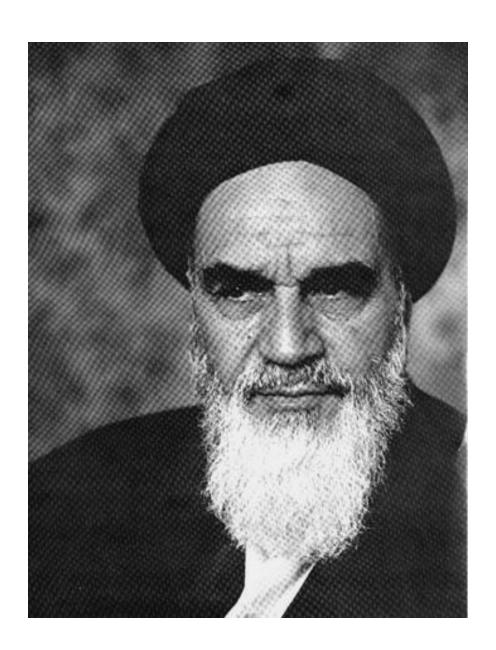


In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful



FUNDAMENTALS OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

SELECTIONS FROM THE THOUGHTS

AND OPINIONS OF

Imam Khomeini (r)

Translated and Edited

by

M. J. Khalili and S. Manafi Anari, Ph.D.

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



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كتاب آيين انقلاب اسلامي به زبان انگليسي

Transliteration Symbols

Symbol	Transliteration
ا وء	a a (')
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
<u>ح</u>	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر ا و و ا و و و و و و و و و و و و و و و	r
j	Z
س	S
ش	sh
ص	S
ض	d
ط	t
ظ	Z
ع	
غ	Gh
ف	f
ق	q
<u>ئ</u>	k
ل	1
م	m
ن	n
و	W
٥	h
م ن و ه ي	У
ő	ah

Long Vowels

Symbol	Transliteration
Ĩ, l	a, A
ای	i, I
او	u, U

Short Vowels

Symbol	Transliteration
1	a
Ì	i
ſ	и

Persian Letters

Symbol	Transliteration
پ	p
€	ch
ژ	zh
گ	g

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In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful



PREFACE

To speak of **Imam Khomeini** is rather a difficult task. It is as difficult as judging the great works and the greater thoughts of all the history-markers, who climbed up to the height of the roof of history, and created events which had fundamental effects on the advance of the times. They freed not only themselves from the narrow and devastating collar of daily routine, but they also guided a community to the peak of honor and into the valley of mastership.

The depth of such great personalities, like **Khomeini**, who were the origin of great works in the history of thought and of human affairs, may be concealed from the eyes of the dazzled of admirers of their greatness. The proficiency and fame of the manifestations of the existing changes may cause the arbitrators to be afflicted with superficiality and shallowness. This problem, especially in respect of the great ones whose movements, which they had been guiding, triumphed in their lives, would be more serious and complicated. The intensity and weakness of such a problem are in direct proportion to the greatness and smallness of the transforming event.

Quite frequently the personalities of the great leaders of human communities may be wrapped in a dazzling halo of the praises of their mad lovers, or in the heavy shadow of ill-speaking or even vilification of the badhearted enemies. An eminent evidence of this question can explicitly be seen in the life and personality of the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution, the late **Imam Khomeini** (may his grave be sanctified)¹.

This is because the matchless uprising which he guided and led to victory, was a great resurgence which embraced the thoughts and the lives of a remarkable section of today's people, Muslims and non-Muslims. The roaring waves of the flood started from the Islamic Iran could, on one hand

shake the rocks of the beliefs of the protectors of the deplorable system governing the world of today, and, on the other hand, it stirred the ocean of the dejected hearts of the deprived and the humiliated in history to agitation. It is natural that the love and hate towards the shaker of the chains of this great uprising to be as great as the greatness of the very movement. It is here that the wise and equitable researchers, taking into their consideration the obstacles and difficulties, and overcoming every excitement, which is the plague of research, they would be able to correctly understand the personality of the Imam and to transfer to the coming generations the great mental, practical, theological and political heritage of this magnanimous personality as best as they can.

As a matter of fact, the difficulty of the task is much in respect of those whose personality can be understood only through the others' arbitration, whether by friends, enemies or impartial parties. Probably in such cases, to reach a trustworthy goal would even be unattainable. But, as a piece of good chance, **Imam Khomeini's** mental and practical works are so much, and, in some instances, so clear that a researcher with a share of equitableness can get a clear and real picture of his personality without being affected by certain deviating factors—a picture which, without any exaggeration, would be beautiful and splendid. It is our hope, too, not to be away from the valley of wisdom, equity and truth in this sensitive case.

Where from to Begin?

Due to the diverse aspects of the Imam's personality, a writer may feel perplexed where to begin from, and which method is most suitable to be used to throw light on a personality resulting from tendencies which sometimes appear to be contradictory—a jurisprudent who sat on top of the searching *ijtihad*, a teacher of philosophy, a deep researcher of theoretical gnosticism, a great preacher of the Islamic ethics, a forsaker of worldly matters, delivered from this life, living at the bottom of a valley full of mysterious practical conduct, an enlighted free-thinker, a fighter against hypocritical asceticism, fake piety and irreligiousness, ablaze by the sanctimoniousness of the pseudo-ascetic people, an active and devout scholar, a man of secrets, a tireless combatant against injustice, the one inviting the Muslim people to gain power and to establish a government, an advocate of a strong connection between religion and politics, a man concerned about Resurrection, yet he never stopped worrying about the people's provision, demanding the implementation of justice in the life of this world, bearing the pains of the

deprived and the oppressed on the earth, an alert politician who was, at the same time, the religious authority for the people—the people who, seeing him the representative of their faith and hope and the yeller of their pains and offerer of the remedy, eagerly chose him as a leader so that he may lead the most popular moral movement of the day towards victory. It is appropriate to begin our description of **Khomeini**, the multi-sided personality, from his religious authority, since he was the manifestation of the true Islamic authority as it should be.

Imam Khomeini, an Islamic Marja

The reality of religious *marjaiyyah* is based on understanding, awareness, theology, sympathy and the sense of responsibility, as we have seen in **Imam Khomeini**, and which can be claimed to be of the most important secrets of the Imam's success in bringing about and directing a great uprising in a country which had been witnessing many different political movements, sometimes tragic or with bad ending, under the name of seeking freedom and independence for the nation.

The real religious *marja* proclaims "monotheism", continues bearing the heavy mission of the "Prophet", opens the way towards "Resurrection", all of which are not manifested except in the luminous complexion of "justice" in its broadest sense—a justice which should appear not only in man's mind, but also in the very individual and social lives, a justice without which there can be no access to monotheism. *The marjaiyyah*, in the original sense of the word, is the very superior Islamic "*imamate*" which is to be practiced in the absence of the sun of the existence of "the Infallible" (a) through the existing learned men who are believers in religion, Islamists, sympathetic, pious, knowing the time and vigilant *mujtahids*. **Imam Khomeini** was a *marja* with all its philosophic, religious, historical and social burden. Even farther than that, he was the reviver of the true Islamic *marjaiyyah*, as he is the great reviver of Allah's religion in our time.

Whenever the Islamic *ummah* found the foreheads of their *marja s* luminous with the light of *ijtihad* ad *jihad*, and recognized them as the mirrors of the truth of existence and the essence of the truth, they were inspired with the equity-seeking and man-making Islam through their tongues and lives; and through their leadership they brushed away the dust of sadness and languidness from the face of the spirit, and struggled to establish a system of life, under other than whose refuge man's infinitely growing spirit would not find its repose and tranquillity.

In our time, **Khomeini** was the manifestation of the deserted *marjaiyyah*, and we saw how the Muslim people of Iran (or even the world of Islam), having found it, could create wonders in the history.

Imam Khomeini and the Revival of Religion and Social Reform

Imam Khomeini, from another aspect, enjoys a high position in the field of reviving religion and social reform. He was a religious scholar, and a religious scholar would not only explain religion, but he should also guard and protect it. The divine religions have been sent down for man who lives on the earth, in a certain time and place and within a society, and his mental, intellectual and emotional systems are affected by diverse internal and external factors, and who acts on his own free will, though he is bound by so many limitations. Such being the case, it is natural that man, under these conditions, is not expected to always see the truth as it is, and not to deviate from the right path.

Man must, however, find out Allah's religion, understand it and practice it. Man's understanding, even if nobody tries to distort it on purpose, is continually subject to doubt and questioning, without which man's intellectual evolution could not have taken place. The deep and vast scientific and mental efforts of the divine philosophers, religious scholastics and theologian researchers and theorists, were because of the point of view concerning this natural characteristic of man, which was sometimes misused by the self-interested people. In this respect, we have no doubt that the Islamic philosophy and gnosticism enjoy strength, richness, depth and a particular attraction.

Imam Khomeini was one of the prominent figures in respect of the Islamic philosophy, theology and gnosticism, as he was one of the powerful guards of religious belief and rationality. In this field he was superior and higher than many of the religious scholars and great *faqihs*, although they might be distinguished in certain branches of the religious knowledge, but as they were deprived of all-embracing knowledge and comprehension, and, lacking a wide-scope outlook, they could not be trustworthy guards of religious beliefs and norms.

Consequently, we regard **Khomeini** to be the great guardian of religion, the one who kept alive the Islamic principles and values and defended them against the windstorms and the floods of doubt and uncertainty.

Reviving the religion has, in another aspect, a double importance, in which **Imam Khomeini** also shows a prominent and shining visage. Allah's religion has always been, and will also be, endangered from two sides: the crooked and narrow-minded thinkers who try to replace the pure and absolute truth of religion with their incomplete and proportional understanding of religion, and coat the current mental habits and customs with sacredness and absoluteness. They, by way of defending the religion, and sometimes under the pretext of offering their services, try to place Allah's religion—which is something beyond time and belongs to all people in all times—into the suffocating straits of superficiality and petrification to the extent that it can be said that even if this plague was not the biggest factor in the appearance of the doubts which remain unanswered in respect of the researching people and naturally induce them to irreligiousness or bad religiousness, it is, at least, one of the effective factors. The tragic events which this factor brings upon a religious community are not few.

The other serious side is that religion has been subject to different kinds of aggression on the part of the profane and ill-thinkers. They find it a handicap in the face of their voluptiousness, overindulgence and bullying, and so they attempt to completely efface it from man's mind and life, or, should this be difficult to attain to, they would try to impose upon the society a distorted form of "religion" that would go in harmony with their whims and desires, and to register it in history.

To counter the said two attempts there have always been the believers in religion, the discerners of the truth and the brave ones who rose to defend the "essence of the religion", reviving it and reforming the religious community, enduring privation and sometimes they offered their lives on this sacred way.

The bloody faces of thousands of the clear-sighted and illustrative *mujtahids*, who are "the martyrs of virtue", are manifest evidences of the originality and the continuality of the process of the social reformation and the religious revival in the Islamic community. **Imam Khomeini** was a steadfast combatant who was both a clear-sighted, researching in the field of thought, and opener of a new road in the face of all those who decide to combat superficiality and petrification, and an unmatched leader in one of the most formidable scenes of the social struggle, as well as a combatant who could overthrow a tyrannical government dependent upon the enemies of the people, changing the colonized Iran into a center throbbing for independence and dignity. On this basis, the great **Khomeini** is, undoubtedly, one of the elites in the arena of "vivifying" and "reforming" the religious

thought in the history of Islam, and the victory of the Islamic Revolution was the most important result of decades of his efforts and strives in the fields of "Religion Revival" and "Social Reformation".

The uprising which was victorious under the leadership of that great man, and which overthrew the despotic, dependent, anti-people and anti-homeland government, was the most expanded, the most popular and the deepest among the movements which took place during the rule of the despotism dependent on imperialism. The Islam which was represented by the Imam, triumphed when the deprived nations, particularly the Iranian nation, had no good opinion of the "leftist" and "nationalist" uprisings—the uprisings which were either from the beginning the tools of the foreigners, or, despite the good will of their leaders and followers, but because they had no root in the people's culture, conscience and historical belief, they sooner or later deviated or remained fruitless.

The Islamic Revolution triumphed at a time when religion was in hardship and deserted within a victorious culture, and once again it brought back Islam to the scene as a living religion which could deliver a nation whose happiness and independence had been usurped by the opium of imperialism. Islam invites to justice, freedom, independence and a government founded on people's want, will and faith, that is, the most decisive need of the deprived nations—the need which no boastful schools, parties or movements could fulfill.

Despite the fact that there were along the history of Islam, specially during the last one hundred years, great persons who exerted their efforts to revive the religion in the social and political life of the Islamic community, yet, the Islamic uprising under the leadership of **Imam Khomeini** is incomparable, in respect of its depth, spread and results, with anyone else, and it is even higher than all of them. If the Imam's great achievement had been confined only to its political and social aspects, still the reviving aspect of his personality would have been great and brilliant. But reviving religion under the light of the Islamic Revolution is not summed in this aspect.

Imam Khomeini, as a scholar acquainted with the age, and as a clear-sighted man, was, in his thought and act, a proclaimer of a live Islam, and an opposer of crooked thinking and reactionism. He fought petrification as he fought the Shah and his supporters². At the same time, **the Imam** was subject to anger and assault from two sides: The hypocrite anti-religion and the agent regime, whose scroll of life was finally torn off and scattered, and the Islamic Iran and its distinguished leadership stood face to face with the USA and

other supporters of the Shah. The other side was represented by the petrified crooked-minded groups³.

But in spite of all the difficulties, the truth of Allah's religion regained its olden transparancy and clarity in **Imam Khomeini's** opinions and deeds, and captured many hearts, and originated an amazing change. Is reviving religion other than this? The Islam which **Imam Khomeini** was its explainer and representative, brought the man, who was sticking to the earth and severing his connection with heaven, to himself, so that in the age of the domination of the art of handling the material nature and the conquer of the belief of "the originality of sensual desires" he may think of high moralities, not as a dream to escape from the rudeness of matter which is believed to be the origin of reality and the original reality, but as a steadfast fact which can change the destiny of a man afflicted with matter and captured by sensual desires such that he could overcome not only matter, but his sensual desires, too, completely and to a sufficient extent.

Khomeini's Islam, in an age of the human ideological poverty and incapability of ensuring justice, stability and freedom for all peoples and nations, and in the era of the tyrannies of the despotic powers, and in the epoch of the collective serfdom of most of the deprived nations, was the motive of the most popular, emancipating and justice-seeking uprising, which put the reins of the destiny of a great nation into its own hands, so as to try, for the first time, the government of the people, the law and the truth along its long history, and to contemplate the freedom and the independence which would be implemented by its want and vigilance, and by freeing the miraculous internal powers of the community, it would become the wondermaker of the time.

To analyse the personality of **Imam Khomeini,** as a "religious authority", a "reformer reviving the religion" and the "leader of a victorious popular revolution" is not an easy job, as such a person, who attains to such a prominent status in history, must naturally possess such deep complications and greatnesses that to be acquainted with all its affairs and characteristics, would reach the limits of the impossible. Nevertheless, efforts should be exerted to open a window overlooking the amazing space of that personality. One must be hopeful that the thoughts, fairness, vigilance of the pious elite will, more than before, help today's generation and the generations to come, who have not yet warmed themselves under the Imam's shining sun, in order to get acquainted with the different aspects of the existential affairs of this great personality.

Hereunder we go swiftly through some of the Imam's characteristics:

1. Knowledge

Those who know the Theological Centre in Qum and are closely acquainted with this circle full of throbbings of energy and efforts must have heard the name of **Khomeini** as a great and shining one. His diverse teaching circles, all of which enjoyed unprecedented brilliance and well reception on the part of the knowledgeable, speak of the depth and the richness of this "multidimensional" personality. Many graduates from his educational and teaching Centre are counted among the prominent learned men, some of whom are now at the head of the professors of Islamic sciences and knowledge. **The Imam's** mastery of, and versedness in, many fields of Islamic sciences and rational, traditional and tasteful knowledge had rendered him such a comprehensiveness the like of which was very rare along the prolific history of the Islamic thought and culture. The diverse and profound works of that great man, dealing with different religious sciences and human knowledge⁴ are clear evidences proving the claim, relieving the claimant from the trouble of proving.

2. Conduct and Action

The Imam's deep and extensive knowledge of all the branches of the rational and traditional sciences and his practical wisdom was even more shining and greater through another excellent merit, the merit which is called in our religious terms as "the greater *jihad*". Those who are acquainted with **Imam Khomeini's** life know that in the perilous field of spiritual self-education and practical course and conduct **the Imam** had passed through many stages which had been passed along the history only by a few people.

The Imam's soul, which became the sun of the life of the Islamic ummah and which offered to the souls of a depressed and humiliated *ummah* warmth and animation, had formerly been kindled and lighted by the burning breaths of the godly educators and the "united" guides. This light, due to the Imam's astonishing persistence and efforts, was ever growing moment by moment. The simple, unaffected and popular life of the Imam is a speaking evidence saying that his carnal desires had been overcome by his fiery, gnostic and "united" soul—a soul whose manifest piety dazzled the eyes of every fair man. This righteous servant of Allah never tinged his eminence and greatness with hypocrisy, nor did he let his holy soul be caught by the truth-destroying plague of sanctimoniousness.

3. Steadfast Belief

A steadfast belief and an unshakable certitude were of the Imam's eminent characteristics, which, in fact, were the fruit of his vast theoretical ijtihad and astonishing practical efforts. His belief and certitude were displayed in his iron resolution in facing the heavy difficulties which usually accompany a revolution as great as the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In performing his divine duty, which he used to recognize by means of extensive thinking and deep internal meditations, the **Imam** never hesitated. persistingly kept his word and forbore the most difficult problems of the uprising period with unabated liberality, dependence on Allah and resignation. He could forbear the intolerable calamity of the death of his learned son, Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini⁶. His spiritual greatness and firm belief in enduring difficulties were such that he considered the bereavement of his notable son—who was a scholar combatant, the powerful arm in leading the struggle, and the firm expected hope to be the authority and the continuation of the leadership—to be of "the hidden graces of Allah", to the astonishment and bewilderment of the visitors who had come to offer their consolation because of that painful extent. He even consoled his followers and ordered them, in the same mourning meeting, to follow up the implementation of the divine task of establishing the just and true government of Allah, by means of unity, vigilance and hope in achieving victory by the help of Allah, the Exalted, despite all the difficulties and obstacles. The Imam's certainty and belief, which are displayed in a statement in the end of his great testament, were the same along his scientific, struggling and social life⁷.

4. Courage

The rare courage of **the Imam**, which was powered by his ocean-wide heart and confident soul, was another one of his merits, without which he could not undertake the leadership of such an uprising as the Islamic Revolution, or if he could, he could not resist the frightening waves of powerful and deceitful enemies. It was the Imam's bravery which awakened the languid and depressed spirit of the great nation of Iran and gave them cheerfulness, such that they stepped, under the leadership of their guide, into one of the most sensational arenas of historical destiny, and became the mirror-bearers of seeking justice and freedom, based on divine morality, within a world of materialism and injustice⁸.

In addition to the courageous and matchless struggles and throughout the Imam's life and accepting the dangers of facing the Shah's despotic regime and its supporters, there came his issuing a death sentence against Salman Rushdi⁹, during the last months of his blessingful life, as the most distinguished marks of his courage and of his performing a religious obligation. It is the more so if we take into our consideration the situation on those days, the limitless problems of the country after enduring the eight-year war¹⁰ imposed by Saddam and his international supporters, and the incompatibility of such a *fatwa* with all the appearances of the common international traditions and the regulations made and polished by world's centers of power, entailing the dangers of conspiracies which could be directed to the system of the Islamic Republic and the one who issued that sentence. Such dangers which, undoubtedly were not concealed from his sharp-sightedness, could not be faced except through faith and relying on the source of emission, and through his fearlessness in the face of all manifestations of unlawful power.

5. Clear-sightedness

If the Imam's universality in the theoretical and applied sciences, in asceticism, uprightness, courage and ability to take decision are taken into consideration, we can realize, despite the fact that there are so many brilliant faces of thought, knowledge and theoretical and applied sciences in the history of Islam, that we cannot find many persons like **Imam Khomeini.** But his universal personality appears to be the origin of the great change in the nature and destiny of Iran, the world of Islam and, in a way, the world of today, only when his distinguished characteristic of "clear-sightedness" particularly shines. Comprehending the time, knowing the situation of the world and man, learning lessons from man's fates and considering a future becoming of man's lofty position—these are of the things which make a scholar and a pious believer, like Imam Khomeini, in an imperialismstricken country aflame under the oppression of tyranny, worthy of shaking the chains and leading an uprising stemming from faith and the hopes of a sacrificing nation, the uprising which was one of the most important events that took place in the Islamic history—an uprising which proved its competence not only in overthrowing one of the most powerful and affiliated dictatorship of the time, but, in spite of a host of plots and conspiracies, it was successful in establishing a popular and lawful system in a country which experienced no rule except that of the power of the despotic rulers under which the people could not find the possibility of deciding their own fate. It was an uprising whose most immediate world result was to bring the Muslims all over the world to themselves and to revive in them the feeling of finding their historical and cultural identity. It was this uprising that changed the dismissed and deserted Islam into a live and dynamic factor, and became an origin of pride and honour and motivation to rise for setting aright the trodden rights, not only in the eyes of the followers of this religion, but even the enemies of Islam and of the Muslims are now looking at it with seriousness. Today, the power of Islam and the awakening of the Islamic nations are among the immediate factors in the international equations and calculations, even on the part of the leaders of the world powers. It was even more enforced, particularly after the dispersion of the Eastern Camp¹¹, as they started planning to encounter the Islamic movements more seriously.

The Islam which **the Imam** demonstrated is the religion which must, in draught of the events and in the sense of life and society, display its competence and ability of reasonably managing the world of the people. It should be capable of securing interests tangible and reckoned by the people. The Imam's mental disturbance in respect of the destiny of the Islamic *ummah*, and his belief in Islam as a living religion which can, and must, prove its superiority over other religions in managing man's life, had been, since his early scientific and social life, eye-catching. The writings dating back to the Imam's youth, as well as his different attitudes towards diverse events and political personalities, and his paying attention to the happenings in the theological centre in Qum, are evidences proving his clear thought and the existence of motives which finally resulted in placing him at the head of the most important contemporary Islamic Revolution. This clear-sightedness of the Imam reached its most solid and manifested culmination during his last blessed years of life.

The Imam's indicative and transforming fatwas in the management of the revolutionary society and today's people, and whatever is offered to remove the difficulties of the system's management, and his shocking guidance in respect of the *ijtihad* suitable and sufficient for managing a complicated society at present and in the future, as well as the characteristics which, according to his opinion, must exist in the *mujtahid* deserving to undertake the leadership of a Muslim society, etc. all are evident signs of the clear thinking and sympathetic conscience of the great leader of the Islamic Revolution, and all rose from principles and criterions which distinguish the distance between the Imam's perspicacity of Islam, and a careless, inactive and reactionary Islam. It is the distance between an Islam which acts for the

deliverance of man in this world, and calls upon him to govern his own destiny, and regards all these as a prelude to the happiness of the world to come, and an Islam which is indifferent to the domination of either vice or virtue over the community. It is the distance between an Islam which emancipates man from inside, and invites him to establish social justice, and an Islam which thinks only of appearances and is indifferent to the Muslims misfortune and humility. Finally, making use of his own statements, that man of luminous conscience, the Imam, clarifies the distance between his understanding of Islam, and the petrified understanding, understandings shown by the centres of power and deceit. It is the distance between the "Pure Muhammadan Islam" and the "American-supported Islam". So, in order to protect "The Pure Islam" and to keep it ever luminous. and in order not to let it be neglected after his absence, it is a must to carry out extensive scientific and research efforts for the purpose of explaining it, and distinguishing, analysing and expanding on the prominent theoretical and research efforts which attained to such results. It is the most necessary mission of the Islamic theological centres and the duty of the religiously enlightened thinkers.

As we have said at the commence, talking of **the Imam** is difficult. The best describer of **the Imam's** personality is the works he left behind. Very few leaders in the world were as intelligent as the Imam who, in every occasion of sweet and bitter moments of the Revolution, presented himself, and thus, in addition to his jurist, judging, gnostic and literary works, there is a heavy collection of communiqués, announcements, verdicts and speeches delivered by his Excellency and remained as a precious heritage, which quench the thirst of the souls eager to be more acquainted with the wonders of **the Imam's** lofty spirit. It is a great collection of which here is a small squeeze placed before the respected reader, hoping that it would be an orifice that calmly opens to the vast space of the great spirit of "Ruhullah" [the first name of **the Imam**] in the withered body of the present unjust and whimsical world

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Notes on This Work's Specialities

1. Due to the fact that many people, particularly the eager researchers abroad, are short of reaching the works and writings of **Imam Khomeini**, we deemed it better to prepare and publish a more summarized collection which

will introduce, as far as possible, **the Imam's** thought expressed by his own tongue and pen. This book will meet this need, though a lot of the small incidents about this thought and the consequences of his attitudes in leading the Revolution, whose wonderful results have been very well known not only to the supporters of the Revolution, but also to its enemies, are not completely seen here.

- 2. Since **the Imam** himself did not undertake the preparation of this work as its author, it goes without saying that he had nothing to do with organizing and publishing it. But, considering the process of his mental function, as he placed Allah's will on top of everything else, recognized its effect in everything, and, as he used to look at the effect of man's will and beliefs in the historical changes through the same point of view, we, too, started our arrangement of the book with ideological topics and what is termed as "world outlook". Then we referred to the pre-Islamic Revolution conditions of Iran through **the Imam's** point of view, and after that we handled the system he wanted for the community and the Islamic *ummah*, and the political, social and educational arguments relevant to that.
- 3. With the exception of the titles which are chosen out of each of **the Imam's** guidelines, referred to in the relevant annotations on the subjects (which are also taken from **the Imam's** directions), all the topics of the book are selections from **Imam Khomeini's** statements, messages and writings, which are the very original words of **the Imam**, without any interference or amendation¹², stating the source.
- 4. **The Imam's** monotheistic-divine opinions and viewpoints are so harmonious and united that his political, economic and educational ideas cannot be separately stated save with consideration. Therefore, the chosen extracts in this collection, which inevitably show a part of that harmonious school of thought in a disconnected form, are only intended to be guided to examples of **the Imam's** opinions about different subjects. So, those who are in quest of **Imam Khomeini's** universal and harmonious thought must refer to his complete works.
- 5. In some of the chosen pieces of this collection, **the Imam** refers to events or affairs which were known to the people at their own times, whereas, after the elapse of time, and because of the fact that they are unknown to some of the readers who are not acquainted with the relevant circumstances of the time, it appeared necessary to give certain explanations which are stated in notes at the end of the book.
- 6. **Imam Khomeini,** all along his graceful years of life, ever since he was known as a vigilant and deep-thinking student till the time when he

commenced his great uprising against injustice and oppression, and called out to struggle for the establishment of the Islamic government, and because of this freedom-seeking struggle he was sent to exile for 15 years ¹³, and also during the ten years of his powerful leadership of the Islamic Republic regime and the greatest revolution in the contemporary history of Islam, he wonderfully followed a single course, which is one of the most prominent particularities of his prolific life. Therefore, in arranging this collection we also added some explanatory notes whenever, though rarely, there appears any apparent discrepancy.

- 7. Many of the items of the book are related from Imam **Khomeini's** speeches (unchanged) which he delivered to the masses of the people. It is obvious that those speeches did not reflect all the characteristics and particularities of **the Imam's** thought. However, in those speeches he handled, as required by the situations and needs of the day, the deepest ideological and political questions, in a very simple expression understood by the common people. This denotes the extent he reached at in respect of creating close connections with the masses. In such extracts simplicity of language and easy connection with the addressees are preferred to the scientific and technical notes. But regarding other extracts, such as his messages and writings, **the Imam's** deep thoughts, his scientific authority and even his literary taste can be easily recognized.
- 8. It was not our intention to display **the Imam's** specialization in the Islamic sciences and learnings in this collection. To get familiar with all the works of **the Imam** as a *faqih*, a religious authority, an extinguished *mujtahid* in diverse techniques of the *fiqh*, *usul*, philosophy, theology, gnosticism, etc. cannot be possible through a collection like this. The interested researchers should refer to his original works.
- 9. Similar to the great divine leaders' methods, and according to the righteous traditions of the religious leaders, **the Imam** mostly used to repeat his instructions and reminders. Sometimes he would repeat an important matter several times such that these very repetitions and assertions were a special message concerning the stressed topics and the method chosen by **the Imam** in facing the problems. But, considering some special regards in this collection, we have tried to avoid such repetitions, or, at least, lessen them as much as is sufficient. Therefore, the number of the chosen texts in this collection concerning any stated subject does not denote the extension of **the Imam's** attention and the importance he attaches to each given subject. Other books and publications of The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, especially the publications arranged according to

subject matter, will guide those who want to know the Imam's opinions about different subjects.

- 10. As the chosen titles were not originally the titles of **the Imam's** speeches, and as his statements about a single subject have been collected from diverse places, all the quoted matters could not be quite suitable for, and in harmony with, a certain title. It is quite possible that a part of his speech has been repeated under many titles and arguments, but every effort was taken to lessen these occasions to the least possible.
- 11. The sources of the selected pieces in this collection are introduced at the end of the book.

Finally, we would like to thank Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Dr. Khatami¹⁴ who undertook the trouble of writing down the first part of this Preface, as well as the respected researchers and colleagues who, under the guidance and supervision of the late son of **Imam Khomeini**, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini¹⁵, cooperated in arranging, organizing, selecting the extracts and choosing the titles.

All the respected scholars and researchers who find any faults and shortcomings in the arrangement of the topics and in titling them in this collection are requested to be so kind as to inform the Institute in order to be observed in the coming prints and in other works.

The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works (The Research Assistance Office)

CHAPTER ONE

Monotheism

The Principle of Monotheism is the Root and Basis of our Beliefs

My beliefs and all the Muslims' are those stated in the Glorious Quran, or uttered by the Messenger of Islam (s) and the true Imams after him. The root and origin of all these beliefs, which are the most important and most valuable of our beliefs, is the principle of Monotheism. According to this principle we believe that the Creator of the universe, all the existing worlds and man is only the Sacred Essence, Allah the Exalted, Who knows all the facts and is capable of doing everything, and is the owner of all things. This principle teaches us that man should submit only to the Holy Essence, Allah, and he is not to obey anybody unless obeying him means obeying Allah. On this basis, no man has the right to force another man to submit to him. From this ideological principle we learn about man's freedom, i.e. no individual has the right to deprive a person, a society or a nation from freedom, or coin laws for him, or dictate one's orders on another as how to behave and to have connections according to one's own understanding and knowledge, which are inefficient, or to arrange them according to his own desire. On the basis of this principle we also believe that coining the law for the progress is up to Allah, the Exalted, as the laws of existence and creation are decided by Allah. The happiness and perfection of man and the society depend only on obeying the divine laws which are conveyed by the prophets to mankind. Man's fall and decline are caused by depriving him from freedom and by his submission before other men. Therefore, men must rise against such fetters and chains of captivity and those who invite them to captivity, and free themselves and their society, so that all submit to Allah and become His servants. For this reason our social regulations begin with rising against despotic and imperialistic powers. By this very ideological principle of monotheism we are inspired that all men are equal before Allah, as He is the Creator of all, and all are His creation and servants. It is the principle of equality among people. The only merit which distinguishes an individual from another is based on the criterion of *taqwa* and purity from deviation and sinning. Consequently, anything that disturbs equality in the society, and pushes forward empty and contentless privileges to rule in the society, must be fought against. (1).

Proving the Existence of Allah, the Exalted

The Belief in the Existence of the Transcendent Origin is an Innate Disposition

One of the innate dispositions, tempered in all men, and no single individual in the human family is found to be different, and no custom, conduct, way, manner, etc. can change it or disturb it, is the innate quest for perfection. If you stroll among all stages of life and question every individual of every group and nation, you will find this love and affection in his temperament and you will see his heart directed to perfection. Actually, as for all the movements, stillness, efforts and intolerable strifes of any one of these individuals, whatever their branch of engagement, it is their love of perfection which makes such people do them despite the fact that people greatly differ in distinguishing perfection, where it is and where they can find the beloved.

Each person finds his beloved in something which he thinks to be the object of his hope. He directs all his attention to it and wants it with all his heart.

The people loving this world and its ornaments take perfection to be in richness, and recognize their beloved in it, and with all their hearts devotedly strive to acquire it, according to the branch of each one of them and to whatever they love. They pay their attention to it because they think it to be perfection. Likewise are the people of knowledge and of industry, each according to the capacity of his brain. They take something to be perfection and regard it their beloved. But the people of the Hereafter, who remember Allah and think about Him, take something else. Generally speaking, all of them look forward to perfection, and as they find it in a being or in an imagined thing, they devotedly love it.

It must be noted, however, that, despite what has been said, none of them has his love and affection directed to what he thinks, and that his beloved, the object of his hope, is not what he imagines, because anyone who returns to his innate disposition finds out that whenever his heart finds something better than what he loved before, his heart will immediately forsake the former and cling to the latter, which is more perfect. After attaining to this more perfect thing, his heart looks for even a more perfect one and the fire of love, burning and eagerness is aggravated every day, and the heart in no stage and at no limit will stop moving. For example, if you pay attention to the beauty of a beautiful and heart-stealing visage, and know it to be with a charming one, your heart longs for that. If you see a more beautiful one than that and realize that the latter is more beautiful, you will inevitably direct your attention to it, or you may, at least, want them both. Nevertheless, the fire of longing will not subside, and the tongue of your condition and innateness will say:

"I am pennyless; otherwise I would be the buyer of all the six 16".

Rather you are the buyer of every beautiful one. You may even become longing just because of possibility. If you think that there is the possibility of there being a beautiful one more charming than those you have seen and you possess, somewhere else, your heart will make the journey to that land and you will say:

"I am among the gathering, but my heart is elsewhere." ¹⁷

You may even become a longing lover on the basis of a wish. When you hear a description of Paradise and of the attractive visages—even if you, God forbid, do not believe that—your disposition would say: "I wish there were such a paradise, and such an attractive lovable could be mine."

Similar is the case with those who find perfection in domination, practising force and expanding the dominion. They get possessed with that. Should they be on the saddle, they would wish to extend their rule to other places, and if they did, they would look forward to a higher position. If they captured a country they would like to capture other ones. Still the fire of their longing increases, and if they dominate the whole earth, and then think that they can spread their domination to other planets, their hearts will desire it and say: "We wish we could fly to those planets and bring them under our domination." On the same trend is the case with the people of industry and science.

In a word, it is the condition of all the human beings; whatever their method or branch may be and whatever rank they may attain to, their longing will still be for a more perfect thing, and the flames of their desire for the better will never subside, rather it will be ever increasing.

So, this light of innateness guided us to the fact that the hearts of all the series of the human beings, whether the dwellers of the farthest regions of Africa, or the dwellers of the civilized countries of the world, be they of the naturalists and materialists, or of the people of religion and creeds, the direction of their hearts is, by nature, towards a blemishless perfection, and they are in love with a beauty and a perfect thing which is defectless, a knowledge in which there is no room for ignorance, a power and monarchy which are not accompanied with incompetency, a life which has no death, and, ultimately, the absolute perfection, which is the one loved by all. All human beings, in an explicit language, and with a single heart and direction, say: "We love the Absolute Perfection, we are in love with the Absolute Beauty and Glory, we are in quest of the Absolute Power and the Absolute Knowledge."

Is it possible to find among all the series of the beings, within the world of imagination and fancy, and in the rational and conventional possibilities, a being who can have absolute perfection and absolute beauty, other than the Sacred Essence of the Originator of the world, Glorified be He? Is there a faultless absolute beauty other than that Absolute Beloved?

O you, the puzzled in the valley of bewilderment; O you, the lost in the desert of straying, no! Or rather, O you, the butterflies around the candle of the Absolute Beautiful Beauty; you, the lovers of the blemishless and eternal Beloved! Have a look at the book of innateness [fitrah], and page through the leaves of the book of your own nature and read what is written therein by the Pen of Power: the divine nature [fitrah]: "I have turned my face toward Him Who created the heavens and the earth." (Al-Anam: 80). Or: "the divine nature in which Allah has created man," (Ar-Rum: 30). Is that divine nature the nature of turning one's face toward the Absolute Beloved? Is that unchangeable nature, "there is no changing Allah's creation", the nature of knowledge? For how long would you, through vain fancies, spend this God-given innate love, this divine trust, on this and that? If your looked-for beloved were these imperfect beauties and these limited perfections, why, then, after your attaining to them, the fire of your longing did not subside, and why did the flames of your avidity increase?

Beware! Wake up from your neglectful sleep, give the good tiding and be merry that you have a beloved who has no decadence, a love who is faultless, a wanted one who is blemishless, an aim whose light is: "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth", a beloved who is so capacious that: "If you are sent down with a rope to the lowest (part of) earth, you will descend on Allah."

So, this actual love of yours needs an actual beloved, that cannot be this fancied and imagined one, because every fanciful is imperfect, while the innate disposition turns to the perfect. So, an actual lover and an actual love cannot be without a beloved, and there is no beloved other than the Perfect Essence who is aimed at by the innateness. So, the requisite of loving an absolute perfect is the existence of an Absolute Perfect. It has formerly been confirmed that the regulations of the innateness and its requisites are more explicit than all axioms: "Is there any doubt about Allah, the Creator of the heavens and the earth?" (*Ibrahim*: 10). (2).

* * *

The Order of the World is not by itself

If one thinks, within the capacity of his knowledge and capability, in his own creation, he will first find in his apparent senses, which are made according to the perceivables and the sensible, that there is for each group existent in this world an understanding power, with an astounding state and arrangement, and to comprehend the spiritual affairs, not perceivable by the external senses, there are internal senses which can perceive them. Disregarding spiritual knowledge and the psyche's spiritual powers, of which man's hand is short, bring under your observation the science of the body, its anatomy, its natural structure, its organology, both the apparent and the inside. Notice how wonderful their order and how astonishing their arrangements are, despite the fact that man's knowledge, after a hundred centuries, has not yet discovered one-thousandth of it. All the scientists quite clearly admit their incompetency, whereas the body of this man is just a small particle if compared with other beings in the earth, while the earth and all its beings, compared with the solar system, are of little importance, and our solar system, compared with other solar systems, has not much perceivable standing. All these systems, generally and particularly are so arranged in an order, and so orderly arranged, that no one can ever object even a single particle of it, and the intellects of the human beings are unable to understand even a particle of it.

So, after such a deep thinking, would your mind need any more details in order to admit that there is a Knowing, Competent and Wise Being that is not like any of the other beings, Who created these beings with such a wisdom and precise order and arrangement? "Is there any doubt about Allah, the Creator of the heavens and the earth?" (*Ibrahim*: 10).

So much systematized industry, which man is incapable of understanding, cannot irrelevantly exist by itself. Blind be the eye of that heart which does not see the truth, and which does not discern the beauty of the Beautiful in these beings. May perish the one who, with so many proofs and signs, still doubts and hesitates. But what can man, who is afflicted with fancies, do?

If you show your rosary beads and allege that the beads have been strung by themselves, and nobody has strung them, everybody will laugh at you. The worst is when you take out your pocket watch and allege a similar claim. Do they not exclude you from the sane people? Do all the sane people of the world not accuse you of insanity? Should the one, who considers this simple and partial order to be beyond the series of causes and reasons, be labelled as crazy, and should be deprived of all the rights of sane people?

What, then, should be done with the one who claims that the world order, or rather, this man and the system of his body and spirit, have come to exist by themselves? Should such one be counted among the sane people? Is there anyone more stupid than he? "Damned be man! How ungrateful he is!") *Abasa*: 17). Death to the one who is not alive by knowledge and is sunk in the sea of his error! (3).

* * *

"The Possible" Never Comes to Existence by Itself

This is a clear question to the mind. Every human mind, due to innate disposition, understands that this being—a being which is possible to be and it is possible not to be—this possible, cannot exist automatically by itself. This possible must ultimately end to a being who is self-existent, that is, He cannot be deprived of existence. He is eternal, and existence cannot be divested of Him. Other beings which may be, or may not be, existent, cannot come to existence by themselves, they need to be brought to existence by someone from outside.

Suppose that there is a space which is everlasting, but as a space, it cannot change into a being by itself [and with no cause].

Some people say: "From the beginning there was an infinite space—[disregarding] the impracticability in the infinite—then there appeared a wind and vapor, then, one after the other, there appeared from this being (the vapor in the space) other beings." This is contrary to what the intellect

necessitates, that something should by itself change to something else without there being an external cause.

Anything which changes to something else must have an external cause, otherwise, a being cannot, by itself, change into another thing. There must be a cause from outside to change, say, the water into ice, or to make it boil. An external cause is required. If the temperature of the water does not go below zero, or higher than zero, it will remain for ever the same water. There must be an external cause.

Every effect must have a cause, and every possible (thing) needs a cause. (4).

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The Attributes of Allah, the Exalted and High

Theism is Natural

Know that among the innate dispositions "in which Allah has created man" is the natural aversion to imperfection, as man dislikes what is faulty and defective. Therefore, fault and defect are disliked by innate disposition, while absolute perfection is loved by it. So, what attracts the attention of innateness must be One and Unique, because every multiplied and compound is defective, as multiplicity cannot be limitless, and what is defective is repugnant to innateness, not agreeable to it. So, through these two innate dispositions: the disposition of loving perfection, and the disposition of disliking imperfection, monotheism is confirmed, and Allah's possessing all perfections and His being innocent of all imperfections, are proved, too.

In the blessed *surah* of *Tawhid*, which relates the attributes of Allah, the Exalted and High, according to the statement of our great Sheykh¹⁹ (may my soul be his ransom) the Absolute Essence, which is the objective of innateness, and which is referred to at the beginning of the said *surah* by the blessed word "He", proves the six attributes stated afterwards. As His Sacred Essence is the Absolute Essence, He must be the Absolute Perfect, as otherwise He would be limited. So, He possesses all the perfections, hence He is Allah, and, while owning all the perfections, He is also simple, or otherwise He would not be the Absolute Essence; thus, He is "One", and the correlation of Oneness is Unity. As the Absolute Essence comprises all perfections, He is innocent of all imperfections, which are the origin of all return to quiddity. So, that Sacred Essence is "Samad", i.e., He is not hollow,

and, being Absolute Essence, nothing is produced and separated from Him, nor is He separated from anything. Rather He is the Originator of all things and the Destination of all beings, without separation, which would require imperfection. The Absolute Essence has no match, because in mere perfection no repetition can be imagined. Therefore, the said blessed *surah* is of the judgments of innateness and is related to Allah, the Exalted. (5).

* * *

Allah, the Exalted, Comprises All Perfections

Know, as is explained in its relevant place, that whatever is perfection, beauty and completion belongs to the very existence and its truth. In the House of Realization there is only one honorable principle, which is the source of all perfections and the origin of all graces that is the Truth of Existence. When all the perfections are not the very truth of existence, and in some aspects of existence in the heart of the objects, if they are far from it and cause dualism with it, there will be two principles to be fulfilled in the House of Realization, a fact which leads to many evils. So, whatever is perfect is not so according to the concept and quiddity of perfection, but by way of fulfilling them within the very objects they become perfect, and whatever is fulfilled within the very objects and in the very heart of the affair is a principle, which is existence. So, whatever is perfect resorts to a principle, which is the Truth of Existence.

It has also been cleared out that the Truth of Existence is mere simple from all sides, and His Holy Presence is completely innocent of composition, as long as He remains true to the principle of the clarity of His Essence and the purity of His own Truth. If He degrades His principle of Truth, outer intellectual composition will incidentally happen to Him according to the relation of the scenes and stages, but due to the essence it is simple, and composition is alien and accidental.

From these statements two noble rules are derived: The simple at all sides is the whole perfection, with a single standpoint and the one aspect, and from the same standpoint of existence He is Knowing, Powerful, Living and Willing, and other names and attributes of beauty and glory are true of Him. He is Knowing as He is Powerful, He is Powerful as He is Knowing, without any difference in credibility, even mentally. As to the difference of the concepts of the names and the conventional terms, since they are unconditional intellectual concepts, it is not related to the difference in the

very truth, and it has been cleared out that the different concepts of perfection are abstracted from a single thing. Rather, consequently, it is necessary that all the concepts of perfection should be abstracted from a (single) standpoint. If the concepts of perfection are abstracted from different standpoints—as is seen in some possibles—it is accidental and concerns the degradation of the truth of existence, accidentally mingled with the non-existents.

The second rule is that what is perfect at all sides and is mere perfection and all good must be simple in all sides. As a result, two other rules can also be deducted: First, that which can be compoundable, in any way, is not perfect at all sides, and defect and non-existence may afflict it, and whatever is defective cannot be absolute simple.

So, since Allah is completely simple, and in Him there is no room for compounds, which denote possibility, poverty and attachment to others, He is perfect at all sides and owner of all names and attributes. He is the origin of truth and the plain quiddity of existence, while, at the same time, His existence is not admixed with non-existence, nor is His perfection mingled with imperfection. He is pure existence. Had non-existence found any way into Him, the worst of composition, i.e., the composition of existence and non-existence, would have been mixed in Him. So, He is pure Knowledge, pure Life, pure Power, Seeing, Hearing and other perfections. Hence the truthfulness of a statement delivered by Imam as-Sadiq²⁰ (a): "Knowledge is His Essence, and so is Power."

Generally speaking, a study about the attributes in the terms of the theoretical philosophy shows that all the factual and additional attributes are different according to their concepts, and no one of them is the very Sacred Essence, but according to their truth all are the very Sacred Essence. The difference is that the attributes are of two states: One, the state of essence and the attributes of essence, from which knowledge and knowledge ability, power and powerfulness can be abstracted. The other is the state of the attributes of act, from which the concepts of knowledge and knowledge ability, and power and powerfulness can also be abstracted. But as to the negative attributes, such as Allah's Glory, Sacredness and His purifying names, they are among the requisites of the Holy Essence, and the Holy Essence is their accidental confirmation, because Allah, the Exalted, is Absolute Perfection and it is true to say that He is Essentially Absolute Perfect, since He is the origin of the truth, and this implicates that He should be blemishless. Perfection is the accidental confirmation of negation of fault. Men of Knowledge and the people of heart take the status of manifestation by the most Holy Emanation to be the beginning of the Names of Essence, and the status of manifestation by the Holy Emanation to be the beginning of the attributes of act.²² They do not take the manifestation by the Holy Emanation to be "other", as they do not take it to be the "Essence", either. Discussing this subject leads to discussing the Names and the Attributes according to their method, in which case we shall be off the track.

Knowledge before Creation

Among the noble discourses to which this noble *hadith* refers is knowing—before creation—the effects from eternity, about which there is a great dispute concerning its origin and method, and whether it is in general or in details, exceeding the essence or the very essence, before the creation or along with it. These topics are detailed in relevant writings. Relinquishing relating the other discourses and defying them, we turn to study the subject itself.

Know that what is certain to the people of proof and the men of gnosticism is that to which this noble *hadith*²³ refers, i.e., knowing the known before creation is in the eternity, and that is His Essence itself. The *hadith* indicates that His knowledge is in detail when it says that He was seeing when there was nothing to be seen, He was Hearing when there was nothing to be heard, that is because seeing and hearing visualize the visible and the audible in detail, as is clear. It also refers to extensive knowledge by saying: "Then when He created the things and the known was there, His knowledge alighted on the known²⁴, etc." That is, after creation there took place no new knowledge, but it alighted on the effect after actualization. We shall later explain the meaning of "knowledge alighting on the known."

As to explaining this noble subject of faith, according to the method of the researching philosophers, it may be said: It was known, in the former chapter, that Allah, the Exalted, is the pure existence and the pure perfection, and that the pure existence, with its complete simplicity and unity, includes all the perfections and contains all existences in their perfect forms, and what are out of the domain of His existence are nonexistence, imperfection and inability, or, in a word, nothingness. The relation between the other degrees of existence and the Holy Essence is that which is between imperfection and perfection. The Knowledge of the absolute perfection is the knowledge of all perfections without any imperfection or inability, and this is the very detailed general disclosure of the simple [basit]. Although even a single particle of

the existents is not outside the domain of His knowledge from the beginning to eternity, there is no room for multiplicity nor for composition in it.

But according to the gnostic method, Allah, the Exalted, holds all the Names and Attributes in the state of Unity [wahidiyyah] and in the state of the Nominal Union [jam-i asmai]. The fixed entities [ayan-i thabitah] of all beings are correlative to the Divine Names in the state of Union [jam], before creation at the beginning, and the absolute manifestation of the Essence in the state of Oneness [ahadiyah] and in the invisible Ipseity is the exposition of all the names and attributes and the correlatives, which are the fixed entities of all beings, through the manifestation of the One [wahid] and the exposition of the Absolute Simple. So, by the very knowledge-exposition through the manifestation of the most Holy Emanation, the exposition of Essence, Names, Attributes and entities takes place, without the interference of any multiplicity and composition in between. These two methods are extremely precise, fixed and lofty, but just because they are of perfect exactness and based on many principles of philosophy and terms of godly men and people of heart, one may get nothing out of these expressions and his perplexity would be increased, unless these preliminaries, complete and perfect familiarity, and frequent practices, and having full confidence in the divine scholars take place. Therefore it is preferred to have a simpler explanation, nearer to the understanding of the common people.

So, we say that: Causality and originativeness of the Necessary Being, the Exalted, are not like the causality of natural factors that can compose the existing materials or separate them, such as a carpenter who effects changes on certain given material by composing or separating, nor is it like a mason who uses his materials for construction. Allah, the Exalted, is the Divine Doer who brings into existence by His will things which did not exist. His very knowledge and will are the cause of the appearance and the existence of things. So, the House of Realization is within the domain of His knowledge, and it appears (only) by His bringing it out of the hidden places of invisible identity: "And with Him are the keys of the unseen, none knows them but He" (Al-Anam: 59). It is said that the page of the entities in relation to the Sacred Essence of Allah, the Exalted, is like the relation of the minds to the human soul which creates by its will and displays what is in the unseen identity. So, all the circles of realization are within the domain of (His) knowledge, whence they appear and to which they return: "We are Allah's and to Him we return" (Al-Bagarah: 156).

In a more explicit expression: Knowing the reason and the complete cause of a thing requires knowing the thing itself. For example, an

astronomer who knows the solar and lunar eclipses, their day and their hour, his knowledge is based on knowing the reason. He has registered the movements of the sun, the moon and the earth, and by calculating these movements he is able to find out the time when there is a separation between the sun and the moon by the earth, or between the earth and the sun by the moon. If his calculations were correct, there will not be even a single second of error. Since the entire chain of causes and effects end in the Sacred Essence of the Prime Beginner, and Allah, the Exalted, has knowledge of His Essence, as the Cause of all beings, He has knowledge of the effects, too. Of these stated aspects, any person may choose one according to his own growth, but some of them are stronger and more adequate than the others in covering the entire purpose.

Allah's Hearing and Seeing

One of the topics concerning the Names and Attributes of Allah, the Exalted, discussed by the great philosophers is the question of Allah's hearing and seeing. The philosophers and the theologians in general ascribed hearing and seeing to knowledge, while the honorable Shaykh of illuminism²⁵ refers knowledge to seeing and hearing, each of which is explained by him, but relating them would take us away from being brief. Yet we do explain the conduct and the creed of this master concerning the general Names and Attributes of Allah.

Be informed that many of the philosophers and notables, in order to neglect some standpoints, referred some of the Names and Attributes to some other ones, as it is taken for granted by them that the Will of Allah, the Exalted, means His knowledge of the good and the most complete order. They have different views in respect of hearing, seeing and knowledge and referring them to one another, as was already said. This is contrary to research and it is neglecting the standpoints, because if by saying that will refers to knowledge of the good, or knowledge refers to hearing, or hearing to knowledge, it is meant that Allah, the Exalted, has no will, nor seeing and hearing, and it is only the knowledge which they refer to as will, hearing and seeing. This is a statement quite erroneous and a saying quite disgraceful, because it means that Allah, the Exalted, the Beginner of existence, is void of will and free choice.

Furthermore, the criterion concerning Allah's being characterized by the attribute of perfection is that that attribute should be a perfect attribute for the existence as being existent. In a word, the attribute is to be the very truth

of existence, and to be the perfection of the origin of the essence of existence. There is no doubt that will is one of the perfect attributes of the absolute truth of existence. Therefore, the more existence descends to lower stages and ranks, the weaker its will becomes, till it reaches a stage in which it is completely deprived of will, and the people do not regard it to have will power, such as the natures like minerals and plants. The more it advances upwards to perfections and higher horizons, the stronger and more apparent its will becomes, as we see in the chain of the natural beings. After passing through the states of matter, corporeal, element, mineral and plant, will and knowledge appear in it, and the more it ascends upwards, the more perfect its will becomes, to the extent that a perfect man possesses a perfect will, such that by his will he can change an element into a different element, and the world of nature submits to his will. So, we discover that will is an attribute of perfection of existence, and of the existent as it is an existent. We confirm this fact for the Sacred Essence of Allah without having to refer to another fact.

Similarly, hearing and seeing, according to a research worthy of being credible, are also of the perfections of the Absolute Being, as the truth of hearing and seeing does not depend on corporeal organs nor is it of the sciences which need tools and instruments, but the tools are needed for the appearance of the soul's hearing and seeing in the world of nature and the domain of the body, as the need, in science, as appears in the realm of nature, is for the brain. This is a defect of the world of nature and dominion, not a defect of knowledge, hearing or seeing [...]. He sees the realities of the invisible world, and hears the heavenly words of the angels and the spiritualists, as Moses, the Interlocutor of Allah, heard Allah's talk in his supplications, and the seal of the Prophets used to talk to the angels and to see Gabriel in his heavenly image, which no other ear could hear, and no other eye could see, despite the fact that during the revelation the Prophet was not (usually) alone.

Generally speaking, hearing and seeing are also of the sciences which are an addition to the principle of knowledge, and are other than the truth of knowledge, as they are of the absolute perfections of existence. Consequently, it is necessary to confirm them in respect of Allah, the Exalted, the Origin of the principle of Existence and the Source of the perfections of existence. If those who refer hearing and seeing to knowledge, or refer knowledge to them, want to say that knowledge and will are confirmed for Allah in a single standpoint, and that hearing, seeing and knowledge have no different standpoints in His Sacred Essence, then it is

true and coincides with the proofs, but it is not confined to these particular attributes, as all the attributes belong to the truth of the pure existence. This meaning does not contradict confirming different and many attributes to Allah, rather it is actually already confirmed for Him, because it is obvious that the nearer the existence to unity, and the remoter from the horizon of multiplicity and the more above it, the more comprehensive it will be in respect of the names and attributes, till it is in respect of the Pure Existence, the Necessary Simple Truth—**Glorious is His Tremendousness, Great is His Power**—Who is the ultimate unity and simplicity, and includes all the perfections and contains all the names and attributes. All the concepts of perfection and the meanings of Glory and Beauty are, actually, true of Him, as He is worthier of, and more entitled to, them according to all degrees of worthiness and entitlement.

To sum up: The stronger and more complete the unity, the deeper the thoughtfulness of the concepts of the perfection and the increase of the names and attributes, which, on the contrary, the nearer the existent to the horizon of multiplicity, the remoter the truthfulness of the concepts of perfection from it, or the weaker and more resembling a metaphor. This is because unity is in harmony with existence and is of the perfections of the existent as being existent. Harmony denotes, here, that although existence and unity have different concepts, in the outside, the reality of existence is the very reality of unity, whereas wherever multiplicity unloads itself, its loads will be imperfection, non-existence, evil, weakness and languor. That is why the more existence descends to defective degrees, the more the multiplicity in respect of all the degrees of existence. The position of the Lordship, the Sacred Presence of His Majesty—the Exalted and Almighty being pure existence and pure unity and simplicity, has no room for multiplicity and composition. We have already stated that existence is the origin of the truth of perfection and the source of glory and beauty. So, pure existence is pure unity and pure perfection; thus, pure unity is also pure perfection. Therefore, whatever has unity at the highest degree, all the names, attributes and perfections are true to it, and each one of them is worthier and more deserving to be true to it. On the contrary, whatever is nearer to multiplicity, defect will increase in it, and the names, attributes and perfections are defectively true to it, and the quality of their being true to it is weak. So, Allah, the Glorified and Almighty, possesses all the perfections and holds all the Names and Attributes, without their being related to each other, rather each one of them, with its own truth, is true to His Holy Essence. His hearing, seeing, will and knowledge all are of their real meanings, without multiplicity being necessary in His Holy Essence in any way: His are the Most Beautiful Names, Supreme Ideals, Glory and Bounties.

The Criterion of the Positive and Negative Attributes

The criterion for the positive and negative Attributes of the Necessary Holy Essence, Glorified His name, is that every attribute of perfection and of beauty for the Origin of the Truth of Existence and the very Essence of Existence, without identifying it in an individual clothing, and without its development into a particular world rather than into another, and which, in a word, refers to the very ipseity of existence and to the Luminous Existential Essence, is of the positive attributes necessarily confirmed for the Holy Essence, the Exalted; as otherwise it would mean that either the Holy Essence is not the very pure Existence, or He is not the mere Existence, Perfection and Beauty, both of which are quite invalid according to the methods of gnosticism and proof, as is stated in its relevant places.

Every attribute or quality which is not confirmed for an existent, except after its descending to a stage of individuation, and its development into a sort of confinement and its co-embracing with a degree of imperfection and with a state of languor, or, in a word, that which is not of the essence of existence and refers to the limits of quiddities, is of the negative attributes impossible to be realized in the Absolute Perfect Essence, because the Absolute Perfect Essence, the pure Existence, is the evidence of the pure perfection, and will mean the negation of defects, limits, nonentities and quiddities.

It is known among the researchers that the negative attributes refer to a single negation, i.e., the negation of the possibility. This seems to the author to be incorrect, rather, as the Holy Essence is the essential evidence of all the attributes of perfection, and they do not refer to one another—as we have already explained—likewise, He is also the accidental evidence and the confirmation of the negation of every defect. It cannot be said that non-existences and defects are of the same standpoint, and there is no distinction among the non-existences, because, if it is observed according to the very reality and the matter itself, as the absolute non-existence is a single standpoint, and yet it is all the non-existences, the Absolute Existence is also a single standpoint and is all the perfections. So, in this view, which is regarding the oneness [ahadiyah] and the invisible of the invisibles, no attribute can be confirmed, neither the real positive attributes, nor the

glorious negative attributes. But in another view, which is regarding the state of unity [wahidiyyah] and the union [jam] of the names and the attributes, the positive attributes of perfection are multipliable, and every attribute of perfection has to be correlated with the negation of an imperfect attribute which is its contrary, and as the Holy Essence is the essential evidence of being Knowing, He is the accidental evidence of being non-ignorant, and as He is Omnipotent, He is non-impotent. And, as it is common in the knowledge of the names that for the names [and positive attributes] there are encirclingness and encircledness, superiority and inferiority, for the names and the negative attributes also follow these considerations. (6).

* * *

Allah's Names

The Whole World is Allah's Name

The whole world is Allah's name, all the world, because a name is a sign. All the beings of the world are signs of the Holy Essence, Allah, the Exalted, yet only some people can get to the depth of their being signs and know what kind of signs they are. Some others can only generally understand that they are signs. This general understanding denotes that an existent cannot come into existence by itself.

This fact that all the world, all the beings of the world, are the names of Allah, the signs of Allah, is a general understanding available to all intellects, as they can take the whole world to be the names of Allah.

But as regards the real meaning of the question, it is not a matter of meaning, such as if we try to introduce a lamp to the others we name it and say: a lamp, a car, a man or Zayd. This is a fact concerning a being infinite in all the attributes of perfection, an Infinite Being who has no limit, nor is He a "possible being".

If a being has limits it will be a "possible being", but He is a Being with no limit, whatsoever, in His being. According to the rational necessity He must possess all perfections, because if He lacked one of the perfections He would be limited, in which case he would be a "possible being".

The difference between "the possible" and "The Necessary" is that the latter is infinite in everything, and is an Absolute Being, while those other than Him are limited beings. If we suppose that all the attributes of perfection, in their infinite, unlimited, form, are not present in Him, then He

will be changed into a "possible being", and the one whom we think to be "necessary", will not be a necessary, but a "possible" being.

All the beings whose existences begin from Him as the Beginner possess all those attributes, but in their imperfect forms, though in different degrees. There is the highest degree in which all the attributes of Allah, the Exalted, exist, but to a possible extent which a being can contain. That is the Greatest Name.

The Greatest Name

The Greatest Name is the name, the sign, which contains all Allah's perfections in their imperfect forms, that is, possible imperfection; and embraces all the divine perfections in respect of other beings in a perfect form.

The beings which come in the wake of the Greatest Name also contain the same perfections, but according to the capacities of their own existence and according to the existential capacities of their own, down to these material beings. These material beings which we think have no knowledge, no power, nor any perfection, they are not, indeed, so.

All the Beings Glorify Allah

As we are behind veils we cannot comprehend that even in these low beings which are lower than man, lower than animals, and are imperfect, all those perfections are reflected, but in proportion to their own existential capacities. They even have a perception similar to that which man has: "And there is not a thing but proclaims His praise, but you do not understand their glorification." (al-Isra: 44).

We are veiled and do not understand the glorification of the beings. Some of those who did not know that an imperfect being can understand interpreted the above *ayah* to refer to genetic glorification, whereas the ayah speaks of something other than the genetic glorification. Such glorifications are not genetic, though they are proclaimed by the beings that have a cause. No, the question is not that. In fact they do glorify.

In the narratives concerning the glorification of some beings it is stated that what that glorification is. It is a glorification alien to my ear and yours. It is utterance, talk, language, but not our language. It is understanding, but an understanding proportional to their own existential capacities. We are unable to understand the realities of these beings because we are veiled, and being

veiled, we are uninformed, and being uninformed, we think that plenty of things are not there.

Many things man thinks that they are not there, while they are, but you and I are strangers to them.

The world is full of uproar. The whole world is alive. All are the names of Allah. Everything is the name of Allah. You yourselves are names of Allah. Your tongues are also of the names of Allah. Your hands are of Allah's names, too.

All Movements Are Allah's Names

The praise you proclaim is the name of Allah. Your tongue when it moves, it is the name of Allah. When you go home from here, it is by Allah's name that you go. You cannot separate it. You yourself are Allah's name. The throbbing of your heart is the name of Allah. Your pulse is the name of Allah, too. These winds which blow are all the name of Allah. So, it is possible that the noble *ayah* intends to say this concept. In many other *ayah*s this is repeated, i.e., in the name of Allah so-and-so. The talk is about the name of Allah. Everything is the name of Allah, i.e., it is true, and the names of Allah are all things. The name is annihilated [fani] in the named. We think that we have a kind of independence, that we are something. But it is not so.

If that radius of existence, that radius, that will, that manifestation, by which He brought the beings into existence should stop, for a moment, its radiation, its manifestation, all the beings would be nothing, they would go out of the state of existence, and return to their original state, because the continuation of existence depends on His manifestation.

All the world has come into existence by the manifestation of Allah, the Exalted, as that manifestation, or light, is the origin of the truth of existence, i.e., Allah's Name: "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth" (*surah an-Imam*: 35), that is, they are the manifestation of Allah, they are light. Anything that is actualized is light. If it is apparent there, it is light. We call it

light because it has an appearance. Man is apparent, too. He is light. Likewise are the animals. All beings are light, and all are Allah's light.

"Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth", that is, the existence of the heavens and the earth, which are light, is from Allah, and they are so annihilated in Him that "Allah is the light of the heavens...", not that "by Allah the heavens... are lighted", as this denotes a sort of separation. To say: "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth" means that they are

nothing. There is no being whatsoever in the world which can have a kind of independence. Independence means that it can be out of "possibility" and reach the limit of "necessity", whereas there is no "necessary being" other than Allah. That is why He says: "In the Name of Allah... Praise is Allah's"; "In the Name of Allah, say: He is Allah, the One"; probably it is not intended to mean; Say: "In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful", no, but it is a reality which means: Say by "the Name of Allah", i.e., your utterance is also by "the Name of Allah". So "Glorifies Him whatever is in the heavens and the earth", not "whoever is in the heavens and the earth". ²⁶ Whatever is in the earth and in the heavens, anything that exists, glorifies by the Name of Allah which is His manifestation, and all the beings are actualized by this manifestation, and all movements are of the same manifestation.

The Whole World is the Manifestation of Allah

All things which happen in the world are of that same manifestation, as all affairs, all things, are from Him and to Him they all return. No being has anything, whatsoever, of itself. There is no "one's self". The one who says: "I myself have something, too," that is in contrary with the Origin of Light. "I myself have something, too." means that "this existence is from me"! But what you have is not from you. The eyes which you have are not from you, they have come into existence by His manifestation.

The praising which we perform, and the praise which is performed by all, and all the thanks which they offer and we offer are by the Name of Allah, because of the Name of Allah.

"Allah", the Comprehensive Manifestation

"Allah" is a comprehensive manifestation, a manifestation of Allah, the Exalted, inclusive of all manifestations, such as *Rahman* [Beneficent] and *Rahim* [Merciful]. "Allah" is the manifestation of Allah, the Exalted, and *Rahman* and *Rahim* are of the manifestations of this manifestation.

Rahman, with mercy and compassion, has brought all beings into existence. This is mercy. The origin of existence is mercy. Even the existence which is given to the evil beings is also mercy—the extensive mercy which embraces all beings. That is, all beings are the very mercy itself. All of them are mercy, and "Allah" in the name of Allah is the very manifestation which is the manifestation in its full meaning. It is a position which can display manifestation in its full meaning. It is a comprehensive name, a name which

is also a manifestation. The very Essence of Allah, the Exalted, is a name. "He Has neither name nor shape" is His name. The name of Allah, the name of *Rahman*, the name of *Rahim*, all are names and manifestations. By His name "Allah", which is inclusive of all perfections, He is in the stage of appearance, and mentions His being Beneficent and Merciful, because He is Merciful, Beneficent and Compassionate. The attributes of anger and revenge are subordinate, not essential. Mercy is essential. Being *Rahman* and *Rahim* is essential. The other ones are subordinate: In the name of Allah, the *Rahman*, the *Rahim*. (7).

RESURRECTION

The Worlds of Existence

Existence Covers the Invisible and the Visible

Once again think of the two material and divine world-outlooks. The materialists take the criterion of knowing in their own world outlook to be the "sense", and whatever is not sensed is, they think, to be dismissed from the realm of science. To them, existence is equal to matter, and whatever is void of matter does not exist. Naturally, the invisible world, such as the existence

Allah, the Exalted, revelation, prophethood and resurrection, all of which they think to be fables, while the criterion of knowing in the divine world-outlook depends on both sense and reason, and what is common falls within the realm of knowledge, even if not sensed. Therefore, existence covers both the invisible and the visible, and that which is not matter can exist. As the material being depends on an "abstract", likewise, knowing by senses depends on rational knowing, too.

The Glorious Quran criticizes the base of the materialistic thought, and to those who think that there is no God, or else He could have been seen: "We will not believe in you until we see Allah manifestly" (al-Baqarah: 55), it says that: "Vision does not comprehend Him, but He comprehends (all) vision, and He is the Subtle, the Aware." (al-An am: 103). (8).

* * *

Nature: A World of the Universe

The materialists take man to be an animal like other animals. All his things and developments revolve around the material matters and material understandings. They call them concrete affairs. They think that the concrete

affair is only this world of nature, while there are other worlds which they do not comprehend.

The world of nature is situated at the end of the beings of the world of existence, at the very end, that is, the extreme end of the world. The lowest world is the world of nature. It is not that there is only man and this nature, without there being any ranks or degrees. Man has many degrees. The one who only looks for man's highest ranks, neglecting these degrees, is mistaken. The one who clings to the world of matter, to the rank of nature, disregarding the metaphysics, is also mistaken. (9).

* * *

This World and the Universe

... This world of materials, this world of nature, as has so far been understood and discovered, is an astounding one. Our intellects cannot comprehend it. So far, they have comprehended it to some extent, but still there are other than that which no hand has yet reached its light, such as the stars whose light takes six billion years to reach the earth. This expanse, which the minds cannot get to know, is the world of lowness, the mean world. This world, with all its expanse and facilities, is the low world. This sky, with all its already discovered contents, as the Quran says: "We have adorned the lowest sky with the adornment of the planets!" (as-Saffat: 6), is the low sky. It is the lowest sky which has so far been discovered. All these, in the terms of the Ouran, are the lowest sky. The upper skies have not yet been discovered, and they know nothing about them. Yet, as the narrative goes: "He did not look with kindness at it ever since He created it²⁷". The Ouran calls "the life of this world" to be *mata* [means of enjoyment], while the life in the Hereafter is the real life, the lively life. Here, it is not life, it is death. The life of the Hereafter is the life: "The home of the Hereafter **that is life**) " (*al-Ankabut*: 64) (10).

* * *

This World, a Transit Passage

This world is a place for passage. It is not a place to live in. It is a path, a way which we have to pass straight forward, as the godly men did: "We passed while it (Hell) was dormant."²⁸ If we could directly pass this way

safely we would be fortunate, but if, God forbid, we slipped in this world, on this road, the same slipping would also appear there and would cause us to slip and to have hard times. (11).

* * *

Believing in the Hereafter is Demanded by Innateness

One of the divine innate dispositions created within the entire human family and the series of humanity is the loving of comfort. If during man's stages of savagery, civilization, obstinacy and religiousness one is to investigate this subject and ask every individual, learned and ignorant, mean and noble, urban and nomad: "What for do you have such diverse attachments and different desires? For what purpose are you enduring such difficulties and hardships during your life?" All of them will unanimously and in the single tongue of their disposition utter the only reply that: "What we all want is personal comfort." The ultimate aim, the final goal and desire is the absolute comfort and a repose not mixed with any sort of difficulty and hard work. And as such a comfort free from pain and rancour is loved by everybody, and as that lost beloved is thought by every individual to be in a certain thing, everyone will be in quest of the thing in which he thinks his beloved is, despite the fact that such an absolute comfort cannot be found in the entire expanse of the world, as such a flawless repose is impossible. All the booties of this world are mixed with severe hardships and pains. All the pleasures of this world are accompanied with back-breaking tortures. Pain, suffering, tiredness, sorrow, agony and worry prevail all over the world.

Throughout the stages of man's life, you can find no one whose sufferings equal his comfort, and whose wealth deserves his hardship and agony, let alone having a pure and absolute comfort and tranquillity. Thus, man's beloved cannot be found in this world. The innate, natural and actual love, among the entire series of mankind and the human families, is impossible without an actual and existing beloved.

Hence, it is inevitable that in the World of Realization and of existence there must be a world whose comfort is not mingled with pain and suffering, and whose absolute repose and tranquillity are free from all difficulties and hardships, and where there is only pure pleasure without sorrow or grief. That is the gracious abode of Allah, the world of generosity of the Holy Essence. That world can be evidenced by the innateness of freedom and the influence of will, which are in man's disposition. The affairs of this world

and its conditions, difficulties and constraints are incongruous with the freedom and influence of human will. So, there must be a world in which will is effective, and its affairs are congruous with the will, and there, man will be able to do whatever he likes and to rule over what he wants, according to the requirement of innateness. (12).

* * *

The Limited Punishment in this World

If somebody kills someone else, does away with a soul, his own soul equals that soul which he killed, it equals the person who was killed, and we can accordingly punish him. But the one who has driven hundreds of thousands of people to death, the one who imprisoned hundreds of thousands of people into jails and cells; can he not be punished in the other world which is eternal? (13).

* * *

The Truth of Death

The brain, the best proportioned substance, is the last stage of the body that appears in the fetus. It is the empyrean of the body. When the movement of the brain begins, the first stage of sensing appears, because the substance, in its essence, turns, by movement, to the sense of touching. And, as this sense is close to the substance, since the last stage of the substance is the first stage of the sense, it transmigrates in the substance and gradually moves and then the other sentiments and emotions appear, as well as the faculty of imagination. As this sense develops, it will be the last stage of the world of nature and the first stage of abstraction. Then these faculties gradually develop and proceed toward the world of the invisible. Consequently, there appears a unity, which is the soul, which, in its unity, contains these multiplicities. The soul gradually moves, and, as long as it is inside nature, tries, stage by stage, to drag itself, through its trans-substantial movement, out of nature. At the same time when a stage of it is abstracted, another stage of it is natural. Actually, it is a mixture of the worlds of the visible and the invisible, of nature and abstraction and of the unclean with the clean, until with its development process it separates itself from nature to join the caravan of the abstracts. In fact, this is a horseman who set out from the first

point of nature and the world of matter along with the caravan of the beings of the world of nature, then it moves ahead until it reaches the limit between nature and abstraction, and by taking its last step off nature, puts its first step on the road of abstraction, and going past the world of vision it goes into the world of the invisible. And while leaving the limits of nature and abstraction, it says farewell to the caravan of nature. This is the separation which we call "death". This separation is compulsory and natural, and this farewell is forced and this journey is constitutional: "When their term comes they will not be delayed for an hour nor will they be advanced." (al-Araf: 34) (14).

* * *

Rational or Satanic Abstraction

For a matter, which has fallen in the course of humanity, to attain to the world of abstraction is compulsory and natural, and it is essential concerning this true path. It is like a straight line between two points. If somebody starts from the first point and moves on the line, he will certainly reach to the other point. Similar is the human movement from the primal form of the primal matter. He constantly moves (comes) to reach the horizon of nature and (then) returns. When he turns the page of the world of nature over, he will reach to the page of the world of abstraction. But when man comes out of nature, he can be, at the time of coming out, a rational abstractist or a Satanic abstractist. As a result, man will either be a happy abstractist or a wretched one. Yea, it is true that passing to the world of abstraction is compulsory, but in this involuntary journey it is possible that one may have voluntarily made a profit or incurred a loss. That is why he becomes either an abstract Satan or an abstract man. (15).

* * *

Discerning the Images of the Acts at Death Time

At the time of death and vision man discerns the effects and the images of his acts, and hears the tidings of Paradise or Hell from the Death Angel. When these effects are disclosed to him to some extent, he will also discern the effects of his acts on the heart, whether luminous, openness and expanse, or their opposites, such as gloominess, narrowness, darkness and pressure. So, after discerning the *barzakh*, the heart becomes prepared to visualize the

kindly, gracious and beautiful bestowals, in which the effects of the manifestations of kindness and beauty appear, should he be of the people of happiness and faith. Hence, the heart gets to love meeting Allah, and the fire of longing for the Beauty of the Beloved will be kindled in the heart, should he be of good precedence and divine love and attraction. No one, but Allah, knows how much pleasure and graces there are in this manifestation and longing!

If he is of the people of faith and good deeds, he will be endowed with Allah's graces proportional to the degree of his faith and deeds, and which he will eye during his last breaths. So, there appears in him the desire for death and for meeting Allah's graces. He then leaves this world with pleasure, comfort and gladness. But the worldly eyes and the mundane tastes are not able to get the pleasure of this cheerfulness and rejoicing, nor to endure seeing these graces.

But if he is of the people of wretchedness, denial, infidelity, hypocrisy, evil deeds and bad acts, to him will be disclosed examples of the effects of the divine anger and wrath in the abode of the wretched, proportional to his portion and gain and what he has acquired in this world. He will be so terrified and upset that nothing will be more detested to him than the mighty and wrathful manifestations of Allah, and, as a result of this hatred and hostility, he will have to face such difficulty, pressure, darkness and torture the severity of which no one knows except the Holy Essence of Allah. This is for the persons who were disbelievers in, hostile to, and hypocrite with, Allah and the godly men. For the disobedient and those who commit capital sins, there will appear examples of their own hell, in which case there will be nothing more hated to them than leaving this world. So, they are taken by force, pressure, difficulty and pain to the other world, and they feel, in that time, deep regret in their hearts, unsuitable in measurement.

From the above-mentioned statements it becomes clear that man, at the time of his death, discerns what has been in himself without his being aware of it, while the seed of that he himself had sowed in the realm of his own existence. This world's life is a curtain covering our defects, and it is a veil before the people's knowledge. Whenever this curtain is pushed aside, and whenever this veil is torn away, man will discern specimens of what had been in him and what he had prepared in himself. Man in the other world, would not suffer any pain or punishment, except that which he himself had prepared in this world. Whatever he had of good deeds, good conduct and right ideologies in this world, he would eye-witness them in the next world together with the graces which Allah would grant him. (16).

Development in the World of Barzakh

It should be reminded that concerning acquiring virtues it is not that there is no difference among them, because on the very moment of leaving the abode of nature, the intellectual abstraction is not vet perfect, as there is also the barzakh, which must be crossed by the trans-substantial movement until the pure intellectual abstraction is reached. So, the barzakh is for all, and the people of the barzakh have a barzakhi existence between the intellectual abstract existence and the corporeal natural existence. Therefore, the paradise of the happy is the paradise of the barzakh, and the hell of the wretched is the hell of the barzakh. The world of the barzakh is a compulsory stage of existence. So, it is compulsory for all. But those who could acquire in this world virtues and moral merits their course in the barzakh would be short and they would quickly reach to the world of intellectual abstraction. Thus, their way in the barzakh would be shorter and their trans-substantial movement there would be quicker and brisker, because they are more prepared by the help of acquiring moral merits to receive the robe of honour of intelligent abstraction. At the same time, those who acquired vices, theirs would be quicker in reaching a full hellish abstraction, and they would not stay long in the hell of the barzakh. (17).

* * *

The World of the Grave or the World of the Barzakh

Man's exit from this world, whatever form it may take, means his entering the world of the grave. The world of the grave is the very world of the *barzakh*. Imam as-Sadiq (a) was asked: "What is the grave?" He said: "The grave is the *barzakh*."²⁹ Generally speaking, the narratives explicitly state that the world of the *barzakh* is identified by the grave, and that the barzakh is the very stage of the familiarity with nature. When this familiarity ends and, due to the appearance, disclosure and the domination of the world of the invisible, the attachments to the abode of nature are severed, then the end of the familiarity will be the very great Resurrection and the Day of Judgement. So, the *barzakh* of every person is different from the *barzakh* of others, and the stay in the world of the grave is proportional to the amount of one's enjoying the abode of nature. Nevertheless, this is not in contradiction with the gathering of all people on the Day of Resurrection, since in the Hereafter world there is no absence, for there is no place and no time that one

can be absent. All are gathered there. The people of Paradise see the people of Hell and vice versa, because Paradise and Hell are above place and time³⁰. (18).

* * *

The Staying of the Souls in the Barzakh

Naturally it cannot be said that all souls will become intellectual abstracts and will attain to a high rank and happiness. Such persons are but few. Only a few number of the prophets, godly men and the pure and loyal believers will attain to that high degree of happiness. The number of such people in the world is quite small, and they receive no pain or punishment. They are in comfort and pleasure, enjoying the divine graces. They have no imaginative faculty, but it does not contradict our saying that they have bodies without the faculty of imagination. It is quite possible that they do not need food, houri nor Paradise. Rather they will be happy with things much higher than food, houris and Paradise, of which they get pleasure.

But common people are of two groups: A group who enjoy moderate happiness and the other group are the people of disobedience. These two groups would never attain to pure intellectual abstraction, as their abstraction belongs to the *barzakh*, as well as their bodies which also belong to the *barzakh*. It is true that the faculty of imagination is abstract, but its abstraction is not complete, since it belongs to the *barzakh*, and there is nothing to prevent the imaginative faculty to be abstract in the *barzakh*.

Furthermore, their sufferings and afflictions are because of the perceptions, as our present afflictions are also because of perceptions. Had there been no perception there would have been no suffering. So, the stronger the faculty of perception the stronger the perception of the pain. As the perception of the soul in the *barzakh* and after death is more, it appears there more distinctly out of its own inner essence, according to the faculties it acquired in this world. Actually the market of trade is closed there, but the goods and the properties are taken from this world, while the faculties which he acquired are fused into himself, and it is possible that his personality is a statue of anger, because in this world he used to be furious—an attribute which was changed into a faculty fused into his essence, then, there, the inside of his essence shows out, and the soul, according to the faculty it acquired in this world, manifests pictures suitable to those pictures of anger. Generally, as anger has merged into the essence, the essence itself is actually

the truth of anger, and whatever the soul produces will be in accordance with the essence itself, not that the productions of the soul are only mental images, rather, they are objective images, and they have actual existence, since the soul has reached its perfection and whatever it produces has exterior, despite the fact that the soul, in this world, due to its weakness, can only produce mental images. (19).

* * *

The Hell of the Deeds

All that you have heard about the fire of Hell, and the tortures in the grave, on the Resurrection Day, etc., and compared them with this world's fire and torture, you misunderstood the question and did incorrect comparison. The fire of this world is something cold and accidental. The torture of this world is quite easy and tolerable. Your perception in this world is incomplete and short. If they collect all the fires of this world, they cannot burn man's spirit. But the fire there, besides burning the body, burns the spirit, too, and melts the heart. You have heard all this, and whatever you have so far heard from any person, is the hell of your own deeds, which you will see present before you, as Allah, the Exalted, says: "And they find what they did present (there)." (al-Kahf: 49). You may have eaten an orphan's property in this world, or you enjoyed pleasures. Allah knows what image you will see of it in the other world, in Hell, and what pleasure you will taste there. Here you abused the people, burnt their hearts. This burning of the hearts of the servants of Allah, Allah knows what is its chastisement in the other world. When you see it, you will realize what torture you have prepared for yourself. When you practised backbiting, its heavenly image was prepared for you, and it will turn to you, and you will be mustered with it and you will taste its torture. These are the hell of the deeds, which is an easy, cool, and agreeable hell, and it is for those who are disobedient. But for those who have acquired bad faculty and void vices, such as the faculties of greed, avarice, disbelief, dispute, covetousness, love of wealth, position and worldly things, and other mean faculties, there is a hell that cannot be imagined. There are images that never occur to our hearts. They emerge from the inside of the soul itself. The people of that hell are abhorring, and horrified from, the tortures of those images. (20).

* * *

The Resemblance of Torture in the Hereafter

We, in this world, cannot perceive the intensity and severity of the heat of the fire in the Hereafter, because the difference in the intensity and weakness of the torture is, first, caused by the strength and weakness of perception. The stronger the perceiver, and more complete and purer the perception, the intenser the feeling of pain and torture.

The second cause of difference is the difference of the materials which are sensitive to heat. As materials differ in accepting heat, such as gold and iron which are more resistant to heat than lead and tin, and these latters are more resistant than wood and coal, and these are more resistant to heat than meat and skin.

Another cause is the firmness of the connection of the strength of perception with the concerned place. For example, although man's brain is less resistant to heat than his bones, yet it is more impressed, because the power of perception is more displayed in it.

Another cause is the imperfection and perfection of the heat itself. If the heat is of one hundred degrees, it burns more than that of fifty degrees.

A further difference is the connection between the material actuating the heat and the material receiving it. For example, it is different to have the fire near your hand or to have your hand into it.

All the above-mentioned five causes are quite incomplete in this world and quite complete and strong in the Hereafter. All our perceptions in this world are incomplete, weak and covered with numerous veils, the details of which we shall skip off in order not to be lengthy, and because mentioning them does not suit this situation. Nowadays our eyes do not see the angels, Paradise and Hell. Our ears do not hear the strange and amazing noises of the *barzakh* and its inhabitants, and of the Resurrection Day and its people. Our sense does not feel the heat of that world. This is because of our own imperfection. Many *ayahs* (of the Quran) and narratives of *Ahl al-Bayt* (a) are full of such news, openly and implicitly narrated.

As to man's body in this world, it is incapable of receiving heat. If it remains for an hour in this world's cool fire, it will turn into ashes. But Allah, the Omnipotent, creates this body, on the Resurrection Day, in such a condition that in the Hell of the Hereafter—about which Gabriel says that if a single link of the chain of seventy-cubit length of the inhabitants of Hell is brought to this world, all the mountains would melt away because of its intense heat ³¹—it survives and never melts, nor is it finished. Man's body in the Hereafter is incomparable with man's body in this world.

As to the connection between the soul and the body, it is very weak and incomplete in this world. This world renounces letting the soul to appear in its full powers. But the other world is the domain of the appearance of the soul, and the relation between the soul and the body is that of activeness and innovation, as is proved in its place. This relation is one of the most complete relations.

Regarding the fire of this world, it is a feeble and cool one. It is an accidental affair blemished with alien, external and impure materials. But the fire of Hell is pure, unmixed, and a self-existent, alive and willing essence, that consciously burns its dwellers, and practises its pressure against them according to the orders issued to it. You have already heard its description from the saying of the truthful and faithful Gabriel, The *ayahs* of the Quran and the narratives are full of its description.

As for the contact of Hell's fire with the body, there is nothing to resemble it in this world. All the fires of this world if heaped around a man, it can only encircle the surfaces, while the fire of the Hereafter Hell encircles man's exterior, interior, and intellectual capacities and what are connected to them. It is a fire which burns the heart, the spirit and the powers, and achieves a sort of union with them which is matchless in this world.

So, it has become known that the means for punishment are not available in this world. Neither the materials in this world are acceptable, nor the effectiveness of the factor of the heat is full, nor the perception is complete. We cannot comprehend nor imagine the fire by whose breath the Hell burns, unless we become, God forbid, among the arrogant, and leave this world before reforming this ugly and rude conduct, in which case we will eyewitness that. "Woeful indeed will be the abode of the arrogant." (an-Nahl: 29) (21).

* * *

PROPHETHOOD

The Necessity and Philosophy of

Sending Prophets

Man's Limit of Perception

Man is distinguished from other animals by being able to have progressive developments, as well as by his perceptions and by the objectives of his perceptions. Animal's perceptions have their limitations and come to an end, while man's perceptions and receptivity for education can be said to be almost unlimited. Therefore, man is partner in all the things that are in existence, from the very first beings until he became distinguished, with all animals and plants and their equals, yet he still enjoys an additional merit—the faculty of reasoning and a higher power which is not in them.

Were man to develop only to the same extent of the other animals, there would have been no need for prophets. What would they have been needed for? Man would come here, he would live like animals, eat like animals, sleep like animals... and die like animals. But we do need prophets because man is not like animals so as to be limited like animals. Man has a limit beyond animals, and some degrees beyond animals and beyond reason, so that he can reach to an undescribable position, which is referred to as the last station, the station of "annihilation", or one like that of "divinity". There are different expressions concerning that. Man's education, with all its dimensions: bodily, spiritual, mental and beyond them, cannot be entrusted to the human beings, because the human beings do not know man's needs and how to educate him in regard to metaphysics. If you join all the human powers together, they will understand (only) this very nature and its characteristics, which, however, are discovered by man to some extent. He is progressively advancing, although there are still many things to be

discovered. But, whatever it is up to the end, it is, after all, nature, it belongs to this world, and whatever it is, it belongs to this page of life.

That which man can perceive and is within the limit of his natural understanding is the world of nature. Suppose that man could one day discover all the characteristics of the world of nature, and understand all that are connected to nature's evolution and perfection, nevertheless he would be bound to the limits of nature, not farther. He would know nothing about the next page and what is therein, and what kinds of relations are there among the things and between one another. Even if man continued to the end to try to understand those relations among the things of the nature, cause and effect, even if he gets full education, acquires knowledge of the discoveries in nature and all its characteristics and all the relations between nature's parts, and understands, for example, the relation between an earthquake and the earth, when it would take place, what its results would be, whether it would be vertical or horizontal, and many other details, or man's relation to nature, and between man and other things, and even if we suppose that there remained nothing unknown to man, yet it would all be within nature's limits. He cannot step outside it and he knows nothing about the outside. (22).

* * *

Man's Spiritual Education through Revelation

Had man been confined to the limits of nature, and no more, there would have been no need for him to have something sent to him from the invisible world to educate him, to educate his other page. Had there been no such page, there would have been no such need. But man, outside this world of nature, is a fact, and his characteristics prove that there is a "meta-" or a "beyond" in him. According to what is philosophically proved, there is a "beyond nature" or "metaphysics" in man, as he has an abstract possible intellect, which afterwards becomes a complete abstract. That page, man's spiritual page, should be educated by the one who has real knowledge of the other side, a knowledge of the connection between man and the "beyond nature" side. He should perceive those connections, and he cannot be a human being, as a human can have no such knowledge. Man can only understand what belongs to nature. Whatever magnifiers he may use he cannot see the "metaphysics", as it cannot be seen by magnifiers. It requires that there should be some other meanings, which are hidden from man, but Allah, the Creator of everything, knows those relations. Therefore, there is the need for the divine revelation to a group of persons who have acquired perfection as well as the spiritual perfections and understand them. With them there takes place connections between man and the world of revelation. They receive revelation, and in order to educate the second page they are sent to mankind. They are raised up among the people to educate them. (23).

* * *

Is Religion an Opium or a Mover?

The enemies propagated that "religion is opium". Unfortunately, it had its effect on our youths in Iran, and its effect is still seen in some of our enlightened class, as they still think that "religion is opium for the society". They mean that religion is something produced by the powerful class in order to cause the peoples to sleep so that they may plunder them! The same thing was said about Islam: "Islam was good for fourteen centuries ago. Its precepts cannot be all applicable nowadays." These people do not know at all what Islam is. They say: "They fabricated the prophets in order to set up the religion, in order to protect the powerful people." Whoever has a glance at the history, at least, the history of Islam, which is nearer to our era, will certainly realize who stood against who. Whoever reads the history of the prophets must notice to which class they belonged, and whom did they oppose. He will observe that the prophets were from the *mustadafin*, the oppressed, from the very third class of the people, and they incited the people to fight against the *mustakbirin*, the arrogant, the oppressors. One was Moses (a). He was a shepherd, with his stick. He for many years worked for the prophet Jethro³² (a) as a shepherd. He was of the common people in his appearance. He was raised up from among the common people and prepared them to stand against Pharaoh. Pharaoh did not raise Moses in order to protect his throne. Actually Moses took the people with him and jeopardized Pharaoh's rule. So, religion is not an opium. According to their allegation, Pharaoh had raised Moses to put the people to sleep so that he may continue his domination, but the reality was quite the contrary, since Moses prepared the people, that is, the third class, to do away with Pharaoh's kingdom. The history of Islam, which is recent, shows the Quraysh³³ tribe as the most powerful force at that time. Did this powerful tribe fabricate the Messenger of Allah (s) in order to persuade the people to sleep so that they may go on practicing usury, trading and plundering? Did not the Prophet stand in the face of Ouravsh? Despite the fact that he himself was of Ouravsh, yet he was

among the people of the low class. He was one of the nobility, but he was penniless and owned nothing. He could not live in Mecca because of those wealthy people and ruffians. For a while he lived in a mountain, in a cave, until he arranged his underground movement, and then he moved to al-Madinah. There, too, were the ruffians, the powerful groups, the usurers, the wealthy merchants, the Jews who were then among the wealthy people. But the Prophet did not go to them. He went to a person of the third class, and there gathered around him the poor, the penniless people. He lived there in a room (not like this one!), a room made of palm-trunks, with few other rooms for himself and his mosque. Similar were his companions, some of whom were called ahl as-Suffah³⁴, those who used the estrade [Suffah] of the Prophet's mosque as a dormitory, since they had no place to live in. The Prophet took these people with him and destroyed the unbelievers of the Quraysh. They were the poor, the mustadafin, the third class people who even were homeless. They were the army prepared by the Prophet to fight Ouraysh with them.

Islam and other religious were all movers, the awakening agents which woke up the people. It was the instructions of the Prophets that woke the people and prepared them to stand against the powerful polytheists. (24).

* * *

Religion and Civilization

Among the serious plots in this century, especially in the recent decades, and particularly after the victory of the Revolution, which are eyecatching, are the extensive and multi-sided propagations intending to disappoint the nations, especially the sacrificing nation of the Islamic Iran. Sometimes they clumsily, but openly, allege that the Islamic teachings, coined fourteen centuries before, cannot manage the countries at the present time, or that Islam is a reactionary religion and contradicts all kinds of innovation and civilization, while in this contemporary era no country can live away from world civilization and its phenomena. They have some other similar foolish, and sometimes noxious and Satanic, propaganda pretending to support the sanctity of Islam by claiming that Islam and other divine religions are concerned with the spiritualities, refining the souls, warning against mundane positions, inviting to neglect worldly matters and to engage in worshipping, supplication and prayer which bring man nearer to Allah, the Exalted, and take him away from worldly affairs, such as government,

politics and military matters, which are contrary to religion's objectives of great spiritual aims, as those practices are for colonizing this world, which is contrary to the conducts of the great prophets. Unfortunately, this latter method of propaganda had its effect on some men of religion who knew little of Islam, to the extent that they regarded even the interference in the government and the politics tantamount to sinning and irreligiousness, and maybe some still regard it so. This was a very big calamity with which Islam was afflicted. As to the first group, it must be said that they were either ignorant of the meanings of government, law and politics, or they purposely pretended to be so, because carrying out the law on the basis of equity and justice, preventing the wrongdoers and the despotic governments, spreading individual and social justice, preventing corruption, immorality and all kinds of deviations, promoting freedom on the criterion of reason, justice, independence and self-sufficiency, preventing colonialism, exploitation and slavery, implementing the *hudud*³⁵, *qisas*, and *tazirat*³⁶ on the basis of equity for the sake of preventing the corruption and the perish of a nation, managing the society on the criterions of reason, justice and fairness, and hundreds of other similar points, are not the things which can be regarded out-of-date matters by the passage of time along the history of man or in the social life. This claim is like saying that the laws of logic and mathematics should be changed in this era and replaced by up-to-date ones. (25).

* * *

The Objectives, Particularities and

Consequences of the Mission

The Prophets' Objective: Spreading Monotheism

That for which the prophets had been sent and all other activities were preliminaries for it, is spreading monotheism and acquainting the people with the world, showing the world as it really is, not as we perceive it. They tried to concentrate their educations, instructions and all their attempts on delivering the people from the darknesses of this world and to guide them to the light. There is no light except Allah, the Exalted, and all else are darkness. If we get rid of these dark veils, and if we are successful in getting

out of the luminous veils, too, and tear off all veils, we will only then witness Allah in all His attributes and names, as there is none but Allah, and all else are but a mirage. Of course, in the full meaning of this point, only few of the godly men who followed the prophets could be successful, while the others are lower in degree, until it reaches to us, who are nothing. (26).

* * *

The Ultimate Objective: Knowing Allah

All the objectives of the prophets turn back to a single concept, that is: knowing Allah. All else are preliminaries to this. If there is an invitation to good deeds, if there is an invitation to educating oneself, if there is an invitation to acquiring knowledge, they all return to the original point existing in the innate dispositions of all mankind. The veils are to be removed so that man may attain to it—to knowing Allah. The supreme aim is this. The prophets did not want to have any war, and they did not want to have any invitation except to knowing Allah. They never wanted to conquer countries. They never called to such things. (27).

* * *

The Divine Religions and Attending to

Man's Dimensions

All the religions sent down by Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, and all the noble prophets who were ordered to convey (the mission), had come for man's convenience, for the construction of man. By the revelation to the prophets Allah, the Exalted, wanted them to guide all the human beings and to construct man with all his dimensions. Other forces, other dominions, do not care for man's spiritual dimension. All the ideologies of the world (except those based on monotheism) have nothing to do with man's interior, his essence, and his spirituality. They let him do whatever he likes. They care only for preserving their own worldly interests. They care for keeping the order and preserving the regularities. If the order is established, man may do whatever he likes. If he commits any offense secretly, the government is not concerned about it. There is no law (other than the monotheistic law) which

prevents man from doing certain (unlawful) things in his solitary closet. They are not concerned about what man in his inside is, what happens secretly in his house. No, they have nothing to do with that. Only he should not come out brawling into the streets and breaking the order. This is what the nonmonotheistic ideologies want, contrary to the monotheistic ideologies and the religions which were sent down from heaven upon the great prophets. Religions concern themselves with all the dimensions of the human beings. They look after man before being born... How should marriage be, what the conditions of marriage are, what kind of woman should be chosen, what kind of man should be chosen, since marriage is a tillage for the appearance of a human being. Even before there being a marriage, it must be so pre-arranged that the expected child will be sound and healthy, bodily and spiritually. This is also attended to before marriage, then during pregnancy, or even before pregnancy when this insemination takes place, what its conditions should be, what regulations should be observed, what kind of food the pregnant woman should eat, what kinds of food she should abstain from, how her life should be, what things are needed when she gives birth to the child, and after the birth of the child who should suckle it, what kind of woman the wet-nurse should be, how the suckling should be, and at what times and under what conditions, how the mother should treat the baby, when it leaves the mother's lap, how the father should be, how the family should prepare to raise the child, then the teacher at school, how he should be, then when he comes out into the society, how his behaviour should be. All these are wanted in order to send a well-educated human being into the community where he is to assert himself, to act correctly, to possess good conduct and morals, to hear sound beliefs, to mix with the people in the best way, to have good conduct with the neighbours, with his fellow-citizens, with his co-religionists and with those of other religions.

All these are because the divine religions come from Allah, the Exalted, Who created all the dimensions of man and cares for them and wants to educate him in all his dimensions. Therefore, there is no difference among the religions from this point of view, since all of them want to educate man. In Islam all the said things come under the precepts in the Quran and in the *hadiths*, of which I have mentioned only a part. Islam takes care to the said extent of man's comfort, his welfare and the like, and, in this respect, it makes no distinction between a class and the other. (28).

* * *

The Two Basic Objectives of the Prophets

The prophets had been sent so as to bring people's talents and spiritualities to blossom, and then to let them know that they are nothing, and, at the same time, save the weak from under the yoke of the *mustakbirin*. From the beginning the prophets had two duties. The spiritual duty of delivering people from being captives of their own selves, i.e., the big Satan. The other duty was to deliver the oppressed from the yoke of the oppressors. These were the two duties of the prophets. When one thinks of Moses and *Ibrahim* (a) in respect of the things said about them in the Quran, one realizes that they, too, performed the said two tasks: Inviting the people to monotheism and rescuing the oppressed from injustice. If you see that in the instructions of the Jesus (a) little is said about fighting the tyrants, it is because his life was short and he had little connections with the people, otherwise, he would have followed the same course of Moses (a) and other prophets. The noblest of them, the Messenger of Allah (s), also practised the same two tasks as explicitly stated in the Quran and the sunnah. The Quran calls the people to spirituality to the extent to which man can reach or more, then to spread justice. The Prophet and the others who were the tongue of revolution carried out the same two duties. Our Prophet, before establishing a government, was busy strengthening spiritualities. As soon as he could establish a government, besides the spiritualities he spread justice. He ran the government and brought out the oppressed from under the burden of the oppressors as his time required. (29).

* * *

Spreading Equity

All the prophets, ever since the early human history, from the time of the coming of Adam (a) till the seal of the Prophets (s), had come to reform the society. They used to sacrifice the individual for the sake of the community. There is no individual higher than the prophets themselves, or the (twelve) Imams (a). They, as individuals, used to offer themselves for the community. Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, says: "We sent our messengers with clear proofs, and sent down with them the Book and the balance so that men may behave equitably." (al-Hadid: 25). The aim is that men should act with fairness and that social justice should prevail among the people, injustice should be done away with, likewise with oppression, and

the weak should be looked after, and equity should be applied. He immediately adds: "and We sent (down) the iron." What connection is there? The connection is that the objectives must be carried out by means of iron—by means of the clear *ayahs*, by means of the balance and by means of the iron "in which there is great strength". That is, if somebody, or some group, wanted to destroy a society, or overthrow a righteous government, they must be talked to by means of clear *ayahs*, if they gave no heed to it, they should be talked to by means of the balance, the rational balance, and if they gave no heed, then by means of iron. (30).

* * *

Breaking the Turrets of Injustice

Originally, prophethood and prophets are sent in order to break the foundations of the injustice practised by powerful groups who oppress the people, and to destroy the turrets of injustice which had been errected by means of the toiling of the oppressed class, by their hardship and by their being exploited. The Prophet had been sent to break those turrets and to pull down the pillars of injustice. On the other hand, as monotheism was to be spread in these regions where other than Allah was worshipped, the places of fire worshippers, they had to be destroyed and the fires had to be extinguished. (31).

* * *

Dilating the Prophets' Bosoms

The prophets and the messengers, endowed with "dilation of bosom", while witnessing the invisible world, they see the visible world at the same time. The unity and simplicity which they see in the invisible world are real unity and simplicity, not like the unity and simplicity in our concept. Without those we even cannot find on the page of the heart these things in details and multiplicity, whereas they are attentive to all these multiplicities in details. This, i.e., preventing the unity of the invisible and keeping the stages of the invisible world along with keeping the multiplicity of the world of nature, which is a genetic matter, and is related to the dilation of the bosom and its strength, belongs to prophethood. Whoever could be like this, that is, if he is neither attracted by the invisible world out of the world of nature, nor can the

world of nature rob him from invisible witnessing and prevent him from seeing the other side, if both sides of his heart became so, he would be a prophet from among the people.

Therefore, prophethood is not an assignment or a fictitious post like that given to an agent. It is, in fact, existent by the very truth of that prophet, since he should be a person who could see the facts in the invisible world, take them and spread them in the world of visibility and multiplicity, and convey them to the others. And this cannot take shape without the two sides of the heart being open to the visible and the invisible. (32).

* * *

The Prophets Are Never Contradictory

Those who were abstract, their knowledge was according to the reality. Therefore, the discoveries of the prophets were alike, similarly their knowledge and narrations were always congruous, and they never accused one another of lying, and it is impossible that they had done it. Of course, not because of sanctity or that censuring is *haram*, but because all of them were alike in perceiving the truths, as they were so in understanding, without there being any disagreement among them, as there is no disagreement among us about one being half of two, as this is a weak one of the intelligibles with the lowest degree of abstraction, and the soul, in its first degree of abstraction, perceives this meaning. The higher the degree of abstraction, the better the perception of the abstract individuals, such that if it continued, the truths would come out of his heart and soul. The objective is that there should be an intimate unity with the high principles, and not that man should just understand a perception. (33).

* * *

The Prophets' Infallibility

When Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, wanted to send a guide to the people, He chose his Messengers from among those who, from the beginning of their lives till the end, did not commit even a single fault, and so, they were infallible. He chose such beings to educate, purify and teach the people. (34).

The Prophets, Allah's Shadow

Allah's shadow is called so only when his movement is Allah's movement, having nothing from himself. The noble Prophet is Allah's shadow because: "You did not throw when you threw, but it was Allah Who threw." (al-Anfal: 17). "Those who swear allegiance to thee, swear allegiance in truth to Allah", (al-Fath: 10). Why so? Because everything the Prophet had was from Allah, whatever he saw was Allah and because he was extinguished in Allah. Whatever movement done by the prophets was in accordance with Allah's consent. They moved as He moved them and as He moved. They had no movement of their own. They moved as He woved them. (35).

* * *

The Prophets Have Control over Themselves

If all the prophets gather in a given place, they will never quarrel. If you suppose that the godly men and the prophets are present now in the world, you will never see them in dispute, because dispute is a sign of selfishness, and it appears from the very man's self, while they have killed the "self". They strove and they all wanted Allah. (36).

* * *

Call to Light

The prophets lived in such a way that their associations had a divine aspect. Their marriage had a divine aspect, as all their affairs had. Any aspect which we think to be a materialistic and animal aspect, they make it humanistic and divine. When they war, their war is divine and for Him. If they make peace, they make it divine and for Him. There is a divine aspect in their facing the *taghut*. Everything that belongs to the *taghut* is materialistic, Satanic, and drags the spiritualities towards materialistics, towards worldly things. But those who follow divine instructions give these materialities—which are utilized by everybody—a form of spirituality, and look at them with an eye of spirituality. They look at all the world as an aspect of divinity, and take all things as manifestations of Allah. If one of them is kind to some

people, it is not because they are his son, his daughter, his brother, but because of its spiritual aspect, because they are Allah's servants, Allah's envoys. Satan is on the contrary. The *taghut* is on the contrary. The prophets come to invite people out of darkness to light. (37).

* * *

The Prophets, Servitors

The prophets regarded themselves to be servants not that anyone of them thought himself to be a prophet in order to rule over the people. There was no talk of governing. The great godly people, the great prophets, had this feeling and that they had been commissioned to guide, advise and serve the people. (38).

* * *

The Prophets, the Manifestation of Allah's Mercy

All the prophets, from the early beginning of the world till now, all of them, were a manifestation of Allah's mercy, as the existence of all of us is so. Similarly, the guidance of Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, through the prophets was a great mercy for all the worlds. The Prophet and all the prophets were a mercy. This is because the human beings are heedless, they are ignorant and do not know what is going on on the other side. They do not know if they refrain from going along the humane road what will happen to them. Those who know the road, know in what error the human beings will fall, and what difficulties they will face, due to their own deeds and their own corrupt thoughts. Everything is incurred by man himself. Nothing is planned beforehand in order to torture us. All these are the things which we ourselves incur upon ourselves. Each act which we do here has its image in the barzakh and an image in the heaven to which we shall reach. A good deed is like that, and the bad deed, too. So, the prophets and the godly men who knew the road, knew the consequences. They were sorry for mankind and sacrified themselves in order to deliver the people...

The prophets never spent a single day on themselves, or even a single hour. All their attention was paid to delivering the diseased, those who were hurling themselves into the pit, those who were submitting themselves to very bad consequences. (39).

Ceaseless Efforts of the Prophets

The prophets did not care if somebody insulted them, as their aim was something great, it was a different matter. They never despaired and were never discouraged, nor they ever complained. Yes, the prophets were after answering this question: Why should this human being, who originally must have a sound disposition, be like this? The noble Prophet grieved for this. He was also told in the revelation: "You are killing yourself with grief because they do not believe." (ash-Shuara: 3). The objective was to educate men. Each one who accepted the education was a good tiding for our Prophet, as well as for the other prophets in their time. But to say that they wanted to conquer other countries, or to form blocks, and other nonsenses said by the tyrants, all are out of question and they never thought of them. (40).

* * *

The Prophets and Steadfastness

The acts which are for the sake of Allah, having no motive other than that, such as the acts done by the prophets (a) in their propagating activities, are such that they can have no motive other than the pleasure of Allah, the Blessed and Exalted. It is for this reason that the great prophets, while carrying out their propaganda and preachings, endured a lot of troubles and difficulties, but none of these hardships disheartened them. It should even be said that those troubles, which the people think to be so according to their human motive, were not so in their eyes, because the objective, to which they were heading and acting, was so great and so high that all the hardships they endured were nothing to them. They thought only of their objective, and so we notice that they spent all their lives on their objective, without retreating even for a single step and without feeling any weakness in their spirits. (41).

* * *

The Book and the Weapon in the Hands of the Prophets

The great religions of the previous prophets and the very great religion of Islam, while holding in one hand the heavenly Book to guide the people, in their other hand they held their weapon. *Ibrahim*, the Friend of Allah (a), held in one hand his *Suhuf* and in his other hand he held a hatchet with which

he smashed the idols. Moses, Allah's Interlocutor, held the Torah in one hand, and in the other he held his staff, the staff which brought Pharaoh and his followers to the earth of humiliation, the staff which was a huge serpent, the staff which swallowed the treacherous. The great Messenger of Islam held the Quran in one hand, and his sword in the other, the sword for subduing the treacherous, and the Quran for guiding. Those who were susceptible to guidance, the Quran was their guide. Those who refused to be guided and conspired, the sword was over their heads. (42).

* * *

The Prophets Encountering the mustakbirin

The uprising of the prophets had always been like this: Someone from among them, from among the believers who were of a low class, of the common low class, was chosen to undertake the task of propagating, and another of his duties was to prepare the class of the *mustadafin*, by means of his propagation, and instigate them against the *mustakbirin*. The *mustakbirin* did not raise these prophets for their own interests. It was from among the *mustadafin* that they rose after being chosen by Allah, and they rose against the *mustakbirin*. Moses rose against Pharaoh, and the noble Messenger (s) against Quraysh tribe, in whose hands were all things at that time. (43).

* * *

The Prophets Rose from the Deprived Class

Moses (a) was a shepherd and worked for Jethro as a shepherd for many years. This shepherd, due to his competence, was raised up by Allah. In Islam, its Prophet was from Quraysh. But the wealthy and the authorities of this tribe, the *mustakbirin* of them, were a different group. His sept was a lower one. He himself said: "I was a shepherd, too."³⁷ He and his uncles were poor, as once he said: "Abutalib³⁸ is unable to support his children. We are brothers and are to take care of them among ourselves." This was because they were not wealthy. It was always so. The prophets were chosen from these poor and the *mustadafin*, the group whom the *mustakbirin* regarded to be weak and used to tell them: "You are nothing before us." From these people Allah chose His prophets, according to the competence they possessed, and commissioned them to face the *mustakbirin*. (44).

The Humbleness of the Prophets

The conduct of the prophets was to be resolute before the *taghuts*, and to be humble before the weak, the *mustadafin* and the poor, such that when an Arab entered the Mosque of the Messenger of Allah (s) he asked: "Which one of you is Muhammad?" This was at the time of the rule of the Prophet (s) in al-Madinah at the head of a government. This was because his appearance did not differ from the others. On the other hand he never submitted to any power, because he was regarding Allah. The one who believes that power, whatever it may be, belongs to Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, and that the others are nothing, such a man cannot submit before any powerful tyrant. (45).

* * *

The Simple Life of the Prophets

You see that the greatest of the human beings were the prophets, and the simplest of them all. While they were the greatest of them all, and all were acknowledging their greatness, at the same time they were the simplest of all of them in their way of living. All the prophets behaved like this. Their history shows that they acted in a very simple way. (46).

* * *

World's Blessings Effected by the Prophets

All the boons which are in the world today, and all the good works, are the results of the calls of the prophets. That is, the people who accepted the prophets' calls left good effects after them. Another group who were crooked and still left good effects, they are also due to the calls of the prophets, because the good effects of the prophets caused them to leave good effects. Being afraid of the nation, the said group took to this way and asserted themselves in order to protect their interests. (47).

* * *

The Goodness of the People is from

the Prophets' Blessing

If the prophets had been excluded from mankind, if from the beginning there had been no prophets and man had been left to himself to grow, all humanity would have been perished and confused, and no cheerful face, could have been found among the people. Now as you are seeing so many good people, the masses, it is because of the prophets' spiritual education. Despite the fact that not all of the people accepted that education, yet its light was so much that the masses of the people, the weak masses of the people, are now good. Corruption is less found among them. (48).

* * *

The Manifest Religion of Islam

The Bithah of the Noble Prophet

The Bithah: The Greatest Event of the World

A time has no intrinsic merit over another time. Time is a current movement of a prescribed thing, and there is no difference between its parts. A time's being lucky or unlucky is due to the incidents happening therein. If it is true that a time is lucky because of an event, then the day of the *Bithah* 39 of the noble Messenger must be the luckiest ever since the beginning till eternity, because no greater event has ever happened. There are, of course, great events which took place in the world, such as the *Bithah* of great prophets, the *ululazm*⁴⁰ prophets and many other important events, but none of them was as great as the *Bithah* of the noble Messenger of Islam, and most probably there will not be, as there is no one greater than the Messenger of Islam in the whole existence, other than the Holy Essence of Allah, the Exalted, as there is no greater event than his *Bithah*. The *Bithah* of the seal of the Prophets, the greatest personality in the world of possibility, and the greatest of the divine laws, took place in this day and made it the greatest and the noblest of days. We have no such a day in the pre-existence and eternity,

and we shall never have. Therefore I congratulate all the Muslims and all the *mustaḍafin* in the world on this day. (49).

* * *

The Motive of the *Bithah*: Purifying the Souls

The first ayah revealed to the noble Messenger, according to the narratives and histories, was: "Read in the name of your Lord." (al-Alag: 1), brought down by Gabriel, inviting, from the very beginning, to reading and learning: "Read in the name of your Lord Who created." In the same surah it is said: "No indeed, surely man tyrannizes, when he thinks himself independent." This surah was the first revealed one, and the above ayah was the first one revealed. It seems that tyranny and being a tyrant are at the head of the affairs, and, in order to fight against tyranny, the Book and wisdom should be learnt and taught, besides purification. Such is man, all men's spiritual condition is like this: whenever he thinks being independent he tends to be a tyrant. When he feels financially independent, he tyrannizes in proportion to that. When he attains scientific independence, he tyrannizes to a corresponding proportion. When he attains to a high position, he tyrannizes to that extent. That is why Allah calls Pharaoh a tyrant, as he had attained to a high position, without having any divine motive, and so, his position caused him to be a tyrant. Those who acquire some worldly acquisitions, without purification of their souls, the more they acquire the more their tyranny will be. The consequence of such acquisitions and riches and high positions and ranks is that they cause afflictions in this world and more in the world to come.

The motive of the *Bithah* is to deliver us from such tyrannies, and help us to purify our souls, to refine ourselves and to save ourselves from darkness. If man was successful in so doing, the world would turn into a light, like the light of the Quran and the manifestation of Allah's light.

All the disputes which are among the people and all the disagreements among the kings and the powerful people, stem from the very tyranny which is in the soul. Their root is that when man gets a position, he tyrannizes, and as he is not satisfied with his position, his tyranny drives him to transgression. Transgression, of course, leads to disputation, and it makes no difference whether it is a trivial or a serious dispute, both are tyranny. The trivial dispute which happens in a village among the peasants has its root in tyranny, as well as a higher degree of a dispute, which also stems from a

higher degree of a tyranny. The root of the tyranny of Pharaoh who said: "I am your Supreme Lord," is present in all. If man is left to himself he will also say: "I am your Supreme Lord." (an-Naziat: 24).

The motive for the *Bithah* is to control those stubborn, tyrant and rebellious souls to stop their stubbornness, tyranny and mutiny, and to purify them.

All the contentions among the people are because they have not purified their souls. The objective of the *Bithah* is to purify the people so that, by the purification, they may learn wisdom as well as the Quran. Could they be purified there would be no tyranny. The one who purifies himself never thinks himself to be independent. "Man tyrannizes when he thinks himself independent". When one is self-conceited and believes himself to be some personality and grandiose, this will cause tyranny. The contentions among the people because of mundane matters are rooted in the tyranny which is in the souls. This is the trouble with man. He is afflicted with himself and with his whims. If man is purified and his soul is educated, there will be no more of these contentions. (50).

* * *

The Bithah and the Creation of a Scientific-Gnostic

Change in the World

The question of the *Bithah*, its essence and blessings are not something which can be described by means of our stammering tongues, as their dimensions are so many, and their spiritual and material aspects are so numerous that I do not think one can even talk about them.

The question of the *Bithah* created a scientific-gnostic change in the world that changed the insipid philosophy of the Greeks, brought about by the people of Greece, which had its value, and still has, into a concrete gnosticism and a real intuition [shuhud] for the people of intuition. In this dimension, the Quran has not been exposed, except "to its addressee," and in some other of its dimensions it has not been exposed even "to its addressee." It is known only to the Glorious Essence, the Almighty, the Great. If one looks into the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic philosophies, especially in recent centuries, and the pre-Islamic gnostics and those who had likewise such tendencies in India and elsewhere, as well as the post-Islamic

gnostics who entered this field according to Islam's instructions, will realize what a change has happened in this dimension. At the same time the great Islamic gnostics exerted great efforts in uncovering the truths of the Quran. The language of the Quran, which is of the blessings of the Bithah of the Messenger of Allah, is an easy language but impossible to imitate. Probably there are many who think that they can comprehend the Quran, because they see it easy. Many learned men and philosophers think that they can understand the Ouran, because of a dimension known to them, while many other of its dimensions are still unknown to them. The Quran includes dimensions which had not been known to any being in the world and in the heaven, before the *Bithah* of the Messenger of Allah (s), before the revelation of the Ouran from the invisible world, and before its being manifestly displayed in the heart of the Messenger of Allah (s). After that the holy Prophet, the greatest guardian, was contacted by the Source of Grace, according to his capacity, he acquired the Quran, as a descending and a holy revelation, manifested in his blessed heart, and, by descending through its seven stages, his tongue uttered it.

This Quran which is now at hand is its seventh descending⁴²—a blessing of the *Bithah*. This seventh descent caused such a change in the Islamic and world gnosticism that the knowledgeable know only a part of it, while its other dimensions have not yet been disclosed to men, and it may not be. There are *ayahs* in the Glorious Quran—still as a blessing of the *Bithah*—apparently seem to be obvious, but they are still uncovered, such as: "He is the First and the Last, and the Evident and the Hidden… and He is with you)" (*Al-Hadid*: 3-4), "Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth" (*an-Imam*: 35). These are *ayahs* which cannot be comprehended by neither a commentator, philosopher nor a gnostic. Whoever claims having comprehended them has sunk into ignorance. "The Quran is known only to its addressee". By "the addressee" a few number of godly men and the infallible Imams (a) are meant, and through them an understandable portion of it is explained to the human beings.

The grace of the divine revelation, the noble *ayah*: "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth", when it happened to be commented upon by the commentator, he explained it as "Allah is the illuminator of the heavens and the earth", which has nothing to do with the Quran. These explainers, though they have exerted great efforts, yet their hands are short of the graces of the Quran, not because they did explain, but because the greatness of the Quran is above such matters. The question of "knowing Allah" as presented in the Quran—according to the narrative—as to say: "We did not know You

as You should be ".43 The meaning, of course, is that we did not know You as it is worthy of knowing You, not that: "We did not know You as is worthy of our knowing of You." He (the noble Messenger) knew Him as man is capable to know, but man's ability to know is something other than what is worthy of knowing Allah. Knowing Allah and worshipping Him as He deserves are referred to by the noble Messenger—the greatest gnostic and worshipper—as: "We did not know You and we did not worship You as You deserve." He did not say: "We did not know You as is worthy of our knowledge of You," and "We did not worship You as is worthy of our worshipping You", because he has done it. But man's capability is but an external manifestation, while knowing Allah as He deserves is available to none of the favourite angels nor to any Messenger. The measure of knowledge of the knowledgeable is made available to them only by the blessings of the *Bithah*. This is from the descending of the Book of Allah on the heart of the Messenger of Allah, which is also of the great secrets.

The method of the revelation is an affair which is not possible for anybody to understand, except the Messenger of Allah and those who were with him in his privacy, or inspired by him. Therefore, whenever there was a need to describe it, it was described in our common language, as Allah, the Exalted, uses the language of a common man to introduce Himself, by referring to the creation of camel, heavens, earth, creatures and the like⁴⁴. This is because the expression is short of explaining these matters, and the Quran did it as much as was possible. No other book of knowledge could do it, and those which did, did it following the Quran.

If the Quran had not been revealed, the door to knowing Allah would have been closed for ever. As to the Greek philosophy, it is a door of great value in its place, because it proves, by reasoning, not that it takes place by knowledge, that Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, exists. Knowing Him is different from proving His existence. The Quran both proves (His existence) through conventional ways, or even sometimes in a way simpler than them, and presents its own gnosticism (as a guide to know Him)..., which is found in no book, even in the books on the Islamic gnosticism, which is changed and is quite different from the pre-Islamic gnosticism. The Quranic expressions are different from theirs, as it contains another way. In the Quran there are different graces, all of which are of the blessings of the *Bithah*, which appear in the spiritual matters more than in the materialistic ones. Nevertheless, the blessings which appear even in the materialistic matters were not there in the pre-Islamic era. The connection between the spiritualities and materialistics, and the reflexion of the spirituality in all the

materialistic matters, are of the Quran's characteristics which it gives out. (51).

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The Bithah and Removing Injustice

The *Bithah* of the Messenger of Allah was to teach the people how to remove injustice, how to face the big powers. The *Bithah* was to deliver the people's morals, souls, spirits and bodies from darkness, remove all kinds of darkness completely, and replace them with light, remove the darkness of ignorance and replace it with the light of knowledge, remove the darkness of injustice and replace it with justice, with the light of justice. It showed the way to achieve that. It stressed that all the people, all the Muslims, are brothers and must be united, not disunited. (52).

* * *

Ending the Prophethood

The former prophets had the truths revealed and explained to them, not absolutely, but in general, though still on different degrees, as the *ululazm* had a higher degree of revelation and explanation of the truths. The kind being, Ahmad [Muhammad] (s), who was endowed with full and complete revelation and explanation⁴⁵, became the Seal, the last of the prophets. That is, the extent to which the truth can be revealed had been revealed to Muhammad (s), and the extent to which the truths can be explained had been explained to him. Hence, there can be no revelation and explanation more complete than what has already been. Therefore, there is no need for sending another prophet. (53).

* * *

THE QURAN

The Book of Allah and its Story in the History

The Messenger of Allah (s) said: "I am leaving among you *ath-thiqlayn* (or *ath-thaqalayn*), the two weighty (or precious) things, the Book of Allah and my *Ahl al-Bayt*, my Household. Verily, these two will never separate until they come to me at the Pool."

Praise and Glory be to Allah. O Allah, send Your blessings upon Muhammad and his progeny, the manifestations of Your Beauty and Glory, the treasurers of the secrets of Your Book in which is displayed the Oneness of all Your Names, including the exclusive one unknown to other than You. Curse be upon those who do them wrong, the root of "the vicious tree."

Then, I think it suitable to say some short and reserved words concerning ath-thiqlayn (ath-thaqalayn)⁴⁶, not in respect of their invisible, moral and gnostic stands, since the pen of a man like me is incapable of daring to deal with a position whose gnosticism is superior to the entire range of existence, from the earth to the higher heavens [Malakut Ala]⁴⁷ and from there to the spiritual world, which, too, is not understandable to me nor to you, as it is too heavy and unbearable, if not to say impossible; also not in respect of what has come over humanity through being away from the truths of the high position of "the bigger weight" [thiql akbar] and "the big weight" [thiql kabir]⁴⁸ which is bigger than everything, except the bigger weight which is absolutely bigger; also not in respect of what has been done to these thiqlayn by the enemies of Allah and the mocking taghuts whose number is not easy for me to count, owing to my insufficient knowledge and limited time. What I think is suitable to refer to is to speak briefly about what has happened to these thiqlayn.

Probably the expression of: "they will never separate until they come to me at the Pool" is a reference to the fact that, after the demise of the holy existence of the Messenger of Allah (s), what happened to one of them, happened to the other, too, and neglecting the one is neglecting the other, until these neglected two come to the Messenger of Allah (s) at the Pool. Is

this Pool a station where multiplicity joins the unity⁴⁹ and the drops disappear in the ocean, or is it something else which has no admission into the human reason and knowledge? It must be said that the wrong done by the *taghuts* to these two trusts of the Messenger of Allah (s), has been done to the Muslim *ummah*, or rather to the entire humanity, such that the pen is unable to describe.

It is to be mentioned that the *hadith* of *ath-thaqalayn*⁵⁰ is successively repeated among all Muslims⁵¹. The books of the Sunnis, the six *Sahihs*⁵² and others of their works, confirm this *hadith* successively and on different occasions and in different wordings, relating it from the Prophet (s). This honorable *hadith* is a decisive proof to all humanity, especially to the Muslims of different sects. All the Muslims who believe in that are to be responsible for it. If the ignorant and the uninformed may be excused, no excuse can be accepted from the knowledgeable.

Let us now see what happened to Allah's Book, this divine trust and what the Messenger of Islam (s) has left behind. What happened after the martyrdom of Imam Ali⁵³ (a) was so regrettable that one should shed bloody tears. The egoists and the tyrants used the Glorious Quran as a means to establish anti-Quranic governments. They pushed aside the true interpreters of the Quran and the well-versed in the theology which they had learnt, together with the Quran from the Messenger (s), while the words: "I am leaving among you the *Thaqalayn* "still resounding in their ears. They did so through pre-planned plots and by diverse pretexts, and drove out the Quran—which is the greatest constitution for man's spiritual and material life until they arrive at the Pool—from the arena, and crossed out the divine government of justice, which is one of the hopes of this holy Book, founding the basis of deviation from Allah's religion and the divine Book and tradition, until the situation reached a state shameful to be penned by any pen.

The more this crooked construction proceeded the deeper the crookedness and deviation became, until the Quran—which had been sent down from the high position of Oneness unto Muhammad (s) for the development of the people of the world and as a point of union for all the Muslims, or even the entire human family, in order to bring them to where they should, to save this product of the knowledge of names⁵⁴ from the evils of the Satan and the *taghuts*, to bring the world to fairness and justice and to trust the government into the hands of the infallible friends of Allah (a) so that they may entrust it to whomever they deem suitable—was ousted from the scene as if it had no guiding role. Then the situation deteriorated such that

the government fell in the hands of the despots and vile pseudo—clergymen worse than the *taghuts*, as a means of establishing injustice and corruption directed by despots and the rebels against Allah, the Exalted. It is much to be regretted that the plotting enemies and the ignorant friends reduced the role of the Quran, this destiny-making Book, to be read only in cemeteries and funeral meetings. That which should have been a means for the union of Muslims and humanity, and a Book for their lives, was rendered into a means of separation and disputes, or completely ousted from the arena. We have seen that whenever somebody spoke of an Islamic government or of the politics, which is the great role of Islam, of the honourable Messenger (s), of the Quran and of the tradition, it was as if he had committed the most capital sin, and the term of "a religious man of politics" [akhund-i siyasi] was tantamount to "an irreligious man of religion" [akhund-i bi din], and still is.

Recently the big Satanic powers, through the governments who are deviated from the Islamic instructions, and who falsely claim to be Muslims, in order to erase the Quran and fix the Satanic aims of the Super Powers, printed the Quran in beautiful penmenship and distributed it everywhere, so that through this Satanic trick they might oust the Quran from the scene. We all remember that the Quran which was printed at the order of Muhammad Riḍa Khan Pahlavi⁵⁵ had deceived a number of the people and some of the men of religion, who, unaware of the Islamic objectives, praised him. We also see that the King Fahd⁵⁶ spends every year a great deal of uncountable wealth of the people on printing the Glorious Quran and on the anti—Quranic religious propaganda to spread the Wahhabism⁵⁷, the completely baseless and superstitious creed, driving the uninformed and unaware people to attach to the super powers, and to utilize the Glorious Quran and the mighty Islam to destroy the Islam and the Quran.

We, as well as the noble *ummah* committed to Islam and the Quran, are proud of following a creed which wants to release the Glorious Quran—all of which speaks of the unity among the Muslims, or rather among the entire human kinds—from the cemeteries and grave-yards, and to save it, as the greatest savior of man—from all fetters tying his hands, legs, heart and mind, and dragging him towards destruction, annihilation and servitude to the *taghuts*. (54).

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The Greatness of the Quran

Do know, dear, that the greatness of any speech and book stems either from the greatness of the speaker and the writer, from the greatness of its topics and objectives, from the greatness of its results and fruits, from the greatness of the messenger and the means, from the greatness of the addressee and its carrier, from the greatness of its guardian and protector, from the greatness of its explainer and interpreter, or from the greatness of the time of sending it and its method. Some of these matters intrinsically and essentially have to do with the greatness, some of them are so accidentally and through a means, and some others reveal the greatness. All the mentioned matters are present in this luminous Book in their highest and best forms, or rather they are of its characteristics which may not be entirely present in other books, or not in all degrees.

As regards its speaker, composer and owner, He is the Absolute Great, and all the imagined greatnesses in this world and in the heaven, and all the powers put in the invisible and the visible, are but an exudation of the manifestations of the greatness of the act of the Holy Essence. Allah, the Exalted, is impossible to appear with greatness to anybody. He appears from behind thousands of veils and enclosures, as is stated in a *hadith*: "Allah has seventy-thousand veils of light and darkness, if removed, the lights of His face would burn everything." To the people of knowledge, this honorable Book has been issued by Allah, the Exalted, with the principle of all the essential, attributive and actual affairs, and with all the manifestations of beauty and glory. No other heavenly Book has such rank and position.

As regards it greatness in connection with its contents, objectives and topics, it requires a separate chapter, or rather many separate chapters, sections, theses and books, so as to have a part of it written and explained. But by way of generalization, we shall refer to it in a separate chapter, where we shall state, by Allah's will, its greatness in respect of its results and fruits.

As regards the greatness of the Messenger of Revelation and the means of conveyance, he was the Honest Gabriel, the greatest spirit, who was connected to the noble Prophet (s) after that he had left the cloak of humanity and directed his heart to the Almighty, and that is one of the four corners of the House of Realization, or even the greatest corner and the most honourable, since that honourable and luminous essence is the angel in charge of knowledge, wisdom and moral provisions and spiritual food. From Allah's Book and the honourable *hadiths* one may recognize the esteem granted to Gabriel and his superiority over other angels.⁵⁹

As regards the greatness of its addressee and carrier, that was the pure, pious, unique and collective heart of Ahmad, of Muhammad, to which Allah, the Exalted, appeared in all His affairs of essence, attributes, names and acts. He was endowed with the seal of prophethood and absolute guardianship. He was the most generous of mankind, the greatest of the creatures, the choice of the universe, the essence of existence, the juice of the House of Realization, the last brick and the owner of the great *barzakh* and the grand vicegerency.

As regards its guardian and protector, it is the Holy Essence of Allah, the Exalted, as He says in His *ayah*: "It is We Who revealed the Reminder and it is We Who are its guardian". (*al-Hijr*: 9)

As regards its explainers and interpreters, they are the purified beings, the infallibles, as from the Messenger of Allah to the Proof of the Time⁶⁰ (may Allah hasten his release!). They are the keys to the world of existence, the reservoirs of grandeur, the deposits of wisdom and revelation, the principles of knowledge and information, and the owners of the position of union [*jam*] and distinctness [*tafsil*].

As regards the time of revelation, it was in *Laylat al-Qadr*⁶¹, which is **"better than a thousand months"** (*al-Qadr*: 3), the greatest of all nights, the most luminous of times, and, in fact, it was the time of the attainment [*wusul*] of the absolute guardian, the Seal of the Prophets (s). (55).

* * *

The Quran: The Book of Guidance and Education

Know that this honorable Book, as it says itself, is a book of guidance and a director of humanity's conduct, and the educator of the souls, the curer of the ailments of the hearts and the light en route to Allah.

In general, Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, owing to His vast mercy on His servants, sent down this honorable Book from the sacred position of His proximity, in proportion to the descending worlds, until it reached this dark world and the prison of nature, taking the form of words and the shape of letters in order to set free the prisoners imprisoned in this dark prison of the world, and to unite those chained in the fetters of hopes and whims, and to lift them from the bottom of deficiency, weakness and animality to the peak of perfection, power and humanity, from the Satan's neighbourhood to the companionship of the people of the heavens, or rather to the position of Allah's proximity and meeting Him, which is the greatest of the objectives and demands of the godly men. This Book, from this point of view, is a book

of invitation to the truth and happiness, and of showing the way to attain to this position, and its contents are generally those which have their impact on this divine conduct, or are a help to the traveller to Allah. Generally, one of its important objectives is the invitation to knowing Allah and explaining the divine learnings on the essential, nominal, attributive and actual affairs, the most important of which is the Unity of Essence, Names and Acts, which are referred to either explicitly or allusively.

It must be noted that in this conclusive divine Book these learnings, as from knowing the Essence to the knowing of the Acts, are stated in such a way that each class can understand according to its own susceptibility. The honourable ayahs of Unity, especially those about Unity of Acts, have been interpreted by the literal explainers and the traditionalists and the jurisprudents (may Allah be pleased with them), in a way quite contrary to the interpretation of the men of knowledge and the scholars of esoterism. The author regards both of them to be right at their particular occasions, as the Quran is the cure for the internal pains, and it treats each patient with a particular method. The ayahs: "He is the First and the Last, the Evident and the Hidden", (al-Hadid: 3), and "Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth" (an-Imam: 35), and "He it is Who is God in the heavens and God in the earth" (az-Zukhruf: 84), and "He is with you" (al-Hadid: 4), and "Wherever vou turn there is Allah's Face" (al-Bagarah: 115), and some other ayahs concerning the Unity of Essence. Other ayahs in surah al-Hashr and elsewhere concerning the Unity of Attributes, and the ayahs: "You did not throw when you threw, but it was Allah Who threw" (al-Anfal: 17), "Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds" (al-Fatihah: 2), and "Whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth glorifies **Allah**" (at-Taghabun: 1) concerning the Unity of Acts, some of which precisely, and some others more precisely, have gnostic denotation, and are a sort of cure for each class of the exoteric scholars and the esoteric ones. At the same time, some honourable ayahs, such as the first ayahs of surah "al-Hadid" and the blessed surah of "at-Tawhid" according to a noble hadith in al-Kafi⁶², are for the erudites of the End of Time, as well as for the exoteric people. These are of the miracles of this honorable Book⁶³ and of its comprehensiveness.

Another of the objectives and topics of this Book is the invitation to educating the souls, purging the insides from nature's filth, and obtaining happiness. In short, it is the manner of traveling to Allah. This honored question is divided into two important branches: The first is the *taqwa* in all its degrees, including guarding oneself against whatever is not the truth, and

absolutely turning away from other than Allah. The second is faith in all its degrees and affairs, including approaching Allah, returning and supplicating to His Holy Essence. These are of the important objectives of this holy Book, most of whose contents return, directly or indirectly, to these objectives.

Another topic of this divine Book is the episodes of the prophets, the godly men and the wise, and the manner of Allah's educating them and their educating the people. They offer countless benefits and numerous instructions. Those stories state so much of the divine knowledge and educational instructions, explicitly and allusively, that amaze the mind. Glory be to Allah, and praise and thanks be to Him. The very story of the creation of Adam (a), the angels being ordered to bow down, teaching the names, and the episodes of Adam and Iblis [Satan], which are frequently repeated in the Book of Allah, contain so much teachings, education, learnings and features for him "who has a heart or lends ear and is witness" (Oaf: 37), that man is perplexed. The fact of repeating the Quranic stories, such as the stories of Adam, Moses, *Ibrahim* and other prophets (a) is for this reason that this Book is not a book of history or stories. It is a book of conduct and traveling to Allah. It is a book of monotheism, knowledge, preachings and maxims. In such subjects repetition is required so as to have their effects on the hard souls, and the hearts may learn some lessons from them. In other words, he who wants to educate, to teach, to warn and to give good tidings, will have to express himself through different expressions and diverse statements, in the form of narrations, tales, history and the like, sometimes explicitly and sometimes by resorting to allusion, proverbs and allegories, so that the different souls and the scattered hearts may be benefited by them.

As this honorable Book is for the happiness of all classes of all the human species, and as the human beings are different in the states of their hearts, habits, characters, places and times, they cannot be invited in the same way. So many persons, in order to make them ready to accept learning, they may not like plain and simple teaching which may have no effect upon them. Such people should be invited according to the construction of their minds so that they may understand. There are many others who are not interested in stories, tales and histories; rather they prefer the gist and the kernel of the subject. These cannot be put in the same scale with the former ones. So many hearts are affected by frightening and warning them; and some others are affected by promises and good tidings. This is why this noble Book invites the human beings through different means, different styles, different arts and different ways. Thus, repetition is inevitable in such a book. Propaganda and admonition, without repetition and variation, diverge

from the limits of eloquence. Without repetition you would not get to the expected effect.

Nevertheless, this noble Book repeats the cases in such a sweet way that one would not feel tired. Actually, each repetition accompanies new details added to the original subjects not mentioned before, such as the important gnostic and moral points, and circulates the case around them. To expand upon these points it requires a complete scrutinizing the Quranic stories, which cannot be contained into these summaries. It is among the desires of this weak and uninformed person to write, with the divine help, about the Quranic stories, undo their secrets and their ways of teaching and educating, as best as I can, although the carrying out of this project by someone like me is but a raw hope and but a vain fancy.

Generally speaking, relating the stories of the prophets (a) and their type of conduct and behavior, and their method of educating the servants of Allah, and their sagacities, admonishings and good arguments, is one of the great chapters of learnings and wisdom, and the largest doors to happiness and teachings which Allah, Great be His Glory, has opened to His servants. As the people of knowledge, gnosticism and self-discipline enjoy a large portion of that and benefit by it, other people also have their sufficient and endless portion. The noble ayah says: "When the night over-shadowed him he saw a star..." (al-Anam: 76). The learned people, for example, understand (from this) the method of *Ibrahim*'s suluk and spiritual travel, and learn the way of traveling to Allah, and comprehend the truth of spiritual travel and moral journey from the deepest darkness of nature, which is referred to by "When the night overshadowed him", till the absolute abrogation of egotism, selfishness, and the discarding of selfness and selfworship and attaining the holy state and entering the circle of intimacy, which is referred to, in this respect, by: "I have turned my face toward Him Who originated the heavens and the earth..." (al-Anam: 79), while the others learn, from that, traveling into the horizons, and how the Friend of ar-Rahman educated his people. Thus, the other stories and tales, such as those of Adam, *Ibrahim*, Moses, Joseph, Jesus and the meeting of Moses with al-Khidr, differently benefit the people of learning, discipline, strife and others. In this section is included—or it may be a separate subject—the directions and admonitions of the Holy Essence by which He invites His servants, with the Tongue of Power wherever needed, or with divine learnings, monotheism and divine Glory, like the blessed *surah* of *at-Tawhid*, the last ayahs of surah al-Hashr, and the first ayahs of surah al-Hadid and other parts of this divine Book. From this section the people of hearts and of good precedences have their portions, such as the share of the people of learning from the noble *ayah*: "Whoever leaves his house migrating to Allah and His Messenger, and then death overtakes him, his reward is with Allah" (*an-Nisa*": 100). They benefit from this the proximity through the supererogatory⁶⁴ and the obligatory acts, while the others understand from "leaving the house" to migrate, with a safe body, to, say Mecca or al-Madinah. He invites to the education of the souls and to practice internal discipline, as in the noble *ayah*: "He who purifies it will certainly be successful, and he who corrupts it will certainly be unsuccessful" (ash-Shams: 9), etc., or the invitation is for doing good deeds, as is known, or warning against any deed contrary to the good one. This section includes the preachings of Luqman and other holy people and believers, which are stated on different occasions in this divine Book, such as the story of the people of the cave.

Another topic stated in this luminous Book is the explanation of the state of the infidels, the deniers and the opposers of Allah and the truth, and the resistants of the prophets and godly men (a), and stating the results of their affairs, and how they perished, such as the cases of Pharaoh, Qarun, Namrud, Shaddad, the People of the Elephant and other infidels and sinners, in each one of which there are admonitions and preachings and information for the interested people. This section includes the cases of the cursed Iblis. In this section is also included—or it may be a separate section—parts of the military expeditions of the Messenger of Allah (s), in which are stated noble points, such as the method of the struggles of the Prophet's companions, for the sake of awakening the Muslims from the sleep of negligence and inciting them to fight in the way of Allah, to carry out Allah's word and to abolish falsity.

Another topic of the noble Quran is the explanation of the apparent laws of the religion and the divine regulations and traditions, the generalities and important points of which are stated in this luminous Book. The important in this section is the call to the principles of the subjects and their regulations, such as the chapters of as-salat, az-zakat⁶⁵, al-khums⁶⁶, al-hajj, as-sawm, al-Jihad, an-Nikah, al-irth, al-qisas, al-hudud, at-tijarah and the like. As this section—which is the apparent laws of the religion—is of general interest and for all the classes of the people, and concerns the construction of this world and the Hereafter, and all the classes of the people benefit by it according to their need, the Book of Allah frequently calls to it, and the hadiths and the narratives expand upon its details and characteristics

to a sufficient extent. The writings of the religious scholars on this section are much more than on any other sections.

Another topic of the noble Quran is the conditions of the Resurrection and the proofs confirming it, its methods of punishments and torture, reward and compensation, the details of Paradise and Hell, purgation and comfort. In this section are stated the conditions of the people of happiness, of high ranks, of the people of knowledge and the favorites, and the people of discipline, the travelers to Allah, the people of worship and the devout, as well as the conditions and degrees of the people of wickedness, the infidels, the hypocrites, the veiled, the disbelievers, the people of rebellion and the deviant. But what is more frequently stated and is in clear language is that which is more useful to the common people, while that which is useful for a particular class is stated in symbolic and allegorical language, such as: "And greater still, a consent from Allah" (at-Tawbah: 72) and the ayahs of meeting Allah for that group, and: "Nay, they shall on that day be debarred from their Lord," (al-Mutaffifin: 15), for another group. In this section, i.e., the section of giving the details about Resurrection and the return to Allah, there are uncountable learnings and difficult secrets, whose particularities cannot be understood except through the reasoning method or through the gnostic light.

Another topic of this divine Book is the way of arguing and proving which the Holy Essence of Allah, the Exalted, uses in confirming the true matters and divine learnings, such as the argument for proving Allah, monotheism, tanzih, knowledge, power and other attributes of perfection. In this respect, sometimes precise arguments are found in this section, from which the people of knowledge get complete benefit, such as: "Allah bears witness that there is no god but He." (Al-i Imran: 18). Sometimes there are such proofs which are useful to the philosophers and scholars in a way different from that to the common people, such as the noble ayah: "Had there been in them (the heaven and the earth) any god except Allah, they would both have been corrupted." (al-Anbiya: 22), or "nor is there any god with Him, otherwise each god would have taken away what he **created.**" (al-Mu'minun: 91), and such as the first ayahs of surah al-Hadid, the blessed *surah* of *Tawhid* and other ones, such as the argument concerning proving the Resurrection, the return of the spirits and creating another creation, and the argument concerning proving the existence of the angels of Allah and the great prophets, which are stated in different occasions in this honorable Book. This was in regards to the arguments of the Holy Essence Himself, or when He, the Exalted, relates the arguments of the prophets and the scholars by way of confirming the divine learnings, such as the arguments of *Ibrahim*, the Friend of Allah (a), and else.

These are the important topics of this Book, as there are other miscellaneous topics which take time to count. (56).

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The Quran, the Comprehensive Word

The Holy Essence of Allah, the Exalted and High, according to the ayah: "Every day He is in a (new) splendorous manifestation (State glorious)" (ar-Rahman: 29), clothed in names and attributes, manifested to the hearts of prophets and godly men, and, in accordance with their different hearts, those manifestations differ. The heavenly Books, which are described as the revelation through the Angel of Revelation, Gabriel, descended upon their hearts, which differ in accordance with the difference of the manifestations and the difference of the names from which they originate. Similarly, the difference of the prophets and their laws is due to the difference of the nominal kingdoms. So, the more comprehensive the name, the more comprehensive its kingdom, its relevant prophethood, the Book descended from it, and its relevant law, which will be more durable. As the final prophethood, the noble Quran and the law of that master are of the appearances and the manifestations, or of the manifestations and appearances of the state of the Comprehensive One and the Greatest Name of Allah, they are the most comprehensive and universal prophethood, religion and Book, as no more honorable and perfect one can be imagined. From the invisible world there will descend to the expanse of nature no other higher knowledge or like it. That is, this is the last appearance of a perfect knowledge related to religions, and there is no possibility that a more perfect one may descend in this world. So, the very Messenger of Allah (s) is the seal of the prophets, the most honorable of beings and the complete appearance of the Greatest Name, and his prophethood is the most possible complete prophethood, and is the form of the government of the Greatest Name, which is everlasting and eternal, and the Book which descended upon him from the invisible realm is a manifestation of the Greatest Name. Therefore, this noble Book has oneness of union [jam] and distinctness [tafsil] and is a comprehensive word, as the word of the Prophet (s) was comprehensive, too. By describing the Quran or the word of that master as comprehensive it is not meant that they state generalities and comprehensive regulations—although his hadiths are regarded so, as is clear in the science of jurisprudence—but because the Quran's comprehensiveness is due to the fact that it has been sent down to all classes of the people during the entire human life, meeting all the needs of this species. The truth of this species is a comprehensive truth, covering all the stages, from the lowest mundane stage till the highest degrees of spirituality, heavenly kingdom and power. For this reason, the individuals of this species in this low and earthly world have complete differences; and the differences and diversities are so many that they are not to be found in any other species. It is this species which includes wretched in complete wretchedness, and the happy in complete happiness. It is this species that includes individuals lower than the lowest animals and at the same time it includes individuals more honourable than the most favourite angels. So, in general, as the individuals of this species are different in understanding and knowledge, the Ouran has been revealed in such a way that everybody can benefit by it according to his strong or weak understanding and knowledge, and according to the learnings he has acquired. (57).

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The Conditions for Understanding the Quran

Should there be no self-purification, it would be impossible to learn the Book of wisdom. The souls must be purged from all impurities, since the gravest impurity is that of the human souls which is caused by the whims they have. As long as man is wrapped in his veil he cannot understand this Quran, which is light, as the Quran itself says: "There came to you from **Allah a light and a clear Book."** (al-Ma'idah: 15). Light cannot be seen by those who are wrapped in veil or hidden behind thick curtains. They think they can, but no, they cannot. Without coming out of the darkness of his veils, and as long as he is captivated by his whims and afflicted by his egotism, and as long as he is tied to the things he himself has created in his inside of darkness upon darkness: "(layers of) darkness one upon another," (an-Imam: 40), man cannot get prepared to receive this divine light to be reflected in his heart. Those who want to understand the Quran, its contents, not its descended small face, in such a way that the more they read it the more they ascend⁶⁷, and the more they read (it) the nearer they get to the source of the light, the supreme source, this cannot be possible unless the veils are removed, as "You are your own veil". 68 You have to remove this veil in order to be able to comprehend this light as it is and as it befits man. So, one of the ways is to learn the Book and wisdom after purification. (58).

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The Laid Table of the Quran

The Quran is the divine *ayahs*, and the motive of the *Bithah* was the revelation of this great Book and reciting this great Book as a great divine *ayah*, although the entire world is *ayahs* of Allah, but the Quran is an intensive form of the whole creation and all the things which are to take place in the *Bithah*. The Generous Quran is a divine table laid by means of the Messenger of Allah before the humanity so that everybody may be benefited by it in proportion to his own aptitude.

This Book, this laid table in the east and west, from the time of revelation till the time of Resurrection, is a Book which can be benefited by all the human beings, the common man, the scholar, the philosopher, the gnostic and the *fagih*. It is a Book, though a revelation from the invisible world to the visible world, and laid before us in the world of nature, though it is revealed from that Supreme State to where we can make use of it, though it contains matters that can be useful to the common man, the gnostic, the knowledgeable and the ignorant, yet it also contains matters which particularly are for the great scholars, great philosophers, great gnostics, the prophets and the godly men. Some of its contents can be understood only by the friends of Allah, the Blessed and High, or through the commentaries given by them, and in proportion to the addressees' perception. There are also matters which are useful to the great gnostics of Islam. Other matters are useful to the philosophers and the wise people of Islam. Other matters are useful to the great jurisprudents. It is a general table laid for all. It also includes matters concerning politics, sociology, education, military and nonmilitary. All are in this Holy Book.

The reason for the revelation of this Holy Book for the sending of the Prophet is that it may be within the reach of all, and all are to be benefited by it, each according to his own existential and mental capacity.

It is really regretful that we could not, man could not and the scholars of Islam could not take advantage of this Holy Book as they should. All must work their thoughts and direct their minds to this great Book in order to take advantage of it as it is and as we can. All are to be benefited by it.

The Ouran has come for the benefit of all classes, everyone can benefit by it according to his own aptitude. There are, of course, some ayahs which no one can understand except the Messenger of Allah and those who learnt from him, and it is through them that we should understand them. There are many avahs which are understandable to all if they only work their minds and direct their thoughts to the questions of life, the life of this world and the life of the other world, and learn them from this Holy Book. So, the motive behind the Bithah is to lay this table before mankind. The Ouran was in the invisible world in invisible forms, in the knowledge of Allah, the Exalted, in the invisible of the invisibles. It is this great being, who, by means of many struggles and by being on the real innateness, the monotheistic innateness, and all the matters which exist, had connection with the invisible, and because of the connection he had with the invisible, he brought this Holy Book from the invisible position. Rather there were descendings in the original until it reached the state of visibility in the form of words, which are understandable by us, by you and by all, and whose meanings we get as we can. The cause of the *Bithah* was to spread this table before the human beings as from the time of revelation to the End of the Time. This is one of the motives of this Book and of the Bithah: "It is He Who has raised up from among the illiterates a Messenger from among themselves, who recites to them His ayahs, and purifies them and teaches them the Book and the wisdom." (al-Jumuah: 2). This may be the aim of this recitation. He recites it to purify, to teach, to teach all the people, to teach this very Book and to teach the wisdom which is also in this Book. So, the motive for the Bithah is the descent of the revelation, the descent of the Quran, and the motive for reciting the Quran to mankind is to purify them and to refine their souls and to oust the darkness which is in them, so that after having their spirits and minds refined, they become susceptible to the Book and the wisdom. The motive is purification in order to understand the Book and the wisdom. It is not possible for everybody to comprehend this light which is manifested and revealed from the invisible and brought into the visible. It is not for every soul to understand it. (59).

The Exegesis of the Quran

Explaining the Quran is not an affair within the capacity of people like us, though so many of the first class scholars, both of the Sunnis and the Shiites, along the history of Islam, have written numerous books on this subject, for which they are to be thanked, but each one of them worked

according to his specialty and removed a curtain from the curtains of the Quran and commented upon it, which still may not be complete. For example, the gnostics who appeared along the past few centuries and commented on the Quran, such as Muhyiddin⁶⁹ in some of his books, Abdur-Razzaq Kashani⁷⁰ in his "Ta'wilat", Mulla Sultan Ali⁷¹, in "Tafsir", whose method was gnostic. They wrote exegeses, and some of them wrote well according to their specialties. But the Quran is not merely what they wrote. What they wrote covers some of the aspects of the Ouran and uncovers some of its curtains. Or, for example, Tahtawi⁷² and his like, or Qutub⁷³, they commented on the Quran in a different way, which was not a tafsir of all the meanings of the Quran. They also removed a certain curtain. Other commentators, who were not of the said two groups, have also written exegeses, such as "Majma al-Bayan", 74 which is a good commentary, joining the opinions of the Sunnis and the Shiites. Likewise are the other exegeses written about the Quran. The Quran is not such a book that we or others can write a comprehensive exegesis of its sciences as they are. There are sciences beyond those which we understand. We understand one face, one curtain of the curtains of Allah's Book, while the rest is in need of the explanation of the infallible ones who were taught with the instructions of the Messenger of Allah (s).

Of late some people have appeared who, originally, are not competent for commenting on the Quran. They had certain purposes which they wanted to attribute to the Quran and to the *Sunnah*. Even a group of the leftists and the Communists tried to attach themselves to the Quran for the purpose they had. In fact, they are not interested in *tafsir*, nor in the Quran itself. They just want to impose their own ideas on the youths under the name of Islam.

Persons who have not yet acquired good scholarly development, young people who are not acquainted with this and other Islamic matters, those who have no knowledge of Islam, should not try to think of commenting on the Quran, and if they did, for certain purposes, our young people must neglect their exegeses. Among the things which are prohibited in Islam is "the *tafsir* according to one's own opinion", that is, it is not allowed to apply one's own opinions to the Quran. A materialist is not to apply his own opinions to some *ayahs* of the Quran and interpret those *ayahs* according to his own ideas. Or another one of the spiritualists, he is not to interpret the Quran as he thinks befits his tendencies. We must be cautious in respect of both of them. (60).

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The Problem of Understanding the Inner Meaning of

the Quran

The avahs which are referred to in our narratives and which are meant for the deep-thinkers of the End of the Time, such as the surah of Tawhid and the first six avahs of surah al-Hadid. I do not think that their real meanings have so far been disclosed to any human being, nor will they be later disclosed, as they must be. As a matter of course, much has been said in this connection, and there were much valuable researches, too. But the horizon of the Quran is above these questions. This very ayah of "He is the First and the Last, and the Evident and the Hidden" (al-Hadid: 3), one thinks that "the First" refers to "Allah's creation" and "the Last" is that, too, and "the Evident" refers to His vestiges and "the Hidden" is a reference to His Names. But the question actually is not this which we think, and others have thought, to be. The question is more than that. "He is the Evident" is intended to negate the principle of "manifestation" from other than Himself. It is His. This is the actual question, but to understand that by being evident He means His evidence, and that the universe, the entire existence, is His manifestation, is rather difficult. And "He is with you", which is in the same avah, means He is with us. He is here and we are here simultaneously. This simultaneity the philosophers call: "Simultaneous Everlastingness." But does it solve the question? Is this simultaneity like that of cause and effect? Is it like that of manifestation and the manifest? No, it is not these. The deep-thinkers of the End of the Time have understood, according to the depth of their perception, better than the others, as otherwise the limit of the Ouran is that it is known only to its addressee. This concerns the ayahs in general, as otherwise, there are some ayahs which are about the apparent precepts and the advices, which are understood by all. "It is known only to its addressee"⁷⁵ refers to the noble Messenger himself, that is, the intermediate also cannot understand it, i.e., Gabriel, who was an intermediate who recited to the Prophet the ayahs which came to him from the invisible and was ordered to convey them. So, he (Gabriel) is not the "addressee". The addressee is only the Messenger of Allah (s) himself, while the others understood it through that light which came to them from the noble Messenger (s) and through that luminous teaching which shone from his heart onto the hearts of his favorites. Otherwise, the hands of ones like us and the ordinary human beings are short of really knowing what "He is with you" means. What kind of "withness" is this? "He is the light of the heavens and the earth", what does it mean? What is "the light of the heavens"? How is He

"the light of the heavens"? They have interpreted it as: "He is the illuminator of the heavens", which has no connection with the *ayah* whatsoever.

The moral change and the gnostic change, which took place through the Quran, are above all questions. Each person looks at a dimension of the Quran: Some look at its apparent dimension, others look at its social dimension, or political, philosophical, gnostic, but that true dimension, which exists between the lover and the beloved, that secret which exists between Allah and the noble Prophet that is an affair which we cannot understand what it is. In a narration Imam al-Baqir⁷⁶ (a) is quoted to have said: "From the word *as-samad*⁷⁷, I can derive all the precepts and laws. I can spread all the truths derived from *as-samad*." This is the question. As a matter of course, we, too, can derive the principles of the learnings from "*as-samad*", but the Imam refers to more than this.

It is regretted that man would not like to understand, as he is not on the road to acquiring knowledge, he has not taken any steps on the road to knowing Allah, he has not established any connection with the Origin of revelation, in which case it would have been explained to him from the very Origin of the revelation.

This connection was between Allah and His Messenger alone, followed by him and his favorites. (61).

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Single-Dimensional Understanding of the Quran

After the lapse of some time from the establishment of Islam, different groups of the people and the knowledgeables directed their attention to the Islamic ethics. They turned to the *ayahs* and narratives which were related to moralities, self-education and metaphysics. The Glorious Quran includes many *ayahs* concerning moral matters, i.e., man's other face which is from the invisible world. For a long period the situation was this, and they paid little, or no, attention to the precepts concerned with sociology, politics and other precepts existed in Islam. Then gradually there appeared groups who concerned themselves with social, political and daily questions. So, they fell to the other side, that is, their attention was directed solely to these social, political and governmental questions and they were interested only in these affairs, which for a long time before that they used to look at the other face of the paper, like the philosophers, the gnostics and the sufis. Their talk was about the said moralities, as they used to invite the people to those moral

aspects of Islam to the extent that ayahs and the narratives which concerned natural matters, as well as the social and political questions, were interpreted by them to refer to the very moral matters, and they put them all on the said page about the internal aspect of Islam. They attended only to the moral affairs and neglected the other aspect of the Quran, such as the ayahs and the narratives which concern the Islamic government, the Islamic politics, the Islamic social affairs and the Islamic construction of the world. This negligence was, indeed, neglecting Islam, since they thought Islam to be single-faced. They paid no attention to its other faces, to its natural world. They did not think that Islam takes care of the world of nature, of all that man needs. Therefore, one of Islam's calamities was those people, the theologians, the philosophers and most of the gnostics and the sufis, who tried to interpret all the Quranic ayahs as to concern the said moral affairs. They looked at the hidden side of the Ouran, and neglected to look at its outside appearance. Now, Islam's calamity is that our young people, the young people and the enlightened and those who are versed scholars and know the natural sciences, they try to interpret all the Ouranic avahs and the narratives in accordance with those natural matters, neglecting morals. Even the ethical ayahs in the Quran they try to interpret them to denote natural and ordinary matters. These, too, do care for Islam, but are negligent, i.e., they read only one page of it, neglecting its other pages. Both these groups have not understood Islam in its full meaning, nor do they know what Islam is. Islam's call concerns neither morals nor materials alone. It concerns both of them. That is, Islam and the Quran have come to construct man in all his dimensions, to educate him. (62).

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How to be Benefited by the Quran

Now that you have understood the topics and the objectives of this divine Book, there is an important question which you should keep in mind, as by doing so the way to be benefited by this noble Book will be opened to you, and doors of knowledge and wisdom will be opened onto your heart. It is to take this divine noble Book as a teacher, as a Book to be learnt and followed, and regard yourself as obliged to learn and practice it. By referring to teaching, learning, benefiting and getting the benefit, we do not mean the literary aspects of the Quran, such as grammar, conjugation, syntax, nor the learning of eloquence, rhetorics, figures of speech, nor looking into its stories

and episodes about the history of the ancient peoples. None of these is included in the objectives of the Quran. They are, actually, far away from the original aims of the divine Book.

The fact that our benefit from this great Book is quite little is because we take it as a Book to be taught and learnt, as we do in most cases; we recite the Quran just to get the divine reward only. Therefore, we care for nothing but for intonation in recitation. We want to read the Ouran correctly so that we may get the reward, and we stop at that, satisfied with it. So, we recite the Ouran for forty years without benefiting ourselves by it, except the divine reward for the reciting. Or, if we take it as a Book of learning, we busy ourselves with its eloquence, rhetorics, figures of speech, its miraculous aspects, or a bit farther, its historical features, the causes of the revelations of particular ayahs, the times of revelations, whether they were revealed in Mecca or in al-Madinah, the different ways of recitation and the differences among the Shiite and Sunni commentators, and other secondary and irrelevant questions which themselves cause one to be barred from the Quran and to neglect remembering Allah. Even our great commentators have mostly directed their attention to one or more of the aspects, without opening the doors of learning to the people.

It is the author's belief that no *tafsir* for the Book of Allah has yet been written. The general meaning of "tafsir" is what should explain the objectives of the book, and the stress is to be put upon explaining the objectives of the author. As to this noble Book, which Allah testifies to be a book of guidance and teaching, and the lighthouse on the road of the traveler to humanity, every commentator, when handling any one of its stories, or any single ayah of its ayahs, will have to inform the learner about the direction of the guidance to the invisible world, where is the way to happiness and the road to knowledge and humanity. A commentator is the one who tells us about the "aim" of the revelation, not the "cause" of the revelation, as is seen in the exegeses. In the very story of Adam and Eve and their cases with Satan, as from their creation till their descending to the earth, which Allah, the Exalted, has repeated several times in His Book, there are so many teachings and admonitions, overt and covert, disclosing so many defects of the soul, Satanic behavior, moral perfections and human knowledge, which we are unaware of them.

Generally speaking, Allah's Book is a book of knowledge and ethics, and of call to happiness and perfection. A book of exegesis must also be a gnostic and ethical book and an explainer of the gnostic, ethical and other aspects of the call to happiness. The explainer who neglects this side, skips it,

or takes it carelessly, will be disregarding the objective of the Ouran, the original aim of revealing Books and sending Messengers. This is a mistake which prevented the ummah for centuries from being benefited by the Glorious Quran and blocked the way to guidance in the face of the people. We must realize the aim of revealing this Book from the Book itself. disregarding the mental reasoning which is capable to make us understand it. The Author of this Book knows better what His aim is. Now, let us look at the sayings of the Author concerning the Ouran. He says: "This Book, there is no doubt in it, is a guide to the muttaqin". (al-Baqarah: 2). He calls this Book a book of guidance. In a small surah, He several times repeats: "We have made the Ouran easy for remembrance; so, is there anyone who minds?" (al-Qamar: 17), "We have revealed to you the Reminder so that you may explain to the people what has been revealed to them, and that haply they may reflect." (an-Nahl: 44), and "A Book We have revealed to you, blessed, so that they may ponder over its ayahs and that men of understanding may remember." (Sad: 29), and many other ayahs, relating which makes it unnecessarily lengthy.

Generally, our intention in what has been said is not to criticize the commentators, as each one of them has endured a lot of difficulties and endless hardships in order to compose an honorable book, may Allah bless them and grant them their reward. Actually, our intention is to say that the way of profiting by this noble Book should be opened to the people, as it is the only book of traveling to Allah and a unique book of educating the souls, a book of divine laws and regulations, and the biggest means of connection between the Creator and the created, and the firmest handle and strong cord for grasping at the Might of Lordship. Let the commentators write exegeses, in Persian and Arabic, with the intention of explaining the gnostic and ethical teachings and regulations, and disclosing the way of connecting the created with the Creator, expanding on the migration from the House of Conceit to the House of Pleasure and Eternity, as are stated in this noble Book. The author of this Book is not Sakkaki⁷⁸, nor the Shaykh so as to aim at demonstrating faces of eloquence. He is not Sibawayh⁷⁹ or al-Khalil (ibn Ahmad) so as to look for its grammar and syntax, nor is He al-Masudi or ibn Khillikan⁸⁰ so as to care for historical events. This Book is not like the staff of Moses and his bright hand, nor is it like the breath of Jesus that gave life to the dead, so as to be a kind of a miracle proving the truthfulness of our noble Prophet. It is, in fact, a divine Book of reviving the hearts with the everlasting life of knowledge and divine teachings. It is Allah's Book calling to the divine affairs. A commentator must teach these divine affairs to the people, and in order to learn the divine affairs, the people must refer to it so that it may have its advantage: "And We reveal from the Quran that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers, and it adds only to the loss of the wrongdoers. (al-Isra': 82). What loss is bigger than that we spend thirty or forty years in reciting Allah's Book, and refer to the exegeses, and yet stop short of organizing its objectives: "Our Lord, we have wronged ourselves, and if you do not forgive us and have not mercy upon us, we will certainly be of the losers." (al-Araf: 23). (63).

What Hinders Understanding the Quran

Now that the greatness of the Book of Allah has been disclosed from all aspects, and the way to be benefited by it has been opened, there remains on the learner and the beneficiary to put to practice another important act so that the advantage becomes available. That is, removing the hindrances off the way to getting the advantage. These hindrances we call "veils" between the Quran and the beneficiaries. These veils are numerous, to some of which we shall refer presently:

One of the big veils is self-conceit, which causes the learner to think himself, by means of this veil, an independent person and in no need of any advantage. Such a thought is one of the big games of Satan, who always offers to man false perfections, and persuades him to be satisfied with what he has, and tries to belittle whatever there is beyond that which is before him. For example, take the professional reciters of the Quran, Satan convinces them and makes it appear to them significant, causing other branches of knowledge to fall from their sight. Satan causes them to think that they are on the same footing with the bearers of the Quran, depriving them from understanding the luminous Book of Allah and benefiting by it. As regards men of letters, he persuades them to be contented with the brainless form, and displays all the Quranic affairs in that which they have. He causes the writers of ordinary exegeses to be engaged in different modes of recitation and diverse opinions of the grammarians, the times of revelation, the cause of revelation, whether the ayah or the surah was revealed in Mecca or in al-Madinah, counting the numbers of the Quran's *ayahs*, its letters and the like. He convinces the scholars to be confined to acquiring different types of semantics, the argumentative methods and the like. Even the conventional philosopher, wiseman and gnostic, he wraps in thick veils of technical terms and concepts and the like. The beneficiary must tear off all these veils so that he may look from behind them at the Quran, without lingering in any of the

veils, or else, he would be left behind the caravan of the travelers to Allah, and would be deprived from the sweet divine calls. The Quran itself instructs that there should be no stopping, and no one should be satisfied with a particular limit. This is quite frequently referred to in the Quranic stories. Moses, Kalimullah [Allah's interlocutor], despite his great position as a prophet, he was not satisfied with it, and did not stop at his high standard of knowledge. As soon as he met a perfect person, al-Khidr, he, with humility and humbleness, asked him: "May I follow you that you may teach me good knowledge of what you have been taught?" (al-Kahf: 66). He kept serving him in order to learn what he had to. Ibrahim (a) did not confine himself to his great state of faith and prophetic knowledge. He said: "My Lord, show me how you give life to the dead," (al-Bagarah: 260). He wanted to be promoted from cordial faith to visual certainty. More than that, Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, orders the seal of the Prophets—the most knowledgeable of Allah's creatures: "And say: My Lord, increase me in **knowledge.**" Ta Ha: 114). Such instructions of the divine Book, the narration of the prophets' stories, are for us as a warning to awaken us from the sleep of negligence.

Another veil is that of the false ideas and void inclinations. This is sometimes due to the person's ill-aptitude, mostly caused by dependence and imitation. This veil particularly prevents us from acquiring the Quranic teachings. For example, if a false belief from our father, mother or some ignorant preachers was fixed in our heart, it would be a veil between us and the honorable divine *ayahs*. And even if there were thousands of *ayahs* and narratives against it, we would not be prepared to cast an understanding glance at them. Concerning beliefs and learnings there are numerous examples, but I have no intention to count them. I know that these veils would not be torn away by a saying of someone like me, though I should like to refer to one of them, which is, generally, easier to handle.

There are many *ayahs* concerning meeting Allah and knowing Him, as well as so many narratives in this respect, besides the many hints, open talks and allusions in the texts of invocations and supplications of the Imam (a), yet there is a belief, spread by common people about this matter, that the way to knowing Allah is completely closed, and that knowing Allah and discerning His Beauty are a kind of thinking in the very Essence of Allah, which is prohibited, or rather impossible, and so, they refrain from exploring this field and from acquainting themselves with the learnings which are the delight of the eyes of the prophets and godly men. It is quite regrettable to the godly men that a door of learning, which can be said to be the objective

of sending prophets and the utmost desire of godly men, is so closed that even mentioning it is regarded to be mere disbelief and atheism. They take the learnings of the prophets and godly men to be on the same level of the learnings of the common people in respect of Allah's Essence, Names and Attributes. They even sometimes go beyond that and say, for example: "So-and-so has good, common beliefs; we wish we had the same common beliefs!" This is true, because this wretched person who utters that has already lost the common beliefs, and takes the other learnings, which are the learnings of the favorites and godly men, to be invalid. This desire is quite similar to the desire of the infidels, to which Allah refers by saying: "And the disbeliever shall say: O! Would that I were dust!" (an-Naba': 40).

Should we want to relate all the *ayahs* and narratives concerning meeting Allah in details, in order to expose the falsity of this belief, which is the product of ignorance and Satanic conceit, we would need to write a separate book, especially if we wanted to state the learnings which had been covered by this thick Satanic veil as one of the causes of neglecting the Quran, which is most regretted, as the *ayah* says: "And the Messenger said: O my Lord, my people have taken this Quran as forsaken." (*al-Furqan*: 30). Forsaking the Quran is of uncountable stages and degrees, most of which maybe among our attributes. If we had this divine Book neatly and costly bound in a nice cover, and kissed it at times of reciting and put it on our eyes, would it mean that we were not forsaking it?

If we spend most of our lives on improving our recitation of the Quran and on attending to its language and eloquence, does it mean we have saved it from being forsaken? If we learn the different styles of reciting it and the like, will it mean that we are innocent of the disgrace of forsaking it? If we learn the different miraculous aspects of the Quran and understand the figures of speech and the literary devices used in it, will we be not included in the complaint of the Messenger of Allah (s)? How far is this from the truth! None of these cases is intended by the Quran and its Glorified revealer. The Quran is a divine Book which includes divine affairs. The Quran is the cord connecting the Creator to the created, and through its teachings, the spiritual link and the invisible connection between the servants and Allah, their Educator, must be implemented. There should appear from the Quran divine knowledge and learnings. According to a noble narration in *al-Kafi*, the Messenger of Allah has said: "Knowledge is three: an indisputable *ayah*, a just and moderate obligation and an upright tradition."

The Glorious Quran is the bearer of these kinds of knowledge. If we could learn them from the Quran, we would not be forsaking it. If we

respond to the calls of the Quran, and if we get the teachings from the stories of the prophets, which are full of admonitions, knowledge and maxims, if we learn lessons from the admonitions of Allah, the Exalted, and of the prophets and godly men, which are stated in the Quran, we will not be forsaking the Quran. Otherwise, diving into the outer form of the Quran is also clinging to the earth. It is of Satan's whisperings, from which we must take refuge in Allah.

A further veil which prevents one from being benefited by this luminous Book is the belief that no one has the right to be benefited by the Ouran except within the range of what the commentators have written or understood. They mistook thinking in, and pondering on, the noble ayahs for exeges is according to one's opinion, which is prohibited. So, on the basis of this false idea and groundless opinion, they divested the Glorious Quran from all kinds of advantage and completely forsook it, whereas the ethical, devotional, and gnostic advantages have nothing to do with the exegesis that it may be based on one's opinion. For example, if somebody is benefited by the conversation between Moses and al- al-Khidr (a), how they treated each other, severity of Moses' travel, despite the greatness of his position as a prophet, with al-Khidr with the aim of acquiring the knowledge which he lacked, how he presented his need to al-Khidr, as is stated in the noble ayah: "May I follow you that you may teach me good knowledge of what you have been taught", al-Khidr's reply to him, Moses' apologies, greatness of the state of knowledge, and the manners of the student with the teacher, which may cover twenty manners, these have no connection with the tafsir, let alone its being a tafsir based on one's opinion. Many of the advantages of the Quran are of this kind. In learning, when one understands from: "Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds"—which confines all praises and laudations to Allah, the Exalted—that it is "Unity of Action", and the noble ayah denotes that every perfection and beauty, and every might and glory in the world-which the cross-eyed and the veiled heart attribute to the beings—are but from Allah, and that no being has anything from himself, and so, praise and laudation are exclusively Allah's and no one shares them with Him. Now, what has this to do with tafsir, be it according to one's own opinion or not?

It goes like this in respect of the matters which are deducted from the requirements of speech, which have no connection with *tafsir* whatsoever. Furthermore, much can be said in respect of " *tafsir* according to one's opinion", which may not be related to the *ayahs* of knowledge and rational sciences which go according to evidential criterions and ethical *ayahs* which

have something to do with intellect. This is because these *tafsirs* comply with firm intellectual proof, or with clear intellectual considerations, and if the literal meaning (of an *ayah*) contradicted them, that literality should be left out of consideration. For example, in the noble *ayahs*: "And your Lord comes". (*al-Fajr*: 22), and: "The Beneficent sat (firmly) on the throne" (*Ta Ha*: 5), the common understanding contradicts proof. To leave this literality out of consideration and to have evidential interpretation is not a "*tafsir* according to one's opinion", and it is never prohibited.

So, it is possible, or rather assumed, that the "tafsir according to one's opinion" concerns the ayahs of precepts, of which the hand of opinion and intellect is short, and they must be devotionally and obediently taken from the treasures of revelation and the receivers of the angels of Allah, as there are many noble narratives which oppose, in this respect, the Sunni fagihs who wanted to understand Allah's religion by means of their intellects and analogies. The noble narrative: "Nothing is farther than the intellect from the tafsir of the Quran"82, and the noble narrative: "Allah's religion cannot be got by means of the intellects".83, give testimony to the fact that by "Allah's religion" the devotional precepts of the religion are meant. Otherwise, the fields of proving the Maker, monotheism, glorification, Resurrection, prophethood, or rather knowledge as a whole are the absolute right and specialities of the intellect. The idea expressed by some high-ranked traditionists, that the traditional proofs are depended upon in proving monotheism, is a strange affair, rather it is a disaster of which one must take refuge in Allah, and this talk should not be censured nor despised; and to Allah is the complaint!

One of the other veils which prevent comprehending the Holy Quran and benefiting by its heavenly knowledge and admonitions is the veil of disobediences and the offences caused by rebellion and obstinacy against the Holy Presence of the Lord of the worlds. It covers the heart and prevents it from comprehending the truths. It must be understood that as for each of the good or bad deeds there is an image in the invisible world, there is also an image for it in the invisible soul, through which either an illumination takes place in the inside of the invisible soul, purifying and illuminating the heart, in which case the soul becomes like a clear mirror such that it becomes prepared to receive the invisible manifestations and the appearance of the truths and knowledge, or the invisible soul becomes dark and evil, in which case the heart becomes like a rusty and dirty mirror, which cannot reflex the divine teachings and the invisible truths. The heart, in such instances, comes gradually under the control of Satan, and the kingdom of the spirit is

controlled by Iblis. The hearing, the seeing and other powers also come under the control of that evil one, and the hearing becomes completely closed to the divine teachings and admonitions, and the eyes do not see the divine dazzling *ayahs*, and they turn blind against Allah, His signs and communications. The heart will not understand the religion, and will be deprived from contemplating the clear *ayahs* and from remembering Allah, His Names and Attributes, as He, the Most High, says: "They have hearts with which they do not understand, and they have eyes with which they do not see, and they have ears with which they do not hear. They are like the cattle; rather, they are more astraying." (*al-Araf*: 179). Their look at the world will be like that of the cattle and animals, void of significance and reflection, and their hearts, like animal hearts, will be empty from thinking and remembrance, rather their state of negligence and haughtiness aggravates upon reflecting into the *ayahs* and hearing the admonitions and teachings, and they will be even lower and more astraying.

Another one of the thick veils, which is like a heavy curtain between us and the Ouranic knowledge and admonitions, is the veil of the love of this world, to which the heart pays all its attention and it completely becomes worldly, and, because of this love, the heart neglects remembering Allah, and turns away from the remembrance and the Remembered. The stronger its attachment to the world and its affairs, the thicker the heart's veil and the curtain become. Sometimes this attachment overcomes the heart, and the power of ambition and love of position get such an upper hand over the heart that the light of the divine innateness is completely extinguished, and the doors of happiness are closed to man. Probably the locks which are referred to in the ayah: "Do they not, then, reflect on the Quran, or is it that there are locks on their hearts?" (Muhammad: 24), are the said mundane fetters and attachments. Whoever wants to be benefited by the Ouranic knowledge and admonitions must purify his heart from such filths, and cleanse it from the pollution of cordial disobediences, which mean being engaged in thinking in other than Allah, as the impure cannot be trusted with these secrets. Allah, the Exalted, says: "It is a generous Ouran, in a protected book; none may touch it except the purified ones." (al-Waqiah: 77-79). As the outer part of this Book is, according to the religious law and obligation, not allowed to be touched by the unclean, similarly the one, whose heart is polluted with the mundane filth of attachment to this world, is also detained from its teachings, admonitions and inside secret. Allah, the Exalted, says: "This Book, there is no doubt in it, is a guide to the pious." (al-Bagarah: 2). The impious disbeliever, according to the piety and belief of the common, will be deprived from the formal lights of the true admonitions and ideologies of the Quran, and the impious believer, according to other degrees of piety, which is the piety of the notable, the more notable and the most notable elite, will be deprived of its other degrees. Expanding on this subject and other relevant *ayahs* relating to it would lengthen the discussion. Yet we shall end this chapter with a divine noble *ayah* which suffices the conscious people, provided they contemplate it. Allah, the Exalted, says: "There has come to you from Allah a light and a clear Book, with it Allah guides him who follows His pleasure to the ways of peace, and brings them out of darkness into light by His permission, and guides them to the straight path." (*al-Maidah*: 15-16) The characteristics of this noble *ayah* are numerous, but to talk about them requires a separate book, which is out of the question for the time being. (64).

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The Norms of Reciting the Quran

One of the norms of reciting the Quran is the **presence of heart.**

Another one of the important norms is reflecting, that is, to think about the aim and the purpose of the noble *ayahs*. And, as the aim of the Ouran—as is said by this luminous Book—is to guide to the ways of peace, and to bring forth from all degrees of darkness into the world of light, and to guide to the straight path, man should attain, through reflecting upon the noble ayahs, the stages of safety, from its lowest stage—which belongs to the worldly powers—till its farthest end—which is the truth of a guileless heart, according to a tafsir received from Ahl al-Bayt: a guileless heart can meet Allah when there is nothing other than Allah in it⁸⁴. The soundness of the worldly and heavenly powers should be the pursuit of the reciter of the Quran. This sought-after is found in this heavenly Book and is to be extracted by reflection. When the human powers are freed from the Satanic control, and when man can find the way to safety and set out on it, he will be saved from a kind of darkness in each stage of safety he reaches, and the divine shining light will inevitably appear in it. Whenever he is purified from all kinds of darkness, the first of which being the darkness of the world of nature in all its affairs, and the last of which being the attention paid to multiplicity in all its aspects, absolute light will manifest in his heart, and it will guide him to the straight path of humanity, which, in this respect, is the path of man's Lord: "My Lord is on a straight path." (Hud: 56)

The Glorious Ouran frequently invites to contemplation and approves and lauds it. Allah, the Exalted, says: "And We have revealed to you the Remembrance so that you may explain to mankind what has been revealed to them, and that haply they may reflect." (an-Nahl: 44). Here in this noble ayah there is a great praise of thinking, since the objective of revealing this great and heavenly luminous Book is the stimulation to thinking, and this shows attaching great importance to it, so that such a possibility gives it so much dignity. In another ayah He says: "So, relate the narratives, so that they may reflect." (al-Araf: 176). Such ayahs are numerous, as well as the narrations concerning contemplation. When the noble ayah: "Surely in the creation of the heavens and the earth and the alternation of night and day there are signs for men of acumen" (Al-i Imran: 190) was revealed, the Messenger of Allah (s) is quoted to have said: "Woe upon the one who reads it and does not reflect upon it⁸⁵". The important point in this respect is that one should know what the approved reflection is, as there is no doubt that to think the Ouran and hadiths over is praiseworthy. The best expression in this respect is that of Khwajah Abdullah Ansari⁸⁶ (may Allah sanctify his secret) who says: **"Know that reflection is** searching through the insight in order to attain the objective"87, that is, one has to search through the "insight", which is the eye of the heart, to get to the aim and the result, which is the utmost perfection. It is known that the aim and destination are the absolute happiness, which is obtained by means of scientific and practical perfection.

Hence, in the noble *ayahs* of the divine Book and in its episodes and narratives, man should look for his aim and destination, which are happiness. As happiness is getting to the absolute safety, the world of light and the straight path, man is to look for ways of safety, the source of absolute light and the straight path in the noble Quran, as the said noble *ayah* refers to it. When the reciter finds out the destination, he will see his way to it, and the way of being benefited by the noble Quran, and the doors of Allah's mercy, will be opened to him. He will not then spend his dear short years, and the capital of acquiring his happiness, on matters which are not intended by the Message, and he will refrain from indulging in useless discussions and talks about such an important matter.

By pinning the eye of one's heart, for a period, on this objective, taking it away from other matters, his heart's eye will be sharp-sighted, and contemplating the Quran becomes normal for him, and the ways to benefit open, and the doors which so far had been closed to him unclose, and he gets from the Quran such uses which he had never got before. Only then he will

understand how the Quran is the cure for the cordial ailments. He will understand the meaning of the *ayah*: "And We send down of the Quran what is a healing and a mercy to the believers, and it adds only to the loss of the wrongdoers." (*al-Isra*: 82), and what Amir al-Muminin (a) said: "Learn the Quran, as it is the spring of the hearts, and seek a healing through its light, since it is the cure for the bosoms." He will not seek only the healing of the bodily illnesses from the Quran, rather his main aim will be seeking the healing of the spiritual ailments, the real intention of the Quran. The Quran was not revealed in order to treat the physical diseases, although these are cured by it. Likewise, the prophets (a) did not come to cure the corporal illness, though they did it. They were the physicians of the souls, the curers of the hearts and the spirits. (65).

Imamate and Shiism

The Meaning of Imamate

According to the judgment of reason we proved that Imamate—which means the appointment of a guardian for the religion—should be established and confirmed in Islam. Even if the law-giver in Islam were a common wise man, still he should have determined the duties of the believers after him. We once again stress that Allah, the Exalted, made laws for the life of the human beings, and brought precepts for their happiness in this world and in the next. According to the judgment of reason these laws and precepts were meant by Allah and His Prophet to be practiced (by mankind), not to be put aside. This is a fact which needs no proof, because it is of the clear judgments of the intellect that every law-giver in the world makes his laws in order to enact them and have them practiced, not to merely pronounce them and put them on the paper. However, the application of the divine laws and precepts was not confirmed to the period of the Prophet, as they must be carried on after him, too, as it is clear. It is inevitable, therefore, as we shall prove later on, that the Lord of the world must appoint somebody who should know His sayings and those of His Messenger exactly, in details and with no addition or deletion, and in putting the divine laws into practice he should neither commit mistakes nor should he be a treacherous, lair, unjust, opportunist, greedy, seeker of position and post, nor should he disobey the law or incite the people to disobey, nor should he refrain from offering himself and his interests in the way of Allah. This is the meaning of Imamate, and these are the attributes of the Imam. Among the entire *ummah*, with the testimony of trusted histories and successive narratives of both the Sunnis and the Shiites, there was no one, after the Messenger, to have all these attributes other than Ali ibn Abitalib. (66).

Continuation of the Imamate

The noble Prophet, before his demise, appointed his successor and successors up till the time of Occultation [of the 12th Imam], and those successors also appointed Imams for the *ummah*. In general, they did not leave this *ummah* to themselves to be in bewilderment. They appointed for them the Imam, the leader. So long as there was an Imam (a) it was he who

undertook the affairs, then, after the Imams, the *faqihs*, the committed ones, the expert Islamists, the ascetics, those who avoid mundane matters and are not attracted by the vanities of this world, those who are really worried about the *ummah*, and they regard the nation to be their own children. They have been appointed to safeguard this *ummah*. (67).

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The Diverse Dimensions of Imam Ali (a)

Today is the feasting day of al-Ghadir⁸⁹, one of the greatest religious feasts. It is the feasting day of the *mustadafin*, the deprived, the feast of those wronged in this world. It is a day in which Allah, the Exalted, ordered His Messenger (s)—by way of carrying out the divine objectives in continuing the way of the prophets in propagating His cause—to appoint (Imam) Ali (a) [as his successor]. We have to be sorry because the treacherous hands which instigated the wars during his rule, the wars and the instigators of wars did not allow the features of this great man, in their different dimensions, to appear clearly. This great man had a personality with many dimensions and he was the manifestation of the divine collective name which includes all the names and attributes. All the divine names and attributes which appeared in the world, through the noble Messenger, were manifested in this personality, and the dimensions which remained hidden are much more than those which appeared. Even those dimensions which man could, or will, discover in him, gathered in a single man, a single personality, such as contradictory aspects. A man, an ascetic as he was, and a great ascetic one, was, at the same time, a fighter, a great fighter in defense of Islam. These cannot meet in an ordinary man. An ascetic, to a common thought, cannot be a fighter, and the one who is a fighter cannot be an ascetic. At a time when he was so abstinent, so selfdenier and contented with the least possible, he, nevertheless, was quite strong physically, and this was another aspect of joining two contradictions. At the same time when he was acquainted with different branches of knowledge besides the ethical and spiritual and other Islamic sciences, we notice that the people of a particular branch of such sciences used to consider him one of them. Champions consider Imam Ali as a champion. The philosophers regard him to be one of them, similarly the gnostics take him to be a gnostic, likewise the *fagihs* look at him as their master. So, every walk of life regards him to be of that walk, as he possessed all the attributes and all perfections.

Some of the Imam's qualities, which may not be so much obvious, can be known from his supplications and duas [prayers]: The dua of $Kumayl^{90}$ is an amazing, a quite amazing dua. Some expressions of this dua can hardly be expected from an ordinary human being: "O my God, Master, Guardian and Lord, suppose I could endure Your torment, how would I endure being separated from You?"91 Who can compose such an expression? Who has such a deep love for Allah's beauty that Hell does not frighten him, but he is afraid of being degraded from his position, if sent to Hell, to such a degree depriving him from loving Allah? He moans out about his separation from Allah, the Exalted. It is a love which is kindled in the innermost of his heart forever, and all his actions stemmed from this love for Allah. The value of the acts are estimated according to the love and affection for Allah, the Exalted, according to the annihilation and monotheism which are in man. That is why "Ali's strike on the Day of the Trench [war] is more preferred than the worshipping of both the ins and the jinn"92. Suppose that this strike was stricken by someone else in defense of Islam, and it resulted in promoting Islam, but it was not caused by love, in this case that strike would not be "preferred to the worshipping of both the ins and **jinn.**" The motive behind an act is its spiritual drive, not its form. Striking with a sword is merely raising it and bringing it down to kill a disbeliever. Such a strike and killing a disbeliever can be done by many people, but sometimes it will have no reward and no preference at all, and sometimes it may have preference, but it will not be "preferred to the worshipping of both the ins and the jinn." That was because of love and monotheism living in his heart, and that is why the hand was not his, and the eye was not his, it was Allah's hand and Allah's eye. These we say through chattered words, but we cannot imagine them. Actually we do believe in them, but we are unable to picture them and imagine how the situation is. (68).

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The Distance between the Shiites and Ali (a)

Sometimes it occurs to me to ask: What resemblance do we have so as to claim to be the Shiites of that great man? If the thinkers, writers and those who are well-informed, consider his spiritual and material dimensions and study the many aspects of that great man, from his early years till his martyrdom, and try to find out how we can claim that we are his followers, all of us—except a few during the early years of Islam, like the Imams of

Guidance—must confess that we are unable to justify our claim. I myself cannot, in this meeting, explain even a single one of his dimensions, I will say something just to open a way to the knowledgeable persons, the well-informed with high moralities, so that they may think and study his position and ours.

As regards learnings and education, the one who has read his *duas* and studied *Nahj al-Balaghah*⁹³, should recognize his high standing. That is, he would realize that the one who had known the learnings of the Quran was he, as well as those whom he taught, such as the Imams of Guidance. Alleging knowledgeability is quite easy. One may compose a poetry or a piece of prose, and then say: How learned I am! This is easy, and many have claimed it. But what is the reality? That which is there as a reality and we sincerely want to find it, when we deeply think about ourselves, we will not be able to find any resemblance between ourselves and him!

One of the common things which is in Nahj al-Balaghah and in the narratives quoted from other Imams, and which is an ordinary position, not a high one, is his saying that worship is of three kinds: A group of people worship Allah out of desire for reward, this is the worship of businessmen. Another group worship Allah out of fear, this is the worship of slaves. A third group worship Allah out of gratefulness, this is the worship of freemen. If we were given a definite promise that we would not be going to hell and we all would go to Paradise, and hell's doors would be closed to us, would we still worship Allah? Or if we were told to worship Allah for a truthful love for Allah, would you see in yourself that love of Allah had driven you to worship Him, not fear, hope or some psychological reason? I have said that such claims are possible. I can allege that I love Him, but actually we love Him not. What is there is only our self-love. All that is there belongs to us. So far we have not taken even a single step out of our selves, i.e., even the primary step which the people of gnosticism describe to be an awakening one. Yet we have not woken up. The torpor of nature is still there inside us, and it may still remain there forever, unless Allah bestows a grace upon us. (69).

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The Spiritual Status of Fatimah (a)

Concerning the Siddiqah⁹⁴ (a) [Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet (s)] I find myself inefficient to speak of her. I will, yet, satisfy myself with

mentioning a single narrative which is stated in the noble al-Kafi, supported by trustworthy authority. The narrative says that Imam as-Sadiq (a) said: "Fatimah (a) survived after her father for seventy-five days, during which she was overcome by grief and sorrow. Gabriel, the Trusted, used to visit her for consolation and telling her about events to happen in the future." It appears from this narrative that during these seventy-five days Gabriel frequently visited her. I do not think that other than the first class of the great prophets had been spoken of like this, such that Gabriel continually visited her within the seventy-five days of her life after her father, telling her future events which would befall her offspring, and which were written down by Imam Ali, as if he were the recorder of revelation, as he was to the Prophet. As a matter of course, the revelation bringing precepts had ended by the demise of the Messenger of Allah (s), yet he had taken down what Gabriel revealed to the Siddigah in those seventy-five days. The question of Gabriel's visiting somebody is not a simple one. No one should think that he visited and would visit anyone. There was a proportionality between the spirit of the one to be visited and the position of Gabriel, who is the Great Spirit. It makes no difference whether we say that the question of Gabriel's coming down was desired by the great spirit of this guardian, or by the Prophet, or we say that Allah, the Exalted, had ordered him to come down and tell her about these matters. Whether it is that which some of the adherents of exteriority say, or it is what the people of insight say, without some sort of proportionality between the spirit of the one visited by Gabriel, and Gabriel's spirit himself, no such meeting can take place. Such a proportionality did exist between Gabriel, the Great Spirit, and the first class prophets, like the Messenger of Allah, Moses, Jesus, *Ibrahim* and others, not all of them, and after them it did not take place. Even in respect of the Imams, I have never read that it happened to any of them, that is, Gabriel's descent upon them. But it did happen in respect of az-Zahra' (a) alone, according to the narratives which confirm his visiting her during her 75 days after her father and telling about what was going to befall her offspring after her, and which were put down on paper by Amir al-muminin. However, I regard this privilege and honor to be superior to any of the other honors which had been bestowed upon her great as they are—an honor which was restricted to the prophets, no, to only some of their high ranked ones and some of the godly men who stood on the same level with them. Yet, in this frequent manner which it happened to the Siddigah, az-Zahra (a), it happened to none of them at all. Thus, it was an honor exclusively bestowed upon Fatimah (a). (70).

The Greatness of Fatimah's Small House

The small house of Fatimah (a), contained only four or five members, but they were brought up in such a way that they manifested the power of Allah, the Exalted, and offered such services that cause us, you and all humanity to admire them. Fatimah's speech in the face of the government. the rise of Amir al-Muminin, and his forbearance for twenty and odd years, during which he did not refrain from offering his help to the government of the day, and afterwards he continued sacrificing for the sake of Islam, as well as the sacrifices of his two sons, Imam al-Hasan al-Mujtaba⁹⁶, who offered a great service to Islam by exposing the nature of the despotic government of the Ummiads, and his brother, the Master of the Martyrs⁹⁷, al-Husayn, who also offered a great service. These are the things which you know and we know. Despite the fact that they had few followers and scanty means of warring, the divine spirit and the spirit of their faith educated them in such a way that they overcame all the wrongdoers of their era and enlivened Islam, and were examples for us and for you, dear brothers, so that despite our few number and little means and arms, we can stand against all the powers which are waging their war against us. Our godly men (a) have shown that encountering the *mustakbirin* can sometimes be by means of propaganda and sometimes by means of weapon, so as to keep them within their limits. We, too, have to follow their example. (71).

Imam al-Mahdi, the Founder of the Government of Justice

The blessed anniversary of the happy birthday of the Seal of the Successors and the pride of the godly men, al-Hujjah ibn al-Hasan al-Askari, may our souls be ransom for his coming, be a blessing for the wronged and the *mustaḍafin* in the world. It is really a blessing this birthday anniversary of a personality who will establish a justice for which was the sending of the prophets. What a blessed day is the birthday of a great man who will purge the world from the evil of the despots and the fraudulents. He will fill the earth with justice and equity, after that it has been filled with injustice and inequity. He will suppress the *mustakbirin* of the world and will put the land in the hands of the *mustaḍafin*. How wonderful and blessed will be the day on which the deceitful and the seditious people will be effaced from the earth, and the government of divine justice will dominate all over the world, and hypocrites and the deceitful ones will leave the scene, and the flag of Allah's justice and mercy will flap over the whole expanse of the earth, and

only the law of the Islamic justice will govern humanity, and the forts of injustice and congresses of despotism will collapse down, and the objective of sending the prophets and the guardians (a) will be implemented, and Allah's blessings will be sent down upon the earth, and the disgraceful pens will be broken, and the tongues instigating disunion will be cut off, and the divine light will shine upon the world, and the Satans and their followers will be sent in isolation, and the false organizations of Human Rights will be cancelled. It is hoped that Allah, the Exalted, will enhance the arrival of that happy day of the appearance of this happy newborn, and manifest the sun of guidance and Imamate the soonest possible. (72).

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The Philosophy of the Occultation

The question of the occultation of the Imam al-Mahdi is an important one from which we learn many things, such as the fact that for such a great procedure as spreading justice, in its real meaning, all over the world, there was no one among the entire humanity to do it except al-Mahdi the Promised (a), whom Allah has treasured for humanity. All the prophets who appeared had been sent to carry out justice, and their objective was to spread justice in the whole world, but they were not successful. The Seal of the Prophets (s) had also come for the same purpose and to reform the people and to educate them. Nevertheless, he was also unsuccessful during his life-time. But the Promised Mahdi is the one who will be successful in applying justice, in its real meaning, all over the world, not just this ordinary justice known to common people, who think justice to mean equity in this world concerning their comfort and satisfaction, rather it will be equity in all stages of humanity. Whatever perversion man may have, actual perversion, spiritual perversion, mental perversion, to restore these perversions to their common meanings is implementing justice in man. If his behavior is perverse, he will return to equity when he turns away from perversion. If there is perversion and crookedness in one's beliefs, to redress those crooked beliefs to a correct belief and to a straight path, this means creating equity in one's mind. No one from the beginning till the end was capable of doing it, and it is only for the Promised Mahdi to spread justice in the whole world, the objective which the prophets, who had come to do that, could not implement. Allah, the Exalted and Blessed, has treasured him to carry out by his hands that which all the prophets and godly men wished to carry out, but certain hindrances prevented them from it. His being granted such a long life by Allah is for this purpose. This gives us to understand that among the human beings there was no one other than him to do that. After the prophets, who were there but could not be successful, and after the prophets and the great godly men, there were the fathers of the Promised Imam, who also could not do it. Were the Promised Mahdi to die, like his fathers, there would have been no one among the human beings to be able to carry out the said justice. But he is a being saved for such a task. Therefore, according to these considerations, the celebration of the birthday of the Lord of the Time (may our lives be his ransom) is the greatest feast for the Muslims, or rather for the humanity, not only the Muslims. (73).

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Shiism, Ahl al-Bayt's School of Thought

We are proud, and our noble nation adherent to Islam and the Quran is proud, too, of being followers of a sect which wants to save the Quranic truths—all of which speak of unity among the Muslims, or rather among the human beings—from the graveyards. The Quran is the greatest factor of delivering man from all the fetters around his hand, leg, heart, and mind, which drag him to destruction, annihilation, nonexistence, servitude and slavery for the *taghuts*. We are proud of being the followers of a creed established by the Messenger of Allah, at the order of Allah, the Exalted, assigning Amir al-Muminin, Ali ibn Abitalib, this servant freed from all chains, to rescue all humanity from all chains of slavery.

We are proud that *Nahj al-Balaghah*—which comes after the Quran as the greatest constitution for the material and spiritual life, and the highest book ensuring man's freedom, and whose moral and ruling instructions are the highest way of deliverance—is by our infallible Imam.

We are proud that the infallible Imams, from Ali ibn Abitalib till the Rescuer of humanity, al-Mahdi, the Lord of Time (may thousands of greetings and peace be upon them), who is alive and observes the affairs, by the power of Allah, the Powerful, are our Imams.

We are proud that the life-giving *duas*, which are called "the ascending Quran", are by our infallible Imams. We are proud that the "*Shabaniyyah dua*" of the Imams, the "*dua* of *arafah*" by al-Husayn ibn Ali (a), *as-Sahifah as-Sajjadiyyah*¹⁰⁰, the Psalms of the offspring of Muhammad, and

Fatimah's *Sahifah*¹⁰¹, which is a book inspired by Allah, the Exalted, to az-Zahra' the Pleased, are ours.

We are proud that *Baqir al-Ulum* [the Cleaver of knowledge] who was the highest personality of the history, and whose high status could not be understood except by Allah, the Exalted, the Messenger of Allah (s) and the infallible Imams (a), is ours.

We are proud that our sect is $Jafari^{102}$, and our fiqh, which is an endless ocean, is one of his relics. We are proud of all the infallible Imams (a) and of being their followers.

We are proud that our infallible Imams (a) had been imprisoned, exiled and reached, at last, martyrdom in their struggle for overthrowing the despotic governments of the tyrants, in the way of elevating the religion of Islam and applying the Quran, one of whose dimensions is establishing a government of justice. (74).

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The Meaning of Being a Shiite

Imam Ali ibn Abitalib says, as is related ¹⁰³, that probably there is a dweller of the frontiers who is hungry, and so he feels discomforted lest there should be someone hungrier than he. Such a man is our Amir, our Master, our Imam. Yet we keep talking about the Imam without imitating him, without following his wake. This is the meaning of being an Imam. The meaning of a Shiite is that he should follow as if he were in a funeral procession—if he proceeds behind the coffin he will be a follower, but if he turns out of the procession, he is, then, not a follower. A Shiite must follow Ali like this. (75).

* * *

Combating Injustice—An Intrinsic Quality of Shiism

One of the intrinsic qualities of Shiism, ever since its beginning, is to stand against dictatorship and to combat injustice, as can be seen from the history of Shiism, although the peaks of such struggles were sometimes spatial. Within the past century there took place events each of which had its effect on today's movement of the people: The Revolution of Constitutionalism¹⁰⁴, the Tobacco Movement¹⁰⁵, etc. have had important

effects. The establishment of the theological studies center more than half a century ago in Qum, its effects inside and outside the country of Iran, the efforts of the religious enlightened groups within the universities and the uprising of the people of Iran in 1962-63 under the leadership of the Islamic *Ulama* which is continuing till this day, all are the factors which present the Islam of the Shiites to the whole world. (76).

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The Comprehensiveness of Islam

Man's Diverse Dimensions

Islam's call is neither exclusively for the spiritual nor for the material. It covers both. That is, Islam and the Glorious Quran have come to construct man with all his dimensions. (77).

The Divine Governments and the Common Governments

Our claim that no regime is like the Islamic government in educating and directing the human individuals and communities as they should be, is because all the non-monotheistic regimes and the regimes which were established by some individuals other than the prophets according to their (limited) insight, if we take them to be hundred per cent trustworthy and care for the people, we will have to see how far their sight can see and how far man can proceed and what man's needs are. Do these non-divine regimes have sufficient insight to contain man's existential capacity and his susceptibility to development, even if we suppose that there were those who cared for the people and tried to be of good service to them? Or is their insight limited to some extent, and if they wanted to serve, their services would not go beyond those limits? But what if we realized that man's course starts from the natural to the supernatural until he reaches to where there is the state of divinity—a course from nature to a state in which he sees none but Allah, i.e., man's spiritual stages. This human being is able to proceed from nature and bring about in himself all spiritualities under correct education and reach a rank which is even higher than that of angels of Allah.

Man is not an animal whose need is only to eat and sleep. He is a being whom Allah, the Exalted and Most High, has created to contain in him all the

aspects of the world, but in the form of capacity or susceptibility, which are to step into actuality and be implemented. All the non-divine regimes which were established by the people other than the prophets, their sight limit stops at the limit of nature. They can satisfy physical needs, and very well they can satisfy them. In the olden times they traveled by asses and horses, nowadays it is done by planes. Formerly medication was incomplete, now it is perfect and will be more perfect. The natural sciences formerly had faults, now they are faultless and will be better. All these are within the limits of nature. All things which are within the reach of man are within nature's limits. They are what they see by their eyes and understand with their deficient understanding. Man's hand is short of what is beyond nature. The non-divine and non-prophetic education is the very natural education. A physician treats our bodies. He very well treats our illnesses, our bodily illnesses, but the spiritual illnesses are not related to the physician, he has nothing to do with them, he cannot have, because he knows nothing about it. The more advanced the natural sciences, the better they will meet the natural needs of man. But the upper page, which is supernatural, no one of these human sciences can reach there.

If we suppose that the human regimes are good ones—although we do know that most of them are not so—they can push man forward to the extent of their sight. On reaching what they do not know, they stop. For this reason we notice that all the non-divine regimes which have no connection with the source of revelation, have nothing to do with man. Such governments have nothing to do with the things connected to man's inside. They do not care what you think, what your beliefs are, what your faculties are. They have nothing to do with that. What they do care for is the order of the world of nature. Those who are correct people, the just governments, they try to keep the order of this nature preserved. They want their market to be in order, their kingdom to be in order, and they try to stop the thieves, to abolish injustice. These are what such regimes care for, to this limit. That is all. They do not care what you do in your house. They have nothing to do with the inside of your house. But when you leave your house and come out, you are to keep the order. As to the inside of your house, what you do with your Allah, they do not care at all. These orders, they have no law for making man, they do not care for him. The only regime, the only school of thought which cares for man before this seed, this grain, is sowed, till when it is the end (it has no end, of course), is the school of the prophets. No school, except the school of the prophets, cares to tell you what a woman you should choose to be married to her and a woman what a man should she choose for a husband.

What is it to them? They have nothing to do with it, never. Their law does not tell you what kind of a woman, or a man, to choose. None of their laws tells that during pregnancy what the mother should do, and when she wants to suckle the baby, what she should do. As long as the child is in the lap of its mother, what her duty is. When the child is under the care of its father, what he

should do to bring it up. The laws of the materialists and naturalists and of the non-prophetic regimes, all of them have nothing to do with these things. When a man becomes a man and is introduced into the society, then they start controlling the mischiefs, that is, the mischiefs which cause disorder. But the mischiefs which are in the form of debauchery, they have nothing to do with them, or rather they encourage them. As to constructing and making a man, they have nothing to do with that. To them, the difference between man and animal is that the former has had more progress than the latter. The animal cannot make an aeroplane, while man can. An animal cannot become a physician, but man can. As to the limits, they are the limits of nature. That which cares for everything is that which takes care of man before marriage in order to be sure that the outcome of the marriage would be a sound being, a real man. Before you marry, it instructs you how to select a woman for a wife, or a man for a husband. What for are these instructions? Because when a farmer, a peasant, wants to establish a farm, he will have first to examine the earth. He must choose a good land. Then the seeds which he wants to sow, what kind of seeds he has to select. He selects a choice of wheat seeds. He takes into his consideration all the necessary materials needed to bring up a good form and to be profited by it. Islam bears a similar point of view in the selection of the couple to be married in order to produce right members for the community, how you should select the woman so that a good person may result from the couple, and on what formalities it should be based; under what conditions the pollination should take place, what its formalities are. Then what should be done during pregnancy, and later during suckling the child

All these are because these monotheistic schools, at the head of which is Islam, have come to make the man. They have not come to promote an animal endowed with a little better understanding with the same animal limits. They have not come to make a better animal, but to make man.

It is Islam that can educate man from the natural stage up to the stage of spirituality and of superspirituality. The non-Islamic and non-monotheistic schools originally have nothing to do with supernaturality, they cannot imagine it as their knowledge does not go beyond nature. The one whose

knowledge crosses to the supernatural is he whose knowledge has come through revelation, and whose understanding is connected to revelation—those were the prophets. (78).

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Progress and the Comprehensiveness of Islam

When the West had nothing to offer, and its inhabitants lived in a state of barbarism, and America was the land of the red-skinned people... there were the two strong and vast kingdoms of Iran and Rome which were ruled by despotism and the upper class on the basis of discrimination and hegemony. There was no trace of democracy and law in them. Then, Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, sent the noble Messenger (s) with a set of laws which are actually astonishingly great. For everything there are laws and regulations. For man, from before the fertilization of the sperm drop till after being buried in his grave, there are relevant laws and instructions. Like the laws for the devotional duties, there are laws and regulations for social and governmental affairs. The Islamic laws are progressive, integral and comprehensive. The huge volumes of books which have been written on diverse topics of law, covering the judgments concerning judicature, transactions, punishments and penalties, as well as concerning international relations, and regulations of war and peace, and public and private international laws, are parts of the Islamic laws and regulations. As a matter of fact, there is no situation that may occur in life without there being a relevant Islamic answer to settle it, or judgment to set it right. (79).

* * *

Islam and Monotheistic Education

Islam tries to return all the perceptible things and the whole world to the stage of monotheism. The instructions of Islam do not concern nature, mathematics, nor medicine alone. It includes all of them, but they are harnessed by monotheism—the whole nature and all the dark shadows return to that luminous state, the last of which is the divine state.

What we want from the university sciences, and what we want from the old method of learning, are not what is happening now on its apparent level. Our thinkers move on the said apparent level, and their efforts, however, are

praiseworthy, but what Islam wants is not this one. What Islam wants from these sciences, whether natural or non-natural, is that all of them should return to the divine sciences and monotheism. Each science should have an aspect of divinity, i.e., man, when looks at nature, should see Allah in it, and when looks at other creatures, he should see Allah in them. That for which Islam has come is to return all natural beings to divinity, and all the natural sciences to the divine science. This is also what is wanted from the universities, not just medicine. There should be medicine, quite true; likewise the natural sciences must be there, too, as well as bodily treatments, but the center of gravity, the center of monotheism, is what matters. All these should be returned to that divine side... In everything Islam wants supreme objectives. It pays no attention to natural beings, except from their spiritual aspect and high degree. If it looks at nature, it does so because it is an image of divinity, a wave of the invisible world. If it looks at man, it does so because he is a being who can be returned into a divine being. (80).

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The Natural and the Divine Sciences

Islam does not look at the natural sciences independently. All the natural sciences, no matter how developed they are, they are not what Islam wants. Islam harnesses nature for the sake of reality and takes all towards unity and monotheism. All the sciences which you may name, and your praising the foreign universities, and rightly, are but a page of the book of the world—a page thinner than the other pages. The world, from the absolute good till the end, is a being whose natural part is a low being, as all the natural sciences, compared with the divine sciences, are very low, likewise, all the natural beings, compared with the divine beings, are very low.

The difference between Islam and other religions—I do not mean the monotheistic religions—between the monotheistic schools, the biggest of which is Islam, and other schools is that Islam recognizes in nature, in medicine, in geometry, in astrology a different meaning. Whoever studies the Quran will recognize this meaning obvious in the fact that it is the spiritual aspect of all the natural sciences which is stated in the Quran, not the naturalistic aspect. The Quran orders reasoning and taking the perceptible to the reasoning world. The world of reasoning is an original one, and the world of nature is but a shadow of the world, and we do see this shadow, this low part, as long as we are inside this nature. *Ahadith* says: "Allah, the Exalted,

did not look at the world (or at nature) ever since He created it, with a look of mercy." ¹⁰⁶ It does not mean that this world is not a part of mercy, but the look is at what is beyond this world, it is at the supernatural.

Those who claim that they have understood the world and its individuations, they have actually seen only a small thin page of the world and are satisfied with it. Those who say that they understood man, they actually knew a ghost of man, or rather, a ghost of his animosity and thought that it was man himself. Those who allege to be Islamic experts, they have also seen only a low stage of Islam and are satisfied with it, thinking that they know Islam. (81).

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Islam Embraces the World

Islam does not belong to a particular group. It has come to the human beings, not to the Muslims, nor to Iran alone. The prophets had been sent to all men, and the Prophet of Islam was sent to humanity as a whole, as the Quran says: "O mankind." Our revolution we did for Islam, and the Republic is an Islamic one. An uprising for the sake of Islam cannot be confined to a particular country, nor even it can be exclusive for the Islamic countries. The uprising for Islam is the very continuation of the prophets' uprising, and the prophets' uprising was not for a particular region. The Prophet was from Arabia, but his call was not exclusively for the people of Arabia. It was not confined to Saudi Arabia. It is for the whole world. (82).

* * *

Islam for All

Islam is not interested in race, tribe, group, language and the like. Islam is for all, and for the advantage of all. We and you are brothers, according to the Quran, and we are not separate from one another. We and the Kurds, the Turks, the Baluch are all brothers and must live together. (83).

* * *

Islam Cares for the Whole World

Islam is not such as to have a single country by the name of, say, Iran, or Iraq, or by the name of so-and-so. It is not so. Islam cares for the whole world, that is, Iraq, or by the name of Islam aims at making the human beings, all the human beings. It has no kinship with any group, or with the East, West, North or South, or with any particular nation. It is a divine religion, and Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, is the God for all, not only for the westerners, the Muslims, the easterners, the Christians or the Jews. He is the God for all and is the Creator of all and the Sustainer of all. Islam, too, is a religion for all. It has come to mould man into the fair shape it wants, in a form that an individual may never transgress another individual, even for a drop, or for the tip of a needle, nor a person may oppress his child or his wife, nor a wife may violate her husband, nor two brothers may stand against one another, and these may not transgress their other friends. Islam wants man to be equitable, with a mentality, character, appearance and behaviors of a humane person. It wants to make such a man. (84).

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Rejecting Fanaticism and Nationalism

Islam regards all those who believe in Allah to be brothers, and there is no separate reckoning with, say, the Arabs, a different reckoning with the non-Arabs, or a reckoning for Iran and another with another country. The reckonings which the materialistic people talk about as they are Iranians and what they should do for Iran, or others say they are Iraqis and so on, such reckonings cannot be in Islam, which wants all the world to be like a single family under a single government, a government of justice, and all individuals to be members of that family.

We have repeatedly said that to say that the Iranian people, for example, are different, or the people of Iraq are separate, and each of them carries its fanaticism, even disregarding Islam, and is enthusiastic for its nation and nationalism, is baseless in Islam, rather it is contrary to Islam.

According to Islam one should honor his home, his mother country, but he should not set it against Islam. It is Islam which is the basis. (85).

* * *

Islam for All Classes

Islam is for all. It has originated from the masses and works for the masses. Islam did not appear from a high class. The noble Prophet (s) was from a low class of people. He rose from among them. His companions were from low classes, from the third class. The upper classes were the opponents of the Messenger (s). He appeared from these masses, and he rose for these masses, for this nation. The instructions he brought were for the benefit of this very nation: He came out of these masses and for their advantage: "The most honorable of you in the sight of Allah is the best in practicing tagwa" (al-Hujarat: 13). Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, does not care for classes, whether this class is high, whether this person is a premier, or that one is His Majesty the king, whether this is so-and-so, a commander or else. Allah is uninterested in these things. It is *taqwa* which matters in Islam. The one who is stricter is practicing tagwa is higher in nobility in the sight of Allah. The employee who practices *taqwa* in his office, the premier who practises political tagwa in his premiership, the ministers who practice tagwa in what they do, are with Allah. The president who practices tagwa is divine, and they all are honorable. But if there was no taqwa—God forbid—all are rejected by Allah. The day on which taqwa appears among the people, they will be honorable and dignified, and honorable in the sight of Allah: "The most honorable of you in the sight of Allah is the best in practicing tagwa" has no exception. The Messenger of Allah (s), being the best in practising tagwa was the most honorable one among the people. Amir al-Muminin (Ali) (a) coming after the Messenger of Allah (s) in practising taqwa was the most honorable one after him. Lineage and relationship have nothing to do with the matter; it is *taqwa* alone that matters. (86).

* * *

The Political Dimensions of Islam

Guiding the Society in All Aspects

The religion of Islam, at the same time of telling man to worship Allah and how to worship Him, tells him also how to live, how to arrange the relations with the others, and even the Islamic society is told what kind of relations should it have with other societies. There is no movement or act

done by the individual or the society without there being a relevant precept stated by Islam. Therefore, it is natural that the concept of being a religious leader refers to the leadership of the religious *Ulama* in all the affairs of the society, since Islam undertakes the guidance of the society in all affairs and dimensions. (87).

* * *

Paying Attention to this World and to the Hereafter

Islam is not a religion which takes care only of one side of the case. Islam has its judgments handling all sides of the cases. It handles all the cases related to this world, to politics, to society, to economy and all the cases related to the other side of which the people of this world have no knowledge. The monotheistic religions have come to attend to both sides of the case and offer suggestions. They have their judgments in respect of both sides and they have their suggestions. It is not that they care for one side and neglect the other side. Actually they consider both sides, especially Islam which stresses this point more than other religions. (88).

* * *

Devotion and Politics in Islam

The Glorious Quran, which has been in the hands of the Muslims ever since its revelation up to this time, remained whole and intact, without its being increased or decreased even for a single letter. If you carefully contemplate it, you will realize that the question was not that it called upon the people to sit in their houses and tell their prayers in private seclusion with Allah... The question, in fact, is invitation to the society, to politics, to state governing. At the same time that these are devotional acts, they are not separate from politics and social interests. In Islam, all the acts which are called for have their devotional aspects, even being workers in the factories, or farmers on the lands, or teachers and educators in the schools, all are among the Islamic interests and have their devotional side. (89)

* * *

Ethics and Politics in Islam

The ethical precepts of Islam are political, too. The very judgment in the Quran to the effect that the believers are brothers is an ethical judgment, a social judgment and a political judgment. If all the believers, different and diverse groups as they are in Islam, and all of them being believers in Allah and the Messenger of Islam, become brothers with one another, loving each other as brothers among all classes of the people, besides being a great Islamic ethical morality, with very important ethical consequences, it will be a great social event with great social results. (90).

* * *

The Vastness of the Political Dimension

It can be said that Allah's calls concerning the personal duties of the individuals and the private connections between the individuals and Allah, have, without exception, their social and political concepts. (91).

The Inseparability of Religion from Politics

If you could understand the concept of religion in our Islamic culture and comprehend it, you will quite clearly realize that there is no contradiction between the religious and the political leadership. Rather, as the political struggle is a part of the religious duties, the leadership and the guidance of the political struggle is a part of the duties and the responsibilities of a religious leader. (92).

* * *

Islam the Religion of Politics

Islam is the religion of politics. It is a religion in whose precepts and attitudes politics can clearly be seen. Every day there are gatherings in all the mosques of the Islamic countries, spreading from the cities, towns down to the villages and settlements, and many times in a day people meet for the performance of the congregational *salat* and in order that the Muslims in

every town and locality may get acquainted with the conditions of their Muslim brothers and of the *mustadafin*. Every Friday there is a great congregation of all in a place where the Friday salat is performed with its two sermons in which political, social, and economical matters, as well as the country's needs and those of the region, are to be explained to the people for their information. Every year there are two great feasts in which the Muslims gather in large congregations to perform salat al-Id [feast salat], in which two speeches are to be delivered by the leader of the *salat*. The leader, after praising Allah and sending blessings onto the honorable Prophet and the Imams (a), is to talk about the political, social and economic affairs and the country's needs and the region's needs. The orators are to inform the people of all these questions. The most important of such meetings is the yearly haii congregation during which peoples from all the Islamic countries, and upon whom it has become incumbent to perform the hajj, gather in Mecca, in the rites at Arafat, in Mina, then in Mecca itself, and then in al-Madinah near the Messenger's shrine. In all these gatherings the Muslims are to get information about the conditions in all the Islamic countries. As a matter of fact, there takes place a Supreme Assembly for the purpose of discussing the situations in the Islamic countries.

So, the situation is: Every day, in the districts, there are gatherings to discuss the requirements of the district and the town. Then every week there are great gatherings, in the cities and in the places where the conditions for performing the Friday *salat* exist, in which the circumstances in the cities and in the country are discussed. Then, every year there are two great gatherings to discuss the situations in the Islamic countries, and a greater assembly for all the Islamic countries for *hajj* with its several ritual places, where the conditions in all these countries are to be studied. All these are political attitudes and affairs which should be considered by all Muslims. But, it is much regretted to see that they are neglected. The gatherings do take place but with no result. The Muslims do meet in Mecca and in other places, but in a way as if they were separated from one another and alien to each other. In the Islamic countries there take place gatherings in the Friday and *Id salats*, but it seems that the individuals are not joined in a single unity. Islam calls upon the people to these meetings for the sake of great purposes. (93).

* * *

Imperialism and the Separation between Religion and Politics

The slogan "Politics is separate from religion" is propagated by the imperialists who want to prevent the Muslims from having to do with their own destinies. In the sacred precepts of Islam, the political and social affairs are more discussed than the devotional. The interest of the Prophet of Islam in Muslims' internal and external affairs shows that one of the big responsibilities of the Messenger of Allah (s) in person was the political struggle.

The martyrdoms of Amir al-Muminin (a) and Imam Husayn (a), and the imprisonments, banishments and poisonings of the Imams (a) and their suffering torments, all happened in the way of the political struggles of the Shiites against injustice. In short: Political struggles and activities are an important part of the religion responsibilities. (94).

* * *

Devotional-Political Gatherings

The different Islamic occasions, such as: *al-Fitr Id*, *al-Adha Id*, the *hajj*, the rituals of the *hajj*, the Friday *salat*, congregational *salats* in the days and nights, all have their devotional as well as their political aspects, as these two are intermingled, united.

The religion of Islam is not merely a devotional one. It is not only an obligatory servitude of a servant towards Allah, the Exalted and Blessed, nor is it a spiritual duty alone. Likewise, it is not a religion of politics alone. It is devotional-political. Its politics is intermixed in its devotion, and its devotion is intermixed with its politics. That is, its devotional aspect has a part of politics. These very gatherings in the feasts for the *salat* are devotional practices, but the gathering itself has its political aspect. The Muslims have to make use of these gatherings, much as they can. For example, the mosques during the early years of Islam were not like todays' mosques which have been defamed by deviated persons who showed the mosques in this commonplace form. In the early years of Islam it was not like this. The mosques were army concentrations whence they marched to fight against the disbelievers and the despots. They started from those very mosques. Speeches were delivered in them. The people were informed that, for example, so-and-so had revolted and transgressed in such and such a place

against the Muslims, or he was plundering the properties of the people, resorting to violence and deviation. The people, then, used to set off from those very mosques towards the enemy. Covenants were concluded in the mosques. (95).

* * *

The Real Philosophy of Hajj

The gravest pain of the Islamic communities is that so far they have not yet understood the real philosophy of many of the Islamic precepts. *Hajj*, with all its secrets and greatness, remains in the form of barren act of worship and a fruitless movement.

One of the great duties of the Muslims is to comprehend what *hajj* is and why they should always allot a portion of their material and moral possibilities to perform it. The ignorants, the purposeful analysts and the mercenaries have so far portrayed the philosophy of the *hajj* to be a collective act of worship besides being a touristic journey. What is it to the *hajj* how should we live, how should we fight and how should we stand in the face of capitalism and communism? What is that to *hajj* to demand that the rights of the Muslims and the deprived should be taken from the wrongdoers? What is it to *hajj* to enjoin that a remedy should be found for the corporal and spiritual pressures imposed upon the Muslims? What is it to *hajj* that the Muslims should show themselves as a great power and ability of the third world? What is it to *hajj* that the Muslims should be instigated against the dependent governments? Yes, *hajj* is the said travel of amusement just to visit the *Qiblah* and al-Madinah, no more! *Hajj*, in fact, is for man to get nearer to the Owner of the House and to contact Him.

Hajj is not mere movements, actions and utterances. Man cannot reach Allah with just barren talk and movement. Hajj is the focus of divine knowledge by whose light one must look for the concept of the policy of Islam into the corners of life.

Hajj is the messenger for the establishment of a society free from material and moral vices. *Hajj* is the manifestation and the repetition of all the love-creating scenes in the life of a perfect individual and society in the world. The rituals of *hajj* are the rituals of living. The society of the Islamic ummah, with all its races and nationalities, must become *Ibrahim*ic in order to join the caravan of the *ummah* of Muhammad (s) and be united as one hand. *Hajj* organizes, practises and establishes this monotheistic life. *Hajj* is

the arena and the mirror for displaying and measuring the aptitude and the material and moral power of the Muslims. *Hajj* is like the Quran by which all are benefited. But if the thinkers, the divers and those familiar with the pains of the Islamic *ummah* dive into the ocean of its knowledge, and do not fear of getting near it, and plunge into its precepts and its social policies, they will fish out more of the shells of this sea and of the gems of guidance, wisdom and freedom, and they will better quench their thirst from its clear knowledge and wisdom. (96).

* * *

Hajj, the Base for the Mustadafin

Now that the Muslims of different countries of the world are heading for the center of hopes, traveling to the House of Allah, and that this great divine duty and this big Islamic congress is being held in the blessed days and in a blessed place, the Muslims raised up by Allah, the Exalted, must be benefited, not only by its devotional content, but also by its political and social contents, as they are not to be satisfied with the appearance alone. Everybody knows that arrangement of such a great congress is not possible for any responsible person or any government, and it is Allah Who has willed that such a huge meeting should take place. It is much regretted that the Muslims, along their history, could not make the expected advantage from the divine power of this Islamic congress to the interests of Islam and the Muslims.

There are quite many political aspects in the meetings, groups, Friday salats, and especially in valuable meeting of hajj. Among these aspects is obtaining information about the basic political difficulties of Islam and the Muslims, which can be set forth before the meeting of the men of religion, the enlightened people and the pious gathering on the occasion of hajj, to be discussed and to find ways of resolving them. Then, on the return of the pilgrims to their countries, those solutions can be studied in local assemblies and efforts may be exerted in removing them. Another aspect of this great gathering is to invite the people and the Islamic communities to unity and doing away with the differences among the Muslim classes, and the orators, the speakers and the writers will have to undertake the carrying out of this vital task in order to establish a front of the mustadafin and to get rid, through a united front, joining of forces and the slogan of "There is no God but Allah", of the captivity of the Satanic powers of the foreigners, the

imperialists and the exploiters, and to overcome the problems through Islamic brotherhood. (97).

Hajj and Acquittal of the Polytheists

The cry of acquittal of the polytheists is not confined to a particular period of time. It is an order and it is forever, even if the polytheists of al-Hijaz passed away. Similarly, "the rise of the people" is not confined to a particular time. It is an order for all times and places, and every year, in this general assembly of the people; it is one of the important devotional acts for ever. (98).

* * *

The Necessity of Establishing

Islamic Government

Governments Are Needed to Enact Laws

A collection of laws is not sufficient to reform the society. In order to make the law an element of reforming man and making him happy, it needs an executive power and an executor. Thus, Allah, the Exalted, besides sending a collection of laws, i.e., the religious precepts, enjoined the establishment of a government and an organ for execution and management.

The noble Messenger (s) was at the head of the executive-administrative organization of the Muslims. In addition to conveying the revelation, explaining the beliefs, precepts and regulations of Islam, he exerted his efforts to execute the precepts and to establish the regulations of Islam in order to create the Islamic state. At that time he was not satisfied with explaining the penal code, but he used to apply it. He used to cut hands, to punish by whipping and stoning. After the generous Messenger (s) his successor had the same position and duty. By appointing his successor, the Messenger (s) did not want him to merely explain the beliefs and the precepts. It was the duty of enacting those precepts and laws, and

establishing the Islamic regulations that made assigning a successor a rather important matter, without which the noble Messenger (s) would have not "conveyed the message". Certainly, after him, the people did need somebody to enact the laws and to fix the Islamic order in the society so that the happiness of this world and the Hereafter may be ensured.

In principle, social laws and regulations need somebody to put them into practice. In all the countries of the world it has always been known that the mere coining of laws cannot be alone useful. Legislating laws cannot alone ensure man's happiness. After legislating the laws there should be an executive power in order to carry out the laws and the sentences of the courts, presenting the fruits of the just laws and judgments of the courts to the people. Therefore, as Islam legislated laws, similarly it assigned an executive power. The religious *Waliy al-Amr* is responsible for the executive power, too. (99).

* * *

The Prophet's Tradition: Establishing a Government

The tradition of the Prophet (s) and his conducts prove the necessity of establishing governments. First of all he himself had formed a government. History testifies that he formed a government, applied the Islamic laws and regulations and practiced the management of the society. He also sent governors to other parts of the country, practiced judgment and appointed judges. He further used to send ambassadors and representatives to other countries, tribes and kings. He concluded covenants and pacts and he himself used to command the army in war. In short, he conducted the governmental regulations.

Secondly, obeying Allah's command, he assigned a governor to take over after him. When Allah, the Exalted, appoints the governor for the society after the Messenger (s), it means that the government is also necessary after the departure of noble Messenger (s), and, as the noble Messenger (s) conveyed the divine commands, he also conveyed the necessity of forming the government.

Naturally, the necessity of carrying out the precepts, which made it necessary for the noble Messenger (s) to form a government, was not confined to his own days. It continued after the days of the Messenger (s). According to the honorable *ayah*, the precepts of Islam are not assigned for a particular time or place; they are to be applied forever. They did not come

just for the time of the noble Messenger (s) that they can be neglected after him, and that the *hudud* and the *qisas*, that is, the penal code of Islam not to be carried out any longer, no taxes to be paid and no necessity to defend the Islamic *ummah* and their land. To say that the Islamic laws are negligible, or to say that they are confined to particular time and place, is contrary to the necessary beliefs of Islam. Therefore, since the application of the Islamic precepts after the noble Messenger (s) is necessary forever, the formation of governments and executive organs and management are necessary, too. Without forming governments and without having executive organizations and management to bring all the happenings and activities of the people by means of the application of the precepts under an equitable regime, there will be chaos and social, ideological and ethical corruptions. Therefore, in order to prevent the appearance of disorder and chaos, and to protect the society against corruption, there will be no way but to establish a government and to subject to control everything that happens in the country. So, religiously and rationally, the things which were necessary during the lives of the noble Messenger (s) and Amir al-Muminin Ali ibn Abitalib (a), that is, government and executive power and management, are also necessary after them and in our time, too. (100).

* * *

The Nature of the Islamic Laws and the Necessity of Forming Governments

Another reason concerning the necessity of forming a government is the nature and quality of the Islamic laws and precepts, which indicate that they have been legislated for establishing a government and for political, economical and cultural administration of the society. Firstly, the Islamic precepts contain diverse laws and regulations which form a general social order. This juristic order covers all which are needed by man, as from being sociable with the neighbors, one's children, tribe, relatives, citizens, personal affairs, marital life, up to the regulations for war and peace, international relations, penal code, commercial, industrial and agricultural rights. It has laws for pre-marriage and before the clotting of the semen. It says how marriage should take place, what kind of food one should have at that time or when the semen is clotting. During suckling the infant what the duties of the parents are, how the child is to be brought up, how the married couples should treat each other and with their children. For all these stages there are

laws and instructions, so that a man can be brought up, a perfect and virtuous man, a man who himself is an embodiment of a moving law, a volunteer automatic executor of the law. It is obvious how much Islam cares for the government and the society's political and economical connections so that all the conditions be at the service of educating a refined and pious man.

The Glorious Quran and the Prophet's traditions cover all the instructions and precepts which man needs for his happiness and perfection. There is a chapter in *al-Kafi* under the title "All that are needed by the people are explained by the Book and the Sunnah" 107. By the Book the Quran is meant, "Which explains everything" 108. It clarifies everything and all matters. The Imam swears, as the narratives confirm, that whatever man needs is in the Book and in the *Sunnah*, there is no doubt in that. 109

Secondly, through scrutinizing the nature and quality of the Islamic precepts we realize that to enact and practise them there is a need of forming a government, as without establishing a big and vast executive-administrative system the duty of enacting the divine precepts will not be performed. Hereunder we mention some examples, and you may refer to other instances.

The taxes and the budget suggested by Islam were not only to meet the needs of the poor and the needy ones of the Messenger's offspring, but to establish a government and to meet its necessary expenditure required for a great state.

Take the *khums* for example. It is one of the huge incomes pouring into the *bayt al-mal*, forming a part of the budget. According to our sect, it is levied on the profits coming from agriculture, commerce, the internal and external land resources—in general, it is taken from all kinds of profits and incomes—equitably, including the vegetable seller sitting at the door of this mosque, up to the navigators or the mine owners. After extracting their own expenditures, they will have to pay one-fifth of their surplus profits to the Islamic authority to be added to the *bayt al-mal*. Naturally, such an enormous income is for the management of the Islamic country and meeting its financial needs. If we calculate the one-fifth of the incomes of the Islamic countries, or of all the countries of the world if they come to be Islamic, it will be quite clear that the aim of imposing such taxes was not just to relieve the Messenger's offspring or the men of religion from their needs. The question is more important than that. The aim is to remove the financial needs of the big governmental organizations.

The $jizyah^{110}$, which was imposed on *ahludh-Dhimmah*¹¹¹, and the *kharaj*, which is levied on large agricultural lands, make an extraordinary revenue. The imposition of such taxes denotes that a governor and a

government are inevitable. It is the responsibility of the ruler and the governor to decide the amount of the per capita taxes to be paid by *ahludh-Dhimmah* in proportion to their financial ability, or to impose taxes on their agriculture and cattle on a fair basis. Furthermore, there is the *kharaj* of the vast lands which are "*malullah*", that is, they belong to the Islamic state and exploited by it. This project requires orderly organizations, accountings, management, careful planning, away from chaos and disorder. It is the responsibility of the authorities of the Islamic state to undertake the management of these financial affairs according to the state's plans and interests, and then to decide their expenditure as the interests of the Muslims require.

You see that the Islamic financial regulations confirm the necessity of forming the government, and carrying them out cannot be except through the establishment of the Islamic organization. (101).

* * *

Many of the precepts, such as those concerning the *diyah*¹¹² (blood money), which should be received and paid to the beneficiaries, or the carrying out of the *hudud*¹¹³ and the *qisas*¹¹⁴, which are to be done under the supervision of the Islamic ruler, necessitate the establishment of governmental organizations. All these laws are related to the state and without a governing authority they cannot be implemented. (102).

* * *

Defending Islam Requires a Government

On the other hand, the instructions concerning protecting the Islamic regime and defending the integrity of the Islamic land, and the independence of the Islamic *ummah*, make the establishment of an Islamic government inevitable. For example, the judgment: **And make ready for them whatever you can of force and of horses tethered**" (*al-Anfal*: 60), is an order to be on the alert by preparing much as possible of the armed forces and defensive power in general. It is an order to be ready and to always keep watch during peacetime.

Had the Muslims acted according to this command, and established the Islamic government to vastly prepare the requirements for fight and be on the alert in complete readiness, a handful of Jews would not have dared to occupy our lands, destroy Masjid al-Aqsa and to burn it, without our people

being able to take an immediate counter step. That was because the Muslims did not respond to carry out Allah's instruction and did not establish an efficient and suitable government. Were the rulers of the Islamic countries the representatives of the faithful people and the executors of the precepts of Islam, they would have set aside their minor differences, given up their attempts of sabotage and discordance, and returned to unity as "a single hand", and then a handful of the wretched Jews, agents of America, Britain and other aliens, would not have been able to commit what they had committed, despite the support of America and Britain. But what had happened was due to the inefficiency of those who rule over the Muslim people.

The *ayah*: "And make ready for them whatever you can of force..." commands you to be powerful as much as you can, and be on the watch so that the enemies may not be able to transgress and wrong you. We were neither united nor powerful and ready, and that is why we were, and are, subject to the aliens' transgression and despotism. (103).

* * *

Forming a Government to Ensure the Unity of the Muslims

In order to ensure the unity of the Muslims, in order to free the homeland of Islam from the exploitation and from the influence of the imperialists and their quislings, we have no way but to form a government, because in order to implement the unity, and to get the freedom, of the Muslim nations, we have to overthrow the tyrannical governments and their quislings, and then to form a just Islamic government to serve the people. The establishment of a government is for keeping the regime and the unity of the Muslims, as Fatimah, az-Zahra (a) said in a speech: "The Imamate is for preserving the regime and for changing the separation of the Muslims into their unity." (104).

* * *

Forming a Government to Deliver the Wronged

The imperialists and their political agents, who were ruling over the people, imposed upon them despotic economic systems, which resulted in

dividing the people into two sections: The oppressors and the oppressed. On one side millions of hungry Muslims, deprived of health, care and education, and on the other side a few numbers of wealthy people of political power, running a life of luxury, pleasure and corruption. The hungry and deprived people tried to save themselves from the tyranny of the plundering rulers so as to have a better living, and they are still continuing their attempts, but the ruling minorities and the despotic governmental establishments were ever standing in their way. It is our duty to deliver the wronged and deprived people. Our duty is to support the wronged and to be enemies of the wrongdoers. It is the very advice of Amir al-Muminin (a) to his two noble sons, in which he said: "Be to the oppressor enemies, and to the oppressed supporters."

The Islamic scholars have the duty of fighting against the monopolization and illegal profits of the despots, and they should try not to let so many people remain hungry and deprived, while the wrongdoers, the plunderers and usurpers remain in their proximity enjoying luxurious and comfortable life. Amir al-Muminin (a) said: "By Him Who cleft the grain and created man, had it not been for the presence of the present and for the evidence of available supporters, and had it not been for the pledge taken by Allah from the learned men that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony of the oppressors and the hunger of the oppressed, I would have thrown the rope (of the Caliphate) on its shoulder, and would have given the last one the same treatment as to the first one. Then you would have seen that in my view this world of yours is no better than the sneezing of a goat..."

11.

Today, how can we keep silent, remain inactive and just look at a number of traitors, usurers and agents of the foreigners, who, have with the help of force, confiscated the wealth and the properties of hundreds of millions of the Muslims, preventing them from enjoying the least of benefits? It is the duty of the Islamic scholars and all the Muslims to put an end to this unjust situation, and, in this way, the way of attaining to the happiness of hundreds of millions of the human beings, they should overthrow the despotic governments and establish the Islamic ones instead. (105).

* * *

The Mischiefs of Neglecting the Necessity of Having a Government

Since in the past we did not rise collectively and unitedly for the establishment of a government and overthrowing the control of the treacherous and corrupt rulers, and as some of us showed weakness and even refrained from advocating and propagating the Islamic beliefs and instructions, rather, on the contrary, they took to praise the despotic rulers, the present situation appeared, and Islam's influence and authority on the society decreased, the Islamic *ummah* was afflicted with disintegration and inability, the Islamic precepts were rendered inapplicable and were subject to distortion and alteration, the imperialists, in order to carry out their evil purposes by means of their political agents, enhanced foreign laws and alien culture among the Muslims and Westernized the people. All these were because we had no guardian, no president and no guiding establishments. We are in need of efficient governmental organizations. This is quite obvious. (106).

* * *

Answering the Incredulity of the Akhunds of the Court

The Friday Imams, the leaders of the congregational *salats* as well as the preachers of the Islamic countries are to convey to the people that, on the basis of the logic of those who say: "A Muslim must not meddle in politics", and dismiss him and probably they may curse him, they must also dismiss (God forbid!) the Messenger of Allah, since he had laid the foundation-stone of politics in religion. The Messenger of Allah (s) formed a government, established political centers. The Muslim Caliphs, still not dragged to deviation in the early days of Islam, did the same. So, they must deny them all. These servant-like *akhunds* of the Court must, then, reject the noble Prophet and dismiss the Caliphs of Islam, and accuse them of not being Muslims because they interfered in politics. The politics of the early days of Islam was a universal one. The Messenger of Islam had extended his hand to all corners of the world, inviting the humanity to Islam, to the Islamic politics. He formed a government and the Caliphs after him established governments, too.

In the early days of Islam, from the time of the Messenger of Allah, till the time when there still was no deviation, religion and politics were twins

and together. These *akhunds* of the Court, and the so-called sultans who depend on America or the Soviet Union, must either accuse the Prophet, the prophets and the Caliphs after the Prophet of being erroneous, or accuse themselves and their governments of making mistakes. The question revolves around these two alternatives alone. It is not possible that a logic, in Mecca, accuse us of committing an error by interfering in politics, and rejects the Muslims who want to raise their voices against the wrongdoers, while in other countries, where the courtier Imams, the Friday Imams and the Leaders of the congregational *salat* come to a crossroad, they may choose either of the two alternatives: Either they choose to say that the Messenger of Islam and after him the Caliphs and the Companions and their followers in the early years of Islam were not Muslims, or to admit that they themselves and the governments in their countries are not Muslims. These two cannot come together.

The trouble of the Muslims is in the idea injected in them to the effort that the men of religion should confine themselves to the schools and mosques where they are to explain to the people some Islamic questions, but not all questions. The principal question is whether Islam is a religion of politics, cares for politics in all its dimensions, and the social matters of the nations in all their dimensions, the economic and cultural questions, etc., or Islam should be isolated, and those who established government early in Islam were all mistaken! (107).

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The Prophet's Conduct and Forming Governments

The Muslims must wake up. They have to study the conducts of the prophets, especially the conduct of the noble Prophet of Islam. They should realize what he did and we have to follow him. Had the Prophet come and done nothing more than sitting in the mosque of al-Madinah, satisfied with reciting the Quran, having nothing to do with anything else, we, too, would have had to do the same thing and to imitate him. But when he was raised up, from the beginning he started his struggle in Mecca until he came to al-Madinah where he established a government and sent messengers to wherever he could. He gave to the people the good tidings, saying: "We shall rule the whole world, and do away with the wrongdoers. We shall overcome the Romans. We shall overcome Iran". That is, he would do away with idolatry and fire-worshipping. During the short period of the Prophet's life,

he brought mankind to life. So, the Muslims must follow the Prophet's suit. He formed a government, we must also form governments. He fought, we must fight, too. He resorted to defense; we must also resort to defense. (108).

* * *

The Nature, Principles and Objectives of the Islamic Government

The Islamic Government is Constitutional

The Islamic government is not like any type of the current governments. For example, it is not a despotic rule such that the head of the state becomes a tyrant and dictator sporting with the people's properties and lives, interfering in them as he pleases, killing whomever he desires, and granting gifts to whomever he likes, and bestowing upon whomever he likes land, and the estates and wealth of the nation. The Messenger of Allah (s), Amir al-Muminin (a) and other caliphs had no such authority. The Islamic government is neither despotic nor autocratic. It is constitutional. Of course, not like the constitutional of these days as known to the people, according to which the legislation of laws is put to voting and approved by majority. It is constitutional in the concept that its rulers, in execution and management, are restricted by a collection of conditions mentioned in the Glorious Quran and the traditions of the noble Messenger (s). This collection of conditions is the very precepts and laws of Islam which are to be observed and executed. Consequently, the Islamic government is the government of the divine law over the people.

The basic difference between an Islamic government and the constitutional monarchical or republican ones is in the fact that in such regimes the representatives of the people or the king themselves coin the law, while in Islam, the legislating power and the election of the precepts are exclusively confined to Allah, the Exalted. The sacred Islamic lawgiver is the only legislating power. No one has the right to be a lawgiver, and no law, except the divine law, may be executed. For this reason, in the Islamic government, instead of the legislative assembly, which is one of the three ruling groups, there is a planning council, which prepares for the different ministries their required plan under the light of the Islamic precepts. These

plans include instructions for how to offer public services to the people all over the country. ¹¹⁸

The collection of the Islamic laws, which are gathered from the Quran and the *sunnah*, are accepted by the Muslims and obeyed by them—a fact which has made the task of the government easy, as it, actually, belongs to the people, while in the republican and constitutional monarchical governments, the majority of those who say they are the representatives of the majority, legislate whatever they like under the name of law, and then impose it on the people.

The government of Islam is the government of law. In such a government the rulership is exclusively Allah's, and the law is His command. The law of Islam, or the command of Allah, has complete authority over all the individuals and the Islamic state and government. All the individuals, as from the Messenger (s), his successors, down to the common people, are subject to this law forever—the law which was revealed by Allah, the Glorified and Exalted, and explained in the Quran and by the Messenger of Allah (s). The noble Prophet accepted the caliphate by Allah's command. Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, assigned him as a caliph, "Allah's successor in the earth", not to form a government according to his own view and just to be at the head of the Muslims. (109).

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The Expansion of the Islamic Government's Attention

Islam is not like the other governments. It is not that its only difference is that it is just and the others are unjust. There are many differences between the Islamic government and the other governments. One of these differences is that the Islamic government is just. What qualities must a ruler have? What qualities must the police have? What qualities must an army have? What qualities must the governmental employees, for example, have? This is another one of the differences, a low difference. The higher ones are those which take man towards spirituality. Islam has come to take this nature towards spirituality, to control it in the same concept agreed by others and Islam agrees with it, too. It is not that Islam has nothing to do with nature. Islam accepts civilization at its highest level and exerts its effort to attain to that. Therefore, the governments which were established in Islam included different kinds of civilizations, but it was not that whatever was there in the civilized countries, Islam accepts it, too, and tries to acquire it. At the same

time when they look at it to be what it is, Islam tries to take it towards spirituality, towards monotheism. In this respect there is a difference between Islam and other than Islam, between an Islamic government and the non-Islamic ones, between what the Islamic school has brought and what the other schools have brought, which are imperfect, though they think them to be quite perfect, but their limits do not go beyond what they have, no more. The sight of the school of Islam goes to the end. By nature this world is meant. In the prophets' language this world is something very low, so "this world" means "very low". The lowest of the low, as the Quran describes it, is this nature and its effects. Higher is the highest of the high. Allah wants to take man to the highest of the high, to take him from the lowest of the low up to the highest of the high, and this cannot be suggested for any other than the regimes of the prophets. What is it to them if the people become divine? "What is it to us?", they say. They should not act against the order. Let them just do whatever they like as long as they cause no harm to our government. The prophets are not so. They do have to do with you. Even if you are in a closet, they have to do with you. Nobody is there, but the rule of Allah is after you. They want to educate a man whose outer appearance does not differ from his inner disposition. As he does not betray in the open because he has regards for the people, the prophets want to make a man who would not act differently whether present before the people or behind them. He will have good behavior in both instances. When man becomes a human, he will remain so whether alone or in company. They do care for this, and it is our desire that such a school of thought be in the outside, actually existing. The prophets' desire was this, too. All of us have this same desire to have a government like those of the early years of Islam, a government of justice, full of justice, in addition to those matters which are in the Glorious Quran and in Islam, everything. Now we have the Islamic Republic, which is the first step. The Islamic Republic is now our regime, because they voted to it. Now it has been established. The (former) regime went away, buried forever. Now, your regime is Islamic. In this Islamic regime we have many responsibilities. Our great responsibility is to preserve the dignity of Islam. (110).

* * *

The Human Society is not a Factory

In the world of today, which is called the world of industry, the leading thinkers want to manage the human society as a big industrial factory is managed. But the societies are composed of human beings with moral, spiritual and gnostic dimensions. Islam, besides its social, economical and other regulations, educates man on the basis of believing in Allah, and it uses this dimension more than other dimensions in guiding the society towards sublimity and happiness. If believing in Allah and acting for Him entered in all social, political, economical and other aspects of life, the most complicated problems of the world would easily be resolved. Today the world is trapped in this blind alley, yet it does not want to give way to the guidance of the prophets, but ultimately it has no way out except to surrender. (111).

* * *

The Islamic Government is a Pledge with Allah

When we say: an Islamic government, we like it to be a government as wanted by the nation, as we like it to be a government about which Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, has sometimes said that those who have given their bayah they have actually given their bayah to Allah. We like such a one to be ruler the bayah with whom is regarded to be the bayah with Allah. And in war, too, when he throws an arrow, Allah will say: "And vou did not throw when you did throw, but Allah threw" (al-Anfal: 17). It is as if his hand is Allah's, he is the shadow of Allah, and his government is Allah's. This is the government which we want. Our hope is that such a government will come to the saddle, and it will not act contrary to the divine law. The noble Prophet was one whose hand never did what was contrary to Allah's commands. Such a hand becomes a divine one. The bayah with it is the bayah with Allah. As his will followed the will of Allah in all the acts he did, his acts are Allah's acts, his government is a divine one, and he is told that "You did not throw when you did throw, but Allah threw". Although the Prophet threw, he was Allah's shadow. He had no movement of himself. Whatever he had followed the law. The Prophet was the embodiment of the Ouran. He was the embodiment of law. We want a government which is law, which follows the law, not a government which follows Satan. (112).

No Governor in Islam

Among the changes which should take place, and which you, gentlemen, should try to carry out, is that you should not feel proud of the word "governor" just because you are governors. The word "governor" belongs to where there is a command and an obeyer, and where there is no brotherhood, but a tyrannical class getting the other people to be submitted to them. But in Islam it is not so. Those who used to direct the entire Islamic country—the country which expanded from al-Hijaz to Egypt, Africa, Iraq, Iran and all the Islamic kingdoms which you see, including a part of Europe which was under Islam's governance, too—did not base their treatment with the subjects on the usual method used by the governors with the governed. The noble Prophet (s) himself was not different from other people, just one of them. He had neither a special governor's palace nor a special distinctive privilege, such as sitting in a particular place at assemblies. There were nothing like these.

Some of the Arabs who came from the desert and entered the Mosque to visit the Prophet, could not distinguish him from the others sitting with him. Amir al-Muminin (a), the very day on which he was given the *bayah* as successor to the Messenger of Allah (s), carried his shovel and pick and went to the place where he used to work every day. He worked such that his hands were callous. The way such leaders, who ruled the country, used to treat the people with, was not that of a governor and the governed. It was a situation of offering services, since the governors were the people's servants. (113).

* * *

Governance is a Means

Accepting the post of a governor is not, in itself, a rank or a position. It is a means for carrying out the duty of implementing the precepts (of Islam) and of establishing the just Islamic regime. Concerning governing and ruling, Amir al-Muminin (a) told Ibn Abbas: "What is the value of this shoe?" "Nothing," Ibn Abbas said. He said: "By Allah it should have been more valuable to me than ruling over you, but for the fact that through it I can establish the right and do away with the wrong."

So, the mere becoming a ruler and commander is nothing but a means, and if this means could not help in affecting the high objectives by the godly

men, it would have no value at all. Amir al-Muminin (a) said that had it not been for the evidence that he should accept it (i.e. the government), he would have let it go. It is obvious that to undertake governance is a means, not a moral position, because had it been a moral position, no one could have usurped it or let it go. Whenever the government and commanding were means for the enactment of the precepts of Allah and for the establishment of the equitable Islamic regime, then they will have a value and the ruler will become of more prestige and honor.

Some people who pin their eyes on this world, think that governing and ruling, in themselves, have in the eyes of the Imams (a) a high position, which if given to others the world would fall in disorder, while the prime ministers of the USSR, U.K. and the President of America, though they are governors, but they are disbelievers. They are disbelievers, yet they run governments, and have political influence, and they use their governments and their political power as a means to satisfy their desires through enacting anti—humanistic laws and policies.

The equitable Imams and *faqihs* are responsible for making use of the regime and the governmental organizations to execute the precepts of Allah and to establish the just order of Islam and to offer their services to the people. To them just to be governors avails to nothing but pains and difficulties. But what can they do? They are ordered to carry out their duties. The question of *Wilayat al-Faqih* [The guardianship of the *Faqih*] is but an errand and a duty to be performed.

Imam Ali (a), explaining why he accepted to be a governor, a ruler and to undertake the business of running the government, says that he did so for high objectives, for establishing the right and doing away with the wrong. The Imam says: "O Allah, You know that the aim of our rise is not to attain a position or to govern, rather our intention is to rescue the oppressed from the hands of the oppressors." He says he did accept to be a commander and to rule over the people because "Allah, the Blessed and High, has taken a pledge from the learned men that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony and unjust enjoyment of the oppressors and the vexing hunger of the oppressed." The Imam further adds: "O Allah, You know that what we did was not to seek power nor to acquire anything from the vanities of the world..." and immediately explains that he and his followers did so because: "We rather wanted to restore the features of Your religion and to manifest reform in Your land so that the oppressed among Your servants might feel safe, and the suspended of Your decrees might be enacted..." (114).

The Nature of the Government of the Islamic Republic

The nature of the government of the Islamic Republic is that which is formed according to the conditions ascribed for the government, based on the public opinions, so as to execute the Islamic precepts. (115).

* * *

Dependence on the Public Opinion

The government of the Islamic Republic which we have in mind is inspired by the method practiced by the noble Prophet (s) and Imam Ali (a). It will depend on the public opinion. Similarly the type of the government is decided by resorting to the opinions of the nation. (116).

* * *

Following the Nation's Opinion

We follow the opinions of the nation. Whatever the opinion of our nation may be, we will follow it. We have no right, Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, did not give us the right, nor did the Messenger of Islam give us the right, to impose our nation anything. (117).

* * *

Leadership in the Islamic Government

(Wilayat al-Faqih)

Leadership Conditions Two Fundamental Conditions

The conditions which are necessary for a leader are directly due to the nature of the method of the Islamic government. In addition to the general

conditions, such as sanity and management, there are two fundamental conditions. They are: Having legal knowledge, and being equitable.

Even when, after the Messenger of Allah (s), there appeared dispute concerning the one who was to undertake the successorship, still concerning the fact that the responsible for this successorship must be erudite there was no dispute whatsoever among the Muslims. The dispute was only about the subject.

1. As the Islamic government is a government of law, the leader will have to have knowledge of the law. Actually, this knowledge is necessary for everybody, in all occupations, jobs and posts. Yet, a ruler must have a wider scholarly knowledge. Our Imams presented this very evidence to prove their own Imamate, saying that the Imam must be superior in his knowledge over the others. The objections of the Shiite scholars to others concerned this very subject, saying that so-and-so caliph was asked a question, but he could not answer, thus he was not worthy of caliphate or Imamate. Or he did such-and-such act contrary to the Islamic judgments, so, he was not fit for Imamate ¹²¹....

Knowing the law and being equitable are considered by the Muslims to be the fundamental conditions and basic pillars. Other things are not important nor necessary. For example, knowing how the angels are, or what are the attributes of Allah, the Exalted, neither of them has anything to do with Imamate. At the same time should somebody be acquainted with the natural sciences or have discovered all the natural powers, or should another be an expert musician, neither of them would deserve being a Caliph, nor would they get priority to those who know the Islamic law and are equitable in respect of undertaking the post of a governor.

The topic of Caliphate, which was discussed during the time of the noble Messenger (s) and our Imams (a), and what was accepted by the Muslims as for granted, was the fact that a governor and a caliph must, first of all, know the precepts of Islam, that is, he must be a jurist, and second he must be equitable, endowed with ideological and ethical perfections. This is rational, because the Islamic government is a government of law, not of stubbornness, nor the rule of the individuals over the people. If the ruler knows nothing of the law he will not be fit for governing, because if he follows others' judgments, the government's prestige will be broken, and if he does not do that he will not be able to act as a governor and an executor of the Islamic law. It is admitted that "The *faqihs* are rulers over the sultans" 122. If the kings are Muslims they should follow the *faqihs* and ask them about the laws and precepts and execute them. In this case, the real rulers are the

very *faqihs*. Thus, the governing must officially belong to the *faqihs*, not to those who have to follow the *faqihs* due to their being ignorant of the law.

Naturally, it is not necessary that every manager, employee and boarder-guard should know all the laws of Islam and be a *faqih*. It is enough for them to know the laws relevant to their own jobs and posts.

Such was the situation in the days of the Prophet (s) and Amir al-Muminin (a). The source of the affairs must have these two distinctions, but the assistants, the officials and the agents sent to the cities and towns are only to know the laws related to their own work, while concerning things which they do not know they have to ask the head of the affair.

2. The ruler must be of ideological and ethical perfections. He must be equitable and not polluted with disobediences. The one who wants to observe the limits of Allah, that is, to execute the penal code of Islam, to undertake protecting the public treasury, the income and the expenditure of the country, and to be given by Allah the responsibility of managing the affairs of His servants, he himself must not be of the wrongdoers: "My covenant does not include the wrongdoers." (*al-Baqarah*: 124).

If the ruler is not equitable, he will not act justly in respect of giving the Muslims what is their due, nor in receiving the taxes and correctly spending them, nor in enacting the penal code. He may impose his companions, supporters and relatives upon the society, and spend *bayt al-mal*, which belongs to the Muslims, on his personal interests and desires. (118).

Ijtihad is not Enough to Lead an Islamic Society

In the Islamic government the door of *ijtihad* must always be open. The nature of the Revolution and the regime requires that the opinions of the *mujtahids* and the *faqihs* on diverse matters, even if contradictory, should be freely offered, and nobody has the right to stop it. But the important thing is the correct knowledge of the government and the society, such that on whose basis the Islamic regime can lay its plans according to the interests of the Muslims, as the unity of method and act is necessary. It is in this respect that the term of *ijtihad*, as known among the men of religion, is not enough. Even if someone was the most learned man in the theological sciences, but was not able to recognize the interests of the society, or he was incapable of telling the pious men from the impious, and, as a whole, if he had no accurate social and political outlook, and could not act decisively, he would not be regarded as a *mujtahid* in the social and governmental affairs and is not fit to take the reins of the society in his hands. (119).

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The Condition of *Marjaiyyah* is not Necessary

[To] Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, His Excellency Haj Shaykh Ali Meshkini¹²³, may his favors last!

After offering my greetings, you had asked me to state my opinion concerning the supplementary act to the Constitution. Whatever the gentlemen think to be right let them do as they think it the best. I do not interfere, except in matters of leadership. Of course, we cannot let our Islamic regime go without guardianship. We have to choose someone capable of defending our Islamic dignity in the world of politics and deceit.

From the beginning I believed and stressed that the condition of *marjaiyyah* was not necessary. An equitable mujtahid agreeable to the respected "Experts" all over the country will do. If the people gave their opinion to the "Experts" to choose an equitable *mujtahid* for the leadership of their government, and if they did choose such a man to undertake the leadership, he will inevitably be accepted by the people. In this case, he will be the *wali* elected by the people and his judgments are to be executed.

Originally I did say this in the Constitution, but our friends insisted upon the condition of *marjaiyyah*. I had to accept, but at the same time I knew that it could not be applicable in the near future. (120).

* * *

The Ideal Leadership

The Leader in the Court

In early Islam, in two periods, two original Islamic governments were established, one in the days of the Messenger (s) and the other in the days of Ali ibn Abitalib (a) when he ruled in Kufah. They both ruled under a spiritual government, i.e. a government of equity in which the ruler never transgressed the law. The government in those two periods was the government of the law, and probably we shall never see a government of the law like that, a government whose *waliy al-Amr*—who is nowadays called king or President—is regarded, before the law, on the same footing as that of a lowest subject. This was the case in the governments of the early years of Islam. History registers a case which happened to Amir al-Muminin (a) when

he was the ruler of a vast land which extended from al-Hijaz to Egypt, Iran and many other places. It was he who appointed the judges, and yet there happened a case between the Imam and a man from Yaman, which was a part of the Islamic domain. The judge summoned Amir al-Muminin to the court, despite the fact that the judge had been appointed by him. When the Imam entered the court, the judge tried to show due respect, but the Imam told him that in the court respect may not be shown to either party; both should receive equal treatment. When the judge issued his judgment against the Imam, he accepted it with open complexion.

This is the government in which all people are looked at on equal footing because the law of Islam is a divine one, and all are present before Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, whether rule or ruled, whether a prophet, an Imam or a layman of the common people. (121).

* * *

The Leader among the People

The ruler in Islam is not like other rulers, such as kings and Presidents. The Islamic ruler is the one who used to be among the people, in the small mosque of al-Medina, where he listened to the people, and those who had the management of the people in their hands used to come to the same mosque, like the other people who gathered there. If a stranger entered the gathering he would not be able to tell the ruler from the ruled: The clothes were alike and the behaviours were alike. The enactment of justice was such that if a man from the lowest class sued the highest personality in the country, the judge would summon that personality, and he would appear before the court. (122).

* * *

Wilayat al-Faqih against Dictatorship

Do not be afraid of *wilayat al-faqih*. The *faqih* does not want to be oppressive. If a *faqih* (who is in authority) tried to be oppressive, he would no longer have *wilayah*. It is Islam. In Islam it is the law which rules. The noble Prophet, too, abided by the law, the divine law. He could not act otherwise. Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, says: "And if he had invented false sayings about Us, We would certainly have seized him by the right

hand, and cut his life-vein." (al-Haqqah: 44-46). If the Prophet (s) was a dictator and a frightening person, thinking that seizing everything in his hand would turn him to dictatorship, then a faqih could be like him. If Amir al-Muminin (a) was a dictator, then a faqih could be a dictator, too. No dictatorship is there. We want to stop dictatorship. Wilayat al-Faqih means the guardianship over the affairs so that they may not get out of their channels. It supervises over the parliament, over the President lest he should take an erroneous step, over the Prime Minister lest he should commit a mistake, over all the organizations, over the army lest it should disregard the law. We want to stop dictatorship, we do not want it to be a dictatorship, we want it to be anti—dictatorship. Wilayat al-faqih is not a dictatorship, it is against dictatorship. (123).

* * *

A Faqih Cannot Be a Despot

A *faqih* will not be a despot. The one who is described to be a *faqih* is equitable; his equity is different from the so-called social equity. It is an equity which a single word of lie would deprive him from being equitable. A single ogling look at a *non-mahram* woman takes him out of being equitable. Such a man cannot act unlawfully. He cannot do wrong. (124).

* * *

The Authorities of Leadership and Government

If some efficient person, who is endowed with the two characteristics of leadership, rises and establishes a government, he will possess the same guardianship which the noble Prophet (s) had in directing the society, and all the people will have to obey him.

The notion that the governmental authorities of the Messenger of Allah (s) were more than those of Amir al-Muminin (a), and the authorities of Amir al-Muminin (a) were more than those of a *faqih*, is a false and incorrect notion. As a matter of course, the merits of the Prophet were more than the whole world, and after him the merits of Amir al-Muminin were more than everybody else. But the increase of spiritual merits does not increase ruling authorities. The guardianship and the authorities of the Messenger of Allah (s) and the Imams (a) in recruiting and massing the armies, appointing agents

and governors, levying and expending the taxes on the Muslims' interests, Allah, the Exalted, grants the same authorities to the current government, only they are not given to a particular person, but to "the equitable scholar".

When we say that the guardianship granted to the noble Messenger (s) and to the Imams (a), has also been given to the equitable *faqih* after the occultation (of the twelfth Imam), no one should get the false notion that the status of the *faqih* is the same as that of the Prophet (s) and the Imams (a). In this respect, it is not a question of status; it is a question of performing the duty. The *Wilayah* means ruling, directing the country and enacting the sacred religious laws, which are a heavy and important task, but it does not grant anybody a high and extraordinary position, elevating him beyond the limits of an ordinary human being. In other words, the *wilayah* in question means governing, enacting and directing, contrary to what is imagined by some groups, it is not a privilege, it is a grave duty and responsibility.

Wilayat al-faqih is of the rational conventional matters, and it has no reality except that it is a mere assignment, like assigning a guardian, a custodian, to guard a junior. The guardian over a nation is like the guardian over a junior; as far as their duties are concerned, there is no difference at all. It is as if the Imam (Ali) (a) has appointed someone as a tutor, as a governor or in any post. In this respect, it is irrational to think that the noble Messenger (s) and the Imam (a) act differently.

One of the matters which fall under the guardianship of the *faqih* is, for example, the enactment of the *hudud* (the Islamic penal code). Can there be, in respect of enacting them, any difference between the noble Messenger (s) or the Imam and the *faqih*? Or just because the rank of the *faqih* is lower he is to whip less? The *had* of adultery is one hundred whip-lashes. Is it that whom the Messenger (s) punishes he orders ¹⁵⁰ lashes and when Imam Ali (a) punishes he orders 100 lashes and the *faqih* 50 lashes? Or is it that the ruler in charge of the executive power is to enact Allah's *hudud*, disregarding whether he is the Messenger (s), Amir al-Muminin (a), their representatives in al-Kufah or Basrah, or a contemporary *faqih*?

Among other affairs in respect of the Messenger of Allah (s) and Amir al-Muminin (a) is levying taxes, such as the *khums*, the *zakat*, the tributary tax, land tax, etc. How much did the Prophet (s) levy as the *zakat*? Did he in an instance levy ten per cent and in another instance twenty per cent? Amir al-Muminin (a) became a Caliph, what did he do? If you yourself, as a contemporary *faqih*, become influential, what will you do? In these cases, does the *wilayah* of the Messenger (s) differ from that of Amir al-Muminin and of the *faqih*? Allah, the Exalted, appointed His Messenger (s) as the *Wali*

over all Muslims, and as long as he was living, his wilayah ruled even over Amir al-Muminin (a). After him, the Imam became the *wali* over all Muslims, even over the Imam coming after him, that is, his governmental commands were to be obeyed by all, and he could appoint or depose a judge or a governor. (125).

Just as the noble Prophet (s) was enjoined to execute the precepts and establish the Islamic regulations, and Allah appointed him as the chief and ruler over the Muslims, who had to obey him, similarly the equitable *faqihs* must also be chief and rulers, execute the precepts and establish the Islamic social regulations. (126).

Incumbent Duty

It is incumbent upon the *faqihs*, individually or collectively, to establish a lawful government in order to execute the *hudud* and to safeguard the borders and the regime. If someone has the ability to do so, it will be his obligatory duty, his *wajib ayni*¹²⁵, his individual duty, otherwise it will be a *wajib kafa'i*¹²⁶, a collective duty. Even when it is not possible, the *wilayah* cannot be dropped, because they are appointed by Allah. If they can, they must take the taxes, the *zakat*, the *khums*, the *kharaj*, etc., and to spend them in the interests of the Muslims, and they are to apply the punishments. Not being able to establish a general government does not mean that we should stay away. Actually we are to meet all the needs of the Muslims, which are among the duties of the Islamic government, as much as we can. (127).

* * *

Establishing a Government Has Priority to

Secondary Precepts

If the authorities of a government are within the frame of the secondary divine precepts, then the offering of a divine government and an absolute guardianship to the Prophet of Islam (s) must have been an empty and meaningless phenomenon. I refer to its consequences since no one can abide by them. For example, the street constructing, which may require the seizure of a house or its surroundings, is not within the framework of the secondary

precepts; the military service and obligatory dispatching of the armies to the fronts, preventing the import and export of foreign currencies or any kind of goods, preventing monopolization except in two or three instances, levying the customs and taxes, preventing overcharging, pricing, forbidding the distribution of narcotics, preventing addiction to anything other than the alcoholic beverages (which are originally *haram*), (preventing) carrying weapons of any kind, and hundreds of similar matters, all are within the authorities of the government, and they are out of question in this respect.

Government, which is a branch of the absolute guardianship of the Messenger of Allah (s), is one of the principal precepts of Islam and has priority to all the secondary precepts, even the *salat*, fasting and *hajj*. The ruler may pull down a house or a mosque if it happened to be in the way of constructing a street, and give the value of the house to its owner. The ruler can close a mosque if needs be. He can even pull it down if it caused such harm that could not be warded off without pulling it down. The government has the right to revoke unilaterally legal agreements it had already concluded with the people, in case it was proved to be against the interests of the country and Islam. It can prevent any devotional or non-devotional procedure if it was contrary to the interests of Islam as long as it is so. The government can prevent the *hajj*, which is one of the important divine duties, in case it was contrary to the interests of the Islamic country. (128).

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The Wilayah and the Right to Restrict Ownership

In Islam ownership is lawful and restricted to limits. Among the authorities given to the guardianship of the *faqih*—and it is much regretted that the enlightened people do not understand what *wilayat al-faqih* means—is this limitation. It has the right to limit ownership, despite the fact that it is respected by the sacred religion. The *Waliy al-Amr* has the authority to restrict the limits of possession to a certain limit, should the ordinary limits prove to be contrary to the interests of the Muslims and Islam. He can assign new limitations to the current lawful right to possess, or even it can be confiscated at the order of the *faqih*. (129).

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Other Affairs of Wilayat al-Faqih

It is among the authorities of the *faqih* that if a man maltreated his wife, he may firstly admonish him, and secondly chastise him. Should these turn out to be fruitless, he may resort to divorce. You are to agree with this *wilayat al-faqih*, as it is a gift to the Muslims from Allah, the Blessed and Most High.

Furthermore, this very question which you have just asked, concerning a wife who is suffering from some difficulties, what should she do? She is to refer to where there is a *faqih*, to a meeting where there is a *faqih*, to a court where there is a *faqih*, who would look into the matter. In case she was right, he would admonish the husband; order him to correct his conduct. If this was useless, he may divorce her from him, as he is authorized to do this whenever he found the case might lead to corruption and to ruin a life; he can impose separation, even if it is the husband who has been given the right to divorce. Whenever the *faqih* finds it in the interest of Islam and the Muslims, and that there is no other way out except divorce, he orders it. This is *wilayat al-faqih*. (130).

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CHAPTER TWO

IRAN BEFORE THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

Affiliation and Despotism of the

Shah's Regime

Suffocation Due to Lacking Independence

During the Shah's Regime

That which can briefly be said is that the over-excessive pressure of the Shah cornered the people in such an unbearable condition that they had but to conduct a popular uprising. The Shah had done away with our political, military, cultural and economical independence, and placed Iran at the disposal of the West and the East, in all aspects. He tortured and killed the people in his dungeons. He prohibited the men of religion and the preachers from telling the truth. All these necessitated that the Muslim people of Iran should demand an Islamic government. (131).

* * *

The Origin of the Uprising

The origin of this uprising stems from two points: one is the intense internal and external pressure and the internal and external plunderings and the extraordinary suffocations in the past fifty and odd years ¹²⁷ during which the people of Iran did not see even a single day of happiness, and lastly the massacres which took place in most parts of Iran. These animated the people

to back this uprising. The other point is our desire for an Islamic and equitable government, a regime to stand in the face of the tyrant regimes, in order to be able to enact the Islamic precepts as they were in the early years of Islam. (132).

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The Shah Supports Israel

One of the causes of the Iranian Muslim people's uprising against the Shah is his unrestricted support of Israel, the usurper. He provides Israel with its need of oil. He has made Iran a market wide open to the Israeli products, and other kinds of moral supports, and, just to deceive the public opinion he continually condemns Israel. None of the Muslim people of Iran, none of the other Muslims and actually none of the free thinkers, would acknowledge Israel. We are always supporting our Palestinian and Arab brothers. (133).

* * *

MORAL CORRUPTION

The Annihilation of the Young Generation

Now, those manifestations of civilization, which are correctly benefited by in other countries, in the advanced lands, when they are utilized in our country, or in countries like ours, they are incorrectly used. The cinema, for example, can be a place where good ethical films may be put on the show, or educational films, which no one would prohibit. But the cinemas which are for corrupting our youths' moralities, if they frequented these cinemas known in our time as well as in the Shah's, they would come out corrupt and would be of no avail. Now they want it to be like that, because they have prepared imperialistic cultural, artistic and other programs. They want to bring up our youths in such a way that they will be useful to them, not to the country, or just to become corrupt.

The number of the corrupting centers in Tehran is much more than the number of the libraries, more than the educational and teaching centers. This is because they want the youths to grow, through diverse ways, jobless and good-for-nothing, so that they cannot do anything against the foreign climates, that is, to be indifferent to them. Those youths who are addicted to opium, drugs, alcohol and gambling, frequented the quarters of corruption and obscenities, at last they think that all their desires are confined to those things alone, and they are indifferent to whatever may happen to the world. They want this young generation, which can be a great wealth for the country and take it forward, to be a backward generation, that is, to turn it into a good-for-nothing, a useless wealth for the country. This is one of their plans. (134).

Propagating Corruption in the Mass Media

The magazines, with their essays and disgraceful and regretable photos, and the daily papers proudly racing with each other in publishing anticultural and anti-Islamic essays, tried to guide the people, especially the

young generation, towards the West or the East. They extensively propagated the centers of corruption, pleasure, gambling and the stores selling luxuries, cosmetics, instruments of entertainment, alcoholic beverages, especially those goods imported from the Western countries. They exported oil, gas, and other minerals, and imported toys, entertainment instruments, cosmetics and hundreds of other things of which I have no knowledge. If, God forbid, the life of the hireling and ruinous regime of Pahlavi had continued, our fruitful young people, the sons of Islam and of the homeland, at whom the hopeful eye of the nation is pinned, would, in no time, have fallen victims to the Satanic conspiracies and plans of the corrupt regime, the Western and Eastern mass media and their enlightened groups, and they would have slipped off the hands of the nation and the lap of Islam, or they would have spent their youth in the places of corruption and annihilation, or they would have become agents to the imperialistic powers, driving the country to destruction. But Allah, the Exalted, has bestowed upon us and upon them His favours by saving us all from the evil of the corrupt and the plunderers. (135).

* * *

Expanding Corruption Centers

They opened the doors of corruption in the face of our youths and encouraged them. We witness our own country and know that your countries are the same. We, as witnesses, see that the centers of corruption in our country attract our youths who would lose there their identity, as these centers are too many, as it is said—which they actually are—since the number of the corruption centers in Tehran exceed the number of the libraries. They have emptied us of everything. They emptied our youths of the quality which the power of youth must have. They wanted to snatch out of our hands the power of youth, and then to empty out our treasuries and savings, while our youth remain indifferent to that. This was the situation during the past regime. Our youths were attracted to the corruption centers, and the propagation for the ethical corruption was so vast that all the papers and the magazines were included in the campaign, the same as the radio and television. All these were equipped to do away with our youths and to empty them of their power of youth. (136).

* * *

Ruining the Faculty of Thinking

They wanted to take away any power they thought it would possibly counter the foreigners and the masters, and any thought that might stand in their face, that is, if they could. How could they plunder thoughts? By taking the youths to drinking, by making them addicted to drugs and other narcotics which take man's thoughts, and empty him from inside. The centers of obscenities which were extended all over the country, and centers of corruption which covered the whole kingdom, took our youths to get engaged in the lusts of the flesh, and thus deprived them from their thoughts. This was a very well planned program on the use of such methods. (137).

* * *

Ruining the Human Power

The moral devastations which were current during the rule of these father and son¹²⁸ in Iran, and the corruptions which appeared in this country, and they were enhanced on the pretext that they were signs of advancement, loftiness and great civilization, all these are lengthy and take time to be set aright. But what brought the severest blow to our country was the fact that they destroyed our human power and prevented it from growing and developing. The centers of corruption in Tehran were so numerous, the propagation to attract the youths to those centers was so extensive, and the ways to be corrupt were so opened and facilitated that the result was much more destructive than any other ruinous conduct. The materialistic damages can easily be redeemed, unlike the moral damages. (138).

* * *

Unveiling

In that time¹²⁹, under the pretext that "We want to make active half of the population of Iran," that wretched criminal¹³⁰ committed the crime of unveiling¹³¹ the women, and, instead of activating half of the people of Iran, the other half, the men, were rendered inactive to a great extent. By the dolls that they made up and sent into the offices and set free into the streets, those who were in the offices could no longer do their work, and those who were

loose in the streets dragged our youths to corruption, robbing them of their activity. (139).

Undevelopment

Ruined Economy

Our economy is entirely destroyed now and shuttered. Should we want to restore this economy to its former condition, it takes long years and with the help of all people. It cannot be done by the state alone, nor by a single class. Unless all the classes put hand in hand, they cannot set the economic disorder aright. (140).

The Shah's "Land Reforms" a Way to Destroy Agriculture

The plan originally was to cause destruction. Agriculture was completely ruined under the name of land reforms¹³², so as to create a market for America, whose wheat is too plenty. America wants Iran and the other countries, which are under her influence, to have a ruined agriculture so that they may be in need of her, as we are now forced to import everything from abroad. They destroyed the animal husbandry so that we may be in need of imported meat. Likewise, within these fifty years they destroyed everything under deceitful and misleading names. (141).

Dependence in Food Matters

With the word "reformations" they completely destroyed agriculture. The country which, by handling its agriculture correctly as before can export millions of tons (of wheat), today it is kept idle humbly extending its hand to the others begging wheat. This was also one of the crimes of the regime ¹³³ against this country. (142).

The Domination of the American Advisors

Our claim now is that Iran is not independent, because it is directed by the power of the others. There are forty-five to sixty, and some say eighty thousand American advisors in our country. The power is in their hands and their power controls the kingdom. Had Iran been powerful, it would not have allowed such a situation. Thus, it is true that a powerful and independent Iran could be steadfast, but now Iran is not steadfast; if she was, she would not let you interfere in her affairs ¹³⁴. It is now thirty-five, nay, fifty years of disorder ruling over Iran.

The one who brought this weakness to Iran and gave away the power, we want him to go, and to be replaced by the nation who is powerful. Steadfastness follows power and independence, and power can be achieved by saving our regime from the difficulties caused by America, and by creating a regime dependent upon the nation, not a regime dependent upon the American advisors. If the governments were stemming from the nation's will, they would not let you treat Iran as you do, causing disorder in everything. Our country has risen in order to stop this disorder which is wanted by the foreign countries. (143).

* * *

Plundering Bayt al-Mal

This cry, which you hear about the budget being small, does not denote that Iran's income is small. Iran's income is large, but some fingers are active against meeting the country's needs, because the "eaters" are too many. The oil alone makes a great budget. One of the betrayals committed by the Shah against the nation is that he wants to pour all our oil into the throat of America within only twenty or thirty years, while it should be preserved for many long years for the coming generations, whereas he is bringing no benefit for the nation. The reason of why there is a deficit in the budget is because it is eaten up. Notice, they have bought weapons for eighteen milliard dollars just to encounter the USA's rival, the USSR. They build military bases for America with the money of this nation. A sum is also poured in the throat of mister Muhammad Rida Khan, his family and those connected to him. It is said that the number of the Royal family come to some sixty-thousand people, i.e. those who may eat at this table without

working at all—just to eat and do shameless acts. Thus, the revenues are not small. The eaters are too many. (145).

* * *

Domination of Imperialistic Culture

Encountering Islam and the *Ulama*

Promoting Self-losing

Culture is the foundation of a nation, the foundation of a nation's nationality, the foundation of the independence of a nation. That is why they endeavoured to turn our culture into an imperialistic one. They tried not to allow the appearance of a human. They are afraid of the human, afraid of the educated human being. They tried during these long years, particularly during the recent fifty odd years, to see that there should be no reliable man in Iran. They arranged the educational programs in such a way that there should be no cultural and no humanistic development. They so frightened us, their propagations so frightened us, that we were afraid of ourselves, we lost our self-confidence. In case someone fell sick we would say that he should be sent abroad, while we did have physicians. They treated us in such a way, and shook us and emptied us, that if we wanted to asphalt a place, a road, we said that some foreigners must come to do it, though we had the local ones. Our army must be trained by the foreigners; our aid must be exported and managed by the foreigners, despite the fact that we could do it. Everything was like that because they tried to empty us from what we were. They brainwashed us, and did away with our self-confidence. (145).

* * *

Denying Man-Making

That which was under the consideration of the prophets was man. Nothing else attracted the attention of the prophets. Everything must take the image of man. They wanted to make man. Whenever man was made, everything else would be made. Different regimes, connected to the

foreigners, wanted, like the foreigners, that man may not be made in the oriental countries. They are afraid of a real man. They do not want any (true) man to be there, because a true man would not endure force, a real man would not give out the interests of his country to the foreigners. A (true) man is trustworthy; he acts for the sake of Allah and he is for Allah. His life is for Allah. His death is for Allah. Such a being can never be a servant to the foreigners and act against his country. They did not want our universities make men, as they are afraid of man. They endeavoured not to let our manpower grow, develop, progress. They resorted to every method, every plan. Their basic practice was on man, not to let him develop. When an individual was not educated in a country, when all the thoughts of an individual concentrated only on materialistic matters, when the education was materialistic, well, such a man desires to have a villa, no matter how, it makes no difference to him, because he is a materialistic. A materialist looks only at the materialistic side; he does not care where from this thing, this villa, and this car, has come. Everything he wants for itself, and does not care for its beginning. It is the godly man who asks when something is given to him, where it has come from, what it is. Whether it is right to use it or not. Whether the car has come through a halal or haram channel. By betrayal or by honest way. It is such a man who asks such questions, and this is what we want. It was wrong when we said, or we may still say, that it was enough to get rid of the regime, it is enough to have independence, it is enough to be free. No, this is not the question. We give up all these for the sake of man, we want man. All are to be sacrificed to man. When man is made, everything will be made, too. Within these years they tried to prevent there being a man, no man should be there. They believed if there appeared a man he may guide a whole nation, he may lead a nation against them. This bothered them and they prevented the making of a man. (146).

* * *

Diverting the Minds from Real Matters

The establishments which were for teaching, for education, were changed to establishments against that. The teachings which were useful to men, to the society, to the country, were omitted by them, and replaced by teachings contrary to the nation's course, although they were in conformity with the individual desires, but against the country's interests. The essays which dealt with the destination of the nation could never be published in the

papers or broadcast, but the essays which were against the nation and their interests, against the interest of the society, were current and popular, and the magazines which had to educate our young generation, were turned to an education which you saw. You saw how shameful the magazines were. All these were to divert our youths from their own human course to another course, to their interest, such that they can destroy the country's interests, ruin everything, give all our treasures to the foreigners, without there being anyone to say: "why?", because the people's attention had been diverted from what was connected to their own living. (147).

* * *

Separating the *Ulama* from the People

The objective was to do away with Islam, and the way to achieve that was to do away with the *Ulama*. They did know that as long as there were Ulama Islam would be preserved by them. The plan was to do away with Islam and the way was to do away with the *Ulama* and separate them from the people; therefore, they resorted to extensive propagation, and still do, too, in order to separate the *Ulama* from the people. If the *Ulama* were separated from the people and no more enjoyed their support in their propagation, the others would attain to their aim, and the nation, unsupported and alone, would not be able to do anything. Without depending on Islam the people can do nothing. Depending on Islam can be only when those who call to Islam and all their objectives are promoting Islam, actively participate in the operation and invite the people to muster them. Formerly, the enemies had scientifically realized that Islam's nature is such that if it came to power "it would not let us lay hand on our interests" and the *Ulama* are the very ones who protect Islam and keep it... This uprising made them realize a thing. That is, they noticed that a nation, with the guidance of the *Ulama* and their inner faith, could overthrow such an erroneous big Satanic empire, despite the fact that all the powers were backing it. (148).

* * *

Separation between the *Hawzah* and the University

From the beginning they wanted the universities to be like this. From the beginning they wanted our youths to be formed in such a way as to be

enemies of Islam and of everything related to Islam. The name of the akhund was not to be mentioned in the university. The name of a university student was also not to be mentioned in the Faydiyyah circle [a hawzah circle in Qum]. If either of them went to the other's place, he would feel himself a stranger, a trivial being. They thought what a bad place they have come to! Thus, they arranged it so that these two fronts, that could protect and save the country from difficulties, be hostile to each other, they crush one another, and they benefit by it, and they did, we saw they did. What for did they insist on the enmity between these two classes? So much defaming propaganda from all quarters against this wronged class of the *Ulama*! On the other hand so much propaganda for the university student and the university! Why? What for? Because they were afraid if they neared one another and came to an agreement with each other, they would understand what Islam is. If the professors of the universities visit the scholarly circles in the hawzahs, contact their teachers and see what Islam is, then they would feel no apprehension from one another. They will then realize how deep our calamities were in the past, especially during the recent fifty years, just because we bore enmity to our brothers, we tried to abuse one another. So, you are to pay attention and be careful to keep the connection between the university and Faydiyyah tight, between the old and new hawzahs, in order that you may be able to protect your country. Even if you are two classes, you, the youths of the universities, the professors of the universities, the teachers of the secondary and primary schools and the like, you are to try to introduce the *hawzah* circles to the students and the pupils. The scholars at those circles are also to try to introduce their learned youths and students to the universities, to coordinate them. When these two classes coordinate and become pious, our country will be in need of nothing, as all the hardships are for these classes.

"If the scholar was corrupt, the world will be corrupt." The world is corrupted by the corrupt scholars, not by the masses of the people. (149).

The Factors of the Victory of the Islamic Revolution

Allah's Will

Relying on Allah

We did not overcome these difficulties and the calamities which befell us by means of our natural abilities, because our abilities, by nature, were nothing compared with the quite big powers, such as America and the passed Shah, and with the means which they had at their disposal. Our victory over them, our nation which triumphed in this uprising was only because of our depending on Allah. In our people there appeared a change which had never been precedented before—a change which made them look at martyrdom as a great achievement. Even nowadays some of our young people come to me and ask me: "Pray for us to become martyrs." This was the secret of the victory. It was similar to the early days of Islam, when the Muslims proceeded due to this secret. Our nation similarly went ahead, and it is with this secret that people can go forward. (150).

* * *

The Invisible Supports

We know that this great revolution, which cut short the hands of the "world-devouring" powers and despots from great Iran, triumphed through invisible divine assistance. Had it not been for the powerful hand of Allah, it would not have been possible for a nation of just thirty-six millions to rise up as a single man, particularly in the face of those anti-Islamic, anti-*Ulama* propaganda, specially during the last century and with such uncounted acts causing disunion, performed by men of pen and of oration in the publications, speeches and anti-Islamic and anti-national gatherings, in the shape of nationalism, and so much poetry and witticism, and so much places of entertainment, obscenities, gambling, drinking, drugs, etc., all of which were to attract the active young people, who are expected to concentrate their activities on promoting, advancing and elevating the dear homeland. They actually were dragged to corruption and indifference in the face of the

treacherous events which had been imposed upon the nation by the corrupt Shah and his uncultured father, and the governments and parliaments ordered by the embassies of the big powers. Worst of all, the conditions at the universities, schools and the educational centers, into whose hands the destiny of the country should have been deposited, the Westernized and Easternized teachers and instructors, hundred per cent anti-Islam and anti-Islamic culture, even anti-national under the name of nationalism, although among them there were committed and compassionate men. But because of their fewness and being suppressed they could have no positive effect. So, because of these and tens of other matters, including the isolation of the men of religion and using their effective propaganda to guide a number of them to ideological perversion, this nation, under these conditions, was not possible to rise in such a consolidated union, such that all the nation, with a single ideology and slogan, shouted: Allahu Akbar! [Allah is Greater!], and performed astonishing and miraculous sacrifices. They pushed aside all the local and alien powers, and took the destiny of the country in their own hands. Therefore, there should be no doubt that the Islamic Revolution of Iran is different from all other revolutions in all the aspects of its happening, its way of struggling and the motive of revolting and rising. There is also no doubt that it was a divine gift and an invisible present, granted by the Beneficent Allah to this wronged and plundered nation. (151).

* * *

Faith and Unity

According to material and common criterions, we should have been perished by a single assault... But the power of faith, the support of Allah, the Exalted and High, and dependence on [the intercession of] the Guardian of Time (a) helped you to victory. Do not forget, brothers, the secret of the victory—this unity of words which appeared throughout all the classes in Iran. It was a miracle. No one could bring it about. It was a miracle, a divine matter, a divine inspiration. It was not a man-made affair. The secret of your victory was, first, your unshakeable faith, then the unity of words. Beware to take care of these two things. (152).

* * *

The Islamic Inclination and the Simple Life of the People

The Nation Changes

This change, which happened in such a short time in the nation, was a sort of a miraculous one: One day they feared the police, and on another day they did not fear even the first man in the kingdom. One day they did not dare mentioning the name of the Shah detestably in their own houses, and on another day they poured into the streets and shouted death to him. Such was the change. Who did it? It was Islam, the power of faith. Otherwise, no manpower could do it. It was not a work within my, your and their capacities. It was done by Islam. (153).

The Rise of the Nation

For more than fifteen years I have been advising the Arab states to have a unity among themselves and save al-Quds [Jerusalem], but it had no effect at all, since they do not care for such matters. If, however, they talk about these matters, they talk like what our past Shah used to talk about progress and great civilization. No one of them ever thinks of the people. The people themselves should think of themselves. If we were to sit waiting for the governments to do something for us, we would still have our former backwardness, and the past Shah would still have his rule over us. We, with the power of faith, which appeared in our people, could oppose these superpowers, and thanks to Allah, we were victorious and cut their hands short.

If you want to overcome your problems, if you want to save al-Quds, to save Palestine, if you want to save Egypt and other Arab countries from the hands of the agents and the foreigners, the nations must rise, as it is they who are to do that. They may not sit waiting for the governments to attend to these matters, as they act only for their own interests.

The nations must rise. They must understand the secret, the secret of victory, the desire of martyrdom, paying no attention to life, material life, the animal life. It is this secret that can take the peoples forward. It is the secret which the Quran brought to the Arab nations who, though completely weak, could conquer great states. The Quran made man, a divine man who could, with that divine power, advance forward and within less than half a century overcame two Empires. This secret must be found out. We must follow the

Quran. We must make the Quranic man. The nations must be the image of the Quran so that they may go forward. If they tried to triumph through political groupings, through common assemblies and formal societies, they would never be successful. All must come together and form a single divine man, a man who would struggle for the sake of Allah. If this happened they would be successful.

I advise all the human beings, all the Muslims, all the Arabs, that if they wish to overcome their difficulties, they must get Islamic education and move along the Islamic plan, guided by the Quran which is to be their Imam. If it was so, they would overcome all problems. But if it was not so, and they wanted to move along according to the ordinary political criterions in order to succeed, the governments would always overcome them, and they would not be successful. (154).

* * *

The Secret of Victory Is Seeking Martyrdom

We must see what happened in the early years of Islam such that an empty-handed small group without enough warring weapons, could, within half a century, overcome "the world". Then what happened later such that, despite the increase in their number, weapon and provision, they lost everything they had? What happened to them that they became so, and we became so? The reason is that in the early days of Islam those who gave their bayah to the Messenger of Allah (s), though few in number, were committed to their course and believed in Islam, and they never cared to live, even with humility and difficulty. They took martyrdom to equal happiness. This morality in them brought them victory over the Romans and Iran, the two strong Empires—the two Empires which, at that time, were much stronger than what they are now. Then, the Muslims lost that power of faith gradually, and engaged in worldly matters and were attached to materialistic affairs and those who used to meet and talk, as we do nowadays, talked only of figures, not constructive talk. When one looks at these Islamic countries, which are very vast and possess many powers, realizes that poetry, oration, philosophy, gnosticism, etc. are still current, but what was the secret of victory in the early days of Islam is never talked about. If one-tenth of what had been among the Companions of the Messenger (s) and the troops of Islam, was in these Islamic countries, they could get such a power even greater than the super-powers, but they have completely lost that power of faith, and the one who is a godly man is the one who spends his time in going from his house to the mosque and from the mosque back home, and is telling his supplications. That which was cared for during the early days of Islam, is not cared for any more. (155).

* * *

Change in the Souls

Allah does not change the condition of a people until they change what is in their souls (*ar-Rad*: 11) "What" is a "reality" and a "command". "Reality" refers to the changes which happen within a nation. It can be the origin of genetic, universal and seasonal changes.

You have noticed that this progress of the nation of Iran was due to the change which happened in the souls. Our people were a nation who, because of the bad changes which took place along the history, and due to the vast domination of foreigners and their agents, turned into a form which could accept the past regime. That is, a sort of change, created by corrupt propaganda, appeared in our nation. By means of this change it was possible to prepare our people to accept injustice and the regime of a despot and wrongdoer, as well as those affiliated to the despot and his masters. It was a change from the sound human innate disposition to an unhealthy and sick personality. The individuals had become sick. The pens were those used against the nation's interests, but for the interests of the tyrant. The speeches, the pens, the steps, the words, the acts, all were changed and different from the innate disposition. Consequently, a general change took place, in the form of the control of the foreigners.

Praise be to Allah, in this uprising the change was otherwise. That is, a nation, under pressure along history, got used to it, to injustice and to being plundered; it changed, within a short period of time, in such a way that they could no longer tolerate any of the former injustices. They conducted such a revolution against the regime of despotism that even their small children, respected sisters and brothers, young and old, gave up whatever business they were engaged in, and poured into the streets and shouted: We do not want this regime! And they called out: *Allahu Akbar*! So our people were changed, altered. Without that spiritual change, these people could not attain to a real change in the form of bringing up the going out of the despotic regime and the coming in of the Islamic regime. Thus, Allah, the Blessed and Most High will not change a people's condition unless they change what is in

themselves. If we change ourselves in favour of accepting injustice, it is certain that a despot will control us. But if we change in favour of defending our country, and oppose plundering and wrongdoing, Allah will provide the means for that. As you saw, all the classes of the nation were under hardship and the pressure of injustice for long years, because they had quitted the original divine innate disposition, admitting a different disposition to infiltrate into themselves, and received a different education preparing them to receive any sort of oppression. When someone comes and persecutes us, we may not object, we must be indifferent. If an "advisor" comes from America we must receive him. Whatever happens we must keep silent. We must always be in a state of submission. Whoever raises his hand we must offer our heads or cheeks. This was a condition created by remaining for a long time under suppression and subject to a propaganda saying: Everything you have must be pushed aside and be replaced by everything from America. This was because Allah had effected a change in accordance with the already changes you had done in your god-given disposition.

When our people woke up with the blessings of Islam and changed what was in their inside, they, who were afraid of standing in the face of a guard, now could stand in the face of America. When a guard used to enter the market and order the people to close their shops, to hang ornamental flags, they had but to obey. It never occurred to them to object, to say: Why? Now they poured into the streets, shouting: Death to the Shah! It was a spiritual change, a change of "what is in their souls", because Allah does not change the condition of a people until they change what is in their souls (*ar-Rad*: 11). That is, the condition of submission and acceptance was changed to refusal, and to the condition of not accepting being subject to injustice, and thus, Allah, the Blessed and Most high, supported it.

You have driven out the tyrant, so, keep this condition. Take care to preserve it. Keep this change which is a divine grace turning your souls to believe martyrdom to be a victory, and to regard humility and dependence to be a disgrace. As long as you keep this condition, Allah will keep it, too. If what is in our souls changes once again—God forbid—to the former condition, we will certainly return to our former condition, too.

It is a divine law that things should happen according to the cause-andeffect principle. It is the law of causality. When you by yourselves become ready to accept the burden of injustice, the unjust will appear, to be sure, because it will be the cause for his appearance. The more we humiliate ourselves before the unjust, the stronger his pressure will be. When we get prepared to prevent injustice, the unjust sets back. The more our pressure upon him, the farther his setting back. But if you take a single step backward, the unjust will take a step forward. A step forward by you will cause him to retreat a step. It is a divine law, and you have tried it yourselves and proved that when you took your steps towards doing away with the tyrant, the tyrant was gone, finished. They rolled up their carpet and left for good. (156).

* * *

Simple Living and Rejecting Aristocracy

If you want to steadfastly encounter falsity and to defend the truth, without being effected by the superpowers, their advanced weaponry, their Satanic plans, and causing you to quit the battlefield, accustom yourselves to simplicity in life, and beware of letting your heart be attached to wealth, position and post.

The great men who have done great services to their people mostly led a simple life, with no attachment to the vanities of this world. Those who are captives to their base and animal desires will stop short of no humility and abjectness for the sake of attaining to their desires. They will submit themselves to the Satanic powers and will be unjust to the weak masses of the people. But the upright are on the contrary, because with an aristocratic and consumer living, the human and Islamic values cannot be kept.

The young people of Iran, men and women, who had been educated according to the former tyrannical regime, could never stand encountering the power of the tyrant. But when, with the powerful hand of Allah, the Exalted and Most High, they were changed into revolutionary men and women, away from Satanic inclinations, they suppressed that huge power. The criminal hands which used to drag our dear youths, during the past regime, to the centers of corruption and to mould the free people into consumer-dolls, their plan and motive were to make our people indifferent to, or even supporters of, whatever treason would take place in the country and whatever would happen to the people, to their wealth and to the natural treasures, and whichever fetters and chains of imperialism would fasten the hands and legs of our people. Today, too, the active classes in the fronts and behind the fronts are the same simple-living and deprived classes, among whom there is no trace of those who have attachments to mundane affairs. (157).

* * *

The Unity of All Classes

The Union between the Men of Religion and of the University

I feel happy that the classes of the young zealous old and new students, from inside and outside the country, and the clear-minded from among the other honourable Muslims of the nation, may Allah support them, have waken up from a deep sleep which had overcome the nations through the hypnotic tunes of the vile agents of imperialism, for a few centuries, and now they are thinking of a solution. I feel quite pleased and proud of the solidarity of the students of the old schools and of the universities, and their cooperation with the other classes of the wakeful people in this sacred Islamic uprising, which, by Allah's will, will end by cutting the hands of the foreigners, the pro-imperialists and the Westernized agents.

This solidarity is the first step taken—notwithstanding the foreigners and their dumb and blindfold servants—in the way of freeing the suppressed people, and prepared the factors for the final defeat of the plunderers and the evil agents of those who, within long years, attempted, with their poisonous propaganda, and treated you, brothers and sons of our nation, like the unjust enemies of the weak nations, riding the mount of desires, invading the Islamic nations and sucking their blood with complete security and tranquillity. (158).

* * *

Islam the Guide to Unity

Now that I see you, dear sons, have found the basic main road, consolidated together on the basis of Islamic unity, and the shining light of the Glorious Quran—the constitution of freedom of the weak nations and the guide for the uprisings of the great men and the pure prophets in every age against despotism, exploitation and imperialism—has shone upon your hearts, I cherish in myself the hope that, by Allah's will, there will be a bright future waiting for the wronged people.

You, the enlightened youths, have the duty of taking no rest before awakening those who are deeply asleep, and, by uncovering the crimes and the treasons of the imperialists and their uncultured followers, instigating the

negligent people, and warning them against disunity, dispersion and personal desires which are at the head of all corruptions, referring for your needs to Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, to guide you and support you with His supernatural soldiers. Allah, the Exalted, says: **And those who strive hard for Us, We will certainly guide them in Our ways. And Allah is with the benevolent.** (*al-Ankabut*: 69) (159).

* * *

Unity of the Word and Unity of the Goal

Within the recent two or three years we have experienced that in those days, in which we did not collectively turn to Allah, the Blessed and Most High—though probably we did individually—we could not do anything. We were under the burdens of injustice, tyrannies and pressures. We were assaulted from all sides by the world plunderers, and we spent grave and disasterous life at their hands and at the hands of their agents. We saw this uprising conducted by the Iranian nation who gradually turned from separation to unity with the unity of the goal. With the bodily and spiritual unity they poured into the streets, in all parts of the country, from the villages up to the capital, and they all demanded Islam and Allah, and denounced injustice, the unjust, the despot and all those who wanted to plunder this country, and who did plunder it for many many years. Allah, the Blessed and Most High, was graceful and we, you and all the nation united bodily and spiritually, and men, women, old and young, all poured into the streets, with a single goal, and shouted Allahu Akbar, and death to the unjust, and to the plunderers, and that we want Islam and the Islamic Republic, which will bring to us freedom and independence.

This united gathering which took place in Iran, and this great change which happened, must be taken as an example to be followed and never forgotten. We must know that what brought us victory, what caused us to be triumphant, empty-handed, was this gathering of the bodies and the souls, the unity of the word and the unity of the goal. These people were the same people twenty years ago, but they were subject to the transgression of the foreigners and the servants of the foreigners, and they could do nothing. It was they, once again, who, by the grace of Allah, the Exalted and Most High, changed into an invulnerable being due to their general unity, both in the body and in the spirit. It was they who changed from their former condition

to another condition which brought them victory—a miraculous victory, an improbable victory.

Therefore, we must all be attentive to keep these placards of "Allahu Akbar", "Freedom", "Independence", and "Islamic Republic" all over the country, and to be made an example to be imitated by the coming generations on end, so that, by Allah's will, they would not be able, any time in history, to have any control over us. This is an important matter, and more important to the men of the state, as they should pay attention to the fact that what backs our victory is this very unity of the word. They must realize that whatever post they have is dependent on this nation who rose to their feet and created this unity of word, and in a single voice they shouted: Freedom! Independence! Islamic Republic! They all had this goal. (160).

* * *

Self-Reliance and Rejecting Self-Losing

Faith Is the Foundation of Strength

Having accomplished this revolution, you have within this period believed, and made the *mustadaf* states and nations believe, that it is possible to oppose and stand in the face of the world-devouring America and world—devouring USSR. Two years have passed since you have begun your manly revolution ¹³⁶ and stood against them and cut their hands off your country. You did realize that it is possible to do that, and you yourselves could do it and stand against them, although your military and economic powers are not like theirs.

When a nation believes in being able to do something, they will do it. This belief is based on two things: believing in weakness, feableness and inability, and believing in strength, firmness and ability. If the nation believes that they are able to stand in the face of the super powers, this belief will be the cause for obtaining ability and for firmness in facing the super powers.

This victory which you achieved was because you believed in your being able to do it, because you believed that America would not be able to impose anything upon you. This belief was behind this great miraculous achievement. Now if you consider the condition of the industries in our country within these two years, the industries which they had been handling..., and if you do believe that we also can have an industry and can

be innovators, this very belief in being able makes you really able. The basis is the belief which they had taken away from us. They had emptied us from everything, such that our thoughts and our beliefs became affiliated to them.

If the thoughts of a nation are dependent on a Super Power, everything which that nation has will be dependent. The important thing is that your thoughts should be free, free from being dependent on the Super Powers. If your thoughts became free and if you believed that we were able to be industrialists, we would be so. If your thoughts and beliefs were that we could be independent and not dependent on others, we would certainly be so.

If our farmers have the belief that we are able to reach in agriculture to a place where we would be able to export and not be dependent on the others, rather the others might be in need of us, we would be so. If you, the people of industry, if you are industrialists, if you are in the army, and have the belief—and you do have this belief by experience—that you can be industrialists, you can be innovators, you will really be what you want to be.

Many positive works have been achieved in industry, and I hope that from now on better works will be done such that our hands may not be stretched towards the West or the East, and we ourselves be able to do our jobs. I hope we will be able to take our country to complete independence, without being dependent in any matter on the others so as to do our works by ourselves. We are to believe that we too, like the other beings of the world, are able to do things. With this belief we will, *inshaallah* (God willing), proceed forward. (161).

* * *

Encountering the Propaganda of the Westernized

Among the problems which prevented the Muslims and the *mustadafin* (the oppressed) of the world from practising any sort of activities for getting out of the fetters and chains of the imperialists which keep them in a state of stagnancy and backwardness is the extensive propagations which the Westernized or the Easternized groups who, at the orders of the super powers or through their own short sightedness, spread throughout the Islamic and the oppressed countries, to the effect that knowledge, civilization and progress are confined to the two wings of Imperialism and Communism, and they, especially the westerners, and lately the Americans, are of a higher race, and the others are of a lower defective race. While their progress is due to their race being higher, the backwardness of the others is due to their defective

race. In another expression, they are perfect humans, while these are still in the process of perfection, and after millions of years they will reach a proportional degree of perfection. So, it is useless to strive for progress. The free men are either to be dependent on the Western Capitalism or on the Eastern Communism. That is, we have nothing of our own, and we have to take everything from the Super Powers of the East or the West: knowledge, civilization, law, progress etc. Hence you are noticing our dark days. A result of this type of thinking imposed upon us is that anything of our local make, though excellent, will find no buyer because of this very crime. If it is given a Western name, many a buyer will want it. The Iranian textiles should have Latin letters along the edging so as to get buyers. The diseased people easily curable inside the country are to be taken abroad for treatment. This belief goes along with the fact that the non-Muslim scientists and writers have proved by living evidences that civilization and sciences went from Islam to Europe, and that the Muslims had priority in these matters. (162).

Nations Are Lighthouses for the Enlightened

O Muslims of the world who believe in the truth of Islam! Rise up and assemble under the banner of Monotheism and the shade of Islamic teachings, and make short the treacherous hands of the Super Powers off your countries and rich treasures, and restore the glory of Islam, and give up your differences and personal desires, as you have everything. Depend on the Islamic culture and combat the West and the Westernization, and stand on your own feet, and attack the Westernized and the Easternized enlightened groups, and regain your own identity, as the enlightened hirelings have brought a plague upon their nation and their country. So, if you do not unite and do not strictly rely on true Islam, you will be inflicted with what you have so far been inflicted. It is time for the nations to become the lighthouses for the enlightened in order to save them from losing themselves and from despicableness before the West and the East, since today is the day of the movement of the nations who are still the guides of the guides. Do know that your moral power overcomes all powers, and your nearly one milliard people, with their limitless treasures are capable of defeating all powers. If you help Allah, He will help you. O you, the great ocean of Muslims! Roar out! Break down the enemies of humanity! If you turn to Allah the Great and observe the divine teachings, Allah, the Exalted, and His great soldiers will be with you! (163).

Man's Spiritual Power Is the Basis of Victory

All the defeats and victories originate from man himself. Man is the basis of victory, and the basis of defeat. Man's belief is the basis of all things. The Westerners, and formerly Britain and then America and other powerful countries, were, with their extensive propaganda, aiming at making the weak nations believe that they were weak and unable to do anything, and that they should ask the help of the big powers in the West and the East in respect of industry, army and management. Those who wanted to plunder the treasures of those weak countries, had their well worked out plans, intending to convince the peoples of these countries to believe that they are incapable, to make them think that the weak countries cannot establish any industry, or direct an army, or manage a state. This belief, which was propagated by the Westernized, took these countries to annihilation and retardation.

If man gets the belief that he cannot do any given act, that he is too weak to do it, he will not be able to do it. High as an army's power may be, without morality, or believing that it would not be able to face so-and-so forces, this army is doomed to defeat, and every country believing that it is unable to establish an industry, this country is doomed to remain till the end unable. This was the basis of the plans designed by the big powers for the weak countries—plans which were propagated by the writers who backed them and the Westernized who were dependent upon them, to a great extent that those countries did believe that they were good-for-nothing, and that they were unable to undertake any matter concerning the country, the army, industry and other matters that are related to human civilization, and they were to refer to the big powers and to follow them. Their army must have counsellors, and their country is in need of a manager. As long as this belief prevails in the *mustadaf* countries, they will remain afflicted and dependent.

When you believe that you cannot have industry, and you cannot do by yourselves small or big industries which so far were done by the West, you will never do anything. As long as that belief is still there you will not be able to do anything. You must first set yourselves aright and get the belief that: we are also human beings, we have the faculty of thinking, we are able to establish industries. This power is in all the human beings in the form of a possibility. If this belief appeared in you, then you would know, as during these two years you experienced and realized, that those allegations which were uttered were nothing but propaganda, and the realities were not so. It was only propagation that it is not possible to breathe before the big powers, and that all must submit to those Super Powers. (164).

CHAPTER THREE

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

(Man and Education)

Man's Intrinsic and Innate Characteristics

Innate Quest for Perfection

The linguists and the people of *tafsir* say that *fitrah* means "natural disposition", as is in the *Sihah*. It is also possible that *fitrah* is derived from the root *fatara* which means "to cleave" or to tear away, as if to show the *fitrah* is to tear the cover of non-existence and the veil of invisibility, and of this meaning is the *iftar*, the breaking of fasting, as if it is to break the continuous abstinence from food. At any rate, discussing linguistics is out of our intention. However, the reference is to the noble *ayah*: So set your face upright for religion. The *fitrah* in which Allah has created the people. There is no alteration of Allah's creation. That is the right religion, but most people do not know. (*ar-Rum*: 30)

Do know that **the** *fitrah* **in which Allah has created the people refers** to a state and aspect in which the people are made. It is of the necessities of their existence and of the things in which they are fermented in the beginning of creation. The divine *fitrahs*, as will be explained later on, are of the graces which Allah, the Exalted, especially bestowed upon man out of all other beings, which are either completely deprived of the said *fitrahs* or they are incomplete in them and their share of them is little.

It must be noted that, although *fitrah* is said in some traditions to mean monotheism, yet this can be regarded as an evidence, or describing something through describing the best part of it, as are the commentaries reached us from the infallibles (a), in which they refer to, say, an evidence on an occasion of a position, while the ignorant thinks that there is a

contradiction. The proof that the case is this is that the noble *ayah* takes religion to be Allah's *fitrah*, and the religion includes monotheism and other learnings.

In Abdullah ibn Sinan's *Sahihah*¹³⁷, it (the *fitrah*) is interpreted to be Islam. In the *Hasanah*¹³⁸ of Zurarah it is explained to mean knowledge. In the well-known *hadith:* **Every infant is born with a (natural)** *fitrah*¹³⁹, the *fitrah* is regarded to stand against Judaism, Christianity and Magianism. Imam Abu Jafar (a), referring to the *fitrah* in Zurarah's *Hasanah*, has said that it means knowledge. So, from this sentence it has become known that the term *fitrah* does not exclusively mean monotheism. Actually, all the true knowledge are of the matters with which Allah, the Exalted, has created the people.

It must be understood that there is no dispute about the norms of the fitrah, being necessary for existence and the fermented forms in the natural disposition and creation. The scholar and the ignorant, the civilized and the uncivilized, the urban and the nomad all agree about that. No customs, no sects and no different ways can infiltrate in it, nor any disorder. The differences of place, climate, familiarities, opinions and customs, which cause differences and disputes in everything, even in the intellectual judgments, can have no effect whatsoever on the fitrah. The differences in understanding and the weakness and the strength of perception cannot cause any injury to it. Should there be anything contrary to that, it would not be of the *fitrah*, and must be excluded from it, and hence the *ayah's* expression: The fitrah in which Allah has created the people, which means that it is not confined to a particular group. He also said: There is no alteration of **Allah's creation.** That is, nothing changes it, unlike other things, such as customs and else, which are alterable. Yet, it is a strange matter that, although there is no dispute about the *fitrah*, from the beginning of the world till its end, it seems that the people are unaware of being concurrent with one another in that, yet they think they are not, unless they are reminded, in which case they will realize that they were concurring, in the form of differing. That is why the ayah ends by saying: But most people do not know.

The rules of the *fitrah* are more self-evident than any axiom, because there is no such an intellectual judgment on which no one differed or will differ. It is clear that such a thing is the clearest of necessities and the most obvious of axioms and whatever is correlevant to it is also of the most indispensible necessities. So, if monotheism or any other sort of knowledge

is of the rules of the *fitrah*, or of its necessities, then they must be of the most obvious axioms and necessities, **but most people do not know.**

Do know that the commentators of the Shiah and the Sunnis have explained, in one way or another, that religion or monotheism is of the *fitrah*. But we, in these pages, are not going to talk according to their opinions. Rather, in this respect, we shall relate what we have heard from the perfect and gnostic Shaykh Shahabadi¹⁴⁰ (May his shade last), who is unique in this field, though some of it is alluded to in the works of some knowledgeable researchers, and some of it has occurred to my inefficient attention.

So, it must be noted that one of the divine *fitrahs* is the principle of the existence of the Origin, the Most High and Holy. Another one is monotheism. A third one is that His Sacred Essence contains all the perfections. Another one of the *fitrahs* is the belief in the Day of Resurrection. Another one is the belief in prophethood, then another is in the existence of angels, spiritualities, revelation of divine Books and showing the ways of guidance. Some of the mentioned items are of the *fitrah* rules and some others are of its necessities. The belief in Allah, the Exalted, in the angels, the Books, the Messengers, the Day of Resurrection are the true, upright and correct religion throughout the whole period of the life of human species.

... One of the *fitrahs* with which all the human species are fermented, and not even a single one of the whole human family is found to be on the contrary, and none of the customs, conducts, directions, ways and the like can ever change it or bring disorder to it, is the *fitrah* of loving perfection. If you go walking throughout the life periods of mankind and question every individual of any group or nation, you will find this love in his natural disposition, and you will see his heart is directed to perfection. Actually in all the movements, pauses, difficulties, hard efforts exerted by every competent individual, the real drive is the love for perfection, despite the fact that people differ completely in recognizing perfection, where it is, where they can find the beloved, and the like.

Everyone finds his beloved in something, his goal he thinks to be somewhere to which he heads, wanting it with his heart.

The worldly people who are after mundane matters, think perfection to be in wealth, in which they have found their beloved. They strive with all their loving energies to attain to it, whatever their branch of activity may be, but as they love it and think it to be perfection; their attention is paid only to it. Likewise are the people of sciences and industries, everyone, according to the capacity of his brain, takes something to be perfection and his beloved,

while the people of the Hereafter, devotion and thought have something else. In short, all of them look forward to perfection, and whenever they think it to be in something, they take it as their beloved.

But it must be noted that, notwithstanding everything, the love of none of them is really directed to what they think they love. Their beloved and the ultimate of their hopes are not what they thought them to be, because if one turns to one's *fitrah* will find that whatever his heart loves he gives up as soon as he finds another beloved of a higher degree of perfection. When he attains to this higher degree, he turns to even another one higher than that. Rather his love increases day after day. His heart would not be satisfied with any one of the degrees, or stop at a limit of the limits. For example, if you are interested in the beauty of a charming and heart-stealing visage, and you think you will find it in a sweetheart, so you direct your heart toward her. But if you find a more beautiful one and believe that she is really more beautiful, you will inevitably turn to this one, or you will at least want both. Nevertheless, the fire of longing will not subside, and the mute tongue of your fitrah says: "I am penniless; otherwise I am the buyer of all the six." Rather you are the buyer of every beautiful, or even a more possibility may make you a longing lover. If you think there is, in another place, another more beautiful and heart-stealing beloved than you saw or have, your heart will travel to that country: "I am among the gathering, but my heart is elsewhere." 142 You may even feel anxious through desire, and by hearing a description of Paradise and of its lovable faces, even though— God forbid—you may not believe in that, your innate disposition would say: "I wish there were such a Paradise and that such a lovable one could be mine."

Likewise are those who take perfection to be in domination, influence, power, and expanding the sovereignty. If they have under their domination a country, they look forward to lay their hands on another country, and if they did put their hands on it, they still look beyond that. Actually, the fire of their longing ever increases such that if they had the whole earth under their domination, they would still try to extend their sovereignty to other planets if they thought there was something on them to dominate. Their hearts would desire to fly to those worlds and get possession of them. The same trend is true of the industrialists and the scientists.

In general, this is the condition of all human species whatever their way and branch, and whatever their rank may be, their longing for a more perfect thing than what they have, and the fire of their strong desire would never subside, rather it gets fiercer.

So, this innate light shows us that the hearts of all the species of the human beings, whether the dwellers of the remotest part of the black Africa or the inhabitants of civilized countries of the world, and from the naturalists and materialists to the people of religion and spiritualists, all innately look forward to a defectless perfection and they innately long for a beauty, a perfection, which has no flaws, a knowledge which includes no ignorance, a power and a domination which accompany no inability, a life that knows no death—that is, the absolute perfection is the beloved of all. All beings and the entire human family call out, with a clear language and in a united heart: "We are in love with the Absolute Perfection! We love the Absolute Beauty and Glory! We look for The Absolute Power and Absolute Knowledge!"

Is there among all the beings, in the world of fancy and imagination, and in the rational and conventional possibilities, a being possessing absolute beauty and absolute perfection other than the Sacred Essence, the Creator of the world, Glorified His Tremendousness be? Is there an absolutely blemishless beauty other than the Absolute Beloved?

O you, the bewildered in the valley of perplexity, and lost in the desert of astraying! Nay! O you, the butterflies around the candle of the Beauty of the Absolute Beautiful! O you, the lovers of the flawless, Eternal Beloved! Pay a little attention to the book of innateness (*fitrah*), and turn the pages of the book of your own essence, to see that the divine pen of the divine *fitrah* has written there: **Uprightly I have directed my face to Him Who originated the heavens and the earth** (*al-An am*: 80). Is "the innateness in which Allah has originated the people" (*ar-Rum*: 30) the innateness (*fitrah*) of heading towards the Absolute Beloved? Is that unchangeable creation) there is no alteration of Allah's creation) the innate knowledge? How long will you, under vain fancies, waste this divine innate love, and this divine deposit, on this and that? If your beloved are these flawful beauties and the limited perfections, why, then, when you attained to them the fire of your longing did not subside, rather the flames of your love increased?

Beware! Wake up from negligent sleep, give the reward of good tidings and be happy at your having the beloved who is not perishable, at your having the lovable who is flawless, at your having the demanded who is faultless, at your having the objective the light of whose countenance is: "Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth." (an-Imam: 35). You have a beloved the vastness of whose encompassment is such that: "If you are sent down with a rope to the lowest (part of) earth, you will fall upon Allah"¹⁴³.

So, this actual love of yours requires an actual beloved, who cannot be a fancied or imagined one, because every imagined is imperfect, while the innateness (*fitrah*) looks for the perfect. So, an actual lover and actual love cannot be without a beloved, and other than the Perfect Essence there can be no beloved looked for by the innateness (*fitrah*). So, loving the absolute perfect necessitates the existence of the Absolute Perfect. It has formerly been noted that the innate precepts and their correlatives are the clearest and the most obvious of all axioms: **Is there any doubt about Allah, the Creator of the heavens and the earth?** (*Ibrahim*: 10).

The Oneness of Allah, the Exalted, and the gathering in Him all the perfections are of innate precepts.

Do know that one of the innate aspects in which Allah has generated the people is disliking imperfection. This dislike of man is caused by imperfection and defect. So, embelishment and defect are disliked by one's innateness (fitrah), while, at the same time, it likes absolute perfection. So, what is looked for by innateness must be One and Single, because every compound and multiple is imperfect, since multiplicity cannot but be limited. Thus, what is incomplete is disliked, not loved by the innateness. So, by these two aspects of innateness, i.e. the innateness of loving perfection, and the innateness of disliking the incomplete or the imperfect, monotheism is proved. It is also proved that Allah is of all perfections and is void of all imperfections. In the surah of at-Tawhid, which is related to Allah, the Exalted and Most High, and as it is said by our great tutor 144 (may my soul be his ransom), the Absolute Ipseity is looked for by the innateness (*fitrah*), and at the beginning of the *surah*, the blessed pronoun "He" is a reference to that, an evidence proving the six attributes stated after it. As His Sacred Essence is Absolute Ipseity and the absolute ipseity must be absolutely perfect, otherwise it would be limited, so, He possesses all the perfections. Thus, He is Allah, and, at the same time of possessing all perfections, He is simple, otherwise the ipseity would not be absolute. Thus, He is Single, and singleness necessitates oneness. And as the absolute ipseity possesses all perfections and is void of all imperfections which are the origin of all returns to quiddity, thus, His Sacred Essence is Samad, not hollow, and as He is Absolute Ipseity, nothing is begotten by Him or separated from Him, nor is He separated from anything, rather He is the Origin of everything and to Him everything returns, without any separation, which means imperfection. The Absolute Ipseity has no equal, because in absolute perfection no repetition can be imagined. Therefore, the said blessed surah is of innate precepts and is related to Allah, the Exalted.

The existence of the Day of Resurrection is of the innate facts fermented in the human constitution.

Do know that one of the divine innate dispositions with which all human beings have been created is the innate love of comfort. If during all the stages of civilization, savagery, religiousness and irreligiousness, all the individuals of the world, learned and ignorant, mean and noble, rural and urban, had been asked: "What for are there these different attachments, diverse desires and endurance of difficulties within one's life?" They all, with a single, clear, innate reply would have said: "Whatever we strive for is for our comfort. The ultimate aim, final want and utmost desire is the absolute comfort and uninterrupted rest, free from hardship and difficulty." So, as such an easy and care-free comfort, and such a repose unmingled with hardship and pains, is desired by everyone, and as this lost beloved is thought by everybody to be found in a particular object, one feels an attachment to the object which he thinks to be his beloved, despite the fact that in all the corners of the world no such an absolute comfort can be found, and no such blemishless repose is avoidable. All the favours of this world are mixed with unbearable hardships and pains. All the pleasures in this world are surrounded with back-breaking pains. Sufferings, agonies, fatigue, sorrow, anxiety and worry envelop the whole world.

All along the human life there was not even a single individual whose pains were equal to his comfort, whose blessings were in parallel with his toiling and suffering, let alone enjoying an absolute comfort and a complete repose. Therefore, man's beloved cannot be found in this world. There can be no innate and actual love in all the human family without the existence of an actual beloved.

Consequently, it is inevitable that in the House of Realization, the world of existence, there must be a world whose comfort is unmixed with pains and toil, a world of repose free from hardship and agony, a world of offering happiness unmingled with sorrow and grief. That world is Allah's House of Grace, the world of generosity of the Sacred Essence.

The said world can be proved by the innate freedom and the influence of will, which are in everyone's disposition. As this world's affairs, conditions, hardships and narrowness resist man's freedom and influence of will, so, there must be a world in the House of Existence in which his will has influence, and its affairs do not resist the influence of his will, and in it man does whatever he likes and rules over what he wants, as is the requirement of the innateness.

Therefore, the wing of love for comfort, and the wing of love for freedom, is the two wings which Allah has deposited with man, according to the unalterable divine innateness, so that he may fly to the high heavenly world within the proximity of Allah. In this subject there are many other topics which are out of the capacity of these pages, as there are other innate aspects proving the true knowledge, such as proving prophethood, sending Messengers, revealing heavenly Books. Actually by each one of the said innate aspects all kinds of divine knowledge can be proved. We, however, are satisfied with what has been said in order not to deviate from our principal subject, and the argument may not be unsuitable with the noble hadith.

So far it became clear that knowing the Origin, His Perfections and His Oneness, and knowing the Day of Resurrection and the Hereafter, are of innate facts. And praise be to Allah. (165).

Man between Two Infinities

Man is a wonderful being. There is none like him among all the classes of Allah's creatures. He is a marvelous phenomenon out of which a heavenly or a Satanic, hellish being can be made. Other beings are not like that. It is not that there must be a distance between the perfect one and the hellish, imperfect one. It is a characteristic which exclusively belongs to man whom Allah has created with all His sacred attributes, placing in him everything. Out of this being there appeared our noble Prophet and other prophets, as well as there appeared Abujahl¹⁴⁵ and his like, and the number of those between these two is unknown. The good and evil deeds of man depend on the spiritual aspects of the relevant person. (166).

* * *

The Spirit's Connection to the Body

There is a unity between the spirit and the body. The body is the shadow of the spirit. The spirit is the inside of the body, and the body is the outside of the spirit. They are one and inseparable from each other. As man's body and spirit are united, the physician of the body and the physician of the spirit must be united, both must be one. (167).

* * *

Man, the Microcosm

When you observe man, at the beginning of his development, you will notice no difference between him and the plants in general. The seed of a plant, the stone of the dates, the seed of anything, is put into the soil where it develops, and grows in a particular place. The animal's nutfah, too, rests in the womb, like a seed of a plant. The particular place of this seed is the womb where it develops and grows. If some day they make a similar place with the same conditions which can bring up the *nutfah* as in the natural womb, it may also develop and grow therein into a being, say, a man, who in the beginning, is like the plants, with no difference between them: This one grows, that one grows, too, though this one requires a particular place, and that one requires a different place with different characteristics, but both the seed and the *nutfah* are similar in respect of sowing and growing by means of the powers put by Allah, the Exalted, in the soil, and in the womb, they are participants in that. Gradually that which was put into the soil grows into a plant and remains a plant till it gives its fruit, and the fruit is also the fruit of a plant. Those who were not put into the soil, the animals, including man, gradually rise above the stage of being a plant and receive an animal spirit, and become distinguished from the plants, yet they are all animals, that is they are participants in the animal spirit. Their coming into this world and their separation from their former place is another distinction from plants, because when a plant is separated from its place it perishes. But they separate when it is necessary, after that their plant side has developed to perfection and the animal side has appeared. When they became no longer in need of the womb, they descend to this world. All the animals participate in eating, sleeping and sensual desires. They are alike in this respect. They have no distinction except in animal aspects. As regards understanding, the animals differ. Apes, for example, have a better understanding than other animals. The human being, among the animals, is distinguished for being able to have further progressive developments. He differs from them both in understanding and in the aims of understanding. The understanding of the animals has its limits at which it stops, while man's understanding and susceptibility for being educated are almost unlimited. So, man has the whole world with an addition. He participates in everything in the world, from the beginning of the beings till his attaining to distinction over all the animals, plants and the like, but with an addition, i.e. in man there is a rational faculty and a higher power, which are not in the others. (168).

Man, Natural and Supernatural

Had man been kept within the limits of the natural, no more, there would have been no need to assign by the invisible world someone who would educate man, educate that (spiritual) side, as without that (moral) aspect, there would remain no need (for education), but man, outside this world of the natural, is a reality. The very particular characteristics of man denote that there is a "super-" a "beyond", for this "natural", because man has a "beyond", since the philosophical proofs confirm that there is a "super" natural for man, and that man has an intellect possible to be abstract, and it later becomes completely abstract. Educating that (spiritual) side, which is man's moral aspect, requires that this education must be performed by someone who has true knowledge of that "side", as well as true knowledge of the connections between man and that "super" natural side, someone who is capable of comprehending those connections—that one cannot be a human being. Man can only understand the natural "side", but how many magnifiers as he may use, he cannot discern anything of what is supernatural, as it requires that some other concepts should be there. But as these connections are concealed from man, and as it is only Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, the Creator of everything, who knows these connections, He bestows His divine revelation upon special individuals of the people who have achieved perfection and obtained moral perfections and understanding. There take place certain relations between them and the world of revelation. They would receive revelation and would be sent to educate man's second aspect. They would come among the people with the intention of educating them. (169).

* * *

Man at a Crossroads

Swearing by the time, man is in loss! (*al-Asr*: 1-2) "Time" is the perfect man, the Imam of Time (a), that is, the extract of all beings. Swearing by the extract of all beings means swearing by the perfect man. **Man is in loss!** This is the common man, this very man with a head and two ears, whom we also call a man, actually we are the addressed. We are at a crossroads: A road leading to humanity, to the "straight path", which has one of its ends connected to nature, and the other is connected to divinity. This "straight path" starts from the *alaq*, though it is natural at the beginning, but its important part is that which is volitional. One of its ends is connected to

nature and the other is connected to the position of divinity. Man starts from nature until he reaches to a place where my and your imaginations cannot reach: "I'll be that which appears not to your fancy!" It is up to you to choose one of the two roads: either the straight path of humanity or turning to the left or to the right. (170).

Man's Double Dimensions

When man first comes to this world, he has in him everything in the form of susceptibility, i.e. they are not actual, but potential. The child who is just born is potential to acquire good faculties, as he is potential to acquire bad faculties. If his efforts were on the evil faculties, they would gradually come to actuality, and he would become in his inside an evil being. Sometimes man does things which only suit a particular beast; he becomes rapacious, even if it is a literal rapacity in talking to people abusing and disgracing them. This is rapacity. He may have other forms of rapacity. This is the faculty of rapacity which may appear in man. (171).

* * *

Man on the Road to Degradation

Man has a mundane, worldly form, which Allah, the Exalted and Most High, has created in perfect beauty, goodness and wonderful composition such that the minds of all the philosophers and the elites were perplexed about it, and organology and anatomy could not so far get to a correct knowledge of it. Just as Allah has distinguished man, from among all creatures, with good composition and beautiful appearance, He has also created for him a heavenly form and an invisible image which is related to the soul's faculties and the inner disposition, in the world to come after death, whether the Purgatory or Resurrection. If a man's inner disposition and inside faculty be human, his heavenly from would also be a human form. But if his faculties were not human, his image would not be human, either, and it would follow his inner disposition and faculty. For example, if the animal desires dominated his inside and his inner kingdom became that of an animal, his heavenly image would be that of an animal suiting his character. If his inside was dominated by anger and fierceness, and the status of the internal kingdom became that of a rapacious animal, his heavenly, invisible image would be that of a beast. If fancy and devilishness became a faculty,

and his inside acquired Satanic faculties, such as deceit, fraud, slander and backbiting, his heavenly invisible image would be (that of) a Satan due to that status.

Sometimes it maybe by the combination of two or more faculties that a heavenly image may appear, in which case it would not be like any animal, rather it would be a strange image so bewildering and fearful that it is not precedented in this world.

The Messenger of Allah has been quoted to have said: "Some people would be brought on the Day of Resurrection in shapes which make the apes and the baboons appear more beautiful than they!"

It is also possible that an individual in that world may have several shapes, as that world is unlike this one where one thing can have but a single figure. This matter is proved and confirmed in its place.

Do know that the criterion for these diverse forms and figures, of which man is one, besides others, is the time of the departure of the spirit from the body and the appearance of the kingdom of Barzakh (Purgatory) and the domination of the power of the other world, which starts with the Barzakh at the time when the spirit leaves the body. Whatever faculty with which one leaves this world, that faculty will take the form of the Hereafter, visible to the heavenly and *Barzakhiyan* eye, as man himself sees himself in that form as soon as his *Barzakhiyan* eyes are opened—that is if he has eyes at all. It is not necessary that whatever is one's form in this world it must be the same in the other world. It is in the Ouran that some people on the Day of Resurrection say: My Lord, why hast Thou raised me blind, while I was a seeing one? (Ta Ha: 125). The answer comes to him: Even so, Our ayahs came to you, but you neglected them, so you will today be forgotten. (Ta Ha: 126). O you unfortunate! You had eyes which could only see the apparent, but your heavenly internal side was blind. Only now you could realize your blindness, as actually you had, from the beginning, been blind, void of the inner eyes with which the divine ayahs are seen. O unfortunate! You have a straight figure and handsome worldly visage, but the heavenly and inner things are not measured by worldly things. These are not the criterions. You must have an inner straightness so as to have a straight figure in the Day of Resurrection. Your spirit must be that of a human so as to have the form of a human being in the Barzakh and in the Hereafter. You think that the inner invisible world, which is the world of covering the secrets and the appearance of faculties, is like the apparent world, where there can be mistakes and confusion. But there, your eye, ear, hand, leg and all your other limbs and organs speak in a heavenly language—or as some say: in heavenly forms—and give their testimony to whatever you had done.

So, dear, open the ears of your heart, and prepare yourself, and have mercy on your wretched condition, so that you may be able to keep your human form when you leave this world, in which case you will be happy and saved. You are not to think that these are words of preaching and oration. They are the result of the arguments of great wise men, the uncoverings of the ascetics and the true *hadiths* of the truthful infallibles. In these pages I am not to relate plenty of proofs, *hadiths* and works. (172).

Man's Acquired Particularities

The Ability of Migrating Outside Oneself

There are people who could come out of, and migrated from, the soul's pit: Whoever leaves his home migrating to Allah and His Messenger, and then death overtakes him, his reward is with Allah... (an-Nisa': 100). This migration may be from oneself to Allah, and "home" may be one's soul. A group of people have quitted and migrated from this dark home, from the self, migrating to Allah and His Messenger, reaching to a place where "death overtakes him", to a stage where they have nothing of their own, an absolute "death", and their reward "is with Allah". There is no question of Paradise (for such a man), there is no question of comforts. It is only Allah (Who is concerned). He is the one who left the home of his self, moved and migrated "to Allah and to His Messenger" which is also to Allah, "then death overtakes him". After this migration, he reaches to a stage where "death overtakes him", and there will be nothing of himself. Whatever is there is from Him. He discerns Him. In this migration his reward is with Allah. (173).

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Man, the Topic of the Prophet's Knowledge

If there is a topic for every knowledge, the topic of the prophets' knowledge is man, and if every state has a program, the program of the Messenger of Allah (s) can be said to be the *surah* which was stated at the beginning: In the name of Allah the Beneficent, the Merciful. Read in the

name of your Lord Who created. He created man from a clot. Read, and your Lord is the Most Generous, Who taught with the pen. He taught man what he knew not. (al-Alaq: 1-5). Man had always been the topic of the prophets, their education and their knowledge. They had been sent to educate man. They had come to take this natural being from the natural stage to the high stage of the supernatural, beyond the worldly power. All the prophets' discussion was about man. From the beginning, each one of the prophets who was sent was sent for man, to educate man. As to the program, this noble ayah, probably, conventionally, assigns it. It addresses the Prophet (s), but the Quran's addresses, though to the Prophet, are mostly general. **Read in the name of your Lord.** From the beginning of starting reading, it says how the reading should be. It should be in the name of the Lord. All the readings and words separated from the name of the Lord are Satanic. It has two aspects, one the Satanic and the other the divine. Reading in the name of the Lord. When reading started, it started in the name of the Lord. Knowledge in the name of the Lord. Reading in the name of the Lord. Seeing in the name of the Lord. Hearing in the name of the Lord. Saying in the name of the Lord. Studying in the name of the Lord. Everything in the name of the Lord. The world had been started in the name of the Lord! (174).

* * *

The Importance of Educating Man

The only regime, the only school of thought, which cares for man, before the plantation of this egg, this seed, till it is time for the end—though it has no end—are the schools of the prophets. No school other than that of the prophets shows so much care for man, to the extent of advising him: Choose such-and-such a woman for a wife, or the woman how should she choose a husband. The others have nothing to do with that. It is none of their business. Their laws never refer to how one should choose one's spouse. It is not in their laws that during pregnancy what the pregnant has to do, what she must do when she suckles the baby, what the duties of a mother are during the period when the child is in her lap. What the father's duties are concerning educating his child. The laws of the materialists, the naturalists and the regimes other than those of the prophets, have nothing to do with these matters. They care only when one is grown up and enters the society. Only then they care to prevent corruption, the corruptions which injure the order of the community. They still have nothing to do with such corruptions

of one's being indulged in drinking, wining and dining and keeping company. They rather encourage such practices. They care not to make man, human being. To them, the difference between man and animal is that the former is more advanced in nature than the latter. The animal cannot make aircrafts, man can. The animal cannot become a physician, man can, but within nature's limits. It is Islam which takes care of everything. It takes care of man before marriage. It cares that the result of the marriage should be a real man, a true man. Before you marry it tells you which woman you should marry, or which man she should marry. Why does it give such instructions? Because just as when a farmer wants to start a plantation, he first looks for a suitable piece of land, what kind of seeds he should use, so he chooses suitable seeds, he takes care of all that are needed for his purpose of raising a good farm with a nice yield. Islam takes similar care in respect of man, how the couple are to choose one another so that the offspring may be righteous. It also pays attention to the method of the procedure of the marriage, then it takes care even of the disciplines of the coupling, the instructions during pregnancy and suckling period.

All these denote that the monotheistic religions, at the top of which is Islam, have come to make man. They did not come to train an animal, though with a little higher understanding faculties than those of the normal animals. Yes, they came to make man.

It is Islam that can bring up man from the natural stage to the spiritual stage and even beyond it. The schools of thought, other than Islam and the monotheistic religions, have, principally, nothing to do with the "beyond" of nature. They actually cannot understand it. The one whose knowledge reaches to the supernatural is the one who is on the road of revelation, the one whose understanding is connected with revelation, and these are the prophets. (175).

Reforming the World under the Light of Educating Man

The prophets, who were sent by Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, had come to educate man and to make him. All the Sacred Books, particularly the Quran, strive to educate man, because by educating man the world would be reformed. Much as the uneducated man is harmful to the community, such that no Satan, no animal and no (other) being is harmful like him, the educated man is so useful to the community that no angel and no (other) being is useful like him.

The foundation of the world is based on educating man. Man is the extract of all the beings and the choice of the world, and the prophets had come to take out this extract from the state of possibility into the state of actuality, and to make man divine, since this divine being contains all the attributes of Allah, the Exalted, and is the manifestation of the Sacred Light of Allah, the Exalted. (176).

* * *

Faith Deters from Sinning

Faith is that the questions which you comprehend with your reason, your heart also becomes aware of them, believes in them. It requires an endeavour to have your heart understand that the whole world is the presence of Allah. We are now sitting in the presence of Allah. If our hearts understand this, if they comprehend that we are in the presence of Allah, they will keep away from sinning. All the disobediences are caused by the fact that man has not comprehended this question, despite the fact that he has evidences to prove that. There are intellectual proofs to prove that Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, is present everywhere. All the prophets had said so, too: ... and He is with vou wherever vou are (al-Hadid: 4). It is the Ouran. We read it in the Quran and it is confirmed by proof, but it has not reached our hearts... When we want to resort to backbiting, accusing or committing an ugly deed, we are to remember that we are in the presence of Allah, a presence which is to be respected. When man is in the presence of a personality, whom he regards to be great, shows respect. If you know a man to be great, you will not do any improper act before him. Usually no one would ever practise an indecent deed in the presence of a great person, because he is respected, let alone committing a disrespectful act against this same respected person. The presence of Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, covers the whole world. Disobedience is an opposition to Him, to the One in whose presence we are. (177).

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Purification of the Soul

Self-conceit, a Factor of Despotism

All the conflicts among the people are caused by the fact that they have not practised self-purification. The objective of sending prophets is to purify the people, through which they learn wisdom and the Book, and whenever they are purified there will be no despotism. The one who purifies his soul will never regard himself to be independent: **Surely man gets inordinate whenever he thinks himself independent** (*al-Alaq*: 6 and 7). When man believes himself to have become high in position and great in rank, it will be a self-deceit causing arrogance. The disputes among the human beings all over the world take their roots from this arrogance which is in them, and from the entanglements with which people are afflicted, and the desires which press upon them. If man is purified and his soul is educated, there will remain no more contention. (178).

* * *

Non-purification the Root of Wars

All these entanglements which befall humanity stem from man's selfishness. It is the cause of all wars in the world. The believers have no dispute with one another. When two persons quarrel, you must know that they are not believers. The believers would not war against one another.

Should there be no faith, and should man's full attention be directed to himself, demanding everything for himself, commotion would inevitably appear: I want this position for myself, and you, too, want it for yourself. Here there will be a conflict. I want this rug to be mine, and you want it to be yours. I want this fancied presidency for myself, while you want it for yourself. Whatever I want for myself you want for yourself. There can be no compromise. Then quarrels start. That one wants to annex this country to his, this one wants to annex it to his, and flames of war are kindled. These wars are among the self-conceited. All wars in the world are egoistic wars. Man wages war because of his egoism, and thus the wars are among the egos. There is no such egoism in godly men, and there is no war among them. Should all the godly men gather in a place, they would never quarrel with one another. No conflict can there be among them, because all are for Allah.

There is no egoism such that there can be a dispute among them, and there is no rivalry and no contention. All are for a single principle, all to the same direction. (179).

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The Greater Jihad Has Priority to All Jihads

Basically, Islam has come to construct, to build. Islam's aim is to make man. *Jihad* for construction. Man's constructing himself is prior to all *jihads*. That was why the noble Prophet (s) called it "the Great *Jihad*". It is a very great *jihad* and difficult and all the virtues come after that *jihad*.

The Greater *Jihad* is the struggle which one starts against one's own tyrannical self. You, young people, are to start this *jihad* at once. Do not let your youthful energy be wasted. The more the energy of youth is wasted, the deeper the roots of corruption and immorality, and more difficult the *jihad*. The youth can quickly be victorious in this *jihad*, unlike the old. Do not postpone the reformation of your condition from early age to old age. One of the tricks practised by the self against man is Satan's suggestion to man to delay reforming himself till late in his life: Enjoy your youth now, then you repent at the end of your years! This is a Satanic scheme proposed by man's self through the teaching of the great Satan. But it is easier for man to reform himself during his youth, when he still has the tender spirit of youth, when he is still strong, when the roots of corruption in him are few and weak. But if the roots of corruption grew and got strong and corruption became of man's habits, then it would be impossible. You, while still young, are prepared for the *jihad* in the way of self-construction. This would be a *jihad*, but the greater *jihad*. It is a *jihad* for making your selves so as to be later useful to your country, to serve it. It must start from these early years of yours so that afterwards you may save your country. If you made your selves and implanted the roots of virtue inside your souls, then you would be successful in all the stages of life and you would be able to save your country. Those who drove our country to perdition could do that only because their own selves were corrupt, immoral, with bad beliefs and corrupt deeds. Had they reformed their selves, they would not have betrayed their country, nor would they have betrayed Islam. (180).

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The Taqwa Is the First Step towards Allah

Do know, dear, that just as there is for this body sickness and health, and treatment and treater, man's soul can have sickness and health, treatment and treater, too. Its health is in being moderate on the path of humanity. Its sickness is in its deviation from that path. The seriousness of the soul's sickness is a thousand times more than that of the sickness of the body, because bodily sicknesses come to an end by death, in which case the attention of the soul is taken away from the body, and its sicknesses vanish together with the relevant pains. But if one had—God forbid—psychical illness and spiritual sickness, then the beginning of the soul's detachment from the body, and its attachment to the heavenly dominion, will be the beginning of the appearance of its sicknesses and ailments. The likeness of attachment to mundane affairs is as the likeness of the narcotics which drive man to ecstasy, while detaching the spirit's interest from the world of the body causes its awakening. As soon as he comes to himself, all the diseases. pains and sicknesses in his inside attack him, and all of them, which had so far been like fire under ashes, appear to the open. Those sicknesses and pains either keep accompanying him, or, should they be removable, they would be removed only after thousands of years under pressures, hardships, fires and cauterizations: The last remedy is cauterization 148. Allah, the Exalted says: On the day when they gold and silver [will be heated in the fire of Hell, with which their foreheads and their flanks and their backs will be **branded.** (at-Tawbah: 35).

The position of the prophets is like that of the kind physicians. They attended, with complete sympathy and attachment, to the patient's health, prescribed diverse remedies suitable for their conditions, and guided them to the path of guidance. "We are doctors, disciples of Allah." The position of spiritual and cordial acts for the apparent and bodily acts is tantamount to the medicine for the diseases, similar to *taqwa* which, in all its stages, is tantamount to dietary and keeping away from harmful food. Without strict observance of a regimen, sickness can never change to soundness and be benefited by a physician's prescription.

In bodily diseases it sometimes happens that even with little inattention to dietary, medicine and nature may overcome sickness and health may be restored, as nature itself is a protector of health, with the medicine as a helper. But in respect of psycho-ailments the matter is very minute and strict, because nature has from the beginning overcome the soul whose inclination is reversed towards corruption: **The soul is surely evil-commanding.** (*Yusuf*:

53). Therefore, when the soul disobeys dietary rules it will be overcome by sicknesses, and sneaking inlets will be opened in it from all sides, until its health completely deteriorates. So, the one who is interested in spiritual soundness and is kind to himself and to his health, he is to follow the advice that the way of getting free from painful torture is confined to two things: One is to perform spiritual reforms and sanitary procedures, and the other is to observe dietary rules against harmful and painful acts. It is well-known that the harm of the prohibited things in corrupting the soul is greater than that of everything else, as it is for this reason that they were prohibited, while observing the duties as reformers, is more important than anything else, and that is why they were obligatory. These two stages are better than, and have priority to, everything else. They are preliminaries to progress and the only way to all humane ranks and positions. If one keeps to them, he will be of the people of felicity and salvation. Of these two, the more important is practising taqwa and keeping away from the forbidden affairs. Taqwa is also given priority by the people of gnosticism, and by referring to hadiths, narratives and *Nahi al-Balaghah* it will be obvious that the infallible Imams used to attach more importance to this stage of *taqwa* than to anything else.

So, dear, do regard this first stage to be very important, and keep observing it. If you take the first step correctly and strengthen this foundation, then you will have hope to attain to other positions. Otherwise, attaining to higher ranks and salvation will be very difficult or even impossible.

Our great and higher-ranked gnostic teacher¹⁵⁰ said that continual observance of the noble *ayahs* at the end of the surah of *al-Hashr*, starting with: **O you who believe! Fear you Allah. And let every soul consider what it has sent on for the morrow...** (*al-Hashr*: 18), up to the end of the *surah*, contemplating their meanings after the *salats*, especially late at night when the heart is unoccupied, has great effect on reforming one's soul. He also used to stress that keeping the *wudu* all the time would ward off soul's and Satan's evil. He said: "The *wudu* is like a soldier's suit of armour." Anyhow, ask with supplication, entreating and begging from Allah, the Omnipotent, the Glorious, the Exalted, to assist you in this stage of your attempt to acquire the faculty of *taqwa*.

Do know that at the beginning it is not so easy and seems a bit difficult. But after a period of persistence, the difficulty changes into ease, and the hardship into comfort, or rather it changes into a pure spiritual pleasure which no one of its people would agree to exchange with any other pleasure. It is also possible that, you, after intense persistence and complete *taqwa*,

would, God willing, be promoted from your station to the station of the elites' taqwa, which is the taqwa against mental pleasures, because when you taste spiritual pleasures, you will gradually turn away from sensual pleasures and abstain from them. So, the road would become easy for you, and at last you would no longer care for the perishing mental pleasures, or rather you would be disgusted with them, and the mundane ornaments become ugly and uncouth in your eyes. You would find that each one of the pleasures of this world puts a trace on the soul, and a black stain in the heart intensifying one's attachment to, and fondness of, this world, and this causes one to keep to the earth, and, at the time of death, it turns into humility, difficulty, pain and pressure, because most of the difficulties during the last breaths and throes of death are the results of the mundane pleasures and attachment to this world, as it has already been mentioned. So, if man could absorb this concept, the pleasures of this world would completely fall from his eye and he would feel disgusted with the entire world and all its embelishments. This, in itself, is a second progress towards the third station of tagwa.

Therefore, the road of proceeding to Allah becomes easy, and the path of humanity appears luminous and broad to him, and his steps gradually turn into divine steps, and his ascetism becomes divine, and he turns away from the self, its influences and manners, and he discerns in himself the love for Allah, and would not be satisfied with the promised Paradise, Houris and palaces. He would seek another demand, and would detest self-conceit and egotism.

So his *taqwa* would be against self-love, self-conceit and selfishness. This, in fact, is a high and lofty station, and is the first stage of getting the profits of guardianship, as Allah, the Exalted, would place him under His protection, help him and subject him to His special graces. And whatever happens to the traveller to Allah after this stage is out of the capacity of these writings. All praise is for Allah at the beginning and at the end, outwardly and inwardly, and may blessing be on Muhammad and his pure progeny. (181).

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Commitment and Specialization

You should be resolute on this, and let your attention and deeds be exclusively towards Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, and be serious in

acquiring knowledge at the school in which you are, and, more important than learning is to educate yourselves with the Islamic teachings, so as to complete the Islamic sciences with Islamic minds, and, besides serious acquisition of the Islamic precepts and knowledge, you should acquire Islamic education. The scientific and religious schools and all the (other) schools in which knowledge is offered, whether religious or else, at the head of all programs in this Islamic Republic, there must be the idea of being educated before being scholars, being educated before being students. It is necessary that in the schools all over the country there should be persons who are educated, and the knowledgeable and speakers who have trodden along the road to Allah as far as they could, so as to form Islamic ethical, educational and learning centers, in order to have Islamic knowledge and morality go along with the scientific studies. It is necessary to apply the Islamic education in the schools, whether in the religious schools or in the universities—which are, however, of the Islamic and religious schools. It must be noted that the teachers of these schools, and those who preach at them, must be hundred per cent Islamic and believers in the Islamic teachings and in the Islamic beliefs, so that those who are being educated by them get Islamic education. You should know that the scholar, whatever knowledge he may have, if having no Islamic education, and lacking Islamic morality, would not be advantageous, rather he would be harmful.

Islam was much more injured by the tongues and the pens of the non-committed and deviated persons than the cannons and tanks of Muhammad Rida and his father. Those were spiritual injuries, which are more injurious than the injuries in the body. If a scholar was not educated (refined), even if he knew the teachings of Islam and monotheism, he would be harmful to himself, his people, his country and Islam, let alone being of any benefit to them.

If you want to serve Islam, to serve the Islamic *ummah*, and if you do not want to be captives in the hands of the super powers or their accomplices, the universities and the religious centers, and those that are connected to either side, should have, at the head of their plans, ethical and educational programs, so as to produce, for the community, personalities like the late Mutahhari¹⁵¹ (may Allah have mercy upon him), as otherwise there will be persons on the contrary to them and they will drag the society to corruption and the people to captivity.

Our country received from the universities and the religious centers such injuries that it did not receive from any other quarter. Both of them must be refined, and the scholars of Islam and the teachers of the universities must

have close relations with one another and understand each other in order to change these two places into Islamic centers, and that the teachers who are to be chosen, especially for the universities and other places, should be of the committed ones, teachers whose hands have neither extended to the West nor to the East. Should there be among our teachers Westernized or Easternized ones, our country would be inclined either to the West or to the East, and would be emptied from the slogan of the Islamic Republic: Neither to the East nor to the West. No attention is to be paid to those who say that there must not be such educations, and one may freely and willfully tend to wherever he likes, and anyone of the teachers may educate our children as he wishes. This is deviation and contrary to the high teachings of Islam. Islam does not pay so much attention to anything as it pays to educating our children and youths. Islam originally has come to make men, while these deviated schools of thought rob man of his humanity and take our country to a place where it should take refuge either with the Communism of the East or with the West and America. The origin of all the wretchedness was the teachers who were not committed and they handed over to the community individuals who took our society to perdition by connecting our country and its leaders with the East or with the West.

The most important things necessary for our country are commitment to Islam and Islamic education. If this fort, the fort of the university and religious centers, is corrected and turned into an Islamic one, the nation will no longer turn this way or that way, and will tread upon the straight road of humanity, the road of Islam, the road of independence and the road of freedom. I do request Allah, the Most High, to grant success to all of you, brothers and sisters, to proceed towards the goal, Islam, and the highest goal, Allah, and to guide the others to the straight road of humanity. May Allah, the Blessed and Most High, guide us to this straight road. (182).

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Self-edification in the Theological and Scientific Centers

The theological centers are to produce really committed scholars, and are to be centers for making man. The university must also be like that. We want an academic man, not a teacher or a student. A university must produce and give out a man. If it did, the man would not agree to offer his country to the others. A (real) man would not accept humility and servitude. The enemy is afraid of a (real) man. Formerly, Rida Khan¹⁵² was afraid of Mudarris¹⁵³,

because he was a (real) man... Rida Khan took Mudarris to be his rival, paying no attention to the others, as only Mudarris was his challenger. Whenever he delivered a speech, every one of them was shaken. He was a (real) man. You have heard about his living condition and which I saw. When he was elected as a deputy, he was regarded the faqih who was assigned to enter the parliament. It is said that he had bought a horse and a cart in Isfahan and rode it from there to Tehran, where he sold them and lived in a very modestly-built house, though a little spacious. His means of living was below the ordinary level, such that his karbas (canvas cloth) dress became famous, as the *karbas* had to be Iranian. Which one of those patriots wears Iran-made clothes? All those who love this country, love Islam and love this *ummah* must join their powers to reform the universities, as the danger of a non-refined university is much greater than a cluster-bomb, likewise, the danger of the theological centers is greater than that of the universities. They are to be refined. Committed persons are to unite their efforts, in both the universities and the theological centers to carry out reformation. Now you, gentlemen, have taken a step, and it is a step full of blessings. The huge barrier which they had errected between the theological centers and the universities, you have broken that barrier. This was the first step which has been taken. The next steps are to be taken towards acquiring independence in all its aspects so as not to be dependent on anybody.

The others and the coming generations, God willing, must take care that these two centers should be together. They are to regard knowledge and practice, knowledge and education (edification), as two wings, without having them both, no flying can be performed. The next steps are towards education (edification). The important thing is that when a graduate leaves the university he should realize that he has finished his studies at the expense of this country, and it has helped him to become an expert and to attain to high ranks, and thus he has to be at the service of this country to uphold its independence. Some university teachers, during long years, particularly during the last 50 years, have been inserting into the minds of the students things and making them to believe that we are nothing and we must bring everything from the foreign countries—a procedure which prevented the intellects of the students from thinking and being active in inventing something. Those who love this country and love their people, those who themselves are not dependents and who are not at the service of the Super Powers, they are all to strive to reform the universities so as to become centers for science and education. All the specialists are to serve the country. They are not to graduate specialists in throwing us into the lap of America, or experts in directing blows at our country, as if so, the more specialized the worst for the country.

If a graduate is not educated (refined) and has no feelings for his own country, if he does not think that he is from this country and he has benefited by it, so his scientific knowledge is to be at the service of this land, if such a feeling is lacking, and there is no such belief, then the university will be the worst center for dragging us to annihilation. But if such feelings appear, the university teachers, those who are committed, those who are aware, those who are worried about this homeland, must prepare themselves to guide the children of this land to be committed and to serve Iran. Should this happen, the university would be at the highest position and it would cause our country to reach prosperity.

A university has two ways to go: The way to Hell and the way to happiness; the way of humility, distress, servitude and the like, and the way of greatness, dignity and magnanimity. But as long as we have this university there will be no use. For 50 years we have had universities, and all the corruptions which appeared in this country were done by those who graduated from these universities, and probably they were specialized, too.

Should there be no education (edification), monotheism would be of no avail, too. "Knowledge is the biggest veil." The more the accumulation of knowledge, even monotheism, which is the highest knowledge, the more it is accumulated in man's mind and heart, and if man is not educated (edified), the farther man becomes from Allah, the Blessed and Most High. In the theological centers, whether now or afterwards, efforts must be exerted to educate (edify) the students. Alongside the sciences of *fiqh*, philosophy and the like, there should be ethical and educational centers, as well as centers for travelling to Allah, the Exalted.

Do you know who tried the late Shaykh Fadlullah Imami¹⁵⁴? A turbaned man of religion from Zanjan. A *mulla* from Zanjan tried him and issued his death sentence. When a turbaned, a *mulla*, is not educated (refined), his corruption will be greater than that of anyone else. Some narratives relate that some dwellers of Hell are tortured by the bad smelling of some *mullas*. This world is also tortured by the stench of some of them.

Unless you reform your own selves, and unless you begin with yourselves and educate (edify) yourselves, you cannot educate (edify) the others. When a man is not a true man himself, he cannot reform the others, as whatever he says will remain ineffective. The scholars who are now in the theological centers, in any Islamic center, where the youths come with their sound and healthy disposition, and stay there for ten or twenty years, may not

let them go out with corrupted disposition. Education (Edification) is necessary...

As a matter of fact, all the nation, all men, must be educated (edified). But if a merchant was not educated, he might be a profiteer or something like that. Of course, many of these would cause great corruption, though a few individuals can have not so much corruption. But when a scholar is corrupt, he may drag a city, or the whole country, to corruption, and it makes no difference if the scholar is from the university or from the theological school. May Allah bless this step which you, dears, have taken to unite between you, the *Ulama* and the university people. Do pay attention to the fact that as you are getting nearer to each other, the plans to disrupt your unity will be increasingly applied. (183).

* * *

Real Progress through Specialization and Islamic Commitment

Our problem is that we are facing some persons who, without caring for the problems and without paying attention to the people's demand, no sooner it is said that such-and-such center should become Islamic; than they say that it means there should be no specialization. They try to say to the world that Islam is against science and specialization, while the ayahs of the Glorious Quran so much recommends acquiring knowledge and learning that it seems that no other Books have similar attitudes towards knowledge. Islam quite agrees with specialization and knowledge, but such specialization and knowledge which serve the *ummah* and the interests of the Muslims. Some people allege that we do not want specialized persons. They ascribe this to some Muslims when it is said that in the universities there must be an educational revolution. No sooner they hear this than they deduct from it that the universities are no longer in need of any physician, they do not need anyone to be specialized in medicine, in industry, in advanced sciences. They only go there to speak about the Islamic questions and precepts. Such Satanic allegations are the tricks of some persons or groups who attribute them to Islam and the Islamic councils, and those who propagated against the Cultural Revolution. They do not know that when we say that all the groups. all the constitutions, and particularly the universities, which are the centers of knowledge and the thinking brain of the society, must be Islamic, we do not mean that we are in no need of the specialized personnel. Actually, Islam

strives for specialized experts in ordinary judgments. In the religious precepts the specialized are taken as criterions. What we say is different. Our pains are due to something else. Our pains are due to the fact that our country had been, during so many years, particularly during the past 50 years of the Pahlavis' dark era, subject to such a propaganda intending to push into the minds of our people and our youths that Iran and Islam are incapable of creating knowledge, specialized men or industry, and that we have to extend our hand for everything to the East, to the Communists, or to America and the Western capitalist countries. Their propaganda tried to make us believe that we must from top to toe become Westernized or Easternized. In Turkey I saw Ataturk's statue in a square, raising his hand. It was said that he was extending his hand towards the West, indicating that everything must come from the West. In other Islamic countries the propaganda was such that we must have, in every affair, a consultant from the West or the East, and that the Iranian brain is unfit to perform a positive work, even agriculture. This was a pre-meditated plan, and the wide-publicized propaganda which was believed in by our people. They made them believe that we have nothing of ourselves and cannot have, we must turn either to the West and remain within the Western block so that they have mercy upon us and meet our needs, or to turn to the Communist East and ask them to do it for us.

Our insisting that the university—which is the thinking brain of the nation—must give up its dependence on the East or West, and it cannot give it up unless it takes on the Islamic form, does not mean that our university should not acquire sciences and industry, and should only perform the disciplines of the *salat*! This is a fallacy! As soon as the talk goes about the necessity of the Cultural Revolution, those who want to drag us to the East, or mostly to the West, raise their voices alleging that we are against science and specialization.

We are not against specialization, nor are we against science. We are only against being servants of the foreigners. We say that the specialization which throws us into the laps of America, Britain, USSR or China, is a destructive, not a constructive, specialization. We want our universities to bring up such specialists who work for their own people, not for dragging the university to the East or to the West. We want all the managements in this country, all those who want to instal industries and try to have large industries and vast knowledge, we want them to serve their people, not to serve the foreigners. The harm of the specialization, which is at the service of the foreigners, is more than anything else.

The science which draws us towards America or the USSR is a harmful one; it is a science which brings destruction to the people. Those who had been brought up in our former universities, even if they were not harmful—though they were except a few—still they had no use to our country. We are interested in having a university which serves the nation, serves Iran. We are not interested in the university which raised the slogan of wanting a civilized and prosperous Iran, proceeding towards the gates of civilization, since you and we did see the reality. We were affiliated in all aspects. We are originally against the university which ties us to the foreigners, whoever they may be. We want a university which would be able to bring us out of dependence and make us independent. We do want specialists, and Islam agrees with specialization. Islam is at the head of the religions applauding it. It even advises the people to acquire knowledge wherever they find it, and to take it even from the disbelievers, but it still must be placed at the disposal of Islam and the country, not that it be used against the country.

We want a university and a country that can release us from this brain—dependence before any other dependence, as it is the most dangerous kind of dependence. We want the professors of the university to be able to educate the brains of our youths and bring up them independent, neither Westernized nor Easternized, neither like Ataturk¹⁵⁵ nor like Tagizadeh¹⁵⁶. We want to have a university in which we would be able, after a few years, to acquire knowledge and to meet our needs. We are not against specialization. What we are against is having our youths' brains dependent on the foreigners in the West and the East. Our universities, except a few, either did not try to do away with this dependence, or they actually strove to strengthen the dependence of the brains on the foreigners. We want, when we had an ailment, we would not be told that we have but to travel to England or to America. We want just as when an American or a British falls ill, he will not come to Iran, when an Iranian falls ill, he will not have to leave the country for treatment. We want such a specialist who would educate the country and bring up the youths, who stand on top of the country's affairs, such that their brains might not be dependent and they would think of nothing but Islam and Iran. We are not against specialization. Similarly are the Islamic councils. Which Islamic council can oppose specialization? Which Islamic council does not want all our youths to be specialized in different branches of sciences and be self-sufficient? All of us want it, but the former universities had such a low standard of experience that, after so many years of having universities, someone who called himself to be the king, the deposed king, had to fetch a specialist from abroad to operate on the

appendix of one of his relatives, because he knew, in his vacant brain, how he had made Iran so dependent that no one from inside could do it, or even if there was someone who could, he had to demonstrate to the whole world that we are nothing... We want this type of thinking to be driven out of the heads. The Islamic councils are to carry out this and do away with this idea from the heads and to find their lost identities, after that they had almost lost themselves for so many centuries. We want the situation to be such that some individuals be brought up that their books, like the *ganun* of Avicenna¹⁵⁷, are still studied in Europe, not that they are brought up without knowing even the alphabet of the Islamic teachings, and whenever there is an argument they say that Islam is incapable. We want the university to be like the theological centers which were never dependent on the abroad. If there were among them one or two who were attached to the outside, they were dishonoured and exposed to degradation. We want a university co-thinker with the ancient theological universities, which were never dependent, and if there were one or two deviated among them, they were disgraced. We want this to be implemented. (184).

* * *

Correct Education under the Light of Knowledge and Purification

It is naivety to think that a deviated teacher, who is either Westernized or Easternized, or educated either in the West or in the East, can be employed as a teacher for our children whose souls are like a glazed mirror, reflecting whatever is shown to it. It is simple-mindedness to believe that we may entrust our youths to a teacher who goes to the East and tries to make our children Easternized, or goes to the West and tries to make them Westernized. It is quite credulous to think that specialization is the only criterion, that science is criterion, and that the divine science is not a criterion, that the science of monotheism is not a criterion, that the sciences of *fiqh* and philosophy are not a criterion, and no science is a criterion. The criterion is the science which practically brings happiness to the people by means of an education received from an educator who himself has received divine education.

If this can be carried out in our schools, whether the Islamic schools or else, and without any deviation, but with quite straightforwardness, in not so long a time all our youths, who are the hope of the country's future, will be

reformed, and they will not be brought up as Westernized or Easternized, all will be on the straight path. It is simple-mindedness to think that it suffices to have learned people. There must be people who are both learned and educated, or, at least, they may be learned but not deviated. Suppose we want to promote knowledge and to make use of the scholars' knowledge, it must be a knowledge which is not mixed with deviation; it must have nothing to do with the West and the East. Our teachers and the educators of our youths may not be educated in Moscow or in Washington. It is naivety to think that those who are specialized, whatever they are, may come to treat us. It is not a cure to have a specialized treat our external ailment and cure us, but at the same time create internal ailment for us, dragging us from a small sickness to a serious one. We have to take care of everything. This very Baath Party which you notice was the origin of so much trouble for our country and for the Muslim country of Iraq, and for the Iraqis more than for us. They are mostly specialized, most of them are university graduates, but with no education, no purification. Knowledge without purification brings about regimes like the former one here and like Saddam's. If we do not purify ourselves, and if our knowledge is not accompanied with purification, we will also be driven to the same direction, and we ourselves will be another Saddam. Your education, the education of the teacher, must be Islamic. humanistic, and on the straight path. Otherwise, we cannot accept the education of Moscow, nor can we accept the education of Washington, either. (185).

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Principles and Methods of Educating Man

Hereditary Basis of Man's Education

Islam takes care of everything. Before you get married, Islam has planned for you how to have the child whom you desire: What kind of a woman or a man you are to choose for a spouse. How the man must be, how the woman must be. This is because man is like a plant which is to grow. When a farmer wants to farm, he must first inspect the soil, the fertilizer, how he is to irrigate and so on. Man is also like that. He must look for the suitable land before farming, how it is. How the farmer must be. After

marriage, how the impregnation should be. All the aspects are to be correctly observed. Islam wants to make man, an educated man. (186).

* * *

Self-construction a Step to Society Reformation

Each reformation starts from man himself. If man himself is not educated he cannot educate others. You have already seen that along the post Sultanates, from the beginning till now, especially these recent ones which most of you have seen and witnessed, since the affairs were in the hands of those who had no Islamic education and had not constructed themselves, as a result of this big deficiency, they dragged our country to where you see, and our people to a situation which takes so many years to be reformed, *inshaallah*. So, the duty which is upon us is to start with ourselves, and not to be satisfied with just having a nice appearance. We are to begin with our hearts, our brains, and to try every day to make our next day better. I do hope that such a mental exertion be common to all of us, so as to step next to construct and make our country. (187).

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The Principle of Sympathizing with the Educated

The Prophet of Islam felt grief because the people were not easily educated, to such extent that Allah, the Blessed and Most High condoled him. Allah, the Exalted, addressing him in the Quran, says: **We have not revealed the Quran to you that you should be distressed.** (*Ta Ha*: 1). He was kinder to the people than a father to his children. He was kinder to the peoples of the world and more worried about them than a kind father about his children. When he saw that the disbelievers would not return to the natural human stream, he felt sorry for them. Every human being should feel sorry for those who would not come to the track of Islam, of humanity. Some great scholars had said about me, as I was told, that I ask more help from Allah for the deviated, as they need it more. (188).

The Method of Affliction

Every act that is done by man, rather whatever happens in the kingdom of the body and is understood by the soul, leaves a sort of effect in the soul, whether good or bad. It is referred to as a white or a black dot, or it may be a kind of pleasure or of pain. For example, the pleasure which one derives from food, drink, intercourse or else, leaves an effect in the soul, creating a connection of love inside the soul for it. The soul's interest in it increases. The more one indulges in pleasures and desires, the stronger his attachment and love for this world, and the more one's dependence and affiliation. So, the soul is brought up as a lover of the world. The more the pleasures seem to him palatable, the deeper the root of his loves goes down. The more one's wining, dining and comfort, the thicker the tree of attachment to the world. The more the soul's attention paid to the world, the less its attention to Allah and to the Hereafter becomes, such that if one's soul completely relied on this world and his inclination turned to material and mundane affairs, his negligence of Allah and of the House of Honour will be complete, and he becomes the evidence of: he clung to the earth and followed his own **desire.** (*Al-Araf*: 176).

Thus, the immersion into the sea of pleasures and desires inevitably increases the love for the world, and the love for the world brings about hatred for anything else, and being interested in mundane affairs causes one to neglect heavenly affairs. On the other hand, if man received bad treatment and perceived its inconveniences, the image of that perception in the soul would create repulsion, and the sharper that image, the stronger that internal repulsion. For example, when a person goes to a town where he is afflicted with diseases and pains, together with external and internal inconveniences, he will inevitably hate that town and will leave it, and the more the inconveniences, the stronger the hatred and the disgust, and in case he finds a better town he will head for it, and if he cannot get there, he will feel an attachment to it and he will direct his heart towards it.

So, if man was inflicted in this world with disasters, pains, diseases, difficulties, waves of seditions and sufferings, he would inevitably hate it and feel less attached to it and dependent upon it. If he believes in another world and in the existence of a spacious place free from all sufferings and pains, he will inevitably set out to that place, if not bodily, then spiritually, to where he will send his heart. It is quite clear that all the spiritual, moral and practical evils stem from loving the world and neglecting the Hereafter and Allah, the Exalted. The love of the world is at the head of every sin. At the same time,

all spiritual, moral and practical reformations stem from attending to Allah and the House of Honour, and from detachment from the world, from not relying upon it and not being influenced by its vanities.

When Allah, the Exalted, bestows His favours and graces more upon somebody, and His mercy is granted more to him, He inspires him to guard more against this world and its attractions, and sends upon him more of the waves of sufferings and seditions so that his soul will turn away from this world and its temptations, and become disgusted with it. As much as his faith is, his heart's advance towards Hereafter will be. If enduring so much hardships had no result except this inclination, it would certainly be sufficient. (189).

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Affliction and Trial

Everyone in this world, every person, even the great ones such as the prophets and the godly men, are subject to be put on the trial. Examination goes along with man as long as he lives. No one goes living in this world without being tried. People may be tried through fear, hunger, deficiencies in wealth, men, fruits and the like, most of which have now appeared in the centers afflicted with war. This is a trial to which you are subjected, you gentlemen in Dezful, Ahwaz, Susangerd and other places which are transgressed by the disbelievers. This is a divine test to examine us and you. Sometimes security is a means for trial. Man is sometimes tested through insecurity and fear, and sometimes through security and safety, sometimes through decrease in fruits and men by taking away the youths and the brothers, by which the children and the wives are tested. Sometimes he is tried through increasing fruits, wealth, development and spreading security. Man is tested, because by alleging to be a believer he will not be left alone.

Great prophets were tried. Ibrahim the Friend (a) was tried in that astonishing affair in which he was ordered to slay his son. Great godly men were tried, too. The Master of the Martyrs [al-Husayn ibn Ali] (a) was tried. His sons and grandsons were tried, too. We all are being tried, and likewise the whole mankind will be tried. To be tested by means of increasing security, wealth, presidency and the like is more difficult than a trial by means of decreasing children and men. It very often happens that persons who claim to be believers, but when tested, it appears that it was just a claim. Many people claim to be supporters of the poor, but when tried they turn to

be untruthful. There are also those who claim to be at the head of the volunteers in case of war, but when there is a war they stay behind. (190).

* * *

Jihad against One's Self

The best remedy which is recommended by the moralists and the gnostics for these corruptions is that you are to find out each one of these ugly qualities, be aware of it and to manly act contrary to it for a while, and to strive to do contrary to your desire for a period, and against that ugly quality, imploring Allah, the Exalted, to help you in this *jihad*. Surely after a short while that ugly quality will be removed, and Satan with his soldiers will run away from this trench, and the soldiers of the Beneficent will take their place.

One of the evil qualities which causes man's perdition and the pressure of the grave and tortures man in both worlds is to be ill-humoured with the members of one's family, the neighbours, colleagues, the market-people and the co-dwellers in the district. It is an evil produced by anger and bad desires. If the striver tries for a while to take care that when there are inconveniences and his flames of anger rise high, attempting to burn his inside, and inciting him to start abusing and reviling, he acts contrary to his desire, remembering the evil consequences and the ugly results of such ill-temper, and tries to be mild, and curses Satan in his mind and takes refuge in Allah from him, I assure you that if you practise this method several times, that ill-temper will completely change, and good temper will reside in the inside of your domain. But if you act as dictated by your soul's desire, you may perish in this very world. I take refuge with Allah, the Exalted, from anger, which can destroy man in both worlds, such as causing him to kill a person. In a fit of anger one may be tempted to curse—God forbid—the divine sanctity, as we have actually seen that some people, in a fit of anger, are tempted to be sacrilegious and may, in fact, become apostate.

Some wise men are quoted to have said: "A ship, without a captain, in a stormy sea, is nearer to be rescued than a man in a fit of anger." If you are—God forbid—a man of dispute and argument in scholarly discussions—as some of us, the theology students, are—try to do contrary to your desire for a while. In an official gathering of scholars and common people, where there may be a discussion and your opponent is right, admit your mistake and confirm your opponent's correctness. It is hoped that in a short time this evil

will be removed. God forbid that what is said by some scholars, who claim to be inspired, should be true, to the effect that the argument of the dwellers of Hell is the argument of the people of knowledge and *hadith*, as informed by Allah, the Exalted. (191).

* * *

Struggle and Inspiration

Strive to send the word of *tawhid* [Monotheism], which is the greatest and most lofty word, from your intellect to your pen, as the intellect's share is the decisive and proved belief. If this proved result does not reach by struggle and inspiration to the heart, it will be of little use and effect. So often some of these people of intellectual proof and philosophical reasoning are more trapped by *Iblis* [Satan] and by their own evil souls than the others: "The legs of the people of reasoning are wooden" otherwise, this evidential and rational leg changes into a spiritual and fiducial leg, reaching from the intellect to the heart, and the heart believes in what the intellectual reasoning has confirmed. (192).

* * *

Reflection a Condition for Struggling against One's Self

Do know that the first condition for striving against one's self and moving towards Allah, the Exalted, is reflection. Some moralists take it at the beginning to be at the fifth degree, in which they are right.

Reflection, in this respect, means that man is to try to reflect, at least once within 24 hours, even for a little while, about his Lord Who has brought him into this world, provided him with means of comfort, healthy body, sound organs, each of which has so many astounding advantages, the Lord Who has spread before him so much favours and mercy, and sent, on the other hand, so many prophets, revealed Books, guided to the right path and called to it. So, what should our duties be towards this Lord, the Owner of the Kings?

Are these extensive provisions just for this animal life and for meeting the desires through which we are partners with the animals? Or is there any other purpose? The honourable prophets, the respectful godly men, the great wise men and the scholars of every nation who invited the people to the law of reason and religion, asking them to be cautious against the animal desires and this transient world, had they any enmity with the people, or did they not know what was in our interest, we the wretched, the indulgent in lust, as we know?

If a sane man reflects for a moment, he will realize that the objective of these extensive plans is something else, and the purpose of this creation is a higher and a greater world, and that this animal living is not wanted for itself, and a sane man must think of himself and have mercy on his own helplessness and tell himself: O my wretched soul! You have spent so many long years of your life in pursuit of satisfying your desires, getting nothing other than regret! It is good to have some mercy upon yourself, to be ashamed of the Master of the kings, and to take some steps along the road to the original objective, as it brings everlasting life and permanent happiness. Do not sell out the permanent happiness for the sensual desires of a few transitory days, which, nevertheless, are not yet attainable even through unreadable toiling.

Think a little about the condition of the people of this world, from olden days till now. Notice their toilings and sufferings, how much more they are compared with their comforts and still not all of them get their looked-for comfort and ease. There may be a man who takes the form of a human being, whereas he is a Satan's soldier and sent by him to invite you to cling to your desires, telling you to provide for your material life. So contemplate your own condition and question him: Is he content with his own condition? Or is he himself afflicted and wants to afflict another wretched one with him?

Anyhow, ask your Lord, with humility and humbleness, to make you familiar with your own duties which are to be observed between you and Him. It is hoped that this contemplation, which you do with the purpose of struggling against Satan and your evil-commanding soul, will show you a different way and assist you into the next stage of struggle. (193).

* * *

Repetition and Practice

The Books which have come to make man, such as the Quran and the books written on ethics, aiming at making man and constructing the society, their topics are repeated in accordance with their importance. In the Quran there are many repetitions. Some question this repetition, whereas they are

necessary. One of the things which is useful in constructing man is repetition. If a man himself wanted to make himself, he must repeat to himself the relevant matters. If a point was wanted to have a fixed effect in the soul it must be repeatedly suggested to oneself so as to be imprinted in the soul. The point in repeating the *duas* and the *salat* many times in the day and night is that by saying and hearing them, such as repeating to oneself surah al-Hamd [The surah of the Opening], there will be a good teaching lesson, a constructing lesson. Man should repeatedly suggest them to himself and prepare himself to hear them. When one says something, the hearer hears it and it enters his heart, but it is first stamped on the saver's heart, and then he utters it, and once again he hears it, and once again it enters his heart. Repetition is of the necessary things. My repeating one thing sometimes to my friends is because the thing is important; it concerns the making of a community, a nation. Unless a nation, a society, is well built, it cannot implement its lofty objectives. So the important matters are to be repeated. The savers should repeat them, and the hearers are to repeat them to themselves, so that it may have its effect in the soul, *inshaallah*. (194).

* * *

Encouraging and Honouring the People

What is good to be in the radio, TV and the publications is that which brings some advantage for the country. For example, if a farmer did well and got a good product, introduce him to the public. Put him, instead of the authorities, on the front pages and print under his photo what this farmer did and publish it. If an employee did well, or if a physician performed a good operation, put his photo on the front pages and write down what he did. This will encourage the physicians and cause them to be more adherent to their job. If somebody discovered something, he and his discoveries are to be publicized with his photo and with details. If someone arrested a thief, his photo is to be published—likewise a farmer, an artist or a surgeon, but regretfully we see neither their names nor their photos, while these deserve to be referred to in the press. In short, the principle of encouragement is to be for the people who are active in this country, as they are serving it, and they have the right to be in the press, on the radio and the TV, while our right to them is proportionally little. (195).

* * *

The Role of the *Dua* in Education

These *duas* bring man out of darkness. When man is out of the dark, he becomes humane and works for the sake of Allah, uses his sword for Allah, fights for Allah, and his rising is for Allah. The *dua* retains man from many things desired by men, who pin all their hopes on this world, and whatever is behind this place is, to them, imaginary. But there will come a time when they realize that those were concrete and these were imaginary. All the *duas*, the cermons of *Nahj al-Balaghah* and *Mafatih al-Jinan*¹⁵⁹ help man to become a human, in which case he will apply all these acts. He will continue his farming, but for Allah. He will fight, but for Allah. (196).

* * *

The Prophets' Educational Objective

All kinds of worship are means. All *duas* are means. All are means for the exposition of man's innermost essence, to show up what is man's gist and to change his potentiality to actuality so that he becomes a human; a potential man becomes an actual man, a natural man, and changes to a godly man, such that everything in him becomes divine, such that he sees only the Truth. The prophets had come for this purpose. All of them are means, too. The prophets did not come to establish governments. What for do they want the government? This is possible, but the prophets did not come to manage the world. The animals also have their world and they manage their world.

Talking about justice is talking about Allah's attribute. Those who have eyes (to see), talk about justice. The social justice is also in their hands and they form governments, governments of justice. But this is not the objective. They are all means for man to reach another degree for which the prophets had come. (197).

* * *

The Quran and the Prophet as Educators

This is one of the motives of the Book and of sending the Prophet: He sent him to you. The Messenger who recites to you the Quran, the divine *ayahs:* **Purifies them and teaches them the Book and wisdom.** Probably this is the objective of this recitation: He recites for the purpose of

purification and for teaching, for teaching all, teaching this Book and teaching wisdom, which is from this very Book, too. So, the motive for sending the Prophet is the revelation of the Quran, and the motive for reciting the Quran to mankind is to purify them, to refine the souls from the darkness existing in them, so that after refining them, their souls and minds become susceptible to understanding the Book and wisdom. (198).

* * *

The Educational Dimensions of Islam

Islam wants to make man a complete human, i.e. to develop him as he is, a natural development as he has a share of nature, a *Barzakhiyan* development as he has a share of the *barzakh*, a spiritual development as he has a share of rationality, and a divine development as he has a share of divinity. All the shares which man has are incomplete, immature. The religions have come to ripen this green fruit, to complete this incomplete fruit. (199).

* * *

The Educational objective of Islam

Islam wants the people to assemble under its banner. These people who are afflicted, bewildered, puzzled, wandering hither and thither in quest of perfection, knowing not what the absolute perfection is, Islam has come to take these people out of their bewilderment and to guide them all to the straight path and lead them to the end... Whatever is there in Islam is but for the reformation of the nations, for the reformation of mankind. Islam wants to redress the deviated and bring them back to the straight path, the path of safety, so that all may be brothers with one another, to befriend each other, to have affection, to be like the people of Paradise: **As brethren** (sitting) **on bedsteads face to face**, (*al-Hijr*: 47) harbouring no hatred and no envy. They have been cleansed. (200).

* * *

Educational and Cultural Factors and Establishments

Educational Factors

The Government's Role in Education

In reality, the origin of all sins is the very faults of this egotism. As long as this egotism is inside man, these wars, these corruptions, these injustices, the wrong-doers will continue to exist. The prophets were after establishing an equitable government in this world, because such a government would have a divine motive, with moral, spiritual and humane values. If such a government could be established, it would harness the society and reform it to a great extent. But if the government was in the hands of the tyrants, the deviate, the persons who think that the humane values are in their own desires, those who think that the humane values are these authority-seekings and sensual desires, then as long as such governments exist, humanity will go towards degradation. If the hopes of the prophets are implemented, even part of them, in a country, it will go towards reformation. (201).

* * *

The Teacher's Role in Education

It is always the rare individuals who come in and cause a country to progress or to deteriorate. You (the educators) should beware of the fact that if your education is not—God forbid—humane and not Islamic, whatever (evil) he (the educated) may do afterwards you will be regarded as his accomplices. But if your education is humane and according to the human *fitrah* (disposition), then if he does a good deed you will also have a share of it.

The teacher is a trustee to whom man is entrusted, unlike all other entrusted things. If one commits treason to any deposit, he will be a traitor, but as a result of such a treason, like losing a carpet, no difficult situation will be created in the society—somebody has lost something, and the trustee will have to settle it. But if the trust was a human being, when a child is studying

to be educated, and if this trust was—God forbid—betrayed, then one time you would see that a whole nation was betrayed, it would be a treason to the society, to Islam. So, while this profession is quite honourable and very valuable, being the duty of the prophets who had been sent to make man, yet it is a very big responsibility, as big as the responsibility of the prophets themselves.

You (teachers) must pay your utmost attention to the fact that you are not common individuals. If you suppose that somebody commits an offence in an office, in a Ministry, the offence which is committed in an office or Ministry is quite different from that which is committed in places where education and teaching take place. The offence done in a Ministry is unlikely to cause a disorder in the country, though it may very rarely happen. But if education brought up a corrupt child, a child with Satanic characteristics, with tyrannic conducts, such a child with Satanic or tyrannical education is possible to drag a whole country and a whole nation to destruction. As long as you are engaged in this occupation, you are participant in its good and bad consequences. Sometimes you are an accomplice in a crime, and sometimes you are a partner in a luminous act caused by you. So, you have to realize that you are not ordinary people.

You are the teachers of a generation who, in the future, will take the country's fate in his hand. You are trusted with such a generation, and your teaching and education should go together. This duty is not confined to the teachers of religious sciences, actually it is the duty of all teachers in any faculty and branch and all the professors in the universities. Just as if the teachers of the religious sciences confine themselves to teaching only religious lessons, neglecting the religious moralities and the construction of the child or young man, they may possibly cause a disaster, guiding the country to perdition, the teachers of non-religious lessons may also guide to the same fate. If there appears in any branch of teaching—God forbid—a deviation, it means that there are teachers who cause it, and they are accomplices in the crimes created by their students, as well as in destroying the country. Your duty, as teachers of religious sciences, is not merely teaching. You are to teach those deposited into your hands, but you must attach more importance to education than to teaching. (202).

* * *

Teaching Is the Profession of the Prophets

The role of the teachers in the society is that of the prophets. The prophets are the teachers of mankind. It is a sensitive and important role and it is a great responsibility. It is an important role because the role of education is "to bring out from darkness into light". "Allah is the Guardian of those who believe; He brings them out of the darkness into the light." (al-Baqarah: 257). This is the post of teaching. Allah, the Blessed and Most High, attributes this post to Himself, as Allah, the Exalted and Blessed, is the Guardian of the believers and brings them out of darkness into the light. The first teacher is Allah, the Blessed and Most High, who takes out the people from the darkness into the light. By means of the prophets and through revelation He invites them to love, He invites them to affection, He invites them to the stages of perfection assigned for humanity. After Him are the prophets who spread the same divine school. They, too, are engaged in the teaching profession. They are teachers, teachers of mankind. Their job is also to educate the people, to educate man so as to raise him above the animal stage to the stage of humanity. (203).

* * *

The Role of the Mother in Education

You women have the honour of being mothers, in which you surpass men, as you bear the responsibility of educating the children in your laps. The first school for a child is the lap of the mother. A good mother brings up a good child. If a mother is—God forbid—a deviated woman, the child comes out of her lap deviated, too. As the child's attachment to his mother is not surpassed by any other attachment, as long as he is in the lap of his mother, all that he gets is from her: her talk, her character, her acts, all of these have their effects on the child, as her lap is the first teaching class. If this lap is a pure and refined one, the child from the beginning grows with correct morality, mental refinement and good acting. When the child, in his mothe's lap, sees that his mother has good character, acts correctly, talks well, he learns on the spot to imitate his mother, as the highest kind of imitation, in his deeds and words, and through her effective injection he will be educated.

You have the great responsibility of taking care of your own children, your own newborn children, suseptible as they are to educational mothers,

easily accepting good and bad. When at first these children are grown up in your lap, you are respinsible for their acts. So, if you bring up a good child he may possibly be the cause for a nation's happiness. But if—God forbid—a bad child was brought up in your lap, he would be apt to cause a corruption in the society. Do not say that he is just a child. When a child enters the community he may come to be at the head of the society, and it is possible that he may drag the society into corruption. It is not that his corruption is only plundering the country's treasures, not only offering the country with his two hands to the foreigners and giving them its resources; the worst is that he may corrupt many classes of the people. (204).

* * *

The Mother's Lap Is a School

The prophets have come to make man. They are ordered to change the individuals, who are of the mankind, though not different (in some aspects) from animals, into human beings, to purify them. This is the job of the prophets. The mothers' job must also be the same in respect of their children in their lap, so as to purify them with their actions.

The children in the lap of the mothers are better educated than by means of the teahers. The child's attachment to his mother is stronger than his attachment to anyone else, and that which he hears from his mother during childhood is stamped on his heart and remains there till the end of his life. Mohters must pay attention to the education of their children as best as they can, to bring them up pure, make their laps schools for teaching science and faith. This is a great matter which only the mothers can implement, no one else. Much as the child hears from his mother he does not hear from his father, and much as the small child is effected by his mother's character he is not effected by anyone else's.

Mothers are the origins of good and blessings. Should there be mothers who badly educate their children, they would be the origin of evil. A mother may very well educate a child, and this child may be the saviour of a nation, or if she badly educates the child, he may be the cause of destroying a nation. (205).

* * *

The Role of the Family in Educating and Teaching

The role of the family, and especially the mother in respect of the infants, and that of the father in the youngsters are quite effective. If the children are brought up in the laps of the mohters and under the patronage of committed fathers and with suitable and correct teaching and education, and then they are sent to the schools, the task of the teachers will be easier. Actually, education starts from the mother's pure lap and the father's proximity. By their correct and Islamic education the cornerstone of the country's of freedom and independence is established.

The parents are now to keep an eye on the behaviour of their children, so as to advise them whenever they notice unadvised acts on their part, and to warn them against the "Hypocrites" and the deviated, as otherwise their happiness of this world and of the world to come will perish. The mothers and the fathers must be aware of the fact that the school and university years are the crucial years for their children, during which they are easily affected and seduced by the deviated groups. (206).

MASS MEDIA

The Pens Bring Up Martyrs

The publications are as important as the bloods shed in the fronts. It is said that "The ink of the scholars is superior to the blood of the martyrs." Although the blood of the martyrs is invaluable and constructive, yet the scholars' pens can be more constructive. Basically, it is the pen which makes a martyr, and it is the pen which brings up martyrs. (207).

* * *

Radio and TV, a Public University

Radio and TV are the media which are effective in both sides of correct propaganda and corrupt propaganda... All the publications are that like, but the Radio and the TV are more effective. These are educational media. All classes of the people are to be educated by means of these media—a public university. Usual universities are local, while these are universal, that is, they cover the whole country.

These media must, within few years, enlighten all classes of the people, bring them up fighters, thinkers, independent, freedom-lovers, lead them out from Westernization, and give them independence, which is the most important thing in these media. They are to play the role of teacher and student. The writers, the speakers, the wise, the knowledgeables are to speak in them; they must be given the chance to speak in them. Numerous are those who offer such suggestions. They must be given the chance to speak. Instead of things which are useless to the nation, or are harmful to them, useful things are to be said to the people, good food is to be offered to the people. They should feed the people with sound and healthy food. (208).

* * *

The Press at the Service of the Foreigners

One of our big calamities during the *taghut* days was caused by the press. The *taghut* used to choose the agents who served him and the foreigners, and from them he used to select the most serviceable ones and put them in charge of the press to conduct propaganda against Islam and against the country, but with Islamic and nationalistic colouring. I do not know which one was more harmful to the country and Islam: the press of the *taghut* or the other despotic organizations.

The press, which must be the carriers of the message of the nation and of Islam, and conveyers of the Islamic precepts and their application, and refiners of the society, and spread out moralities, especially the divine moralities in the society, they were ordered to do the contrary of all these concepts in the time of *taghut* and, through the extensive propaganda of these despotic mass media, to drive all the Islamic and country's affairs towards the despotic interests. The harm which Islam received from the despotic press and media was much more than that which was received from any other establishment, and it is unknown how many of our youths those corrupt press, Radio and TV had corrupted. They had corrupted much more than the actual centers of immorality. It was these press, this Radio, this TV and all the mass media which, instead of raising our youths to go to the universities, to science and literature, dragged them to corruption. (209).

* * *

The Role of the Mass Media in Westernizing the Society

The Radio, the TV, the press, the cinema and the theatre are effective means of doping and ruining the nations, especially the young generation. Within the past century, particularly in its second half, no effort was spared in using these means to carry out large plans for propagation against Islam and the serviceable men of religion, as well as propagating for the Western and Eastern imperialists, in promoting the consumer goods, especially the luxurious and unnecessary articles of all kinds, imitating them in buildings, in decoratings, in matters of drinkables, in clothings and their forms, such that people took it to be a means of pride to be Westernized in all the affairs of life, in conduct, in taling, in clothes and their forms, particularly the well-off and the semi-well-off women, in rules of etiquette, manner of talking. Using Western vocabulary in writing and talking was such that to understand

them was almost impossible for most of the people, and difficult even for their own companions. All the television films were either from the West or from the East, which deviated our youths, male and female, from the usual ways of life, work, industry, production and knowledge, and dragged them towards unawareness of themselves and of their personality, or towards pessimism and mistrusting every home-made thing and their very country, even its culture, literature, and glorious works of great value, many of which have been transferred to the libraries and museums of the West and the East by the treachevous hands of the profiteers.

The magazines, with their shameful and regretable essays and photoes, and the papers with competitions in articles against our culture and against Islam, proudly attracted the people, especially the young people, to the West and the East. You may add to this the vast and extensive propaganda aiming at promoting the centers of shame, corruption, gambling, lottery, shops for selling cosmetics and unessential articles, alcoholic beverages, especially those imported from the West. They gave to the West oil, gas and other minerals, and received for them dolls, toys unessential goods and hundreds of other goods of which someone like me has no information. Had the destructive rule of the agent Pahlavi regime continued, in no time our promising youths, the sons of Islam and the homeland, on whom the people's eve of hope is pinned, would have been further effected through diverse Satanic conspiracies and plans laid by the corrupt regime, the mass media, the Easternized and Westernized intellectuals, and they would have been lost from the nation and from the lap of Islam, or they would have spent their youth in the centers of corruption, or in servitude to the world-devouring powers, driving the country to destruction. But Allah, the Exalted, favoured them and us, and saved all of us from the evil of the corrupters and plunderers.

Now my advice to the Islamic *Majlis* (parliament) for the present time and the time to come, and to the present President and the presidents to come and to the Council of the Guardians, ¹⁶² to the Judicial Council and the government, in any time, is that they should not let these organs of information, press, magazines deviate from Islam and from the interests of the country. We all must know that the freedom as known in the West, which causes the corruption of our youths, girls and boys, is rejected by Islam and the reason, and that the propaganda, essays, speeches, books and magazines against Islam, chastity and the country's interests are *haram* (unlawful), and it is our duty, and the duty of every Muslim, to prevent them. The corrupting freedoms are to be stopped. Whatever is religiously *haram* and what is

against the advance of the people and the Islamic country and that which is contrary to the dignity of the Islamic Republic, must definitely be stopped. We all are responsible. If the people and the godly youths encounter either of the above-mentioned affairs, they are to inform the relevant establishment, and if those establishments did not respond, they themselves are to stop them. (210).

* * *

The Importance of the TV

Of these mass media which we now have, whether the press, or the cinema, the theaters and the like, or the Radio and the TV, the one most connected to man is the TV from two aspects: first, the circulation of the press, much as it may be, it does not cover the whole country; second, all the people cannot make use of them since about half of our population are now illiterate 163 and cannot benefit by writings. As to the cinema, it is confined to a limited circle. The Radio is everywhere, but only through hearing. That which is everywhere in the country, even in a house on the frontier, where the owner is quite illiterate, but has eyes and ears, he can make use of the Radio and the TV, both through his eyes and his ears. The Radio is useful only through the ears, while the TV is useful through the ears and the eyes. One can see the plans and can hear them. Therefore, the Television is more sensitive than any other means of the mass media. It can reform or corrupt a whole country. This cannot be achieved by the press, by the cinema, by the theatre, nor by the verbal propaganda from the minbars (pulpits), as their radius is limited. The radius of the Radio is like that of the TV, but it is only auditory, while the TV is audio-visual. The TV propaganda can by hearing and seeing educate or destroy the people. (211).

* * *

The Mass Media are to be the Herald of Hope

Create hope in yourselves. Our writers, our speakers, are to try to give hope to our people, not to despair them. Let them say: "We are able," not: "We are unable." Let them say: We ourselves can do it, as they actually can. We can! We must will. The best service that our writers can offer at present is to give hope to this nation who is standing in the face of the East and the

West and does not want to be under the Eastern or Western regimes. Give them hope that they are capable of not being dependent on the West and the East. If these writers, these speakers, instead of trying to find out one another's faults, instead of attacking each other, try together to create hope in the people, cause them to feel secured, get them to have spiritual independence, if this service, this security, could be created by the mass media, the press, the writers, the speakers, we would remain victorious till the end. It is regretable that the people who have resisted, offfered the blood of their youths and sacrificed everything they had for Islam and the independence of their country, it is regretable that we, the speakers, the writers, those who write in the press and speak in the Radio and the TV, should pay no attention to this fact that they should be kept hopeful, secured. (212).

* * *

The Mass Media Should Educate (Refine) the Society

The mass media, particularly the Radio and TV, these centers of teaching and general education, are apt to offer valuable services to the Islamic and the Iranian culture. The agencies all over the country, which are in continual audio-visual contacts day and night, whether the press in their essays and writings, or the Radio and TV in their audio-visual programs and plays, as well as in showing arts, and choosing the instructive films and arts, are all to do their best and to coordinate their efforts, asking the directors and the committed actors to take into their consideration the conditions of all the classes, by way of educating them correctly, and refining the society, teaching them the honourable and free way of living, by means of their art and plays, preventing the spread of ill-famed and vulgar arts. The deer nation, during the past 50 black years was afflicted with magazines and papers which ruined and corrupted the young generation. Yet the worst were the cinema, the Radio and the TV, which, with their programs, tried hard to throw the nation into the laps of the West and the Westernized. The harms of the mass media are much more and worse than the harms of cannons and tanks, because the harms of weapons are transitory, while the cultural harms are permanent and are transferred to the next generations, as you have seen and still you see. Had it not been for the special divine grace, and for the flashing change of the people all over the country, no one could foretell what the fate of Islam and the country would have been. Now, as there still are some dross of that corrupt regime, they must be decisively treated, otherwise the danger—even on the long run—will threaten the country. To take this carelessly is due to simple-mindedness. It is the committed people who are to be active in preventing deviation, little as it may be. (213).

* * *

The Mass Media are to Proceed along the Nation's Line

Generally speaking, the press, the Radio and the TV in a given country must step aligned with the people and be at their service. The press must see what the people want and what their line is. They are to be enlightened through this way and guide the people accordingly. It there are some press which move contrary to the movement of the nation, and even if we suppose that the nation and the government permit them to write and speak, they will not be backed by this nation, they are not to be considered as a national organ. If, God forbid, these press publish deviational essays or if they do not publish the essays on the same line of the nation, it seems that there is a conspiracy, and this is different from the freedom of the press. (214).

* * *

A Magazine Should Educate Man

A magazine should be at the service of the country, and serving the country is to educate, to educate the youths, to make man, a dignified man, a thinking man, so as to be useful to the country. (215).

* * *

The University and the University People

The Importance of the Educated Class

We all know that the fate of a country, of a nation, of a regime, is in the hands—besides the masses—of the educated class, and the objective of the neo-imperialism is to control the centers of this class. All the injuries and pains received by our country during the recent decades were at the hands of

the treacherous members of this class. Dependence on the West and on the East by the pro-West and the pro-East groups, or by the so-called enlightened university graduates, though the frame of their thoughts had been moulded in the primary and intermediate schools, inflicted countless injuries on our culture, religion and country, because these individuals, in order to complete their dependence on the East and on the West, and recently on America, they did whatever they could to their interests, and as they were educated, they tried, with Westernized and Easternized knapsacks, like the thieves who come with light, to pick up for their masters and chief ideals the choice of the goods. (216).

* * *

Despatching Students to the Countries

Enemies of Islam, a Way to Give Authority to the Foreigners

It should be said that our universities were managed by a handful Westernized, self-lost mercenaries, while the committed learned scholars were among the minority who had been bereaved of all authority. The Westernized majority attempted to make our youths lovers of the West, sending them to the West, group after group, where the hands of imperialism completed the job and kept our youths within the limits wanted by the imperialists who sent them back home with Westernized, anti-Islamic and anti-country thoughts. This was the disaster of the century for the Islamic and similar countries. The details are to be derived from this brief talk. (217).

* * *

The Westernized Rule over the Universities

It was regretable and grievous that the universities and the secondary schools were put in the hands of certain persons, and our dear sons were entrusted for education and learning to persons of the Westernized and Easternized inclinations according to dictated plans applied to the universities, where they had chairs. Our helpless, dear youths were inevitably brought up in the laps of the wolves dependent on the Super Powers, and

then they were given posts in the parliament, in the government and in the judicature, in which they acted according to the orders of the despotic regime of Pahlavi. 164 (218).

* * *

The University People Must Quit Being Westernized

You, dear university students, should yourselves take care of getting out of Westernization and find out what you have lost. The orient has lost its original culture, and you who want to be independent and free must resist, and all classes should try to be themselves. The farmers must try to bring their provisions out of the earth, and the factories must be self-sufficient so that our country's industry may grow and develop. Similarly our universities should be self-sufficient and independent, so that there may be no need for the West. Our youths, our scholars, our professors must not be afraid of the West, they are to decide to rise against the West fearlessly. (219).

* * *

Stop Sending Students to USA, USSR...

Our need, after so long affected backwardness, to big industries of the foreign countries is an undeniable fact. But this does not mean that, for the advanced sciences we must be attached to one of the two poles. The government and the army are to send the committed students to the countries with big advanced industries, but with no imperialistic or exploiting tendencies. They must avoid sending them to America, the USSR and their satellites, till that day when, *inshaallah*, these two powers perceive their own mistakes and place themselves in line with humanity and philanthropy, or when, *inshaallah*, the *mustadafin* of the world, the wakeful nations and the committed Muslims keep them at bay. Hope for such a day. (220).

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We are not Afraid of Military Interference, We Are Afraid of an Imperialistic University

Peace be on you, great nation of Iran! Peace be upon the Muslims of the world! Peace be on you, the respectful university professors and students, the soldiers of Islam. I must reminal you of something so that you may be informed what our objective in reforming the university is. Some thought that those who advocated the reformation of the universities and want them to be Islamic, mean that the sciences are of two kinds, i.e. science is divided into two kinds. Geometry, for example, is of two kinds: one is Islamic and the other is non-Islamic; physics is two, one Islamic, the other non-Islamic. Consequently, a group objected saying that science has nothing to do with being Islamic or non-Islamic. Some others thought that those who say the universities are to be Islamic mean that only figh, tafsir and usul are to be studied there, that is, the same sciences which are taught in the old schools are to be taught in the universities. These are mistakes committed by some individuals intentionally or unintentionally. What we want to say is that our universities are affiliated, our universities are imperialistic, our universities educate students and bring them up Westernized. Most of the teachers are pro-West, and bring up our youths Westernized. We say that our universities are not in the interest of our nation. It is now more than fifty years we have universities, consuming enormous back-breaking huge sums which are the result of our people's toiling, yet, within these fifty years we could not be self-sufficient in the sciences studied in the universities. When we want, after these fifty years, to treat a patient, our physicians, or most of them, say he must go to England. After fifty years of possessing universities, but with no physician who can satisfy the needs of the people, according to their own confession. We did have universities and we do have, yet, to meet all the affairs needed by a living nation we must refer to the West. When we say that he universities must be basically changed and be Islamic, we do not mean that only the Islamic sciences should be tought there, not that a science consists of two parts, Islamic and non-Islamic. We say that within these fifty years odd which passed we did have universities. Show as their products. We say that our univesitites hinder the progress of the children of this water-andearth (homeland). We say that our universities have been turned into a battlefield for propagation. We say that even if our youths have got knowledge, they have got no education, they have no Islamic education. Those who study, their purpose is to obtain a piece of paper and go out to become a

burden on the shoulders of the people. It is not that the universities are arranging the things according to the needs of the country, and that they let not these dear youths and great generation waste their powers, or they do not have them be at the service of the foreigners. They did waste our powers and did have them be at the service of the foreigners. The teachers at our schools are not of the kind of Islamic teachers, and teaching has not been accompanied with education. So, those who have graduated from our universities are not committed ones. They do not sympathize with the people and with the country. They think of nothing but their own advantages. When we say that these must basically be changed, we want to say that our universities must be at the service of the people and meet their needs, not at the service of the foreigners. In our schools and universities many of the teachers and the professors are at the service of the West and wash off the brains of our youths. They give them corrupt education. We do not want to say that we do not want the new sciences. We do not want to say that the sciences are of two kinds, as some argue knowingly or unknowingty. We want to say that our universities do not have Islamic morality. Our universities have no Islamic education. If our universities had offered Islamic movalities and education, they would not have become a field for ideological clashes which injured our country. Had there been Islamic morality in these universities, there would not have been such heavy conflicts which are harmful. These are because they do not know Islam. They do not have Islamic education. The universities are to be fundamentally changed; they must be rebuilt anew so as to educate our youths Islamically. Togehter with acquiring knowledge, there should be Islamic education, not Western education, not that a group drags our youths to the West and another group drags them to the East, and a third group drags them to those who waged war against us, and those who want to put us in an economic blockade, announcing that they want to surround us with such an economic siege. They exert great efforts to attain to this goal. There are some university people who should not be assisted by our youths. When the nation of Iran rises to stand against the West, we want our university youths all to stand against it, too. When our people face the communists, we want all our university people to face them, too. We do not want that these youths who, due to their naivety, had received false education from some teachers, now that we want to construct an independent university, and apply fundamental chanes to make them independent, not affiliated to the West, not affiliated to the communism, not affiliated to Marxism, when we want to do this, they form fronts. This is an evidence that we did not have, nor do we have, an

Islamic university, a university which gives Islamic education to our youths. This is a proof that our youths were not correctly educated, and yet they do not care to acquire knowledge. They spend their life on slogans, on false and evil propaganda, in support of America, in support of the USSR. We want our youths to be independent, to look into themselves, to think about their own needs, not to be pro-West or pro-East. Those who demonstrate in the streets or in the campus, quarrelling and causing trouble for the government and the nation are either pro-West or pro-East. I believe they are pro-West, pro-America. Today we are standing against America. We are facing this Super Power, and are in need of our youths to stand against it, too. But our youths stand against themselves, and are active for America. We want to make the universities such that our youths work for themselves and for their nation. These gentlemen, who sit aside and raise objections against these concepts, think that the members of the Revolution Council 165 do not understand that Islamization does not mean that the sciences are of two kinds, an Islamic geometry and a non-Islamic geometry. They object, as they do not know that among the members of the Council are bearers of PHDs, and some others are *mujtahids*, so, do they know not that the Islamic sciences have their place in the old schools, and here (the university) is the place for different sciences? But the univesity must become Islamic so that the sciences studied there follow the interest of the people, strengthen them and meet their needs. We say taht the programs current in the universities take our youths, at the end, towards Communism or the West. It must not be so. We say that some of the teachers of the past in the universities, who are still there, do not let our youths have a good education, they curb them, they prevent their progress. They serve the West and they want us to be in need of the West in everything.

Islamization of the universities mean letting them be independent, be separated from the West, and free themselves from being affiliated to the East, so that we may have an independent country, an independent university and an independent culture. My dear ones, we are not afraid of the economic blockade, we are not afraid of the military interference. What frightens us is cultural dependence. We are afraid of an imperialistic university. We are afraid of a university which educates our youths in such a way to make them serve the West. We are afraid of a university which educates our youths in such a way to make them serve Communism. (221).

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Primary and Secondary Schools Should Prepare the Youths for an Independent University

It is not accidental that the centers of teaching and education in different countries, including the country of Iran, as from the primary schools up to the universities, are subject to the invasion of the imperialists, especially the Westerners and, of late, America and the USSR. The tongues and the pens of the Westernized and the Easternized, as well as the Westernized and the Easternized professors of the universities knowingly and unknowingly, eversince the establishment of the universities, especially in the recent decades, have offered this great service to the West and the East, despite the fact that there were, and still are among the men of letters and language and the knowledgeable, committed conscieous persons who were against that course, and still are, but much to our regret, they are among the very small minority.

The onset of the students, after passing through the studying terms of Western and Eastern teachings in the secondary schools and the universities of Iran, directing them towards the West, and sometimes to the East, had no result other than having Western and Eastern culture. It brought such a calamity that they handed over the whole society, without any condition, to the Super Powers. They offered to us a society with an Islamic-Iranian appearance, but with a content full of the West and the East. It is regretted that after the passing of three years after the triumph of the Revolution and the resistance and the consistency of the Islamic Republic in the face of the East and the West, and their deviated thoughts, and the faithfulness of this Republic to Islam as a defier of all kinds of affiliations and deviations, once again we are afflicted with groups and demigroups affiliated to either of the two poles, and devoted to deviated schools of thought dependent upon either side. We are also facing some of these deviated persons in the teaching and educating centers where they have penetrated. By giving them any chance, the danger of dragging our youths to deviation would be very great, as by our vouths becoming—God forbid—deviated and affiliated to the culture of the West or the East, all the dimensions of the community would be submitted and affiliated either to the West or to the East, and all the efforts and endearours of the nation, and the blood of their dear sons, would be wasted to nothing.

Now, the dear pupils, the students, the committed professors and teachers will have, with all their power and ability, to try to find out the elements of corruption, and to purify the environment of teaching and

education from the filth of their existence. It should not be thought that the penetration of the deviated is intended only to be in the universities. The deviated and the hypocrites give much importance to steal into the secondary schools and even into the primary schools, too, in order to prepare the young pupils for the deviation in the universities. They do know if the youngsters are correctly educated in the teaching centers, sensing the tricks of the imperialists, and touch their all-enclosing plots; it will not be easy for the agents of imperialism to be successful in the universities. Therefore, they believe that to influence the youngsters in the primary and secondary schools and before entering the universities is of much importance in forming the Western and Eastern imperialistic groups inside the universities. That is why the committed and sympathizing teaching organizations are to pay more attention to the security of the country by means of protecting the youths upon whose correct eduction depend the country's independence and freedom. Hence, the role of the teachers in educating and refining the students is regarded to be the most fundamental and effective role. You have all witnessed how disasterous the teachers' affiliation to the West or the East was to our country, turning the universities into a strong fortress offering its services to the West and East, introducing the majority of the Westernized and the Easternized graduates to the community. It is now the duty of the committed teachers and the authorities in the primary and secondary schools to do their best to send to the universities students who, knowing the former deviations of the universities, depend on the Islamic and Iranian rich and independent culture. It is, then, the duty of the committed professors to look out for any sign of deviation when the universities open to receive the students, so as to acquaint them with the Satanic plans of either of the two Super Powers. They are to send to the community graduates committed to the interests of the country, aware of the objectives of Islam. They may be assured that by such a service they will ensure the independence and the freedom of their beloved country. (222).

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The Connection of the *Ulama* with the Muslim Scholars in the Universities

(We hope that) The *Ulama* are, *inshaallah*, acquainted with all the dimensions and aspects of their responsibilities. But, by way of reminding and stressing, I beg to say that today quite many of our youths and thinkers

feel, in this free Islamic atmosphere of our country, that they are free t o express their own opinions and ideas about many Islamic subjects and questions. So, you are to hear them with open arms and affection, and if they are going astray, you are to show them the right Islamic path with speeches full of affection and friendship. You are to pay your attention to the point that their moral and gnostic emotions and sentiments should not be disregarded, and their writings should not immediatly be labelled as eclectic and deviated, sending them collectively to the valley of hesitation and doubt. Those who refer, today, to such questions, their hearts are, undoubtedly, throbbing with love for Islam and the guidance of Muslims, as otherwise why should they, by presenting such questions, incur trouble on themselves? They think that the attitude of Islam in diverse instances is the same as they think to be. So. instead of being rude to them and sending them away, you are to show them fatherly and amicable treatment. Even if they reject you, do not despair, as otherwise they will fall—God forbid—in the trap of the Liberalists and the Nationalists, or the Leftists and the Hypocrites, and this is no better than the sin of eclecticism. We may be hopeful in the country's future and in the makers of the future only when we esteem them in different questions, and forgive their small and trivial mistakes, and when we are acquainted with all the methods and the principles which lead to correct teaching and educating. The tradition of the universities and the teaching centers, outside the theological centers, is that they are nearer to experimental and tangible realities than to theoretical and philosophical education. By blending these two methods of education and reducing the distance between them, the university and the theological centers are to be melted in each other so that the space for expanding the Islamic knowledge becomes spacious. (223).

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The Enlightened

The Mission of the Enlightened of the World of Islam

The Islamic enlightened, with their knowledge and awareness, will have to step on the ups and downs of the road to changing the world of Capitalism and Communism. All the freedom-loving people, with clear-sightedness and explanations, will have to show the way of slapping the

cheeks of the Super Powers and despots, especially America, to the already slapped people of the wronged Islamic countries and the third world. (224).

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The Uprise of the Enlightened is promising

The lumenous spot which, at this late of my age, is hopeful for me is this wakefulness and awareness of the young generation and the uprise of the enlightened, which is speedily developing, and will, by Allah's will, achieve the decisive result, i.e. cutting off the hands of the foreigners and spreading Islamic justice. You, pure-hearted youths, have the duty of using all possible means to enlighten the people and to disclose to them the diverse plots of the system, introducing the justice-cherishing Islam to the world. (225).

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The Enlightened and Westernization

It is our duty to be steadfast in the face of the Super Powers, and we are able to be so, on the condition that the enlightened should give up the West and the East, the Westernization and Easternization, and to follow up the straight path of Islam and nationality. (226).

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The Danger of the Westernized Enlightened

Had we a sort of essential order in the universities, we would never have a class of such a university enlightened who, in the most crucial period in Iran, would dispute among themselves in divided groups, breaking away from the people, and passing by what happens to the people as if they were not in Iran. All our backwardness were because most of the university enlightened had no correct knowledge of the Islamic society. Unfortunately, it is still the same now.

Most of the strokes inflicted upon this society were by the hands of many of these university graduates who always regarded, and still regard, themselves great, and they spoke, and still speak, words understandable only to their own so-called englightened friends. If the people do not understand any of their words, it does not matter because they regard only themselves and pay no attention to the people. This is because the ill teachings in the universities during the time of the Shah brought up the enlightened university graduates in such a way that they actually did not consider, nor unfortunately do now, any value for the abased people.

O Committed and responsible englightened! Come, give up disunion and discord, and think of the people, and to save these heroes who offered martyrs, save yourselves from the "ism" and the "ist" of the West and the East. Stand on your own feet and beware of depending on the foreigners. (227).

The Ulama

The *Ulama* and the Scholars of the World Are to Rise up to Save Humanity

The *Ulama* and the scholars all over the world, especially the *Ulama* and the thinkers of the great Islam, are to rise, united in the single aim of releasing humanity from the unjust rule of this tricky and conspirating minority who, through their plots and clamours, try to spread their despotic control over the people of the world. They are to remove, by means of expression, writings and action, the false fear and dread overshadowing the suppressed. They are to destroy these books which have recently been published by imperialism through the sleeves of the slaves of Satan—the books which instigate discord among the Muslim sects—and to uproot the dispute which is the source of all the difficulties of the wronged and the Muslims. They are to unitedly attack these mass media which are engaged, most of the hours of the day and night, in inciting seditiousness, hypocrisy, fraud and hearsay, and to rise against terrorism which stems from the White House, because, by searching for the roots, it gets known that the basic reason behind exploding off the American riflemen and soldiers in Beirut and elsewhere, and which may further explode them, comes from these Houses of injustice, especially the White House. (228).

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The People Are with the *Ulama*

You gentlemen who have come from all sides, from all parts of the world, you *Ulama*, you have to cling to the conduct which is left among us by the noble Messenger and the Imams of Islam, those who, at the times when they were unable to utter even a single word against the policy of the ruling government, could, through their *duas*, awaken the people. They used to resort to supplication to call the people. Whenever they had a chance they openly invited the people. We have to recourse to them. We have to recourse to the Quran. The Glorious Quran invites to unity. It calls upon the people to unite so that they may not fail. Yet, it is regretted that some of the *Ulama belonging* to the Islamic governments call to failure. They want to create failure. When they cannot attack Islam in an Islamic center, they attack Iran which wants to install Islam.

The judge who, in al-Hijaz (Saudi Arabia), Egypt or in other places, calls to what is contrary to the Glorious Quran, though not quite openly, causing discord among the Muslims, is a judge of oppression, and you are to stop him. When you return home, your Friday *Salat* speeches and invocations should be like those of early Islam. Those speeches had political aspects. Friday *Salat* is a political meeting. It is an act of worship all political. But it is regretable that in some places one notices that the Friday speeches have nothing to do with what the nations, the Muslims and their gatherings need.

In early Islam, the mosques, the gatherings and the *salats* had their political aspect. The armies used to set out and march from the mosques to where they had to go. The political questions were decided in the mosques. The mosques were places where the political issues were presented. But, to our regret, we have turned the mosques into places which are far away from the interests of the Muslims, and we have helped in carrying out with our own hands the very plans which had been laid for us, and we saw, the Muslims saw, what they had to see. Today they will have to wake up. They should speak openly, if they can, when they see their governments act contrary to Islam. If they cannot, then through *duas*, through speeches. They are, however, to stand against the aggressors and those who act contrary to Islam. The speeches may not be confined to just a few *duas* or invocations. They are to enrich the speeches and make them strong.

You are strong. The people are with you. The people are not with the oppressive governments. The people are with the *Ulama*. You are strong. Every one of you, in his place, enjoys the same power as that enjoyed by the Iranian *Ulama* here. They acted in the face of a power which had no match in

the region, a power the like of which was not found among the powers of the region. These very people of the streets and markets, these very farmers and workers of our people, were awakened by means of the Islamic teaching given to them by the Islamic *Ulama*. They attacked such a power, defeated it and ousted it out of the country. You, too, may not sit and wait for your government to work for you, because they work for themselves. You have to strengthen Islam. In your country, in your speeches at the Friday *Salat*, which is held for this purpose, in your *duas* and invocations, and wherever you frequent, talk about the Islamic interests, about the people's social interests. Do not talk about personal affairs. Discuss social matters. Let them prevent your *Salat* because of your talks, as the people will react against them.

If a government prevents your Friday *Salat* because of your speeches, it will be confronted by the people's reactions, and this would be what we want. Do not wait until you may find an army and weapons. You do not want to wage a war. You just want to speak about the interests of the Muslims. Do not wait until you come to power first before you talk. Talk, until you come to power. That was what Iran did. It spoke till it came to power. It did not sit still waiting for the power to come. If it had sat still doing nothing, it would have gained nothing till eternity. In the face of the power which Muhammad Rida (Shah) had, and that support which he received from all, the *Ulama* of Iran did not sit idle waiting for their fellows to come together, and then rise. The *Ulama* of Islam first invited the people. They were never afraid whatever the situation. They awakened the people on the *minbars* and in the mosques until they got power. You, too, do the same. You can. If you think you cannot, then be sure that you cannot. Inject yourselves with the belief that you can, and be sure then that you can.

Every action is first a thought, contemplation about the act. If we are weak in our spirit, we will not be able to do anything. Strengthen your spirit. Strengthen your hearts. Devote yourselves to Allah. All these narrated *duas* call upon the people to rely on Allah as the center of power. Much is said about clinging to none other than Allah so that you may be injected with the power of having a great support, that is: Allah. He who has Allah, what should he be afraid of? You who want to act for Allah, why should you be afraid of any power? Are you afraid of being martyred? Does martyrdom frighten? Are you afraid of being imprisoned? Is the imprisonment for the sake of Allah frightful? Are you afraid of being tortured? Is it hard to bear torture in the way of Allah? Iran experienced so much in the way of Allah, yet it did not give up, and it was the *Ulama* who massed the people and helped them to change, and today everybody, from the child who has just

started prattling to the old man who has lost many of his children, all rise and shout out in a single voice their opposition against the Super Powers. Do not ever say you cannot. Always think you can. Think always that Allah is with you. Always think that Islam is your honour, and it must be upheld and strengthened by you. (229).

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The Mission of the *Ulama* of Islam

It is regretted that not only the peoples of the Islamic countries, but also most of the *Ulama* in these countries know nothing of their own useful, decisive and constructive role in the everyday matters and the international politics, and are affected by the materialistic ideas and impressions. They think that in this age of civilization, technology, industry, scientific changes and material progress, the effect of the *Ulama* has decreased and Islam—God forbid—is no longer capable of running a country. But, thank Allah, the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, under the leadership of the *Ulama*, proves the contrary of such thinking, and despite the impedings, hinderances and conspiracies of the East and the West, and the envy and hatred of their agents, the power and effciency of the *Ulama* of Islam became obvious to all. I invite all the *Ulama*, thinkers and Islamic scientists from every part of the world to visit our dear Islamic country of Iran at their convenient time so as to investigate the condition of Iran of the monarchical regime which had turned it into a Westernized country empty from the Islamic values, and which was about to become a basis for combating Islam and effacing all traces of the Islamic message, and to do away with the Islamic history, culture and any other Islamic appearances, then to study the present condition, in which the laws and the regulations are founded on the Revelation and Islam, and where all the appearances of disbelief, polytheism and sinning have been cleared away as much as was possible. In spite of all the sinister and eclectic tunes of the Rightists and Leftists and the nationalists during the early days of the victory of the revolution, that they used to voice out in order to curb the people's power and thinking, yet Allah, the Exalted, favoured us with disclosing their conspiracies. Now, the Islamic laws and programs are being put to application all over the country, from the battlefields of war to the centers of scientific research, universities and theological centers, and from the legislative assemblies, where are coined all the civil and military regulations, to the executive power, which is engaged in solving

the biggest executive and managing questions of a large country in the condition of war and of blockade, with a population of more than fifty million, and from the judicial power, which undertakes the responsibility of applying the divine judgments and punishments, as well as carrying the heavy burden of providing security for the lives, honour, properties and personalities of a revolutionary society, to the commandership of the army and the police forces who are responsible for protecting the frontiers and the security inside the country and foiling hundreds of diverse plots, stopping the sabotage and the crimes of the Hypocrites and anti-Revolution elements, and the prevention of spreading atrocities, abominable acts, thefts, murders and narcotics, all of which are done under the leadership of the committed *Ulama* and with the blessings of the luminous precepts of Islam and the heavenly Book of the Prophet, Muhammad ibn Abdullah (s), and following the instructions of the Imams (a). Thus the country is directed, and we praise Allah that by depending on the ayahs of the Revelation, the Book of Allah, we could save our country from dependence. As a matter of course, the implementation of all the Islamic precepts and regulations and their application are still far from being achieved on all the levels of the society. But, with the help of Allah, we shall continue our efforts and attempts, and we shall practically show to all the Westernized and the Easternized and those who have lost themselves, who were frightened from raising Islam as a slogan and from relying on the Glorious Quran, how it is possible to satisfy the quench of the society by means of the springs of the knowledge of the Book of Allah and the guidance of the endeared Islam. Thank Allah, all these were due to the blessings of the entering of the *Ulama* into the political affairs and deducting judgments for novel questions. The Ulama of the country did not satisfy themselves with oration, preaching and referring to the usual daily questions. By interfering into the most important political affairs of their own country and of the world, the *Ulama* could show up the power of the Islamic directing and management, defying all those who advised silence and those who are non-committed colluders or inactive pedants. It is quite surprising that many of the *Ulama* and godly men in the Islamic countries are unaware of their great and historical role in respect of the divine message, in this age, in which humanity is thirsty for morality and for the luminous precepts of Islam. They do not realize the thirst of the nations, having no knowledge of the excitement and anxiety of the human communties and their inclination towards the heavenly values, and underestimating their own moral power and influence. Actually, in this era full of attractions of the sciences and material civilization ruling over the

contemporary generation, the *Ulama*, the orators, the Friday Imams and the Islamic enligtened, with their unity, harmony, sense of responsibility and by performing their heavy duty of guiding and leading the people, could place the whole world into the grasp of the influence and domination of the Quran, and stop all this corruption, exploitation and humiliation against the Muslims, and prevent the big and small Satans, especially America, from nesting in the Islamic countries. Instead of writing and saying nonsense and delivering discording speeches and praising the kings of injustice, causing the *mustadafin* to be pessimistic in respect of Islam and creating hypocrisy within the ranks of the Muslims, they could spread the luminous precepts of Islam by making use of this boundless ocean of the Islamic populations, in order to firmly establish their own dignity as well as the esteem of the *ummah* of Muhammad (s).

Is not it shameful for the *Ulama* of the Islamic countries that despite having the Glorious Quran, the luminous precepts of Islam and the tradition of the Prophet (s) and the infallible Imams (a), the rules and regulations of disbelief should be applied in the Islamic countries under their influence, and the decisions dictated by the people of gold, power and fraud, and by the bitter enemies of Islam, should be carried out, and that the politicians of Moscow and Washington should issue instructions for the Islamic countries? The *Ulama* of the Islamic countries are to discuss the ways for solving the problems and the intricate questions of the Muslims so as to take them out of the control of the despotic governments. They have to meet and consult with one another, and to take up the cudgels for preserving the interests of the Muslims, blocking the way in the face of the onslaughts of the pejorative cultures of the East and the West, which lead to the destruction of the civilization and cultivation of the nations, and warning their people against the disasterous consequences of losing themselves before the gaudiness of the West and the East, and drawing the attention of the people and the governments to the dangers of the neo-imperialism and the Satanic acts of the Super Powers who have been kindling the flames of wars and of Muslimmasacars all over the world.

I once again confirm that today the world is thirsty for the luminous truths and the judgments of Islam. The divine ultimatum has already been granted to all the *Ulama* and men of spirituality. What a better evidence could there be other than the fact of the youths of the Islamic countries who proceeded to the frontier of martyrdom in defence of their religious sanctities, and, in order to oust the aggressors, they plunged themselves into the sea of calamities and received imprisonment and torture against their

lives, like the brave Muslim fighters, the dear youths of Hizbullah in Lebanon and in other countries, who resisted and raised their *jihad* against the aggressors? Which ulimatum is higher than this, and what an excuse is there for keeping silent, compromising, staying at home and unjustified dissemblings?

If the committed *Ulama* of Islam acted slowly it would be too late. We do know about the isolation of some of the *Ulama* and the committed in their towns and countries, being surrounded by the bayonets, the pressures of the threats and the illegal influence of the corrupt and courtier *Ulama*, but we remind these dear ones, who are under the pressure of the tyrants, of Allah's exhortation, Who says: "I exhort you only to one thing: that you rise up for Allah's sake in twos and singly, and then ponder." (Saba': 46). Rise up for Allah and do not be afraid of being alone and of desolation. The mosques are the best trenches, and the congregational salats are the most suitable arenas for forming organizations and for announcing the interests of the Muslims. Today, although the governments and their lackeys are waging serious wars against the Muslims, such as the government of India who is masacaring the innocent, noble and shelterless Muslims, yet it daves not to close the mosques and worshipping places of the Muslims forever. It cannot extinguish the light of love and knowledge of millions of the Muslims. Yet, even if they did close the mosques and the religious and political gatherings of the *Ulama* of Islam, and even if they hanged the *Ulama* of Islam publicly, it would expose the oppression to which Islam is subjected, and would lead the Muslims to paying more attention to the *Ulama*, and to following them. Is it not that Allah has taken from the *Ulama* their covenant that they should not keep silent and motionless before the wrong of the wrongdoers and the injustice of the criminals? Is it not that the *Ulama* are the evidences of the prophets and the infallibles on the earth? So, the *Ulama*, the enlightened and the scholars will have to be quick in helping Islam and in rescuing it from the desolation inflicted upon it. They should not endure any longer so much humiliation and contempt. They should break to pieces the idol of the imposed domination of the world-devourers, showing up, through insight and diplomacy, their own shining and powerful complexion. At the same time, the Ulama are to dismiss from themselves and their uniform the doublefaced, fake *Ulama*, the sellers of religion for mundane matters and the gossip spreaders. The misbehaving *Ulama* and the flatterers of the wrongdoers and the despots are not to be allowed to place themselves in the position of the moral leaders and guides, and to impose themselves on the people, misusing the moral status and position of the *Ulama* of Islam. The committed Islamic *Ulama* must speak out the horrible danger of the false and bad *Ulama* and the turbaned courtiers against the Islamic communities, because it is these unaware people who justify the governments of the tyrants and the injustice of the affiliated, and prevent the wronged from receiving their true rights, and, if needs be, they label the fighters and the freedom-seekers for the sake of Allah with deviation and disbelief. May Allah protect all the Islamic nations from the evils and the gloom of these unworthy people who give up their religion for mammon.

One of the very important questions which are the responsibility of the Ulama and the fagihs, is the serious confrontation with the two low and tyrannical economical cultures of the East and the West, and the fight with the policies of the capitalistic and socialistic economies in the society. despite the fact that this calamity is falling on all the nations of the world, and actually, it is new servitude imposed upon all the nations, as most of the human societies, in their every-day life, are tied to the lords of gold and power, deprived of the right of taking decisions in respect of the world's economic matters. In spite of the plentiful natural resources and fertile lands in the world, and despite the abundant waters, seas, forests and treasures, the majority of the nations are poverty-stricken and oppressed, while the communists, the gold-accumulators and the capitalists, through creating warm relations with the world-devourers, deprive the common people of the right to live and to innovate, and, by forming multi-national monopolizing centers, they practically seize he pulse of the world economy in their hands, controlling all the ways of exporting, extracting, distributing, offering and demanding, and even pricing and banking. They tried, through suggesting their prepared ideas and researches, to make the masses of the deprived people believe that they are to live under their influence, otherwise there would be no way, other than accepting poverty, before the bare-footed to continue to live. They make the deprived masses believe that it is necessitated by creation and by the human societies that the great majority of the people should remain hungry and burn out for a loaf of bread and die before getting at it, while a small group die of gluttony, extravagance and dining and wining. Anyhow, this is a catastrophe which the world-devourers impose on humanity. Consequently, the Islamic countries, due to their weak management and affiliation, are afflicted with a sorrowful state. It is the responsibility of the *Ulama* and the scholars of Islam to prepare constructive plans and programs covering the interests of the deprived and the barefooted, to replace the incorrect economy ruling over the world of Islam, to save the world of the *mustadafin* and the Muslims from hardship and

Naturally, to carry out the objectives of Islam in the world, especially its economic programs encountering the sick economy of the Western capitalism and the Eastern socialism, without the all-embracing government of Islam is not possible, and to uproot the evil and ruinous results of those economies, even after the establishment of the Islamic government of justice and order, such as the Islamic Republic of Iran, would take time. Nevertheless, showing the plans, and basically showing the direction of the Islamic economy towards protecting the interests of the deprived, expanding their general participation and Islam's fighting against the gold-accumulators, would be the biggest gift and a good tiding of man's being freed from the fetters of poverty and indigence. Let them know the fact that the people of wealth and property, in the Islamic government, enjoy no distinction or superiority, and they, from this point of view, are on the same footing with the poor, and they are given no priority. Islam paves the way for the suppressed and hidden aptitudes of the bare-footed to bloom and develop. Remind them of the point that no rich one, because of his wealth, may penetrate into any governmental and ruling post in an Islamic country, and use his riches as a means of pride and boasting, imposing upon the poor, the toiling class and the needy, his ideas and wants. This alone is the biggest factor for the people's cooperation and interference in the affairs, inclining them to have noble characters, lofty virtues and recoiling from flattery. It is also quite possible that it would remind some of the wealthy people not to think their properties and wealth are a proof of their being favoured by Allah.

The jist of this speech is to state the fact that in the Islamic government the greater value is given to the one who practises *taqwa*, not the one who has riches, property and power. All the managers, employees, leaders and the *Ulama* in this regime and the government of justice, are bound to have more contacts, connections, meetings, associations and frequentations with the poor, the needy and the bare-footed than with the wealthy and the well-off personalities. To be besides the indigent and the bare-footed, and to regard oneself in their crosswise are an honour which is bestowed upon the godly men, and practically puts an end to the doubts and suggestions. Praise be to Allah, as this principle way of thinking and looking is in the course of being applied in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Likewise, the respected responsibles of Iran, despite heavy economical blockades and deficient incomes, are exerting all their efforts to remove the society's poverty. It is the only desire and hope of the nation, government and the authorities of our country to one day see this poverty and indigence dismissed out of our community, and the dear, patient and dignified people

of the country enjoying comfort in their material and spiritual life. May Allah keep away that day in which our policy and the policy of the authorities of our country would be to turn their backs to defending the deprived and turn their faces to protecting the capitalists and the wealthy people to attain to more credibility and care. God forbid! This is incompatible with the conducts of the prophets, Amir al-Muminin and the infallible Imams (a), and the skirts of the *Ulama* are innocent of this, and they must remain innocent of it forever. It is one of prides and the blessings of our country, Revolution and the *Ulama*, to rise to protect the bare-footed, reviving the slogan of defending the rights of the *mustadafin*. As removing deprivation is the belief, way and custom of our life, the world-devourers do not leave us alone even in this respect, narrowing the sieging circles around the government and the authorities in order to disable them. They have displayed hatred, rancour, fear and horror from this popular and historical movement to the extent of plotting thousands of political-economic conspiracies. Undoubtedly, just as the world-devourers are scared of our nation's martyrdom-seeking tendency and of their other sacrifices, they are likewise afraid of the tendency of the Islamic economy towards protecting the bare-footed. It is granted that the more our country's move towards removing poverty and protecting the deprived, the less the hope of the world-devourers in us, and the more the inclination of the peoples of the world to Islam. The dear *Ulama* must pay deep attention to this principle and preserve for themselves the historical millennial honour of being a refuge for the deprived, and advise the authorities and the people that we should not forget the pure tendency and affection of the deprived to the Revolution and their unsparing protection of Islam, which should be responded to.

As a matter of course, it is quite obvious that all classes of our people are participant and partners in the Revolution and all have performed their divine duties by being present in the arena, proceeding to Allah. They never pollute their high divine hopes with materialistic matters, nor will they quit the battlefield just because of some shortages. The one who sacrifices his life and property, will never collapse for the stomach and worldly matters. It is, however, our duty and the duty of all the authorities to serve these people, to share with them in their sorrows, joys and hardships. I do not think that there is an act of worship superior to serving the deprived. By the way, when the bare-footed, the slum-dwellers and the low-earning class of our community have passed their examination and showed their commitment to the Islamic rules to the extent of sacrificing a number of their youths and offering all that they had, and being present at all occasions—and will remain present,

inshaallah—and giving their heads and lives, why shouldn't we be proud of serving these pure servants of Allah and the brave pioneers of the history of humanity? I once again say that a single hair of the head of these hutdwellers and martyr-donors is more honoured and preferred to all palaces and palace-dwellers of the world.

The last point which—after thanking the *Ulama* and the serving government, the protector of the deprived—I have to insistingly remind you of, is the question of the simple living and austerity of the committed *Ulama* of Islam. I, as an aged father, ask all my sons and dear *Ulama* that—since Allah, the Exalted, has favoured the *Ulama* and entrusted them with directing the great country and with conveying the message of the prophets—they should not quit the fashion of the Ulama, and they should keep away from the embelishments of the world, which are below the state of the *Ulama* and the dignity of the Islamic Republic of Iran. They should be aware of the fact that there is no graver danger and affliction, which threaten the *Ulama*, their present world and their Hereafter, than being inclined towards comfort and towards worldly matters. Praise be to Allah, as the *Ulama* committed to Islam have successfully passed through their austerity-examination. But it is quite possible that the bitter enemies of Islam and of the *Ulama* try from now on to distort the visage of the bearers of the torch of guidance and light, and use the meanest pretexts to direct a blow at their dignity, in which they will not be successful, inshaallah. (230).

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Keeping the *Ulama*s Fashion and Simple Life

In the past, when an *alim* talked politics with the people, they used to say: "Let him go, he is a politician." This way of thinking was, undoubtedly suggested by the internal and external Satans. They had made us believe that an *alim* was only to cover his head with his *aba* and head for the mosque to perform his usual *salat*, and that he had no right to interfere in any matter. But the fact is that we are followers of the Messenger (s) and the Imams (a) who seized all the matters in their hands. They established governments and guided the people. Praise be to Allah, today handling politics is no longer shameful. But you are to pay attention to the fact that all are looking at you; so, keep your fashion of being *Ulama*, and lead, like the *Ulama* of the past, a simple life. In the past, a student of theology and a great *alim* of a city lived a life below the level of life lived by the common people, or like it. You are

today to try that your life may not be different from that of an *akhund*. When one day your level of life becomes higher than that of the common people, do be sure that you will sooner or later be dismissed, as people will say: "See! Formerly they had nothing, so they lived like the people, but today, as they are well-off they keep aloof from the people." So, the way of life should be the same as before. We must live in such a way that they may not say that we have become like the *taghuts*. (231).

* * *

Knowledge without the Name of the Lord Is Perversion

O you who step on the road of Islam and knowledge, and are clothed with apparel of Islam and the prophets, wearing as the *Ulama*, do not have the notion that studying without its being in the name of the Lord would avail you anything, rather, it sometimes is even harmful. Knowledge may sometime bring self-conceitedness. It would at times flinge one away from the straight path. Those who were makers of religions were mostly people of knowledge. Those who called contrary to the truth are mostly people of knowledge, but as the knowledge of reading was not in the name of the Lord, it was deviated from the beginning. The farther the deviated path proceeds forward, the bigger the deviation will be and the remoter it becomes from humanity. It is quite possible that a person may be the greatest philospher in the eyes of the people; and he may be the most respected *fagih* in their eyes. He knows everything, he is a treasure of information, but as the reading was not in the name of the Lord, he moved away from the straight path, and he went even farther than the others. The fuller the treasure, the greater his gold, and the larger the treasure, the denser its darkness: "darkness, layer upon **layer**" (an-Imam: 40).

Sometimes knowledge is darkness, not light. The knowledge which begins with the name of the Lord has a light of guidance. The knowledge which is for learning, its goodness is that the learner wants to learn. But to say: "I want to get a post; I want to be the Imam of a congregational *salat*; I want to be of the people of the *minbar* [ie. to be a preacher or an orator]; I want to be favoured by the public, by the people"; this is deviation, these are deviations, and all are trivial. The Straight Path, as it is described, is very thin, thinner than a hair. It is quite possible that somebody may spend his life as a hypocrite without being aware of it, during his life whatever he did was

hypocricy, unknowingly. Presidency is such thin that one himself does not understand it. (232).

Separation between the *Ulama* and the University

People Is Deisred by the Foreigners

The two respectful classes of the *Ulama* and the university people must exchange reciprocal esteem. The enlightened students of the universities are to respect the *Ulama*. Allah the Exalted has regarded them respectful, and the Ahl al-Bayt of the Revelation have recommended them to the ummah. The *Ulama* are a great power by losing which—God forbid—the pillars of Islam will collapse, and the enemy's tyrannical power remains with no opposition. The strict studies of the exploiting foreigners along the history realized that this barrier must be destroyed. The extensive propaganda by them and by their agents within the last few centuries caused a number of the enlightened to break with them and to suspect them so that the front with the enemy may be with no opposition. If sometimes there appeared among them some incompetent individuals who imposed themselves, yet, speaking of the kind, they were still doing their service, according to the difference in the station. Their service caused the nation to observe the principles and the practical laws of religion. Notwithstanding the foreigners and their agents, this power must be backed, kept and looked at with the eye of respect. Likewise the respected *Ulama* must respect the enlightened young class who are at the service of Islam and the Islamic country, and who, as a result of this, are subject to the attacks of the agents of the foreigners. They are to regard them as their dear children and honourable brothers, and not to lose this great power, into whose hands will, willy-nilly, fall the destinies. They are also to be on the alert for the vicious propaganda which has been waged against them within the past few centuries, causing them to appear differently in the eyes of the others so as to make use of discord much as they can, and to keep back those who are effective, unknowingly or purposely, in causing separation between this class and the *Ulama*. They should not allow them to create such a separation. Let them be assured that, by the solidarity between these two great powers, victory will be theirs, while by separation they will never see its face. (233).

* * *

The *Ulama* are to be in the Arena

I advise the respected community of the *Ulama*, particularly the great *maraji*, not to draw back from the affairs of the society, such as, in particular, the election of the President of the Republic and the respresentatives of the Parliament. They are not to be indifferent to such affairs. You all saw, and the coming generation will hear how the politic-players following the East and the West ousted the *Ulama*—who founded Constitutionalism with great difficulties and pains—out of the arena, and the *Ulama*, at the same time, were deceived by them and thought that it did not befit them to interfere in the political affairs of the people and the Muslims. So, they quitted the scene to the interest of the Westernized, inflicting such a blow on the head of Constitutionalism, the country, the Constitution and Islam that to remedy it would take a long time. (234).

* * *

The *Ulama* and Executive Responsibility

At the beginning when we were in these affairs, and when the signs of victory were gradually appearing, in the meetings which I had, whether with those who came from outside, in Najaf and in Paris, or in the speeches which I delivered, I repeated that the task of the *Ulama* is above these executive matters. If Islam becomes victorious, the *Ulama* will go and mind their own business. But when we came into the battlefield, we realized that if we tell them: "Go to your mosques, all of you", the country will be swallowed by America or the USSR. We experienced and saw that those persons who were at the head, and were not of the *Ulama*, though some of them were pious, yet, the path which we wanted to tread upon, the way leading us to independence, becoming satisfied with our own barley-bread, just not to be under the rule of the Big Powers—that path did not suit their taste. Consequently, when we saw that we cannot find everywhere persons who hundred percent suited the purpose for which our people sacrificed their youths and their properties; we had but to agree to select our President from among the *Ulama*, and likewise our Prime Minister, in some instances. In other posts we had no such intention, as we had already said. Today I once again say that whenever we realize that this country can be directed at the hands of the non-'ulama' according to the method commanded by Allah, the Exalted and Blessed, Mr. Khamene'i will return back to his great

theological task and to supervise over the affairs, and the others will do likewise. It is not that when we said something in the interest of Islam, then it appeared to be a mistake, we would say: We insist on our mistake. Whenever we realize what we said was a mistake, and we had to act differently, we declare: We did a mistake here. We must do it in this way. We look for the interests, not for sticking to what we say.

We have changed our mind about what we had said in the press inter—views. Temporarily, the country will be run by the *Ulama*, but when it can be run by the non-*ulama*, the *Ulama* would return to their posts of guiding the people, to their former states, and hand the executive establishments over to those who are working for Islam. But now we doubt that. There is a possibility. If the possibility is one to a million that the prestige of Islam is in danger because of the existence of so-and-so person, or so-and-so class in certain executive posts, we are to stop them with our utmost ability. Let them say whatever they want to say. Let them say: It is the country of the *mullas*, the government of the *akhunds*, and the like. As a matter of course, this is also a weapon to oust us from the arena, but no, we will not go out of the arena. (235).

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The *Ulama* and the Land Reclamation

Question: It is said that the Shah's Land Reclamation has injured the *Ulama* who form the 2nd class of the big land owners (New York Times, 11th December), so, this is one of the motives of your opposition to the Shah. Is this true? Before the year 1962, what percent of the agricultural lands was in the hands of the men of religion? After the departure of the Shah, will the religious elements once again undertake the management of the lands? What kind of state agriculture will be agreeable to you? Will the mechanization of agriculture take the place of manual agriculture? In the case of affirmative, where from these machinery will be bought?

Answer: Generally speaking, no one of the anti-Shah *Ulama* is of the big land owners so as to be injured by the Land Reclamation. I have, however, declared that as the big land owners had not paid their religious taxes, we shall not take back the lands from the farmers. My opposition and the opposition of the other *Ulama* to the Shah have never been because of this. This is also one of the Shah's vicious propaganda which, however, has lost its colour. (236).

The *Ulama* and Justice

The Islamic *Ulama* have the duty of fighting against monopoly and illegal profits of the wrongdoers. They are not to let a great number of the people be hungry and deprived, while next to them the wrongdoers and the plunderers, the eaters of the *haram*, live in luxury and comfort. (237).

* * *

The True *Ulama* Are Separate from the Money-Worshippers

The ture Islamic *Ulama* never surrender to the capitalists and the money—worshippers and the *khans*. They have so far preserved this honour for themselves. It is quite an injustice to say that the hands of the true *Ulama*, the supporters of the true Muhammadan Islam, are with the hands of the capitalists in the same bowl. (238).

The Duty of the Christian Clergy

It is the duty of the divine missionaries who are in this world to take humanity from this world to the higher world. Another duty of the theologians of all nations, the Christian clergy, the Muslim *Ulama*, the Jewish rabbis and all men of religion, is to follow the instructions of the prophets and those who came to educate man and to spread peace and purity among the human beings. The theologians are in the vanguard position for the implementation of the objectives of the prophets, which are divine revelations. The theologians are commissioned to carry out a divine duty which is higher than the duties of the common people. It is a divine responsibility. They are responsible before the prophets and before Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, for conveying the instructions of the prophets to the people and to help them and deliver them out of their afflictions. Today the people of the world are afflicted with the Big Powers, the Satanic Powers, who stand in the face of the prophet's instructions, preventing them from being implemented. The Christian Clergy have a special particularity, that is because the Big Powers are Christians, they claim to be Christians, and yet it is these Big Powers who act contrary to Allah's instructions given to all the prophets. They act contrary to the teachings of Jesus the Messiah. The Christian Clergy are to wage a moral struggle, according to the instructions of Allah and the Messiah, against these Powers who behave contrary to the course of the prophets, and contrary to the course of the Messiah. They are to advise them, to guide the Messiah's nation so that they may not follow these Powers who are against the Messiah. (239).

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The Scientific Hawzahs

The Role of the *Hawzahs* in Preserving Islam

There is no doubt that the scientific *hawzahs* and the committed *Ulama*, along the history of Islam and Shiism, have been an important and firm base in the face of assaults, deviations and perversions. The great *Ulama* of Islam tried during their lives to promote the matters concerning the divine *halal* and the *haram*, without interfering or any change.

Had there been no *faqihs*, it would not have been known today what kind of knowledge they would have given to the masses of the people under the name of Quranic, Islamic and *Ahl al-Bayt's* knowledge. It was not an easy task to collect and keep the Quranic knowledge, the *hadiths* of the great Prophet (s) and the traditions of the infallibles (a), recording, classificating and revising them, under the conditions of meagre possibilities and the despotic sultans who used all their possibilities to efface the traditions of the Prophet. Praise be to Allah, today, we see the results of these efforts and endeavours in such works as the "Four Books" and other books by late and recent writers in *fiqh*, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, *usul*, theology, *hadith*, biography, *tafsir*, literature, gnosticism and other branches of different sciences. If we do not name so much toiling and efforts and sufferings "*jihad* in the way of Allah", what other name befits it?

Much can be said about the dimensions of the scientific services of the scientific *hawzahs*, but this brief cannot take them in. Allah is to be praised for the fact that the *hawzahs* are rich and have innovations in respect of the sources and the methods of research and *ijtihad*. I cannot imagine that, for deep and all-embracing studying of the Islamic sciences, there is a method more suitable than that of the former *Ulama*. The history of more than a thousand years testimony to our claim concerning making fruitful the sacred sapling of Islam. (240).

The Necessity of Establishing Order and Preventing

The Infiltration of the Pretentious *Ulama*

My advice to the sacred scientific hawzahs, and which I have repeated many times, is that the opponents of Islam and the Islamic Republic have decided, nowadays, to overthrow it, sparing no effort to attain to this Satanic purpose. One of the important ways of achieving their evil and dangerous purpose against Islam and the Islamic hawzahs is the infiltration of the deviated and criminal individuals. The great danger of this, on the short term, is defaming the scientific hawzahs by means of committing indecent acts and deviated moralities and conducts, and its greater danger on the long run is the attainment of one or a number of impostors to high positions, in which they, through their knowing some Islamic sciences, will attract the attention of the pure-hearted masses of the people, and thus they will be in a position to direct, at the suitable time, a devastating blow at the Islamic hawzahs and the country. We do know that the Big Plundering Powers have in reserve among the people individuals in different forms of nationalists, fake enlightened and pretentious *Ulama*, who, seizing the chance, would be the most dangerous and harmful. They sometimes remain for thirty or forty years pretending to piety and to be with the Islamic course, or by affecting Pan Iranism, 168 patriotism and other deceitful tricks. They live, patiently and forbearingly, among the people, and, at a suitable time, they carry out their plans. Our dear people, within this short time after the victory of the Revolution, have seen examples of these, such as: The "Mujahidin Khalq", "Fada'iyan Khalq" 169, "Tudehs" and other names. It is necessary that all of you should, with vigilance and awareness, frustrate this part of the conspiracy. The most important are the scientific hawzahs, which are to be organized and purged by knowledgeable, respected and experienced teachers supported by the maraji of the time. It is possible that the saying: "Order is in disorder" is one of the evil suggestions of these very planners and the plotters of this conspiracy. Anyhow, my advice is that in all ages, especially in this present age, during which the plans and the conspiracies are being accelerated with increasing force, rising up to organize the hawzahs is needed and necessary, and the *Ulama*, the teachers and the respected learned men are to spend some of their time to protect and keep safe the hawzahs, especially the hawzah of Qum and other big and important hawzahs, by means of preparing strict and correct programs, particularly for this section of time. It is necessary that the respected *Ulama* and the teachers should not let any deviation appear in the lessons about *fiqh*, and in the *hawzahs* of *fiqh* and the *usul* of the creeds of the great Shaykhs—which are the only way for preserving the Islamic *fiqh*. They are to try everyday to see that exactitude in discussions, opinions and researches are increased, and the traditional *fiqh*¹⁷¹—which is the heritage from the good ancestors, and to deviate from it weakens the pillars of research and exactitude—is kept sound, adding research to research. Of course, in respect of the branches of other sciences, the programs are to be prepared according to the requirements of the country and Islam so as to educate a number of persons in those branches. Among the best and highest branches to be taught and learned collectively are the Islamic moral sciences, such as ethics and self-refinement, and also travelling to Allah (may Allah grant it to us and to you), which is the greatest *jihad*. (241).

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Teaching Methods and the Contents of the Hawzahs

As regards the methods and research in the hawzahs, I believe in the traditional figh and the Jawahiriyan 172 ijtihad, as to disregard it, I think, is not to be allowed. Ijtihad according to the said method is correct, but this does not mean that figh has no research work in Islam. Time and place are two important elements in the *ijtihad*. A question, which in the old times had a particular verdict, may apparently, according to the connections ruling over a regime's policies, society and economy, acquire a different judgment. That is, by getting better information about the economical, social and political connections, the same question, which apparently does not differ from the old one, may actually become a new question which, inevitably, requires a new judgment. A *mujtahid* must be acquainted with the affairs of the time. It is not acceptable to the people, to the youths and even to the common people, that a marja, a mujtahid, should say: "I have no opinion in politics." Knowing how to encounter the tricks and deceptions of the culture ruling over the world, having insight in economical questions, knowing how to handle the economy ruling the world, knowing the different politics and even the politicians and formulas dictated by them, understanding the situations and the points of weakness and strength in the two poles of Capitalism and Communism, which, infact, draw the strategy ruling over the world, all are among the particularities of a well-versed mujtahid. A mujtahid must possess the cleverness, intelligence and the insight required for the guidance of a big Islamic, or even a non-Islamic, country, and, besides sincerity, tagwa and asceticism, which are becoming of a *mujtahid*, he must also be a director and a manager. Government, to a true *mujtahid*, is the practical philosophy of the entire *fiqh* in all the corners of the human life. Governing is the manifestation of the practical side of *fiqh* in handling all the social, political, military and cultural difficulties. *Fiqh* is the theory of the real and complete management of man and society from the cradle to the grave. (242).

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An Advice to the Managing Council of the *Hawzah* and its Students in Qum

To the Managing Council of the Scientific *Hawzah* of Qum, may its Favours Continue.

With greetings and *dua* for you, dear ones, whose endeavours are not concealed from any body. *Inshaallah*, with the help of the authorities of the *hawzah's* affairs you will be successful in responding to the questions of the world of Islam.

It must never be forgotten that the firm pillars of figh and usul current in the *hawzahs* should never be trespassed. Of course, while the Jawahiri (method of) ijtihad is firmly and steadily promoted, the advantages of the new methods and sciences required by the Islamic scholarly hawzahs may also be put to use. Once again I recommend my good revolutionary sons that the Managing Council of the Scientific hawzah of Qum has my support. They are to try not to act excessively, as this will lead to their own defeat. The young students are to help the respected teachers of the *hawzah*, who are at the service of the Revolution, Islam and the Islamic sciences, so that they may be able to attain to the important objectives of teaching and education. The Managing Council and the dear teachers are also to be aware that without the revolutionary students they will reach to none of their legal wants. The revolutionary and combating students are the vanguard of our original Islamic Revolution. The rosy and shining features of the many Fayda'iyyahs¹⁷³ of Iran in the world of Islam are indebted to imprisonments and tortures imposed upon these dear students.

It must be taken into consideration that the Managing Council of the Scientific *hawzah* of Qum would love to do something which would help the students to learn knowledge without facing any difficulty. If they in some

places are not attaining to this goal, it is because it is not within their ability. Protests always rise from those who are not in the pit of execution.

I ask Allah, the Exalted, to grant success to the leaders and the soldiers of the Islamic sciences. (243).

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The Necessity of Refinement in the *Hawzahs*

Should the old scientific *hawzahs* lack refinement, morality, spiritual teaching, and there should be only scientific teachings and no more than science, there would certainly graduate from them individuals who would destroy the world and create disturbance. (244).

* * *

The Message of the Hawzahs

Today thousands of judges ad preachers are needed. They are to be brought up by the elites, the *Ulama*, the teachers and the learned instructors in the *hawzahs* all over the country, especially in Qum, Mashhad and the big cities. From the corners of the country rise the demands for judges and preachers. The demand increases everyday. The scientific *hawzahs* must spend time to tirelessly attend to this very important question. They are to jump to their feet. As a matter of fact, the learned and the respected teachers have already started this task in Qum. But as the size of the work is enormous, it is necessary that the *hawzahs* should increase their instructions so that this deficiency may, *inshaallah*, be removed within a few years.

One of the important affairs which received the attention of the elite and the *Ulama* of the scientific *hawzah* of Qum—though with no positive act—was the question of discipline and order in the *hawzahs*, which are to be started from the scientific *hawzah* of Qum, seriously and fundamentally. In fact, the question of protecting the *hawzahs* against the infiltration of the elements deviated in their beliefs, moralities and conducts, is one of the most important religious duties which are entrusted to all, particularly to the elite, the *Ulama* and the teachers. It can be implemented with the serious cooperation of all and the support of the great *maraji*. Nowadays, as the scientific *hawzahs* and the honourable *Ulama* play a very effective role in promoting Islam's objectives and strengthening the Islamic Republic, there

can be no doubt that the powerful ones and the power-seekers will not remain idle. They are trying hard to weaken this active power, and this cannot be an easy job for them except by means of the penetration of the corrupt elements into the *hawzahs* so as to act from inside to destroy and render inactive this divine phenomenon, and that, on the long run, they may—God forbid—cause the people to be gradually disappointed with them, and to turn against them. We all know if the *hawzahs* failed—God forbid—in educating the *fagihs*, the *Ulama* and the preachers, to be agreeable to the people, and the *hawzahs* act disorderly without any correct program and lacking rational and Islamic discipline in managing them, we will have to expect the disaster of the big defeat of the Islamic Republic and great Islam. If the source of corruption is not blocked just now with the endeavours of all, tomorrow and tomorrows will be too late, and the situation may reach a state in which it will be out of everybody's power. To compare today's condition of the hawzahs with that of them before the Revolution, when the *Ulama*, under the pressure, propaganda and ill-understanding, were isolated from politics and from attending to the country's affairs, and they were left aside, is inopportune and incorrect. It is quite possible that some of the ill-understanding people are against this vital matter, and, under Satanic imaginations, they believe in the saying: "order is in disorder". But these are in the minority, while the great majority of the *Ulama* think about these matters and events. At any rate, just as it is necessary to purge and purify all the governmental organs, civil and military, it is also necessary, or even it is more important to purge and purify the *hawzahs* and the universities which are to keep pace with the *hawzahs* and both have their own particularities. By purifying these two Islamic and national bases, the content of the Islamic Republic will continue its development and progress, but by the deviation of these two, the Revolution and the Republic will deviate from their original course. (245).

* * *

The *Hawzahs* Are to Attend to the Universality of Islam

Just as Islam has diverse dimensions according to man's dimensions, and as Islam has come for man, for making the man, since the Quran is a man—making Book, and just as the Quran has diverse dimensions according to man's dimensions, similarly the *Ulama* must also have diverse dimensions in teaching, according to dimensions of Islam and of man. Of course, a single person cannot respond to all the dimensions, but a *hawzah* comprising of ten

thousand people or the *hawzahs* composed, say, of thirty thousand persons, can be arranged in groups, each undertaking the management of a dimension: One, the intellectual aspects, another, the political aspects, a third one, the... All these are in Islam; all these aspects are in Islam. The *hawzahs* must be so, must be prepared. Just as there are diverse dimensions in Islam, the *hawzahs* are likewise to have diverse dimensions with different persons to guide the people.

Just as they learn and teach *fiqh* and what goes around it, they must also learn and teach all other aspects and dimensions of Islam, so as to bring up worthy men in order to direct and guide the people. (246).

* * *

The Method of the Good Ancestors to be Continued in the *Hawzahs*

Among the important matters which worry me are the affairs of the scientific hawzahs, especially the big ones, such as the sacred hawzah of Qum. All the noted *Ulama* and the respectful teachers, who care for Islam and the country, are to pay deep attention lest the formalities and caring for numerous buildings for different Islamic political and social purposes should turn them away from the original objective of the hawzahs, i.e. being engaged in the current Islamic sciences, especially figh and its principles, in accordance with the traditional method, and lest, God forbid, they may become indulged in the preliminary and preparatory matters, preventing them from carrying out the original objective, that is, keeping and developing the researches in the Islamic sciences, particularly the figh, on the basis of the method of the good ancestors and the great scholars, such as "Shaykhut-Ta'ifah", 174 and the like (may Allah, the Exalted, be pleased with them), and of the later ones, such as "Sahib al-Jawahir" and the honourable al-Ansari¹⁷⁶ (may Allah be pleased with them). If Islam loses—God forbid everything except that its figh, according to the method inherited from the great fagihs, remains for it, it will continue its course. But if it gets everything and loses—God forbid—its figh as inherited from the good ancestors, it will not be able to continue its course of truth and will be ruined. Although we do know that the great maraii, the noted Ulama and the respectable teachers, (may the blessings of their existence continue) are aware of this matter, it is feared that if the formalities and sham splendours, like those of the materialists, become prevalent, they will affect the coming generation, and—God forbid—what we are afraid of will afflict the *hawzahs*. The gentelmen who are concerned about, and responsible for, this matter, must pay attention to do their best to prevent it, and whatever they do is to be for the sake of serving the scientific *hawzahs*, Islam and the Islamic sciences. The affairs are to be redressed, avoiding going to the extremes. I ask Allah, the Exalted, to make all successful in serving knowledge, the *Ulama*, Islam and the nation. (247).

* * *

Art and Healthy Entertainments

The Art Acceptable to Islam

The blood of hundreds of excellent artists, shed in the fronts of love, martyrdom, honour and dignity, is the everlasting capital of such arts which are to ooze fragrance, in proportion to the grandeur and beauty of the Islamic Revolution, to the senses of the spirits loving beauty and seeking the beauty of Allah.

The art acceptable to Quran is that which glosses the true Islam of Muhammad (s), of the Imams of guidance (a), of the suffering poor people, of the bare-footed, and of the flogged in the bitter and disgraceful history of deprivations. A beautiful and pure art is that which is not a speaker of the modern capitalism and of the blood-sucking Communism. It is an art which destrays the Islam of comfort and luxury, eclectic Islam, the Islam of collusion and baseness, the Islam of the painless comfortables; in a word, the American Islam. Art, in the school of love, displays the blind and obscure points of social, economical, political and military difficulties. Art, in the Islamic gnosticism, is to illuminously draw equity, honour and fairness, and to personify the disappointment of the hungry inflicted by the wrath of power and money. Art, in its real place, portrays the leech-like people who derive pleasure from sucking the blood of the Islamic original culture, the culture of justice and of purity. The only art which is to be practised is that which leads to the way of struggling against the world-devourers of the West and the East, headed by America and the USSR.

Our artists can put down their backsack of responsibility without hesitation only when they are sure that their people are no longer dependent on the others, when only within the frame of their creed, they attain to the eternal life. Our artists in the fronts of our sacred defence were like this until they hurried to the higher world of the angels. They fought for Allah and for the happiness and dignity of their people, and, in the way of the victory of dear Islam, they disgraced the claimants of painless art. May their Lord gather them in the proximity of His mercy. (248).

* * *

Corruption Is not Intrinsic in the Theatre and the Cinema

Producing a play in conformity with the human-Islamic ethics is difficult, and if the cinema wants to act likewise, it will need to spend a long time. It has never been stated that the cinema and the theatre must be centers for corruption. Their art was indecent shows played in order to bring up our individuals and youths in the universities inside and outside the country in a way leading them all to deviation. (249).

* * *

Islam Opposes Man's Futility and Estrangement

Concerning what is known as entertainment, Islam opposes whatever leads man to futility and to estrangement from himself. Drinking wine is prohibited in Islam, and the films turning man away from his high moralities are also prohibited. (250).

* * *

The Cinema Acceptable to Islam

We are against the cinema which shows corruptive programs and demoralizes our youths and ruins the Islamic culture. But we agree with the programs which educate to the benefit of the society's healthy and moral development in general. (251)

* * *

The Instructive Films

Praise be to Allah for having good orators and writers. We have everything. I think that the films produced by the Iranians are mostly better than those produced by the others, such as the film called "The Cow" which was instructive. But now these films must come from America or Europe in such unrestrained presentation so that the Westernized enlightened class may be happy. Most of the films coming from abroad to Iran are imperialistic. So, ommit the foreign imperialistic films, unless they are hundred precent correct. (252).

* * *

The Imam's Fatwa Concerning the Films of the TV of the Islamic Republic

(The letter of the Acting Manager and a Member of the Supervising Council of the Radio and TV [to Imam Khomeini] Concerning the TV Programs.)

* * *

In the Name of Allah

As you know, in some dramatic programs of the TV of the Islamic Republic of Iran, such as the cinematic films or other theatrical domestic and foreign programs, women are present as players. They, according to the subject, do not apply complete Islamic covering to conceal their faces, necks and hair of the head. Similarly in respect of the male athletes in some sports, such as wrestling and football, parts of their bodies are not covered. It is requested that you may inform us your blessed opinion, throwing light on the following instances:

- 1. Showing TV programs in which, according to the subject, some roles are played by women who do not completely observe the disciplines of Islamic clothings to cover the face, the neck and the hair of the head.
- 2. Showing athletic programs such as wrestling and football, in which parts of the athletes' bodies are not clothed.
 - 3. Looking at the said programs which are put on the show by the TV. And peace be upon you, with Allah's mercy and blessings.

Muhammad Hashimi

Looking at such films and plays does not constitute any religious prevention; rather many of them are instructive. Likewise putting them on the show is not prohibited, including athletic films and also music, which mostly incur no prohibition. However, in some rare occasions unlawful instances are observed. These must get better control. Anyhow, two points are to be observed: First, the cosmeticians are to be *mahram*. It is *haram* that a non-mahram should apply make-up to the other sex. Second, the audience should not look at the scene lustfully. (253).

* * *

CLASSES AND GROUPS

The Iranian Nation

A Comparison between the Iranian Nation and the Muslims of Early Islam

I daringly say that the Iranian nation, the Iranian millions of masses, at this present age, are better than the nation of al-Hijaz at the time of the Messenger of Allah (s), as well as than the people of Iraq in the days of Amir al-Muminin and al-Husayn ibn Ali (a). (Some of) The Muslims of al-Hijaz during the time of the Messenger of Allah (s) did not obey him and used to raise excuses in order not to go to the fronts, such that Allah, the Exalted, reproached them in some ayahs in surah al-Baraah in the Ouran, threatening them with torment. They ascribed to him so much lies that he cursed them on the *minbar*, as it is related. Similarly, the people of Iraq and al-Kufah treated Amir al-Muminin so badly, disobeying him, that his complaints of them are recorded in the books of history. Likewise the Muslims of Iraq and al-Kufah did to the Master of the Martyrs, Imam al-Husayn (a), what they did, and those of them who did not participate in his martyrdom, either fled away from the battle-field, or kept silent until that historical crime was committed. But today we notice the Iranian nation, their armed forces, the Guards, the Militia and the popular forces, the tribes, the volunteers, the forces at the fronts and the people behind the fronts, all offer amazing sacrifices and heroic deeds, with complete willingness and eagerness. From behind the fronts the people offer precious aids. We see the remaining survivors of the martyrs and those injured by the war and their relatives, confront us and you with heroism-creating faces and with eager talks and conducts causing a sense of security. All these are because of their overflowing love, devotion and faith for Allah, the Exalted, Islam and the eternal life, despite the fact that they are neither in the presence of the Messenger of Allah (s), nor in the presence of an infallible Imam (a). Their drive is faith and trust in the unseen. This is the secret of success and victory in different dimensions. Islam is to be proud of having educated such children, and we all are proud of being in such an era and before such a nation. (254).

* * *

The Spiritual Change of the Iranian Nation

Our people have found the road by themselves and are proceeding on it. This spiritual change which has appeared in the nation, in you, the youth, the men, the women, it brings hope.

When our society changes from the form it was in, in the days of the *taghut*, into an Islamic form, a human form, its deeds become humanistic, Islamic. Your deeds are Islamic. You act willingly and eagerly. This is a spiritual change, a spiritual implementation on which we must pin our hope, and we are hopeful. It is hoped that we see a very luminous future in Iran, and you will see, *inshaallah*, a better one. (255).

* * *

The Importance of the Popular Support

The difference between an Islamic and a non-Islamic revolution is that when the revolution is Islamic the masses of the people will be with it, and when the masses of the people are supporting something, it progresses quickly, and is of less corruption. (256).

* * *

The Inability of the Big Powers before the Will of the People

As you have noticed, all the people gathered together and shouted out the call of "Allahu Akbar!", and pushed aside all obstacles in their way. Now the situation is such that no power can do anything, that is, nothing can be imposed on the people. But it is possible that an oppressor may come and try to impose an idea, and enter the country like a plague, yet he cannot do anything to a nation who stands with a united will. No power can impose

anything. Neither America can impose nor the USSR. None of them can impose anything. (257).

* * *

The Brave People of Iran a Model for Other Peoples

Khomeini, who is passing through his last days, pins all his hope on you, the brave people Iran, the people who have never fallen under the effect of major and minor disputes, and will never fall, *inshaallah*. You, the people who, with all your existence, revolted against the Eastern and Western world-devourers. You, my dear ones, are victorious by Allah's will. You, brave and conscious people, are an example for the suppressed people of the world. You must know that you have stepped on a road along which you will face too many difficulties, and only your resistence will save you. Never let fear and dread overcome you, and they never did, as your pounding struggles have shown up. Unite, as under the shade of unity your victory over the Super Powers will be assured. (258).

* * *

The Deprived Masses of the People Are Our Benefactors

On the occasion of hte anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the Ten-day-Dawn, 178 I beg to congratulate all the nation and all the world's mustadafin, and you, gentlemen, being the examples for this ummah. I ask Allah, the Exalted, to help all of you to serve the servants of Allah, and we ask Allah, the Omnipotent, to cause this Revolution to be continuously victorious. The basis of the continuation of a victory and a revolution seems to be something which comes at the head of all things. That is, the government, the parliament and those who are in the army and the guards, all of them are to be of the middle and below middle classes. The domination of foreigners over the countries and our country was because the luxurious individuals and the big capitalists seized power in order to protect themselves and their dignity. As long as the parliament, the state organs and the people are of the low and middle classes, it will not be possible that a big government, a big power, should start a commotion and disturb the situations. Always such big powers used to communicate in each country with a person active in acquiring power and wealth for himself. So, they used

him to plunder the nation, or, as it were, they greased the palm of the village's alderman and plundered the village. Whenever the big powers encountered the people they could never carry out their desire and they never encountered them. Whenever they wanted to do away with a government, a sultanate or a president who did not act as they wanted, they used to mould out another power in his face, through which they did away with the undesirable party. It was not up to the people, and it was not in the hands of the low and the middle classes. There is a psychological point in this procedure. Man is infinite in his inside, in his innate disposition, and his hopes are limitless and they do not stop. Such being the case, when a man (a ruler) becomes captive to these incessent hopes and sees that a big power preserves for his these very hopes, these material wants, and keeps his power and authority over his people, he will no longer be interested in working for the people, because he is of the wealthy and powerful people. Seeking power, as well as loving wealth and position, are also limitless. In order to protect his power and his support, he does with the people that which places the nation's dignity and treasures at that big power's disposal, keeping for himself a small portion. You notice now that there are powers in the world so wealthy that if they distribute their wealth among our 36 million population, all these 36 million individuals will live in ease and comfort, and will be raised, as it were, to a higher class. There are individuals with such riches, but this very individual, with so much wealth, is more greedy for wealth than the dervish living at the entrance of the district. His covetousness was much more and he wanted to collect even more. The more one's wealth increases, the greater his greed increases. The more one's power increases, the greater his greed to power increases. If a man is not refined, he will use that power in his own interests. When such a man tries to use his power in this way, there appear big powers who locate this powerful man, support him more and more, help him to get high positions, enabling him to oppress the people in order to plunder their treasures. Notice the situation during the past fifty years or even more, when the foreigners chose Rida Khan, as they themselves had said it, supported him and made him so powerful that he oppressed this nation, imposed upon them his tyranny and deprived the people from everything. He was just a single person, and they greased his palm and carried out their intentions. After him they brought Muhammad Rida with all his servants around him. They were a group of very well-to-do and confort-seekers of the high classes, as it were. We and our people must pay attention to the fact that now we have a parliament composed of the members of the middle class, and that it includes no aristocrat as before.

Likewise in the governmental posts we have no luxurious elements and big capitalists. In the army, too, we have no such Major-Generals with such-andsuch estates and multi-story dwelling suites. This country will remain protected. Whenever the people realize that any one of you (the responsible persons) is trying to roll out of his middle-class status up to comfort, seeking power or wealth, they are to be careful about such individuals who may gradually appear. They must stop them. If the nation wants this victory to reach its destination, to its final stage hoped for by all, it must carefully watch over those who form the state, the one who is President, the one who goes into the parliament. All these are to be watched lest they may try to pass from their middle-class status to a higher class, to the stage of comfort and luxury, as they term it. Do know that when the state is so, when the people are so, and when the parliament and whatever else is so, the power which tries to attack us, will have to face a population of thirty million, and it will never be able to find out an individual with power to incite him to bring the people under oppression and to plunder the people as he likes. History has been so. As long as there could be found among the people no one of such power and wealth to be able to force his rule over the people, the nation will remain safe and no one can do away with it and govern it. At last, sometime, a Super Power may face one, two, a hundred or five hundred individuals whom it feeds to satisfaction and sets them at the people, while it sits aside, taking in hand the rein of the rule, and leaving the lower governing positions to such individuals. The root of oppressing the nations stems from among themselves and from powerful ones among them. You are to thank Allah for having such a parliament which is free from even a single one of the upper class—the class which, if it distributes its wealth among our nation, our nation will become wealthy. You have no such rich ones, nor have you them in the government. The President has no such power enabling him to impose deviation upon the people. We have not such a parliament which can pass an act of deviation, or even it tries to, and have the government to execute it. As long as this middle limit is preserved, this Republic is preseved, too, and there will be no way for the Big Powers to face such a state. If they want to carry out a coup d'!tat, who will cooperate with them? If they import it from outside, whom will they encounter? They will encounter a nation all of whom are of this class which pushed this uprising forward with such a power and such a greatness. They study the situations and then act accordingly. They are now planning to lay out among the people a plan of contentions and conflicts, during which there may appear a prominent person whom they may empower in order to use local power to weaken the country and demoralize the people and then seize the country and the people in their own hands. As long as our country enjoys this situation—and praise be to Allah that it is free from the high class who had the affairs in their hands, and the affairs of the country are now in the hands of the people like you, in the hands of the President, the Speaker, the Premier, the Ministers and the Deputies—you may rest assured that no foreign power will be able to undo this victory.

The day on which you see and they see the appearance of deviation in the parliament—deviation towards seeking power or riches—among the ministers and in the President, be sure that it marks defeat. At that, they should be stopped. When a President wants to show himself a sultan on the country, the people themselves must stop him. When a parliament tries to show off strength and do what some individuals used fromerly to do, the people themselves must stop them. If the people want to preserve Islam and the Islamic Republic, they must preserve the government, the parliament, the President, that is, to preserve them so that they may not take an unwanted step—may Allah forbid. Satan is there, in man's inside, and it is possible to cause everybody to deviate. So everybody is to refine himself. You who want to offer your services to the people, the government which wants to serve the people, the President and others who want to serve the people, must pay attention to the fact that they are servants, they are to believe in themselves that they really want to serve the people. We are living in the Islamic Republic. We want to have in this Islamic Republic a government like that which was during the time of the Messenger of Allah (s) and Amir al-Muminin (a), a government which did not worth, he said, more than his patchy shoes, or the rule did not worth more than that. You have to keep this morality in your inside, and the people must also have an eye on you and on all men of position. When we, you and all the others wanted to go out of the way of Islam, that which was Islam's from the beginning, that which was the way of the prophets, that day the example of the defeat of Islam's victory would appear, and before the appearance of such a question, do not doubt that the victory is in its place. Of course, it must be for Allah. You have come to the parliament for Allah's sake. Now that being a deputy does not mean a privilage, such that in the market they make way for you, shouting: The speaker has come! or: The deputy has come! Similarly the Premier. It is not like that when he goes among the people, they regard him differently. When all are looked at on the same footing, and you feel you have no worldly distinction, you are to be thankful by way of serving the creatures and serving the precepts of Islam and these who are our guardians, the dwellers of the down-city, or the bare-footed, as you call them. These are our

benefactors. Had it not been for them, we would have been either in the exile, in the jail, or in islolation. It was they who saved us from all these affairs and brought all of us to a place where they seated us. To our imagination it is a place. You must be attentive to the fact that you, gentlemen, are the same persons who were in prison, in exile, or in isolation. It was the people who came and brought us out of all these. So, if we continue serving them till the end of our lives, we will not be able to settle our debt to them. May Allah assist us in being at their service and be successful in that. Look at those who are sacrificing their souls in the fronts, to which class do they belong? If you find among them a single person belonging to the class of big capitals, of those who formerly possessed power, if you could find a single one of them, you would be liable to a reward. But I am sure you would not find such a one, they are from the common people. Even now, those who put their souls on their palm in protecting you, and those who do the same in between the towns and the villages, are of this class. It is this class to which we are obliged. We were obliged to them from the beginning. It is those who have no expectations, and they will never think to have any expectation. You are to pay attention to the fact that it is they who brought us and made us their deputies, their ministers, and their President. They are our benefactors, and so, we must be grateful to them and serve them. It is those who are still protecting the country, the regime. I would say that you cannot go into the lanes or the streets and undertake to direct them. Your status is different. Your job is a different service, and theirs is a different one. Their job is also to protect you. I hope that this spirit will remain in this nation. This spirit in our soldiers, in our guards and in those who are in charge of protecting our country, is very valuable, it is the spirit of seeking martyrdom, that is, they throw themselves into the mouth of danger in order to save Islam and the country. May Allah grant this spirit to all. As long as this spirit exists, together with what I have already said, be sure that this country is insured and will never be harmed. (259).

* * *

The People and their Thought are to be the Basis

Our Revolution relies on moralities and Allah. Those who agree with us are those who agree with the line of monotheism. We must not forget the line of moralities for which we started our Revalution—the line of moralities which, with all the inaptitude of our propaganda, directed the attention of the

world to our Revolution. It is this line of moralities which is not agreeable to the oppressors. Beware that wherever there is a disagreement on the part of the oppressors and the states with us, there is an agreement on the part of the nations with us. The people and their thoughts should be the basis. We must think of the people, not of the governments, because the people and the masses are with the truth, being themselves under the burden of injustice. They do not want to be under the control of America and the USSR. As regards propaganda we were almost zero. Besides fromal travels we must have informal travels, too, so as to wake the world. If we want to export the Revolution, we must try to make the peoples come to power in order to have the people of the third class, as they call them, on the saddle. (260).

* * *

The Mustadafin and the Mustakbirin

The Mustadafin Rose in Support of the Prophets along History

All the heavenly religions rose from among the masses, and with the support of the *mustadafin* they set on the *mustakbirin*. The *mustadafin* rose in support of the prophets all along history and kept them at bay. In Islam, the noble Messenger rose from among the *mustadafin*, and with the help of the *mustadafin* he awakened the *mustakbirin* of his time or defeated them. All religions are indebted to the *mustadafin*. Islam is indebted to the *mustadafin*, because within the past fourteen centuries, it was the masses who offered their help to Islam and promoted it, while the imperial regimes and the *mustakbirin* affiliated to them were always on a road different from that of Islam, and they continued their evil lives by means of fighting Islam. It was the *mustadafin* who followed the prophets, the *Ulama* and the godly men. Our uprising advanced by means of the *mustadafin*, too, while the *mustakbirin* ran away or kept to their homes. (261).

* * *

Islam Wants no Mustakbir on the Earth

We praise Allah for favouring the *mustadafin* against the *mustakbirin*, and for purifying the earth from the filth of the *mustakbirin*, helping the *mustadafin* to rule the earth. Islam has come for this purpose, and the Islamic teachings have come to this purpose, too, that is, there should be none of the *mustakbirin* on the earth, and they should not be able to exploit the *mustadafin* and put them under their imperialism. According to the high teachings of the Quran, Islam and the traditions of the noble Messenger and the Imams of the Muslims, as well as according to the traditions of the prophets as related by the Quran, the *mustadafin* are to join together and rise in a revolution against the *mustakbirin*, preventing them from transgressing their rights. We have proceeded by these teachings, and our people received martyrdom for this purpose. As martyrdom was itself the goal of our people, they could, with fists and blood, overcome all the hellish forces, the tanks, the machine guns and the Super Powers lined behind the former Shah. (262).

* * *

Only Those Who Tasted Poverty Will Keep Company with Us till the End of the Line

Our dear people, who are the real and true fighters for the Islamic values, have very well realized that fighting and comfort-seeking can never be in harmony with each other. Those who think that fighting for the independence and the freedom of the *mustadafin* and the deprived is not contradictory with capitalism and comfort-seeking, are alien to the alphabet of fighting. Those who believe that the pain-free affluent and the capitalists can be awakened by advice and admonition, and join the fighters for the sake of freedom and assist them, are but pounding water in a mortar. The discussion about fighting and comfort, about rising and resting, about wanting this world and seeking the Hereafter, are two arguments which can never meet together. Those who will keep company with us till the end of the road are only those who have tasted the pains of poverty, deprivation and oppression. The poor and the penniless pious ones are the real directors and upholders of the revolutaions. We must do our best to keep the original line of defending the mustadafin, in any way. The responsibles in the revolutionary regime of Iran must know that groups of the irreligious, in order to destroy the Revolution, try to lable everybody who wants to serve

the poor and the deprived, and to march along the road of Islam and the Revolution, with the brand of Communism and being eclectic. Do not be afraid of such accusations. Keep Allah in mind and exert all your efforts and abilities to acquire Allah's pleasure and to offer your help to the poor, and be afraid of no accusation. (263).

* * *

The Deprived Caused this Uprising to Be Fruitful

It was the deprived who served this country and rose, and it was this class which brought this uprising to where it is. It is neither concealed from us nor from anybody else that the class which caused this uprising to fruitfulness was the deprived class, men and women, those who rushed into the streets, shouted *Allahu Akbar*! raised their closed fists with great faith, paying no attention to the Satanic Powers. It was these very respected women and respected dear men who were of that deprived class in that regime. It was they who could break that Satanic Power and pull down that dam to pieces. It is also those who, from now on, are to continue their duty; actually, it is the duty of all of us. (264).

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The *Ulama* Must Never Stop Protecting the Deprived

That which the *Ulama* should never give up and should never run away from the scene by the others' propaganda, is protecting the deprived and the bare-footed, as whoever gives that up will be giving up the Islamic social justice. Under whatever condition we must regard ourselves in charge of this big responsibility, and if we acted inefficiently in this respect, we would be betraying Islam and the Muslims. (265).

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May We not See the Day on Which the Policy of Our Authorities Would Be Protecting the Capitalists

It is the hope and desire of our nation, the government and the responsibles of the country to see one day that poverty and need have left our society forever, and that our dear, zealous and forbearing people are provided with an easy life materialy and morally. May Allah spare us the day in which our policy and the policy of the country's authorities turn away from defending the deprived and turn to protecting the capitalists, and the wealthy and the rich people may receive more esteem and care. God forbid! This is contrary to the traditions of the prophets, Amir al-Muminin and the infallible Imams (a). The pure skirts of the *Ulama* are innocent of this and must remain so forever. It is one of the prides and blessings of our country, Revolution and the *Ulama*, to rise to protect the bare-footed, reviving the motto of defending the rights of the *mustadafin*. (266).

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Our Duty Is to Rescue the Wronged and the Deprived

The imperialists, through their political agents who rule over the people, have imposed quite unjust economic regulations, which caused the people to divide into two classes: The wrongdoers and the wronged. On one side millions of hungry Muslims deprived of sanitation and education, and on the other side a minority of rich individuals with political power, who are pleasure-seeking, dissolute and corrupt. The hungry and the deprived people try to release themselves from the injustice of the plundering rulers so as to have a better living. This attempt is continuing, but the ruling minority and the despotic governmental establishments block their way. Our duty is to save the wronged and the deprived people. Our duty is to support the wronged and to be hostile to the wrongdoers. It was this very duty which Amir al-Muminin (a) mentioned in his well-known advices to his two great sons. He told them: "Be opponents to the wrongdoer and supporters to the wronged." (267).

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Our Aim Is to Save the Wronged From the Wrongdoers

Imam Ali's saying means: "O Allah, you do know that we did not rise in order to gain a position or to govern, rather our aim is to rescue the wronged from the hands of the wrongdoers." He says: "What caused me to accept to be a commander and to rule over the people was that Allah, the Blessed and High, has taken a pledge from the learned men that they should not acquiesce in the gluttony and unjust enjoyment of the oppressors and vexing hunger of the oppressed."

He also says: "O my Allah, you do know that what we did was not a competition to acquire power, nor to obtain anything of the rubbish vanities of the world." (268).

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The Right Is to Be Taken

The *mustadafin* of all countries, of all kingdoms, are to take their own rights with their strong fists. They should not wait for them (the *mustakbirin*) to give them their right. The *mustakbirin* never give anybody's right back to him. (269).

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The Workers

The Prophet Kisses a Worker's Hand

On this blessed day, the Worker's Day, I congratulate you and all the workers who had come and gone along the history as well as those who will come. Blessings be upon you, dear working class, the great values of humanity, and blessings be on you and on our nation as a whole on this blessed day. Praise be to Allah for this day of the workers which is the day of all, as the day of the army is the day of all, as the day of the women is the day of all, since all are in a single harmony, creating a single divine unity—the unity which is enjoined by Allah, the Exalted. Praise be to Allah, as this has been implemented among the different classes of the nation of Iran. Should, however, there be a trivial minority, it is consumed by this majority.

I do not know on which one of the workers' dimensions I am to talk to you. All the dimensions which are in my mind, or most of them, cannot be talked about in a single limited session. So, I have but to talk about only some of them. The things which I am going to tell you, you are to consider them consciously. If they are accepted, I will be thankful. I would like you to evaluate them with your pure conscience, so that you may realize the position which you have in your country, and the position the other workers have in the other countries.

I begin with referring to a low aspect of the workers, I ask you to consider the groups of the workers, whether the workers in factories and in industry where you toil, or the agricultural workers who toil in the fields, that is, all the hard-working workers whose day is celebrated today, though it is, of course, the day of all. Pay your attention to these groups of workers and to their activities for material matters. See whether this group of workers is enjoying a better sanitary condition or the groups who are termed as the employers, or the capitalists who do not work and just sit aside wasting their lives in idleness, you may refer to your own conscience, supposing that beside this typical session of the workers' meeting who have gathered here today, thank Allah, there was another session for the capitalists, the workless and those who keep to their houses, eating and sleeping. If somebody comes from outside and looks at your complexion, looks at your muscles, looks at your broad chests, looks at your cheerful faces and hears the tone of your voices, then if he looks at the other session of the employers, capitalists, idle and dissolute group as they are, he will realize that you are a group of sound, healthy and vivid youths, while the others are either slumbering or yawning, or moaning from pains in their stomaches, sides and heads. This is because those who are not workers, in the general sense of the word, are not, as you may think, enjoying care-free lives. Probably most of you have paid no attention to the fact that the bitter days, which afflict the capitalists, the employers, the owners of such-and-such, the Khans, the feudalists and the like, are so much painful and hard to them. A single day of yours equals a whole life of theirs. Because of their idleness, gluttony, excessive sleep and lewdness, they take refuge in opium, heroin or in centers of immorality. This is because they cannot bear the discomforts which they feel in themselves. According to my knowledge, and as I had seen in my youth, most of these feudalists and Khans were addicted to opium, and those of them, who were not so strict in their religion, took to drinking, heroin smoking and the like, or frequented the centers of prostitution, and got the ensuing diseases, the suffering and the pains which they had to endure, which you, the workers, never had to bear, thank Allah, and it is hoped that you will not.

You are to know the value of your being workers, as it preserves the soundness of your temperament. When a man can no longer be active, the activities inside the body and in the cells stop, too, while those who are active, their cells will also be active according to the activity of them, and make for any shortcoming. You do notice that among a large group of workers you may find only one or two depressed or sick, since all of them, praise be to Allah, are sound and healthy. The workers think that the other party is well-off and unworried. It is just an imagination of theirs, while they, who call themselves the upper class, though actually they are the lower class, have so much discomforts and depressions that no one can count.

This is a question which you yourselves should think about. Compare between your youths and those who go idlely with no work and spend their lives dissolutely. You are really valuable! It is the value which Islam bestowed upon you. You have heard that the Prophet (s) was related to have kissed the palm of the hand of a worker, that is, the spot of his hand where callus usually appears because of hard work. This is an evaluation of the worker along history. The Prophet of Islam, who is the First Perfect Man, shows so much humbleness in kissing the palm of a worker. To kiss the inside, not the back, of the hand bears a particular indication. The inside of a hand's palm bears the marks of hard work. He wants to declare the great value of work to the whole world, to the Muslims, showing them the value of being a worker, as the mark of his work is there on his hand: Here is a sign of the worker's work and I kiss it so that the Muslim nations and the whole world realize the value of the worker.

I offer to say that there is a great difference between the worker of the olden times and the contemporary worker. The conditions in which the Messenger (s) used to live, and other regions in which other people used to live, espeically in al-Hijaz, where the noble Prophet used to live, the connections among the countries were nil, or almost nil. If there was a shortcoming in a town, it could be made for from another town. The needs were met within the region's towns... The contemporary co-dependence among the countries all over the world makes life of today different from that of the old time... The close connections among all parts of the world, the dependence of countries upon the big capitalistic or communistic countries, were unknown during the days of the Prophet (s). The value of the work was just to regard it honourable, to take it to be useful for man and for his moralities, and besides its being useful for man and his temperament and its

effect on his morality; it had its benefit to the town. But, then, it was not known that if we do not work, we will become dependent on America or on the USSR. No such thing was, then, thought of.

Today, the value of your work is in accordance with the progress of the world. If a worker does not work as he is expected to, the dependences which ensue in a country will be different from what used to be formerly in past centuries, in the time of Prophet. By your work today you can create a value which had never been considered then. By your own work you can release the country from the dependences which it was subject to along history, from the day the East and the West put their feet on this land, and during the whole period of the sinister rule of the Pahlavi dynasty, in which everything was dependent on the foreigners, as well as all the individuals and groups. Today if you work and be active in your work, its value will be, beside its moral and material benefits, for your own person, and you will be able to rescue your country from dependence.

For how long should we be fastened to America, to the USSR? There must, anyhow, be some way. We must understand the idea that wherever we work, in agriculture, in the industry, in the factories, we must instruct ourselves that we are independent, we must be independent, we must not stretch our hands to the others for what our country needs. The value of your work today is the value of something which cannot be compared with the olden times of the Prophet and in that environment—and the Prophet must have paid attention to all environments. In such environment he kissed, as it is related, the palm of a worker's hand in order to register the value of the work in the history. We and you are proud to know that the Prophet has given you such a medal. In some narratives he is quoted to have said that the value of a drop of a worker's sweat is like that of a drop of the blood of a martyr who gives his life in the way of Allah. This is of great value. Those who are now fighting in the fronts victoriously, thank Allah, and have resently accomplished a victory, and it is hoped to achieve the final victory, inshaallah, how valuable this is! Your sweat which pours from you in the factories is no less valuable, because you, too, are working for the revival of a country, for the independence of your country so as not to be dependent on a foreign power; You toil for the independence of an Islamic country. They, too, are striving in defending an Islamic country, in defending Islam. They are workers as you are, and you are fighters as they are. It is a great favour for the workers as a large class, and for you who work in the factories and wherever industry rules. You must know that those who betrayed this country, those who were connected to the Super Powers, tried not to let you make the things which your country needed. Had it not been for the foreigners who found their way into our land in the past few centuries, and had it not been for the treasons of our governments, you, too, would have today been able to achieve the same advanced industry. Today you are to think it over. Unless you think about it you will not be able to save your country and the coming generations. You must believe that you are able to make the things which are made abroad and which you and your country need them. (270).

The Worker's Value in Islam and Comparing it with Communistic and Capitalistic Regimes

Consider these two blocks of Capitalism and Communism, as well as Islam, in respect of the condition of the workers. As regards the first man of Islam, I have already said; the first person of Islam who was the cause of Islam and the law of Islam by Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, his conduct with the worker was as I said: he kissed the palm of his hand with humbleness. He kissed the symble of workmanship and caused pride for the worker... The worker of that time was independent. He worked for himself. He was independent and was valuable, and it was this value which was kissed by the Messenger of Allah, announcing the value of a worker.

The second man of Islam, Ali ibn Abitalib (a) himself was a worker, a digger of canals to bring out water, not for himself, but after reaching to the water he would announce it as an endowment for those who were in need of it. He was an ordinary worker toiling for his living. On the very day on which he was given the allegiance as a caliph he was digging a canal (many canals are still surviving from him to this day). After finishing giving the allegiance to him, as a caliph he once again carried his pick and spade and went to continue his work, as the narratives relate... Such were these two Islamic personalities, and such was their respect for work and worker. Their conducts should be examples for us. You may compare this respect for the worker in Islam through the conducts of those two great men of Islam, and this respect they granted to you, being workers like you. It was not Ali ibn Abitalib (a) alone who worked. It is narrated that the Imams as-Sadiq and al-Baqir (a) used to work somewhere. The Imam as-Sadiq (a) was quite engaged in his moral work. His work as a propagandist and as an instructor was enourmous. Nevertheless, the narration says, he used to go for work. They told him: "Let's do it for you." He said: "My work I like to do myself, and to feel the sun's heat myself." How much value does this give to work, since the person No. 1 in his time, enjoying such a high position, works himself and demonstrates how valuable work is!

In the Communist block, notice their elites, their claims and mottos are too many. Along time they went on proclaiming slogans and offering promises, but now you see how their situation is, how their conduct with the workers is, how their look at the worker is. Turn to the capitalists, what they do. Both have exploited the workers. Both the blocks—one in a way, and the other in another way, turn the workers into instruments for their own interests and for the interest of... In the Communistic countries, they regared the worker—I cannot use this expression—as an animal who must have nothing. They only give you food. You have to work and get food. When no work comes from them, they are dismissed, and some say that they must be thrown into the sea. The other group of the Capitalists block have deceived you. They have deceived the workers and exploited them in some other way.

Islam evaluates the worker and values and respects work. That is, just as a scholar describes a fighter for the sake of Allah, a worker, a farmer, any other worker, he says they are all the same, like the teeth of a comb they are of the same length, they are alike. The combes of that time were like this, they are all thus equal. The glorious Quran states that distinction is not in having wealth, nor in having power. Value and greatness are in *taqwa*, in humanistic values, which have been completely forgotten by these two blocks, although they are human beings like us. When Stalin¹⁸⁰ was born there was no difference between him and another peasant who was born in the same time. Afterwards he got power to work for them under such tyranny; or the block of the capitalists who similarly admit no value for the people. They have regard only for their own power, and they support only the countries under their control. (271).

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The Farmers and the Workers Are the Basis of the Country's Independence

Inshaallah the Workers Day will be blessed to all the *mustadafin* in the world and to the people of Iran, and to you the Islamic committed workers. Blessed be the people of Iran who sent their committed youths to work in the factories actively. Two classes of the people are the spinal column of the country and the Revolution: One is the working class who, with their

incessent strivings, before the Revolution by their extensive strikes, brought the Revolution to victory, and after the Revolution it was they who tried by their strivings and efforts in the way of Islam to take this Revolution forward. I am hopeful that their efforts will be acceptable to the sacred presence of Allah, the Blessed and High, and that they will be honoured here and in the Hereafter.

The other class is the masses of the farmers. The farmers and the workers are the basis of the country's independence. If these two classes willingly work together, the difficulties of our country will, *Inshaallah*, be removed. For this reason, these two classes have been subject to the assaults of the opponents of the Islamic Revolution. It is not for no reason that the activities of the groups opponent to the Islamic Revolution and who are connected to the foreigners, are directed against these two classes, trying to drag them to deviation...

Just as the frontiers are guarded by the armed forces, who, with bravery and valour, defend Islam, and lose dear youths and yet bravely defend the country and Islam, likewise, inside the country, the struggling farmers and the struggling workers strive. They protect the borders from harm, and you protect the country from being dependent. They are fighters for the sake of Allah, and you, too, are fighters for the sake of Allah. Just as their blood is sacred and valuable with Allah, the Exalted, your sweat is also sacred with Allah, the Exalted. If you, the workers and the farmers of the whole country, achieve something connected to your country's interest, independence and freedom, this country will progress and will see no harm...

The Islamic *ummah*, the people of Iran, must know that these millions of the masses in the factories and in the farms, engaged in service, are the chosen ones by Allah, the Exalted, the Most High. they are favoured by Islam and the owner of Islam. This sacrificing class is to support the other sacrificing classes who are engaged in protecting the frontiers with their lives, and all are to support one another until this country reaches, *inshaallah*, to self-sufficiency, and drives the idea: "We ourselves are unable" out of your heads and replaces it with: "We are able". If you, dear brothers, decide to be self-sufficient, you will be able to do it. The important thing is that you should depend on your own powerful arms. The farming class are also to depend on their own powerful arms, and by depending on Allah, the Exalted and Most High, and the support of the owner of this country, the Imam of the Time (a), you can accomplish this objective, and you will. (272).

A Nation's Life Depends on Work and Worker

The workers are the most precious class and the most profitable group in the societies. The great wheel of the human societies is turned by the strong hands of the workers. The life of a nation is indebted to work and workers. Work is not confined to a particular action, and the workers are not just a particular group. Hence, the Workers Day is the day for all the nation...

The Workers Day is the burial day of the authority of the Super Powers. By working, in its general sense, independence, with all its dimensions, will return to the *mustadafin* of the world, and the man-eating and the world-eating Super Powers will be disarmed. (273).

* * *

WOMEN

The Enemies' Evil Propaganda against Women's Situation in Islam

The evil propaganda of the Shah and of those who are bought by the Shah's money, has thrown such an ambiguity in the minds of the people about women's freedom that they get the notion that Islam has come only to have the women confined to their houses. Why should we be against the women's learning? Why should we be against allowing the women to work? Why should the women be unable to undertake governmental posts? Why should we be against women's travelling? Women, just like men, are free to do all these things. Women are never different from men. Yes, in Islam women must have *hijab*, but it may not necessarily be the *chadur*, as she may wear any dress which makes her hijab. Well, Islam cannot accept that a woman is to be like a doll in our hands. Islam wants the woman's personality to be preserved and to make out of her a serious and efficient human being. We would never allow that women should be just something for men and a means for men's pleasure. Islam prohibits abortion. Women have the right to include in the marriage contract a condition giving them the right to divorce. The respect and freedom which Islam gives to women no other law and school of thought has given to them. (274).

* * *

Women's Freedom in Islam

During the early years of Islam women were in the army and went to the battlefields, too. Islam does not agree with corruption in the universities, nor with keeping them undeveloped. Islam is against the imperialistic universities, not against university. Islam is against none of these appearances of civilization, nor is it against any one of your classes. Islam takes the women by the hand and brings them on the same footing with the men, while before the coming of the Prophet of Islam; the women were regarded with no respect at all. Islam gave power to women. It placed them before men on the same level. Of course there are laws particularly for men and suit them, and there are particular laws for women which suit them. This does not mean that Islam differenciates men from women. Both men and women are free to go to the universities; they are free to vote, to be voted for. What Islam is against is the way they want to bring up the women so as to be playing dolls in the hands of the men, as the Shah used to say: "We want to correct this mistake." We want the women to be human beings like all other human beings. We want them to be humane like other humane creatures and to be free like all other free people. (275).

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The Men and the Women Rights Are Equal in Islam

Question: Women form great masses of the Muslims. What role and right do you think to belong to women in the Islamic system?

Answer: Just now the Muslim women of Iran are taking part in the political struggles and demonstrations against the Shah. I have been informed that in the Iranian towns the women hold political sessions. In the Islamic System, women have the same rights as men have: The right of education, the right to work, the right to possess, the right to vote, the right to be elected. Wherever a man has right, the woman has a similar right, too. But there are certain things which are forbidden to man because they cause corruption, and in respect to women there are also things which are forbidden to them since they cause corruption. Islam wants that the human dignity of men and women be preserved. Islam does not want the women to be poppets in the hands of the men. The allegation spread abroad that Islam is rude and rough with the women is false and a groundless propaganda forged by biased quarters, as, in fact, both men and women have their rights and both have their respective differences, which are related to their nature. (276).

* * *

Islam does not Want the Women to Be a Commodity

Islam wants men and women to develop. Islam saved women from the things which were in the pre-Islamic era. Islam did not serve men much as it

served women. You do not know what the woman was in the pre-Islamic era, and what happened to her in Islam...

Islam wants the women to perform the fundamental works which men do, but not that they should be what men wants them to be: to step into the society bedecked with cosmetics and to associate with the people, with the young people. Islam wants to stop all this. It wants the women's dignity to be preserved; it wants to give personality to women so as to take them out of being a commodity. They want to sell her, to exchange her from hand to hand. Islam disagrees with this... Islam has served women the like of which history has never seen before. Islam has extricated women from the swamps of disgrace and granted them personality. (277).

* * *

Women and the Principal Destinies of Society

Islam looks at you, women, with a special regard. Islam appeared in the Arab Peninsula at a time when women had lost their prestige. Islam restored it to them and honoured them. Islam placed them on an equal footing with the men. The attention paid by Islam to women is more than that paid to men.

In this uprising, women have more right than men. Women nurse in their laps brave men. The noble Quran makes man, and the women make man, too. If the brave and man-making women are taken away from the nations, these nations will be defeated and drawn to deterioration.

The Islamic laws all are for the welfare of men and women. The women are to participate in the basic destinies of the country. As you have played your fundamental role in the uprisings, you are now to participate in the victory. Do not forget to rise up whenever it was necessary. The country is yours. *Inshaallah* you will build it. In the early days of Islam, the women used to take part with the men in wars. We saw and we are still seeing that women, side by side the men, or even before them, stand in the ranks of the fighters and lose their lives. They have lost their children and their youths, and yet they are still resisting. We want the women to attain to the high position of humanity. Women must take part in the making of their destinies. In the period of suffocation they wanted to bring up our combative women to be disgraceful, but Allah did not want it. They wanted to treat the women like a thing, an obedient thing, but Islam regards women the same as it regards men, to participate in everything, like the men. All the people of Iran, men and women, must rebuild this ruined country which was left for us. Iran

could not be rebuilt by men alone. Both men and women are to build it together.

But the qustion which is to be attended to is that the women who want to marry can from the beginning ask for certain rights which may neither be contrary to the religious laws nor injuring their prestige. For example, they can from the beginning stipulate a condition to the effect that if the husband appeared to have a corrupt morality, or if he maltreated the wife, she would have the right to divorce, as Islam has given her such right. If Islam imposes certain limitations on men and women, it is for their own interest. Just as Islam has given to the man the right to divorce, the woman is also given the right, at the time of concluding the marriage contract, to stipulate the condition that: "If you did so and so to me, I would have the right to divorce." If the man accepted, then he would not have the right to undo it. If a man maltreats his wife Islam prevents him. If he gives no heed, he will be punished. If he still gives no heed, the *mujtahid* will divorce the wife from her husband. (278).

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Women and the Soundness and the Corruption of a Society

Blessings be upon the great people of Iran, particularly the respected women on the occasion of the Women Day.¹⁸¹ It is a day of a luminous and honourable element which is the foundation of human virtues and the high values of Allah's successor on the earth.

The more blessed and more valuable is the choosing of the twentieth of Jumadi ath-Thani, the proud birthday of a woman who was one of the wonders of history and one of the prides of the world of existence, a woman who, in her small room in a humble house, brought up men whose light shone from the earth to beyond the orbits, and from this world to the heavenly world. May Allah's blessing and peace be upon that humble room which was the manifestation place of the light of the divine greatness and the nursing place of chosen human beings.

The role of women in the world enjoys special particularity. The goodness or the badness of a society is due to the goodness or the badness of the women of that society.

Women are the only beings who can bring up in their laps individuals who are so blessed that they can guide their society, and even other societies,

to steadfastness and to the lofty humanistic values. They can, however, be on the contrary. There is no doubt that during these past fifty years of the black days of Iran, what was imposed by the evil regime upon the people of Iran, particularly upon the oppressed women, was according to a pre-planned scheme by the super-criminals of the world. Rida Khan and his criminal son, with their sick thinking, committed such horrible crimes unprecedented, or little precedented, in the history of Iran.

The super-criminals, who regard that the continuation of their lives depends on capturing the nations, especially the Muslim nations, realized, after they could place a foot on the oil-producing and wealthy countries, that it was only the religious class which can be the thorns in the way of their imperialism and exploitation. They noticed how a decree of half a line issued by a religious leader, endeared by the people, could have such an effect that the British government and powerful Qajar Court¹⁸² were forced to kneel down. They also realized that the women had a fundamental role in that uprising, and that during the Constitution Struggle and after, it was the women, particularly their middle class, who could, by their uprising, send the men to fight, and they felt that as long as those elements remained powerful, their plans would be fruitless. So, in order to lay their hands on these countries and their enormous treasures, they decided to have the foundation of religion, of religious leadership and of the religious classes, weakened. Hence they thought of effective plans and put them to practise. They did have some success. Then they found Rida Khan to render them this service. They brought him to power, and he started a bitter fight against the said three elements. Those who remember those days know that this treacherous criminal, with the help of his homeless agents, what calamities they brought upon these classes. In order to attain to success they hastened to carry out their plans, using every way possible to them to deviate the people, to turn them into a consuming nation and to drag the wronged women to corruption. The present generation who did not see that dark period, suffices them to consider the books, the poetry, the writings, the plays, the papers, the periodicals, the centers of obscenities, the gambling houses, the taverns and the cinema, all of which are reminders of that era. They may also ask their elders about the unfair treatments which the women, this man-breeding and educating class, received from them under the deceitful names of progress and modernization. Undoubtedly, the pious women, especially the deprived class of the community, resisted, but the treacherous imperialists were successful with many of the well-to-do and pleasure-seeking classes, who paved the way for their masters. Now that with the favour of Allah, the Exalted, and the activeness of the great nation, especially the brave women, the hands of the wrongdoers have been cut short, there still are small minorities continuing their acts of ignorance. It is hoped, however, that they, too, *inshaallah*, will become aware of the tricks of the big and small Satans, and save themselves from their deceiving traps.

In this Women's Day—which is really a women's day in dear Iran—we must be proud of our women. What pride is higher than the fact that our great women could resist the former despotic regime, and after its being suppressed, they showed such a resistance and steadfastness in the face of the Super Powers and their connected elements that no age had witnessed the like of such resistance and courage, even from men. The resistance and sacrifices of these great women during the imposed war are such admirable that pen and expression are unable to explain them.

During this long war, I could see such scenes of mothers, sisters and wives, who had lost those dear to them, that I do not think that similar scenes can be seen in any other revolution. What is an unforgettable memory to me—though all the scenes are unforgettable—is the marriage of a young girl with a young soldier, who had lost in the war both of his hands and he was injured in both eyes. The brave girl, with a great morality said: "Now that I have not been able to go to the front, let me, by this marriage, pay my debt to the Revolution and to my religion." The spiritual greatness of this scene, its humanistic value and its heavenly melodies cannot be expressed or portrayed by writers, poets, orators, painters, artists, gnostics, philosophers, fagihs or anyone you may suggest. The sacrifice, godliness and morality of this great young girl cannot be evaluated by any ordinary criterion. This blessed Day is the day of this woman and these women whom their Allah may keep steadfast for the greatness of Islam and Iran. Here I offer a sincere and fatherly advice to the women, who are young and whose husbands have met Allah, not to stay away from marriage, this valuable divine tradition. By their marriage they will bring up reminders like themselves, steadfast and worthy. Do not lend your ears to the whisperings of some people who are unaware of what is good and what is bad. I also remind the guards, the soldiers and the dear youngmen that they should seize the opportunity and marry such women so as to continue their honourable lives with such worthy wives. May Allah be your support and helper.

Endless greeting to women, the worthy elements and steadfast. Blessings on all in this great day of women. May Allah support this dear country, and be the helper to all. (279).

Women and the Progress of the Uprising

You, women, have a large share in this uprising. It can be said that the women took this uprising forward, because they poured into the streets. Although it was not expected, they did it. If men were suspected of there being some weakness in them, that action of the women caused the men to be brave. When men saw the women coming out busy doing something, they became courageous. It was you who brought this victory to Islam, and you have a big share of this victory. Keep this share. The victory became possible because you all were under a spiritual change; it was a change from the invisible world. So, keep this spiritual change, keep your unity of word. (280).

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Women and Defence

You, ladies, you, women, pay attention to the fact that just as it is upon the men in the fronts to go forward and to be pioneers, it is upon you outside, behind the fronts, to help, and to be ready whenever general defence becomes, God forbid, necessary upon all, that is upon all of us without exception. Whoever is able, without exception, defence will be incombent upon him. So, be ready for defence. The trench of knowledge is, of course, a defensive trench for all the Islamic culture. You know that the Islamic culture was, during this period, wronged, a period of several centuries, or even from the beginning after the Messenger (s) till now the Islamic culture was wronged, the precepts of Islam were wronged. This culture is to be revived. You, ladies, just as men are engaged, just as men are busy in the scientific and cultural fronts, you, too, must be busy as well. (281).

* * *

Women and their Emancipation from Supertitions

We are proud that the ladies, old and young, ordinary and notable, are present in the cultural, economical and military fields, and side by side with the men, and even better than them, are active in the way of elevating Islam and the objectives of the Quran. And those who are capable of fighting take part in the military trainings, which are of the important duties in defending

Islam and the Islamic country. They release themselves from the depravities which are imposed on them and on Islam and the Muslims by means of the conspiracy of the enemies and such friends who are uninformed of the precepts of Islam and the Quran. They courageously free themselves from the fetters of superstitions which had been forged by the enemies for their own interests and spread by means of the ignorants and some of the *akhunds* who knew nothing of the interests of the Muslims. And those who are unable to fight, are busy behind the fronts offering their services in such a worthy manner that shakes the hearts of the nation with delight and enthusiasm, and shakes the hearts of the ignorants, who are even worse than the enemies, with anger and wrath. We have repeatedly seen that great women, shout out, Zaynab-like, that they have given out their sons, and, in the way of Allah, the Exalted, and dear Islam, they have forsaken everything, and they are proud of it, as they know what they have obtained is higher than the Gardens of Bliss, let alone the trivial trash of this world. (282).

* * *

Mother's Lap the Greatest School

If there were brought up—God forbid—in your laps, in your classes, children educated contrary to humanity and Islam, you will be responsible for that, and it is a big responsibility. A righteous man may educate a whole world, and a bad man, a corrupt man, may drive the whole world to corruption. The good and bad start from your laps, from your education, from the schools where you teach. They want to take the children from the laps of their mothers and send them to the orphanages.

For the ladies there is a higher obligation, i.e. the bringing up of children. Do not believe in those who continually speak against being mothers, having children and having to bring them up. They belie themselves. They beslight the matter and take it very low. Their intention is incorrect. They want to separate the children from these laps and to send them from the very beginning to the orphanages, and to educate them as they like, as the foreigners like. They do not want to make humans, as your laps produce humans. They want to prevent your children from being with you so that no humans can be made.

The children, who are separated from their mothers' laps and sent to the orphanages where they receive alien education, and taste no motherly love, they get psychological complexes, which would later originate different corruptions which appear in man. These wars are mostly caused by the complexes growing in the hearts of these blood-thirsty ones. The robberies, the crimes, are mostly caused by such complexes in the human heart. If your children are taken away from you, they will suffer from complexes due to lacking maternal love. They will be corrupted. The regime [of the Shah] had been ordered to drag our children to corruption. From the beginning they prevented them from being brought up in a loving lap, so as to create complexes. Then they would be educated by teachers assigned by them, and then they would go to the universities established by them—Darkness from the lowest up to the highest points: taking them from light to darkness, preventing the appearance of a humane education.

The lap of the mother is the greatest school where a child is educated. What a child hears from his mother is different from what he hears from his teacher. The child listens better to what his mother says than to what he hears from his teacher. He gets a better education in the lap of his mother than at the hands of his father or his teacher. It is a humanistic duty, a divine duty, an honourable task, to make a man. Those who do not like the making of man are afraid of him. These regimes are afraid of man. If there appears a man, a single real man in a regime, he will change the course of the events. Rida Shah was afraid of Mudarris. He was afraid of him much more than of the robbers on the highways, or of the riflemen. He was afraid of Mudarris, as Mudarris was a barrier in his way of practising abominable acts. At last he arrested Mudarris and killed him. They are afraid of the Ulama because the *Ulama* educate the man, while they do not want the appearance of the man, and that is why they so much debased the education of the children by their mothers, and so much they propagated that probably even the mothers believed it. Those who fell under the effects of those propagations, extracted the dear children from their laps and sent them to the orphanages, where they got Satanic education. (283)

The Ethnical Minorities

The Equality of the Races

Islam believes that all races are equal, like the teeth of a comb, no one of them has any priority over the others, neither the Arabs over the non-Arabs, nor the non-Arabs over the Arabs, neither the Turks over either of them, nor any race over another, neither the white over the black, nor the balck over the white. No one has any preference over the others. Priority is given to *taqwa*, to commitment, commitment to Islam. (284).

* * *

Islam Recognizes None of the Usual Distinctions

We have repeatedly said to our Kurd 184 brothers who came here, and to our Baluch 185 brothers who came here, that Islam does not recognize such distinctions which are admitted by others. Islam quite clearly says that the one who is honourable with Allah is the one who has *taqwa*, the one who is on the straight path, who is not corrupt, who is not corrupting. Islam looks at all the Arabs, Persians, Kurds, Turks and others on the same footing, just as Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, when creates makes no difference between a group and another. He favours all with His favours, and differentiates not between a quarter with Kurd inhabitants and the other one with Arab inhabitants, or the other with Persian inhabitants. There is no such talk.

The Prophet (s), though an Arab himself, had said, as was narrated, that there is no pride for the Arabs over the non-Arabs, nor for the non-Arabs over the Arabs. None of them is superior to the other, all are from a single father and a single mother, and all are equal. While Islam says this, the Islamic Republic wants to apply this same sense, and it is at the head of our programs. (285).

* * *

No Differences with the Kurds

Kurdistan is not a case to be between us, between our government and the Kurds. The Kurds and other than the Kurds, all the clans who live in Iran are equal before the law and before the government. There is no difference between the Kurds, the Turks, the Lurs¹⁸⁶ and the others. We say: "The Islamic Government is the Islamic government which was in the early years of Islam, in which all the clans were equal before the law. We want now to apply such a concept before which all the clans will be equal.

We have no dispute with the Kurds. They, too, have no dispute with us. Those who created the case of Kurdistan¹⁸⁷ are a group of foreign-hirelings, inspired from outside, whether from this side or that side, mostly from America, according to written documents recently obtained 188, which confirm that, and it was disclosed that America had interfered in the affairs of Khurramshahr, Khuzestan¹⁸⁹ and Kurdistan. This is a case which they put forth. We are afflicted with the foreigners, as we have so far been. There is no question between us and the Kurds to be solved. The question between us and the Kurds is similar to that between us and the Persians. The Persians also want from us that they should direct the affairs of their own towns and appoint a board for construction, wiring, asphalting and everything. This is what the Kurds, the Lurs and the Turks want, with no difference among them. If we had not been thinking of the Kurds and the children of our own fellow citizens, the case of Kurdistan would not have been a thing for us to need to be solved—it would have militarily been solved—or even if the army would not interfere, the people of Iran would have gone. We have frequently been asked to let them go. The tribes and other people wanted to go there to settle the matter. But we do not want there should be brother-killing. We do hope that the case will be settled with co-understanding, and the very Kurds will put the mischief-making individuals aside, so that all things will be settled. (286).

The Noble People of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan Are not Encountering Us

The events which happened in Iran have some of their roots outside the country, and some are caused by the former regime and its supporters. We are encountered by neither the honourable Kurds nor the noble Azerbaijanis. There were, of course, propaganda in Kurdistan spread by foreigners who thought that there was a discrimination between, say, the Kurds and non-Kurds, between a minority here and another there. This is because they would not let us introduce the true Islam. I have the hope that if Islam could be applied here as we like it to be implemented, none of the Kurds, Lurs, Turks and of the other classes would ever want to be alone.

Wanting to be alone is caused by the fact that a central government would make impositions on them. I have already said that when the names of a regime, a government and the like are mentioned, they immediately remind them of the very former regime and the former governments which sat in Tehran and imposed orders upon all the people of Iran and treated them tyrannically and deprived them of everything, and handed over their treasures to the others, and in Khuzestan the people were hungry while the oil was taken out from under their feet and exported outside. If these people see the Islamic government and if they know what we will do and what we like to do, all these people will no longer demand their own governments, their own municipalities. These demands are due to the blows which they used to receive from the past governments. The bitterness which is still in the mouths of all classes caused them to think that this Islamic government is like that of the Shah. The Shahs' government plundered all the treasures, leaving Kurdistan in a state of poverty. They had no hospitals and no universities. They had nothing. Suppose that Baluchestan was in a similar condition, as well as the Bakhtiaries. 191 Now, too, when they hear the word "government", their minds cannot think of other than the government of the former regime... The case is not so. Naturally, when an event happens the pens of our enemies start their activities, and make out of a small incident a big event to a great extent. For example, an incident happens in Azerbaijan, a small incident which does not deserve to be mentioned, and Azerbaijan had no antagonism with Islam, but in the outside they make it big and raise a fuss in the radio to affect what is happening to the government of Azerbaijan, and what about the Republic of Azerbaijan? Nothing of the kind. All these are propaganda with no real grounds. (287).

* * *

The Riot in Kurdistan was the Foreigners' Want

This riot which they caused in Kurdistan was not something intended by the Kurds. The Kurds had no such intention. It was a riot directed by the foreigners who want to plunder us together with their collaborators in plundering, such as the Democratic Party. ¹⁹² The leaders of this Party created this riot, in fact, in order to cause fratricide and other things so as not to allow this nation, who has been proceeding forward, to go ahead in bringing the uprising to its destination... This apprehention... is true in respect of Baluchestan and Sistan, ¹⁹³ where the same plan is laid. (288).

Wrong Was Done by the Past Regime to All Nationalities

I am quite aware of the injustice and the discriminations done to you, brother Kurds, during the rule of the despotic regime, contrary to Islam. But you must know that it was not you alone, brothers, who were subject to injustice. The other brothers of the Turks, Lurs, Arabs, Baluch, Persians, and Turkmans were also your partners and all were deprived of whatever you were deprived of. If you cast a glance at the dwellers of the huts and the ditches in Tehran, you will realize that they are more deprived. (289).

* * *

Religious Minorities

Islam and the Freedom of the Religious Minorities

Question: How would be the rights of the religious, racial and political minorities in the Islamic Republic? Will the Communist Party be free?

Answer: Islam, more than any other religion, and more than any creed, gives freedom to the religious minorities, as they, too, must enjoy their natural rights which Allah has granted to all humanity. We protect them the best possible. In the Islamic Republic the Communists are free to express their beliefs. (290).

* * *

Defending the Rights of the Religious Minorities

Question: Will the Islamic Republic Permit the other sects to freely and openly practise their religious rites?

Answer: Yes, all the religious minorities under the Islamic government can freely practise all the duties of their religions, and the Islamic government is obliged to protect their rights as best as it can. (291).

Observing the Rights of All Religions

In our Islam there is no difference at all among the different classes. The rights of all nations are observed in Islam, the rights of the Christians are observed, the rights of the Jews and the Zoroastrians are observed. Islam regards all peoples to be human beings and admits for them the human rights. It looks at all the world with love. It wants the world of the *mustadafin* to be saved. It watns all the world to be spiritualists, to get nearer to the Sacred Presence. Islam has come for the deliverance of human kind and release them from these mundane attachments, and take them to the spiritualities. (292).

* * *

The Islamic Just Government Is the Refuge for the Minorities

We do know that Islam has always respected the religious minorities. Even the Imam Ali (a), in a case concerning plundering of an anklet from the leg of a *dhimmi* woman, a Jewess, ¹⁹⁴ when he heard that such an incident had happened, he said: "Death is better than to hear it." We respect the religious minorities. They are of our nation; they are the people of our country. I hope that the just government of Islam will be very good for them, and they, under the shelter of Islam, will live here comfortable, free and sound. (293).

The Jewish Community Is Separate from Zionism

We account for the Jews to be different from the Zionists, as the Zionists are not a part of religious people at all. The teachings of Moses (a) were divine, and the Quran mentions Moses (a) more than all the other prophets, and his story is stated in the Quran. They were worthy teachings. The way with which Moses treated Pharaoh is astonishing. Moses was a shepherd with a world of power and will. He rose against the big power of Pharaoh whom he defeated.

[Relying upon] Allah's power and caring for the interests of the *mustadafin* in the face of the *mustakbirin*, headed by Pharaoh, was the method applied by Moses (a), and this is the very contrary of the things planned by this Zionist clan. They estalished contracts with the *mustakbirin*

and became their spies, their servants. They act against the *mustadafin*, contrary to the teachings of Moses, who was one of the people, like other prophets. He gathered the common people, the masses of the people of the market and those in the street, and raised them against Pharaoh and his power. The *mustadafin* attacked the *mustakbirin* so as to bring them down from their istikbar, unlike these Zionists who are connected to the mustakbirin and act against the mustadafin. The number of the Jews, who were deceived and gathered from all classes of the world there, may be now regretful. These who are Jews and do not want but to have the lofty teaching of Moses are now repenting their going there, because the one who goes and sees their plans, how they resort to homicide, how they are affiliated to America and to others, will not be able to bear to see a group claim to be of the Jewish community and yet act contrary to the teaching of Moses (a). We do know that the account of the Jewish community is other than the account of the Zionist community. We are their antagonists. Our opposition is because they are against all religions. They are not Jews. They are a group of politicians who, in the name of being Jews, commit such acts which make the Jews disgusted with them, and all humanity should be disgusted with them, too. (294).

Your Representatives must be Elected from the Committed People

I advise the official religious minorities to take a lesson from the Pahlavi regime era, and elect their representatives from among those who are committed to their own religion, loyal to the Islamic Republic, unaffiliated to the world-devouring powers, and not inclined to the irreligious, deviated and eclectic schools. (295).

POLITICS

Independence

The Foreigners' Interference and the Muslims' Adversity

In all cases our motto is cutting the hands of the foreigners, left and right, short of our country, because the development, independence and freedom, with the interference of the foreigners, whatever their nationality, conduct and school of thought, in every one of the country's affairs, political, educational, economical and military, would be no more than a fanciful dream. Whoever allows, whatever his rank may be, in any form, the interference of the foreigners in our dear homeland, whether openly or by means of plans which necessitate the continuation of the foreign control, or by creating a new control, is a traitor to Islam and to the country and is to be shunned, because if the foreigners, particularly America, the USSR and Britain, interfere with every regime which comes to power, it will be only an instrument for keeping the people backward and continuing their misfortune and deprivation on one side, and plunderings and brutality on the other side. The changing of the agents may temporarily make the conditions better than the present, but with no effect on our fate, because all the misfortunes and the afflictions of the Muslims are due to the interference of the foreigners in their affairs. (296).

* * *

Culture and Independence

There is no doubt that the highest and loftiest element which has a fundamental effect on the being of a society is the culture of that society. Basically, the culture of a society is its identity and being. And by cultural

deviation, no matter how powerful a society's economical, political, industrial and military dimensions are, it will be empty and hollow. If the culture of a society was dependent and sustained by an opposing culture, its other dimensions would inevitably get inclined to the opposite side and, at last, it would be consumed and it would lose all its dimensions. The independence and the identity of a society stem from the independence of its culture. It is naivety to think that with the cultural dependence it is possible to be independent in other dimensions. It is not accidental that the main objective of the imperialists, which is at the head of their objectives, is to attack the cultures of the societies under their control. (297).

* * *

Unless We Live in Seclusion We Cannot Be Independent

The nation which lives in seclusion can advance and become progressive. The nation which does not live in isolation cannot go along its road of progression. A non-secluding nation is a nation which depends upon others, it takes its food from the others, it takes its vehicles from the others, it takes its electricity from the others. Such a nation must remain a captive till the end. Unless you keep away from others, you cannot become independent. What fear do we have from isolation? When we were not isolated we had all misfortunes. Now that we are isolated we are independent, too. ¹⁹⁵ (298).

* * *

The High Price for Independence and Freedom

The honourable people of Iran, the Muslims and the freedom-lovers all over the world should know that if they want to stand on their own feet, tending to neither the left nor the right, and independent from all powers and Super Powers, they must pay the very high price of independence and freedom. (299).

Either Comfort and Consumption or Hardship and Independence

I kiss the hands and the arms of all those who, unpretentiously and sincerely, work for the country's independence and self-sufficiency. Once again I advise you to rely on Allah, and never to go under the yoke of the East or the West. The people are to take their decision: either to have comfort and free consumption, or to bear hardship with independece. This question may take some years, but I am sure that our people will choose the second choice, which brings independence, honour and dignity. (300).

* * *

Mental Independence

We have to work hard and toil for the long years to come, so as to move from our second innateness and find ourselves and stand on our feet and become independent, so that we may no more be in need of the East and the West. We must start from the children, and our only aim is to change a Westerner into an Islamic man. If we could carry out this task, be sure that no one and no power would be able to hurt us. If we are mentally independent, how can they hurt us? They can hurt us only from the inside. They can prepare someone among us—as you see they could—and then through him they do whatever they like. (301).

* * *

Losing Oneself Impedes Independence

No nation can be independent unless it understands itself by itself. As long as the nations are loosing themselves and placing others in their own place, they cannot find their independence. It is quite regretable that while our country has Islamic laws, Islamic jurisdiction and Islamic culture, yet these laws and culture have been neglected and it has gone after the West. This West is so showing off to a class of this nation that one thinks that other than the West there is nothing at all. This mental and intellectual affiliation to the West is the origin of most of the misfortunes of the nations, as well as our

nation. It takes a long time until this Westernization can be washed out of the nations and out of their brains.

When you see that the Westerners are advanced in industry, do not take it mistakenly, thinking that they are culturally advanced, too. You, dear students, you yourselves see to it to get rid of being Westernized, and look for what you have lost. The East has lost its original culture, and you who want to be independent and free, must resist, and all the classes must decide to be themselves. The farmers must decide to dig their own provision out of the earth, and the factories are to be self-sufficient so that our industries may develop and may no longer be in need of the West. Our students, scholars and professors, should not be afraid of the West. They must have their will in the face of the West. They are to rise and not to be afraid. (302).

* * *

Self-Confidence and Self-Sufficiency are Conditions for Independence

Unless we decide that we are also human beings, and that we are able to work, and that we eat the barley-bread which we bake ourselves without ordering it from abroad, things cannot be set aright. Unless we decide that the textiles which we ourselves weave are sufficient for us, our textile industry will not develop and we will remain dependent on the others and we will have to extend our hands towards the others.

It is quite shameful and disgraceful for a country to extend its hand to America demanding wheat, to open its begger's *Kashkul* before its enemy asking him to give it provision. How humiliating it is to us! Unless this nation decides that its agriculture should be strengthened and constructed by what it gets, we cannot be independent. Unless our nation decides that all our things should be from ourselves, that we must sever our economic and educational relations with abroad, that education must be from ourselves, similarly our economic should be, unless this decision appears in our masses, unless this brain, which is parasitic and imperialistic, changes, and unless we believe that we are humans, we cannot be independent. We must do what would make ourselves, all the classes of the nation and our youths, believe that we, too, are humans. Propagation has excluded us from being humans. They made us believe that they, however, are there. If we want this country of ours to be independent, needing no one from outside, its farmer, its worker, its employee and all its classes must have the belief that we

ourselves are existing, we are humans, and ours is a country which has everything and is very rich. They have arranged things in such a way that we remain hungry where our oil-wells flow, that wherever there is water it is wasted, while there are vast expanses of land in which everything can grow, but they are left wasted as the water goes wasted. This is a plan of the imperialists. That is, they want the people around the oil-wells to be beggers so as to get cheap workers who can be exploited. They have kept everything backward, according to a plan, in order to be themselves benefited. (303).

* * *

Be Sure You Will Be Able to Do Everything on the Long Run

I have already referred to this point that the extensive propagation of the opponents of humanity, opponents of the human reformation, tried, in every place where they wanted to have under their control, to make their people believe that "We are nothing, we have nothing, whatever we need must come from the other side of the frontiers, from America, from the USSR". One of the causes of the backwardness of these countries was the fact that they did not let them activate their own intellect, their brain. The propaganda was such that the people were afraid of starting a project. Allah, the Blessed and Most High, favoured us with this Islamic Republic and helped you, our youths, to succeed in breaking up, and gettng rid of, this incorrect belief which was current in our country.

What do you lack less than the other human beings? The human beings are everywhere of the same species, the same kind, the same. If here is not better than there, it is not worse, but they did not let these better ones, these thoughtful brains, be active. The thoughtful brains which flew from Iran were those whose thoughts were for the foreigners, they worked for them. To a thinking man who wants his homeland, his Islam, his country, running away is senseless. Where to? So, those brains which used to work for the foreigners, for America, for the USSR, in Iran, had better to go, and the brains which work for the country remain. Praise be to Allah; you, our youths, during the past two or three years, have proved that you yourselves are capable of working.

You may rest assured that, on the long run, you will be able to do everything. I hope you will activate your brains, and do away with the fear which they had created in our country, and you will perform your jobs courageously and fearlessly. You may act according to your culture. Just as you bravely ousted the Super Powers, you can implement your work courageously, decreasing day after day your dependence on abroad, until the time will come in which we shall do whatever we want for ourselves by ourselves, *inshaallah*. (304).

* * *

Self-Belief and Optimism Cause Power

I do not claim that we have everything. It is obvious that along the recent history, particularly during the last few centuries, they deprived us from every progress. The treacherous statesmen, and the Pahlavi dynasty in particular, and the centers of propaganda against the country's achievements, and also self-humiliation and self-belittling, deprived us from all activities for progress. Importing all kinds of goods, entertaining men and women, especially the young class, with diverse imported commodities, such as make-up articles, cosmetics, children toys, and driving the families to competition, and bringing them up much as consumers—a fact which has a sorrowful story—amusing and dragging to annihilation the youths—who are the active members—by making available to them centers of obscenity and epicurism and tens of similar calamities, all are from the plans to keep the countries backward. I sympathetically and servicefully advise the dear nation, who have so far been rescued from many of these traps to an eyecatching extent, and the present deprived generation, who have risen to be active and to innovate, to notice that we did see how they could run many of the factories and advanced instruments, such as aircrafts and other things which were not expected to be repairable by Iranian hands, who ran the factories which we were extending our hands to the West or to the East, expecting their technicians to run them for us. As a result of the economic blockade and the imposed war, our dear young people could make the needed spare parts at much lower costs and meet the needs, and proved that where there is a will there is a way.

You must be vigilant, wakeful and watchful lest the politicians affiliated to the West and East with their Satanic whisperings drag you towards these international plunderers. By decisive will, activity and hard work, try to remove affiliation. Do know that the Arian and the Arab races are no less than the European, American and Russian races. If they find their own identities and get rid of despair and look not at other than themselves, on

the long run they will be able to do everything and to make everything. The achievements attained to by those who resemble you, will be achieved by you, too, on the condition of relying on Allah, the Exalted and Most High, and depending on yourselves and stopping depending on the others, bearing hardships for the sake of attaining to an honourable life, getting out of the control of the foreigners. It is on the governments and the responsibles, both in this and the coming generations, to appreciate their own specialists and to encourage them materially and morally so that they may work hard, and to prohibit the importation of consumable goods and family-destroying articles, and to be satisfied with what they have until they make everything by themselves. (305).

* * *

Western Influence Hinders Independence

As long as the West can find its way here, you will not be able to attain to your independence, and as long as these Westernized groups, who are everywhere, have not yet left this country, or have not been reformed, you will not get your independence. They would not let you. We must find ourselves in order to stand on our feet and believe that we, too, are human beings. (306).

* * :

Iran Will Humiliate America till the End

If you want your country to be an independent one such that the others would not be able to interfere in it, you must begin with your own selves. All the fears and horrors one feels from his enemies are because he sees only himself. If one remembers that Allah is also there and one is working for Him, one will feel no fear, because the fates are in His hands. Do not have the notion that you by yourselves can do anything. You are the one who would not sleep at night, nor can be comfortable in daytime, if bothered by a fly. You are the one who if attacked by a spider, would be frightened. You are the one who if a sparrow took something away from him, he would not be able to take it back from it. All are incapability, all are poverty. Everything is from Him, from Allah.

Had it not been for Allah's favour, we would not have been able to get this independence of ours. How could we stand in the face of the tumult of the world and its Satanic powers? They all wanted to preserve that (past.) regime. Had it not been for Allah's favour, with what power could you do it? Had it not been for Allah's favour and help, how could you drive out of your country the Americans who are devouring the whole world? As I have heared, the American President has said: "Iran has humiliated us." This is just the beginning. Iran will humiliate you till the end. Had it not been for the favours of Allah, how could you cut short the hands of a power which is now in such a position with so many equipments, agencies and whose roots are creeping everywhere? It was by the might of Allah, it was by the grace of Allah, So, do not forget this. Had it not been for Allah's favour, how could you be an example in the whole world? In the whole world it is only you who say: "Neither Eastern nor Western," which you actually are. One may allege such a thing, but all know that it is not so. Had it not been for Allah's favour, who could have done such a thing the like of which has never been seen before? This is Allah's favour. Keep this favour of Allah, and its keeping is by means of serving this country which He has granted to you. (307).

FREEDOM

Freedom, a Blessing

Allah has given you a great blessing. You are now put to examination. The blessing of freedom is the highest one which man has. You did not have it. You could not utter a word. You could not gather here in a meeting, could you? Could we formerly sit together and talk? They did not let any body to enter through this door. If you could by chance sneak in, you would be taken to the SAVAK (the Security and Information Organization). 196

Allah has granted you the blessing of freedom, and He is trying you through this freedom in order to see how you would handle your freedom: Will you be ungrateful to this blessing and torture the people with your freedom? Or will you show gratitude for this blessing and make the best of it? This is something which I feel myself obliged to repeat to any group who come, because therein is the trouble. (308).

Islam and Freedom

Democracy is there in Islam. In Islam the peole are free in expressing their beliefs and in their deeds, as long as there is no conspiracy in the matter, and nothing may be said which may take our generation to deviation. (309).

Freedom and the Islamic Values

We all must know that freedom in its Western form cause the annihilation of the young generation, boys and girls. In the eyes of Islam and reason it is condemend, and propagation, essays, speeches, books and magazines contrary to Islam, general decency and the interest of the country

are *haram*, and it is encombent upon us and all the Muslims to stop them. Destructive freedom must be stopped. If what are religiously *haram*, against the course of the Islamic nation and country and contrary to the prestige of the Islamic Republic, are not stopped, all will be responsible. If the people and the *Hizbullahi* young men notice any of the said matters, let them inform the relevant offices, and if they were negligent, they themselves would be bound to undertake that. May Allah help them all. (310).

. . . .

Freedom of Belief

In the community which we intend to establish, the Marxists are free to express what they have to say, as we are sure that Islam includes the answers to the people's needs. Our faith and belief are capable of facing their ideology. In the Islamic philosophy, from the beginning, the case of those who denied the existence of Allah had been handled. We have never deprived them from freedom, nor have we restricted it. Everybody is free to express his belief, but no one is free to conspire. (311).

* * *

Conspiracy is not Free

At the beginning when our Revolution took place all the freedoms in Iran were released for all groups, and no step to stop them had been taken. But conspiracies started. When they saw that they are free, the conspirocies started. They intended to divert the nation by conspiring pens. They were the very hirelings of the Shah or of America and others. They wanted to suppress our uprising. But, after five months of respite given to all, the conspirators were discovered. The conspiring pens, which wanted to restore the control of the foreigners over our country, were told that they should not do that, and that they must be tried by the court to find out what they were doing. It was found, after investigation, that many of them were hirelings by Israel and acted as laudspeakers for Israel and America, though in different forms. The nation has the right to stop those who try to drag the country to annihilation by means of conspiracies and restoring the former conditions. As a matter of fact, our country is pro-freedom. It supports all kinds of freedom, but it does not support conspiracies, nor destruction. (312).

Deprivation of Freedom in the Name of Freedom

On reading the newspapers you will frequently encounter groups abusing one another. Now that the pens have become free, should it be such that everybody says whatever he wants against the others? Should everybody act in such a way which places the country out of order? Is this what freedom means? Is the freedom, in the countries which want [to plunder us], like this? Had it been like this, they would not have harmony, nor would they have such progress. By the name of freedom, which they insert into the minds of the young people, they try to have you under their control and take your own freedom away from you. They know what they are doing. [They say that] you have performend a revolution, so you are free then, you are free to abuse one, and he is free ti abuse another. One may take the pen and write against you, and you pick up the pen and write against him. They know what they are doing. They want to take your freedom by freedom, and to create unsound freedom in you and to take real freedom away from you. (313).

The Pahlavi Regime and Women's Freedom

During this [Pahlavi] regime they used to shout out: "free men and free women". 197 What activities had the women? The activity which we usually were seeing from the women was the gathering of a number of them in a group and attending, in their disgraceful appearances, at Rida Khan's graveyard, to offer their thanks for freeing them. How did he free them? What did he do? They do not think what freedom had they given them, and to what extent they wanted the men and the women to be free. Yes, they wanted just a certain freedom. Now, too, these who have their pens in their hands and write against Islam and against the *Ulama*, want the same freedom, the freedom which is dictated by the West in order to drag our youths to corruption. They want their men and women to be free, so that the women may attend such meetings as they used to hold, and in the obscene states, to be under the unclean eyes of the men. By this kind of freedom they want to cause the corruption and the annihilation of our sisters and our youths and grown men. They want all kinds of obscenity to be free... Which woman could say a single word concerning the affairs of the day? Which man could write a word about the calamities which our nation received at the hands of the foreigners and their local agents? Which of our press were free? When were the radio and the TV free? When were our people, young men, our university professors and students and the students of religious sciences,

free? Within the past fifty years in which I witnessed a number of case, there was no real useful freedom for the society, not at all. That is, our women were not free to be active in the field of social affairs, nor to talk about the nation's difficulties caused at the hands of the West and the East. No freedom was there. They could say nothing about the afflictions caused by the quisling governments. They were not free to talk even a word. (314).

THE POSITION OF THE PEOPLE

The Kind of the Government and the People

It is of every nation's primary rights to decide their fate and to decide the form and the kind of their government by themselves. (315).

* * *

Good Conduct with the People

Today you will have to protect Islam. Protecting Islam is done by means of redressing your deeds, having good behaviour with the people, treating them brotherly. The former regimes regarded the people to be separate from them. They were in one side and the people in the other. They used to abuse the people and the people would abuse them, if they could. Today the people are not separated from the guardians of Islam, and the government of Islam is not separate from the people... it is from these people, from this nation. You, too, are from these people, of this populace. You may do nothing which will cause the people to be afraid of you. Do what will draw the people's attention to you. Do what causes them to love and to support you. If the people support a government, such a government will not fall. If a nation backs a regime, such a regime will not die away. (316).

* * *

Win the Hearts of the People

Try to make a national basis for yourselves. You may achieve this by forgetting that you are in a high position or in a high post, and that you may put the people under pressure. The higher the rank of a person the more serviceable he should be. Let the people know that the higher one's position the more humble he will be. Should such a thing and such attention take

place, the lessons learnt from history tell us that the power which wins a national basis, it will be protected by that basis. The police in each town is to be at the service of the people. It should not be like that when one hears the name of a police-station he trembles of fear, and when one is to go to the police-station, it is as if he is to go to prison or to the slaughter-house. One should think he is going home, or to where justice prevails, to where there is no injustice, to where they are friendly, not hostile. When it is so, the hearts of the people will be won and they will be easily pleased. People's nature is so; they are not hard to please. A small pat by a high-ranked responsible person would be enough for the people to be pleased with him for a long time.

Act so as to win the hearts of the people. Find a basis among the people. When you find such a basis, Allah will be pleased with you and the nation will be pleased with you and power will remain in your hands, and the people will support you. (317).

* * *

All the People Are to Supervise the Affairs

This is a general advice which is important to me. I am to tell you all, to tell all the classes of the nation: Precisely take care lest a step should be taken contrary to Islam. You must take care that the members of the committees under your responsibilities should not include persons who may act against Islam. Take strict care lest some persons, under the name of Islam, of Muslims and of the turbaned group, should take a step which may—God forbid—deform the visage of Islam, contrary to what it really is. To me this has greater importance than anything else, and its responsibility is also more. All of us are obliged to carry out this task, so that no one may think that Islam is like other governments, and that so far they could not have any power, but now that they came to power, how they were and how they are now. This is an important question. You, gentlemen, must pay attention, and all the nation have the duty of supervising these affairs. If I moved my foot away, if I placed it wrongly, the nation has the duty of tellnig me: "You have put your feet wrongly. Guard yourself!" The question is an important one. All the people must supervise all the matters related to Islam nowadays. If they see that a committee is acting—God forbid—contrary to the regulations of Islam, the businessmen are to protest, the farmers are to protest, the turbaned and the *Ulama* are to protest until the wrong is set

aright. If they see that a turbaned person wants to act—God forbid—contrary to the Islamic criterions, all have the duty of stopping him, as it is different in these days... Today the basic direction is Islam. Basically, Islam is now in our hands, so what are we going to do? The thing which is now important to me is... that all of us, all the classes, must pay attention... that "Every one of you is a ruler and every one of you is questionable for his subjects". 198 All must take care of this question. All must be watchful lest I should say something contrary to the regulations of Islam. They should object, write, say something. Those who are now the focus of the people's attention, and the people say that they are the directors, being of the government, or those of the courts, wherever they may be, it is time now that they should be careful not to take a wrong step. They should protect Islam and display it as it is. Should there appear somebody acting wrongly, the people must object, all the people must object saying: Why are you doing this? In the early days of Islam, when 'Umar said: "If I did something wrong, you are to do so and so." An Arab unsheathed his sword and said: "We would set it right with this sword." It should be like this. The Muslim should be like this, disregarding who it may be, the Caliph of the Muslims or else. Whenever he sees him doing wrong, he is to unsheath his sword to set him right. (318).

* * *

Do the Right Disregarding Anybody

"Every one of you is a ruler..." All of you should consider this. All of you are rulers and all the people are responsible... We are responsible before Allah and before our conscience. We all should take care, not that we should take care of ourselves. I should take care of all of you, and every one of you should take care of all. It is such a program to have everybody say "Why?" to all... Islam imposes that everybody should enjoin the good. If a man, very low in the eyes of the people, saw something wrong from a man very high in the eyes of the people, Islam tells the former to go to the latter and prohibit him. He is to stand before him and tell him: "This deed of you is deviation. Don't do it."

It is said that when `Umar was Caliph, he said: "If I committed a wrong deed, you are to mention it to me." An Arab man unsheathed his sword and said, "We shall face you with this. If you tried an offence we would face you with this sword." It is the Islamic education to fear no one in executing Allah's precepts and enhancing the Islamic uprisings. They should not say:

This is of the nobility that is not; this is a father that is a son; this is a superior, that is inferior. There should be nothing of this. The case should be like this: Is he acting according to Islam or not? If he is acting according to Islam, he must be applauded, disregarding who he is. He must be treated with affection and love. If he acts contrary to Islam, whoever he may be, a reputable religious man, or suppose he is a big personality, or a chief, each individual has the duty of telling him that this is wrong. All are to stop him. All of us are now to note that the acts which we do must not be acts which distort the visage of our Revolution and display it different from that wanted by Allah. (319).

* * *

Reform the Society

As to the precepts of Islam try both to practise them and have the others practise them, too. Just as every person, every individual, is bound to reform himself, he is also bound to reform the others. The principle of "Bidding unto honour and forbidding dishonour" is to reform the society. (320).

* * *

People's Participation in Leading their Affairs

Tomorrow's society will be an assessing and criticising one in which all the people will participate in leading their own affairs. (321).

* * *

The Country Belongs to All the Nation

You, the people, must break these conspiracies. Both men and women are obliged to... To have the hope that the parliament will do something for us is not correct. The parliament with its few hundred men can do nothing. All the classes will have to assign a duty for themselves. They should say: "We have the duty." Just as every human being finds himself obliged to manage his children's affairs and is keen about that, a similar feeling must be created in us all to the effect that this country is our family, our house. This house is to be amended by its owner, and the owner is not one or two, it is

owned by all. It is not that we should have a house-owner. It is all the nation and it is all the country. All the country belongs to all the nation. (322).

* * *

In the Elections Give Priority to Allah's Pleasure

In these last days of my life, I depart to Allah's abode of mercy with full hope and exaltation of your genius. My exaltation and pride reaches its highest when you show, in the parliamentary elections, your full humanistic and Islamic mental maturity as you showed in the Presidential elections. You, dear nation, who rose up for the sake of Allah and His pleasure, and with His help and the success from His Sacred Essence, you achieved a miraculous victory, now, too, in the stage of trial, do your best not to sacrifice the interests of Islam and of the Islamic country for the sake of personal and party interests. I expect you to keep your unity, and in electing your representatives give priority to Allah's pleasure over yours. (323).

POLITICAL PILLARS

The Elections

Question: It is noticed that there is a perfect unity among the opposers of the Shah, political and religious, inside Iran, in unanimously saying that the Shah must go. The only thing important to us is what regime or system is you going to choose instead of the Shah's which can be agreeable to all?

Answer: We intend to have an Islamic government, in its real meaning, to replace the regime of the Sultanate. We shall put the republican system to voting in a popular referendum. The Iranians, being Muslims, will vote for this question, and after their voting, the Islamic Republic Government will be established. (324).

* * *

My Advice to the People Is to Participate in All Elections

And my advice to the honourable nation is to be present in the arena in all elections, whether Presidential, parliamentary or for electing the experts for assigning the Leading Council or the Leader, so as to elect such persons accoding to creditable disciplines. For example, in electing the experts, the people are to be careful because if they were careless and did not elect the experts according to the criterions of the religion and Law, there would be irreparable losses for Islam and the country, in which case they will be questioned before the threshhold of Allah, the Most High. So, the non-interference of the *maraji*, the great *Ulama*, the businessmen, the farmers, the workers and the employees (will create problems, and) all in all are responsible for the fate of the country and Islam, whether in the present or the coming generations. Often refraining from attending the elections in certain occasions will be regarded as a sin at the head of the Capital Sins.

So, the event should be prevented before its taking place, otherwise everything would slip out of hand. This is a fact which you noticed after the

Constitutional Movement, and we noticed, too. There is no cure better and more effective than that the people, all over the country, should carry out the obligations entrusted to them according to the Islamic regulations and the Constitution, and, in electing the President and the deputies, they should consult the committed class of the educated, the enlightened and those informed of the current affairs, and the non-affiliated to the powerful and exploiting countries, and those known for their *taqwa* and commitment to Islam and the Islamic Republic. They should also consult the pious *Ulama* committed to the Islamic Republic. They should take care that the President and the deputies should be of the people who have known the deprived and the wronged *mustadfin* of the community, and of those who think of the welfare of the people, not of the capitalists, the land-grabbers, the high-ranked comfortable individuals who are endulged in luxury and pleasures, and who cannot understand the bitterness, the deprivation and the sufferings of the hungry and the bare-footed. (325).

* * *

Observing the Islamic Morals in Propaganda

I expect that the candidates and their friends would observe the Islamic-humane moralities in propagating for themsleves and their nominees, refraining from any kind of criticising the rivals causing disputes and abusing them. Resorting to acts contrary to moralities and refined education, even to promote an Islamic cause, is anti-Islamic and rejected.

I am not intending to support anybody, nor am I intending to reject anybody either. I ask all the parties, the groups and the individuals not to affiliate their nominees to me with the aim of using my name to support assign or reject them. I am greatly inclined to see the group which are committed and believing in the Islamic Republic and serving Islam, resort, in their electoral campaign, to complete calmness and tranquillity, to act with Islamic brotherhood, understanding and cordiality in respect to one another, keeping away from disunion and offense, because disunion and hostility displease the friends and please the enemies, and cause evil propaganda. (326).

Vote for Condidates Who Have Tasted the Bitterness of Poverty

The brave people of Iran are to take great care to vote for the candidates who believe in Islam and are loyal to the people and feel responsible for serving them, and have tasted the bitter taste of poverty, and defend, in word and act, the Islam of the bare-footed on the earth, the Islam of the *mustadafin*, the Islam of the offended by the history, the Islam of the gnostic fighters, the Islam of the pure-natured gnostics, and, in a word, defend the pure Muhammadan Islam, and keep away those who support the Islam of capitalism, the Islam of the *mustakbirin*, the Islam of the non-suffering comfortable people, the Islam of the hypocrites, the Islam of the easy-life seekers, the Islam of the opportunists, and, in a word, the American Islam, and expose them to the people. (327).

The Characteristics of the Competent Deputies

You yourselves are to recognize the competent candidate to vote for him. Just to be a good man, who timely performs his *salats* and performs Night-*Salats*, cannot he enough for the parliament. The parliament requires politicians, persons who know economy, statesmen, and the ones who are versed in the international affairs. There should be commitment to Islam and acceptance of the Islamic Republic, besides the above-mentioned affairs. In a parliament there should be every thing. In the committees of the parliament there will be discussions of military, agricultural, economic and many other affairs. The deputies must have knowledge of them. These committees must include experts in economics, in agriculture, in management, etc, as well as those who have knowledge of international affairs. (328).

* * *

General Advices Concerning the Elections

It is necessary for those who introdue candidates to the people that their nominees should include a number of the specialized in different branches of knowledge, and if they found a person or persons more qualified than those among their own group or class, they should nominate them for candidature.

The question of the election is a divine trial which will distinguish between the party-inclined and the discipline-inclined, and distinct the believers and the committed from the false ones. Those who nominate themselves as candidates, or are nominated by groups, if they think that they are incompetent for being deputies in such a parliament, and that their presence therein will not benefit their country, they should regard Allah, the Exalted, and prefer His pleasure to theirs, and refrain from committing such an unbecoming irreligious act. The respected *Ulama*, the Friday Imams and the congregational salat leaders and other respetful men are not to leave their townships empty from men serving the nation and good servants of Allah, because meeting the needs of the people and serving them, and ethically and scientifically educating them, which is the honourable job of the *Ulama*, has priority to everything else, unless they know that their presence in the parliament is more useful in serving Islam. The criterion to all should be the value of serving the people, not—may God forbid—running after positions. You know that in the Islamic Republic, the posts are not like those in other regimes which are so much looked for, and to attain to them they resort to every legal and illegal procedure. Basically, such posts are of no value except that they serve Allah and His creatures. You are the followers of that great man of history (a), who said, concerning governing, what you know. ¹⁹⁹ The people all over the country are free in electing the candidate they like. No one has the right to impose his candidate or the candidate of the groups upon the people. No official, party, group or person, has the right to abuse those who bear a different opinion, or, may God forbid, resort to scandals, though all have the right to wage healthy propagating campaigns for themselves and for their candidates, or for the candidates of other groups, and no one has the right to stop that. Of course, the campaigns should be in accordance with the government's regulations. Religiously, no one may give his voice blindly and without careful investigation to a candidate. If a candidate is, or some candidates are, supported by all the individuals and groups, while the voter's opinion is contrary to theirs, it is not right for him to follow them, and he would be responsible for that before Allah. But if a group or a number of persons confirmed the competence of a candidate, and a voter felt confident in them, he may vote for that candidate.

Generally speaking, the government is Islamic and popular. The parliament is popular, and the vote is popular, too, and no one may be under the command of any authority. It should be reminded that the people of each electoral district should nominate a candidate or candidates and propagate for them according to the religious and legal instructions. No district may

nominate candidates for other districts, so that the electoral compaign can be more sensational and better. Likewise, it is not to confirm or disconfirm the competence of a candidate or candidates.

The interference in the elections of each district is up to that very district. It is better that the representatives of all classes in the electoral districts should consult one another in respect of assigning a person or persons trusted by them. However, under all descriptions, the individuals, who have the prescribed conditions, are free to be candidates or elect their own candidates. (329).

* * *

Freedom of Electing

Among the things which we are all obliged to perform, and which is the obligation of men to invite the people to do it as a form of being present in the arena, is the Experts Council which we are going to elect. You are not to withdraw and show weakness. You are to invite the people and you yourselves are to go to the polls. You are to ask the nation to vote. Yet, the nation, you and everybody, all are always free to elect whomever candidate they want, even if he was not introduced by the *Ulama* of the scientific *hawzah* of Tehran or of Qum. You are not obliged to vote for their nominees. As a matter of course, they study and investigate. They are specialized in that and they nominate after careful investigations. Nevertheless, this does not mean that you are forced to elect their candidates. You are free, and you are to observe Allah's pleasure, to be attentive to Allah and to go to the polls whenever they are announced and give your vote, it is voting for Islam. (330).

* * *

You Will Be Responsible if You Are Indifferent

If you are indifferent, you will be responsible before Allah, the Exalted and Most High. If you did not go to the polls, and those who are keen on entering the parliament to cause disorder in Iran were able to succeed—God forbid—the responsibility is on you. The responsibility is directly on all classes of the people. The *maraji* will be responsible, the *Ulama* will be responsible, the leaders of the congregational *salat* will be responsible, the

preachers will be responsible, the merchants will be responsible, the businessmen will be responsible, the university professors and students will be responsible, the students of the religious sciences will be responsible, the workers will be responsible. All will be responsible. All the classes in the country will be responsible today. Today is the day in which those who have from the beginning till now been against the Islamic Republic and against Islam, those who took Islam to be contrary to their aims have started struggling and propagating. So, if the believers and those who are committed to Islam, keep away and let the others take over everything, as happened at the beginning of the Constitutional Campaign, when the committed persons isolated themselves, and it was taken over by those who were not committed to Islam, and who dragged Islam to the situation you saw. If, at the early period of the Constitutional Campaign, the Ulama, the believers, the committed englightened groups, the committed Muslims, had come to the arena, taken the parliament over and prevented the others from coming and taking it over, we would not have had such a hard time, our country would not have been destroyed, our prestige would not have been ruined. But the Satans of that time whispered to them not to meddle themselves in politics: "This is politics! What is it to you?" They believed in them as well-wishers. Today similar incidents may take place again among certain classes and they may say: "What is it to us? Such affairs belong to the persons interested in them." All people must know that all of them are responsible; all of them are to be punished. Tomorrow, before Allah, the Exalted, no excuse will be acceptable from a *mulla*, nor will it be acceptable from the merchants, from the farmers, from the university professors and students, from the students of the religious sciences, from the employers, nor from the employees, if they deserted the question. All of you will be responsible before Allah, the Blessed and Most High, and before the nation and the coming generations. Do not think that it has nothing to do with you. No, everything belongs to you. Today is unlike yesterday when you could say that you were unable to do anything. Today you are able. Today all the power is in the hands of the people. Today the President, the Head of the Organ, the Commander of the army, as well as the businessman in the market, are all alike in the affair, no one of them can impose anything upon you nor can you impose anything upon the others. Today we all are responsible. Today we all must go to the polls, and we all are to elect the committed Muslims, those who are neither inclined to the left nor to the right, who do not intend to sell us to this side nor to that side. We are to elect such persons so that your destiny and the destiny of Islam may be a correct one. (331).

The Elections Are a Test

The question of the coming elections is one of the important affairs and its responsibility is upon us all. You do know that the enemies of Islam are intending to do what will cause the elections not to be correctly carried out and to go out of the hands of the Muslims and the committed people. But you will have to exert all your efforts to have it perfectly done. The elections are also a test for you to see whether you want to elect the more competent persons for yourselves or for Islam. If it is for yourselves, then it is Satanic, but if electing the more competent person is for the Muslims, disregard who and wherefrom he is, then it is not important whether he is a party-member or not a party-member. No, neither the party causes the others to be corrupt, nor being hundred percent a party-member causes one to be competent. To elect the more competent for the Muslims means electing someone who is committed to Islam and to its prestige, and understands everything, as, in the parliament, Islam alone is not enough. The deputy should be a Muslim who knows the needs of the country, understands politics and is informed about the country's advantages and disadvantages. He may probably have no connection with you or with your group, yet when you elect the more competent person, it will be an Islamic act done by you. It is a test for yourselves to realize whether your voting is for Islam or for your own interests. (332).

* * *

Free Elections Bring Competent Deputies

It is natural that when there is a competent government it will certainly let the people elect freely. The people are not all incompetent, most of them are competent, and most of them are good. They desire their country to be sound and safe. They like their economy to be healthy. They want everything. They zealously want some good persons to supervise them. Certainly, when the elections are free and the incompetent persons do not interfere, good ones will enter the parliament, in which case a good government will be formed, a good President will be chosen, and he will do nothing against the interests of the country. (333).

The Elections Before and After the Revolution

As regards the elections which I have so far witnessed in Iran, from the time before Rida Shah and for so many years, there were no free elections in Iran. They, however, were, at a time, forced by the *Khans* and the feudalists, and in the time of Rida Shah their hands were cut short of it, and he controlled it, though practically there was no freely elected parliament, since its member used to be appointed. During Muhammad Rida's time the situation was even worse. I can claim that the elections of this year are the only elections which will be carried out according to the people's free will, without any pressure and without anybody's interference in the opinions of the voters. But I ask all the classes, all the people, to observe their Islamic doctrines in respect of all affairs, especially in respect of the elections. They should not think that the elections consist of abusing and impeding the others. Of course, inviting to vote for certain candidates is agreeable, but they should pay attention to the fact that just as the election of the President was carried out so safely, so quietly and so well, which was an example in Iran, these elections must also be similarly carried out, and all of you are to be brotherly after a single aim, taking Allah to be witnessing and observing, and you are to keep the uprising stainless. (334).

* * *

The Reason of the Rulers' Interference in the Elections

In the Islamic government it is such that you (the governors) have the right only to supervise and to prepare things as the governments have to do in the elections. You have no right more than that, so that no one may—God forbid—allege that you have done so and so in favour of a particular candidate, such as changing a ballot box. You are to be careful about that. You are to watch over the people's freedom, their access to where they should go for voting, as well as the trustworthiness in safeguarding what is under the guardianship of a number of loyal persons of the governments and of the nation. Faithful persons are to supervise the elections so that later on there may be no talks: Well, here you are, here is this regime and its elections—the elections here are similar to those elsewhere. (335).

Spending from Public Treasury on Propagating for the Candidates Is Prohibited

We must leave the people free in their elections. We must not impose anyone on them. Thanks to Allah, our people possess the required religious and political maturity, and they themselves will elect those religious individuals who have tasted the pains of the *mustadafin*, and are aware of the religious-political affairs and associate with the deprived. Under such conditions no individual, no group, no establishment, no party, no school of thought, no assembly, may interfere in the electoral districts of the others, or nominate candidate (s) for other districts and propagate for them. In such conditions, I permit no one to spend out of the blessed "Imam's Portion" 200, the public treasury, the budgets of bureaus, establishment, societies and general funds, on the elections. People are to be encouraged to take part in the elections. (336).

THE ISLAMIC MAJLIS AND THE COUNCIL OF THE GUARDIANS

Today No Power May Appoint a Deputy

The bitterness and the unrestrained elections of the (former) *Mjlis* and the like, may cause some people to think that nowadays it is the same as before, and, as the snake-bitten fears black ad white threads, our people are also snake-bitten, imperialism-bitten, *khan*-bitten, Rida *Khan*-bitten and Muhammad Rida-bitten. Consequently, it may appear to them that this *Mjlis* is like the former ones. But everybody must know that today there is no power which can impose a deputy, taken from the President of the Republic, to the army, the police, the gendermerie, the *Khans* of whom not so many are surviving, as well as the nobility and the aristocrats, there are no influentials either. There is no power, no one in any position, in Iran, who has the power to impose a depucty. Therefore, today the responsibility is in the hands of the people.

If the nation stays apart, and the believers and the committed persons stay aside, while those who, from the right and left, have plans for this country, enter the *Mjlis*, then the whole responsibility would be on the nation. Each step taken against Islam would be registered in the nations's report. The responsibility of each one of their acts would be upon the nation. Today the destiny of Islam and the destiny of the Muslims in Iran and the fate of the country are in the hands of the nation. So, if they neglect the matter, remain indifferent and refrain from going to the polls, the responsibility remains with them in person, and if... committed Muslims, those who know the value of the country and the people, those who do not want the rein of the country's affairs to fall in the hands of the leftists or the rightists, if the people assign such persons, they will have done their duty, but if they neglect it, and the others succeed, those who want to tie us with the chains of the left and of the right and put us, as captives in the hands of the big powers, if they succeed and you keep silent, all the responsibility will be upon you. (337).

The Status and the Identity of the Majlis

The Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Islamic *Majlis*), which is at the head of the establishments of the Islamic Republic regime, enjoys special particularities, the most important one of which is its being Islamic-andnational. It is Islamic, because it wants to enact laws which are not contrary to the sacred laws of Islam, especially in enjoying the company of the respected Guardians Assembly. (338).

* * *

We do not Want a Majlis of the Aristocrats

We have no senate. We have a House of Commons, the *Majlis*. And this we do not want to be for the high classes. We want a *Majlis* composed of the men who are aware of what has befallen this nation during the past fifty and odd years, along the imperial rule in Iran. (339).

* * *

In Our Majlis There Is not a Single Man of the Aristocrats

Now you will find no visage of the nobilities, of the high class in our Consultative *Majlis*. All are of these common people walking in the markets, of this very society. Of them are a number of the *Ulama* and the *faqihs*, and some others are of the pious visages. Our Islamic Consultative *Majlis* is unique all over the world, and similarly are our governmental establishments and organizations. (340).

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The Day the Deputies Become Like the Palace Residents

The day on which the deputies acquire the habits of the palaceresidents, God forbid, and abandon the valuable habits of the hut-dwellers, is the day on which this country dies away. During the Constitutional struggle we received too much harm from the palace-residents. Our parliaments were full of those palace-residents; among them there were only few of the hutresidents, who, though few in number, were able to prevent so many acts of deviation and they used to do their best in this respect. (341).

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The Debates in the *Majlis* Should Be Educative

The Islamic *Majlis* is a consultative assembly, an assembly where the thinkers should present the questions needed by the nation and the country for consultation and argument only concerning the things related to the nation and Islam. You, gentlemen, who represent the people, are there in roder to serve them. Things which are the wants of the people are to be offered, and what is required by the people and Islam to be discussed and to be consulted, and to be passed according to the current regulations. It should be Islamic from all aspects. We must leave out all personal purposes. Suppose that I have some personal dispute with you, this should not be settled in the Majlis, which is an Islamic one. The Islamic Majlis is not something to be locked into a box that when there is—God forbid—an act of deviation only those in the Majlis will know it. The Majlis is open, and the radio and the TV broadcast its debates so that it can be heard and seen in Iran, and outside Iran it can be heard as long as the waves can reach, so that the world can understand what is happening. If from the beginning it was to have alignments for nerve-wars, and if those Majlises of the time of the taghut were now to repeat their contents, such a Mailis would not be Islamic. and its deputies would not fulfill their religious and divine obligations. I do hope that you, gentlemen, without paying attention to personal desires, and without caring for personal objectives and disputes with the opponents, you are just to think in the things for which you have been elected, to discuss them, to consult about them. The consultation which takes place in an Islamic environment, and with Islamic moralities, would not end in a quarrel, it would not end in the disgraceful endings as in the former Majlises. Just as the many changes which have been so far taking place in this nation, you, being the representatives and the extract of the nation's merits, must mean, in this place, the same concept for which you gave your obligation.

The nation is Islamic, and they want the Islam and its precepts. You are not deputed to go and sit there and settle your own accounts with one another. Should this happen, it would be a deviation, and you would be usurping that seat. You should be a teacher of ethics there) *inshaallah* it will

be so) for the whole country, because your efforts will cover the whole country. When all the people all over the country see that their representatives are serving the country and Islam with full truthfulness and faithfulness, and their debates are Islamic, and their investigations and searches are Islamic, this will become a lesson for every individual living in this country and for those to whom these waves reach abroad. We must educate all the classes. When you enter the *Majlis*, in addition to discussing the needs of the people, you must enter with the weapon of the Islamic morality, and educate the people with that weapon, so that when some years pass over the *Majlis*, the effects of your speeches and debates will be manifest in the people. (342).

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Opposing the Laws of the Majlis Is the Beginning of Corruption

The *Majlis* is where the bills are to be tabled for debate, argument and correct criticism, without much ado and fuss. The opposer is also to speak it out without raising a tumult, and the one who agrees, let him say it also without brawling. Then they should put it to the vote. Then if it was passed, and sent to the Council of the Gnardians who may find it correct and neither contrary to Islam nor to the Constitution, those who afterwards try to make trouble, such troubles will be the result of anger and of corruption. (343).

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The Priority of Fundamental Questions for Removing the Deprivations

The Importance and the role of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Council of the Guardians are concealed from no body. By Allah's will, the respected deputies in the *Majlis* will feel the heaviness of their responsibility and mission in this serious matter, and will realize very well what the regime and the people expect from them, which, one may say, are removing afflictions and deprivations, and bringing changes in the complicated administrative system of the country. These are true expectations which must be taken into serious consideration. The respectful

deputies, before thinking of the bills, notes and articles which are not necessary, they are to think of original and key-matters of the country, and, in accordance with dear Islam, and by tabling in the relevant committees, suggestions, bills and laws, they are to move towards removing the principal problems of the country, and implementing its basic policies in respect of the educational, economical, social and political affairs along the road of helping the deprived and abolishing oppression.

Today, the country, its system and administration, are in need, as before, of courage in solving the problems. It often happens that temptations deprive us from attaining to even bigger objectives which we look for ahead of us. I hope that this *Majlis*, with the coordination and unanimity of the representitives, as well as with their cohesion and strong connection with the executors and the experts, and by making use of the opinions and consultation with the respected Council of Guardians, will be able to take long strides in solving the problems of the deprived and the bare-footed, and will enjoy, in difficulties and hinderances, the power, decisiveness and quick act of "the Assembly for Recognizing the Regime's Interests", which is a great, blessed, and profitable support for the country.

But what is more important than all these is that both those who found their way into the *Majlis* and became the elected servants, and those who performed their obligations but could not find their way into the *Majlis*, as well as the supporters of both sides, must know that all these things are conventional and ephemeral. We all are in the presence of Allah, and what are everlasting in our records of deeds are our conducts and deeds, and what will be the cause of our happiness and eternity are the purity of morality and the fruits of sincere servitude. We should not pollute the sincerity of our deeds and our Islamic community with the rust of indignations and contentions, and the past electoral rivalries should never cause any kind of disunion and separation.

I think that there are unclean factors and hands which want to make use of the electoral compaigns to attain to their own desires, and, by presenting empty and meaningless suggetions just to cause separation among the hearts, or, by casting suspicion and certain mentalities, in order to raise doubt about the soundness and the correctness of the elections and, consequently, doubting the legitimacy of the *Majlis*. Under such conditions all the individuals of the nation, all the men of religion and the statesmen of the country must coordinate, hand in hand, in their sacred progress. The men of letters and speech and the press are also to be seriously careful about what they say and write. The representatives in the *Majlis* are to treat their

fellow—colleagues with equity and affection and not to aggravate the incidents, especially in respect of the credentials they must not touch personal and group affairs, and respect, in their speeches in *Majlis* and else, the prestige of the *Majlis*, and give priority to the sanctuaries of the *Majlis*, the regime and the noble Islamic moralities. In short, the *Majlis* and the deputies should support the unity and the harmony of the society, and the men of the State should be beside the people, and the people should back and support the men of the State, while both sides perform their duties so as to be benefited by the material and moral blessings of the sacred union, and stay in the arena. Today, perhaps there may be no sin graver than keeping isolated. No excuse for leaving the arena of the Revolution can be accepted. (344).

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The Majlis and Recognizing the Secondary Judgments

The honourable Islamic Consultative Assembly is at the head of all the organizations. Although it is composed of individual scientists, thinkers and learned men, yet it is quite good for them to invite their committed friends and connoisseurs to attend their committee sessions, so that the colliding opinions and ideas may enhance the carrying out of the projects with more strength. The pious and committed experts are to be consulted in distinguishing the subjects for the Islamic secondary judgments so that things can be performed in a suitable way. It is also worthy of mentioning that to reject the Secondary Judgments, after that the subject has been decided upon by the conventional experts, does not differ from rejecting the Principal Judgments, 201 because both are Allah's judgments. Moreover, these Secondary Judgments have nothing to do with the wilayat al-faqih authority. After being passed by the *Majlis* and endorsed by the Council of Guardians, no authority has the right to reject such Secondary Judgments, and the government has, without any consideration, to execute them. The consent of two-thirds of the Majlis, which is a collection of notable Ulama and mujtahids and thinkers committed to Islam, concerning the conventional matters, which are accepted in the community, and which enjoy the acceptance of the experts, is regarded to be a religious law. To oppose it, without a stronger proof, is contrary to the method of the wisemen. Similarly, changing the Principal Judgments, when doubting the subject and not attaining it, is contrary to the method of the wisemen. (345).

The Best Parliament in the World

I have no doubt whatsoever that this *Majlis* is the best one in the entire world, and the best one which there has been as from the early Constitutional period till now. I have seen more than you of the past times. I have seen many *Majlises* as from the Qajar dynasty till now and I have witnessed how the people elected, how much interference there was, what kind of persons entered into the *Majlis*, how they were, as well as the recent years which you have seen too. All along the Constitutional period no *Majlis* was like this one with nearly all of its members being pious and believing that Islam is to rule. (346).

The Duties of the Council of Guardians

You (Council of Guardians) are to supervise the laws of the *Mailis*, and you have to know that you may never take sides with anybody. You have to study the laws and see they are hundred percent Islamic. Never lend your ears to the talks of those who want to please a small group of our people claimed to be progressive. Decisively fight such ideas. Take Allah into your consideration. Actually, what is to be taken into consideration is Allah, not the people. If a hundred million people, if the entire people of the world, were on one side, and you noticed that all of them say something which is against the principles of the Quran, you should stand against them and announce the word of Allah, even if all of them rise against you. The prophets acted like this. Moses, for example, did not do other than this before Pharaoh. Did he have any supporter? Our Majlis, thank Allah, is Islamic, in which the non-Islamic laws will not be ratified, but your duty is to supervise. In short, do not pay attention to the talks of the progressive and comfortable class. Allah is, inshaallah, with us. If our acts are for Allah, He will make us successful. (347).

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Consequences of Weakening the Council of Guardians

As is seen, after the elections of the first stage of the second terms of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, those who were not pleased with the decision of the respected Council of the Guardians concerning cancelling or endorsing some of the electoral polls, try to spread rumours with the purpose of weakening the members of the Council of Guardians (may Allah support them) who are the protectors of the interests of Islam and the Muslims, or they may even insult them (God forbid!), and publish declarations and essays in the press and the meetings, unaware of the consequences of such acts and conditions, especially in the second term of the *Majlis* and after passing only few years on the Revolution. It is hoped that such acts are done without actually knowing their unfair and deplorable results.

It is unlikely that during the early years of the Constitutional period, in the first term, the *faqihs* supervising the laws had been treated like this. At that time, the *faqihs* were gradually driven out of the *Majlis*, and the people were afflicted with what we saw.

I warn such people and tell them that weakening and abusing the *faqihs* of the Council of Guardians will bring danger to the country and to Islam. Deviations always gradually enter a regime and at last cause the regime to collapse. It is necessary that all of us should decisively look after the interests of Islam and the Muslims, to respect the laws even if they are contrary to our tastes and our personal opinions, and to be faithful to this newly established Republic, which is subject to the offense of the powers and super powers.

At the end I must say that respectful *faqihs* of the Council of Guardians have been appointed by me on the basic of my knowledge and knowing them, and respecting them and observing their prestige are necessary, and I hope that such incidents will not happen again. I remind the Council of Guardians to be steadfast in their work, to be determined in their job and depend upon Allah, the Exalted. (348).

* * *

The Council of Guardians to Stand Firm within their Legal Boundary

I agree hundred percent with the Council of Guardians, and it is my belief that it should be strong and permanent. But preserving the Council is partly in your own hands. Your attitude must be in such a way that in the future, too, no harm may befall this Council. You must not think of the present alone, saying: let the future be as it may. Satans work gradually. America has its plan for the coming fifty years. You must think in a way that this Council should remain safe forever. Your conduct must be in a way that it may not denote that you stand against the *Majlis* and the government.

Regarding yourselves, separating from the *Majlis* and from the government is harmful. Remain firm on the attitudes of Islam, but not in a way giving one to think that you interfere in everything. Your talks should be such that everybody would think that you do your job within your own legal limits, not a foot more, nor a foot less. Stay in your lawful position, not a word this way, nor a word that way. Sometimes you notice that the Islamic interests necessitate that you should act according to the secondary titles. So, act according to them. Sometimes you notice that the Prime Minister must interfere into an affair, as otherwise Islam would be harmed. So, permit him to do so. Necessity imposes that the Prime Minister should perform a certain act which cannot be done by anyone else. You should try not to let them say you want to interfere in everything, even in the executive matters. Of course you yourselves know these things and practise them. I am just reminding. You are to pay attention to the fact that if the debates turn into arguments and in facing each other, the Council of Guardians will be weakened and be done with in the future. Those who formerly had some of the Ulama to act as members of the Council of Guardians, put them aside because they started to think them on the opposite side. This Satanic practice gradually took shape. So, all of us must be awake. (349).

THE JUDICIAL POWER

The Imam's Advice Concerning the Judiciary

Among the important matters is judicature, which is connected to the people's lives, property and honour. My advice to the Leader and the Council of Leadership is that, according to their authority in appointing the highest judicial posts, they are to try to appoint the persons committed, experienced and well-versed in religious, Islamic and political affairs. I want the Higher Judicial Council to take serious care for judging which had a regretable and sorrowful condition in the former regime, and to cut short the hands of those who play with the people's lives and properties, and who disregard Islamic justice, from this important chair, and with perseverance and seriousness try gradually to change the judicature, and place the judges who have the required conditions. Such judges will, inshaallah, be educated and introduced by the scientific hawzahs, expecially the blessed scientific hawzah in Oum. They will educate the competent judges to replace the incompetent ones who lack the required Islamic conditions. It is hoped that the Islamic judicature will, *inshaallah*, spread in the whole country. I advise the respectful judges of this age and the ages to come to take into their consideration the hadiths quoted from the infallible Imams (a) about the importance and the impact of judicature, as well as the hadiths about unjust judgment. They should encounter this dangerous matter and prevent this post from falling into the hands of the incompetent persons. Those who are competent should not refraim from taking this post, and they should not leave it for the incompetent ones. They must know that just as the danger of this post is great, its reward and compensation are also great, as they know that the undertaking of the post of a judge is a collective duty. (350).

Judicature Is Independent

The matter of which I have to remind the people in general, and those who have to do with the country's affairs in particular, is that the Judicial Power is independent, that is, when a decree is issued by a judge, no one, even a *mujtahid*, will have the right to cancel it, or to interfere in it. No one has the right to meddle in a judicial judgment, as to do so is irreligious and to prevent it is against religion, too.

I tell the people that I have known the members of this council for so many years, and they have the competency for this post. So, when they issue a judgment or a decree, no one will have the right to act against it in the press, in one's speeches, nor in the community. It is no good to weaken the judicature, rather it is on the centrary, the Judicial Power is to be strengthened.

Once again I say that judicial independence means that when a judge issues a judgment, only his relevant superior may be referred to for reconsidering the case, but no one else has the authority to interfere. I do hope that the gentelmen in the judicature will be successful in carrying on their job decisively and in a becoming way, and I hope that the nation, the *Majlis* and the government be their supporters so that no harm—God borbid—may befall them. (351).

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The Importance and Sensitivity of Judicature

Due to the fact that the respectful Judicial Power has to do with the honour and the property of the people, it acquires great importance. The Islamic Republic has inherited, as it were, a non-Islamic judicature dependent on the foreigners' judgments, despite the heavy and important conditions attached by Islam to judicature and judges, to the extent that to apply any sort of change to it, even primarily, is of great difficulty. And, as the religious centers—which are responsible for handing over competent judges—had despairingly been put aside, the noted *Ulama* and the great *faqihs* spent their efforts on the religious devotional books of *fiqh* and legal transactions, unable to train the needed hundreds of judges. So, in order to cut short the hands of the judges indifferent to Islam, sometimes against Islam, off the honour and the lives of the people, and not to render inactive the judicature, in which case there would be disorder, chaos and assaults on

the honour and the property of the people, a number of the pious people who knew judicial questions, though through imitation, were allowed to judge, and the regligious centers were instructed to pay more care to the education of the judges so that this vital question could be handled better, even on the long run. So far the respected Council of Judicature could achieve eyecatching progress, but it is not enough. Therefore the scientific *hawzahs* are requested to pay more attention to this question so that this important collective duty may reach sufficiency.

The respectful Judicial Council is requested to be most strict in selecting the judges, both those who have reached competency and those who are given permission to be engaged as so. Whenever necessary they may supervise as much as possible the procedures of the respectful judges, and redeem any mistake that might have possibly happened. If, however, there were intentional adversities—God forbid—they should very decisively and severely be treated, preventing the influence of the uncommitted from polluting this sacred Islamic organ. They are not to pay speical care to the prisoners, so that they may exempt those who deserve legal sanctions and punishments from the divine penalties, nor may an innocent be undeservedly punished. They are neither to be naive in their thoughts such that the deviate and the corrupt may be left alone to continue their mischief-making, nor are they to be such that an upright person may be imprisoned even for a single day.

After acquiring the necessary creditable religious requirements, a judge must be resolute and hard in applying the judicial measures, and not to fall under the influence of emotions and propaganda, not to refrain from implementing Allah's judgments, nor to be affected by the propaganda of the deviated and the avengers and try, contrary to the divine measures, to refrain from being merciful to the servants of Allah, as both are going to the extremes, contrary to divine justice.

The respetful members of the Judicial Council and the honourable judges all over the country must have realized that they are not, in any case, free from following falsity, accusations and forgery. Therefore, heeding these matters, and abandoning—God forbid—moderation, divine justice and the straight path, are deviation, and to avoid them is a divine obligation. (352).

THE STATE EMPLOYEES

Comparison between the Employees under the *Taghut* and the Islamic Governments

Our cry that we want an Islamic government and death to this filthy kindgom is because we see (and we know and have read in the history) that the former sultans, whatever they might have been, they were tyrants, but with little disloyalty among them. They were tyrants, they were criminals, they did transgress the people, but they did not give their country to the others, they did not grant the interests of their kingdom to another kingdom. I have not seen anyone of the former sultans selling out his kingdom to someone and offering the interests of his kingdom to others. These things have recently happened, especially in the days of this man (the Shah). In the time of this corruptive sultan such things took place. Whatever we had they took away from us. They live in such a luxury, and your living is such as you have in these places, in such damp places, and this is their kind of living. I have repeated this many times till now (somebody had written to me, or I had read it in a magazine, I do not remember now) that one of this man's sisters had built a villa somewhere. I do not remember now how much money had it cost, but it was a big and astounding figure. What I do remember of the story is that five million dollars had been spent on its flower plantings and decorations, that is, 35 million tumans. We have seen (in the history) a sultan, ²⁰² who put off the candle when he wanted to talk with a friend for two minutes an ordinary talk, a friendly talk during which the candle was not to remain lighted. Furthermore, his royal court was the mosque in which he used to sit to hear what the people had to say. The mosque also was the place for recruiting the army and dispatching them to this region and to that, for the advancement of Islam. But his living was as I have said, a meagre one. On the night of his death, his martyrdom, he was a guest at his daughter's house, they brought salt and milk. He said: "When did you see me eat (as is narrated) two eatables at a time?" She wanted to take the salt away, he said:

"Take the milk instead." He ate the bread with salt. That was the sultan of al-Hijaz, Iran, Syria, Iraq, and beyond these, Jordan and else. (353).

* * *

An Example of the Employees of the Islamic Government

We want to make an account of the early period of Islam, which was the context of Islam, the very Islam and its text. We want to see whether the Islamic government, the Islamic regime, was a democratic one, or whether it was a despotic and a tyrannical one. There are stories [and narratives] which are quoted by history... You tell us a story like them, which has happened in any of the most democratic countries, then you may say that it is better.

Once Umar²⁰³ decided to go to Egypt after that it had been conquered and Islam had become strong. All the countries had been conquered. He wanted to visit Egypt. The procession was just himself, a servant and a camel, which they rode by turn: One guided it, and when he got tired, the rider would descend and took the guide, while the other rode it. When they entered the city, it was the servant's turn, according to the history, to be riding, and the Caliph was guiding the camel before him. The people had come to receive their Caliph. Search you in all the democracies for such an example of a sultan whose lands were so many times bigger than Iran, bigger than France. Show me such a democratic sultan whose conduct with his servant is like this—to exchange riding the only camel he had and nothing else, no splendor and no haughtiness. Think of a democratic sultan wanting to enter a defeated country, how would he enter it? How did they enter? This one also entered a country which he had conquered. His servant riding the camel, as it was his turn to ride, while the sultan, with the reins in his hand, leading the way. The notables of Egypt came and bowed to him. This was Islam's education. The Prophet himself used to sit in the mosque with the people around him, talkign, discussing questions, issuing his judgments and the like. If some stranger came in he was not able to distinguish the Prophet from the others, he was unable to tell which of the group was the saltan and which his subject were. All were sitting in a circle, talking to one another. It was not possible to tell who the Prophet was among them, no distinctive sign whatsoever.

Imam Ali ibn Abitalib (a) whose domain was several times larger than Iran, what kinds of eatables were on his table? A plate with pieces of barley-

bread, placed in a bag which he sealed lest his daughter or his son, driven by sympathy, should add some fat or oil to soften the dry bread, this was the food of that Imperer who ruled a country much larger than Iran.

The Messenger of Allah (s), around the end of his life, ascended the minbar and asked the people if anyone of them had any right against him let him speak it out. There was no one. An Arab rose to his feet and said: "I have a right." "What is it?" the Prophet asked. "On your way to an expedition you stroke me with a whip," the man said: "On what part of your body did I strike you?" asked the Prophet. "On my shoulder," said the man. "Come, then, and strike me instead," the Prophet said. "No," the man said, "my shoulder was bare. You should expose your shoulder." "Very well," said the Prophet, and he uncovered his shoulder. The man appoached and kissed the Prophet's shoulder, and said: "I wanted to kiss the body of the Messenger of Allah." So, the question was that the master of al-Hijaz and other places should ascend the *minbar* and ask if anybody had to say something against him. No one rose to say to the Prophet: "You are indebted to me. You took from me a penny." Now if the head of anyone of these democratic countries is brought and asked to ascend the *minbar* and ask if he is indebted to anybody. Would he say it? If he had striken anyone, would he grant him the right to strike him back? Which democracy, which sultan, which President, which equitable and democratic sultan would do it? This is the Islam which you allege to be despotic, and these are the democracies which you see. We say that your countries are not democratic. They are despotic in different forms. The presidents of your republics are also tyrant in different forms under different names. Names are so many, words are numerous, but void of contents.

The sultanate of Amir al-Muminin (a) (My using the word sultanate goes with the taste of nowadays, otherwise I should not), his caliphate, was like the other sultanates, that is, all places were under his guardianship, and they were many times larger than Iran: it included al-Hijaz, Egypt, Iraq, Iran and many other places. He himself appointed the judges, and yet when an Arab Jew sued him for a coat of mail of his which he claimed to be with the Imam..., the judge summoned the Imam. The Imam attended the court before the judge who had been appointed by him. The Imam sat before the judge (at his request). He taught the judge apparently in this occasion: "Do not show more than usual respect to me. In a judging case both of us should be treated on the same footing." One was a Jew, and the other was the head of a land expanding from Iran to al-Hijaz, from Egypt to Iraq. The judge studied the case and issued his judegement against the Imam. Try you to find in all the sultanates and the Republics such an example of one of their heads sued by a

Jew of his subjects before a judge who is his subject, too. If you could find a similar case in all the Republics, in all the sultanates and in all the regimes, we would then say that Islam is inferior than other regimes. When we say we want the Islamic regime, we mean such a regime as that. When we say we want an Islamic government, we want a government like that with a head of government who would obey a summoning to the court and he would go there. (354).

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Another Example of the Islamic Employees

You may consider someone who was the Caliph and the ruler of the Muslims. He was a Caliph, but what a condition he had! He, as a Caliph, wanted to lead the Friday *salat*. He had no spare dress. He went up the *minbar*, waved in the wind the dress he had on (according to the narration) to dry it. He had only one dress. His shoes he himself used to patch and mend... He asked: "How much do you think these shoes worth?" "Nothing," they said. He said: "By Allah, it is dearer to me than ruling over you, except that I may establish a right or word off a wrong." Where can you locate a Caliph with such a conduct? (355).

* * *

Examples of Today's Islamic Employees

What I think to be one of the great characteristics of such gentlemen like Rajai, ²⁰⁵ Bahonar ²⁰⁶, and Iraqi ²⁰⁷ is that Mr. Rajai was a peddler in the bazar—as I was informed—and according to my studies which I had of him, it appeared to me that moving from peddlery to Presidency of the Republic did not, in the least, affect his soul. Many are those who, if become village chiefs, they will change, due to the weakness which is in their souls. Their new high post affects them. There are, on the other hand, others who affect the very post to which they attain due to the stregth of their sonls. Rajai and Bahonar, the one being the President of the Republic and the other being the Premier, had never been under the influence of these posts. Actually it was they who affected their posts, that is, they had brought Presidency under their own control. Presidency did not take them under its own banner. This is a lesson which one must learn from such persons, who, thank God, are many in

this Republic—persons who are indifferent to such changes in their conditions, when the one was a student and the other a peddler in the market, or when they reached high ranks, it made no difference to them, as they did not try to show off by making fuss about it. Nothing of the kind, and this is very important.

The one who is affected by a position is not that he has a position. He is affected by the position because he is very weak in personality, and consequently he chases after it. This chasing position is very harmful to the person himself and to those who want to work for their country. But, if it is the other way round, it will have good results for themselves as well as for the country. Thus, although: "I do not declare myself innocent, surely the self is evil-commanding, save that whereon my Lord has mercy" (*Yusuf*: 53), I tell you, gentlemen, to pay attention to the point that these positions and ranks come to an end one of these days. Many persons had great positions which came to an end after few days, and those who lived a dervish-life with continence, it is over now, too. These things come to an end one day. What is a fact is that we are in the presence of Allah, the Exalted, and what is recorded is all our deeds and mental commotions. We must be thinking of that. (356).

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The Employees Exposed to Examination

All of us will die, and all of us will be called to reckoning. Beware, O people! Beware O government! All of you are wakeful! All of you are in the persence of Allah, the Exalted. Tomorrow you will have to settle your accounts. So, do not disregard the blood of our martyrs, do not quarrel with one another for positions. As we curse Saddam²⁰⁸ in such a way, we must take care not to be like him. We must study ourselves and examine ourselves when we are alone to see if we got a position, would we be doing as Saddam did, or like that, or would we do like that of the successor of the Messenger of Allah (s)? Governing a community is the greatest examination which Allah, the Exalted and Most High, imposes upon man. Governing over a nation, which gives out its blood in the way of Islam and the Islamic country, and sacrifices its youths, is one of the most difficult works and examinations. O presidents, you are being examined and your deeds are under strict observation of Allah, the Exalted and Most High. Attend to this nation which is cooperating with you in such a way. O you the Guards, you military man,

O you gendarmerie, O you all armed forces and police, O you chieftains, wherever you are on your tribes, O you governors of the country's provinces, all of you are being examined. Beware for yourselves. May Allah forbid that they should shed their blood so that your position may get higher. May Allah forbid that there should be such an animal inside you, and you still fancy that you are a human being. (357).

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The Hut-Dwelling Nature of the Employees of the Islamic Government

Thank God that our statesmen are not palace-dwellers. Our government is not a place-dweller one. The day on which our state tends towords palacedwelling, it will be the day which marks the death of our state and country. The day on which our President may—God forbid—quit his hut-dwelling nature and tend to palace-dwelling, it will be the day on which he will bring deterioration upon himself and those connected to him. The day on which the parliament deputies acquire the nature of palace-dwelling-may God forbid—and quit this worthing nature of hut-dwelling, it will be the day in which we will witness the death of this country. During the Constitutional period we were very much harmed by the palace-dwellers. Our parliaments were full of the palace-dwellers, and among them there were only few of the hut-dwellers, and yet those few in number could prevent a lot of acts of deviation and they continued to do so. The day the people of knowledge direct their attention to mundane things, to have such-and-such houses, and if the embelishments of the world—God forbid—affect them, it will be the day to say farewell to Islam.

As long as our nation keeps this condilion of caring for moralities to some extent, and as our youths also care for moralities, and because of this great change in them concerning loving martyrdom, and as long as this is preserved in them, this Islamic Republic will be preserved and nobody can transgress it. The day the embelishments of the world appeal to us, and Satan finds his way among us and be our guide, it will be the day in which the Super Powers will be able to affect us and to drag our country to destruction. All the time this country was subject to destruction by the palace-dwellers. The sultans of despotism, almost all of whom were palce-dwellers, never cared for the people. They could not understand what poverty meant. They could not sense what homelessness meant. They could not have any feelings

towards such matters. When one does not know what poverty means, what hunger means, he cannot care for the poor, for the hungery people. But those who have been brought up among the members of this community and who have felt what poverty is, since they themselves have tasted it, felt it, touched it, it is these who can take care of the poor. Let us strive to keep this situation in us all. In our Majlis, in our state organizations, in our fighters, in our army, in our armed forces and in our judicial power, this morality must be preserved, the direction to Allah must be preserved. It is the direction to Allah which rose an individual out of the hot desert of Arabia, out of the focus of complete ignorance, to spread such a great carpet, to educate such humane persons and to create such a lefty nation. Such things cannot come out of imperial regimes. It is a shepherd who can go forth to face Pharaoh. A man the like of Pharaoh cannot do it. We must raise real men, not rapacious men. Islam wants to make men. Islam wants to preserve independence. Preserving independence is impossible side by side with having inclination towards this world. (358).

Take Care of those Who Have Given Blood

I have several times advised the respectful authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran—and it is a permanent advice—to know the value of these great divine favours and to give priority, in the current conditions and the far future to come, to the dear persons who have given their blood to Islam, those who fought. They are most firmly to avoid seeking excuses, creating obstacles, finding hinderances and letter exchangings in order to prevent their progress as well as that of the nation. (359).

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Weak Persons Should Resign

O you who are in charge and you the statesmen of, as it were, high or low ranks, be on the alert, as you are at the cross-roads of happiness and wretchedness. The crooked path is Satan's, and the straight path is that of Allah, the Exalted and Most High. Be careful, very careful, since all of us are at the blessed presence of Allah, the Exalted, and all our cordial overwhelming deeds, spiritual notions and practical slippings are before Him. If through your mismanagement and weak thinking and acting there befalls a harm, or a defect, against Islam and the Muslims, and you know that, and if

you still continue keeping your post, then you will be commutting a big sin, a capital destroying sin, and you will be subject to a great punishment. If anybody, whatever his post, feels he is weak, whether in management, or in his will to resist his whims, he must bravely and without much ado submit his resignation, priding himself before the competent persons, as this will be a good devotional deed. Whoever is an efficient manager and is serving Allah's creatures, his keeping aside at this time is turning away from the creatures and their Creator, unless a more efficient servant, or a similar one, can replace him. The government, without choosing the committed and specialized employees in diverse scientific branches, would not be successful. The authorities, in selecting their employees, should depend on their knowledge, commitment and better service to the country and in the interests of the people, so as to be guiltess before Allah, the Most High, and the nation, and gain success in the affairs. Do not lean on friendship, acquaintance and do not listen to talks without reasoning and contemplation, as such a method would cause failure in serving the country. A good friend of the authorities is the one who acts effectively in enhancing the tasks referred to him, and is at the service of the nation, not at their service, whoever they may be and whatever they may be. Let the authorities ask the help of the scientists and experts, so that they may discover the secret of success. The authorities should reach to a single method and thought in order to go ahead with what is in the interest of Islam and the country. This is a correct Islamic policy. They may not meddle in the political nepotism—God forbid—as they will be unsuccessful. (360).

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An Example of the Imam's Resolution and Truthfulness

For how long should the Iranian nation keep patience? When would you reform the affairs? One and a half years have passed over the Revolution, and yet the emblem of the kingship is still there. If you are monarchists, say so. If after ten days, only ten days, there remained in the papers issued from the governmental offices the emblems of the Shah and their names, I will tell the nation to treat you as they treated the Shah. We keep silent and wait for them to solve the things themselves. But few think of these things. Why don't they think of these matters? Why the Revolution Council does not think of them. Why the President of the Republic does not think of these people, of these affairs? These words which you utter put them

to action a little. You all are against the Shah. Your superiors, those who are on top, whom I know, all of them are against the situation, and they were against the previous conditions. They are Islamic, but they are careless, and I do not understand why there is this carelessness? In the past few days something was brought to me which showed that the situation was the same and the same emblem of the Shah and filthy things. In the Foreign Ministry, in all the ministries and in all centers, the corrupt things must be amended. This cannot be. If they are incapable, let them quit, so that we may find capable ones. If they are not incapable, why, then, they do not act?

I apologize to all of you. I apologize to the nation of Iran, I apologize to the mothers who have lost their children, I apologize to the brothers who have given away their dearest ones. I apologize to the army men who lost their youths, and to the guards who lost their youths and their brothers, I apologize to them for not being able to set things aright. I apologize to the Imam al-Mahdi (a). I apologize to the presence of the noble Prophet (s). I apologize to the presence of the Master of the Time, the Imam al-mahdi (a). I apologize to the presence of the nation of Iran. I apologize to you, brothers, the brothers in the army, the brothers in the guards, the brothers in the gendarmerie and other armed forces who gave out their youths in the way of Islam. We could do nothing for you. We are weak. We are once again afflicted with the Shah's emblems. Our country is still a kingdom of the Shah, our ministries are still tyrannical. We could not do away with these, which must immediately be set aright, and if they are not set aright, we shall do it at once. (361).

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Parties and Islamic Establishments

Hizbullah [Allah's Party]

Every Muslim who accepts the Islamic criterions and principles, and applies strict Shiite disciplines to his acts and conducts, is regarded a member of *Hizbullah*. The instructions and course of *Hizbullah* are declared in the Quran and Islam. This party is different from the common parties of nowadays in the world. Today, all the people of Iran, whatever their ages, males and females, who raise Islamic slogans in their struggle, are part of *Hizbullah*. (362).

The Party of the Mustadafin

When we spoke of a party under the name of "The *Mustaḍafin* Party" throughout the world, we did not mean that the lawful parties, which are in Iran, should not be. The local parties are separate. The parties of all regions and all places are different. If the Muslims could, *inshaallah*, succeed in establishing such a *Mustaḍafin* Party for everywhere, it would be a right thing, but it does not mean that there should be no other parties. (363).

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Diverse Opinions within the Unity of Principles

Despite the fact that the elections were very well conducted, there were, however, hands which tried to create disunity and duality. They did not succeed, thank Gad. You must be aware that the enemies try always to cause failure in our inside, to cause inner decay among us... The Satans seek to create disputes so as to claim that there is discord among us. But, thank Allah, our nation, and particularly our men of religion, are people with luminous visages, and in this blessed month they are Allah's quests, *inshaallah*, as its results will show up that they all are together and that there are no two different fronts.

Of course, there are two thoughts, as there must be. There are two opinions and there must be. There must be different tastes, but different tastes do not cause enmity among people. I have already said they are like the theology students who argue, and their arguments used to be in such loud voices that one might have thought them to be enemies. But when the scientific arguments were over, they would sit together amicably and amiably. If a nation lacked diverse tastes it would be defective. If there is no difference in a parliament, it will be defective. There must be difference. Difference in tastes, in opinions, in arguments, there must be contention, but not to the extent of making us two separate and hostile groups. We may be two groups with differences, but friends with each other. (364).

The Imam's Analysis of Two Major Trends inside the Regime

The works of the great *fagihs* of Islam are full of examples of different points of view, tastes, impressions of diverse opinions in respect of different military, cultural, political, economic and devotional views. Even in matters claimed to be unanimously agreed upon, there can be differences, let alone the differences between the Akhbaris and the Usulis. Since in the past such differences were confined to the learning, searching and school circles, and recorded only in the scientific books, in the Arabic language, the masses of the people had certainly no idea about them, and even if they were informed about them, they had no much attraction to them. Now, can we think that as the fagihs have different views among themselves, they do—we take refuge in Allah from that—what is wrong and against religion? Never! But today, much to our pleasure, after the Islamic Revolution, the speeches of the *fagihs* and the experts are broadcast over the Radio and the TV as well as they are published in the papers, that is because there is practical need of such questions and matters. For example, the question of ownership and its limits, and the question of land sorting, the spoils and public wealths, the complicated questions of money, foreign currency, banking, taxes, internal and external commerce, muzaraah, 209 mudarabah, 210 lease, mortgage, penalties, blood-money, civil laws, cultural matters, handling arts in their general meaning, such as photography, painting, sculpture, music, theatrical performances, cinema, penmenship and the like, preserving the living environment, keeping nature healthy, preventing the cutting of trees even in houses and private estates, concerning food and drink, concerning planned contraception in necessary cases, or prescribing pregnancy intervals, concerning medical problems, such as joining non-human or human limbs to the bodies of other human beings, concerning the surface, subterranean and national mines, changing the haram and halal matters, expanding or narrowing some precepts in different times and places, concerning legal questions and the international rights and coordinating them in relation to the Islamic precepts, concerning the constructive role of the women in the Islamic society and their destructive role in the corrupt and non-Islamic societies, concerning the limits of indivividual and social freedom, concerning encountering disbelief, idolatry, eclecticism and the blocks following disbelief and idolatry, concerning performing the obligatory acts (such as salats) in space journeys and movement against the movement of the earth, or along with it with a speed higher than its speed, or in straight ascending, and neutralizing the earth's gravity, and, more important still, is the drawing and assigning the authority of the *faqih's* guardianship over the government and the society, all of which are part of thousands of questions with which the people and the government are afflicted, and about which the great *faqihs* have talked, displaying that they differ in their opinions. If some questions were not present in the past times or were out of question, the *faqihs* of the present time would have to think about them.

Consequently, the door of *ijtihad* in the Islamic government must always be open, as the nature of the Revoluation and the regime necessitates that the *ijtihadi* and *fiqhi* opinions in diverse matters, even if contradictory, should be freely manifested, and nobody has the right or the power to stop that. But the important thing is the correct comprehension of the government and the society, as on that basis the Islamic regime may be able to found its plans on promoting the interests of the Muslims, in which the unity of method and action is necessary. It is here that the *ijtihad*, as termed in the *hawzahs*, is insufficient, rather if even an individual is the most learned one in the common sciences of the *hawzahs*, but unable to recognize the interests of the society, or incapable of distingushing the good and the useful from the bad and the harmful, and, generally speaking, lacking correct social and political outlook and unable to take a decision, this person is not a *mujtahid* in the social and governmental affairs and cannot take the rein of the community in his hands.

You should take it into your consideration that as long as difference and taking up positions in the said questions are there, there will be no doubt about the Revolution. When the differences become fundamental and substructural, they will weaken the regime, and it is clear that even if there is a difference among the individuals and the existing wings connected to the Revolution, it is merely political, although it may take the form of an ideological one, because all of them are participators in the principles, and that is why I support them. They are loyal to Islam, to the Ouran and to the Revolution, and they are concerned about the country and the people, and every one of them has his viewpoints and suggestions for the growth of Islam and serving the Muslims, which, according to his belief, bring salvation. The decisive majority of the two wings²¹¹ want their country to be independent, both want to save the people from the control and the evil of the blood sucking leech-like people, lackeys of the government, the business circles and the streets; both want the honest employees, the pious workers and farmers and the truthful businessmen and peddlers to run a pure and healthy life: both want to eradicate stealing and bribery from the governmental and private establishments; both want the Islamic Iran to economically develop such as to win the markets of the world; both want Iran's cultural and scientific positions to be so advanced that the students and the researchers from all over the world rush to the educational, scientific and art centers of Iran; and both want Islam to become the big power of the world; so, what for is this difference? The difference is because both think that all these can be achieved by means of their own way. But both must very well know that taking sides should be such that, while protecting the principles of Islam forever, they are to keep their revolutionary anger and hatred as well as that of the people against the Western Capitalists headed by the world-devouring America, Communism and the international socialism, headed by the aggressive USSR.

Both trends are to exert their utmost effort to see that there will be no deviation from the policy of "Neither to the West nor to the East", and if there was the slightest deviation from it, it must be redressed by the sword of the Islamic justice. Both groups should remember that they have big common enemies who would have no mercy upon eithor of them. Both trends are to be friendly and keep an eye on the world-devouring America and the betrayal of the Islamic nation, the USSR. Both trends are to make the people aware that although the treacherous America is their No. 1 enemy, yet, their beloved children were martyred by the USSR's rockets and bombs. Both trends should not disregard the treason of these two imperialistic devils, and they should know that America and the USSR are thirsty to the blood of Islam and their independence.

O Lord! Be witness that I have said what I was to say to these two trends, and now it is up to them. Of course, there can be another important cause of differnece—of whose evil we all must take refuge with Allah. That is self-love, which knows no this or that trend. It makes no distinction among the President of the Republic, the Speaker, the Premier, the deputies, the ministers, the judges, the High Council of Judicature, the Council of the Guardians, the Propagation Organization, the Propagation Bureau, military and non-military, the *Ulama* and common people, student and non-student, men and women. There is only a single way to fight with it. It is self-discipline and asceticism. Let's pass over!

If you look at the matter from the point that all want to support Islam and the Islamic regime, many of the problems and ambiguities will be removed, but this does not mean that all the people should follow a single trend. With this point of view I said that criticism did not mean contradiction, and the new formation did not mean difference. Timely and constructive

criticism causes the community to develop. No one may think himself absolutely above criticism. As a matter of course, criticism is different from tendentious conduct. If, in this regime, somebody or some group tried—God forbid—to unjustifiably oust or destroy the others, preferring the interest of their trend to that of the Revolution, they would certainly strike at the Revolution and Islam before striking at their rivals. At any rate, one of the deeds which would indoubtedly win Allah's pleasure is to create amicability in the hearts of the people, and to do away with hostility and making nearer the occasions of offering services to one another. The intermediaters whose work is just to cause distrust between two prties are to be avoided. You have many common enemies whom you must try all your might to encounter. When you see that somebody is transgressing the disciplines, you must decisively stand against him.

Of course, you do know that the government, the *Majlis* and the high directors of the regime have never broken the principles and the scaffolds, nor have they turned away. It is quite obvious to me that love for Allah and for serving his creatures is in the disposition of both groups. By exchanging constructive ideas and thoughts the course of rivalries should be purged from pollusions, deviations, exaggerations and shortcomings. I once again advise that our country, in this stage of reconstruction and construction, is in need of thinking, unity and brotherly relations. May Allah grant success to all those whose hearts throb for reviving the true Islam of Muhammad (s) and for the annihilation of the American Islam. May Allah cover you with His care and preserve you with His protection. *Inshaallah* you will be among the supporters of Islam and the deprived! (365).

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Reputable Members to Be Selected for the Establishments

Another importrant thing is taking in members. You must investigate the past of the individuals before the Revolution: Their families, how their conducts after the Revolution were. These things must be carefully checked, so that no members, like those in the party and the Prime Ministry, ²¹² may sneek in. This is a matter that should be cared for, and it should not be neglected, but it is not an easy task to be carried out all over the country. With negligence it becomes even more difficult. You are to admit to membership the persons whom you know quite well to have no corrupt roots.

If a group follows this method, or if the group whose aims are alike, do the same, their work will continue to the end, and they will be able to draw the attention of the people, which is important. I do hope that you will follow that method and you act for the sake of Allah. When one's work is for Allah everything will follow. I wish well for all the groups who serve Islam and their country. *Inshaallah*, He will favour us all with His success. *Inshaallah* you will be victorious. (366).

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The Need for Islamic Assemblies

The existence of the Islamic assemblies all over the country, especially in the revolutionary organs, is a necessity. The gentlemen who form the Islamic Assemblies are firstly to take care not to let any corrupt person or members of the deviated groups enter into these assemblies, and, secondly, they themselves should take care that what happens there should be Islamic and not deviant. (367).

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A Defence of the Islamic Assemblies

These Islamic Assemblies are advantageous to you. If somebody said that these Islamic Assemblies were useless and reactionary, it is the same "reactionary" with which they label us all and you all. It is the same "reactionary" with which they want to oust you out and to bring in "progressive" persons. Who are these progressive persons? They are either to come from America, or from the USSR. This reaction against advancement means Islam and Iran against America, against the USSR. These Islamic Assemblies are all useful to you. Naturally, I did advise the Islamic Assemblies that they should take only the Islamic matters into their consideration, and never interfere in other matters, as interference is only for the commanders. But you must be aware that if sometime some people come and whisper to the effect that these Islamic Assemblies are, for example, useless, or harmful, or reactionary, they are practising the same plan of the enemies. (368).

The Backgrounds of the Members of the Assemblies

The Islamic Assemblies all over the country should know that there are enemies against these Islamic Assemblies and they wear the visage of friends and mix with you with the intention of dragging the Islamic Assemblies to corruption. Every one of you must be careful to investigate about the past of the one who wants to join you and be active, lest he may be an agent of the SAVAK with a *tasbih*²¹³ in his hand and wearing a beard in order to deceive you. Find out what he formerly used to do, what his family is what he was, where he had his studies and what they were, what opinions he has. This information is to be obtained about him before the Revolution. During the Revolution all pretend to be revolutionaries. Even those who worked for the SAVAK allege now that they were against the former regime. All show themselves to have been opposing the past regime, yet, some of them are still serving them turning their eyes to the hope that the former days would come again and they would fulfil their desires. They brew this raw fancy in their heads and join these assemblies in which our dear and committed youths are serving. They enter your organizations without your noticing them and suddenly you look out to see that your Assembly has been plunged into corruption. An Islamic Assembly must consist of Muslim individuals, of Muslim family, and committed ones before and after the Revolution. It is such people who are to be admitted to the Assemblies, not everybody with somewhat revolutionary and Islamic appearance may deceive you. You should carefully investigate each individual lest there may appear among you—God forbid—persons who would drive your Islamic Assemblies to corruption, and distort the reputation of Islam in the world. (369).

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Islamic Assemblies in the Secondry Schools

It is not to be that a person, or persons, indifferent to the Islamic ideologies, should form Islamic Assemblies. If they do not believe in all the principles of Islam, they may not be allowed to establish Islamic Assemblies or try to put Islam into practice. A further dimension is the Islamic moralities. So often there are persons who have, actually, Islamic beliefs to some extent, but they lack Islamic moralities. It is an important matter to you, who establish Islamic Assemblies, particularly to you, or to your friends who take care of the Islamic Assemblies in the secondry schools. It is an

important duty which you are undertaking, and you are to begin with yourselves and bedeck yourselves with Islamic moralities, and avoid the conducts which are not Islamic, because you want to apply Islam in the secondary schools where you are. You are not merely interested in having the name of an assembly just because the others have it. You want to put Islam into practice in the secondary schools, which is very important, a fact which requires that your own Islamic ideologies should be correct and your morals should be really Islamic. Another dimension is the Islamic act, being committed to the Islamic appearances, to the Islamic biddings and forbiddings and applying the precepts of Islam. If the societies which formed Islamic Assemblies commit—God forbid—deviated acts, they are not to allege that theirs are Islamic Assemblies, and that they have come to apply Islam: You must start from yourselves. Everybody must start from himself and conform his ideologies, morals and acts to Islam. Then, having reformed oneself one may seek to reform the others, especially you who take care of the secondary schools, and all those who have to do with children, young ones and youths. This is agreat obligation on you being in the secondary schools which you want to completely turn into Islamic schools. The students who are there, and in the primary schools, and later in the universities, they are the ones in whose hands will be the future of a country. So, if they were brought up with Islamic commitment, and with Islamic morals, and then handed over to the society, they will be able to reform the country and to defend the country's independence. (370).

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Non-interference of the Assemblies in the Executive Affairs

The Islamic Assemblies in the army and in other organs are not to interfere in the affairs which are not included in their obligations. They may advise the government, the officials of the government and all those who are near them. If they give no heed to their advice, then let them refer to their authorities, they will solve it. In order to preserve the prestige of Islam, which you guard, and to preserve the prestige of the Islamic Republic, which you watch over, you must not do anything which you should not, and not to interfere in the executive matters which are left to others to do. You are just to guide the others, and to have a guiding attitude. (371).

The Islamic Assembly in the University

The activities of these Islamic Assemblies are quite valuable, but they have responsibilities which are big, too, because taking care of everything in the university and having an eye on all its affairs, so that no deviation may take place, no deviated teacher may enter it—God forbid—no one of those in charge may—God forbid—be deviated, is also an important responsibility which should be carefully observed. But you also have to pay attention to the fact that just as you are members of *Hizbullah*, you should not be hard on good people, even if they had, in the past, committed a trivial mistake, or were forced to do something. You should not put them aside. Whatever you do you must attract the others, and those who at present do good and are useful, let them stay in the university and educate and teach under the supervision of the students on all things.

Anyhow, the job is important, and this important job entails big responsibility. I do hope that you, dear brothers and dear to the nation, will be successful in this Islamic-humanistic work of yours. (372).

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The Islamic Assemblies Abroad

I hope that the Union (of the Islamic Assemblies) of Euprope and America will join the other students in other countries, such as India, Pakistan, the Arab countries and others, and will expand their activities and convey Islam and the Islamic justice to all classes so as to remove the mistakes which, during centuries, have been ascribed to Islam by the agents of the imperialists who disfigured the luminous visage of Islam. (373).

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Other Groups and Organizations

The Monarchists

The monarchists abroad say—even last night they said it—that all the people of Iran are monarchists, and that His Majesty Rida the Second²¹⁴ enjoys wide popularity and the people all are with him! Well, let them say it.

My opinion is that these cunning people have gathered around this child in order to empty his pockets. They want the money his beggar father had taken from the people and now it is in the banks in his name. This is a pretext to get out his money and then to let him go. I think it is in his interest to turn to learning and take up a business. Let him know that it is too late for such plans. The people, even if there was no Islamic Republic, are no longer monarchists; there is no doubt about it. (374).

Nationalism

Those who say "We want to revive nationalism" are standing against Islam. Islam has come in order to do away with such impertinent talk. The nationalists are disadvantageous to us. Muslim ones are advantageous to us. Islam opposes nationalism. The meaning of nationalism is that we want the nation, we want nationalism, and we do not want Islam. (375).

The Nationalists

I frankly say: If the nationalists were (ruling), in difficulties and straits, they would easily extend the hand of humiliation and compromise towards the enemies, and, in order to relieve themselves from the everyday political pressure, they would break down all bowels of patience and resistence, and would disregard all their claims concerning covenants and promises. (376).

The National Front and the Nihdat-e Azadi

It needs much negligence and more naivety to see these groups who made a coalition and formed a national front that want to start a demonstration against Islam, while the Muslims should keep silent and watch them. They write essays against Islam, abusing Islam and calling the necessary rule of Islam as inhumane. When I see you in coalition with them, what should I do with this crowd of pious performers of *salat*? I used to like

them, and I still like some of them. What are we to do with them? Well, why don't you separate your accounts (from theirs)? I tell you now: separate your accounts. The Communists are against Islam. They have invited the Communists to come to be together with them. Well, the course of the National Front is known. It has openly risen against Islam. But you who are Muslims and never want to act against Islam, how is that your sensual passions are so much increased in you that you do not know what you are doing? Why has Satan so much power over us and is blinding our eyes and turning our hearts upside down? Come, separate your accounts. Does Nehdat-e Azadi [Freedom Uprising] accept what the National Front says? Do they, too, take this judgment—the judgment of punishment, which is neccessary in a Muslim community as is in the Glorious Ouran-to be inhumane? Do the performers of the Night Salat²¹⁵ accept it, too? I doubt not that they do not. Well, announce it. Why are you silent? Is "forbidding the had" to be addressed only to me? Is "forbidding the bad" to beat the government and to beat the *Majlis* and so on? Do you want, by doing what is forbidden, to forbid doing what is bad? Which bad? Do you say when that person invites the people, saying: "Come out in demonstrations against this inhumane Islamic Judgement", the Muslims should keep sitting watching the Messenger of Allah being cursed, the Quran being cursed? This is cursing the Ouran! (377).

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Giving the Liberals Posts Was a Mistake

I warn the dear students of theology that, besides having to be cautious against the whisperings of the pseudo-'ulama' and sanctimonious persons, they are to take lessons from the coming to power of the false revolutionaries who pretend to be their sagacious men who have never reconciled with the objectives and principles of the *Ulama*, lest their past thoughts and betrayals be forgotten, and the unjustified sympathies and naivety cause them to return to the principal and fatal posts in the regime.

Today, after ten years of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, I, like the past confess that in some of the decisions, in the early days of the Revolution, concerning entrusting high posts and important affairs of the country to groups who had no real and pure belief in the true Muhammadan Islam, we committed some mistakes whose bitterness would not easily go away, despite the fact that, at that time, I myself did not like those assignments, but I consented to the opinions and support of the friends. Now I am convinced that they would accept nothing less than deviating the Revolution from all its principles and turning towards the world-devouring America, whereas concerning other tasks they do nothing except talkings and mere claims. Today we are not sorry whatsoever for their not being with us, just as they were not with us from the beginning. The Revolution is indebted to nobody, and we are still enduring the harms of our much depending on the groups and the Liberals. The arms of the country and the Revolution are always open to hug those who intend to serve and play the tune of coming back, but not at the expense of their becoming creditors of all the principles, demanding: Why did you say: Down with the USA? Why did you wage war? Why do you apply the judgment of Allah to the *munafiqin* and the antirevolutionaries? Why do you raise the slogan of "Neither to the East nor to the West"? Why did we occupy "The Espionage Nest"? And hundreds of other whys. (378).

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Antirevolutionaries in Kurdistan

The corrupt people who have connections with the foreigners are traitors to the country. They want to drag Kurdistan to Communism. They want to efface Islam from Kurdistan. Even now they are engaged in their evil propaganda by internal and external pens. On one side they say: "We want to preserve the Kurd nation," and on the other side they say: "The government wants to suppress the Kurds." The question is not that of the Kurds, it is a question of the Communists. The Kurds are Muslims. Our Kurd people are Muslims and are committed to Islam. There is no war between Muslims and Muslims. They want to drag our country, our Kurdistan, to astraying, to Communism. The Kurd nation is to wake up. The *Ulama* of the Kurds are to take care of these Microbes of corruption and inform about them. The Kurd nation should know that these do not believe in Islam. They take Islam to be against their interests. They regard Islam as an opposer of their masters. They do not want to construct Kurdistan. They want to destroy in order to drag Kurdistan to perdition, to oust it out of Islam. O people of Kurdistan! Save your youths. O respectful *Ulama* of Kurdistan! Save the people of Kurdistan! Do not give chances to these rotten roots. O brave people of Kurdistan! Save Kurdistan, save Islam. O you rotten roots! You cannot do anything. So, leave the arena. We renounce you, you were not qualified for being guided. Those who deceived our youths, those who want, with the name of democracy, with the name of Democrates, to take our country to corruption and destruction, are to be suppressed. Our nation will suppress them. Do not do what would open the door of anger and close the door of mercy. (379).

* * *

The Leftist Parties

Question: What is your opinion about the activities of the political leftist parties, depending on no foreign power, and within the frame work of the government of the Islamic Republic?

Answer: In the Islamic Republic of Iran everyone is free in his belief and expression. But we shall not allow any group connected to the foreigners to betray. (380).

* * *

The American Leftists

Those who introduce themselves as leftists, say that they work for the people, as they allege, they are the agents of America, not of the other side. ²¹⁷

It is possible that they may be connected to it, but it is most probable that they are connected to America and made by it, as I still remember the formation of the *Tudeh* Party. The one who established the *Tudeh*]Communist] Party in Iran was Sulayman Mirza²¹⁸... He had designed it through the British. At that time... the Americans had very little influence here, rather nothing. Those who had much power were the British who brought Rida Shah to power, as they themselves said it in the radio: "It was we who brought him, then when he betrayed we gave him the sack." Now the British are no longer here. Whatever is here is America. Its profit and covetousness is more and its influence in these Eastern countries is even greater. (381).

The *Tudeh* Party

This very *Tudeh* Party leans against the big power of the USSR, and you do know they are spies for a country whose government's age is only sixty odd years, and yet there is no freedom in there, and no political party except their own. From the beginning when they came to power they killed and liquidated many groups. (382).

. . .

Dependent Ideologies

If we had no evidence proving that these [the Baha'is] were spying for the Americans other than Regan's support, and if we had no evidence proving that the *Tudeh* Party were spies other than the USSR's support, it would have been enough. Yet we tell you that neither the *Tudeh* Party because of their being *Tudeh* Party, nor the Baha'is for their being Baha'is, were tried in our courts and convicted. They have affairs. [The leaders] of the *Tudeh* Party themselves came and said whatever they wanted. They have a past record. Baha'ism²²⁰ is not a religion. The Baha'is are a party formerly supported by Britain, and now they are backed by America. These are spies like those. If they were not, they would be like many others who have deviated beliefs. They are Communists, or else, but our courts have not arrested and imprisoned them just because they are Communists or have deviational beliefs. (383).

* * *

The Mujahidin Khalq Organization (The Hypocrites)

When I was in Najaf, one of these came to me (before the appearance of the Hypocrites). He continued coming for twenty or twenty-four days, talking for about two hours every day. All his talks were from *Nahj al-Balaghah* and the Quran. It occurred to me that *Nahj al-Balaghah* and the Quran were a means for some other question. It is narrated that a Jew in Hamadan adopted Islam and he carefully adhered to the Islamic disciplines, to the extent that it arouse the suspicion of the Late Sayyid Abdul-Majid²²¹ (one of Hamadan's *Ulama*). One day he summoned the Jew. "Do you know me?" he asked him. "Yes," he replied. "Who am I?" he asked again, "You

are Sayvid Abdul-Majid," he answered. "I am of the Prophet's offspring. Who are you?" asked the Sayyid. The Jew said: "I was a Jew. My fathers were Jews, too. I have recently adopted Islam." "The point is," said the Sayyid, "that you, the new Muslim, are more pious than me, although your fathers were Jews, whereas my fathers and grandfathers were the Prophet's offspring. What is the matter?" I heard that the Jew left and it was later known that he was a cheat and he wanted by his Islamic appearance to carry out something. I, too, thought that this one who so much reads Nahi al-Balaghah is like that. Although I am a student of theology, I do not read so much of *Nahj al-Balaghah* and the Quran. So, there must be something in the wind. All the time I listened to him without saying anything. He had come to get my support. I listened and kept sitent. Only when he said: "We want to start an armed uprising," I said: "No, it is too early for that. You will lose your force and you will not be able to do anything." Later on it was proved to be so. Some people from Iran had demanded that they should be supported. Nevertheless I did not believe, even from very respected persons of Tehran who spoke good of them. Those who so much read Nahi al-Balaghah and speak of piety, then explain the ayahs of the Quran and Nahi al-Balaghah other than they should be explained, we cannot trust them.

The Baathists of Iraq also cite *Nahj al-Balaghah* and write it on their placards, like these people, they cannot be trusted.

Then a student asked: "What our position should be in such a condition?" In his answer the Imam said: "Your position is that you should not be too friendly with them. Of course, you should not dismiss them, nor should you dispute with them. (384).

* * *

The Hypocrites' Espionage for Saddam

Saddam's fall is to such an extent that he puts his hand in the hands of the runaway *Munafiqin* who are even more afflicted and defeated than he. The *Munafiqin*, in order to make for their disgrace and impudence, cling to every bit of straw. Just to have Baghdad Radio mention the name of these who allege to be the deliverers of the people, they put, with complete shamelessness, their hands of brotherhood in the hand of the criminal Saddam, who, with mortars and rockets, killed thousands of men, women and children, old and young, of the people of this land, and who, with his farrange cannons, pulls the towns of these innocent people down upon their

heads. They officially act as his spies. And, despite the fact that the leaders of the *Munafiqin* are in America indulged in dining and wining and enjoying luxurious life, it is much regretted that they could deceive, with tricks and fraud, a number of the young people, emptied them from the power of thinking. I hope that the deceived young men, by witnessing their crimes and believing in their cooperation with Saddam, will no longer blindly follow them. (385).

* * *

Foreign Policy Principles and the System of International Relations

Denouncing Wrongdoing and Defending the Wronged

Prophethood and Breaking the Pillars of Wrongdoing

Prophethood had come, and the prophets had been sent, to break down the pillars of the wrongdoings of the tyrannical rulers who wrong the people, to smash the foundations of the palace of injustice which was built up by the toils and the hardships of the unfortunate people who were exploited to raise it up. The coming of the Prophet (s) was to pull down these pillars of injustice, as, on the other side, there was the spreading of monotheism, and all the places of worshipping other than Allah, such as fire-worshipping, were destroyed and the fires were put off. (386).

* * *

The Prophets Were the Standard-bearers of Fighting Injustice

What did Moses, son of Imran, do? What did he do in his life? What did Ibrahim do in his life? All of them rose against despotism, against injustice. The aim of their uprising had this sense. We have to make them examples for ourselves, and we have to stand against injustice, against wrongdoers. The Muslims must rise against injustice, against despotism, against atrocities. (387).

Neither Wronging nor Being Wronged

The Islamic *Ummah* follows a school of thought whose doctrine can be squeezed in few words: "Neither wronging (others) nor (accepting) being wronged." (al-Baqarah: 279). (388).

* * *

To Me Fighting against Injustice Is Important

To me place is not important. What is important is the fight against injustice. Wherever this struggle can be better conducted, there I will be. (389).

* * *

No Muslim May Endorse Unjust Governments

They thought they were advising Amir al-Muminin (a) by saying: "You may let Muawiyah 222 remain in his post [as governor of ash-Sham] for a while under your rule. When the pillars of your government got stronger you can then depose him." He gave heed to none of those words, as he said that a man who acts against the divine principles and gives way to injustice in the land; he would not tolerate him as a governor even for a single moment. Actually, if he had accepted Muawiyah as a governor, it would have become a precedence denoting that a reprobate may be appointed by walvy al-Amr as a governor... This is an example for us to the effect that if we can, we must do away with the despotic governments, and if we—God forbid—cannot, we must not endorse such governments even for a single day, for a single hour, because it means endorsing injustice, endorsing aggression, endorsing plundering the properties of the people. No Muslim has the right to consent to an unjust government even for a single hour. All of us are obliged to fight against these governments which are ruling against the divine principles, the legal criterions and even against their own laws. Everybody must, according to his possibility, oppose and fight them, and no excuse is acceptable. (390).

A Muslim Must Oppose the Super Powers

One who is a follower of Islam must oppose the Super Powers and deliver the wronged from their claws. (391).

* * *

Tazkiyah the Premise to Renouncing Injustice

Accepting being wronged is just like being a wrongdoer, both are casued by not having *tazkiyah*: **He will be successful who does** *tazkiyah* (*al-Ala*: 14). It is recommended to recite this *surah* in the feast *salat*. It is an order to practise *tazkiyah* and to remember Allah: "**He will be successful who does** *tazkiyah* and remembers the name of his Lord, and performs the *salat*." *Tazkiyah*, remembering the name of the Lord and the *salat* are the stages which if we reached to, we would not have the condition of accepting injustice, nor would we become unjust. All are because we did not practise *tazkiyah*. The governments did not practice *tazkiyah*, nor will they, unless by a grace of Allah. They are unjust, and the people who do not practis *tazkiyah* will agree to carry the yoke of injustice on their shoulders. (392).

* * *

We Are Supporters of the Wronged

We are supporters of the wronged. If anyone anywhere is wronged we support him. The Palestinians are wronged, and the Israelis have wronged them, so we are their supporters. (393).

* * *

Ashura's Message to Face Injustice

You must stand in the face of the wrong and injustice. "Everyday is Ashura and every land is Karbala". This is a great word which is misunderstood. They take it to mean that one must everyday weep, but its concept is other than that. What did Karbala do? What was the role of the land of Karbala on the day of Ashura? All lands must be like that. The role of

Karbala was that there came to it the Master of the Martyrs²²⁴ (a) with a number of his companions, where they stood in the face of the injustice of the monarch of the time, Yazid. They sacrificed themselves and accepted death, but they never accepted despotism, and they defeated Yazid. Everywhere it should be like this. Our nation must understand the meaning of today being Ashura, and that we must fight injustice, and that here is Karbala and we must play the role of Karbala everyday. It is not confined to a particular land, nor to a particular group of people. All lands and all days must play the same role, and the people may not forget that they should always stand against injustice. Some narratives—which for the time being I do not know whether they are true or not-say that one of the supererogatories is that the believers during the time of waiting should keep their arms, they may not leave their weapons while sitting waiting. To face despotism and injustice they must be armed. It is a duty, forbidding the bad. It is incumbent upon us to confront the unjust systems, especially those which oppose the basis. (394).

* * *

Defending the Muslims' Lives and Properties is Obligatory

We did not enter their country [Iraq] so as to be labelled as criminals. It is they who are criminals as they did enter [our country]. Someone, a thief, breaks into a house; if this thief is pushed off, is it the thief who is the offender or the defender? The housekeeper has done no offense. The thief had broken in, and the housekeeper had to drive him away. Even if it leads to his death he must drive him off. It is the thief who is criminal. Those who attack our frontiers, though supposing them to be Muslims, it is obligatory to defend and to kill them until they go away. It is not that we have a warmonger head. We do want the world to live in peace. We want all the people, Muslims and non-Muslims, to live in peace and friendship. But it does not mean that if someone wants to break into a house and transgress, we are to say that we must hold to peace and surrender to injustice. No!

Just as injustice is *haram*, surrendering to it is also *haram*. To defend the honour of the Muslims, their lives, their property and their countries, is one of the obligatory duties. We are now carrying out this duty. Our country is performing this duty. Some on the frontlines and others behind the frontlines are doing their duties. If somebody came with, say, an explosive

and wanted to throw it somewhere here, but he was arrested and imprisoned, or if he was killed in the course of his attempt, it would be defence, it would be doing away with corruption, because the one who attempted it is a mischief-maker, not you who are defending yourselves at a house. You just want to see that they are not thrown at your house. (395).

* * *

Compromising with the Super Powers Is Being Unfair to Humanity

Those who criticise us for not reaching a compromise with these corrupt powers look at things with a materialistic eye and solve the questions in a naturalistic way. They do not know what the method of the prophets was, how did they face injustice. Or do they know but pretend to be deaf and dumb?

To come to a compromise with the unjust is injustice to the wronged. Compromising with the Super Powers is unfairness to humanity. Those who tell us to compromise are either ignorant or mercenaries. To compromise with the unjust means to leave him free to do whatever injustice he wants to do. This is contrary to the method of the prophets. The great prophets acted quite seriously, much as they could, to do away with injustice from among this unjust human race, by admonition, by preaching, by bidding the good and forbidding the bad, ²²⁵ by: "And we revealed the iron wherein is mighty strength" (*al-Hadid*: 25). The last cure is cautery. That is, if admonition was useless, and if advice was fruitless, the last remedy is to cauterize. The sword is the last cure. (396).

* * *

If Possible We Shall Shoulder the Rifles

Allah, the Exalted and Most High, has imposed upon us to oppose and fight against such people, such wrongdoers, those who are trying to shake the foundation of Islam and to leave to the wind all the interests of the Muslims. Had it been possible for me, I would have taken the rifle and opposed, I would have shouldered my rifle and started opposition. (397).

The Unity of the Islamic *Ummah* and Protecting Palestine

We Must Try to Implement Unity among the Mustadafin

If the *mustaḍafin* of the world, being under the American control or the control of the other powers, do not wake up and do not rise, hands in hands, the Satanic rules will not be removed. All of us must try to have the unity among the *mustaḍafin*, whatever their creed and sect may be, implemented. Should there be—God forbid—a weakness, these two *mustakbir* poles of the East and the West will, like cancer, take everything to perdition. We have decided to destroy all the powers. You, too, try to make the nations go along the right. The important thing is that you, in your creed and we in our creed, remain sincere and put our trust in Allah, the Exalted and Most High, so that His care may cover us and deliver us from these powers. (398).

* * *

The Mission of the *Ulama* of Islam Is to Preserve Unity and to Face Injustice

The *Ulama* and the scholars of the whole world, especially the Islamic *Ulama* and thinkers, are to rise, as a single heart and to a single direction, along the way of delivering the humanity from the despotic control of the deceitful and conspirating minority who, with their intrigues and tumults, throw their control over the peoples of the world, and to push aside, with their speeches, pens and action, the false fear and apprehension which are spreading their shadow over the wronged people, and to destroy these books which have recently been published by the imperialists through the filthy sleaves of the slaves of Satan, aiming at kindling the fire of dissensions among the Muslim sects. They are to uproot the roots of dissension, which are the springhead of all the afflictions of the wronged and the Muslims, and to assault, with a single heart and aim, the mass media, which spend most of the hours of the day and night, instigating tumult and discord, fabricating lies and gossips, and to revolt against the springhead of terrorism gushing out from the White House, because investigation showed that the explosions which annihilated the American riflemen and soldiers in Beirut and elsewhere can be ascribed to the Houses of Injustice, particularly the White House. (399).

* * *

The Hajj Gathering and Forming a Mustadafin Front

There are many political aspects in meetings, assemblies and Friday congregations, especially the valuable hajj gathering, including getting information about the basic and political difficulties of Islam and the Muslims. By the meeting of the *Ulama*, the enlightened and the committed visiting the Sacred House of Allah [in Mecca] those difficulties can be displayed and ways to solving them can be reached at through consultation. Then the ways of solving them can be presented by the pilgrims, on their return to their Islamic countries, to their general assemblies, where they may try to remove them. Among other duties of this great gathering is calling the people and the Muslim communities to unity and to remove the disputes from among different classes of the Muslims. To achieve this purpose the preachers, the speakers and the writers are to be active in this vital question and in forming a front for the *mustadafin* who, under a united front, united word and the slogan of La ilaha illallah [There is no god but Allah], can free themselves from the captivity of the Satanic powers, the foreigners, the imperialists and the exploiters. By the Islamic brotherhood they can overcome the difficulties. (400).

* * *

Principal Remedy: Unity of the Muslims

The remedy which is the basis of all remedies and burns off the roots of all difficulties and corruptions is the unity of the Muslims, or rather, the unity of all the *mustadafin* and the fettered all over the world. This unity, which is stressed by the noble Islam and the glorious Quran, must be brought into being by extensive calls and propaganda. The center of such calls and propaganda is the honoured Mecca during the great gathering of the Muslims for *hajj*. (401).

Had the Muslims Been United, Israel Would Have Been Drifted Away

A question appears to me to be a puzzle. It is the fact that all Islamic states and all Islamic nations know wherefrom the pain comes. They do know that the hands of the foreigners are at work to disunite them. They do realize that by disuniting them they will get nothing but weakness and annihilation. They clearly see that a flimsy state like Israel is standing in the Muslims' face. If they were united, and each one of them poured just a bucket of water on Israel it would be drifted away by the flood. But they are now helpless before it. The puzzle is here. Despite the fact that they know all these, why don't they turn to the decisive cure, unity and agreement? Why don't they render inactive the plots of the imperialists aimed at weakening them? When will the time come for this riddle to be solved? To whom should we go to solve it? Who is to frustrate these conspiracies other than the Islamic states and the Islamic nations? If you have got an answer to this riddle and if you could solve it, then be kind to tell us. (402).

* * *

The Heads of the Islamic Countries Are to Settle Trivial Differences

The Prophet wanted to create unity of word all over the world. He wanted to place all the kingdoms of the world under the single word of *Tawhid* (monotheism), to place the inhabited earth under the word of *Tawhid*. But the aims of the sultans of that time on one side, and the aims of the Christian and Jewish *Ulama* on the other side, blocked the road, they were a handicap in the way of implementing that objective. Now, too, they are a handicap; now, too, they block the road; now, too, they are the cause of our afflictions; now, too, the Jews prevent Islam from spreading; and now, too, the Christians prevent Islam from being introduced as it is.

Today it is incumbent upon the heads of Islam, the sultans of Islam, the presidents of Islam, to push aside these trivial and seasonal differences. They have no Arab and non-Arab, they have no Turk and Farsi. Islam, the word of Islam, the Prophet of Islam, followed a particular method of struggle, which is to be followed now, too, by following Islam. If they had preserved their unity, if they had given up their tiny differences, if all had supported one

another, seven-hundred million could have said: Here we are! But sevenhundred million disunited do not worth even a million. Seven-hundred million disunited are of no use, even thousands of millions of disunited persons can be of little use. But if only four-hundred million, or even twohundred million of the seven-handred million put hand in hand, brotherly hand, protect their frontiers, keep their borders, and unite their word in the Islamic society, which is common to all of them, the word of tawhid which is common to all, in the Islamic interests which are common to all, if they all unite, the Jews can no longer look covetously at Palestine, India can no longer look covetously at Kashmir. That is why they do not let you unite. You must know (and you do know) that the hands which want to take your sources out of your hands, they want to plunder your wealth. They want to pillage your subterranean and surface valuables. They do not let Iraq and Iran unite together, Iran and Egypt together, Turkey and Iran together, and all be united. They do not allow that, but your duty is not this. The duty of the leaders is to sit together and understand one another, to defend their borders and frontiers. Each one of them is to protect his borders, but the foreign enemy who is causing so much harm to you, you must face him with your unity. If you had united, a handful of Jewish thieves in Palestine could not leave dislodged more than a million of the Muslims ten years, or more than ten years, ago, while the Islamic countries sit in mourning. Had there been unity, how could this handful of Jewish thieves have snatched Palestine out of your hands, and driven out the Muslims from their own land, and you remain unable to do anything? If you unite, how can an unfortunate Hindu take dear Kashmir from us, from the Muslims, without being able to do anything? These are among the clear matters, but they need to be reminded. They themselves know that, but they have to think about it. They have to hold a session, a meeting to think so as to push aside their worthless differences. Islam is now in your hands. Let the heads of Islam, the kings of Islam, the Presidents, the Shavkhs, those who are leaders in the Islamic societies, know that the post which Allah, the Exalted and Most High, has given to them has its responsibility. To be the chief of a people, to be the leader of a nation, has responsibility towards that people, towards that nation, towards the life of that people, towards the events which befall that people. They are responsible to them. The others are in need of them. It is amazing. It is amazing that the wealth which is in the hands of the East, this important wealth of oil, which is in the hands of the East, is in the lands of the Muslims and it is in the Muslim countries, these very important mines in the world, by means of which each country progresses, yes, it is by means of these

treasures. Every country advances in war by means of oil, which is in your hands. Iraq, thank God, has oil. Iran, thank God, has oil. Kuwait has oil, al-Hijaz has oil. Oil is in the hands of the Muslims. They should come to flatter you and kiss your hands, kiss your feet and yet buy these treasures at good prices. You should not flatter them. *Inshaallah* you will not do it. It is they who are to flatter you. The wealth is in your hands. Yet, one realizes that the situation is not so. The imperialists have arranged it otherwise, and have played some kingdoms such that they think that they have to flatter the imperialists and still make a potite offer to take away their wealth. This is regretful. Unless there is unity, unless the heads of Islam create a unity among themselves, unless they think about the afflictions of the Islamic *ummah*, the afflictions of Islam, the afflictions of the precepts of Islam, and the strangeness of Islam and the Noble Quran, they would not be able to have domination. They must think it over, must act, so as to have domination. If they carry out this, they will be the sovereign of the world. If Islam is introduced to the world as it is and if it is practised as it is, domination will be yours, greatness will be yours: "And glory belongs unto Allah, and unto His Messenger and the believers." (al-Munafiqun: 8) (403).

* * *

Our Plan Is the Unity of the Islamic Countries

We are prepared to defend Islam, the Islamic countries and the independence of the Islamic countries, in any case. Our program, which is Islamic, is the unity of the Muslims, the unity of the Islamic countries, brotherhood with all of the Muslim sects all over the world, alliance with all the Islamic states all over the world against Zionism, against Israel, against the imperialistic states, against those who plunder the wealth of this poverty—stricken people, while this unfortunate people burns off in the fire of poverty, unemployment and helplessness. The governments, in the presence of complexions pale of hunger and helplessness, keep talking of progress and economic advancements. These bitter realities are frustrating us and torture the *Ulama* of Islam. If this is black reactionary, ²²⁷ let us, then, be reactionary. (404).

* * *

O Muslims! Keep Away From the Disuniters!

O you powerful Muslims! Beware! Know yourselves and let the world know you. Cast aside the sectarian and regional disputes, which have been created by the world-devouring powers and their corrupt agents for the purpose of plundering you and treading upon your human and Islamic honour. You are to cast away, in accordance with the judgment of Allah, the Most High, and the Glorious Quran, the disuniters, such as the mercenary *akhunds* and the nationalists who know nothing of Islam and of the interests of the Muslims. The harms of these people to Islam are no less than those of the world-devourers. They show Islam upside-down and pave the way for the plunderers. May Allah, the Most High, deliver Islam and the Muslim countries from the evil of the world-devourers and their affiliated and connected agents. (405).

* * *

The Two Serious Problems of the Muslims

We know and the Muslims know, or rather all the Muslim states know, that what befell us and are still befalling us are caused by two problems: one is among the states themselves, who, much to our regret, could not settle them till now. It is the problem of the differences among themselves and they do know that the origin of all the afflictions of the Muslims is these differences. For twenty years now we have been talking about this matter, advising, delivering speeches, writing, calling upon the heads of the states to unite. But it is regretted that so far nothing was achieved. The second problem is that which is between the states and the nations. The governments have treated the nations in such a way that they do not support their governments. The problems which encounter the governments are to be solved by the nations. But as there is little cooperation between them, if the people do not agravate the problems of the governments, they will at least remain indifferent to them. (406).

The Quran Has Concluded Brotherhood Covenant among the Muslims

I have the hope that all our brothers all over Iran, both the Sunnis and the Shiites, and all those who are among this nation of the religious minorities, all gather together and all be like brothers in treating one another brotherly, so that this country may progress and the precepts of Islam may be applied, and prosperity may cover all the Muslims and all those who live in the Islamic country. I hope all the Islamic nations may not think that we are in a corner and they are in another corner. The Quran has called you all brothers. The Quran has concluded a covenant of brotherhood among all of you, between the one who is in the other point of the world and is a Muslim, a believer, and the other one who is in the other side of the world, between the East and the West, thinking that they are separate, but they are not, all are brothers, and, according to the decree of Islam, they are to practise brotherhood with each other and not to be separate from each other, and to take their interests to be the interests of Islam and the interests of all the Muslim *ummah*. Each nation is to regard the interests of the other nations as its own, and the believers, wherever they are, they are to be brothers and act as such. If a despot encroached on an Islamic country, they should take that encroachment against themselves. I hope that by recognizing the Islamic decree that all Muslims are brothers, this country will get at its interests and all the Islamic countries will overcome the Super Powers and be successful in applying the Islamic precepts to the letter. (407).

* * *

The Difference between the Shiites and the Sunnis is the Want of the Foreingers

If there happens a dispute between the Iranian nation and the other nations, or between the Sunni brothers and the Shiite brothers, it will be to the disadvanlage of all of us, of all Muslims. Those who want to cause disunion are neither of the Sunnis nor of the Shiites. They are the directors of the Supor Powers and they are serving them. Those who try to create disunity between our Sunni brothers and our brothers of the Shiite, are the groups who plot for the enemies of Islam. They want to help the enemies of Islam to overcome the Muslims. They are the followers of America, and some are the

followers of the USSR. The Muslims, wherever they may be must be aware that disunion between a country in the farthest end of the world and another one on the other end of the world, does not mean a local dispute. The world of today is not like before. It will not be the question concerning only that part of the world. If there is a dispute among you brothers in Iran, it will concern the whole world, and if there is a dispute between the Iranian brothers and the Iraqi brothers, i.e., the Iraqi nation, it is a matter concerning the whole world, not a local matter between Iran and Iraq. It is considered in the whole world, as those in the world who want to put the profits of the world in their own pocket and to impose their control over the whole world, they exploit any disunion which may happen between the Shiite brothers and the Sunni brothers in Iran. Similarly, if it happened between our Iranian brothers and the brothers who are in Pakistan, they exploit the situation, too.

We must be awake and know that the divine judgment says: "The believers are but brothers" (*Hujurat*: 10). There is nothing among them other than brotherhood, and they are obliged to have brotherly conduct. It is a political point to have all the Muslim nations—nearly a milliard in number—be brothers to one another, in which case no harm may befall them and none of the Super Powers will be able to transgress them. O brothers! Pay attention to this! (408).

* * *

Sunni and Shiite Brothers should Avoid All Disputes

A group of the Muslims are Shiite, a group of the Muslims are Sunni, a group are *Hanafi*, ²²⁸ a group are *Hanbali*, a group are *Akhbari*. Basically it was erroneous from the beginning to suggest such ideas. In a society where all want to serve Islam and to be for Islam, such matters should not be suggested. We all are brothers and are together. It is merely that your *Ulama* issued a set of *fatwas* and you followed them in imitation, and so you became *Hanafi*. Another group became *Shafii* and followed him. Another group followed the *fatwas* of the Imam as-Sadiq and became Shiite. These should not be causes of difference. We should not have any difference or contradition. We all are brotheres. The Shiite and Sunni brothers should avoid all differences.

Today, our differences will be in the interest of those who believe neither in Shiism nor in the *Hanafi* or in the other sects. They want neither this nor that to be. Their way is to cause differences between us. We must realize that we are all Muslims, followers of the Quran and of *tawhid*, and that we must toil for the Quran and to serve *tawhid*. (409).

* * *

The Muslims of the World are to Join Together

They are uselessly trying to create disunity. The Muslims are brothers and would not be disunited by the evil propaganda of some corrupt elements. The origin of this question concerning Shiite and Sunni, the one on one side and the other on the other side, is caused by ignorance and by the propaganda waged by the foreigners. They even cause disuninon among the Shiites themselves. They do the same among the Sunni sects, too, placing one group against another.

Today all the sects of the Muslims are facing the Satanic powers who want to uproot Islam, because they do know that what can be dangerous to them is Islam, and that the greatest danger is in the unity of the Muslim nations. Today is the day on which all the Muslims of the whole world must come together. Today is not the day for a group in a place to say: "Only we" and another group in another place say: "Only we". Today is the day on which all are to be united on the basis of the rule of Islam and the Judgments of the Quran. They are not to dispute. The dispute among the Muslims, in any way it may be, is prohibited by the Quran. Dispute will bring them failure and effaces the attractive qualities of man and nation. This is the command of Allah, the Generous. Those who try to create disunion, and yet claim to be Muslims, have not found the Islam whose Book is the Quran, the Islam whose ka'bah is its Qiblah. They do not believe in Islam. The ones who believe in Islam are those who accept the Ouran and its contents, the content which says: "The believers are but brothers". So they must comply with what brotherhood requires. Brotherhood requires that if some misfortune happened to you all the other brothers, wherever they maybe, sympathize with you. If you are happy, all will be happy, too. (410).

Supporting the Palestinians Is the Muslims' Duty

The controversy and acting as instruments played by some of the heads of the Islamic countries, would not give to seven-hundred million Muslims—despite their wealth, reserves and natural possibilities—the chance and power to cut short the hands of imperialism and Zionism, and to limit the influence of the foreigners. Egotism, instrumentalism and the submissiveness of some Arab states before the direct influence of the foreigners prevent tens of millions of the Arabs from saving the land of Palestine from Israel's usurpation and occupation.

All must know that the objective of the Big Powers in creating Israel will not be fulfilled by occupying Palestine. Actually, they are planning—God forbid—to afflict all the Arab countries with the same fate of Palestine. We are nowadays witnessing the *jihad* of the Palestinians for the purpose of putting the destiny of Palestine into the hands of the Palestinians. We are witnessing such fighters who, forsaking their own lives, rush to a heroistic *jihad* against occupation and aggression, in the way of freeing Palestine and the occupied land. We have witnessed what the quislings of imperialism brought yesterday upon Jordan, and today upon Lebanon. We are witnessing the propagations and the conspiracies waged against them, instigated by the agents of the imperialists, with the purpose of separating the Muslim groups from the Palestinian fighters, and aiming at moving the fight out of the strategic regions, which offer a good situation for striking at the Israeli and the Zionist forces, these usurping enemies.

Do the Muslims, the heads of the Islamic countries, in such conditions, have no responsibility and no duty before Allah, reason and conscience? Is it right that the Palestinian fighters should be massacred by the agents of imperialism in the regions under the control of imperialists, while the others keep silent, and, even in driving out this liberating *jihad* from its most suitable strategic region, they cooperate with the conspirators? Do the Arab states and the Muslim inhabitants in these regions not know that by destroying this *jihad*, the Arab countries will never see the face of security and safety because of the evils of this unclean enemy?

Today it is incumbent upon the Muslims, in general, and the governments of the Arab states, in particular, in order to protect their independence, that they should back and support this fighting group with full commitment, sparing no effort in conveying weapons, ammunition and provision to them. The fighting devotees will have to depend on Allah, stick to the Quranic teachings and continue their course on the road to their sacred

aim, with complete consistency and persistence. They are not to feel discouraged by the coldness and weakness of some elements, so that their liberating zeal may not be harmed. It is confirmed that the fighters and the inhabitants of the regions, where the fighters are at work, should cooperate.

I request all the conscious, awake, intelligent and farsighted Muslims, especially the sincere servants of Allah and the great *Ulama* to implore Allah, in these blessed days, to help the Muslim in getting free from the unclean control of imperialism. They are to make use of the gatherings of the month of Ramadan and other big Islamic gatherings, such as the Friday *salats* and *hajj*, in order to spread and convey the truths to all Muslims, calling upon the people to follow the Quran which calls for unity, and to put hand in hand to support the liberation of Palestine and solve the burning problems befalling the entire Islamic world. I ask Allah, the great, to cut off the hands of the foreigners from the lands of the Muslims, He is Hearing and Responding. (411).

Shah's Support of Israel Caused His Fall

One of the motives for the Muslim people of Iran in uprising against the Shah was his unsparing support of the usurping Israel. He supplied it with its need of oil, and opened the markets of Iran to its products, and other moral supports, while, at the same time, in order to deceive the world opinion, he used to condemen Israel. Neither the Muslim nation of Iran, nor any Muslim, and rather no free man, would, principally, officially recognize Israel. We shall always support our Palestinian and Arab brothers. (412).

* * *

We Have always been Supporters of the Palestinians

I ask Allah, the Blessed and Most High, to help the nation of our Palestinian brothers to overcome their problems. We are brothers with them. I myself, ever since the beginning of this uprising, 15 years ago have referred, in my writings and speeches about Palestine, to the crimes committed by Israel there. Now, *Inshaallah*, after doing away with this disturbance, we shall remain, as before, besides you, and I hope that all will be like brothers in facing the problems. I seek from Allah, the Blessed and Most High, the glory of Islam and the Muslims, and the return of Jerusalem to our brothers. (413).

All Muslims are to Prepare to Stand against Israel

Today, the first *Qiblah* of the Muslims is in the hands of Israel, this cancerous gland in the Middle East. It now forcefully assaults our Palestinian and Lebanese brothers, plunging them in blood-baths. Today, Israel, with every Satanic means, tries to create disunion. It is on every Muslim to prepare himself against Israel. Today our Islamic African countries are struggling under the yoke of America and other foreigners and their agents. (414)

* * *

Quds Day is the Day for Calling out: Death to USA!

Death to Israel!

May Allah assist us one day to perform our *salat* in the city of Ouds [Jerusalem]. I hope that the Muslims will regard the Quds Day a great one, and that on that day, the last Friday of the blessed month of Ramadan, they will come out in demonstrations in all the Islamic countries. They have to hold meetings, assmblings, and to attend to the mosques and to yell out there. When a milliard persons cry out, Israel will be incapable, it will be frightened from the very yelling. If all the Muslims in the world—who are now nearly a milliard—come out of their houses on the Ouds Day into the streets and shout out: Death to USA! Death to Israel! Death to USSR, this very shouting will bring death to them. Your number is one milliard, your resources are so many that the other governments are in need of them, nevertheless they push you to dispute with one another so as to plunder your wealths without being opposed. It is good if the nations follow Iran's example, the example of our dear and noble people. It would be good if we become more attentive by the youths in America, England and other Western countries, who demonstrate and stand in the face of the police, and get arrested, and put in fetters, and they still vell out in the fetters and demand justice. We are to learn from these young men who shout for Islam. (415).

Reciprocal Respect of the Rights

Befriending Whoever Befriends Us

We are not hostile to any nation. Islam has come to all nations, to all peoples: "O people!" [Frequently repeated in the Quran]. Islam is for all. It cares for all humanity. We, too, are following Islam. We, too, care for all humanity. We are friends with everybody who has friendly behaviour with us. (416).

* * *

Islam's Judgments Are Peaceful

The Islamic judgments are peaceful. We, thus, want all classes to be peaceful. As I have formerly reminded, we want to have friendly relations with those who want to have friendly relations with us. We hope that your country and your government preserve reciprocal respect, and you should not do what may imply that you were interfering in our country's affairs. I do not like that it may be shown that you had interfered in Ahwaz. Your conduct must be in such a way removing misunderstanding. Nothing should be alone to denote that any weapons are being imported from the USSR. If this is true, it will be reproachable. In the past most of Iran's trade was with the present USSR. In the past there was no America, and we are inclined to have good economic and political relations with you. This is dependent on the observance of reciprocal respect. (417).

* * *

Islam does not Allow the Islamic Iran to Tresspass the Sanctuary of the Others

The authorities and the responsibles in the country have repeatedly announced to the Islamic states of the region that the Islamic Republic of Iran—Whose content is based on the Islamic justice and is cordially committed to it—is not allowed to transgress the sanctuary of the others and wrong them. This divine covenant is the foundation of the system of the Islamic Republic. (418).

We Have no Intention to Transgress any Country

We, in accordance with Allah's decree, announce our fraternity with all the Muslims of the world, with the governments of the Islamic countries, with the Muslim nations, of whatever sect and of whatever country they may be, and we also announce that we have no intention to assault any Islamic or non-Islamic countries. We wish all the Islamic countries, in their own conditions, to be brothers, as the government of Iran and the people of Iran are together, unlike the former regime when the Iranian government was against the Iranian people, and Iranian people were against the Iranian government. Thus, as soon as there was a harmony between both sides no one could defeat them; even the Big Powers could not protect the one who was their unconditional servant. This harmony, which we have here, is desired by us to prevail in all countries. We wish all the Muslims to be a single hand against their enemies. We want everybody in his own circle, with any government, of any sect and in any circumstances he may be, to be independent, but each Muslim is to be brother to the other Muslims, and they are to be friends, to be connected to each other, and the armies of all Islamic countries are to support each other. (419).

May World Peace Be Based on the Nations Independence

We hope that world peace may be based on the principle of the peoples independence and non-interferences into the affairs of one another, and observing the territorial integrity of the countries in the region, and that any aggression against the countries of the third world and the Islamic countries, especially in this region, is to be regarded contrary to the principles. The basis and the principle are truthfulness among the nations. (420).

* * *

We Want Good Relations with All Nations

We want to be friends with all the nations of the world, and the more so with all the governments of the world. We want to have good relations and reciprocal respect in regards to all, except the governments which treat us otherwise and try to be unjust to us, impose upon us and have authority on

us. These we oppose, and we will never allow them to interfere in our country and try to dominate us as they used to do before. We cannot, of course, have relations with them. The governments which have good relations with us, we, too, shall have good relations with them. Should we need something from them and they need something from us, well, we exchange them. (421).

* * *

Following the Example of Our Prophet, We are Philanthropists

We are philanthropists. Our Prophet, our great Prophet, was a philanthropist. He endured great difficulties and hardships for the people. We, too, follow that example, and we have good relations with all classes of the people and all the *mustadafin* all over the world, on the condition of mutual respect. (422).

We Want to be in Peace with All the Peoples of the World

We want peace. We want to have peace with all the people of the world. We want to live among the people of the world. But they do not leave us alone. If Saddam had not attacked us we would not have anything to do with Iraq. Iraq is our brother. (423).

* * *

We Shall Never Trespass upon Iraq's Land

As followers of Islam, and respecting the concluded agreements, we have no such intention as to trespass upon even a span of land known now to belong to Iraq, and, at the same time, we shall never give even a span of our land to others. We shall neither wrong them, nor shall we admit to be wronged. (424).

Our Policy: Mutual Respect for Independence

Question: What would be the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, especially in respect of the Super Powers?

Answer: The policy of the Islamic Republic is to protect the independence and the freedom of the nation, the government and the country, and mutual respect after our complete independence. There shall be no difference between the Super Powers and the others. (425).

* * *

Our Relations with the USA Now and in the Future

Question: How the relations of an Islamic state with an American state will be in the future?

Answer: We must first see what role America has for the future. If America wants to behave with us as it is behaving with the Iranian people just now, our look at it will be hostile. But if America respects the Iranian state, we, too, shall reciprocally respect it, and we shall treat it equitably so that neither we may wrong it, nor it may wrong us, and there will be no problem. (426).

* * *

The Criterion of Our Foreign Relations

Question: What are the foreign pacts which the Revolution tries to conclude?

Answer: We shall never live behind closed doors. But still we shall never open these doors for the imperialists, as the Shah is doing. Our foreign relationis are based on the principle of protecting our freedom, independence and the interests of Islam and the Muslims. Consequently, if a country likes that, we shall act on mutual respect. (427).

Our Policy towards Russia Is Like that with the Others

Question: What is your policy towards Russia? What is your impression concerning the Russian Marxism?

Answer: Our policy towards Russia is similar to our policy towards America and other countries. We respect all countries on the basis of mutuality. (428).

Our Conditions for Having Relations with Foreign States

If the conclusion of an agreement, whether political or commercial, with an Islamic or non-Islamic country was contrary to the interests of Islam and the Muslims, it would not be allowed. If a government did it, the other Islamic states should oblige it to sever its relation in any possible way. (429).

The Export of the Revolution

Every Event in the World Affects Other Parts of It

Question: Is it possible that a successful revolution in Iran may affect the Gulf states?

Answer: No event which happens in any part of the world can have no effect in other parts of the world. But the degree of the effect on the people in the other parts depends on their awareness and their own choice. (430).

* * *

Our Experiences Shall Be Exported to the World

We shall export our experiences to the whole world, and we shall convey the results of the struggle and defence against the wrongdoers, to the fighters in the way of Allah, without the smallest expectation in return. It is certain that exporting the experiences will result in nothing but the blossoming of victory, independence and the application of the precept of Islam for all the nations in chains. The enlightened Muslims, must, with all their knowledge and awareness, pass through the unpaved road of changing

this world of Capitalism and Communism. All the freedom-seeking people are, with clear-sightedness and enlightenment, to show the wronged and the smitten Islamic and third world countries how to smite back at the cheeks of the Super Powers, especially America. I assuredly say that Islam will humiliate the Super Powers. Islam will remove the big problems inside and outside its own limits, one by one, and will conquer the world's keyfortifications. (431).

* * *

We Shall Promote Our School of Thought in the Islamic Countries

We were a nation under the pressure of the Super Powers. Now we have come out of their pressure and are going forward, and this is an exaltation to the nation. Exaltation is not in having a satisfied belly. Exaltation is to promote forward our conduct and our school of thought. Thank God, we are advancing with our school and will spread it to all the Islamic countries, or rather to wherever there are *mustadafin*. We are proceeding upwards and want to take the humanity upwards, too. (432).

* * *

The Humanistic Values Are to Be Exported to Everywhere

If you want to overcome all your problems, you must stand firmly in the face of all Super Powers. You are to prepare yourselves to face all problems. You are to export the humanistic values from here to everywhere. You are to firmly protect your independence in everything, your cultural independence, your economic independence, your social independence, and this is only possible under the shade of attending to the Islamic school of thought, depending on Allah, the Great, being co-associates, and regarding all classes as your brothers. (433).

We Hope to Enact Islam's Justice in the World

I hope that this justice, which came among humanity at the blessings of the existence of Islam and the holy men of Islam, after two thousand and five-hundred years of the injustice of the tyrannical regime, and after fifty years of treason, injustice and plundering, can be enacted, *inshaallah*, the Most High, first in Iran, and later in other parts of the world. (434).

* * *

We Have to Introduce Islam to the Whole World

It is our duty to introduce Islam to all parts of the world. Islam is now wronged in the world; it is strange in the world. We are a small group with insufficient publicity. We have but few preachers, while the others own all the mass media, and lots of funds are available to them to spend. Nevertheless, we should not despair. We, with the very few number of men, could defeat that big Satanic power, Muhammad Rida²²⁹ who was supported by all powers. With the endeavours of these very few young men we could break him and push him aside. We shall, establish Islam here, *inshaallah*. We are engaged in doing so... I hope that just as these things happened, with the high efforts of the university and Faydiyyah [a center for theology studies], the publicity will spread to the extent that we will, *inshaallah*, be able to fill the world with the manifeslations of Islam. (435).

Wherever there is a Struggle against the *mustakbirin*,

We are there, too.

We shall export our Revolution to the whole world. This is because our Revolution is Islamic, and unless the call of *la ilaha illallah*, *Muhammadun rasulullah* [There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah] prevails all over the world, the struggle continues, and wherever there is struggle in the world against the *mustakbirin*, we are there, too. (436).

Our Revolution is not Confined to Iran

Our authorities should know that our Revolution is not confined to Iran. The Revolution of the people of Iran is the starting point of the great Islamic Revolution of the world under the banner of the Imam al-Mahdi (a)—may our souls be his ransom—so that Allah may bestow His favour upon the Muslims and all the people of the world by deciding his appearance to take place in the present age. If the economic and material questions prevent the authorities, for a moment, from implementing the duty placed upon their shoulders, it will be a great danger and a dreadful treason. The government of the Islamic Republic is to do its best to manage the people the best it can, but it does not mean to divert them from the great objectives of the Revolution, i.e., the establishment of a world-wide Islamic government.

The dear people of Iran, who are the actual luminous visage of the great history of Islam in this age, are to endure all difficulties, hardships and pressures for the sake of Allah, so that the high rank authorities may attend to their basic duty, which is spreading Islam in the world. (437).

* * *

The Islamic Republic Is Determined to Spread the Pure Tawhid among the Islamic Nations

By Allah's grace, in the rule of the Islamic Republic, there is no difference concerning the original political and ideological attitudes. All are determined on spreading the pure *tawhid* among the Islamic nations, and striking the opponent's head against the stone, so that within not a long period they may witness the triumph of Islam throughout the world. (438).

* * *

May Allah Grant Us the Power to Strike the Bell of America's Death from the *Kabah*

We have frequently declared the fact and the reality in our foreign and international policy that we had the intention of spreading the influence of Islam in the world, and lessening the influence of the world-devourers, and we still have the same intention. Well, if the servants of America call this

policy to be expansion and a desire for establishing a great empire, we are not frightened by that and welcome it. We are intending to dry up the rotten roots of Zionism, Capitalism and Communism in the world. We have decided, with the grace and care of Allah, the Great, to destroy the regimes which are based on these three pillars, and to promate the Islamic regime of the Messenger of Allah (s) in the world of istikbar, and sooner or later, the fettered nations will be witnesses. We, with all our being, will stand in the way of the expansion of plundering and the immunity of the American employees, even if we had to resort to bitter fighting. Inshaallah, we shall not let that from the Kabah and hajj—this great minbar of humanity from which only the voices of the wronged people are to be reflected, raising the melody of tawhid—the voices of reconciliation with America and the USSR. disbelief and idolatry be raised. We ask Allah to grace us with the ability to ring the bell announcing the death of America and the USSR not only from the Muslims' Kabah, but also from the towers of the churches in the world. (439).

* * *

With the Help of the Basij of the Islamic World

We Shall Deprive the Eyes of the World-devourers from Comfortable Sleep

Far from Khomeini to stay calm before the transgression of the fiendish-charactered, idolators and the disbelievers against the sanctuary of the Glorious Quran, the progeny of the Messenger of Allah, the *ummah* of Muhammad (s) and the followers of *Ibrahim* the upright, or just keep looking at the scenes of the Muslims' humiliation and lowliness. I have prepared my worthless blood and life for carrying out the valid obligation and performing the duty of defending the Muslims, waiting for the great winning of martyrdom. The powers, the Super Powers and their servants may rest assured that even if Khomeini remained alone he would continue his course of fighting against disbelief, injustice, idolatry and polytheism, and by the help of Allah and side by side the *Basij* 230 of the world of Islam, the barefooted hated by the dictators, he will deprive the eyes of the world-devourers and their allies, who insist on continuing their injustice and wrongdoing, from comfortable sleep. (440).

We Must Give up the Thought of not Exporting Our Revolution

We must strive to export our Revolution to the world, and we must give up the thought of not exporting our Revolution, because Islam admits no differences among the Islamic countries, and it supports all the *mustadafin* in the world. On the other side, all the powers and the Super Powers have resolved upon destroying us. So, if we remain in a closed circle, we will certainly be defeated. We must openly settle our accounts with the Super Powers and show them that, in spite of the too many hard difficulties which we have, we shall act according to our school concerning our relations with the world. (441).

* * *

Exporting Our Revolution Means Wakefulness in All Nations

When we say that our Revolution is to be exported to everywhere, it should not be erroneously understood as to say that we are after conquering other countries. We regard all the Islamic countries like ours. All countries should remain in their own station. We only want to see this thing which happened in Iran, this wakefulness which happened in Iran, and their separating themselves from the Super Powers and cutting their hands short off their treasures, we want to see them happening in all countries. Our desire is this, and this is the meaning of exporting our Revolution, to wake all the nations, to wake all the governments, in order to save themselves from these afflictions, from being under control, from having their resources plundered and from remaining in poverty. (442).

Exporting the Revolution Means Introducing Islam as it Is

We say that we want to export Islam. But it does not mean that we want to ride in airliners and pour upon other countries. We have neither said such a thing nor are we able to do it. That which we are able to do is to introduce Islam as it is to the world by means of the means which we have, by the Radio and TV, by the press, by those who are sent abroad. If Islam is

introduced as it is, it will be accepted by all. Man's disposition is a sound one, and if something is suggested to him on the basis of his sound inner disposition, he will accept it, and it is this which frightens the Super Powers. Therefore, the great duty which is upon us—actually upon all Muslims, and not upon you alone, but upon all the classes of the people who are inside and outside Iran and are committed to Islam—is to display Islam as it is, as Allah, the Blessed and Most High, has commanded, as it is in the Tradition and in the Quran, to the people, to the world. This, in itself, is more effective than thousands of cannons and tanks. That which is achieved through guidance and preaching captures the heart. And this art can be done by Islam, by its judgments, not by cannons and tanks. (443).

* * *

Revolution is not Exported by Force, but by Islamic Morals

You, gentlemen, who are in the embassies, you are rationally and religiously obliged to keep your embassies simple, to brotherly treat the employees in your embassies, those who are called, as it were, your inferiors, who, at the same time, are to obey you, but the conduct is to be brotherly. Similar is to be the case in your parties and ceremonies. Your own conditions and those working with you, as their conditions should be changed to be Islamic, so that everyone who visits your place would realize that Islam is practically applied there. There is no use in our continually calling out that we are Islamic, that we are an Islamic Republic, while in our practical deeds they see us different, they would not believe us. They can believe us only when we say that we are an Islamic Republic and when our deeds are also Islamic, not those of the tyrants. In words, in acts and in conduct we are to be Islamic, and it is only in such conditions that Islam and the Islamic Republic can be exported to other countries. It will not be exportation if done at the point of bayonets. By force, it is not exportation. Exportation is when Islam, the Islamic truths, the Islamic morals, the human morals grow up there. It is your duty to do that and have to carry it out, both in action and in your publications there. (444).

Exporting the Revolution Requires that Moralities should be More Developed in Iran

By saying: "We want to export our Revolution", we mean we want this concept which has appeared, this morality which showed up in Iran, these things which manifested here, we want to export them. We do not want to brandish our swords nor to aim our rifles and attack. Now Iraq has for long been attacking us, while we have never attacked them. They attack while we defend. Defence is necessary. We want to export our Revolution: Our Cultural Revolution, our Islamic Revolution, to all the Islamic countries. If this Revolution was exported, to wherever it may be, the problems would be solved.

Exert your efforts, as Iran has conducted its Revolution, and as it is now ready for everything. Wake up your own nations. Those who care for Islam, for their countries, let them wake up their nations, so that the divine change which happened in Iran may happen there, too. Whenever it takes place, the problem is solved. When that happens, then do not be affraid of a few corrupt to come and seize al-Aqsa Mosque. You may not be, then, afraid, the problem is solved. But when a nation divides into two, ten, a hundred, groups, each against the other, and likewise the governments, then do not expect to be victorious with such way of thinking and such kind of a government. (445).

* * *

Exporting the Revolution Means Creating Peace between the Peoples and their Governments

When we say: We want to export our Revolution to all the Islamic countries, or rather to the countries where the *mustakbirin* are against the *mustakafin*, we want to arrange for the appearance of a situation where there will be no more tyrants, oppressors and homicide governments and where the people are not hostile to the governments. We want to make peace between the nations and their governments. If the governments pay attention or study the situation in Iran and realize the condition between the people of Iran and their government, I do not think they would not be impressed. (446).

Exporting the Revolution Is to Convey Our Word to the World

From the beginning we said that we wanted to export our Revolution. Exporting the Revolution is not military expedition. We want to say what we have to say to the world. One of the centers is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is to inform the world about Iran, Islam, the afflictions which Iran received from the East and the West. It is to tell the world that we want to act in this way. (447).

* * *

The People Are the Basis and Are to Be Sociably Treated in the Informal Visits

Be informed that wherever the influential groups and the governments are against us, the people are with us. The people and their thinking are to be regarded as the basement and we must think of the people, not the governments, because the masses accept the truth, as they have been under the burden of injustice, and they do not want to be under the control of America and the USSR. As regards propaganda we have so for been zero. Beside formal visits we must do informal ones in order to wake the people of the world. If we want to export the Revolution, we must do what would bring the people to power and form governments so that the so-called third class comes to power.

It is in the informal visits that you can contact the ordinary people of the street and enlighten them. You, having no might and mane, will be more attractive to the people and you will be more effective. Today the country is yours, and I hope it will be protected by your efforts. (448).

* * *

The Mission of the Embassies in Exporting the Revolution

Among the important questions which are of your²³¹ duties as it is of ours, is that you, by your conduct there and by your behaviour with the employees, with the discipline of an embassy and the situation of an

embassy, you can act in such a way through which your Revolution will gradually be exported to the country in which you serve. The moral questions can be infectious, if followed up by committed ones, and the people, according to their dispositions, according to their innateness, will accept them. The dispositions are wholesome, but ill-breading corrupts them.

You may think yourself in a country which you want to train to become like your country, and to bring Islam into it. The exportation of Islam depends upon the fact that the Islamic morals, the Islamic rules, the Islamic acts should be in such a way that they draw the attention of the people. Another important matter is that an embassy should have a bulletin, not like the bulletins of the time of the *taghut*. It should be an ethical-Islamic bulletin covering he events which took place in Iran. You do realize that now almost everywhere in the world the propaganda is against the Islamic Republic, the propaganda which is conducted either by the West and its affiliated groups or by the East with its affiliated followers. This is because they are frightened by the Islamic Republic, besides losing their interests in Iran itself, and, inshaallah, they will lose them forever. Furthermore, they are afraid lest this Revolution and this uprising infiltrate outside and be exported to other lands. They are afraid lest other Irans may appear elsewhere, and that their tyrannical establishments may gradually perish. *Inshaallah*, they are on their way to perish. (449).

* * *

Our Ambassadors Should Affect the Others by their Conducts

When you are abroad, in the Islamic countries, their position is not very similar to ours. I hope that theirs will be set aright, too. In those places you should manage your conditions in such a way that you may not be affected by them. It is they who are to be affected, not you. That is, when somebody comes here and there appears in his mind some notion that the situation is better to be like this, not like that; it is better if the writers here be like this, or the editors be like this. I say, the employees be like this, the directors be like this. That is, it may occur to them that this situation is better than that one which they have. If it takes this trend, it will, *inshaallah*, have its gradual efffect on them, and your Revolution will be exported, as we want it to be exported with this concept. We want our Ambassadors abroad to act in such a way that the other Ambassadors, and governments, would fall under their

effect, and our government should act in such a way to affect the other governments. There is extensive propaganda against the Islamic Republic, both in the West and in the East, with all their affiliations on both sides. All these are because they fear that we may do some acts which affect the other nations. (450).

* * *

The Pilgrims to Allah's Sacred House Are the Carriers of the Message of the Revolution

You intend to proceed to *hajj* from a victorious country which had been for many years struggling under the unjust pressure of the Shah, then by the grace of Allah, the Exalted, and the good invocations of Allah's remainder [the 12th Imam (a)], may our souls be his ransom, the fetters and the chains have been severed, after bearing unbearable calamities and offering thousands of martyrs and disabled on the road of Islam. You are the carriers of the message of a nation who, with its Revolution delivered a country which was going to be drowned in heresy, corruption and obscenity by way of Easternization, or even worse, by Westernization, and established the Islamic government in lieu of the tyrannical one. The very people who have dicided, through exporting their Revolution, not to acquaint only the Islamic countries with dear Islam and the Islamic government of justice, but all the mustadafin of the world, too. You are the representatives of the people whose Islamic Revolution—despite its short age, the unbearable afflictions caused by facing the two Super Powers, the two blocks of the East and the West, and the sabotage of the terrorists affiliated to the two tyrannical blocks—could, only with the blessing, the lumination of Islam and the resistence of the people, shake the Islamic countries in the East and in the West of the earth, and the suppressed all over the world, attracting them to Islam, and conveying the call of Islam, though weak, to the ears of humanity, drawing their attention to itself. You, the respected pilgrims to the Sacred House of Allah, are the bearers of the message of this nation, and the representatives of this country. So, your position is very sensitive and your duty is quite heavy. Inshaallah, as it is expected, with your becoming behaviour and your Islamic and revolutionary conduct, you will draw general attention, and you will display the visage of the Islamic Revolution as it is to the whole world. You, with your brotherly and amicable conduct, will draw them to the great Revolution of Iran, and practically frustrating the false and purposeful propagating trumpets, in which case your pilgrimage will be accepted and your reward will be doubled. (451).

* * *

Why the Propagations against Our Revolution?

There is a tumult in the mass media against Iran. As a matter of fact, they do know if the Revolution of Iran reaches everywhere, it would be a mark of their end and their influence would be cut short. It is regretted to see the Islamic governments either inattentive, or, even if they are attentive, they keep silent to protect their transient government for few days, and thus they cooperate with them. This must be resisted so that the Revolution and Islam may be exported to all places. (452).

* * *

The Bloody Incident of Mecca Enhanced the Exportation of the Revolution

The dear brave nation of Iran may rest assured that the incident of Mecca²³² will be the cause of great changes in the world of Islam, and a suitable ground for the uprooting of the corrupt regimes in the Islamic countries and the expelling of the false *Ulama*. Although a single year has not yet passed over the epic of the "Renunciation of the Polytheists", yet the smell of the scent of pure blood of our dear martyrs is still filling the whole world, and its effects are visible even in the remote parts of the world. The epic of the people of Palestine is not accidental. Who, the world thinks, has played its tone? Now, the people of Palestine, on what are they depending in resisting, empty-handed and fearlessly, the savage offenses of the Zionists? Is it merely the tune of nationalism that has made of them a world of hardness? Is it because of the ostentatious political statesmen that the fruits of steadfastness and the olive of light and hope pour down onto the laps of the Palestinians? Well, if it is so, then they have so many years lived side by side the Palestinians and have been eating bread by the name of Palestinian nation! There is no doubt that it is the call of Allahu Akbar. It is the same voice of our people that drove the Shah in our country and the usurpers in Baytul Magdis to despair. It is the implementation of that very call of the "Renunciation of the Polytheists" which was raised by the Palestinian nation

in the *hajj* demonstrations, side by side their Iranian sisters and brothers, bringing death upon America, the USSR and Israel, and on the same martyrdom-bed on which was shed the blood of our dear ones, they, too, shed their own blood as martyrs. Yes, the Palestinian could find his lost way through our "Renunciation", and we saw how the iron blockades collapsed, and how blood triumphed over the swords, and belief over disbelief, and the dream of Israel concerning conquering the lands from the Nile to the Euphrates was confused, and once again the "shining star" of Palestine, lit up from our "blessed olive-tree, neither Eastern nor Western". Now, just as there are in the world extensive efforts in order to get us reconcile with disbelief and polytheism, there are similar efforts in order to put off the flames of the anger of the Muslim nation of Palestine. This is just one of the evidences of the progress of the Revolution. Now that those who believe in the principles of our Islamic Revolution are increasing, we take them to be the potential capitals of our Revolution, and those who write their signature with their blood on the scroll defending us, and respond with their body and spirit to the call of the Revolution, will take, by Allah's help, the control of all the world in their hands.

Nowadays, the war between right and wrong, between poverty and richness, between *istidaf* and *istikbar*, between the bare-footed and the painless comfortables has started. I kiss the hands and the arms of all the dear ones who, all over the world, have shouldered the burden of the struggle and decided to fight for the sake of Allah and up-lifting the prestige of the Muslims. I send my sincere greetings to all the buds of freedom and perfection, and tell the dear and brave people of Iran that Allah has exported the effects and the blessings of your moralities to the world, and our heart and your shining eyes have become the center for protecting the deprived, and the spark of your revolutionary hatred has frightened the East and West world-devourers. (453).

* * *

Today We Are Seeing the Prospect of the Exportation of the Revolution

Today we are witnessing the prospect of the exportation of the Islamic Revolution in the world of the *mustadafin* and the wronged, even more than before. The tumult which is commenced by the *mustadafin* and the wronged in the world against the *mustakbirin* and the tyrants is ever expanding. The hopeful future is clear, nearing more and more the promise of Allah, the

Exalted, as if the world is getting prepared for the rise of the sun of $wilayah^{233}$ from the horison of the great Mecca, the center of the hopes of the deprived for the government of the *mustadafin*. (454).

* * *

The Unbiassed Can Understand the Message of Our Revolution

I must say that we were incompetent in making our propaganda even covering our own country. Outside the country we should say that the Revolution advanced by itself, not by us. The information received by the Islamic people abroad about the events here was not because of our propaganda, and it was not our propaganda which made the people so much fond of this Revolution. It seems as if the Revolution reflexed itself there, and that those who were not purposeful, and had no grudge, could understand, to some extent, what you want. (455).

* * *

The Blessings of the Revolution of Iran

The manifestation of Islam has even reached the Kremlin Palace, and the White House, too. It went to the Latin America, too. It reached Africa, Egypt, where they were obliged to show themselves as Muslims. We do know that they do not believe in Islam, they rather oppose it, but this manifestation which was reflected from Iran to the outside, made even those who do not believe in Islam say that Islam must exist, the Islamic punishments must remain. This is because of the blessing of this manifestation coming from Iran... This must not be under-estimated. It gives us the good tiding that, *inshaallah*, this divine light will expand, and that Allah's help comes in the wake of your helping Allah, as He has promised. We, however, must be after helping Islam, helping Allah. We must take care of work for Allah's sake and for helping Allah's religion. If we do this, Allah's promise will certainly be implemented, and His victory will ensue, too. (456).

Our Revolution Has Been Exported

Thank Allah, today the power of Iran and Islam has become such that it has attracted the attention of the weak nations, as Islam has been exported to the dear blacks of America and Africa, as well as to the USSR and other places. The light of Islam has shone and the people are turning to Islam. Our aim in exporting the Revolution was this and it has been achieved. *Inshaallah*, Islam will overcome disbelief everywhere. (457).

* * *

The System of the International Relations

The Veto

These such-and-such assemblies which are formed in the world by the powerful groups, and thus all those powerful ones have got the right to veto. These are mere tricks to swallow us. It is a political manoeuvre aimed at cheating us and at swallowing us up. (458).

* * *

International Organizations at the Service of the Powers

America and the like who claim to be impartial, while they are accomplices in these crimes, ²³⁴ what have they to say? The international and Human Rights Organizations, affiliated to America and the Super Powers, disregard the crimes afflicted upon the humanity. The groups who came and saw the crimes committed by Saddam, confirmed what they saw in their reports. Why, then, the international organizations said nothing? These international organizations are basically at the service of the Big Powers, not the wronged and the deprived. Every nation must itself stand in the face of the criminals. (459).

The International Organizations Never Back the Wronged

The West is as it is. It commits crimes, and also receives the one who is an absolute criminal. 235 They receive him, protect him and back him. They do not hear what a wronged nation has to say. They prevent the Security Council from holding a session. They usurped Iran's money like the robbers on the high ways. They seized our assets. This is how the West is. These organizations which they have established are for themselves, for the interests of the West. They are never for the wronged. Most probably, you would not find along the years during which these organizations functioned an instance in which America's interests, or those of the other powerful ones, contradicted those of a weak country, and these organizations extended any hand of help to it. Take Lebanon. For a long time it has been afflicted with this cancer, what did these organizations do for it? Along this period during which we were suffering from this question, along the fifty odd years of our affliction with these disasters, what did these assemblies do for us? They exist just to protect the interests of the big ones if they are endangered, and to deceive us by saying that such organizations do exist, the Security Council exists, the UN exists. These have been created for us, to beguile us, and we accept being beguiled. (460).

* * *

International Organizations Protected the Aggressions of Saddam against Iran

The world of today is afflicted with the world-eaters and the plunderers who burn the countries and plunder them. It is also afflicted with their affiliated agents who sacrifice the interests of their own people and countries for the interests of the Supper Powers. Furthermore, it is afflicted with the organizations stooging the Big Powers particularly America, under contentless names Security Council, Amnesty International, Human Rights and similar contentless concepts which are at the service of the Big Powers. Actually, they are the executors of their orders and judgments issued against the *mustadafin* and the wronged in the world. So, these organizations work for the interests of the big world-eating Powers. We all know that it is now nearly three years since Saddam started his savage offend of killing,

plundering and destroying Iran, and from the very first he seized a part of our country and he is still there, continuing his treason against the innocent people, whereas these organizations did not condemn him even once. Saddam falsely offered peace when Iran was under the control of the bloodsucking Saddamis, intending, with this Satanic aim, to continue his occupation of Khuzestan, and, by controlling the big oil resources and enjoying the protection of the world-eating Big Powers, to place the region under fire and blood, due to the fact that the obstinate devil of his animal soul knows no limits. Unless the limits. Unless the region is purged from the pollution of his existence, it will not see the face of security. We all know that Saddam's hand is stained each day with the blood of hundreds of our wronged people, but the mass media and the organizations affiliated to the Big Powers, especially America, so much praiseSaddam's peace-loving and support him, while Saddam's peace-seeking and America's attempts to restore security in the world, like the other plundering Powers, the so-called supporters of the Human Rights, all are of the same texture, and as long as the world is afflicted with such kind of tranquillity-seekers, peace-lovers and supporters of the Human Rights, it will never see the face of tranquillity, peace and security. (461).

* * *

Defending Human Rights Is a Pretext for the Tyrants

We live in an age in which the criminals receive encouragement and support instead of being reproached and punished. We are in an era in which the so-called Human Rights organizations are the protectors of the unjust interests of the Super Criminals and the defenders of the wrongdoings of the wrongdoers and their affiliated agents. (462).

* * *

Armament Rivalries Threaten the Nations' Security

The problem which is threatening the world is that of these two Super Powers who are keeping the whole world under their control and are exploiting them. They are busy planning for such weapons which are very dangerous for the future of humanity, although the one is afraid of the other—this Super Power from that Super Power and that Super Power from

this Super Power. But it is quite possible that one time there comes a lunatic man at the head of one of the two Powers, like Hitler or Saddam, and, because of his power-loving desire drives the world to destruction. If—Allah forbid—a war takes place between these two Powers today, they will drag the world into complete destruction. These are the problems of today's world. Other problems are regional. This big problem is to be contemplated by the nations, the thoughtful persons all over the world, and the deprived masses, in order to solve and remove this problem. If they wait for their states to remove it, they will do nothing. The governments have no such ability to do it, since their personal whims would not let them contradict these two Super Powers.

For the future of the world, today the masses of the people, the writers and the speakers must think and tell the people of the danger which threatens the entire humanity. All the masses of the world are to be informed about the big danger which is ahead of them. If these Super Powers remain as they are in preparing devastating atomic and other weapons, the world will be ruined and the people will receive the large part of destruction. Everybody, wherever he is, the writers who are there, the enlightened of all places, the scholars who are found among all classes and knowledgeables of all parts of the world, are to tell the people of this danger so that the people and the masses can encounter those Powers and stop the production of such weapons... There has been for long this speech that: "We want to restrict these atomic weapons. We want to come to an agreement on stopping the production of these atomic bombs and the great rockets which have recently been produced." Both these are mere poetry. America has same idea to deceive the USSR and place those weapons in the West and wherever it can reach, so that one day, by pressing a button, the whole world is put ablaze. Today, the people of the world must pay their attention to this big problem of the world. All classes, all writers, all the press all over the world, must follow up this matter and wake the people to seriously rise against these things done by these groups. As a matter of fact, there are more or less some groups who pretend to be against these weapons. But all the people must rise in order to be able to do something. (463).

The Super Powers Only Look After their Own Interests

Those who keep talking of the Human Rights and of peace, quietness and the like, you do know, all of you know, even they themselves know that they are liars. They think that by such lies they attract the people's attention against the USSR, and this latter against America. Otherwise none of them care for the interests of the people. All of them look after their own interests. That which cares for the interests of the people is Islam. That which deletes racial discrimination is Islam. That which admits no difference among the races and tells all just to have *taqwa*, as the criterion is *taqwa*, not colour, race, country nor anything else, is Islam. But they do not want this to be. They want to tread upon the other races, but Islam is against this. (464).

* * *

The Powers Should Reconsider the International Relations

The Big Powers are to change their way of thinking. They should know that the world has changed and it is no longer the former one. It is not that either England, Europe, America or the USSR is to govern the whole world. The world of today does not accept this. They must redress their conducts. The world would not accept that two Powers should dominate and do away with the whole world. The world would not agree that a minority should swallow all the countries. They must reconsider their acts. (465).

* * *

Struggle and Defence

Rise for Allah

I offer just one admonition and it is: Rise for Allah. Rise and let it be for Allah if you want your rising to be fruitful. (466)

Be neither a Wrongdoer nor a Wronged

Under the leadership of the Prophet of Islam we want to apply these two words: Not to be wrongdoers nor to be wronged. We have been wronged along history. From all aspect we were wronged. Today we do not want to be wronged, nor do we want to be wrongdoers. According to the command which has come to us by Islam we would assault no country, nor would we transgress anybody, nor should we. We transgress no country and we will not. But we are to stop the others' transgression, too. Our people today, men and women, old and young, have decided to stand against the transgressions to which they so far have been subjected and which have now been stopped, and to sacrifice their lives for freedom and independence, and for being saved from the burden of the wrongdoers. This same humanistic procedure is expected from all the nations and the governments. (467).

* * *

The War of the Right and Wrong

Our war is the war of the Right with the Wrong, and it has no end. Our war was the war of the poor with the rich. Our war was the war of faith with rascality, and this war is from Adam till the end of life. (468).

* * *

The War Seeking the Truth Requires Sacrifice

We want to come out from the burden of America, England and Russia. Naturally it requires sacrifice, it requires sacrificing young people, it entails imprisonment, 10-year imprisonments. These matters are necessary. It needs everything. Actually, we are not annoyed with being imprisoned, with sacrificing our youths because it is for the truth, for Allah. When a movement is for Allah and against injustice, why should we grieve? There is no grieve in acting for Allah and in sacrificing our youths for Allah! (469).

We Must Arm Ourselves with Moralities

We must regard whatever we have to be from Allah. You have neither enough soldiers nor much weapons and war-equipment, while the party attacking you is receiving aids from all the world. When the case is such, the party who has nothing is to arm himself with morale, as they cannot be faced with superficiality. You do know that the last Shah was very well equipped, and it was America that filled Iran with weapons and supplies, becuase the Americans wanted to turn Iran into one of their bases. The Shah had every—thing—the support of all the Super Powers and a disciplined and fully armed army. But the people of Iran had nothing. It started from the Faydiyyah School. When the people saw that there was no difference, they gathered together and were victorious by the power of faith. The people of Iran, who had no weapon, could triumph over the enemy by means of their closed fists and shouting at the enemy. They so much shouted laud until they defeated the armed-up-to-teeth enemy. Then the people themselves formed the Committees and the Corps.²³⁷ Today Iran has acquired a divine situation. (470).

The Rise of Our People Is to Revive Islam

The Iranian nation has risen today for the sake of reviving Islam and to enliven its precepts. It is an uprising unprecedented in the history of Islam and in the history of Iran. (471).

* * *

A Nation Rising for Allah Fears Nothing at All

We fear no one of these powers of the world who terrorize our people, becuase we have risen for Allah. Our nation has risen for Allah, and the nation which rises for Allah is frightened by nothing and will receive no harm. Allah is with you and he will protect you. (472).

Due to the Nature of Our Revolution, the Aggression of the Super Powers is always Expected

By accepting and carrying out the peace agreement no one should imagine that we are no longer in need of strengthening the defensive and military structure of our country and of expanding and developing the military industries. Rather it is the contrary, as expanding and completing the defensive industries and the affiliated products are of the principal and original objectives of reconstructing our country. Taking into our consideration the identity of our Revolution, we think it possible that an aggression may be directed upon us by the Super Powers and their affiliated agents in anytime. So, we have to take it in all seriousness. (473).

* * *

Our People Will Keep their Revolutionary Anger in their Hearts

The Islamic Republic of Iran must not quit its sacred and divine principals and objectives under whatever conditions. *Inshaallah*, the warrior people of Iran will keep in their hearts their sacred and revolutionary anger and hatred, and will direct their oppression-burning flames towards the criminal USSR and the world-devouring America and their followers, until the banner of the pure Muhammadan Islam, by the grace of Allah, the Great, is raised over the roofs of the whole world, and the *mustadafin*, the barefooted and the righteous become the inheritors of the earth. (474).

* * *

Imam Husayn's Uprising Against Wrongdoing

The Master of the Martyrs (a), noticing that a despot, an appressor, was ruling the people, declares his statement: Whoever sees an unjust ruler governing among the people unjustly, he must oppose and stop him as much as he can. The few individuals with him were too much few to stand in the face of an army. But it was an obligation, it was his duty to rise there and to offer his blood in order to reform the *ummah*, to pull down Yazid's banner,

and he did it and it was finished. He offered his blood, the blood of his sons. He gave away his sons and whatever he had for Islam. (475).

* * *

The Quran's Command Concerning Uprising

The *ayahs* in the Quran concerning fighting are not few. The *ayahs* concerning war, commanding fighting, rising, stopping them, and ordering all—all together—to fight against the deviates, are still valid for us, though we now have not got the causes for the fight as before, but we have the causes for waking the nations, acquainting them with the conditions of the Muslims, of the *Ulama*. (476).

* * *

Rising to Protect Islam

Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, says: "I exhort you only to one thing: to rise for Allah." (Saba': 46). Allah is the exhorter, the Prophet is the middleman and the people are the exhorted. They are to rise for Allah. Whenever you saw that the religion of Allah is exposed to danger, rise for Allah. Amir al-Muminin saw that the religion of Allah is endangered. He saw Muawiyah reversing the religion of Allah, so he rose for Allah. The Master of the Martyrs also followed suit and rose for Allah. This is not confined to a particular period of time. Allah's admonition is for all times. Whenever you see that they act against Islam, against the divine humanistic regime of Islam, whenever they tried to turn upside down the affairs of Islam, and to hurt Islam in the name of Islam, here you must rise for Allah. Do not be afraid of being unable and of being defeated. There is no defeat in that. (477).

* * *

The Prophets' Course Was to Combat Injustice

This was the very course of the prophets: Whenever an oppressive sultan ruled over the people you should combat him, and wherever he may go we are to pursue him and forbid him from doing wrong and command him to do good, and pull him down from his throne of falsity. So, we do not care if we give casualties, and, actually, we have to. (478).

The Method of the Prophets and the Pure Imams Is to Be Severe with the Disbelievers

If the question was like this [as they say], the Prophet could stay at his mosque and just perform the *salat*. Why did he from the beginning of his life till the end suffered, struggled, scuffled, defeated and was defeated, so as to set the things as right as he could. Imam Ali did the same, as well as the others, the godly people, too. The conscious ones are so. It is not that they sit in the mosque and have nothing to do with these affairs, or stay at home and say that they have nothing to do with anybody, they are impartial, they mind their own business. Had this been the reasoning of the prophets, Pharaoh would not have countered Moses, and Moses would not have gone to Pharaoh. If this had been the lagic of the prophets, *Ibrahim* would not have crushed the idols. The Prophet would not have done it. This was not the logic of the prophets. The logic of the prophets is to be "severe" with the disbelievers and with those who are against humanity, while they should be affectionate among themselves. And that "severity" is mercy to them. (479).

* * *

The Infallible Imams Were Martyred in their Struggle with the Tyrants

We are proud that the infallible Imams (a), in the way of uplifting the religion of Islam and in the way of enacting the Glorious Quran—the establishment of a government of justice being one of its dimensions—lived in imprisionment and in exile, and at last, in the way of overthrowing the tyrannical governments of their times, they were martyred. (480)

* * *

Get Your Right with Claw and Teeth

O you, the *mustadafin* of the world, and you the Islamic countries and the Muslims of the world, get up to your feet and snatch your right with claw

and teeth. Do not be afraid of the propagandistic clamours of the Super Powers and their hireling agents, and oust away from your country the criminal rulers who offer the products of your labour to your enemies and to the enemies of dear Islam. You and the devoted and committed classes take the affairs in your hands, and all gather under the proud banner of Islam, and combat the enemies of Islam and the deprived in the world, and move towards an Islamic state with free and independent republics, as by implementing which you will keep all the tyrants of the world at bay, and you will take all the *mustadafin* to the Imamate and inheriting the earth. (481).

* * *

Methods of Struggle

Be Steadfast in the Struggle

The prophets were alone when they started conveying their mission. Moses was alone. The Messenger of Allah (s) was alone ordered to convey the message: "Arise and warn" (al-Muddaththir: 2). The invitation was first to the Prophet himself. When he first announced his call, there were only a woman and a boy 238 who believed in him. Steadfastness and keeping to the right path, which are fixed in the prophets, were complete in the Messenger of Allah (s): "Continue then in the right path as you were commanded" (Hud: 112). These two characteristics: rising and steadfastness, were effective in the promotion of the great mission of the Messenger of Allah (s). The steadfastness caused him not to despair, despite the fact that he had no help, while all the powerful and influential elite were against him, such that he could not openly proclaim his mission in Mecca, yet he did not despair, he did not become pessimistic because of not being able to openly call to his religion. He started underground activities, inviting individuals, one by one, to his faith, until he migrated to al-Madinah, where he was ordered to announce openly his call to Islam, asking the people to rise: "I exhort you only to one thing: to rise for Allah" (Saba': 46). Here the call is for rising, for collective rise, and it is a rise for Allah. (482).

Starting from Zero

Following the example of the great prophets (a), we started from zero. The prophets (a), to announce their call and rise against the *taghut*, started from zero, from single individuals until they formed groups. When we started our call against the *taghut*, it was from zero. The groups of the Muslims and the classes of our nation were in a serious distress and did not dare to breathe. We started from zero, inviting the people to the call of Islam. Drop by drop they turned into a flood, and the flood turned into a sea. This mighty sea could break down, with the power of faith, all those powers which opposed Islam and were against the Revolution. Our Islamic call reached such extent that all the classes of the nation responded, including university professors and students, businessmen, farmers, workers, military men, the armed forces, who joined us. (483).

* * *

Awareness, the First Step of Combating

At first the people woke up. The speeches of the orators, and the writers, woke them up. That is, when the committed writers woke up, they willed and they wanted. In the wake of willing and wanting, the uprising took place, and you have seen that what the people wanted has been carried out. Our nation wanted that there should be no despotic monarchical regime, and it should be replaced by a humanistic Islamic regime. They wanted this, and it did take place. Of course, I do not say that we have now a perfect Islamic regime, but I may say that that regime which had given out whatever we had to the others, or ruined, it has gone away, and the hands of the Super Powers have been cut short off our country. We are now on the first step, and we have to try, all the people have to try, everybody wherever he is, is to try, to show that we are no longer dependent. (484).

* * *

Seeking Martyrdom Is the Secret of Victory

A weak nation who had nothing could not be victorious by the power of nationality against the Super Powers and the Satanic forces who had everything and were armed from top to toe. But our nation triumphed because martyrdom was its desire. Some of my young men demanded martyrdom from me. They swore me to invoke Allah to grant them martyrdom. The women who offered their young sons were proud of having given martyrs, and the one who had only a son left for her would come and say that this last one she would offer, too. This is not the power of nationality; it is the power of faith, of Islam. Do not mix up things, do not make mistakes, this is Islam which overcame the Super Powers, it is Islam whose sons desire martyrdom, it is the power of faith which mobilized the people all over Iran, it is the unseen divine hand which joined the people of Iran, from a school boy to an old man in the hospital, to raise a single call and to have a single objective. No front can do that. No human being is able to mobilize the people in such a way. No nation can be mobilized thus. It is power of faith, the strength of Islam, the moral power of the people, which bestowed this victory on us. (485).

Unity and Presence in the Arena

You, all over the country, are to encourage the young, the old, the women, the men and the children, to frequent your meetings, to be present in the arena, so as to prevent the Super Prowers from once again doing something against this country, as you had formerly cut their hands short off it. You are still subject to attacks, and you are more subjected to evil propaganda and conspiracies all over the country. Our people are still offended by these propaganda, but these meetings of you concerning the affairs of Islam and of the country will stop the conspirators and all the foreigners, who once again are sharpening their claws and teeth, aiming at looting your country as they did before. You will surely stop them. (486).

* * *

The Basij and the Nucleus of Resistence

The militia of the world of Islam are to think about forming a great Islamic government. This is possible because the militia is not confined just to Iran: The nucleus of resistence must be created in the entire world to stand in the face of the East and the West. In the imposed war you did show that by correct and good management Islam can conquer the world. You should know that your job has not yet finished. The Islamic Revolution in the world is in need of your sacrifices. The authorities only with your support can

prove to all those who are thirsty for the truth and sincerity that it is possible to run a peaceful and a free life without America and the USSR. Your presence in the arena will cause the root of the anti Revolution to be eradicated in all dimensions. (487).

* * *

Invitation to Combat

The schools of *Tawhid* do not want to conquer lands, and they do not want to be rough with the people. They want to take the people out of the darkness of matter to the light, to Allah, to give them a divine direction. Therefore, there is moderateness, as much as possible, in the non-material schools, as well as good behaviour and invitation, through which they bring the people back to light. They never think of war and dispute, unless they feel that there is a conspiracy. When there is a conspiracy they must, according to the instructions of the Quran and Islam, be rough with the conspirators. As long as there is no conspiracy, all remain free and are left to their free will. On feeling a plot, they will severely treat it. (488).

* * *

Popularity and Firmness in Combating

The important thing in our Islamic Revolution is that it is popular, it is the people who have made the Revolution, and it is the people who have to escort it to the end. The people have risen, ousted the Shah, overthrew his regime, and replaced it with the Islamic regime to the interest of the *mustaḍafin*. Thus, the people must support and back what they themselves have done. The greater the work, the more and the bigger its enemies.

Today, all the trumpets of propaganda are blown against Islam and Iran in order to force Iran to accept reconciliation and submission. Our Revolution is great and depends on no Power, neither Eastern nor Western. The revolutions which take place in the world depend on either one of the two Super Powers. But the Revolution of our people depends on the people themselves. So, the people must not be annoyed by the consequences of their own Revolution. Today Iran is standing on its own feet, therefore, they are to endure the difficulties and the plots. Our people must always remember the noble Prophet (s), as he rose up, resisted, bore difficulties. He faced in

Mecca much hardship when he was besieged in the Shib of Abutalib. 239 Then in al-Madinah he continued his life with hardships and difficulties. Even in his bed of sickness he ordered Usamah's expedition to start moving.²⁴⁰ We, too, have to bear till the end the difficulties and the sufferings of the conspiracies of the Super Powers. We are obliged to carry out the divine command. So, we may not be afraid of hardship. Did the noble Prophet (s) retreat in the face of difficulties? Did he agree to surrender and accept reconciliation? We, too, are performing what the prophets and the Messenger (s) did. We must be consistant. We must resist until Islam is established, justice prevails and the hands of the wrongdoers are cut short. This must be continued. The people of the time of the Prophet (s) and his Companions resisted and were not afraid of difficulties until they were victorious. We, too, having undertaken this great work, must accept its consequences, too. The people are to realize that they have done a great thing, and that the enemy would spare no effort to defeat them. The people are to stand firmly and be steadfast for the sake of freedom and independence. If we extend our hand towards America or the USSR, we will have a comfortable life. But our people do not want this. Therefore, we have to endure the conspiracies, anyhow. (489).

* * *

Victory and Defeat in the Struggle

Man Is the Origin of Victory

The origin of all defeats and victories is in man himself. Man is the origin of victory and the origin of defeat. Man's belief is the basis of all matters. (490).

* * *

Power of Morality Is the Condition of Struggle

Much as the strength of an army may be high, but if it lacks morale, or if it believes that it is unable to face so-and-so force, such an army is doomed to defeat. (491).

Believing in One's Ability Brings Power

During this Revolution which you created and during your uprising, you believed and made the *mustadaf* governments and nations believe, too, that it is possible to stand in the face of the American and the Soviet world-devourers. It is two years now since you started a manly revolution and stood against them and cut their hands off your country, and realized that it was a possible matter, and that despite the fact that your military ability was not like theirs and your industry was not like theirs, you could resist. When a nation believes that it can do something, it will do it. The basis of believing in this is two things: To believe in being weak, feeble and unable, and to believe in being able, strong and powerful. If the people possess the belief that they are able to resist the Big Powers, this belief gives them strength and makes them stand in the face of the Big Powers.

This victory which you achieved was because you did believe in your ability. You believed that America cannot impose upon you anything. This belief was the cause behind that miraculous deed which you achieved. As you notice, within those two years, the many industries which they were running in our country the people are now running them. You should believe that we, too, can have industry and can invent. This very belief in your ability makes you able. They had taken from us the basis of this belief. They had emptied us from everything such that all our thoughts and beliefs were dependent. (492).

The Divine Uprising Will Triumph

Rise for Allah! Revolt for Allah! If the uprising is for Allah, victory will be intrinsic in it. Even if we appear to be defeated, we still are victorious, and if we are not defeated, we are victorious, too, because we act for Allah. Whenever a work is for Allah, it is a victory. But if an uprising is Satanic, motivated by the soul's desires, based on Satanic whims, it is defeat, notwithstanding whether apparently it is a victory or a defeat. An example is the encountering of Amir al-Muminin (a) with Muawiyah. Their two armies faced each other. On one side was the *taghut* and his army, and on the other side was the army of Allah. If Amir al-Muminin and his followers had been victorious, it would have been a victory, and even if they had been defeated, it still would have been a victory. In Siffin,²⁴¹ we should say that Amir al-

Muminin (a) was defeated, because their tricks prevented him from carrying out his objective, but this divine army was victorious and remaind so till the end. The Master of the Martyrs (a) was killed, but was not defeated. The Ummaids²⁴² were so defeated that till the end they could not do anything. The blood ousted the swords away such that till now, as you see, victory still belongs to the Master of the Martyrs, and defeat is for Yazid and his followers. (493).

Carrying out One's Duty

Allah has given us the task of fighting the opposers of Islam and of the Islamic Nation. We may win or we may not. If we won, then thank Allah for having done our duty and for winning. If we were killed, we still would have done our duty. So, why should we be afraid? We would not be defeated, because we either win and become victorious, or we do not win, in which case we will be honourable before Allah. Allah's friends may also be defeated. Amir al-Muminin was defeated in his war with Muawiyah, there is no doubt about it. The Imam al-Husayn (a) was also defeated in the war with Yazid and was killed. But, as a matter of reality they were victorious. Theirs was an apparent defeat, but a real triumph. We, too, by acting for Allah, even if we lose, we will have carried out our duty, and in reality victory will be ours. (494).

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The Mosques as Bases for Struggle

The Mosques' Political-Defensive Role

Masjid al-Haram of Mecca and the other masjids during the time of the noble Messenger (s) were centers for war-affairs, centers for politics and centers for the social and political matters. The mosques were not merely confined to the devotional practices of *salat* and fasting. Their political roles were much more. Whenever expeditions had to be despatched, or whenever the people had to be mobilized for war, these affairs were started from the mosques. (495).

The Mosques as Centers for Movements

The mosque, during the early days of Islam, was always the center for the Islamic movements, and the Islamic propaganda used to start from the mosque, and from the mosque the Islamic forces used to move to suppress the disbelievers and have them under the banner of Islam. In the early days of Islam the mosque was always the center for movements and uprisings. (496).

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The Mosque's Role in the Revolution of Iran

It was the *masjid* which brought about this victory for our people. Mosques are sensitive centers to which the nation must pay their attention. (497).

* * *

A Mosque Is a Trench

A mosque is an Islamic trench and the *mihrab* is a place for war. They want to take it out of your hands. It is not their final end, it is only a preparatory step, as otherwise you may go there to perform the *salat*. But actually they were injured by the mosques, especially during the past few years, during which the mosque has become a center for stirring the people to rise against injustice. So, they want to seize this trench. (498).

* * *

Iraq's Imposed War on Iran

The Causes of Imposing the War

Saddam's Opinion about Unrest in Iran

Saddam thought that he was facing a disordered country which was isolated and discarded by all the world's governments and put under

economic pressure, and that we have neither regular army, armed forces nor any means for *jihad* and war. He thus got the notion that within few hours he could conquer Tehran. He was neglecting Allah. (499).

Saddam's Unexpected Attack

The despotic government of Saddam and the Baath, suddenly and without any premise attacked Iran from sea, air and land, and without the government having any information, he seized parts of the Iranian land. But as soon as the government got the information, it stopped him, and, thank Allah, it inflicted so much injuries upon him and his forces that to redress everything to what it had at first been will take him long years of time. This unmanly attack dragged the country of Iraq to destruction and it is still dragging it, and the expenditures which should have been spent for promoting Islam, they spent for war. We did not start the war, and we will never do. But if he tries to transgress we shall twist his mouth. It was they who began the war, and that is why the war took place in our country. Had we started it first, we should have gone and seized one of their villages, and then they would have driven us out. (500).

* * *

Saddam's Self-Conceit and America's Instigations

Waged the War

Just from the beginning when Saddam commenced his attack he had been tricked, besides his so-called magnanimity and ambition and self-conceitedness and the Satanic self-love. America, too, deceived him by telling him that Iran has nothing left, its army has gone to pieces, and the guards are nothing, and the people have, principally, nothing to do with such matters: "Come, go and take Iran! Its oil will be yours. If it happened what would you do? What would you be? The region will be yours. You may take the entire region." Such talks were whispered to him. Thus they deceived him, and the wretched man swallowed the bait and attacked Iran. None of them know Iran. That is, they thought it to be as they formerly knew it. (501).

Iran's Defensive Nature in the Imposed War

Defensive War Is a Religious Duty

Our war is defensive, not offensive. The defensive war is one of everybody's religious, conscious and carnal duties. (502).

* * *

Defending the Islamic Country Is Incumbent on Us

We are persistent in defending our country and our dear Islam against the offender. It makes no difference whether the offender is a Super Power or a Minor Power. Our duty is to defend the laws of Islam and our own honour, and to defend our Islamic country. And as long as we are on the defensive side we shall stand in the face of any Power which tries to attack us, without being afraid of anything. (503).

* * *

We Fight for the Protection of Islam

Our duty is to safeguard and protect Islam. Should we killed we would have done our duty, and should we kill we would be doing our duty. This is our logic ever since we started opposing this corrupt Pahlavi regime. Our logic was not that we must win. We realized that Islam was facing some problems, and the precepts of Islam were neglected, and the appearances of Islam are neglected, too. We are obliged to use whatever power we have to face them, and it does not matter if we are killed, and if we kill, we will, *inshaallah*, be successful in attaining to Paradise. You are never to be afraid of anything. You are fighting to protect Islam, while he fights to destroy Islam. Today the whole of Islam is facing disbelief, and it is you who must support, protect and defend Islam. Defence is a duty on everybody. Everybody, according to his ability, is to defend Islam. (504).

Being Attacked, Our Duty Is to Defend

We have never had a quarrel with anybody. But we have to defend Islam. To protect our Islamic country, we must defend it. He has attacked us and he has captured our towns. He is destroying everything. It is a duty upon all of us to ward this evil off the Muslims. We did not enter their country to be criminals. It is they who are criminals because they entered ours. If a theif breaks into a house and is pushed away, who would be the offender, the theif or the house owner? What offense can the house owner have done? The thief broke in and the other had to ward him off, even if he had to kill him. The criminal is the aggressor, not the defender. Those who attack our borders, even if we suppose them to be Muslims, we have to defend the broders against their attack, even if we had to kill them. It is not that we desire to pick up a quarrel. We desire the world to be in peace. We want all the people, Muslims and non-Muslims, to live in peace and tranquillity. But this does not mean that if somebody breaks into someones' house and transgresses him, we should tell the wronged to submit and accept what the wrongdoer has done to him. No, it is not so. Just as to do wrong is haram, to accept being wronged is *haram*, too. Defending a Muslim's honour, his life, his property and the Muslims' countries is a duty. We are carring out this duty, our people are perferming their duty.

Our desire is to see all people live in peace and comfort. We want that for all the people of the world. Had we the power, we would do away with gunpowder and all explosive materials so that at least these may no longer be found here. We have no intention to quarrel with anybody, neither with Iraq nor with any other quarters. It is they who pick quarrels. When they quarrel they will receive a hit on the mouth, and they did receive it. Now, too wherever such things happen, these very people, these very guards, these very armymen and these very young men and women, will direct to them the hit on the mouth.

We, who wanted Islam and we still want it, are not allowed by Islam to offend any country. But it says if you were subject to aggression, hit them on the mouth. It is in the past wars that if a group of the Muslims were used as a shield by the disbelievers—suppose that the corrupt Iraq used a group of innocent Muslims as a shield in invading and occupying Iran—our duty is to destroy the Muslims and non-Muslims altogether. The Muslims will be regarded as martyrs and will go to paradise, while the disbelievers remain so and go to Hell. So, defence is a duty. (505).

Our Entering Iraq Is to Prevent Aggression

Today we entered Iraq by way of defending our country and our wronged nation in order not to let Abadan and Ahwaz be everyday subject to their attacks by their long-range cannons and rockets. We want to drive them back to where they will not be able to do that, and this is a defensive operation. Nevertheless, all the press and the Radios will either condemn us, or say that we are dangerous for the region. They will stir the countries of the region. We did not enter Iraq in order to seize it, nor Basrah. Our homeland is not Basrah nor ash-Sham. Our homeland is Islam. We follow the judgments of Islam. Islam does not allow us to put another Islamic country under our domination. We will never tend to this direction. (506).

* * *

We Have no Ill-intention Against the Persian Gulf Countries

Assisted by the foreign Radios they propagate that Iran wants to take the countries of the Persian Gulf. As we have repeatedly said, the sacred religion does not permit us to do such a thing. Yet, the Muslims are to defend their properties and honour, and this is allowed by Allah, by reason as well as by religion. We are a wronged nation. We request you to investigate the affairs related to us. (507).

* * *

During Saddam's Stay in Our Country the International Organizations Remained Silent

What is well known and you all know it is that we are in a state of defence, and, disregarding what the foreign propaganda says against us, you know that some of our cities and lands are in the hands of the enemy, and our border-towns are continually under his long-range cannons and rockets. So, it is incumbent upon us to defend our country. Defence means that we are to oust the enemy to where he would not be able to strike at our towns with his rockets. Entering Iraq is not an attack on Iraq; it is a defence of Islam and the Islamic country. It is like somebody who throws stones at your house from

the street or from inside his house, causing damages and casualties. So, if you enter his house you are not attacking him. You only want to defend yourself. We never had the intention to occupy any country. We want to defend ourselves against an aggressor, an attacker, an ungodly person who, when unable to enter and destroy from inside, uses his long-range cannons and rockets from far distances against our country and ruins it and kills our dear ones. We are in a state of self-defence, although the foreign propaganda says: No, you have entered the other's country. When from the beginning they entered our country till now there was no talk, no protest, no problem, neither by the International Organizations nor by the mass media. Today, as we, by way of self-defence, try to push them back to where they would not be able to cause harm to us, it is we who have attacked Iraq! This is the nature of the propagandists against Islam. Anyhow, as we are defending, it is, then, our duty to defend. Yet, defence can be practised in different ways. (508).

* * *

General Mobilization and Popular Support

Our Nation Supports the Armed Forces

Our army, our armed forces, our guards and all are supported by all the nation. You notice that our country is completely in the state of war. Even the girls in the houses are in war, working for the fighters in the fronts. Such a country where the army and the nation are a single hand, its authorities and the others are brothers, and all are serving their nation, and their nation are supporting them, such a nation has nothing to be afraid of, so, rest assured. (509).

* * *

Comparing the Iranian Nation with the Muslims of Early Islam

I dare say that the Iranian nation and the millions of its masses in this present age are better than the nation of al-Hijaz in the days of the Messenger of Allah (s), and of al-Kufah and Iraq in the days of Amir al-Muminin (a)

and of the Imam Husayn (a). The people of al-Hijaz mostly did not obey the Messenger of Allah (s), and on diverse pretexts they refrained from fighting on the fronts. Allah, the Exalted, in the surah of at-Tawbah²⁴³ reproached them and promised to punish them. They ascribed to the Prophet so much falsity that he cursed them on the *minbar*, as the narratives relate. The behaviour of the people of Iraq and al-Kufah with Amir al-Muminin was so bad, and they so disobeyed him that his complaint of them is narrated in most of the books of history. Also the people of Iraq and al-Kufah once again did with the Master of the Martyrs (a) what they did, besides those who, though did not pollute their hands with his martyrdom, ran away from the battlefield, or sat aside until that historical crime took place. But today we notice the nation of Iran, their armed forces, military, disciplinary, the guards, the Basij, as well as the popular and tribal forces²⁴⁴ and the volunteers, on the fronts and behind the fronts, and the popular force, all of whom have offered such sacrifices and created such epics with unmatched eagerness and zeal. The valuable aids of the respected people are quite noticeable all over the country. It is also noticed how the relatives of the martyrs and the warsurvivors and their affiliated come to us with epic-creating visages and with eager and security-giving words and conducts. All these are because of their love, attachment and deep faith in Allah, the Exalted, Islam and the eternal life, despite the fact that they are neither in the blessed presence of the Messenger of Allah (s) nor in the presence of an infallible Imam (a). Their drive is mere faith and belief in the unseen. This is the secret of success and victory in different aspects. Islam is to be proud of having educated such offspring. We all are proud of being in this age and at the presence with such a nation. (510).

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The People's Unprecedented Support of the Army

Where in the whole world can you find such a popular support for the government, the army, except here? It is unmatched everywhere. Even in the history you cannot find that from a child who gives away his only ten tomans to the army, to the armed forces who are busy there, up to the old woman of eighty years who has only half a dozen eggs and yet gives them out. This is a value, their value is high. We must preserve these values. Our country's triumph is because of these very values. (511).

Our Women in Defence

We are proud that the women, old and young, are present in the educational, economical and military fields, working side by side with the men, like them, and sometimes better than them, for the elevation of Islam and the objectives of the Glorious Quran. Those who are able to fight take part in military trainings for the sake of defending Islam and the Islamic country, which is one of the important duties. They have bravely and committedly freed themselves from the deprivations which had been imposed on them, or rather on Islam and the Muslims, by the plots of the enemies and the friends ignorant of the precepts of Islam and the Quran. They could rid themselves from the chains of the superstitions created by the enemies for their own interests, by means of the ignorant and some of the *akhunds* uninformed of the interests of the Muslims. These who are unable to fight are busy, behind the front, serving in such a valuable way that the nation is shaken with joy and enthusiasm, while the hearts of the enemies and of the ignorant worse than the enemies, are shaken with hate and anger. (512).

* * *

We Are Indebted to the Favour of the People

Thank Allah, the people themselves are prepared, and we must be thankful to them. As a matter of fact, we are indebted to these great masses who give everything they have, without expecting anything in return. Take the old women who have been saving during their lives, now they come and offer their savings to Islam, or those persons who break their saving pots and bring their money for Islam. I cannot describe this nation, nor can I honour them enough. I leave it to Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant them His special favour. (513).

* * *

The Blessings of the Imposed War

War a Factor of Unity

War was thought to be a horrible event inflicted upon us, a very important affair, but its advantages appeared to be more than its harms. The harmony among the diverse classes which was created because of the war, the spiritual and moral understanding which appeared in the dear soldiers of the army, the gendarmerie²⁴⁵ and the guards, and the spirit of cooperation which appeared among the people, men and women, all over the country, showed the world that what was going on in Iran was different from all other matters. Here, since the very uprising was originally carried out by the people themselves, and since it gave its fruit by the people themselves, the things which are against this uprising, against this Revolution are to be removed away by the hands of the people, too, *inshaallah*. (514).

* * *

The War Exposed the Opposers of Islam

The war, while detestable, and destroying our towns, yet it had the advantage of introducing Islam to the world, as well as exposing the persons and the Powers who stand against Islam, and who are afraid of Islam, which Powers rose against Islam. All these were disclosed in the war. The Super Powers neither want to keep Saddam nor to beat us. Actually, they are afraid of Islam. They want to beat Islam out. That is why they are against us and back him. They do know that the people of the Islamic countries encounter them, as well as the non-Islamic people who pay attention to us, such as the blacks. (515).

* * *

In the War We Have Broken to Pieces the Prestige of the Two Super Powers

Each day we get from the war a favour which benefited us in all instances. We, in the war, have exported our Revolution to the whole world. We, in the war, have proved both our being wronged and the oppression of

the aggressors. We, in the war, have pushed aside the curtain from the false visage of the world-devourers. We, in the war, have distinguished our friends from our enemies. We, in the war, have reached to the conclusion that we must stand on our own feet. We, in the war, have broken to pieces the prestige of the two Eastern and Western Super Powers. We, in the war, have strengthened the roots of our fruitful Islamic Revolution. We, in the war, have fructified the feelings of brotherhood and patriotism in every one of our people. We, in the war, have shown to the people of the world and particularly to the people of this region that it is quite possible to fight against all the Powers and the Super Powers, for many long years. Our war helped in the conquer of Afghanistan. Our war will lead to the conquer of Palestine. Our war caused all the leaders of corrupt regimes to feel humiliated before Islam. Our war entailed the awakening of Pakistan and India. It was in the war that our military industries developed so much. Most important of all of these, the continuation of the spirit of the revolutionary Islam happened under the lights of the war.

All these are of the blessings of the pure blood of the dear martyrs during eight years of war, brought about by the strifes of the dear mothers, fathers and people during ten years of struggle with America and the West, and the USSR and the East. (516).

* * *

War and Practical Experience of Defence

One of the blessings of this imposed war to our nation was that our soldiers, youths, students of the military college, besides their studies in the college, practically attend the fronts where they get practical trainings, which are the criterion in practical sciences, not mere reading. Reading is a preparatory step to action. Today you are learning in the battlefields how to act. (517).

* * *

The War Disclosed Our Ability to the Enemy

One of the things which was good, too, for us, was that the Iraqi authorities have realized whom they were facing. They used to think for themselves and imagained: "If we attack Iran everything will be finished in

the very first attack, and then we shall march up to the centre of Iran." Now everywhere they have realized that the situation is not just like that. (518).

* * *

The War a Factor of Self-dependence

The important thing is that today they have blocked everything to us, a fact which was a favour for us. When all the doors are closed and the minds are open, you see how our activities commenced and everywhere there are centers for bustle. The people are still standing besides the government, and they have never left the government alone. You see that within these two years they have been taking the war along very well. (519).

* * *

The War a Factor of the Blooming of the Minds

Know that when you are in need of the advanced industry and extend your hands towards the others, and spend your life begging, the faculty of innovation and advanced invention will not bloom in you. You witnessed and very well saw that within this short period after the economic blockade those who thought themselves incapable of doing anything and were made to despair from running the factories, worked their intelligence and put their ideas to practice, and were able to meet the requirements of the army and the factories. This war, the economic blockade and the dismissal of the foreign experts were a divine grace which we did not notice. Now if the government and the army themselves ban the commodities of world-eaters, and exert more efforts on the road of innovation, there will be good hope of taking the country to self-sufficiency and be saved from begging from the enemy. (520).

* * *

The War and Evidences of the Abilities

We have noticed that many of the factories and advanced means, such as the aircrafts and the like, which were thought to be impossible for the Iranian experts to run, and all the hands were extended towards the East or the West to send their experts to run these factories, the economic blockade and the imposed war enhanced our dear youths to produce the needed spare parts, and at much lower prices. They proved that where there is a will there is a way. (521).

* * *

The War Caused the Nation to Move

This war took place and it has so far lasted some eighteen months. ²⁴⁶ It has brought us great fruits which we did not notice at first, but we gradually recognized them. One of those great fruits is this unprecedented agitation in our youths on the fronts and behind the fronts. There has been no such a movement before, as if the weakness and inactivity which are usually seen in common persons with common jobs, have gone away, giving their place to activity and movement. Thus, today our army, our guards, our *basij*, our tribesmen and all the nation, whether on the front lines or behind them, are active and vivid. They are keeping vigilance in the face of all kinds of displeasures, and take the war to be agreeable to them. (522).

* * *

ECONOMY

General Lines of the Islamic Economy

Economy Is a Means

We do not look at economy except as a means. Our look is pinned on the Islamic culture, from which they had separated us. The West has so influenced the orient that the orient lost itself and it emptied many of our youths of their contents. (523).

* * *

The Islamic *Ulama* Should Apply the True Islamic Economy

One of the very important questions which are among the obligations of the *Ulama* and the *fagihs* is encountering the two despotic and mean economic directions of the East and the West, and fighting the economic policies of Capitalism and Socialism in the society. Although this calamity is befalling all the nations of the world, and practically a new kind of servitude is imposed on all nations, and most human societies in their everyday life are connected to the lords of gold and power, having no right to decide their own economic affairs, and despite the rich natural resourses, fertile lands in the world, waters and seas, forests and treasures, they are afflicted with poverty and wretchedness. The Communists and the collecters of gold, the Capitalists, establishing warm relations with the world-devourers have usurped from the common people the right to live and to innovate. By forming monopolies and multi-national centers, they practically hold the pulse of the world economy in their hands, terminating all exportation, extraction, distribution, supply and demand, even pricing and banking, to themselves. With their forged ideas and false researches they made the

masses believe that they should live under their control, otherwise there would be no way for the bare-footed to continue their lives except under poverty, and that it was necessitated by creation and human society that almost all the hungry people should burn in longing for a morsel of bread and die, while a small group should die of gluttony and extravagance, and be at their wit's end. Anyhow, this is a calamity brought about by the worlddevouers upon humanity. The Islamic countries, due to the weakness of their managements and affiliations, are afflicted with regretful situations. It is upon the *Ulama* of Islam, the Islamic researchers and experts to replace the incorrect economic system dominating the world of Islam with constructive plans and programs covering the interests of the deprived and the barefooted, taking out the world of the *mustadafin* and the Muslims from their difficult lives and meagre living. Of course, enacting the Islamic objectives in the world of Islam, especially the economic programs, to encounter the sick capitalistic economy of the West and the socialistic economy of the East, is not possible without the complete domination of Islam, after uprooting the bad and evil effects of those economies. This requires some time after the establishment of a just system and an Islamic government, such as the Islamic Republic of Iran. Yet, offering plans and, originally, explaining the direction of the Islamic economy on the road of protecting the interests of the deprived, expanding their general participation and Islam's fight against the gold-amassers, is the greatest gift and tidings of man's freedom from the fetters of poverty and indigence. By explaining the fact that the owners of property and wealth in the Islamic government enjoy no distinction nor priority, from this point of view, over the poor, and that no preference is granted, and will not be granted, to them, the way of blooming and bringing up the dormant and suppressed aptitudes of the bare-footed will be paved. (524).

* * *

Economy is not the Foundation

Those who unceasingly speak of economy and take it to be the foundation of everything do not know what man means. They think that man is like an animal whose concern is but food and eating, yet with a certain difference between this and the other animals: This one eats *chelow kabab*, and the other eats hay, but both are animals. Those who take economy to be

the basis of everything take man to be an animal, and an animal sacrifices everything for its economy.

The foundation is the *tawhid*, the true divine beliefs, not the stomach. Those who say that economy is the basis have debased man and lowered him from the level of humanity to the level of an animal like other animals. (525).

* * *

Islam Accepts Neither Capitalism nor Communism

One of the matters which needs to be reminded and recommended is that Islam does not accept the despotic and inconsiderate capitalism suppressing the wronged masses. It rather seriously condemns it in the Book and in the tradition and regards it contrary to social justice, although some of the crooked thinkers and ill-informed about the regime of an Islamic government and about the political questions ruling in Islam, used to talk and write—and they are still doing so—in such a way as if Islam unreservedly supports capitalism and backs ownership. In this way, by their incorrect understanding of Islam, they covered the luminous visage of Islam, opening the way for the ill-intentioned and the enemies of Islam so as to attack to Islam to show it a regime like the capitalistic regimes of the West, such as America, England and other Western plunderers. Depending on the sayings and actions of these ignorants, the purposeful persons or the stupid ones, and, without referring to the true Islamists, they started opposing Islam. Islam also does not accept a regime like Communism or Marxicism-Leninism, which opposes private land ownership and backs socialism, with much difference between the old and the recent stages, including having common wives and homosexuality, as well as a tyrannical dictatorship. Actually, Islam is a moderate regime, recognizing ownership and respecting it within the limits governing the appearance of ownership and consumption, which, if really applied, will run the wheels of a sound economy, and will implement the social justice, which is a correlation to a sound regime. (526).

* * *

Wilayat al-Faqih Restricts Ownership

Islam is more familiar with the poor than with the persons who are such-and-such. These persons, as you have said, their wealth has not been, in

most cases, gathered through legal ways. Such wealths are not officially recognized by Islam. In Islam wealth is restricted to certain limits. Suppose somebody has so much wealth which he has gathered legally. But if the religious authority, the *faqih*, the *waliy al-amr*, decided that it must not be as much as it is, in this case he may confiscate it and spend it for the interests of the Muslims. One of the questions related to *Wilayat al-Faqih*—which, much to our regret, is not understood by our enlightened class—is deciding such affairs. Ownership, much as it is respected and sanctified by Islam, can be limited by *waliy al-amr* according to his authority if he deemed it to be contrary to the interests of the Muslims and Islam, and it can be restricted to a certain limit, and the surplus can be confiscated according to a decree from the *faqih*. (527)

Islam Secures Justice

Be assured that what is in the interest of the society concerning spreading justice, removing the unjust hands, securing independence, freedom, economic affairs and the adjustment of the wealths reasonably and according to intelligence and identification, all are existing in Islam in their perfect forms, and this does not need any unlogical interpretations. (528).

* * *

Islam Is to Establish the Government of Justice

Islam has come to establish a government for spreading justice, since in this religion the laws concerning financial affairs, such as the taxes, *bayt almal*, the method of collecting the taxes from all classes of the community, are registered and arranged in a just way. (529).

* * *

Islamic Judgments Are to Spread Justice

Basically, judgments are not wanted for themselves, but they are means and instruments used to correctly carry out the objectives of the Islamic government and to spread equity and justice in the society. (530).

* * *

Islam a Factor of Adjusting Wealth

It is Islam which blocks the way of personal interests. It is Islam which prevents those ruffians from running extravagant lives they like to have. Islam adjusts. (531).

* * *

The riches which these owners unjustifiably possess shall be seized and redistributed among the needy on the basis of equity and fairness. (532).

* * *

The Prophets' Aim Was to Establish Equity

There are no loftier persons than the prophets. There are no loftier persons than the Imams (a). These individuals sacrificed themselves for the sake of the community. Allah, the Most High and Exalted, says: "We verily sent Our messengers with clear proofs, and We sent down with them the Book and the Balance so that men might uphold justice." (al-Hadid: 25). The objective is that the people should act equitably, and social justice may spread among them. They should do away with wrongdoings and oppression, and the weak may be attended to and justice may be applied. Next He says: "We revealed the iron" (al-Hadid: 25). What connection is there? The connection is that these are to be carried out by iron: by the clear signs, by the criterion and by iron, "in it there is great strength". That is, if somebody, or a group, wanted to drag the society to destruction, to overthrow a government of justice, they are to be talked to by clear signs. If they gave no ear, then by criterions, reasoning criterions. If they did not hear, then by iron. (533).

* * *

Whoever looks into the history will see that it was the religions which instigated the weakened people against the Sultans. (534).

The Prophets Mobilized the Needy against the Plunderers

The history of the prophets is known. They had come to mobilize the needy people to go to stop the plunderers at their limits, and to establish the social justice. (535).

* * *

The Prophets Encountered the Rich and the Powerful

The expeditions of the Prophet were many, and all were against the powerful, the rich and the wrongdoers. Before him Moses (a) took his staff and went fighting with Pharaoh, the Sultan of Egypt. Not that he, on behalf of the sultan of Egypt, caused the people to sleep. He, with that very staff, and with his preachings, instigated the people against the sultan of his time.

Notice *Ibrahim*. He picked up his axe and smashed the idols which belonged to the nobility, and quarrelled with them for the sake of the interests of the masses, and in order to stop injustice against them. (536).

* * *

The Bare-footed, the Bearers of the Banner of the Pure Muhammadan Islam

O my dear fighters! The only thing which you are to think about is the firmness of the pillars of the pure Muhammadan Islam (s); the Islam which will humiliate the West, headed by the world-devourer, America, and the East, headed by the criminal USSR; the Islam whose standard carriers are the bare-footed, the wronged and the poor of the world, and whose enemies are the atheists, the infidels, the capitalists and the wealth devotees; the Islam whose real supporters have always been void of wealth and power, and whose bitter enemies are the treacherous gold accumulators, the influential politicians and the artless sanctimonious people. (537).

* * *

The Borders between the American Islam and the True Muhammadan Islam

The way of struggling against the American Islam has a particular complication, whose different corners are to be spotlighted for the bare-footed Muslim fighters. But, it is much regretted that still many of the Islamic nations cannot clearly distinguish the frontiers between the American Islam and the true Mohammadan Islam, the Islam of the bare-footed and the deprived, and the Islam of the petrified sanctimonious persons and the godless capitalists, the painless well-to-do complacents. (538).

* * *

The Duty of the Islamic *Ulama* in Fighting the Plunderers

The *Ulama* of Islam are to fight against the monopolizers, the illegal profiteers, so as not to let so many people remain hungry and deprived, while next to them the wrongdoers, the plunderers and the eaters of the *haram* live in comfort and ease. (539).

* * *

The Pride of Our Revolution Is Protecting the Barefooted

The gist of the speech is the fact that in the Islamic government the more valuable one is he who has *taqwa*, not wealth and power. All the managers, employees, leaders and the *Ulama* of the regime and the government of justice are obliged to be more sociable and have social intercourse, more frequentation, more friendly association and familiarity with the poor, the needy and the bare-footed, than with the wealthy and the well-off people. Being beside the poor and the bare-footed, and regarding oneself along with them are a big pride which is of the godly men, and which practically puts an end to the doubts and suggestions. Praise be to Allah, in the Islamic Republic of Iran the basis of this thought and look is being established.

Likewise the respectful authorities of Iran, disregarding the severe economic blockades and the shortage in the income, they have done their best to ward poverty off the society. It is the desire and the objective of the nation and the government and the authorities of our country to see one day that there is no more poverty and indigence in our community, and the dear, patient and zealous people of the country enjoy comfort in their material and moral lives. Allah may forbid the coming of the day in which our policy and the policy of the authorities of our country turn way from defending the deprived and turn towards protecting the capitalists, and the rich get more prestige. We take refuge in Allah from this course which is quite contrary to the ways of the prophets, Amir al-Muminin and the infallible Imams (a). The pure garment of the *Ulama* is innocent from that, and must remain so for ever. This is one of the glories and the blessings of our country, Revolution and ualma, that they should rise to protect the bare-footed, reviving the slogan of defending the rights of the *mustadafin*. As combating deprivation is our belief, way and tradition, and our way of life, the world-devourers would not let us alone in this case, either, narrowing the rings of besiege around the authorities of the country in order to weaken the government, displaying their own hatred, grudge and fear of this popular and historical movement, in the form of thousands of political-economic conspiracies. Undoubtedly, just as the world-devourers are afraid of our people's tendency to martyrdom and other values of sacrifice, they are also afraid of the tendency and the spirit of the Islamic economy to defend the bare-footed. It is certain that the more our country tends to combat with poverty and defend the deprived, the more the despair of the world-devourers of us, and the more the inclination of the nations of the world towards Islam. The dear *Ulama* must pay deep attention to this principle and preserve this older than a thousand years historical pride of being the refuge for the deprived. They are to advise the authorities and the people that they may never forget the sincere inclination and attention of the deprived to the Revolution and their unreserved support of Islam, and not to leave them unresponded to. (540).

* * *

The Deprived Are our Benefactors

I advise the *Majlis*, the government and the authorities to be grateful to this nation, and to do their best to serve them, especially the *mustaḍafin*, the deprived and the wronged, who are the delight of our eyes and our

benefactors, as the Islamic Republic of Iran is their gift and was created by their sacrifices, and its survival depends on their services. (541).

* * *

Expediting the Laws in the Interests of the Mustadafin

Speed up the ratification of the suggestions and the bills concerning construction and the comfort of the nation, particularly the *mustadafin*, in a revolutionary speed, avoiding perspicacity and unnecessary phraseology which are a hinderance. Ask the ministries and the executive officials to give up the bureaucrasy and erroneous workings common in the *taghut* time, but to work for the comfort of the wronged nation, and to reform their backwardness in a speedy way. (542).

* * *

Our People Rightly Expect Removing Deprivations

It must be said that the collection of demands and the Islamic expectations of the people from the *Majlis* are removing the afflictions and Deprivations, and changes in the complicated managing system of the country. These are of the demands rightly expected, and which must be seriously observed. Before attending to unnecessary bills, notes and articles, the respected representatives of the *Majlis* are to think about the country's principal and key questions, and to move, on the basis of the dear Islam, in the commissions, by suggesting bills and laws, towards solving the basic problems of the country. The fundamental policies of the country concerning educational, economical, social and political affairs should be recorded in the interests of the deprived and removing poverty and suppression, and then to be enacted. (543).

* * *

Hand in Hand Let Us Uproot Poverty and Suppression

O my nation! My brave fighting brothers and sisters, may Allah support you! We have now reached a sensitive stage of our Islamic Revolution—the stage of construction, a stage through which our deprived and persecuted

people should get the advantage of the fruits of our Revolution, a stage in which you should touch the greatness of the just Islamic regime, a stage in which we must put hand in hand to uproot poverty and oppression. You, the noble people of Iran, your fight against imperialism and exploitation, has won a great victory, and you could, by depending on Allah, the Exalted, and by your unity and general action, overcome the *taghut* of the time, and make the Super Powers tremble. Now, too, you must muster your forces and cooperate in your struggle against poverty and deprivation and in resolving upon rescuing the people, with the help of Allah. During the hateful Pahlavi regime the problem of lodgings was one of the difficult social problems. Most people were under the burden of getting a piece of land to build a nest. They often spent their whole life under the heavy loans of the banks, the profiteers and the looters in order to be able to have a shelter for themselves and their children.

A great part of the *mustadafin* of the community were deprived from possessing a house, and used to live in the corners of cave-like, dark, narrow and ruinous rooms, and they often had to pay the larger portion of their meagre income to rent such a room. This ominous heritage has been left for our people, and now our society is still afflicted with this hardship. The Islamic regime will not endure such an unjust and discriminating situation. It is the least of everybody's right to have a residence. The land problem is to be solved and all the deprived servants of Allah should enjoy this divine gift. All the deprived must have their houses. No one in any part of the country may be deprived from having a house. (544).

* * *

Caring for the Deprived Brings the Reward of this World and the World to Come

I advise all to act for the comfort of the deprived classes, as it brings you the good of this world and of the world to come. They have along the history of the injustice of the Shahs and the Khans lived in pains and hardship. How well it would be if the well-to-do classes volunteer to prepare abodes for the hut-dwellers, and let them be assured that they will find in that the good of this world and the world to come. It is unfair, however, that one should be homeless, while another possesses many flats. (545).

The Government's Financial Sources

Coordination of the Islamic Taxation System with the Development of the Country

The Islamic financial law, which is the basis of the country's life, is founded, as we have formerly noted, in such a way that the more the country advances in development, the more its taxes increases, a fact which can be realized by referring to the law of the public domains. Such a law with such elasticity and taking care of big demands, cannot be abrogated, rather it has been formed for all countries and is to remain for ever. (546).

* * *

Normal and Extra Taxes

In the Islamic Law there are many kinds of taxes, some of which are obligatory and some are paid voluntarily, each of which is to be briefly explained. The obligatory taxes are of two kinds. One is continual and paid every year, when things are calm in the country and it is not attacked by the foreigners, or when there is no revolution in the country. The other kind is the extra taxes at times of inside or outside revolution. These extra taxes which are levied in such occasions have no limitation, and are to be called "the limitless taxes", because they depend on the judgment of the Islamic government. As indirect taxes they are levied when the direct taxes are insufficient to stop the revolution in the country. In such an occasion the government takes from the people according to its need if it deems it necessary, as a loan, or under the name of indirect taxes or extra taxes as needs be according to the country's requirements. Of course, they are to be equitably divided and levied. Even if the government needs to take all the wealths of the masses, it takes the amount more than their need and spends it on the independence of the Islamic country. Should the situation require the presence of all the masses of the people in the fronts of war as compulsory military service, they are to fight and sacrifice for the independence of the Islamic country. As to the direct taxes, they are to be paid compulsorily to the government to meet the expenditures of the local management, and the reserve budgets for the country's interests and the military requirements. (547)

The Islamic Taxes Are for the Establishment of the Government

The taxes which are imposed by Islam and the suggestion of the budget show that they are not merely to supply provision for the poor and the poor sayyids, but for the establishment of the government and for meeting the necessary expenditures of a big government. For example, the khums 247 is one of the huge incomes which is deposited to the bayt al-mal, forming a portion of the budget. According to the instructions of our sect, it is imposed on all agricultural and commercial profits, as well as on the underground and surface sources. Generally speaking, it is taken from all kinds of income and profits, levied in an equitable method such that it covers even the greengrocer sitting at the door of this mosque, and the sailor or the miner. They have to pay one-fifth of the surplus of their income after expending their usual expenditure, in accordance with the precept of Islam, to be deposited with bayt al-mal. Naturally, such an enormous income is for the management of the country and to meet its financial needs. If we count the khums of the Islamic countries—or the whole world if they come under Islam—it will be realized that by imposing such a tax it is not intended just to satisfy the needs of the sayyids and the Ulama, as the question is more important than that. It is intended to meet the financial needs of big governmental organizations. If an Islamic government is established it must be managed by means of these taxes, that is the khums and the zakat (this latter is not so much) and the jizyah and the kharaj (land tax).

The *sayyids* can never be in need of such budget. The *khums* of the profits of only Baghdad's markets are sufficient for all the *sayyids*, all the scientific centers and all the Muslim poor, let alone the profits of the markets of Tehran, Istanbul, Cairo and other markets. The assignment of a budget so enormous denotes that it is intended for establishing a government and managing a country, to cover the people's needs, such as public services, health, education, defence and construction. It is more so due to the arrangement prescribed by Islam for collecting, keeping and spending it such that there can be no waste and embezzlement in the public treasury, and the head of the state and all the authorities and those responsible for public service, i.e., all the members of the government, have no priority in making use of the public income and funds over the common individuals. All are equal in their shares, too.

Should this large budget be thrown into the sea? Should it be buried until the Imam (a) comes out of occultation? Or was it to satisfy, then, some

fifty *sayyids*, or, nowadays some half a million *sayyids*, who would never know what to do with it? Actually we know that the share of the *sayyids* and the poor is just to provide them with livelihood. It is the planned budget of Islam which prescribes for each income where it is to be spent. A fund is for the *zakats*, another is for charities and donnations and a third is for the *khums*. The *sayyids* are provided from the latter fund. Yet, it is narrated that at the end of each year the *sayyids* must return to the religious authority any surplus which maybe left over from their expenditure, and if they were still in need, he may help them. (548).

* * *

The Islamic Governor and the Taxes

In short, whoever contemplates the purport of the (relevant) *ayah* and the narratives related to that will realize that all the shares of the *khums* belong to *bayt al-mal*, and the [religious] ruler has the right to use it, and his judgment—which is based on the interests of all the Muslims—is binding. On the other hand, it is upon the ruler to provide the livelihood for the said three groups out of the share of the *sayyids*, as he judges, just as the distribution of the *zakat* is, in anytime, on the ruler of that time to carry out, and he may spend it on its special instances according to his judgment.

The appearance of the *ayahs* and narratives reveal that the *anfal* [the spoils] are not of the private belongings of the Prophet and the great Imams (a), but they have the right to dispose of them as their owners. (549).

* * *

The Authorities of wilayat al-faqih in Financial Affairs

During the Occultation, the *faqih* will have the same rights enjoyed by the infallible Imams in all affairs, including the *khums* [both the shares of the Imam and the *sayyids*], the spoils and the *fay'* [whatever is gained by the Muslims without military fighting]. (550).

* * *

Self-sufficiency and Economic Development

The Most Important Factor Affecting Self-sufficiency

The most important factor in attaing to self-sufficiency and reconstruc—tion is the expansion of the scientific and research centers, as well as concentrating and directing the abilities and full and multisided encouragements of the inventors, discoverers and committed and specialized forces who have the courage of combating ignorance and quitting the tortoise—shell of confining knowledge to the West and the East, and show that they can make the country stand on its own feet. *Inshaallah* these faculties may not get tired and weak in the crooked roads of managements. (551).

* * *

We Must Find Ourselves

To put it in a nutshell, we must understand that we are everything and are not less than the others. We, who have lost ourselves must find our lost self. The opinion saying that "If the foreign hand is cut short we shall die" must be powerfully uprooted. (552).

* * *

On the Long Run We Can Do Everything

Be assured that on the long run you will be able to do everything. I hope that you will work your brains and will cast away the fear which they had created in our country, and go ahead courageously and do your job. Just as you could bravely oust out the Super Powers, you may as well courageously try your own culture, and do your job yourselves, and decrease, day by day, your dependence on the foreigners outside, so that one day you will have no affiliation whatsoever to the outside, and we shall do all that we want by ourselves, *inshaallah*. (553).

* * *

A Factor of Development is not to Depend on the Foreigners

When a nation sees that everything is managed for it from outside and that it is in need of nothing at all, it never occurs to it to try to meet its needs by itself. Whenever this nation realized if it does not care for its agriculture. if it does not care for its oil industry, if it does not care for its factories, it will perish, and there will be no one to help, when there is a feeling in a nation that: We must do whatever we want, as the others will not give it to us, such a feeling will put the brains at work, and there will appear experts in every branch, and the arms which can do every job will start working, and agriculture will be practised by the farmers themselves, and the factories will be run by the workers, as you see many factories have been set at work by their own workers. The TV sometimes puts on show how they have run the factories, or how they have invented something. This is because of the blessings of this economic blockade. If they had sent us whatever we wanted, our youths would not have thought of "Let's do it ourselves." When everything is available, why should we bother about it? This economic blockade, of which many are afraid, I believe it to be a blessing to our country, because the economic blockade means that they would not give us what we need, in which case we would try to find it. It is possible that we shall be in difficulty for some ten years, ten years of hardship, but the result after the ten years will be that we will not be dependent. There will be no need for us to extend our hands to this establish—ment or to that, this country or that. We shall not be in need any more. (554)

* * *

Economic Blockade a Divine Grace

As long as you extend your hand towards the others for your needs and keep begging all your life, the faculty of progress and invention will not bloom in yourselves. You have very clearly eyewitnessed that within this short period after the economic blockade, the very ones who believed themselves unable to make anything, incapable of running a factory, used their brains and could remove many difficulties in the army and in the factories. This war, the economic blockade and dismissing the foreign experts, were divine graces of which we were unaware. Now if the government and army prohibit the import of the commodities of the world-

devourers, and do their best on the road of innovation, there will be hope that the country will reach self-sufficiency and be saved from begging the enemy. (555).

* * *

The Economic Blockade Led to Brain-Blooming

When there is economic blockade, the people's attention is drawn to the fact that we must become self-sufficient. Our specialists will get busy and use their minds and powers, and cause Iran to be in no need of the foriengers. I assure you if we are kept under this pressure for a while, Iran will be more consistent, and the committed thinking brains of Iran will become more active and Iran turns to be self-sufficient. (556).

The Nation of Iran Will Never Exchange its Dignity with Foreign Comfort

I am sure that the dear nation of Iran will never exchange a moment of its independence and dignity with a thousand years of comfort and luxury in affiliation of the foreigners and the aliens. (557).

* * *

Rejecting the Comfort under Affiliation

It we have on our table a bread of barley, it will be better than living in large parks with extending our hands to others. (558).

* * *

Different Economic Sections

Agricultural Self-sufficiency, Basis of Independence

If our agriculture cannot meet our requirements, and we extend our hands to America and the like for provision, we will be affiliated and will not be able to do anything, and thus, we will politically be affiliated, too. Therefore, those who were responsible for agriculture must once again attend to that. Those who have quitted their work because of the difficulties which they had to face, are also to go back to their works. The government is to support the farmers and to help them. Both sides are to be busy in that, so that, as far as agriculture—which is one of the important matters in our country—is concerned we must be exporters of our products, not that we should still be dependent, extending our hands towards the foreigners in order to give us some bread. (559).

Priority to Agriculture in the Reconstruction

Attending to reconstructing the industrial centers must not cause the slightest harm to the necessity of attending to agricultural self-sufficiency. Rather, priority and preference must be observed for this question, and the authorities are to care more for that, especially concerning land reclamation, regulating irrigation, building dams, encouraging the farmers and the herdsmen, and making better use of the unlimited divine favours of nature. Certainly, self-sufficiency in agriculture is a preliminary step towards independence and self-sufficiency in other fields. (560).

* * *

Paying Attention to Mother Industries

Question: What would be the program for the industrialization and reconstruction of Iran under an Islamic government? Where from would it secure its technology? How would you educate and train your specialists and scholars?

Answer: Concerning industrialization of the country we shall never go to montage, like today. We shall install mother industries, and we shall carry out the construction as best as can be. Naturally, one should not expect these to be completed immediately after the Shah's departure, because the Shah has completely destroyed Iran, and it now appears like a war-stricken country. So, to repair the ruins and to create original industries time is needed. The required technology will be secured from any source more benefiting to our country. As regards experienced specialists, we are rich. There are thousands of Iranian specialists in diverse scientific branches abroad. Due to the Shah's despotism and injustice, and because of lacking

original industrial and scientific programs, they were compelled to leave the country and to work for foreign organizations. By the Shah's departure most of them will return to Iran. (561).

Not Selling Oil to Israel and to South Africa

Question: You are quoted to have said that the foreign leaders who would continue to protect the Shah, would get no oil from a government without the Shah. Don't you mostly mean the USA? Do you think that this threat will be effective on the long run? If you had the choice to select, would you think you could stop the flow of the oil to the countries of Israel, South Africa, Japan, France, America and others? Or to a certain country?

Answer: We have said that the trans-Iranian referendum against the Shah in the *tasua* and *Ashura* [of Muharram]²⁴⁸ has deprived the Shah's government from legality many times, even in the eyes of the world, and thus the Shah and his government no longer represent the nation (even if formerly they claimed they were, though they have never been). Such being the case, any country protecting him will be against the nation of Iran, and the nation of Iran will have the right not to sell its oil to such a country which protects its enemy. Of course we mean as long as the heads of such countries which protect the Shah are still in power we give them no oil, be it America or any other country. As regards Israel, it goes for granted that we shall never help an illegal government which usurped the rights of the Muslims, transgressed them and is their enemy. Regarding South Africa, the situation is clear, its regime is a racist one that respects none of the humanistic values and is originally bloodthirsty and criminal. But as to the others we shall sell and export to them, but, of course, in accordance with the country's interests and the political and economical situations. (562).

* * *

We shall not Sell Our Oil by Auction

Question: What would be the oil policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran? Would the production level remain as it is at present? Would the agreements

concluded by the former regime remain intact? What is your attitude in respect of the oil prices?

Answer: What can now be said is that we shall not close the oil wells, yet we shall not sell our oil by auction, either. However, nobody can force us that we must make use of our oil only by means of selling it to the others. Why can't we, instead of the revenue of the oil, place it in our economy. As regards the level of production, its price and the already contracted agreements, the coming government, which will be elected by the real representatives of the people, has to decide that. (563).

* * *

Why Should We Always Be Exporters of the Oil?

Question: You have said that the Islamic Republic of Iran would continue exporting the gas and the oil to the Western countries, and importing their technology. Under what conditions would that be?

Answer: We neither close the oil wells, nor we close the doors of the country upon ourselves, nor we change our country into a market consuming whatever the West makes and wants to impose upon us. We shall be benefited by the oil, but there is no reason to always be exporters of oil. Should we need something which we do not have, we would import it from abroad, but why shouldn't we be producers of what we need? Our policy has always been based on preserving freedom, independence and the interests of the people—a principle which we will never sacrifice for anything. (564).

* * *

The Bazar's Participation and the Government's Supervision

Let the Markets be your partners in the works. Do not leave them out. That is, the jobs which cannot be done by the market and it is clear that it cannot do them, let the government do them, but the jobs which the market can do, let it do them and do not hinder them, as it is even illegal. People's freedom must not be taken from them. The government may only supervise over them.

The jobs which cannot be undertaken by the people, the government is to undertake them. The jobs which can be done by both the government and the people, give freedom to the people to do them, and you do them, too. Do not prevent the people from carrying them out. You may only supervise them

lest there may be a deviation, and lest unallowed commodities may be imported, against the Islamic judgments, or against the interests of the Islamic Republic. (565).

* * *

The Bazar should not Act Unfairly

Now that the Bazar is in the hands of the merchants who are apparently pious, they may think that there is nobody to exert any pressure upon them concerning the prices. They should not be unfair. The government of the time is to stop it, and we may give the government permission to stop such overchargings in the Bazar. (566).

* * *

The Bazar which does not Care for the Weak is not Islamic

The merchant, who buys something at one *tuman* and sells it to the poor and weak at thirty *tumans*, is not Islamic. A merchant who smuggles goods and sells them at very high prices, causing the Islamic economy to be in disorder, is not Islamic and the market is not Islamic, and it must be made Islamic. They themselves must make it Islamic. The market which does not care for the weak and the poor, the merchant whose next neighbour is poor and he does not care, is not Islamic. (567).

* * *

The Respected Merchants Are to Neutralize the Conspiracy of the Overchargers

The overchargers and the unfair monopolizers should not think that the injustice this time is the same as before. At present such kind of crimes, which may lead to the defeat of the Islamic Republic, are an attempt to weaken Islam. I am afraid that Allah, the Most Powerful, will pour his anger on you, and the gilty and the innocent may—Allah forbid—burn together, and there maybe no way out: "I take refuge in Allah from the anger of the

patient". It is better for the respected merchants, who are the active pillars of the Islamic Republic, to neutralize the plots of these unfair ones, who are a stain of disgrace on the skirts of the merchants. (568).

* * *

Economic Exchanges May not be a Means for Political Influence

Question: Are you going to continue the present commercial transactions and agreements with the West? What is your commercial policy?

Answer: We would sell and export our domestic products to any buying country. Similarly, we will buy from outside whatever is needed inside the country. But all these transactions will be done on the basis of equal parties, and we are not prepared to allow a party to use such economic exchanges as means for political influence and for imposing its imperialistic purposes. (569).

GLOSSARY

Aba : a cloak-like garment open from the front; a cloak-like

(woolen) wrap.

A. H. : After the Hijrah (the Islamic calendar).

Ahludh-Dhimmah: the followers of a divine Book before the Quran,

living in the Muslim countries and under the protection

of the Muslim governments.

Akhund (Persian): any turbaned man in the Islamic fashion.

Al-Bithah: the sending of he Prophet Muhammad (s) with Islam

to mankind.

Alaqah : the blood-clot in the womb from which man is created.

Alim : (pl. Ulama or ulema): a scholar in theology or the

: (pl. *Ulama* or *ulema*): a scholar in theology or the natural sciences; a Muslim scholar or man of authority

inreligion and law.

Allahu Akbar : Allah is Greater.

Al-Ansar : lit. The helpers. It was the epithet given to the

inhabitants of al-Madinah who helped the *Muhajirs* who accompanied the Prophet Muhammad (s) when they

migrated from Mecca to al-Madinah.

A. S. : stands for Alayhis-salam = peace be upon

him/her/them.

Ashura: the tenth day of the month of Muharram, on which

al-Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abitalib (a), together with his

72 followers were killed in Karbala.

Ath-Thagalayn: lit. The two weighty things, referring to the Quran and

Ahl al-Bayt, i.e. the offspring of the Prophet (s).

Ayah : a Quranic verse.

Barzakh: the period between death and Resurrection on the Day

of Judgement.

Basij : ordinary people mobilized for some collective work,

especially in the militia.

Bayah : Pledge of allegiance given to a religious authority.

Baytul-mal: the public treasury in Islam.

Chadur: a cloak-like coveriung worn by some non-Arab Muslim

women.

Chelow kabab: roasted minced meat with rice and butter; a well-known

Iranian dish.

Dhimmi: a follower of a divine Book living under the protection

of the Muslims in a Muslim country.

Dua : devotional invocation and supplication.

Faqih : Islamic jurist; one who understands the precepts of the

Islamic religion.

Fatwa: a legal judgment issued by a faqih.

Figh: Islamic jurisprudence. Originally it means

"understanding."

Fitrah : (1) natural disposition; innateness; innate disposition. (2) charity paid per capita on the first day of the month of

Shawwal (i.e. the end of the month of Ramadan, the

month of fasting).

Hadith : any of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (s), or

his conducts related to us, all of which are called the Tradition; any narrative relating the deeds or utterances of the Prophet, the *Ahl al-Bayt*, the infallible Imams and

the Companions.

Hafiz : an epithet given to the one who learns the whole Quran

by heart.

Hajj : pilgrimage to Mecca in the month of Dhul-Hijjah, the

12th month of the Islamic calendar.

Halal : religiously lawful.

Haram : religiously prohibited; not lawful.Hawzah : a center for religious studies.

Hijab : (1) any separating partition. (2) aba, chadur and the

like used by women to cover themselves.

Hizbullah: lit. The Party of Allah; the pious followers of Islam in

general.

Hudud : (pl. of hadd): bodily punishments prescribed by Islam

for certain crimes to be executed in this world.

Ijtihad : the individual opinion of a *faqih* deducted from his

theological studies.

Imam : (1) a salat leader. (2) a learned jurisprudent. (3) any one

of the 12 Imams of the Shiites appointed as successors

of the Prophet Muhammad (s).

Imamate : the position of being an imam. INS : mankind in contrast with the jinn.

Inshaallah : a term meaning "if Allah willed", denoting that nothing

can be done without Allah's will; God willing; if Allah

(so) will(s).

Irth : heritage. **Istidaf** : oppression.

Khan

Istikbar : arrogance and haughtiness. It sometimes stands for such

governments or classes of people.

Jihad (jehad) : (1) holy war of the Muslims against the disblievers. (2)

Personal strive against one's sinful inclinations within

oneself. (3) Struggle; strive hard.

Jizyah : the head tax paid by ahludh-dhimmah for living under

the protection of Islamic governments.

Kabah : the cub-shaped building in al-Masjidul haram in

> Mecca. It is an ancient sanctuary to which the Muslims all over the world stand in its direction during performing their *salat*. It is a primary focal point during the *hajj*.

: (Persian) a chief, a ruler of a clan or a tribe, also an

influential rural rich person.

Kashkul : a speical oval-shaped vessel suspended by a chain,

carried by the dervishes. It is a symbol of begging.

: tax on land due to the state; land tax. Kharaj

: a fifth of any profit surplus to one's yearly expenditure. Khums Laylatul Qadr

: the name of a night in the second half of the month of

Ramadan in which the Ouran was revealed.

: the relatives who are not allowed to marry one another. Mahram

Majlis : or the majlis of *shura*: the parliament.

Marja (pl. *maraji*): the religious authority who is referred to for

religious questions.

Marjaiyyah : the position of religious authority.

Masjidul-Haram : the mosque which contains the *kabah* in Mecca. Mihrab : a niche in the mosques in the direction of Mecca, in

which the imam leading the congregational *salat* stands.

Mudarib : the person who practises *mudaribah*. Mudaribah: an Islamic business method in which the lender of

money is regarded a partner in the transactions carried out by the borrower, and the profit (or the loss) are shared by

all partners.

Muhajir (s) : the epithet given to the Prophet's followers who

accompanied him when he migrated from Mecca to

al-Madinah.

Mujtahid: the fagih who is entitled to practise ijtihad.

Mulla : akhund; a man of religion.Munafiqin : (pl. of munafiq) hypocrites.

Mustadafin: the weak, oppressed and wronged people.

Mustakbirin: The arrogant and the oppressors.

Muttagin: the pious people who guard themselves against Allah's

anger by refraining from sinning.

Muzaraah: an Islamic business like *mudaribah*, but in agricultural

contracts.

Nikah : marriage contract.Nutfah : the sperm of a man.

Qiblah : the direction of Mecca which the Muslims are to face

when performing the salat.

Qisas : retaliation punishment including blood-money.

Rijal: biographies

Sadat : (pl. of sayyid) the offspring of the Prophet Muhammad

(s).

S. A. : stands for sallallahu alayhi wa alihi (may Allah bless

him and his offspring).

s. a. : stands for alayhi wa alihi (may Allah's peace be upon

him).

Salat: the Islamic ritual prayer performed five times a day.

Samad: An attribute of Allah, meaning the One Who is sought

in exigencies.

Sawm : (or siyam): fasting.

Shaykh : a religious teacher; a turbaned man.

Suhuf : (pl. of Sahifah) Book, mostly referring to the divine

Books before the Quran.

Sunnah : the tradition of the Prophet (s).

surah
any one of the 114 complete chapters of the Quran.
any exegesis of the Quran. Originally it means

explanation or interpretation.

Taghut : a tyrant; a despot.

Tanzil: the revelation of the Quran. Originally it means: sending

down.

Taglid: imitating a marja by the common people, who are not

mujtahids, in religious matters.

Taqwa : avoiding Allah's wrath by refraining from committing

what stirs His wrath. Originally it means: warding off

evils.

Tasbih : uttering words in glorification of, and praising Allah.

Tasua: the nineth day of the month of Muharram. i.e. the day

before the martyrdom of al-Husayn (a).

Tawhid: declaration of the Oneness of Allah; Monotheism.

Tazkiyah : purification of the soul.

Tijarah : commerce and business transaction.

Ulama (ulema): (pl. of alim) the scholars and the learned, especially

concerning religious knowledge; Muslim scholars or men

of authority in religion and law.

Ulul'-amr : the ruling religious authorities.

Ulul-azm : the Prophets having divine Books, said to be five in

number: Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad.

Ummah : nation, people.

Usul : (pl. of asl): principles. It refers to the principles of

studying the science of *figh*.

Wajib : the religiously incumbent duty on a Muslim.

Wali
Waliy al-amr
Wilayah
a guardian; a godly man.
the ruling religious authority.
authorized guardianship.

Wilayat al-faqih: The authorized guardianship of the faqih.

Wudu: the ritual Islamic ablution, especially done before

performing the *salats*.

Zakat: obligatory taxes on certain agricultural products, on the

cattles, and on the gold and silver currencies.

NOTES

- 1. The published works about the Islamic Revolution, in the forms of books, essays, films, cassettes, speeches, etc. are so enormous in number and kind that one may rightly think that no other event in history can match the Islamic Revolution in this respect, and especially in respect of the very Imam's person and personality which incited works of devotion as well as of prejudice about the event and its creator, and works stemming from malignancy. It is a matter of course that the works written out of fairness and truth-seeking by thinkers and researchers, both the Muslims devoted to the Imam, and the non-Muslims with no particular tendency towards him, are not, nevertheless, few. But as the common people of the two branches of love and hate are so affectable about individuals and affairs that it would be alarming and requiring one to think of a remedy. It is quite possible that the most popular revolution headed by a gnostic and ascetic scholar may be shown as a movement aiming at acquiring mundane power, and introduced as rough and acting against the interests of the people and against human rights. In the same way, the Imam's person may be portrayed as a mythical figure beyond the effect of time and place, by way of ascribing absoluteness to relative matters, and drawing a halo of unattainable sacredness around such affairs usually based on human wisdom and management, in order to deviate the thoughts.
- 2. Particularly his objections which he quite openly announced, in the late years of his blessed life, against the superficial and petrified minds and the pseudo-religious people, as well as his new and guiding juristic opinions, which he, far-sightedly and courageously presented, are so important and deserve attention that they, as an indispensible introduction to a detailed registration of the theory of the Revolution and the directing policy of the Islamic Republic regime, should be handled with special care by the clear-sighted and meriterious people.
- 3. From the very beginning of the movement, the Imam faced opposition and anger from two sides, the first, from the Shah's regime in the form of rough and bloody clashes with the Imam and his followers and friends, including detaining the Imam himself, imprisoning him for months

and then deporting him, and suppressing, torturing and executing the supporters of the Islamic uprising, particularly during the last fifteen years of the Shah's black rule. The second, from the reactionary petrified groups up to few years before the Imam's appearance at the head of the great Islamic Revolution. They used to attack his free-thinking and life-giving ways, and they continued their acts of sabotage against the popular Islamic Revolution. The following statement is self-explanatory and needs no further explanation. The Imam said: "The pains which befell your aged father at the hands of this petrified group had never befallen him from the pressures and hardships of the others...") Sahifeh-ye Imam, vol. 21, p. 91.)

4. Some of the Imam's works are:

Sharh-e Dua-ye Sahar (Explanation of the Dawn Supplication), Misbah al-Hidayah ilalKhilafah wal-Wilayah (The Guiding Torch to Caliphate and Guardianship), Sirr as-Salat (The Secret of the Salat) or Salat Arifin wa Miraj as-Salikin (The Salat of the Gnostics and the Ascension of the Disciples), Adab as-Salah (The Disciplines of the Salat), Sharh-e Chehel Hadith (Explanation of Forty Hadiths), Anwar al-Hidayah fit-Taligati Alal Kifayah (2 vols.) (The Lights of Guidance in Annotation on al-Kifayah), Manahij al-Wusul ila Ilm al-Usul (2 vols.) (Ways of Approaching the Science of *Usul*), *Kitab al-Bay* (5 vols.) (The Book on Selling), *Makasib-e* Muharramah (2 vols.) (The Haram Business), Kitab at-Taharah (4 vols.) (The Book on Cleanliness), Al-Khalalu fis-Salat (Fault in the Salat), Risalatun fil Ijtihad wat-Taqlid (A Treatise on Ijtihad and Taqlid), Badayi ad-Durar fi Qaidati Nafyi Darar (Wonderful Gems on the Rule of Negating the Loss), Risalatun fit-Taadul wat-Tarajih (A Treatise on Equality and Preferences), Risalatun fit-Talabi wal-Iradah (A Treatise on Demanding and Willing), Risalatun fi Qaidati Man Malak (A Treatise on the Possessor), Risalatun fit-Tagiyyah (A Treatise on Dissimulation), Risalatun fil Istishab (A Treatise on Endorsing Previous Unabrogated Precepts), Taliqatun Ala Wasilatun-Najat (An Annotation on Wasilatun-Najat), Taligatun Ala al-Urwat al-Wuthqa (Annotation on al-Urwat al-Wuthqa), Tahrir al-Wasilah (2 vols.), Taligatun Ala Sharh Fusus al-Hikam (An Annotation on the Commentary on Fusus al-Hikam), Taligatun Ala Misbah al-Uns (An Annotation on *Misbah al-Uns*), *Kashf al-Asrar* (Disclosing the Secrets), Hashiyah bar Resaley-e Erth (A Margin on the Treatise on Inheritance), Hashiyah bar Asfar (A Margin on the Asfar), Tafsir-e Surah-ye Hamd (Exegesis of the Surah of the Opening), Diwan-e Ashar (A Collection of Poetry), Jihad-e Akbar (The Greater Jihad), Wiayat-e Faqih or Hukumat-e Islami (The Fagih's Guardianship or the Islamic Government), Manasik-e Hajj (The Rituals of Pilgrimage), Tawdih al-Masa'il (Explanation of the Problems), etc.

Meanwhile, good many reports concerning the Imam's lectures on *fiqh*, *usul*, philosophy and gnosticism have been written down by his students, and which cover tens of titles, some of which have already been published, and the others will gradually be published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works.

Besides the above-mentioned works, there are more than 1100 speeches, 800 messages, hundreds of letters, verdicts, answers to questions and tens of press interviews left behind from Imam Khomeini, comprising a precious treasury of his ideological, political and social guidelines, of which a part has been published in 22 vols. under the title of *Sahifeh-ye Imam* (The Page of Light), and the whole will successively be published under diverse titles of "*Kawthar*" by the said Institute.

- 5. One of the most important subjects discussed in Islam is the subject of *jihad* or combat. There are a lot of virtues related to those who do *jihad* (in Allah's way). The reward of the *mujahid*, in the Hereafter, is greater than that of others. Among the different kinds of *jihad*, that which is the most important of all is the *jihad* of a man against his soul, which is called "the Greater *jihad*. This *jihad* brings about the highest values in the inside of man. It is the foundation of all other *jihads*, and there is no end for it. Man is to continue this *jihad* during all his life, as his sensual desires are waiting for a chance to recalcitrate everywhere.
- 6. Mustafa Khomeini (1309—1356 S.H.), the first son of Imam Khomeini (s.a.), started studying Islamic sciences at the age of fifteen, and attained the stage of *ijtihad* when he was about twenty-seven years old. He mastered most of the Islamic sciences in his age of youth. He was detained and imprisoned at the order of the Shah's regime on the 13th of Aban, 1343 (Nov. 4, 1964). After spending 58 days in prison he was set free, but on the 13th of Dey (Jan. 3) he was detained again and was deported to Turkey. Like his noble father, he had an uncompromising mind, and believed that to overthrow the government of Pahlavi there must be an all-encompassing uprising, and he struggled much in the way of attaining this goal. He was killed by the agents of SAVAK and attained the rank of martyrdom in Iraq (in the city of Najaf) at the age of 47, one year before the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.
- 7. "With a calm mind, a confident heart, a happy soul and a conscience hopeful of Allah's grace, I take my leave from the presence of my sisters and

brothers, and journey towards the eternal abode." (The devotional-political Will of Imam Khomeini).

8. The Imam's speech after he was set free from prison is a sign of his exceptional bravery:

"If I once realized, God forbid!, that the interest of Islam requires me to say something I will say it and I will follow it without being afraid of anything, thank Allah, the Exalted, as so far I have been afraid of nothing. Even on that day [referring to his detention on the 15th of Khordad, 1342] the others were afraid and I used to console them so that they may not be afraid.") Sahifeh-ye Imam, vol. 1. p. 72.).

9. After the publication of the superstitious and blasphemous book, *Satanic Verses*, by Salman Rushdi, in which the Muslims' sanctities and beliefs had been mocked, Imam Khomeini sent the following message to the Muslims throughout the world on the 25th of Bahman, 1367:

In the Name of Allah

We belong to Allah and unto Him we are returning

I hereby inform all the jealous Muslims in the world that the author of the book *Satanic Verses*, which has been arranged and published against Islam and the Prophet (s), and the publishers aware of its content are sentenced to death. I ask the jealous Muslims to put them to death at once wherever they could find them, so that no one dares mock the sanctities of Muslims any longer. And anyone who is killed in executing the said sentence will be a martyr *inshaallah*. Moreover, if a person has access to the author, but he has not the power to execute him, he should introduce him to the people, so that he may be punished for his deeds.

May peace and Allah's mercy and blessings be upon you. Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

10. After the victory of the Islamic Republic of Iram The USA lost one of the most important strategic regions in the world and was deprived of its great treasures. It was due to this deprivation that the USA practised various tricks in order to regain what it had lost. Among these tricks were supporting the internal revolters, military attack to Iran (the attack to Tabass) and leading a coup d'Itat against the Revolution. Being not successful in these tricks, the USA put in force another strategy, imposing an unwanted war upon the Islamic Revolution by the regime of Iraq that had an adventurous

character. In this war many hundred thousands of people were killed, milliards of dollars of losses were caused and hundreds of thousands of people were handicapped, wounded, taken captives or driven out of their houses.

- 11. One of the prominent and admirable signs of Imam Khomeini's clear-sightedness and sharp political smelling sense was his explicit foretelling and obvious attitude in his message to Gorbachev on 1/1/1988, in which he prophesied the dispersion of the great Soviet Empire and the Eastern Block, and the confinement of the Communist ideology to the museum of the world political history, under the circumstances in which the analysts were cautiously and hesitatingly looking at the beginning of the Soviet changes.
- 12. In some very rare instances in which a phrase needs a word to be completed, we add it in square brackets []. In the instances where an irrelevant sentence is to be ommitted, the ommission is denoted by three dots (...).
- 13. Imam Khomeini was deported to Turkey by the wretched regime of Pahlavi on the 13th of Aban, 1343 (Nov. 4, 1964). He was taken from Turkey to Iraq on Tuesday, 16th of Mehr, 1344. After living in exile for many years in Iraq he left for Kuwait on the 12th of Mehr, 1357, but as he was stopped at the frontier and the government of Kuwait did not let him enter this country he returned to Baghdad on the next day. The Imam migrated to France on Friday, 14th of Mehr, 1357, and finally he came back to Iran on Thursday, 12th of Bahman, 1357.
- 14. He is one of the committed struggling *Ulama*. He was the Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance for many years, and he is the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran now.
- 15. He was the only remaining son of Imam Khomeini after him. He died by the heart failure on the 26th of Isfand, 1373. Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini was, before his death, the superintendent of the holy house of Imam Khomeini (s.a.), and he directed "the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works" in publishing the works and thoughts of the great Leader of the Islamic Revolution.
- 16. This is the second hemistich of a line by Hafiz Shiraza, in which he says, referring to the six sides of his city, Shiraz:

"It is a city full of coquetry, with houris from the six sides, I am pennyless, otherwise I am the buyer of all the six."

- 17. This is a hemistich of a line by Sadi which says: Have you ever heard of an absent present? I am among the gathering but my heart is elsewhere.
 - 18. Ilm al-Yaqin, vol. 1,p. 54, Object One, Sec. 3, Ch. 5.
- 19. He is Mirza Muhammad, son of Muhammad Jawad Husaynabadi, Isfahani, Shahabadi (1292-1369 A.H.), a faqih, versed in Usul, a gnostic and a prominent philosopher of the 14th century. He was Imam Khomeini's tutor of gnosticism and ethics. He studied at the Hawzahs in Isfahan, Tehran and Najaf, under great teachers such as Mirza Hashim Chaharsuqi, Mirza Hashim Eshkawari, Akhund Khorasani and Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shiraza. He taught in Qum and Tehran. The Imam used to refer to him with great respect. He has written works like: Shadharatul Maarif, [Fragments of Knowledge], Al-Insan wal-Fitrah [Man and Innateness], al-Quran wal-Itrah [The Quran and the Progeny of the Prophet], Al-Imam war-Rahmah [Faith and Mercy], Manazil as-Salikin [The Stages of the Disciples] and a Commentary on al-Kifayah.
- 20. Imam Jafar ibn Muhammad, as-Sadiq (a), is the sixth Imam of the Shiites in the world. (83-148 A.H.). The role of that great man in reviving the original Islamic learnings was in establishing numerous teaching centres to teach and educate believing people. The situation during his life was so exceptional that the creed of Shiism was attributed to him and called: The Jafari Sect.
- 21. Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (a) said: "Knowledge is Allah's Essence, and so is power."

Usul al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 107, Chapter on "Allah's Attributes of Essence."

- 22. Misbah al-Uns, pp. 130-131. Naqd an-Nusus, ch. 2, pp. 38-39.
- 23. Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (a) was quoted to have said: "Allah, the Exalted and Glorious, has been our Lord throughout eternity, with knowledge being His Essence when there was nothing to be known, and hearing was His Essence when there was nothing to be heard, seeing was His Essence when there was nothing to be seen..." *Usul al-Kafi*, vol.l,p. 107, the Book of Monotheism, Ch. on Attributes of Essence, *hadith* No.1.
 - 24. "... and hearing on the audible and seeing on the visible." Ibid.
- 25. Yahya ibn Habash, Shahab ad-Din as-Sohrawardi, known as Shaykh al-Ishraq [Master of Illuminism], is a philosopler of the sixth century A.H. He is also known as The Murdered Shaykh or The Murdered Philosopher. He revived the Illuminism school of thought. He was killed in the age of 36 in the year 581 A.H. Of his works: *The Philosophy of*

Illuminism, the Garden of the Hearts, the Divine Illuminations, the Melody of Gabriel's Wings.

- 26. In the Arabic Language "مَنْ man" is "who" for human being, and الله ma" means "which" for other beings. The blessed *ayah* uses الم, denoting that all beings glorify Allah, not just a particular group of them.
- 27. It is a reference to the narrative which reads: "Allah, the Exalted, did not create a creature more hated to Him than the low world, and ever since He created it He did not look at it". *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol.70, p.110. *Ihya' al-Ulum*, vol. 3, p. 198.
 - 28. *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p. 971.
- 29. Imam as-Sadiq (a) said: "The *Barzakh* of the grave is the reward and the punishment between this world and the next." *Tafsir-e Imamuth-Thaqalayn*, vol. 3, p. 553. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 6, p. 218, ch. on "The Conditions of the *Barzakh*", *hadith* No. 12.
 - 30. Sharh al-Asfar, pp. 917-21.
 - 31. Bihar al-Anwar, vol.8, p. 305. Tafsir-e Burhan, vol. 4, p. 379.
- 32.Shu`ayb [Jethro] was the offspring of the Prophet *Ibrahim* (a), who, according to the narratives, lived after Hud and Salih, and a little before Moses (a). His people dwelt in a place near Tabuk, between al-Madinah and ash-Sham. Shuayb and his people are referred to in the Quran as "Bani Madyan".
- 33. Quraysh is an important Arab tribe, the second clan of the family of Nasir ibn Kinanah. This tribe was known among the Arabs as an honourable and noble one. Its chiefs were the custodians of *Kabah*, which was an idol-temple in pre-Islamic era. Bani Hashem (The Prophet's clan) and Bani Abbas were of this tribe.
- 34. "Suffah" is a roofed platform. The Prophet (s) built such a platform adjacent to the mosque of Quba for his needy supporters and a group of the Muslims of Mecca who forsook their properties and wealth there and migrated to al-Madinah. These groups were called "the dwellers of the Suffah" (the people of the Suffah). After the conclusion of brotherhood between the Muhajirin [the Emigrants] and the Ansar [the Supporters], a number of the people of the Suffah shared with the Ansar in their wealth.
- 35."Hadd" (Pl. hudud), in the Islamic Law refers to the corporal punishments for committing certain sins. The limit of these punishments in all instances is decided by the law.
- 36. *Tazirat* (Pl. of *tazir*) has many lexiconal meanings, including reproach, rebuke, blame, chastisement, flogging, and the like. In the Islamic jurisprudence it refers to the punishments the types of which are left to the

decision of the Islamic judge, who, taking into his consideration the convict's conditions, his offense, the situation of committing it, decides the kind of the punishment, provided it may not exceed a certain limit, such as the punishment for abusing someone and humiliating him.

- 37. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 15, p. 333.
- 38. Abutalib is the Prophet's uncle and Imam Ali's father.
- 39. On the 27th of Rajab, the honourable Prophet of Islam, Muhammad the Chosen One (s), when 40, was appointed by Allah as a Prophet, to carry on his shoulders the heavy mission of prophethood.
- 40. The Prophets Nuh [Noah] (a), *Ibrahim* [Abraham] (a), Musa [Moses] (a), Isa [Jesus] (a) and the Seal of the Prophets, Muhammad the Chosen One (s), are the five prophets who were named *Ulul-Azm* [The Possessors of Constancy], who, besides being prophets with laws, had Divine Books, too.
- 41. Abu Jafar [al-Baqir] (a) said: "Woe upon you, Qatadah! The Quran is known only to its addressee". *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol.46, p.349.
- 42. Some Quranic *Ulama*, including Imam Khomeini (s.a.) [That is, those who look at the Quran epistemically] say that the Quran had been revealed in stages, and that in the seventh stage it was revealed in the form of words so as to be suitable to be understood by the human beings.
- 43. It refers to a hadith from the Messneger (s) which says: "We did not know You as You should be, and we did not worship You as You should be". *Mirat al-Uqul*, vol. 8, p. 146.
- 44. As in the *ayah*: "Will they not consider the camels, how they are created? And the heaven, how it is raised high? And the mountains, how they are firmly fixed? And the earth, how it is spread?" (al-Ghashiyah: 17-20)
- 45. The complete Ahmadan disclosure is the manifestation of all the truths of the Quran to the Prophet Muhammad (s). Thus, the complete Ahmadan disclosure is a stage of the revelation of the Quran. In this stage the Quran was revealed to the Prophet's heart.

This stage of disclosing the truth of the Quran is not a mental understanding. It is a case of witnessing, not by eye, but in an invisible way. Consequently, the truth of the Quran is understood only by the Prophet, and the complete Ahmadan disclosure and complete witnessing exclusively belong to him.

46. *Thaqalayn* is the dual of *thaqal*, which is exlpained in the commentaries of *hadiths* and the exegeses of the Quran, as to denote many meanings and concepts, such as "a weighty relic", "a big thing", "a heavy

- thing", "a valuable thing", "a precious and valuable deposit", etc. The *Thaqatayn* in the *hadith* refers to "The Quran" and "the Prophet's progeny".
- 47. The philosophers and the theologians have proved the necessary existence of a realm between the natural world) *mulk*) and the divine world. This realm, which is abstract and free from matter, time and place, is generally called "the Realm of *malakut*". According to the philosophers and the gnostics, as well as to the Islamic texts, the said realm consists of two stages: the upper and the lower. The upper stage is named "*al-Mlakut al-Ala*", which is the birth place of human intellect. The lower stage is called "al-*Mlakut al-Asfal*", which is said to be the realm of the imaginary ideals.
- 48. According to the *hadith* of *ath-thaqalayn*) *ath-thiqlayn*) and the commentaries on it by the commentators and men of *hadith*, "the bigger weight" [thiql Akbar] refers to the Noble Quran, and "the big weight" [thiql Kabir] to the Household of the Prophet, the pure Imams.
- 49. Philosophically speaking, "multiplicity" refers to the hierarchy of beings and the variety of the phenomena of existence, whether material or non-material. Unity is the very Divine Essence who is the origin and the beginning of the creation of the whole existence and beings. Hence, the status of the joining of multiplicity and unity is a state and a stage of the Hereafter—a state above multiplicity and below unity, a means of issuing multiplicity from unity at the beginning of creation, and of the returning of multiplicity to unity at the end of the world.
- 50. The *hadith* of Thaqalayn is one of the well-known *hadiths* which has been narrated by numerous narrators, directly quoting the Prophet (s). The plentifulness of the sources of this *hadith* even through the Sunni narrators is puzzling. From this *hadith* and similar ones several points can be deducted:
- a. As the Quran remains among the people till the Day of Resurrection, the progeny of the Prophet will also remain till that Day. That is, the earth will never, in any time, be void of an Imam and a true leader.
- b. By means of these two great trusts, the Prophet of Islam has provided for all the scholarly and and religious needs of the Muslims, introducing his offspring as the source of knowledge and religion to the Muslims.
- c. No Muslim has the right to withdraw himself from under their guidance and leadership.
- d. All the necessary knowledge and the people's religious needs are with *Ahl al-Bayt*.

- e. If the people obey *Ahl al-Bayt* and adhere to what they say, they will never go astray.
- 51. Imam ibn Hanbal's *Musnad*, vol. 3, pp. 14, 17, 26 and 59; vol. 4, pp. 367 and 371. Ad-Darimi's *Sunan*, vol. 2, p. 524, Ch. on "Fada'il al-Quran", *hadith* No. 3316. For further information concerning the succession of the *hadith*, refer to *Abaqat al-Anwar*, by Mir Hamid Husayn al-Hindi, which is written on this subject.
- 52. Sihah (pl. of Sahih) linguistically means "correct or true". The six Sihah refer to the six correct books which the Sunni Scholars have picked out of the books of hadith. These books are used by them as reference books to which they refer for deducting precepts, ideologies, tafsir and part of the history of early Islam. These books are:
- a. *Sahih al-Bukhari*, by Muhammad ibn Ismail al-Bukhari (196-256 A.H.) (812-869 A.D.) [Other years are also cited—tranlator].
- b. *Sahih Muslim*, by Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj an-Neyshaburi, known as al-Qushayri. (206-262 A.H.) (821-876 A.D.).
- c. Sunan ibn Majah, by Muhammad ibn Yazid ibn Majah. Died in 273 A.H. (886 A.D.).
- d. *Sunan Abi Dawud*, by Abu Dawud al-Bajestani, Sulayman ibn Dawud. Died in 275 A.H. (888 A.D.).
- e. *Jami at-Tirmidhi*, by Muhammad ibn Isa at-Tirmidhi. Died in 279 A.H. (892 A.D.).
- f. Sunan an-Nisai, by Ahmad ibn Shuayb an-Nisai. Died in 303 A.H. (915 A.D.).
- 53. Imam Ali (a) is the first Imam of the Shiites in the world. He was born in 600 A.D. His mother was Fatimah and his father was Abutalib, the Prophet's uncle. From his 6 years of age he lived in the house of the Prophet and was brought up there. He was the first man to adopt Islam and promised to help the Prophet (s). Early in his mission, when the Prophet was ordered by Allah to invite his family to Islam, he said: "The first one of you who announces his belief in my religion will be my successor after me". He repeated this three times. In all the three times Ali was the only one to respond to his invitation. At the night of emigration, despite Quraysh's plot to assassinate the Prophet in his bed, Ali (a) slept in the Prophet's bed, proving his loyalty to the Messenger of Allah. The Prophet announced him as his brother. Returing back from his last pilgrimage, the Prophet stopped at a place called Ghadir Khum and announced him as the leader of the Muslims after him. He was the Prophet's companion in his days of difficulties and dangers. After the departure of the Prophet (s), Imam Ali (a), for cetain

reasons, was put aside from leadership and ruling for a period of some 25 years. Along this period he was in a state of a supervisor, preventing deviations. After the murder of the third Caliph the Companions and a group of people gave him their allegience as a Caliph. The Imam's government lasted some four years and nine months, during which he redressed all that had been altered after the Prophet. The adversary elements whose interests had been endangered, raised the banner of opposition from all sides. On the pretext of avenging the third Caliph, they stirred bloody local wars which lasted during the whole period of the Imam's rule. At last they martyred this unique man of history, after the Prophet, in his *salat* altar.

Talking about the personality of Ali (a) is quite difficult. He never wasted a moment unless he spent it in serving and sacrificing in the way of Allah. In his humble clay house he brought up children like al-Hasan, al-Husayn and Zaynab (s), who left deep effect in the course of history, keeping the torch of humanity lighting in the darkness of time. They were examples for the truth-seeking people.

- 54. "Walidah "means "offsring", and "ilm al-asma" is a kind of knowledge that can be encompassed only by human beings. That is, the phrase "walidah of ilm al-asma" means the offspring of the said knowledge, i.e. man. This knowledge was offered to man so that this being may deserve being [Allah's] successor on the earth. If Allah had not taught Adam (a) the names, he would not have deserved successorship on the earth.
- 55. Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, the last king of the Pahlavi dynasty, was born in 1919. His father, Rida Khan, came to power after a coup-d'!tat. He appointed his son, Muhammad Rida, Crown Prince, who, having finished his primary studies, was sent to Switzerland to complete his studies. On his return he was sent to the military secondary school. In 1941, the Allies deposed the father, sent him to exile and appointed the son in his place. The ruling term of Muhammad Rida Shah can generally be divided into two stages: The first stage was from 1941 to 1955, during which he could not attain to a power like that of his father. The second stage was from 1955 to his fall in the year of 1978, a period of about 23 years during which he ruled Iran almost with the authorities of a tyrant and despot.
 - 56. King Fahd is the king of Saudi Arabia.
- 57. Wahhabism was founded by Muhammad ibn Abdul-Wahhab an-Najdi (late in the 12th and early in the 13th centuries A.H.). It is ascribed to the British imperialism. The Wahhabis believe that all the Islamic sects, whether Sunni or Shiite, are polytheists, infidels and are counted among the idolators. Respecting and paying homage to the graves of the Prophet and the

Imams is regarded by them to be innovation and a kind of idolatry. Depending on the wealths of the Muslims in their cultural and propagatory activities they act as the agents of the Super Powers in implementing their devastating plans.

- 58. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 58, p. 45, narrative No. 13.
- 59. Look up the *surahs* of *ash-Shuara*': 193, *an-Najm*: 5-9, *at-Takwir*: 19-24. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 56, p. 258, ch. on "The heaven and the world", Secs. On "The Angels", the last section on "describing the favourite angels.", *hadiths* No. 23 and 24.
- 60. "The Proof of Time" is the title of the 12th Imam of the Shiites, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan (may Allah hasten his advent). He was born on the 15th of Shaban, 255 A.H., from a mother called "Narjess". His Imamate started when his honourable age was not above five years. Due to the conditions of the time, and according to Allah's will, he chose occulation which is divided into two stages: the minor occultation which lasted 69 years. During this period the Imam kept his indirect communication with his people through four deputies. After that the major occultation started and is lasting until the time of his appearance and of the triumph of right over wrong comes.

In the Islamic thought, the extensive struggles of Imam Mahdi (the 12th Imam) (may Allah hasten his advent) and his final appearance are the last ring in the chain of the struggles of the people of right against the people of wrong. That is, the struggles of the people of the right will continue along history, and day after day the grounds for the victory of the right get more and more paved, until the advent of the expected Mahdi (may Allah hasten his advent), who will bring these struggles to their ultimate result, and the sun of justice and right will rise in the sky of humanity. That day will be the stage of man's mental, moral and social maturity.

61. According to the narratives related about Laylatul Qadr [The night of Glory], it is one of the three nights of 19th, 21st or 23rd of the blessed month of Ramadan. The importance, value and greatness of Laylatul Qadr exceed those of a thousand month. It is a night in which Allah, the Exalted, decides the events of a whole year till the nest Laylatul Qadr. It is the night in which, Allah says, the Quran was revealed to the honourable Prophet (s). At this night the angels and the Spirit, by Allah's permission, descend to manage an affair of the world. As the Night of Glory is the night of mercy, and as Allah pays a special attention to it, the believers are recommended to spend that night in supplication to Allah. Great men and Ulama have assigned diverse supplications and special rites for this night.

- 62. Usul al-Kafi, vol. 1, p. 123, the Ch. on at-Tawhid, hadith No. 3.
- 63. "Al-Kafi" on "hadith", known as "Kafi", is one of the four books of the Shiites. It was compiled by Muhammad ibn Yaqub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni ar-Razi (328-9 A.H.), known as "Thiqat al-Islam" [Trust of Islam]. He was one of the great Shiite traditionalists, who spent many years in compiling his great book of Al-Kafi in three parts: Usul, Furu and Rawdah. This work is in 34 books, 326 chapters and covers 16000 hadihs.
- 64. *Nafilah* is a devotional act which is not *wajib*, such as the *nafilah salats* which are supererogatory.
- 65. Zakat is the Islamic tax which is imposed, under certain conditions, on nine items: camels, cows, sheep (the three cattles), gold, silver (the two currencies), wheat, barley, dates and raisins (the four crops). There is another kind of zakat called the fitrah zakat. It is a tax which becomes due at the night of Id al-fitr. Its amount equals 3 kilos of one's common food, or its value.
- 66. *Khums* is a *wajib* duty in Islam. It is levied on seven items, under certain conditions: (1) war spoils taken from the *harbi* disbelievers fighting with Muslims; (2) mines; (3) treasures, i.e. buried wealth; (4) valuable things obtained from the sea, such as pearls and corals got by diving; (5) *halal* and *haram* wealth mixed together such that one cannot tell which is which, and the amount which belongs to the possessor is unknown; (6) the land bought by a *dhimmi* disbeliever from a Muslim; (7) the surplus over one's yearly expenditure.
- 67. It refers to a *hadith* by the Messenger of Allah (s) in which he says: "Then he is told: Read and ascend' "*Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 2, p. 604, ch. on "The merit of the Quran", sec. "The merit of the carrier of the Quran", *hadith* No. 4. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 7, p. 293. *Tafsir as-Safi*, vol. 1, p. 68, Preface No. 10.
 - 68. The poet Hafiz says:

Between the lover and the beloved there is no barrier,

You are your own veil, get out, Hafiz.

- 69. Muhammad Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Arabi (560-638 A.H.), the greatest gnostic of the seventh century A.H., and one of the great Islamic gnostics. He was known as: "Ibn Arabi", "Muhiyddin" and "The Greater Shaykh". His commentaries on the Quran are found in his *Tafsir al-Quran* and *al-Futuhat al-Makkiyah*.
- 70. Mulla Abdur-Razzaq ibn Jamaluddin (Jalaluddin) Ishaq Kashani Samarqandi, known as kamaluddin, was of the well-known gnostics of the eighth century A.H. He was one of the famous explainers of al-Fusus. His

Quranic commentaries are found in his work called *Ta'wil al-Ayat* or *Ta'wil al-Quran*.

- 71. Sultan Muhammad ibn Haydar al-Janabudhi al-Khurasani, known as Sultan Alishah, was one of the gnostics and Sufists of the fourteenth century A.H. His exegesis is called *Bayan as-Saadah fi Maqamat al-Ibadah*, which is full of allegories together with philosophic discussions. It is printed in four volumes in 1965 A.D., by Tehran University Press.
- 72. Tantawi ibn Jawhar, the Egyptian, (1287-1358 A.H.). He was an Egyption scholar and a professor at *Dar al-Ulum* of Cairo. His exegesis is called *Al-Jawahir fi Tafsir al-Quran al-Karim*. In his exegesis he is concerned with the precepts needed by the Muslims, including ethics. But the most important characteristic of his *tafsir* is his scientific comments in which he applies some 750 *ayahs* of the Quran to some matters of the natural sciences.
- 73. Sayyid ibn Qutub ibn Ibrahim. A Muslim Eygptian thinker of the 14th century A.H. An Egyption writer and a teacher of the Arabic Language. He was a member of the "Muslim Brotherhood" movement and the Chief editor of its organ. The government of Jamal Abd al-Nasir arrested, imprisoned and executed him. He wrote a number of works in respect of the Quran, such as *At-Taswir al-Fanni fil Quran, Scenes of the Resurrection in the Quran*, and *Fi Zilal al-Quran*, which is a commentary on the Quran, in which he pays special attention to social discussions.
- 74. Majma al-Bayan fi Tafsir al-Quran, by Abu Ali Fadl ibn Hasan ibn Fadl at-Tabarsi (472-552 or 548 A.H.). He was a commentator of the Quran and a great jurisprudent of the sixth century A.H. In his valuable exegesis he offers literary discussions, recitations of the Quran, and quotations from the commentators, throwing light on the concepts of the ayahs of the Quran.
 - 75. Refer to footnote No. 41.
- 76. Imam Muhammad ibn Ali, al-Baqir (a), the fifth Imam of the Shiites in the world, was born in 57 A.H. and was martyred in 114 A.H. His honourable mother was Fatimah the daughter of Imam Hasan ibn Ali (a). He lived 57 years and his Imamate lasted for 19 years.
- 77. As-Samad: The One who is sought for help in exigencies. Look up *Surah al-Ikhlas* of the Quran. [Translator].
- 78. Muhammad Ali Sakkaki was a scholar, *faqih* and a connoisseur in diverse branches of knowledge in his time. He was a teacher. He bade the good and forbade the bad. He did his best to educate and guide the people, inviting them to whatever leads to man's salvation and moral tranquillity.

When the seditious Afghans controlled Shiraz in 1135 A.H. he was martyred in an age of 60 years and was buried in his house. The Shaykh was his teacher. His name was Shah Muhammad Shirazi. He wrote "Sharh-e Sahifeh", with the pen name of Arif. He lived for about 130 years.

79. Abu Bishr Amr ibn Uthman ibn Qanbar, titled Sibawayh (148-180 A.H.) (765-796 A.D.), was the most learned man at the Arabic grammar, and was regarded the head of the Basri school of grammar. He wrote his well-known book, *al-Kitab*, on grammar. His grave is in Sang Siyah quarter in Shiraz.

Khalil ibn Ahmad al-Farahidi al-Azdi (102-175 A.H.) (718-791 A.D.), was a founder of the Arabic grammar and prosody. He wrote "al-Ayn", the first Arabic lexicon.

80. Shamsuddin Abul Abbas Ahmad ibn *Ibrahim* al-Barmaki ash-Shafii, known as Ibn Khillakan, is a famous scholar (608-681 A.H.). Having finished his studies in his birthplace, he travelled to Aleppo then to Damascus. He was appointed as the Head of the Judges in ash-Sham for a while, then he resigned. His book *Wafayatul Ayan* is a biographical work.

Abul Husayn Ali ibn Husayn, titled al-Masudi, was a great historian in the early years of the fourth century (died in 344 or 346 A.H.). Among his works are: *Murujudh-Dhahab* and *Tanbihul Ashraf*. He died in al-Fistat, Egypt.

- 81. A narrative from the Nohle Messenger (s). *Usul al-Kafi*, ch. on "The Merit of Knowledge", sec. "Property and Merit of knowledge", *hadith* No. 1.
- 82. A narrative from Imam as-Sadiq (a). *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 89, p. 95, "The Book of the Quran", Ch.8, *hadith* No. 48, quoted from al-Agyashi's *tafsir*.
- 83. A narative from Imam as-Sajjad (a). *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 2, p. 303, "The Book of Knowledge", *hadith* No. 41, quoted from *Kamaluddin*.
- 84. Abu Abdullah (a) said: "A guileless heart is that in which there is none other than Allah when it meets Him." *Usul al-Kafi*, the "Book of Faith and Disbelief", Ch. "Sincerity", *hadith* No. 5.
- 85. A narrative from the Noble Messenger (s). *Imamuth-Thaqalayn*, vol. 1, p. 350 (with a slight verbal difference).
- 86. Khwajah Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Ansari al-Hirawi (396-481 A.H.) was a great traditionalist and a gnostic. He showed attachment to Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan al-Kharaqani, whom he succeeded. Of his works are: *Manazilus-Sa'irin, Zadul-Arifin* and *Resaleyeh Dil wa Jan*.

- 87. Manazilus-Sa'irin, the section of the beginnings, Ch. on "Reflection".
- 88. "Learn the Quran for it is the best of discourses, and understand it thoroughly for it is the Spring of the hearts, and seek cure with its light for it is the cure for the hearts..."

Imam Ali (a) in Nahj al-Balaghah, Ser. 109.

- 89. "Ghadir" is the name of a pool in a place called "Khum" between Mecca and al-Madinah. The honourable Prophet (s), on his return from his Farewell Pilgrimage on the 18th of Dhul-Hijjah, 10 A.H., stopped in this place, ascended a *minbar* of camel-saddles and delivered a speech. Then he raised Ali's arm and said: "Whomever I am a guardian, Ali is his guardian, too. O Allah, befriend whomever befriends him and be enemy to whoever is his enemy". The companions and those present there came in groups to congratulate Imam Ali on being appointed as the believer's guardian and leader. Hence, the Muslims all over the world celebrate this day every year as the greatest religious feast by way of paying homage to the state of guardianship. The Muslims, on meeting one another on this day, say: "praise be to Allah for putting us among those who hold fast to the guardianship of Ali ibn Abitalib".
- 90. The *dua* of Kumayl is one of the well-known invocations with high concepts. According to the relevant narratives, it belongs to *al-Khidr* (a) and which Ali (a) (the first Imam of the Shiites of the world) taught to Kumayl ibn Ziyad, who was a close companion of the Imam. Kumayl's *dua* is recited on Thursday nights and the night of the middle of Shaban (the birthday of the 12th Imam—may Allah hasten his advent—the Expected al-Mahdi), for protection against the enemies' evils, opening the doors of Allah's sustenance, and forgiving the sins.
- 91. "O my God and Master...", an expression from Kumayl's *dua* . *Mafatih al-Jinan*, by Haj Shaykh Abbas Qummi.
- 92. A narrative from the noble Messenger. *Al-Mustadrak*, vol. 3, p. 34. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 39, p. 1 and 2.
- 93. Nahj al-Balaghah, which means "The open road to eloquence", is a collected selections of the sayings of Amirul Mu`minin Ali (a), compiled by ash-Sharif ar-Radi Muhammad ibn Husayn (died in 406 A.H., 1016 A.D.). The great men of religion take Nahj al-Balaghah to be "the brother of the Quran". The subject matters of this book revolve around three principal topics: Allah, the universe and man. The contents cover scientific, literary, religious, social, ethical and political questions. After the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet (s), no speech more eloquent and expressive than that

had ever been shown. So far more than one hundred and one commentaries of *Nahj al-Balaghah* have been published, a fact which denotes the importance of this book to the people of knowledge, research and study.

94. Fatimah (a), nicknamed Siddiqah, the daughter of the great Prophet of Islam (s), wife to Ali (a) (the man of justice and piety and the first Imam of the Shiites), the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husayn (a), the second and the third Imams of the Shiites, was born in the fifth year of the *Bithah* in Mecca. Stating the characteristics and merits of Fatimah, the great lady of Islam and the example of a Muslim woman, is out of the capacity of this discussion. Her great attachment and love to her father were such that she was described as "the mother of her father". She accompanied her father and her husband in the most hilarious and eventful stages of their lives. Because of having to endure so much difficulties and hardship after the demise of the Prophet (s), she hurried, in the prime of youth, to the eternal life.

95. *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 2. pp. 355-6, "The Book of the Proof", Ch. on "The Birth of az-Zahra, Fatimah (a), *hadith* No. 1.

96. Mujtaba [the chosen] is a title given to Imam Hasan (a), the second Imam of the Shiites in the world. Abu Muhammad Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abitalib (a), was born in the year 3 A.H., and in the year 50 A.H. he was posioned and martyred. He was born in al-Madinah. His mother was Fatimah the daughter of the Prophet (s). In the year of 40 A.H., after the martyrdom of his father, he succeeded him and was given the *bay`ah* as Calip. He and his followers intended to war with Muawiyah. The two armies met at a place near al-Anbar, but no war took place and a peace agreement was concluded. Due to the disloyalty of his followers and the fewness of his loyal supporters, he gave up open caliphate. He returned to al-Madinah and was poisoned and martyred there.

Imam Hasan (s) undertook the responsibity of the Caliphate in a disturbed and restless atmosphere, and under very complicated and stressed situation which had taken place late during the life of his father. After the conclusion of the peace agreement with Muawiyeh and quitting the government, he turned to the errand of changing the nation and protecting it against the dangers which were threatening it. Undertaking this positive role and his move in the eventful scene enhanced the illegal government of Muawiyeh to keep an eye on the Imam (a). Poisoning him is a clear evidence of the Imam's efforts and attempts to stir the people and waken them up.

97. "Master of the Martyrs" is a title given to Imam Husayn (a), son of Amir al-Muminin Ali (a) and Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet (s). He is

the third Imam of the Shiites. He was born in the fourth year A.H. (625 A.D.) in al-Madinah.

His being brought up in the lap of the Prophet (s), his father's teaching him and his continual presence in the military and political events of the early years of Islam, displayed his excellent personality. In 61 A.H., although he had a few number of followers, he rose against the government of Yazid ibn Muawiyah. The encounter between the Imam's forces with Yazid's many thousands of soldiers, led to the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (a) together with his sons and followers whose number did not exceed 72 persons.

98. The Imam's invocation of Shaban: This supplication, due to its rich contents and numerous concepts, was repeatedly recited by Imam Ali (a), his sons and all the immaculate Imams, in the month of Shaban. Imam Khomeini (s.a.) repeatedly recommended reciting it all along his blessed life. To know its importance it is enough just to say that there were only very few supplications and invocations which were said to have been recited by all the Imams, through which they used to communicate with Allah.

99. Imam Husayn's *dua* of Arafat: Arafat is a pilgrimage place near Mecca, to which the pilgrims go on the nineth day of Dhul-Hijjah. This *dua* is ascribed to Imam Husayn. It was recited by him and by Imam as-Sajjad (a) on the nineth day of Dhul-Hijjah in the desert of Arafat. The said *dua* exposes the devotional supplication of the leader of the freemen and the Master of the Martyrs with his worshipped One, the only Creator. The Arafat *dua*, like other *duas* of the immaculate Imams (a), covers lofty concepts.

100. Owing to the despotic rule of tyrant rulers, a collection of the directions of Imam as-Sajjad (a), the fourth Imam of the world Shiites, were published in the form of *duas*. *As-Sahifah as-Sajjadiyyah*, consists of 52 *duas* and represents a sort of encyclopedia which has always, along the Shiite history, been inspiring the scholars and those who are in quest of truth, and is regarded as a great educational method left from him.

Zabur is the name of a divine Book which was revealed to Dawud [David] (a) who was one of the great divine prophets. It included much knowledge and precepts.

As-Sahifah as-Sajjadiyyah, which contains important subjects, rich contents and deep and subtle concepts, was given many nicknames by the experts in the learnings of Ahl al-Bayt. One of them is: Zabur Al-e Muhammad.

101. Linguistically, *Sahifeh* means a letter or a book. *Fatimiyyah* is the name of the realities and changes which are ascribed to Fatimah (a).

Sahifeh-ye Fatimiyyah was a book related to Fatimah (a) and her loyal husband, Ali (a), the first Imam of the world Shiites. This book contained the news and the future events of the world. It was kept with the Imams (a). The size of this book, as the narratives say, was three times as large as the Quran.

102. The Jafari sect is the sect asscribed to Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (a), the sixth Imam of the world Shiites. Ascribing the Shiite sect to Jafar ibn Muhammad as-Sadiq (a) was because this great Imam lived longer than any other Imam. Consequently he had the opportunity of being more active, especially because of the weakness and the chaos in the Caliphate due to the clashes between the two Ummiad and `Abbaside dynasties. In such situation the Imam got more time for teaching and arguing, and educating the loyal and believing elements, and he established a theologian *hawzah* to spread the facts of Islam.

103. Nahj al-Balaghah, letter No. 45 addressed to Uthman ibn Hunayf.

104. The disturbed situation in Iran in the late 19th century and in early 20th century, and the harassment of the people by the despotism and injustice of the rulers, the agents of the tyrants and the aggressive government, weakness and inefficiency of Muzaffaruddin Shah Qajar, the king of the time, in managing the country's affairs, and, on the other side, the wakefulness and the ever-increasing awareness of the people, and the rise of the *Ulama* and the theologians, all had paved the way for a revolution which was called "The Constitutional Uprising". After lengthy struggles and fightings, at last, in 1324 A.H. (1906 A.D.), it was victorious.

Despite the fact that uprising was not guided into the right path, yet it was great change in the social construction, destroying the class privilege, pulling down the fortress of power of the courtiers and feudal lords, and the establishment of Law and justice.

But the influence of the Westernized elements and dismissing the *Ulama* out of the fields of politics and governing, prevented the Constitutional Uprising from attaining to the wanted result, as with the coup d'!tat of Rida Khan, the father of the ex-Shah of Iran, the hereditary regime of kingship came to power once again.

105. During the years 1308 and 1309 A.H. (1891-1892 A.D.) a movement took place in Iran against granting a tobacco monopoly concession to a British Company. It was the successful movement of the people in the new history of Iran, which defeated the government and caused the victory of the opposers who demanded the complete cancellation of that concession.

The *fatwa* concerning prohibiting tobacco issued by the religious authority of the time, ayatullah Mirza Shirazi, united the *Ulama* and the people in the uprising which they had already started, and strengthened them. Nasiruddin Shah, the then ruler, seeing the ever-increasing opposition of the people, had but to cancel the agreement and to pay the fine to the company.

- 106. Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 70, p. 110. Ihya' al-Ulum, vol. 3, p. 198.
- 107. *Al-Kafi in Hadith* is one of the four valuable books of the Shiites, by thiqat al-Islam Muhammad ibn Yaqub al-Kulayni (d.328 A.H.). The book contains 34 sections (or books) and 326 chapters, and covers 16000 *hadiths*, which exceed the *hadiths* of the Sunni six *Sihahs* by 199 *hadiths*.
- 108. *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 1, pp. 76-80. "The Book on the Merits of Knowledge", Ch. on "Referring to the Book and the *Sunnah*... and all that is needed by the people..."
 - 109. Ibid., pp. 76-77, hadith No. 1.
- 110. The *jizyah* is a tax which was taken from *ahl al-Kitab* [the people of the Book], i.e. the Jews and the Christians for living in the Islamic country. It was imposed either on the individuals or on their lands annually. Its amount was decided by the Islamic ruler who takes certain conditions into his consideration for that purpose. *Jawahir al- Kalam*, vol. 21, p. 227. *Tahrir al-Wasilah*, vol. 2, pp. 448-450.
- 111. *Ahludh-Dhimmah*: The followers of the heavenly Books, who, by concluding an agreement with the Muslims, can live in the Islamic society and under their protection.
- 112. *Diyah* is the bloodmoney paid by the killer or his family to make up for the murder.
- 113. *Hudud*, in the Islamic Law, are the bodily punishments inflicted because of particular disobediences, and are decided by the religious authorities.
- 114. *Qisas*, in the Islamic *fiqh*, is punishing the convict, according to law, by inflicting on him the like of the same crime, be it murder, cutting an organ, beating or injuring, he had committed against the victim, in case the victim or his guardians demand the *qisas*, refusing to take bloodmoney. Re: *Sharh al-Lumah*, vol. 2, p. 372. *Riyad al-Masa'il*, vol. 2, Ch. "al-qisas".
 - 115. Kashf al-Ghummah, vol. 2, p. 109.
 - 116. Nahj al-Balaghah, Letter No. 47.
 - 117. Ibid., Sermon No. 3.
- 118. It must be explained that restricting lawgiving to Allah, the Exalted, does not contradict planning procedures and enacting regulations for the purpose of implementing the divine laws by means of assemblies like the

Islamic Consultative Assembly in Iran, although these regulations are conventionally referred to as laws. In such assemblies, unlike the common legislative assemblies, the principles and the laws of the sacred Islam are the foundation of every ratification and law, and the representatives cannot legislate any law not based on these criterions. In order to ensure this aim, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran enjoined the formation of the Council of Guardians, according to whose decision the laws which are contradictory to the criterions of the sacred Islamic laws, or the Constitution, are returned to the Assembly for amendment.

- 119. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon No. 33.
- 120. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon No. 131.
- 121. *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 25, p. 116. *Nahj al-Balaghah* Sermon No. 172. *Al-Ihtijaj*, vol. 1, p. 229.
- 122. Mustadrak al-Wasa'il, vol. 17, p. 321. "Kitab al-Qada", chapters on "Sifat al-Qadi", ch.11, hadith No. 33.
- 123. Ayatuallah Haj Shaykh Ali Meshkini is one of the committed struggling *Ulama*. He is, at present, the chairman of the Experts Council and the Leader of the *Jumu`ah Salat* in the city of Qum.
- 124. According to the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the country's affairs should be managed depending on public opinions through general elections of the President of the Republic, the *Majlis* deputies and the members of the councils.

In cases when it would not be possible to obtain the opinions of the majority of the people, or when arriving at a result requires discussions and debates, the people elect their trusted experts, who assemble in a place called "The Experts Council", where they discuss the subject in question, the same as the Experts of the Constitution and the Experts of Leadership, etc.

- 125. A *wajib ayni* is a duty which is incombent upon every adult, and if somebody could do it, others would not be relieved from this obligation, like *salat*, fasting, etc.
- 126. A *wajib kafa'i* is a duty whose performance is important, no matter who performs it. So, if somebody did it, others would be relieved from doing it, such as bidding unto honour and forbidding dishonour, ceremonial washing and shrouding the dead, and performing *mayyit salat*.
- 127. The reference is to the years of the rule of the Pahlavi dynasty: Rida Khan 20 years and Muhammad Rida 37 years, making a total of 57 years.
 - 128. Rida Khan and his son Muhammad Rida Pahlavi.
 - 129. During Rida Khan's government in Iran.

130. Rida Khan.

131. After the Constitutional Revolution, and as from 1306 A.H. [1927 A.D.], there were talks about unveiling the women in the circles close to Rida Khan, such that in celebrating the new [Iranian] year, Rida Khan's wife and daughters appeared in public unveiled. As to the Law of "kashf-e hijab" [unveiling], after the return of Rida Khan from Turkey in 1313, it was enacted on the 17th of Day, 1314, [1935]. On that day Rida Khan together with his unveiled wife and two daughters, the ministers and their wives, also unveiled, attended the meeting for the inauguration of the preliminary teachers' college. Rida Khan, addressing the women in that meeting, said: "We have broken the bars of the prison! Now it is up to the very prisoner, who has been set free, to construct a beautiful house for herself instead of the cage".

132. "Land reforms" was one of the main principles of the new imperialistic policy which was applied, in a somewhat unified method, in all the countries under the control of imperialism, from Latin America up to Asia and Africa, by means of the governments of those countries. The Shah, in order to attract the confidence of the American Capitalists, and to show his approval and cooperation with the new strategy, and to open new markets in the face of the Western economy, and, on the other hand, to lessen the graveness of internal situation, and to prevent the spread of discontent among the people, which threatened to cause social explosions, he presented the program of "Land Reforms" as the first principle of the six-principled "The Shah and the People Revolution", leading the country's economy to bankruptcy.

"Land Reforms" In Iran, which was accompanied by foreign investments, mostly American, in commerce and affiliated industries, caused grave afflictions upon agriculture in Iran, such that the country which was an exporter of wheat became, within a few years, an importer of wheat. On the otehr band, due to the migration of the peasants to the towns to be cheap hands in industries or in the dependent services, within eleven years 20,000 villages became empty from dwellers.

133. The Pahlavi regime

134. This is a hint at the speech delivered by Carter, President of the USA, in which he, by way of justifying America's support to the Shah, said that Iran was powerful, independent and steadfast, and that he could not tolerate some mean vagabonds who want to overthrow the Shah.

135. A maxim from Imam Ali (a): Ghurar al-Hikam, vol. 7, p. 269.

- 136. Taking into consideration the date of the speech, it is a reference to the two years passed over the Revalution, during which the nation of Iran resisted all kinds of the enemies' conspiracies planned to defeat the Revolution.
- 137. Sahihah is a term referring to narration. A narrative is called a Sahihah if all the narrators of the chain of its authorities, up to the infallible, are of the Imamis (the 12-Imami Shiah) and are trusted and reliable (their equitableness is confirmed).

Abdullah ibn Sinan was a narrator quoting from Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (a).

138. *Hasanah* is a term referring to narration. A narrative iscalled *Hasanah* if all its narrators are Imamis, but one or a number of them are not known to be equitable, though praised and recommended.

Abu Ali, Zurarah ibn Ayun ibn Sunsun Sheybani. His name is Abdu Rabbih, and Zurarah is his cognomen. His other cognomen is Abul-Hasan. He was a tabii (a follower of a Companion of the Prophet), a traditionalist and an Imami *faqih*, and quoted from the Imams al-Baqir, as-Sadiq and Musa al-Kazim (a). He wrote a book under the title *Ability and Constraint*. He lived ninety years and died in the year 150 A.H.

- 139. The noble Prophet (s) said: "Every infant is born with a (natural) *fitrah*, then its parents turn it to a Jew, a Christian or a Magian." *Awali al-Laali*, vol. 1, p. 35, Ch.4, *hadith* No. 18.
 - 140. He was referred to in footnote No. 19.

The Imam's speech was delivered during the life of the late Shahabadi.

141. It refers to a line of poetry from Hafiz, the well-known Persian poet. The full line reads:

It is a city full of coquetry, with houris from the six sides,

I am penniless; otherwise I am the buyer of all the six.

142. A line of poetry form the famous Persian poet Sadi. The line reads:

Have you ever heard of a present absent one?

I am among the gathering, but my heart is elsewhere.

- 143. *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 1, p. 54, Object One, Sec. 3, Ch. 5.
- 144. A reference to Ayatullah Shahabadi, the Imam's tutor in gnosticism.
- 145. Abu Jahl means "The father of ignorance." It is an agnomen which the Prophet (s) and the early Muslims gave to `Amr ibn Hisham ibn Mughirah, Abul-Hikam. He fought against Islam.

146. A hemistich of a line of poetry by Mawlawi:

Once again I draw nearer than an angel,

I become that which appears not to your fancy!

147. Refer to footnote No. 5.

148. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon No. 167.

149. It refers to a line of poetry by Mawlawi:

We are doctors, disciples of Allah,

The Red Sea saw us and splited.

150. He refers to his gnostic tutor, Ayatullah Muhammad Ali Shahabadi.

151. Martyr Professor Murtada Mutahhari was a man of religion, a committed and hard striver, who played a most effective role in introducing the real features of Islam. His numerous speeches about diverse religious topics, his powerful pen in writing essays and books for different classes of people, have great influence on the theological *hawzahs* and the universities.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, he was assigned by the Great Leader of the Revolution to preside over the "Revolution Council". On the 12th of Ordibehesht, 1358 solar Hijri year (May 2, 1979), he was assassinated by one of the terroristic group, "Furqan".

Martyr Mutahhari's works exceed 50 books and tens of essays and recorded tapes. Imam Khomeini (may Allah sanctify his grave) said about this martyr's works:

"His works, pen and speeches were, without exception, teaching and animating... I advice the the students and the committed enlightened class not to let the works of this dear master be forgotten through non-Islamic intrigues."

Martyr Mutahhari was one of the prominent students of Imam Khomeini. He spent many years learning at his hands *fiqh*, *usul*, philosophy, ethics and gnosticism.

152. Rida Khan, the father of the previous Shah of Iran (Muhammad Rida), conducted a coup d'Itat in the year of 1299 (1920) according to the British plans, and in the year of 1304 (1925) came to the throne. His first act after coming to authority was prohibiting teaching the Quran, religious instructions and performing congregational *salats* in the schools. He also prohibited the observance of the religious ceremonies all over the country, including holding mourning meetings for the martyrdom of Husayn ibn Ali (a). Even the usual mourning gatherings for diseased people were ordered to be limited and according to regulations.

153. Mudarris was one of the freedom-seeking heroes, and of the *Ulama* fighting for independence and against despotism, in the history of Iran. He was born in the year 1287 L.H. (Lunar Hijry) in a village near Ardistan. He spent his primary studies in Isfahan, and his high studies in an-Najaf al-Ashraf (in Iraq). His simple language, popularity, kind conduct and temperament, and his simple way of living, placed him in the position of a leader and a guide for the people.

During the second term of the legislation of the parliament, in 1328 L.H. he was elected by the *Ulama* of an-Najaf al-Ashraf and of Iran as one of the five *mujtahids* supervising the legislation of the parliament. After the termination of the second term of the parliament, he was elected by the people of Tehran as their representative in the parliament.

Due to his opposing the governments' dependance on the foreigners and their treacherous and anti-national acts, and due to his opposition to the treacherous treaty of 1919 of the Iranian government with Britain, and preventing it to pass through the parliament, he and his supporters were arrested at the orders of the British government, imprisoned and tortured by the commander of the Gazzaqs, Rida Khan. But, owing to the ever-increasing pressure of the people, he was released after three months' imprisonment.

Mudarris' divulgings in the parliament of Rida Khan's plans dictated by the British authorities, made him one of the most stubborn anti-imperialistic and anti-despotism figures. The foreigners and the proforeigners who were horrified by Mudarris' influence, and their plots to assassinate him failed one after the other, they decided to silence that loud voice advocating freedom and Islam. They prepared the ground to arrest and exile him. On a day of the month of Ramadan in the year of 1316 S.H. (Solar Hijry) they poisoned this fasting great man, and then they strangled him.

154. The late Shaykh Fadlullah Imami the Tehrani, was a *mujtahid*, a *faqih* and a Shiite Scholar, assassinated on 13 Rajab, 1327 A.H. He was versed in *fiqh*, *usul* and rejal, and his tutor Haj Mirza Muhammad Hasan Shirazi. He became a *marja* in Tehran. Some adherents to the Constitutional Revolution accused him of being against their Revolution and hanged him. He compiled a book of the supplications of the Awaited-for Imam, called *Sahifeh-ye Mahdawiyyah* or *Sahifeh-ye Qa'imiyyah*. He was burried in the yard of the Shrine of Masumah (a) in Qum.

155. After the World War I, and the collaspe of the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Kamal Ataturk established the Republic of Turkey. During his rule he, under the name of reconstructing the country, promoted the Eastern culture and thoughts, and at the same time strongly weakened the

religious beliefs and the Islamic history and culture. He raised the slogan of separating religion from politics, and he changed the Arabic alphabet to Latin characters, replaced the traditional Turkish clothes and head covering by that of the West, and disrespected religion and religious beliefs and mosques. Rida Khan in Iran enforced similar procedures.

156. Sayyid Hasan Taqizadeh was born in the year 1295 L.H. in Tabriz. He spent some years after 1321 L.H. abroad where he was influenced by the Western culture. After the Constitutional Struggle he was elected to the parliament. In the event of bombarding the Parliament he took refuge in the British Embassy, then he could run away safely. During the Second Parliament he waged imprudent attacks on the religious beliefs and called upon the people to follow the Western ways of life. Consequently it was spread that the *Ulama* of Najaf had issued their judgment that he was unfit to be a deputy in the Parliament. So, he left the country and for two years he stayed in Europe and America. During the rule of Rida Khan, he, as the Minister of Finance, arranged an agreement with Britain concerning oil and presented it to the Parliament, and thus he appointed Britain as the absolute governor over Iran's oil for 32 years. This brought him a defamatory and low reputation. He was of the famous Westernized individuals who played an effective role in promoting the Western culture and beliefs. His well-known expression: "For saving the country and its progress we must from top to toe be Westernized", is a clear evidence of his extreme Westernization.

157. Ash-Shaykh ar-Ra'is Abuali Sina, the philosopher and scholar of the early year of the fifth century A.H. Besides his books on philosophy, he wrote his *qanun* on medicine which was so well-received that it was regarded a reference book in the universities of the West for long years.

158. A hemistich from Mawlawi's poetry. The line reads: The legs of the people of deduction are wooden, The wooden legs are quite weak.

That is, there are two ways leading to the truth: Reasoning and Witnessing. The followers of one way denounce the followers of the other. The said line conveys a similar meaning. It denotes that the way of reason and deduction to reach the truths resembles the wooden legs which are quite weak and breaking, whereas the way of witnessing is quite firm.

159. A book of *duas* and prayers compiled by Haj Shaykh Abbas Qummi.

160. By the "Hypocrites" he refers to the members and the partisans of *Sazman-e Mujahidin-e Khalq* [The Organization of the Popular Fighters], which was established in 1965 with the purpose of fighting against the Shah.

As the leaders of this Organization were unfamiliar with the general principles and teachings of Islam, they chose an eclectic ideology. No sooner the Islamic Revolution was victorious than the Organization turned against the Revolution and its forces. They assassinated a great number of the best servants of the people, committed men of religion and young men, and by exploding tens of bombs all over the country and burning down houses and autobuses full of innocent people, they ran streams of blood.

This group left no means unused to overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran. They were encountered by the Revolutionary forces and suppressed. A number of them ran away and left the country.

The said group, who used to boast of struggling against imperialism, and refrained from exposing themselves, are now spending their last disgraceful and defamed days in the lap of the imperialists. This terroristic group is nicknamed by our common people as "The Hypocrites", which discloses their evil characteristics.

It may be remembered that during the Iraq-Iran war, this group stood beside the Iraqi army and fought against the Islamic army.

- 161. Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (a) said: "When it is the Resurrection Day, Allah, the Exalted, will gather the people on the same grounds, and there will be errected balances in which the bloods of the martyrs will be weighed together with the ink of the scholars. The ink of the scholars will outweigh the bloods of the martyrs". *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 2, p. 14, narrative 26, Ch. 8.
- 162. For the purpose of guarding the Islamic precepts and the Constitution in the Islamic Republic of Iran, against being contradicted by the *Majlis* legislations, a Council was formed, called "Council of the Guardians", composed of 6 equitable and informed *faqihs* and 6 legal experts in different legal branches (Art. No. 91 of the Constitution). These members are elected for a period of 6 years (Art. No. 92). Without the existence of the Council of the Guardians the Majlis has no legal credibility (Art. No. 93). All the laws of the Majlis, before being finally ratified, must be sent to the Council of the Guardians so as to make sure that they are not contrary to the Islamic regulations and the Constitution (Art. No. 94).
- 163. At the time of delivering this speech by the Imam in 1358 S.H. (1979) some 52% of Iranian population were illiterate. But by establishing the Illiteracy Combating Movement, at his order, and by the great efforts exerted after the Islamic Revolution, the number of the illiterates, according to the census of 1370 (1991), was brought down to about 28%.
- 164. Actually, the universities during the Pahlavi regime were based on dependent technology and following the Western culture. The university

was a center for the parade of the imported ideologies and for washing off the brains of the youths and turning them towards more dependence on the West. Creation and innovation were less observed, and still there was no encouragement either. Consequently, during the long years of the university in Iran there was no distinguished or remarkable innovation in the fields of science and technology. During the last decade of the Pahlavi regime the universities actually changed into saloons of fashion and became empty from all kinds of religious and traditional cultures, such that only a few groups of committed students and teachers were burning out like kandles, and sometimes they resisted and fought against the debased and corrupt culture of the ruling regime and the universities, to the extent of losing their lives upon it. Against this deviational tendency there was the powerful, national and religious movement of the students which fought the disgraceful culture. The development of religious thought in the university at the hands of the committed intelligencia, (5 May 1963) led by Imam Khomeini, created eyecatching changes in the methods of the struggles of the Iranian nation. In the fifties (1970s), the two classes of the *Ulama* and the university men came close together—one of the principal desires of Imam Khomeini. At last the Pahlavi's regime was defeated, and afterwards our universities, while keeping their independence, took effective steps along the road of reconstruction and changes in the country. They regained their original historical role.

165. On 22/10/57 (12/1/1979), before the fall of the Pahlavi monarchical regime, Imam Khomeini issued a message to the people of Iran about the Islamic Revolutionary Council and its duties, in which he said: "... In accordance with the religious right and on the basis of the opinion of the decisive majority of the people in support of me, and with the purpose of implementing the nation's Islamic aims, a council, consisting of competent, committed and trustworthy Muslims, has been formed and it will start its work. The members of this Council will be introduced on the first occasion. This Council is vested with the authority to perform certain duties, including studying the establishment of an interim government and preparing the grounds for it..."

166. The Imam refers to the present Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Ayatuallah Sayyid Ali Husayni Khamene'i, who, after the demise of Imam Khomeini, was elected, by the greater majority of the members of the Experts Council, as the Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Before getting the post of Leadership, he had been elected, two times, as President of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

- 167. The "Four Books" are the most authentic sources of Shiism. These four books are: *Al-Kafi* by Muhammad ibn Yaqub al-Kulayni; *Man la Yahduruhu al-Faqih*, by Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Babawayh, the Qumi, known as as-Saduq; *al-Istibsar fi ma Ikhtalafa min al-Akhbar*, and *Tahdhib al-Ahkam fi Sharh al-Muqniah*, both by Muhammad ibn Hasan at-Tusi.
- 168. Pan Iranism means, in this intance, supporting "The Unity of all Iranians", which is a nationalistic movement, which takes ethnical, rocial and national trends to be its foundation, not the existing ideologies and humanistic beliefs.
- 169. "Fada'iyan Khalq" or "Partisans Ransoms for the people of Iran", were a group of the maxists of Iran. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution they started their political and terroistic activities against the Revolution. The background of this group goes back to the year 1966 when a Marxist group of the university students gradually deserted their orthodox Marxist positions and tended to Maoism. Despite their terroristic operations against the Shah's regime, the group's social status remained limited among the irreligious and the leftist students of the universities in Iran, and the group could find no place among the people. They demanded a quick establishment of socialism in Iran. The political and ideological crisis gradually divided them into different branches. The world crisis of Marxism and the (former) USSR strongly affected these elements, putting them under political disgrace.
- 170. The *Tudeh* Party was the oldest and the most known Marxist-Leninist organization in Iran. The Communist Party of Iran, which had announced its existence in 1920, changed its name in 1942 to "The Tudeh Party, owing to its direct connection with the (former) USSR's Information Organization, took, along its political life, attitudes which caused it to be known as "home-seller" in the Iranian community. The most important ones of these attitudes were its support of the separation of Azarbaijan and Kurdestan of Iran by the Red Army, and its support of giving the oil concession of the north of Iran to the (former) USSR. After the coup d'!tat of August 19, 1953 and the continuation of the rule of Muhammad Rida Shah, the activities of the *Tudeh* Party inside the country were stopped, and till the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, the members of the Central Committee of the *Tudeh* Party lived in Liepzig, in the (former) East Germany. By the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the grounds were paved for this Party, like other parties, to resume its activities anew. But due to its atheistic beliefs throughout its several years of propaganda, and because of its hypocritic conducts, it failed in winning a popular standing among the

people. In the year 1983, after the disclosure of the spying connection of this Party with the (former) USSR's Information Organization, the KGB, and the (former) USSR's Military Information Service, the G.R.U., the members of its Central Committee were arrested, and its underground networks were shattered away.

- 171. The traditional *figh* is the method of deducing and extracting the religious precepts from those creditable and indisputable sources of *fiqh*. The Shiite *faqihs*, as from the days of the infallible (a) till now, used to follow it. A group takes it to be contrary to progress in *fiqh*. Imam Khomeini took progress in *fiqh* to be the product of the role of time and place in *ijtihad* along the direction of the traditional *fiqh* ruling its findings.
- 172. Imam Khomeini (s.a.) believed that the method of deducing precepts should be like the method followed by the great personalities of *fiqh*, such as Shaykh Muhammad Hasan, the author of the invaluable book titled "*Jawahir al- Kalam*". In some other of his speeches the Imam referred to the method of Shaykh Ansari, another one of the great *faqihs*.
- 173. Faydiyyah is the name of a school of theology studies in Qum. It was attacked by the Shah's secret police, as a stronghold of the struggle against the Shah's regime. A number of the students were barbariously killed.
- 174. "Shaykh at-Ta'ifah", Abu Jafar, Muhammad ibn Hasan at-Tusi (385-460 A.H.), was one of the greatest scholars in the world of Islam. at-Tusi was the head of the *faqihs* and the theologians in his own time. He was also versed in literature, biography, *tafsir* and *hadiths*. His tutors were ash-Shaykh al-Mufid, as-Sayyid al-Murtada, Ibn al-Ghadairi and Ibn Abdun. He wrote the two well-known books on the Shiite traditions, *al-Istibsar* and *at-Tahdhib*, which are of the "Four Books" of the Imamis. He was also the author of *an-Nihayah* and al-*Khilaf* on the *fiqh*. He also wrote *al-Mabsut* in which he produced many branches of the *fiqh*. His other works are: *al-Fehrist in Rijal, Akhbar Marifat ar-Rijal, Uddat al-Usul, al-Ghaybah, at-Tibyan fi Tafsir al-Quran, Talkhis ash-Shafi* and *Misbah al-Mujtahid*. After the burning of his library, he moved from Baghdad to an-Najaf al-Ashraf in the year 448 A.H., where he founded the scientific *hawzah* of an-Najaf.
- 175. Ash-Shaykh Muhammad Hasan an-Najafi, known as "Sahib al-Jawahir" (d. in the month of Shaban, 1266 A.H.). He was one of the great Imami faqihs and marjas of the Shiites. His epithet "Sahib al-Jawahir" came from his invaluable book Jawahir al-Kalam which is on questions and topics of fiqh.

176. Ash-Shaykh Murtada al-Ansari (1214-1281 A.H.), known as "khatam al-fuqaha wal-mujtahidin" [The Seal of the faqihs and the mujtahids], was one of the grandsons of Jabir ibn Abdullah al-Ansari, the Companion of the Prophet (s). He was one of the geniuses in the science of al-Usul, who brought about a great change in this art. His opinions, theories and works are, till now, still being discussed and studied by the great scholars of fiqh, who have explained them and wrote annotations on them. Among his tutors were ash-Shaykh Musa Kashif al-Ghita', ash-Shaykh Ali Kashif al-Ghita', Mulla Ahmad an-Naraqi and Sayyid Muhammad Mujahid. Among his students were great faqihs, such as Akhund Khurasani, Mirza Shirazi and Mirza Muhammad Hasan Ashtiyani. Of his well-known works are ar-Rasail, al-Makasib and at-Taharah.

177. "The Cow" film was produced in 1969, and participated in two international film-festivals in 1970 and 1971 in Chicago, and won prizes. These films relate the story of a farmer, who, because of his poverty and deprivity, greatly loves his only cow which was a means of an income for him. The cow falls ill and them dies. This puts the farmer under an intense psychical pressure, leading him to a state of alienation, such that his personality appears to be that which was possessed by the cow.

178. From the date of the return of the late Imam Khomeini, the great leader of the Islamic Revolution, on the 11th of the month of Bahman, 1357 S.H., up to the 22nd of the same month (1st Feb., 1979-11th Feb., 1979), that is, ten days, marked the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The Iranian State and people celebrate these ten-day-long festivals every year, under the title "The ten-day Dawn of the Islamic Revolution", during which the people hold extensive celebrations.

179. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon No. 3.

180. Joseph Stalin was a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, and a director of Pravda news paper, the offical organ of the (former) USSR Communist Party. In 1922 he was elected as Secretary-General of the Party. Then, practically he was chosen at the head of the (former) USSR government. The story of Stalin's cow was one of the points frequently referred to by the late Imam Khomeini in his statements. The story is that in the Tehran Conference, when the heads of America and Britain came to Iran, they, contrary to the costumary capitatist formal ceremonies, did not ask for such formalities. But Comrade Stalin, despite being popular, brought with him in the airplane a cow to Tehran so as to use its milk every morning. Such attachments, which seem to be contrary to their raised

slogans, were among the matters pointed out by the late Imam (may Allah be pleased with him).

181. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the twentieth of the month of Jumadi ath-Thani i.e. the anniversary of the happy birthday of the honoured daughter of the great Prophet (s), Fatimah az-Zahra, is named as the Women Day. This great lady of Islam is the unique and perfect example of a Muslim woman. She is an example imitated by all the Muslim women all over the world.

182. The kings of the Qajarian dynasty ruled in Iran from 1193 to 1344 A.H. (1779 to 1925 A.D.), for a period of 151 lunar years. The people of Iran, during the rule of that tyrant dynasty, were lagging behind the caravan of the Tehran of that time in most social, political and cultural fields. The disgraceful agreements which were concluded on those days with the super powers of that time blackened the pages of Iran's history. The grounds for the penetration of the Western imperialism in Iran started from that time.

183. The third child of Fatimah az-Zahra, the courageous lady of Islam (a), after Imam al-Hasan (a) and Imam al-Husayn (a), was her daughter Zaynab al-Kubra (a). She was born in the year 6 A.H., in a most honourable family along centuries and ages, and was educated by the Prophet (s), Ali (a) and Fatimah (a), and next to her two brothers. She had to tread upon a very difficult and long road to the tragic event of Karbala, in which she had to witness the horrible massacare and martyrdom of her brother and the youths of her family one after the other. Then she was taken as captive from Karbala to al-Kufah, then to ash-Sham, while having to take care of the survivors of her family who were only women and children. Along this astounding event she never neglected to be forbearing, keeping her patience, and, at the same time, created a wave of anger and fury against Yazid, the blood-thirsty Ummiad Caliph, raising, with unmatched bravery, the banner of struggle against the criminals, and performing the astonishing role of preparing the preliminaries for giving eternity to the epic of Ashura, in order to uphold the continuation of the struggle of Right against Wrong in all ages. Zaynab's words and deeds in the everlasting book of the Shiite history are changed into an eternal epithet of "Zaynab-like", as an example for the Muslim women.

184. The Kurds are one of the Iranian nationalities dwelling in the western region of Iran.

185. The Baluch are one of the Iranian nationalities dwelling in eastern region of Iran, in Baluchestan and Sistan.

186. The Turks are one of the Iranian nationalities who live in the north-west of the country, in the western and eastern provinces of Azarbaijan

(and in Ardebil province). The Lurs are also another one of the Iranian nationalities who live in the province of Lurestan, in particular, and in the central region of Iran, in general.

187. Kurdistan is one of the provinces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, situated in the north-west of Iran. Only a few days after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, there appeared a group, connected to the imperialism, started occupying and disarming the bases at that region. Their main objective was to divide the country and direct a blow to the young Islamic Republic of Iran.

188. The Imam refers, at that time, to the documents published by "The Students Following the Line of the Imam", who occupied the Embassy of the USA in Tehran. According to these documents, the Americans (the CIA) tried in an extensive plan to contact the high rank authorities of the country and infiltrate into the executive and political establishments of the country, and, on the other side, to agitate and move the armed groups against the Revolution, and, by supporting them financially and politically, to mislead the Revolution to annihilation.

189. This is a reference to the movements named "The Movement of the Arab People", which was about to cause, together with the events of Kurdistan, disorder in the country and endanger the newly founded regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran. But this treacherous and evil plan of the enemies could not achieve its purpose, i.e. separating the south of Iran and forming an independent Khuzistan.

190. Azarbaijan is one of the provinces of Iran, divided into East and West Azarbaijan.

191. The Bakhtiaries are a clan of Iran living in the province of Chaharmahal and Bakhtiyari.

192. The Party of the Democrates, a nationalist group, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, started a series of armed terroristic actions against the Revolution. In 1945, when a part of Iran's territory was under the rule of the (former) USSR army, this Party was founded, establishing an autonomous government in Kurdistan, relying on the Red Army. After the retreat of the (former) USSR Army from Iran, the Democrates Party had no practical existence till the 1960s, but its title was preserved by the *Tudeh* Party affiliated to the USSR. During the said years, one of the members of the *Tudeh* Party, named Qasimlu, could get a PhD by the financial help of the (former) Czechoslovakia, and married a Jewess of the Czechs. According to available documents, he, through his wife, joined the intelligent service of Israel. Later he migrated to Baghdad where he

continued the publication of the new period of the magazine "Kurdistan" with the help of the Baath Party of Iraq, separating the name of "The Democrates Party of Iran" from the exclusivity of the *Tudeh* Party. Up till 1979, the Democrates Party of Iran had no presence in Iran. On the victory of the Islamic Republic in Iran, Qasimlu immediately entered the region of Iran's Kurdistan and announced the resumption of the Party's activities, and it was the first political group who demanded a national autonomy in the Revolutionary Iran.

193. Sistan is a low land which is the continuation of Iran's central and eastern mountains, between the Makran mountains and the plateau of Hashtaran and the mountains of Afghanistan. Sistan and Baluchestan both make one of Iran's provinces.

194. This is a reference to the offence of Sufyan ibn Awf against the town of Al-Anbar during the rule of Ali (a). A soldier stopped two women, a Jewess and a Muslim, and robbed them of their anklet, bracelet and ear-ring.

195. This speech of the Imam was delivered when America, after the occupation of "The Nest of Espionage" [the building of the American Embassy in Tehran], boycotted Iran, leaving no means of pressure unused. The properties and the assets of Iran in America were detained, and economical, psychological and military pressures on our country were aggravated. The Imam announced this American boycotting of Iran as a favour and as a national feast, and regarded it to be completely in the interest of the Iranian nation, because the Iranian nation, under such conditions of economic and political blockade, will, naturally, sleadfastly resist, and will tend to thinking and showing their talents and innovations—a reality which will, on the long run, be in favour of the national interests. In the face of this type of thinking, which was derived from the original Muhammadan Islam, there were some of the politicians and statesment who were frightened by America's economical blockade and boycotting. They thought that isolating Iran would be a threat to the national interests of Iran. So, they tried to have the Revolution give up its principles and to kneel before the Big Satan, and humbly and humiliatingly set back and retreat. The liberal wing, which had, at that time, the rule in its hands, insisted on following up the said policy, whereas, the bare-footed and those wounded by America stood behind the Imam in defence of the principles and objectives of the Revolution.

196. The SAVAK, or the Security and Information Organization, was officially established in 1957 by an order issued by Muhammad Rida Shah. This Organization had the duty of suppressing the regime's opponents and combating the Islamic struggles. It had close operative connections with

the American CIA and the Israelian MUSAD. The SAVAK'S cruelty and mercilessness in torturing the political prisoners reached such an extent that the Secretary-General of the Amesty-International in the year 1975 announced: "The report of no country in the world is blacker than that of Iran in respect of the Human Rights".

197. On the 5th of Shahriwar, 1342 [27th Aug., 1963], after the bloody suppression of 15th Khordad [5th June, 1963], the Marshal Law was extended for further 60 days, according to the government's session held on the 3rd of Murdad, 1342 [25th July, 1963], in Tehran and Shiraz. The Shah, in a pretentious show held a congress under the title "The Great Congress of the Free Men and Free Women", in which he spoke of the free men and women of Iran under the light of "The White Revolution". According to the papers (of 5th till 8th Shahriwar, 1342), a thousand person of the so-called representatives of men and women participated in this Congress. It is quite interesting to know that most of the local affiliated papers of those days referred to that Congress as "The greatest Congress and historical gathering ever held after the Constitutional period." The term "free men and women" was since frequently used by the Shah.

198. This is a part of a *hadith* quoted from the honoured Messenger (s): It says: "Beware, every one of you is a ruler and every one of you is questionable for his subjects. The Amir who governs the people is a ruler and is questionable for his subjects, and the man governs his household and is questionable for them, and the wife governs the house of her husband and her children, and she is questionable for them." Muslim's *Sahih*, vol. 3, p. 1459.

199. "... O Allah, You know that what we did was not to seek power nor to acquire anything of the vanities of the world. We rather wanted to restore the features of your religion and to display reform in your land so that the wronged among your servants might be secured, and your forsaken penalties might be carried out..." *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon, No. 131.

200. One of the Secondary Principles of Religion is the payment of the *khums*, or the 20% law. In the Shiite *fiqh*, the *Khums* belongs to seven things: It consists of six shares: Three shares are the Imam's and three are the *Sadat's*. The three shares of the Imam, one belongs to Allah, the Exalted, another belongs to the Messenger of Allah (s), and the third belongs to the infallible Imam. All these three are called the Imam's share, which, during the occulation of the infallible Imam, belong to the *mujtahids* with the necessary conditions. This portion of the *Khums* ensures, in fact, and supports the *mujtahids* in spreading the high Islamic culture and meeting the

needs of the Islamic government. The relevant allotments are also covered by this portion of the *Khums*.

201. Many judgments and social relations needed by the Muslims are stated in the Book and the *Sunnah*. The judgments of such cases are, wholly or partly, clear. This group of judgments is called "The Principal Judgments". Yet, in administrating the society, the Islamic government encounters cases and problems which cannot be solved on the basis of the fixed Principal Judgments. In such cases Islam has givein its permission to the ruler, the authority, after considering the conditions and the interests of the Islamic community, to enact a number of laws and regulations to solve those problems. This group of judgments is called "The Governmental" or "The Secondary Judgments", and the Muslims are obliged to follow them.

202. A reference to the first Imam of the world's Muslims, Ali ibn Abitalib (a).

203. Umar ibn al-Khattab, a Companion of the Messenger of Allah (s), the second of the *Khulaf'ur-Rashidum* [the Guided Caliphs] after him. (Time of government: 13-23 A.H. = 634-644 A.D.).

204. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon No. 33.

205. Martyr Muhammad Ali Rajai was born in 1312 S.H. (1933). He lived a simple life, working as a peddler and studying in an evening secondary school. Then he chose teaching in the town of Bijar. After getting his B.S. in mathematics from the High Teachers' College he was employed as a teacher in a secondry school, enhancing, at the same time, his political activities and struggle as from the early year of 1340s (1960s). After several arrests and imprisonments, in the year 1357 (1978), was released from prison due to the climax of the Islamic uprising. After the Revolution he was in charge of the following posts, successively: Acting Minister of Education, a deputy in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Prime Minister and then President of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He was in this post when he was martyred, together with martyr Bahonar, on the date 8/6/1360 (28/8/1981), due to exploding the building of the Prime Ministry by the Hypocrites [the anti-Revolutionary elements].

206. Martyr Hujjat al-Islam Dr. Muhammad Jawad Bahonar was born in 1312 (1933), in a deprived family of the city of Kirman, where he took his primary lessons. Then he studied his higher lessons in the scientific *hawzah* in Qum. At the same time he got his official studies and obtained the Intermediate diplomea. He obtained his B.A. in literature, his M.A. in the educational sciences and his PhD. in theology from Tehran University. He started his political struggles through his cultural publications in the 1330s

(1950s). He was several times imprisoned or prevented from delivering speeches before the Revolution. After the Revolution he accepted the posts of the membership of the Revolution Council, representing the people of Kirman in the Constitutional Experts Council, deputy in the Majlis, Ministry of Education, membebership of the Constituent Assembly and the Secretary-General of the Islamic Republic Party and as the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He was martyred on 8/6/1360 (28/8/1981) in the explosion of the building of the Prime Ministry.

207. Martyr Haj Mahdi Iraqi was born in 1309 (1930) in Tehran. He was a businessman in the bazar. He joined the *Fida'iyan-e Islam* Group [Commandos of Islam], when 16 years old. He was among the founders of the Islamic *Mu'talifah* [the Islamic Coalition]. He participated in the revolutionary activities of these two groups enthusiastically and directly. He spent 15 years of his life in the Shah's prisons. When Imam Khomeini left Iraq to France, he left for Paris to prepare lodgings for him. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution he undertook the following posts: membership of the Central Committee of the Islamic Republic Party, the Foundation of the *Mustadafin*, financial management of Kayhan Establishment and Directorship of Qasr Prison. On 4/6/1358 [26/8/1979] he together with his son, Husam, were martyred by the Furqan Grouplet.

208. Saddam, the President of Iraq, waged his aggressive war against the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1980. It lasted for eight years and ended by his defeat-translator.

209. *Muzaraah* [temporary sharecropping contract] is a contract between two parties, by which a land is given by one party to the other for a fixed period of time, in order to be cultivated by him, and crop is divided between them. The shares of the cultivator and worker are to be stated in general in the contract, such as: One-fourth, one-third, a half or else. Otherwise the regulations of the *muzaraah* would not be carried out.

210. *Mudarabah* [speculation] is a business contract between somebody who has money which he gives to another to trade with it on the condition of sharing the profit resulting from the transaction, while the loss will have to be born by the giver of the money. The contract is concluded between two persons, the one guarantees giving money to the other to trade with it against prescribed joint share of the profit, such as: a half or one-third. The *mudarab* [the trader] is regarded as an agent and is to act according to the instructions of the owner of the capital, which is to be in cash of current currency, its amount is to be known, paid, not on debt, and the share of the *mudarab* is to be fixed. *Mudarabah* is an allowed contract, i.e. both parties

are allowed to cancel it at any time. If the transacted money was an unknown debt, or the share of the agent was unknown, the contract would be null.

211. The two wings are "The Society of the Struggling *Ulama*" and "The Assembly of the Struggling *Ulama*." Before the victory of the Islamic Revolution these two wings were a single group under the name "The Society of the Struggling *Ulama*", practising their activities.

The differences of the members of this establishment in political, economical and social affairs caused the appearance of a schism in 1367 (1988) in the establishment of "The Society of the Struggling *Ulama*", as its left wing started functioning under the name of "The Assembly of the Struggling *Ulama*". The Imam, answering a letter from Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Ansari (10/8/1367) about these two wings, said: "... When the difference becomes fundamental and substructural, it will weaken the regime, and it is clear that even if there is a difference among the individuals and the existing wings connected to the Revolution, it is merely political, although it may take the form of an ideological one, because all of them are participators in the principles, and that is why I support them. They are loyal to Islam, the Quran and the Revolution, and they are concerned about the country and the people, and every one of them has his viewpoints and suggestions for the growth of Islam and serving the Muslims, which, according to their belief, bring salvation..."

- 212. This is a reference to the two horrible explosions caused by the explosives placed by the *Munafiqin* group. The first was the explosion which took place in the Central Bureau of the Islamic Republic Party on 7/4/1360 (28/6/1981), causing the martyrdom of Dr. Behishti and 71 of the high authorities of the new-born regime of the Islamic Republic, including parliament deputies, ministers and high rank directors of the big organs and Establishments. The second explosion happened in the Premier's Bureau on 8/6/1360 (28/8/1981), causing the martyrdom of the President Muhammad Ali Rajai and the Prime Minister Dr. Muhammad Jawad Bahunar. These two explosions were done by the elements of the *Munafiqin* who could sneek into the organs of the regime and the Islamic establishments, due to lacking strict investigations about them and due to the conditions prevailing in the early days of the Revolution. The Imam reminds the lessons derived from these two explosions.
- 213. A *tasbih* is a rosary with a 100 beads used to record the number of the invokes or remembering Allah.
- 214. He refers to the eldest son of Muhammad Rida Shah Pahlavi, the former Shah of Iran.

- 215. The Night *Salat* is one of the recommended devotional acts which are practised by some pious people to please Allah, the Exalted, and get nearer to Him, since it is done in the heart of the night by those who get up from their sweet sleep and perform it.
- 216. Before and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Embassy of the United States of America in Tehran, acted contrary to the diplomatic mores and the international conventions, and planned to spy upon the new-born Islamic Republic and overthrow it. On the thirteenth of Aban, 1358 (4th Nov., 1979), a group of the students who called themselves "The Followers of the Imam's Course", attacked the American Embassy and occupied it, laying their hands on documents and writings proving the Embassy's spying activities against the Islamic Revolution in Tehran. Hence the name of "The Espionage Nest" was given to the American Embassy. In the terminology of the Islamic Revolution, the day on which "The Espionage Nest" was occupied is called The Day of Combating World *Istikbar*.
 - 217. The Imam refers to the former USSR.
- 218. Sulayman Mirza, son of Muhsin Mirza, Kafiluddawlah, and the grandson of Muhammad Tahir Mirza the Translator, a deputy of the Democrate Party (d. Tehran 1363 L.H., 1322 S.H.) (1943 A.D.). He was elected in several terms of the Parliament. He was once given the post of the Ministry of Education. During the first term of the Constitution he published a daily paper named "Huquq "[Rights]. After the month of Shahriwar 1320 (1941) he was elected as leader of the Communist Party.
- 219. The confession of the leaders of the *Tudeh* Party of treason (the arrest of 1361=1982) on the 10th of Ordibehesht 1362 (30/4/1983) by *Imam*uddin Kiyanuri, the Secretary-General of the treacherous *Tudeh* Party, who appeared on the TV screen. Offering his appology and shame before Imam Khomeini, explaining the causes of his arrest as well as the arrests of the other leaders and the members of the Party's Central Committee, Kiyanuri spoke of the Party's treason within the framework of six instances of infringements, as below:

"Our first infringement, and perhaps the most important one, was disregarding the principal and original slogan of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic... Practically, due to the sticking and adhering of our Party, within several decades, to the Communist Party of the USSR, we could not free ourselves from this connection". He openly admitted having sent to the USSR numerous informative reports which they used to obtain from their infiltrated agents. He said: "This was our biggest infringement, which is, unquestionably, a treason. I think it was the mother of our other

infringements. Our second offence was the question of the arms. The third one of our outstanding infringements—was our disregarding the 10-article Announcement of the Public Prosecutor. Instead of disbanding our secret Party, we strengthened it, and we changed this organization into an underground one with the task of gathering information, up to espionage information. The fourth pivot in our errors was the question of the officers concerning which we acted contrary to the Imam's speech, connecting them to the secret network where we prepared for them prescribed preceedings, by which a better method of obtaining information was practised. In some instances the information was handed over to the USSR's authorities, which is another treason against the Islamic Republic. The fifth pivot was opposing the Purging law ratified by the Islamic Consultative *Mailis*. We tried to be in contact with different individuals in the regime, and to install our infiltrating elements and members of the Party into sensitive posts, or to attract new persons to the Party. The sixth pivot, which I confess to be one of the big errors, was trying to find an illegal way to cross the borders to send, at first, a number of the Leading Cadres of the Party".

At the end, concerning his said treacherous deeds, Kiyanuri said:

"In my opinion, these infringements are very heavy within the frame of espionage and treason. All these infringements come under treason. They are so heavy that I think the Islamic Republic has the right to inflict the heaviest punishments it may deem suitable for these infringements and for us as the responsible for them."

A number of the members of the Central Committee of the *Tudeh* Party were shown on the TV, too. They confessed continual cooperation with the espionage organization of the USSR. On 14th Urdibehesht, 1362, Muhammad Ali Amu'i, one of the leaders of the said Party, appeared on the TV of the Islamic Republic, and, after confessing the treacherous deeds of the Party, labelled them as "The treacherous and illegal procedures of so many years", and frankly admitted that the *Tudeh* Party was an instrument in the hands of the USSR. (Quoted from Surush Magazine, Fifth year, No. 12207 of Shahrivar, 1362.

220. In the year of 1260 A.H., a man, by the name of Sayyid Ali Muhammad, called himself the "Bab" [the door] of the Imam and a means of Communication with him. After a while, he alleged to be al-Mahdi [the occult 12th Imam]. Ali Muhammad, the Bab, was arrested and Killed. Among his followers there were two brothers by the names of *Subh-e Azal* and *al-Baha*. They claimed to be his successors. The followers of *Subh-e Azal* called themselves "Babis", and the followers of Baha called themselves

Baha'is. The Ottoman government exiled Baha and his followers to Acca in Palestine, and *Subh-e Azal* and his followers to Cyprus Island. The Baha'is, supported by the British in Palestine, grew, and later on the Israeli regime helped them, too. During the Muhammad Rida Pahlavi rule they found a very distinguished position in Iran. They played an effective role in Iran's foreign policy to secure the interests of the Zionists.

- 221. Allamah Mirza Abdul-Majid, a great scholar of the thirteenth century A.H., was a teacher of rational sciences.
- 222. Muawiyah ibn Abu Sufyan, the founder of the Ommiad Dynasty, reestablished aristocracy and hereditary monarchy, which was openly contradicting the ideological principles of Islam.
- 223. A part of a *hadith* quoted from Imam as-Sadiq (a) concerning the martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn (a) on *Ashura*, the 10th of the month of Muharram, in Karbala in Iraq.
- 224. The martyrdom of Imam Husayn (a), the Master of the Martyrs, the third Imam of the Shiites, together with martyrdom of 72 of his companions took place on the 10th day of the month of Muharram in the year 61 A.H. (680 A.D.), in a land called Karbala, at the order of Yazid, son of Muawiyah. From that time the anniversary of that day was called "The Ashura of Husayn" or just "The Ashura". The Muslims spend the first ten days of every Muharram in mournings and sorrow.
- 225. "Bidding the good" refers to everything which is rationally or religiously recommended to be performed. "Forbidding the bad" refers to everything which reason and religion recommend it to be avoided. Imam Khomeini, in his *Tahrir al-Wasilah* says: "Whatever is rationally or religiously *wajib*, ordering it is also *wajib*, and whatever is rationally repulsive and religiously *haram*, ordering it not to be done is *wajib*. Whatever is supererogatory, ordering it is supererogatory, too; and whatever is unrecommended, ordering it is unrecommended, too."
 - 226. Refer to footnote No. 148.
- 227. The Shah used to refer to the struggling *Ulama* as "the black reactionary". In the year 1341 S.H. (1962), in his interviews, speeches and messages, he spoke of the two "black reactionary" and the "red reactionary" forces as the opposers of his "White Revolution". At the conference of the peasants in 1341 he said:
- "... To prevent the land reforms, the black reactionary and the red destructive forces would not stop their efforts in order to hinder these reforms..."

- 228. The *Hanafiyyah* is a sect following Abu Hanifah. The Hanbalis are the followers of Ahmad ibn Hanbal. The Shafiis are the followers of Muhammad ibn Idris ibn Abbas ibn Uthman ibn Shafii, a Hashimite, Qurashite and a Muttalibi, nicknamed Abu Abdullah. The Malikis are the followers of Malik ibn Anas. All of these are of the important sects of the Sunnis.
- 229. The last Shah of Iran who, at the advice of America, and due to the intensification of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, fled from the country on the 26th of the month of Day in the year of 1357 (15/1/1979). He had come to power in the month of Shahrivar, 1320 (September, 1941) after dethroning his father by the heads of the Allies. His rule lasted 37 years in Iran. His was the age of the imperialistic rule of Britain in Iran, then the absolute imperialistic rule of the Americans, which plundered the material and moral treasures of Iran.
- 230. After the aggression of the Ba`thi regime of Iraq against the territory of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the 31st of Shahrivar, 1359 (22nd Sep. 1980), the only organized force which could face the vast attack of Iraqi forces, was the Iranian army. This imposed war, which lasted for eight years led to the formation—besides the establishment of the Army of the Guards of the Islamic Revolution—of popular forces organized under the name of *Basij*. The members of this organization, who were called "*Basiji*", were mostly of very young lads up to old men.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran invests the government to plan—besides the army and the fixed forces of the Guards—a program for every individual of the nation to have military training according to the Islamic criterions, so that everybody would be able to conduct armed defence of the country and the Islamic regime of Iran. By joining the *Basij*, the people of Iran try to create a great power, named "The 20-million Army", which was of Imam Khomeini's innovations.

- 231. Addressing the members of the diplomatic corps of the Islamic Republic of Iran abroad.
- 232. One of the fruits of the Islamic Revolution of the Muslim people of Iran was reviving the Quranic tradition of *hajj*. The importance of consolidation and unity of the Islamic *ummah* in the face of the diverse plots of the world of *istikbar* under the leadership of the world-eater, America, in the world of Islam, especially keeping alive and protecting the Revolution of the Palestinian people, was one of the ideas of the great leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini (a). Hence, the great congregation of *hajj* is a suitable place for the manifestation of this worldwide unity of the Islamic

ummah. The struggling Muslim nation of Iran, by responding to the call of the wronged people of Palestine, and by despising and hating the big Satan, America, every year they conduct demonstrations and processions of renouncing the idolators, in the great ceremonies of hajj. Since such a great manoeuvre of the Muslims of the world stirs the anger of the *istikbar* and the dirty gland, the regime occupying Quds, and it also is a toll of danger for the regional self-centered regimes who care not for the demands of their nations, in order to terrorize the Islamic ummah they forced the Saudi Arabian government to carry out a premeditated plot. On the 4th of Dhul-Hijjah, 1407 A.H. (31st July, 1987), after proclaiming their objectives in their demonstration and procession, the Muslims could draw the attentions of the people of the world to their demands. They, then, dispersed and went on to continue their rites in the divine mosque. Suddenly the pilgrims were attacked by the servants and the mercenaries of the Saudis, who assulted them, cursing, beating and throwing at them stones, bricks, gas-capsules, from above the roofs of the inhabited houses. Then they fired at the Iranian pilgrims who were preceded by women and crippled soldiers. Tear-gas and suffocating bombs were dropped at them, and the sacred land of Mecca was changed into a horrible scene of man-slaughterings. Hundreds of people rolled in their blood on the ground, and laud cries and mournings of men and women rose high. Horror and fear hovered in the air of Mecca and its surroundings. In this way the Saudi regime offered a great service to their masters, though, as the great leader of the Islamic Revolution said, America stained the skirt of the Saudis with disgrace such that it cannot be rinsed clean with the entire water of Zamzam-well. The casualties of this incident amounted to 329 persons.

233. It is in the narratives that Al-Mahdi (may Allah hasten his release), the 12th Imam of the Shiites in the world, on his appearance, will stand beside the *Kabah* in the honoured Mecca, annoucing his uprising against falsity, injustice and despotism.

234. An example of the crimes committed by Saddam's regime without any of the international assemblies taking any effective step is the chemical bombing the Iraqi town of Halabchah. In the last years of the War [of Iraq and Iran], the Muslim Iranian fighters, in order to force the Iraqi regime to accept the international criterions, extended their operation into the Iraqi territory. In the month of Isfand, 1366 [March, 1988] the town of Halabchah and is mountainous regions in the north of Iraq fell into the hands of the Iranian fighters. The Muslim Kurds living there, being for years under the pressure of the Iraqi regime, received the Iranian fighters with joy and

pleasure. Having been defeated in the battle-field, the Iraqi regime, with unprecedented cruelty, and mercilessly, subjected the people of those regions to severest air bombardments and chemical bombs. A great number of the people of Halabchah, including shelterless women and children, were either burnt or suffocated. Despite the fact that the news about this brutal conduct was published by the mass media to almost all the world, but no effective measure was taken against that crime. As a matter of fact, this event happened many years after the Imam's above hint, but it is an obvious evidence of the international indifference referred to by the Imam, evidenced at that time by less grievous incidents.

235. A reference to protecting and keeping the dethroned Shah after he had run away from the country.

236. Imam Khomeini's opposition to the bill concerning the Provincial and township Committees, and his protest against the illegal referendum and the Shah's pretentious White Revolution caused the people to become aware of these calamities. The Shah's regime, which could not bear such opposition, threatened the Imam, the *Ulama* and the theology students to revenge, and attacked the scientific hawzah of Qum. In the month of Isfand, 1341 (March, 1963), during the last days of the year, the military lorries were rushed out to Qum. In the last days of the year 1341 (1963), Imam Khomeini dislosed the Shah's conspirating plans and announced the Iranian new year's festivals as general mourning. The 2nd day of the month of Farwardin coincided with the 20th day of the month of Shawwal, the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (a). In the mourning gathering held in Imam Khomeini's house on this occasion, the regime's men tried to disperse the gathering. The Imam threatened them, through one of the *Ulama*, that if they did not stop their attempts, he would go to the holy shrine of Masumah, where he would inform the people whatever it was necessary to say. On the afternoon of the same day another mourning gathering was held in the Faydiyyiah School. The military lorries coming from Tehran were stationed in the square in front of the School, and some of them attacked the people and wounded them. Then the dispatched forces and the police brutally attacked the Faydiyyiah School, martyring and wounding tens of students, of whom only three could be identified. This event was the start of the regime's bloody massacres and other measures, leading to the uprising of Imam Khomeini and the upsurge of 15 Khordad, 1342 (5 June, 1963).

237. The Committees of the Islamic Revolution were among the armed disciplinary forces which were stationed in the towns, on the high ways and along the borders, together with other disciplinary forces engaged

in guarding order and security in the country. The Committees were the first bodies formed in the country after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, and their members were of the masses of the people. In the year of 1369 (1990) these forces were incorporated into a single vast organization under the name of The Disciplinary Forces.

As to the Sepah-e Pasdaran [the Army of the Guards] of the Islamic Revolution, it is an organization whose duty is to guard the Islamic revolution of Iran and its achievements, to have continual attempts to implement the divine objectives, to extend the application of Allah's law within the laws of the Islamic Republic, and to strengthen the defending structure of the country through the coordination of other armed forces, and by undertaking military training, and organizing the popular forces.

- 238. He refers to his wife, Khadijah, and Ali (a), his couin.
- 239. The Shi'b of Abu Talib was a valley in the mountains of Mecca with shabby huts. Early in Islam, the tribe of Quraysh arranged a covenant and hanged it on the *Kabah*, swearing that till death they would treat Muhammad (s) and his followers according to following articles:
- 1. Prohibiting all kinds of buying and selling with Muhammad and his followers.
 - 2. Severing all connections and association with them.
 - 3. Concluding no marital relations with the Muslims.
 - 4. Supporting the opposers of the Prophet (s) in all events.

The only protectory of the Prophet (s) was Abu Talib, his paternal uncle, who asked all his relatives to live in the Shi`b. There they were completely besieged by the disbelievers. It lasted for three years of very difficult conditions, during which period the Muslims resisted despite their meagre provisions.

- 240. The Messenger (s), in the last year of his blessed life, appointed Usamah ibn Zayd ibn Harithah (54 A.H.)—the son of slave parents freed by the Prophet (s)—as the Commander of an army composed of the *muhajirin* and the *Ansar*, while he was a young man of 20 years. He was to leave for ash-Sham and Palestine (the Rumans).
- 241. At the beginning of his rule, Ali, Amir al-Muminin, deposed Mu`awiyah from his post as the governor of ash-Sham to which he had been appointed by the Second Caliph. Muawiyah refused the order, and, on the pretext of revenging Uthman's murder, he gathered the people around himself and marched towards al-Kufah to fight Amir al-Muminin, Ali (a), who had also moved with his army to meet Muawiyah. They met at a place called "Siffin" on the Euphrates River. In this war the two armies attacked

each other for 90 times. At last, seeing that his defeat was sure, Muawiyah resorted to a trick recommended by Amr ibn al-As. He ordered the Qurans to be raised on the soldiers' spears, demanding the war to be stopped and resort to arbitration. The trick of Amr ibn al-As worked and there appeared disput among the Imam's army. At last they forced the Imam to accept arbitration. The war of Siffin started in the month of Safar, in the year of 37 A.H. and lasted for 110 days. This war's casualties were estimated to 70,000, of which 45,000 were on the Muawiyah's side.

242. The Ummiads, sons of Umayyah, son of Abdi Shams, son of Abdi Manaf, of the Quraysh tribe. The Ummiads were the Islamic Caliphs of the Ummiads Dynasty, who started their rule after the first four Rashidin Caliphs, in the year 40 A.H. (662 A.D.) and lasted till the year 132 A.H. (750 A.D.). The founder of the Ummiads was Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan. They established a hereditary monarchy of nobility, quite contrary to the Islamic ideological principles. History is full of painful events which took place during the Ummiads reign in the Islamic world, including brutal killings, imprisonments and exilements of the followers of *Ahl al-Bayt*, and the martyrdom of Imam al-Husayn (a) at the hands of the agents of Yazid ibn Muawiyah.

243. Surah of at-Tawbah, or al-Baraah as also called, is among the seven long surahs of the Quran. It is the nineth surah and does not concern a single and separate subject. It actually covers subjects like loathing the disbelievers, fighting the polytheists and the people of the Book, and some matters about the hypocrites, moving the Muslims to fight, reproaching those who stay back from jihad and many other subjects.

244. The tribes are a part of Iran's population, who live in the mountainous regions and in the valleys with pastures. They run a tribal simple life. Some of them move, in different seasons, to mrre suitable places. They are mostly herdsmen. During the political, economical and social difficulties in the history of Iran, the tribes played important and decisive roles. They opposed the British imperialistic policies during the recent decades, and their wide and comprehensive allegiance to the great leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini (s.a.), as well as their extensive presence in the different fields of the Islamic Revolution, especially in the imposed war, all speak of their effective presence in the diverse political and social scenes in Iran.

245. The gendarmerie was a section of the armed forces. It was responsible of guarding the security of the roads outside the cities. In the year

1369 (1990) it was merged in a new organization under the name of "The Disciplinary Forces".

246. When this speech was delivered, a year and a half had passed from the start of the war.

247. A reference to the *ayah* No. 41 of *Surah al-Anfal*: "And know that whatever you gain (as booty), a fifth of it is for Allah, and for the Messenger, and for the near relatives and the orphans and the needy, and the wayfarer..."

248. After the exciting statements of Imam Khomeini (s.a.) and the declaration of Ayatullah Talaqani (one of the committed and fighting *Ulama*) concerning announcing a demonstration on the tasua, the crowd of the people of Tehran flowed down the streets like rivers and streams joining together moving towards Azadi Square. Notwithstanding the martial law announced on the tasua, the people participated in a great procession. The reporters said that it was 9 kilometres long. At the end of the demonstration it was announced that the final statement would be announced the next day, on the Ashura. The next day's demonstrations were even greater. Most of the slogans were ended by: "Death to the Shah"; and the slogans: "independence", "freedom" and "Islamic Republic" were more frequently repeated than the day before. The regime very severely condemned the demonstrations of the early days of Muharram, but on the 17th of Azar, 1357 (8/12/1978), the Prime Minister officially announced that the mourning processions are freeily allowed on the *tasua* and *Ashura*, in order to prevent bloodshedding. The military Command also issued a similar statement.

Referring to this event, Imam Khomeini, in his speech, said that the said great demonstartions of the *tasua* and *Ashura* were, in fact, announcing the fall of the Shah. He said: "... The referendum which took place yesterday and today and the declarations which were issued, proved to the whole world that the Shah was falling. All Iran, with complete calmness, said: We do not want the Shah..."

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- 466. Imam Khomeini's statements concerning drawing the general lines of the Islamic government. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 5, p. 497, date: 1/11/1357 (Paris, Neauphle-le-Château).
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- 468. Imam Khomeini's message about the Revolution's future strategy. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 21, p. 285, date: 3/12/1367.
- 469. Imam Khomeini's statements concerning granting amnesty to the Shah's political prisoners. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 4, p. 141, date: 3/8/1357 (Paris, Neauphle-le-Château).
- 470. Imam Khomeini's statements to the members of the High Council of the Islamic Revolution. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 18, pp. 114-5, date: 29/6/1362.
- 471. Matters not stated in Sahifeh-ye Imam, date: 28/7/1357.

- 472. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with the people of Ardabil and Dasht-e Mughan. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 13, p. 108, date: 27/5/1359.
- 473. Imam Khomeini's reply to the letter of the heads of the Three Powers (of the country) concerning reconstruction. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 21, p. 151, date: 11/7/1367.
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- 475. Imam Khomeini's statements concerning pardoning the political prisoners of the Shah's regime. *Sahifeh-ye Imam,* vol. 4, p. 140, date: 3/8/1357 (Paris, Neauphle-le-Château).
- 476. Matters not stated in Sahifeh-ye Imam, date: 28/7/1357.
- 477. Imam Khomeini's statements to the members of the board of Tehran's Qa'imiyyah. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 8, p. 11, date: 10/3/1358.
- 478. Imam Khomeini's statements concerning pardoning the political prisoners of the Shah's regime. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 4, p. 141, date: 3/8/1357 (Paris, Neauphle-le-Château).
- 479. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with the participants in the Third Congress of Islamic Thought. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 19, pp. 126-7, date: 14/11/1363.
- 480. Imam's devotional-political Will. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 21, p. 401, written down on 26/11/1361, read out on 15/3/1368..
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- 482. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of tribesmen and university men. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 7, pp. 227-8, date: 21/2/1358.
- 483. Matters not stated in Sahifeh-ye Imam, date: 20/2/1358.
- 484. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of different classes of the people. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 13, p. 451, date: 29/10/1359.
- 485. Imam Khomeini's statements at the Baqi' cemetery of Qum. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 6, pp. 315-6, date: 18/12/1357.
- 486. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with a group of tribesmen and others. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 14, p. 246, date: 22/1/1360.
- 487. Imam Khomeini's message on the occasion of the formation of *Basij-e Mustadafin. Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 21, p. 190, date: 2/9/1367.
- 488. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with the members of the Islamic Teachers Society. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 9, p. 264, date: 16/5/1358.

- 489. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with the members of the Headquarters of War Propaganda. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 19, pp. 45-6, date: 18/6/1363.
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- 496. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of a delegation of Arabistani *Ulama*. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 7, p. 58, date: 1/2/1358.
- 497. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with the *Ulama* of Tehran. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 13, p. 13, date: 20/4/1359.
- 498. Imam Khomeini's statements to different classes of the people of Qum. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 13, pp. 305-6, date: 27/8/1359.
- 499. Imam Khomeini's statements to the ambessadors of the foreign countries. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 13, pp. 238-9, date: 28/7/1359.
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- 501. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of members of the air force. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 17, pp. 274-5, date: 19/11/1361.
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- 503. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with the Minister of Interior and the members of the Committee of the Islamic Revolution. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 17, p. 374, date: 21/1/1362.
- 504. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of frontier dwellers. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 13, p. 218, date: 8/7/1359.
- 505. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of the Corps Commanders. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 15, p. 100-1, date: 27/5/1360.
- 506. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with a group of different classes of the people of Khurasan. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 16, pp. 338-40, date: 3/5/1361.

- 507. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of religious Leaders of Bangladesh. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 16, p. 418, date: 17/6/1361.
- 508. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with the Minister of Interior and a group of the members of the Committee of the Islamic Revolution. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 17, pp. 372-3, date: 21/1/1362.
- 509. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of the Students Followers of the Imam's Line. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 13, pp. 264-5, date: 12/8/1359.
- 510. The Imam's devotional-political Will. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 21, pp. 409-10, written down on 26/11/1361, and read out on 15/3/1368.
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- 519.Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with the members of the headquarters of the economic *Basij. Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 16, p. 236, date: 8/3/1361.
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- 524. Imam's message of acqittance to the visitors of the sacred *Baytullah*. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 20, pp. 319-20, date: 6/5/1366.
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- 528. Imam Khomeini's reply to a letter from the Islamic Students Societies in Europe. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 3, p. 336, date: 24/11/1356.
- 529. *Shu'un wa Ikhtiyarat-e Waliyy-e Faqih*, p. 20, published by the Ministry of Guidance.
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- 532. Imam Khomeini's interview with Le Monde magazine. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 3, p. 384, date: 16/2/1357.
- 533. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with a group of the *Ulama. Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 15, p. 180, date: 18/6/1360.
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- 535. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of the personnel of *Jihad-e Sazandegi* and others. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 8, p. 260, date: 5/4/1358.
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- 540. The message of acquittance to the visitors of the sacred *Baytullah*. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 20, pp. 320-2, date: 6/5/1366.
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- 542. Imam Khomeini's message on the inauguration of the *Majlis*. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 12, p. 314, date: 7/3/1359.
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- 544. Imam Khomeini's instructions concerning house building. *Sahifehye Imam*, vol. 6, pp. 459-60, date: 20/1/1358.
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- 555. Imam's devotional-political Will. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 21, pp. 435-6, written down on 26/11/1361, and read out on 15/3/1368.
- 556. Imam Khomeini's statements at a meeting with different classes of the people. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 16, p. 95, date: 24/12/1360.
- 557. Appointing Eng. Mir Husayn Musawi as the Head of the Self-Sacrificers Organizations. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 21, p. 195, date: 3/9/1367.

- 558. Imam Khomeini's statements to a group of the members of the High Defence Council and others. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 15, p. 231, date: 11/7/1360.
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Another reason necessitating the formation of a government is the nature and the quality of the Islamic laws, i.e. the religious precepts. The nature and the quality of these laws denote that they have been legislated for the formation of a state and for politically, economically and culturally managing a society. The religious precepts cover diverse laws and regulations which build up a general social system.