeleh Party. The Iranian people recognize this party alongside the hypocrites (MKO) and as one of the most detested parties committing treason to the nation and the Islamic Revolution.

35. Sayyid Hasan Mudarris (1859-1938) was one of the greatest religious and political figures in the recent history of Iran. He received his elementary education in Isfahan. He then traveled to Iraq to visit the holy shrines of the imams buried in Najaf, Karbala and Kazimayn. There, he received further education under guidance of such scholars as Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani. After graduation to the level of *ijtihad*, he returned to Isfahan and began teaching Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and its principles (*usul*). In 1909, at the time of the Second National Assembly, he entered parliament. He was chosen by the *maraji at-taqlid* and the *ulama* of Najaf as one of the five *mujtahids* who were to oversee the law-making procedures. At the time of the Third National Assembly, he was chosen as a member of parliament. When Rida Khan carried out his coup d'état, Mudarris was arrested and sent into exile, but after being freed he was again chosen by the people to represent them in the parliament. In the Fourth National Assembly, he headed the opposition majority against Rida Khan. At the time of the Fifth and Sixth National Assemblies, he opposed the proposal for establishment of a republic, which Rida Khan was in favor of, to replace the constitutional government. He dissuaded the parliament from approving it. He was resolute in his stand against the stubborn Rida Khan, such that the Shah hired an assassin to kill Mudarris. When he escaped the attempt, Rida Khan sent him first into exile in the remote town of Khaf near the Afghan border and later in Kashmar, where eleven years later in Ramadan 1938, the agents of the Shah

poisoned him. In this way, one of the greatest political and religious personalities of Iran was martyred in the way of Allah. Mudarris possessed outstanding qualities. Even though he was a man of great political and religious influence, he lived a simple life. Imam Khomeini always spoke of him with a great deal of respect. The Leader of the Revolution, on the occasion of the renovation of Mudarris' grave, wrote: "At a time when pens were broken, voices silenced and throats gripped, he never ceased from revealing the truth and abolishing falsehood....this physically weak but spiritually strong scholar was noted for his belief, sincerity and truthfulness and possessing a tongue like the sword of Haydar Karrar (Imam Ali). He stood in front of them, fried out for truth and disclosed the crimes, making life difficult for Rida Khan and blackening his days. Finally, he sacrificed his own pure life in the way of dear Islam and the noble nation and was martyred in exile at the hands of the oppressive Shah's executioner and joined his virtuous forefathers."

36. The Esfand 14, 1359 AHS tragedy was an attempt on the part of the surrogate elements and compromisers to change the direction of the revolution toward a regime acceptable for the West.

On this day, Bani Sadr, the deposed ex-president announce the ceremony commemorating the death anniversary of Dr. Musaddiq at Tehran University with the support of the opposition groups. He delivered an inflammatory speech to mislead the people and isolate the revolutionary forces. The occasion, which started at 3:40 pm, end up in clash between the participants and those opposing it. During the clash, Bani Sadr was inciting the crowd with his inflammatory speech. His special guards along with MKO militias started to harass and beat the dissidents. In this event, many people in and outside of the university were chanting slogans in support of the ideals of the Islamic Revolution. At the order of Bani Sadr, they were assaulted; many of them were injured. The event of Esfand 14 was a turning point, which made clearer and more profound the delineation of the revolutionary forces under the leadership of Imam Khomeini with the deviant lines. This event and acts of Bani Sadr paved the way for his total separation from the people and finally leading to his seeking of refuge in MKO and fall and escape.

37. Following the 1917 October Revolution in Russia and the establishment of communist system there, a very vast part of the world ranging from the Baltic to the Adriatic was under the iron curtain of Marxism. The manifestations of this thought in violence, killing and suppressing the

opposing thoughts were in the most severe possible manner. After the death of Lenin in 1924 and the coming to power of Stalin, the world witnessed the most horrendous killing in the contemporary history. After eliminating his political rivals such as Trotsky, Zinovyev and Kamenev and establishing himself as the supreme leader of the USSR, Stalin implemented his 5-Year Economic Program for the development of the Soviet Union. Abolition of private ownership and collectivization of agricultural system were among the essential policies of this program. In line with this policy, thwarting resistance and opposition were done in the most brutal and inhuman methods. In the forced-labor camps of Gulag (Chief Administration for Corrective Labor Camps) and banishment of accused dissidents in Siberia only, ten million people died. In 1935, under the supervision of Nikolay Yezhov, some 536,500 people were executed. Stalin was afflicted with a disease called, paranoia, whose symptom is megalomania. The policy of killing and repression also persisted during the subsequent periods. During the rule of Brezhnev, the event of Prague Spring and the aggression against Czechoslovakia were accompanied by widespread killings. Most of the crimes of the 70-year rule of the communists in this part of the world were revealed during the coming to power of Gorbachev. Finally, the blaze of the fire of oppression surfaced from the ashes and its vicious flames immediately destroyed the palace of oppression on its dwellers and oppressors.

38. "Sweeter than honey": this expression is used in the *hadiths* in describing the water of the Pond of Kawthar and other favors of the heaven. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 8, pp. 18, 183, 189.

This is also the expression made by Qasim ibn Hasan (a) on the night of Ashura in reply to his uncle, Husayn ibn Ali (a)... Qasim ibn Hasan (a) asked the Imam (a): "Am I also among those who will be killed?" The heart of Husayn (a) burned for him and asked: "O my son! How is death for you?" He replied: "O uncle! It is sweeter than honey." He (a) said: "Yes, I swear to God—may your uncle be your ransom—you are one of the men to be killed with me after being afflicted with great calamity. Haj Mirza Abul-Hasan Sharani's translation of Haj Shaykh Abbas Qummi's *Nafs al-Mahmum*.

39. This is adapted from the last acclivity of the *ziyarat* of Imam Husayn (a).