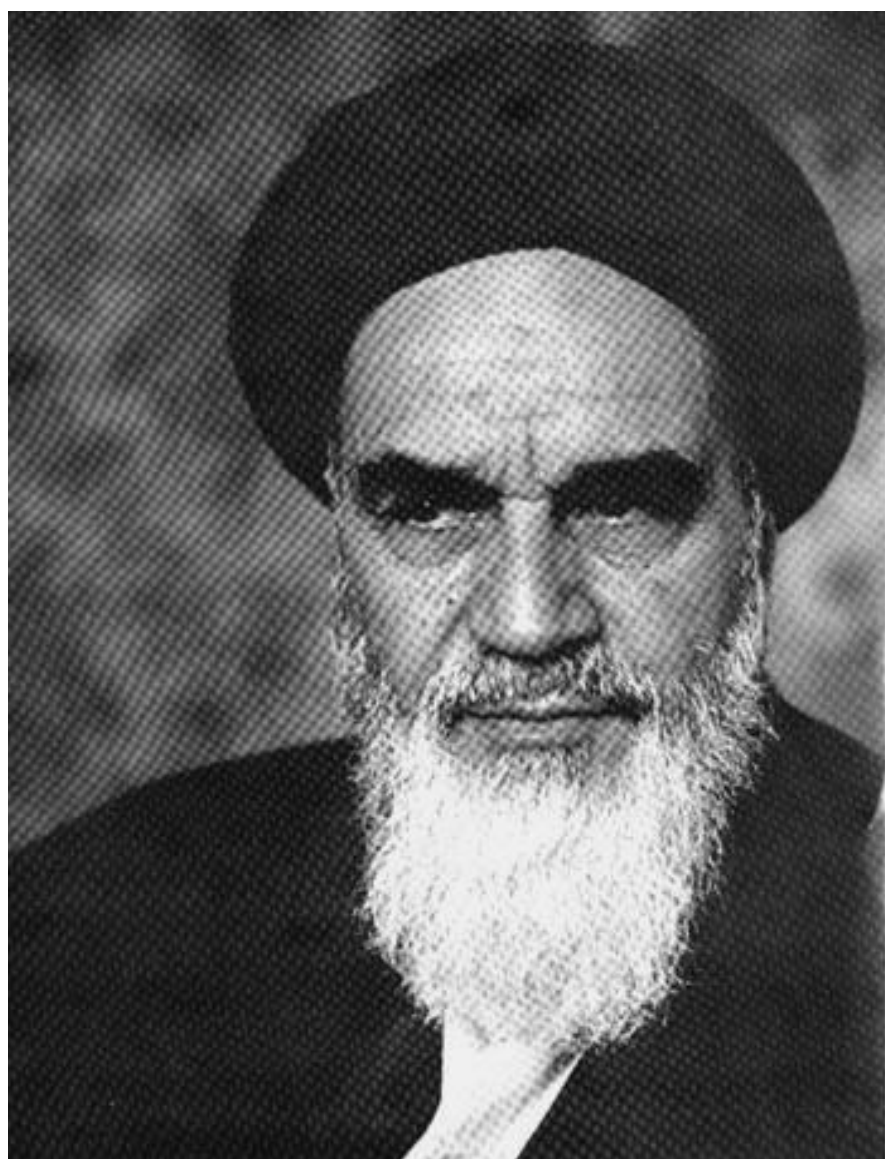




*In the Name of Allah,
the Compassionate, the Merciful*



STANDPOINTS

A selection of stances assumed by Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj

Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini

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



STANDPOINTS: A Selection of the Positions of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini (r)

Publisher: International Affairs Department,

The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works

Second Printing: 2008

Copies: 1500

Price: 28,000 Rls

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کتاب دیدگاههای حاج احمد آقا به زبان انگلیسی

Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ	a, ā, ()
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	d
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Long Vowels

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

Short Vowels

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

Persian Letters

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

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

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

The present compendium is made out of several collections, in observance of the 40th day of the demise of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini. Under the title of “Standpoints” or “Points of Views” it embraces the positions, views and stances of this late blissful keepsake of the Ascendant Imam, in major areas of cultural, political and social issues, expressed by him from the day of the Imam’s Ascension to the last days of his own life, to the audience from different layers of people and at various gatherings.

The “mirror” of the “views” clearly shows that the memento of the Imam, (his son Ahmad) has regarded, in this period of time, the perpetuation of the Imam’s line or policy, in all its aspects, as his most essential duty and purpose. And, to carry out this watchfulness and protection, he has utilized a combined, artistic purview of adoration, sincerity, alertness, sagacity, bravery, providence and universality. He regards himself as a guard for that pure Islam, which, as was inspired by the clear fountain head of his father’s teachings, he retes as an Islam that is against the leech-like capitalism, combats meanness, and protests flattery; an Islam based on traditional and (Jawahiri) *Fiqh*; a freedom loving and Independence seeking Islam.¹ He further sees the crystallization of this ideology

in the powerfulness, perpetuance and solidarity of the sacred ruling system of the Islamic republic based on the values and criteria drawn by its grand architect. This is why he most devoutly and humbly submits to and obeys the supreme religious leadership, and does all he can to enhance its theoretical as well as its practical aspects. In continuation of this path he regards the support for the truthful and responsible authorities of the ruling system as his imperative duty. However, for him, the value and esteem of the authorities is subject to the values taught and regarded by the pure Islam and, therefore, he has combined the support of authorities with careful watch and sympathetic and creative criticism of their works. .

Such values as defending the legitimate rights and freedoms of the people, fighting against America, the world arrogance and poverty, and supporting the deprived, the unity of the Islamic *Ummah*, and the rightful struggles of the Palestinian Muslim nation, and opposing petrification, are among the values he strongly emphasizes and warns the responsible authorities and the people against factors that weaken these values.

Another point worthy of mention in this compendium is that, as coincidental with preparation of this work other compendiums including a selection of his speeches and articles in academic seminars and societies have been prepared but mention of them has not been made in this compendium. Therefore, those, desirous of learning about the thoughts of this erudite person will have to refer to other collections of his works.

In preparing indices for parts within each chapter, too, we have used the chronologic order as criterion which shows this blissful great loss's emphasized points and perpetuation of his positions. While we have not spared those emphatics, yet, as far as possible, we have avoided repetition of points. Thus, the topics of some chapters including emphasis on pursuit of the path of Imam, while summarily collected in one chapter, yet, they are not confined to the given instances. Because of his sensitivity and concern for perpetuation of the Imam's line, this issue has been mentioned in various other places. We hope by publication of this compendium we may have taken effective steps in promulgation of the thoughts of this blissful great loss which is, indeed, a reflection of the thoughts of the late Imam and furtherance of the pure Islam and thus, the divine souls of those noble persons, may be satisfied.

The Institute for Compilation and Publication

of Imam Khomeini's Works
International Affairs Department

EMPHASIS ON SELF-DEVELOPMENT
&
SELF-PURGE

EMPHASIS ON SELF-DEVELOPMENT & SELF-PURGE

The thoughts, the challenges and the responsibilities of the Imam and all that he did was for the sake of God only and because of this, he often used to say “we are victorious if we get killed and are victorious we kill! If the entire world is given to us without obedience to God in it, that is the day we are defeated.”

*(At a meeting with authorities of the Ministry
of the Interior) January 18, 1989*

We are right now by the side of the Imam’s shrine, One of his characteristics was self-development. When, God willing, he triumphed in his Revolution and assumed the leadership of this ruling system, he had already worked on himself for 60 years. The Imam’s first published work² is a book on mysticism and ethics, also his second work and his third. This means that for years he had worked on mysticism and self-development and had been successful in receiving the reward of his intensive efforts, from God, a good reward, and that is why his lofty position in the next life is also secured. Because of his purity, in this life, too, the Imam appeared in a state that a word from him would make the people pour out into the streets.

In my opinion this was not due to his being a Reference Authority (Marja) nor was it because he was a powerful political leader; for, we see many powerful political leaders, reference authorities and jurisconsults. However that which imparted a truly super-normal state to the Imam was his extra

ordinary sincerity and purity. It was the thing that attracted the souls of all those who heard his voice directly or from radio and television, which held spell bound the hearts and minds of the listeners and made them do as he directed them. That made people obey the Imam's call and pour forth into the streets; some were martyred, others were Wounded; still others were tortured and imprisoned. True that, all these strives were germinated by social conditions, but the state of being fearless of all things that are not of God, that was developed in the Iranians was certainly due to the sincerity of the Imam's word.

If we want to solve our economic problems we must solve our political problems and if we want to solve our political problems we must have calculations, dealings and exchanges. Is the step we are taking for God's sake? Is the protest we are making, for God's sake? or is it a means to show off to make our own names ring, and since our names are not considered, we oppose. This kind of thinking has a political dimension.

If someone sincerely works for God and does not mind others, rather, works to help others, you, too, will love him more, and consider him to be a useful person, and you see that the work is best done by his method. Therefore, I think we ought to try to learn from the Imam to speak only for God and to work only for God. This way our difficulties will be solved. Our difficulties will increase if we act otherwise.

If we solve all of our shortcoming, solve the executive problems as well as the economic issues and turn Iran into a paradise but fail to develop and improve the mentality of human beings, we will not have done much. One way to rectify ourselves is self-reckoning. "Take account of yourselves before you are reckoned with."³ To do this we can, when we come home at night and have leisure time, sit in judgment of the things we have done during the day, consider the services we have done as well as, God forbid, the disservices we may have done during that day, and to see what bitterness has issued forth from us as well as the sweetness that has resulted from our acts. We may suppose that, that very night is our last night on earth and we are due to give a reckoning of our doings to Almighty God. These words are useful for myself personally and mentioning them is highly instructive.

*(In a meeting with the personnel of the
Property Registration Department)
September 1990*

His Holiness the Imam often said that one may be the sovereign of the entire world but be not attached to it. This is alright, such a man is a God seeking person. Or, one may have nothing in the world except a string of rosary beads⁴ but fond of it so that his heart beats for it. Such a man is of this world. Do not think, then, that worldly people are those who have considerable pelf. No, he whose attachment to this world is excessive is of this world. In our fight against carnal desires we must try to set the Imam as our model and invest with our lives, assets and prestige so as to arrive at this point.

*(In meeting with authorities of Jihad
Sazandegi (lit. Crusade for Reconstruction)
June 17, 1990*

Chastity and self-denial must be observed. If you succeed in transmitting to the young and the aged people of this country, the entire sciences of this world and of the other world but fail to demonstrate chastity to them in action and word, you have achieved nothing because this is how the Westerners and the arrogant have done. They have achieved great economic, political, social and cultural feats; they have also been able to make great achievements in military aspects. However such feats are worthwhile only when chastity is observed and God's pleasure is attained.

He who does not work for God, works for this world, and whatever he does is limited to the confines of this planet. As I was reading the Book of Forty Traditions (*hadith*) compiled by the Imam, I came across this: "We must know intercession⁵ is proportionate to the degree of righteousness is nothing but walking in the path of chastity. Thus, in this world we must know that our reward in the next world, is proportionate to our doings in this world. "This world is the farm of the next world."⁶ (*aldunya mazriatul akhirah*). It is impossible that we lack sincerity and virtue and chastity and not work for God, yet, be rewarded in the next world, where the criterion is only this. No matter how much

we work in this world, if we do not keep the pleasure of God in mind, it won't be worth a trifle.

You, dear ones, know that the influence of the Imam's word upon the people was not because he was a political leader or a reference authority (*marja at-taqlid*). What made Imam distinct from the rest, and placed him on a higher level was merely his virtue and chastity, his uprightness, truthfulness and his sincerity.

(at a meeting with teachers of the Literary Movement) September 26, 1990

This world is a place with *which*, we must, sooner or later, part. If we leave a good tradition or sunnah, it surely will eternally survive.

(at a meeting with a group of "Azadegan" released prisoners of war) October 24, 1990

Moral purification, setting up divine criteria and ignoring mundane desires are the essential factors of the immunity of the progressive clergy, to perdition.

If individuals are to be awarded privileges, foremost among conditions, their competency and chastity must be taken into consideration.

*(at a meeting with the Red Crescent Society)
14/11/1991*

Avoiding mundane wishes, purification of the ego and return to one's God seeking nature are factors for self-purge and purification of the society.

All the problems of this crisis-stricken world is because we the people, think that whatever smacks of this world is cause for attachment to it. Those who think they can get somewhere by worldly aims, are fooling themselves. Worldly positions are matters of credence and lack any originality. Worldly stations, if held for service to the people and religion are valuable and cause men to advance and improve, otherwise they are of no value whatever. Mundane affairs, if associated with divine motives, lead mankind to salvation and reform and this would mean pursuing the path and conduct of the prophets and saints.

*(at a meeting with the Basijis and Personnel
of the Judicial Organization) November 26,
1991*

Internal disputes beyond personal tastes, are mostly selfishness. If one purges himself and moves within the framework of religion and be decked with Islamic ethics he will not run into any discrepancy with others; for, it is by reliance on God that the right path is found and that ends all disputes. However, if selfishness is pursued, man wants all things for himself and thus temptation to pessimism, jealousy, and unfair competition will ensue and man may even use profane means in order to reach his objective.

*(at a meeting with members of the Central
Council of the House of Labor) April 25,
1992*

Great World Wars, conquering others' lands, dissatisfaction with one's own rights, all these emanate from man's ego. We hope that the world society, from the standpoint of moral and religious growth, moves in the direction where all men come to think divinely and, this point is not beyond reach, because all divine religions invite men to the worship of God.

*(In meeting with the President of the Republic
of Armenia) May 7, 1992*

Sound actions will give credit to all affairs. People will have faith in our deeds and words when they see us as their servants, being faithful, dedicated and competent persons.

*(In meeting with Disciplinary Forces)
November 22, 1993*

Because of his absolute trust in God and his pure faith in Him, in all dimensions of his being, Imam Khomeini (s) acted for the sake of nearness to God and His pleasure. He never acted for the result of his deeds, that is, he did not mind the consequences. In the area of outstanding ethical characteristics he always emphasized on the two principles of truthfulness and avoidance of hypocrisy. We must, in following the ethical characteristics of this noble mystic Hakim, act to purge our characters and deeds.

The word and action of the Imam was based in sincerity and truthfulness with the people. It was his truthfulness that moved people to get in various arenas of the Islamic Revolution and to be ready to sacrifice their lives and properties with all their might and steadfastness.

*(at a meeting with P. T. T employees) June 2,
1992*

It is not enough to have only sharp mottos and slogan to perpetuate the Imam's revolutionary ideals in challenging arrogance and the overt foes. We must be ready for a greater challenge, that is, to fight our egos. This was the secret of the Imam's influence on the hearts of freedom-seeking Muslims; that is, they had really solved this essential problem of theirs. Today, the sacred Islamic Revolution and system is ruthlessly under enemy's attack from every side, and to stand and resist it seriously, we must, before all else, rid ourselves of carnal desires.

*(In meeting with various groups and layers
of people) May 30, 1993*

*EMPHASIS ON PERPETUATION OF THE
IDEALS OF HIS HOLINESS THE IMAM*

EMPHASIS ON PERPETUATION OF THE IDEALS OF HIS HOLINESS THE IMAM

It must be mentioned that defense of the ideals of the Revolution and the regime, emphasis on preservation of the frameworks drawn up by His Holiness the Imam (s), challenging those who are opposed to the ideals of the Revolution and the Imam, defense of the deprived people and of the great leader of the Revolution, are not things to be ignored or forgotten.

*(In a meeting with members of Imam
Khomeini's Aid Committee) October 5, 1989*

We must defend the Imam's Line with all our beings and prevent his thinking from being removed from the world of Islam because, today, the world thirst for his pure thoughts and the Islam of Muhammad (s).

*(at a gala meeting of the commanders of the
20-million man army) November 23, 1989*

I ask, emphatically, all Islamic researchers in the religious schools and centers and in universities as well as the jurisconsults in the Council of Guardians of the Constitution⁷, to refer, once more to the sayings and writings of His Holiness the Imam (s), and to interpret and exegete the issues he has raised and make them available to those who today, are pursuing the thoughts of Hadrat Imam (s).

Today, the Muslims thirst for the thoughts of the person to whose sacrifices, they owe their Islamic identity. Today, the thoughts of the Imam

(s) are raised and discussed in the world as the inviolable principles of the Revolution and Islam.

As far as the Islamic enthusiasts follow the thinking of the Imam (s), to the same extent, the enemies of Islam are trying to deride and distort his views and thoughts.

The thoughts and principles of the Imam (s) must be compiled, edited, discussed and taught in the universities and theological schools.

Hadrat Imam has specified various problems and points concerning issues such as arts, land, ownership, veil, taxes and particularly the rule of the supreme Religious Leadership⁸. He has further described the basic principles of Islamic and political issues. It is up to the *ulama* and muslim thinkers to delineate the thoughts of the Imam (s).

(at a meeting with foreign guests of the Fajr Decade) February 12, 1989

Since our ruling system is essentially spiritual and came to take shape by the rise of the clergy and people, and moved within the frame of the edicts of the pure Islam of Muhammad (s) therefore, the pure Islam must be recognized and the Muslims be made to move in its direction and their thinking formed within its frame. Also, American version of Islam must be recognized and its supporters be made known by all. Hadrat Imam has declared pure Islam as one that fights against the leech-like capitalism and meanness, protests against flattery; an Islam based on the principles of the traditional and “*Jawahiri*” jurisprudence and as an Islam that seeks freedom and independence. He has issued messages in all these areas, and has made speeches and recommendations. He has declared the American version of Islam as mean, flattering, defending the meanness, bowing to leech-lick capitalism, and submissive before the world arrogance.

(at a visit with authorities of the Islamic Propagation Organization) April 10, 1990

No matter what we may do without, we cannot overlook the ideals of the Revolution and of the Imam which is exactly what the enemy wants.

(In meeting with personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee) May 2, 1990

As son of the Imam (s), I am the dust under your feet and kiss the hands of each one of you workers, and I ask everyone of you not to forget the ideals of the Revolution and Imam.

(In meeting with a group of workers, teachers and students) May 7, 1990

You remained steadfast in your covenant with Khomeini and entered the arena because of your faith and trust in his path and his ideals. You withstood toils and hardships and lovingly, shed tears at his ascension. You sounded off the perpetuation of the path of the Master of Martyrs by continuing the path of your Imam and thus disappointed the enemies of Islam and of the Imam. You renewed your covenant with the spirit of the Imam and his ideals. May Almighty God reward you and His Mighty Hand support you in continuing the path of your Imam!

(a message on the occasion of ascension anniversary of the Imam) June 9, 1990

We must, with all our being, make effort to defend the lofty ideals of Islam and of our Imam and never let hardships of life sever us from our ideals.

(In meeting with the authorities of the Jihad Sazandegi Organization) June 17, 1990

Our policy is neither Eastern nor Western. This policy was drawn up by the Imam, and its executors are our martyrs, and their children are its messengers.

Do not let the Revolution that has suffered so much and has met such world wide resistance be deviated from its path. Your responsible authorities will not let it deviate. We here, by the Imam's side, make a covenant with our Imam, with the martyrs' families and their children, that we shall not, for a moment, turn away from the pure Islam of Muhammad (s).

(In meeting with responsible staff of the Bunyad Shahid (Martyrs Foundation) July 11, 1990

If today, in Lebanon, the Hizbullah fights Israel, it is because it has adopted the ideals of the Imam. If people in Palestine fight Israeli tanks with empty hands

it is because they have adopted your methods of combat and all this is because Imam's thinking is universal.

*(In meeting with the Gendarmeri Personnel)
July 24, 1990*

We have repeatedly said that departure from the policies of the pure Islam means death of the Revolution and with the death of the Revolution the whole system will cease to exist. Our Revolution is the face of the Pure Islam, the same Islam that the Imam said: "it requires sacrifices; pray that I become so sacrificed."

*(In meeting with a group of freed P.O.W.s)
September 3, 1990*

You ought to stand up against paganism, especially America. We must tighten our belts because we are the children of Imam and should not deviate, for even a moment, from our Islamic ideals and objectives.

*(at a meeting with freed prisoners of war)
September 10, 1990*

Today in the absence of the Imam, the perpetuation of his thought and line in the various political, social, cultural, economic and military arenas must be emphasized more than before. Although the Imam is not physically with us but his path, objectives and purposes are being perpetuated as the most sacred values on the same route as of the Revolution and the system. And we must properly recognize the Imam's Line.

Our health-giving prescription is the path of the Imam. Efforts must be made to unite the Muslims of the world.

*(In meeting with the commanders and
personnel of the Sepah) June 7, 1991*

If the universities and the theological schools fail today, to relay, clearly, the lofty thoughts of the Imam (s) to the people, they will have committed an unforgivable sin because, today, more than any other time, we need to have the brilliant commands of Islam freed from all entanglements.

*(at a meeting with University Professors)
9/29/91*

At any sensitive stage of the Islamic Revolution Hadrat Imam (s) solved some of the infrastructural problems of the Islamic society by his candid decrees and proposed issues that no one had until then paid attention to, and set forth the clear Islamic decrees relating to them. Today the theological schools and the universities must research into the current issues of the country with consideration to the standpoints and stances of the Imam regarding them.

*(at a meeting with university Professors)
9/29/1991*

The slightest deviation from the principles of the Revolution and departure from the Imam's Line will make us forfeit the popular and public backing and support. It will enable the enemies to gain strength to destroy our Regime.

*(In a meeting with the Basijis and the
personnel of Judicial Organization)
November 26, 1991*

If our Revolution and the Regime want to forcefully pursue the Imam's Line, they must inform the people at home and abroad, about the positions of the Imam with respect to the West, to our foreign policy, and to the political, economic and cultural issues. The mass media, the press, especially radio and television must place this important task above all their programs so that, hopefully, we may rid ourselves of the ruses of our enemies.

*(at a meeting with the Staff of Imam's
anniversary celebration) April 24, 1992*

Honoring the memory of the Imam (s) as a national Islamic custom, in and out of the country is not merely commemorating a historic event. Rather it is honoring his path and goal; just as the Ashura⁹ is not merely honoring a historic event nor reminding ourselves of the bravery of the martyrs on that day. Rather it is truly an emphasis on the ideals and objectives that have activated the Muslims to make moves.

That which pleases the spirit of our eternal Imam is the perpetuation of the lofty objectives of the Regime and of the Islamic Revolution. In honoring

the path and purpose of the Imam we must draw the attentions of the public, both at home and abroad, to the ideals of the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

*(At the Orientation gathering of the
Anniversary Celebration Staff) May 12, 1992*

You should not forget the Imam's stance against America. The Imam's positions vis-à-vis America have been clear and solid.

*(In a meeting with a group of freed P.O.W.s)
August 20, 1994*

*SUPPORTING THE REGIME, THE
LEADER, AND THE SUPREME
RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP (WILAYAT-E
FAQIH)*

SUPPORTING THE REGIME, THE LEADER, AND THE SUPREME RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP (*WILAYAT-E FAQIH*)

Today, you and I must move on the same. line, purely and sincerely; for God and Islam and our Islamic Regime. We must support our noble leader Ayatullah Khamenei and walk in his path which is the path of our dear Imam. Today, the world is waiting to see how we make steps; violating the Supreme Religious Leader entails the fall of the Regime.

Today, “*Wilayat*” or Supreme Religious Leadership is the point of unity of the Hizbullah. The Regime is not apart from *Wilayat* because without Religious Leadership or *Wilayat* there can be no Islamic order and without the Islamic Order, the Revolution cannot advance. Today our Islamic Regime is the light of hope for all Muslims of the world. If our two revolutionary currents, the two currents that are concerned about Islam, in the Imam and in the Supreme Religious Leadership (*Wilayat-e Faqih*) join hands, they can overcome all anti-Revolutionary elements at home and abroad. Otherwise the group that will take over the administration of the country is opposed to both currents and will destroy them both.

*(at a meeting with responsible personnel of the
office of the Representative of the Wilayat-e
Faqih in the Sepah) January 27, 1989*

We shall make a covenant with the Imam not to leave, even for a moment, our dear leader of the Revolution, His Holiness Ayatullah Khamenei for, he is a dear student of our dear Imam. He is the great man who, today, is at the

helm of the ship; this great man, behind whom we will bring America to its knees.

(In meeting with the first group of freed prisoners of war (azadegan)) August 20, 1990

No one has a right to break in and trespass on the sanctuary of the Leadership. Reverence for the Leadership of the Islamic Regime is an inviolable principle of our Islamic Revolution. All must obey the commands of the Leadership.

(at a meeting with a group of freed prisoners of the Revolutionary Guards Corps) October 30, 1990

Today, it is our duty to move behind the great leader Ayatullah Khamenei , listen to whatever he says and act accordingly. If some day our actions do not match the words of the *Wali* or Religious Leader, be sure the fault is ours. If today, our disputes weaken the Leader, we have committed a grave sin. Today we accept disputes from no one, If some day we move away from the Supreme Religious Leader or *Wali-ye Faqih* and if the influence of his word diminishes, we have gravely sinned. The entire efforts of the dear nation, of the martyrs and of the Imam will come to naught. All the hardship that you withstood during the fight will come to nothing. We must try to preserve our unity and move behind the Leader.

(In meeting with families of the martyrs of the Qum massacre of January 9, 1977) 19/1/1990

Today, the Leadership, the government and the Regime represent the true criteria for wholesome righteousness vis-à-vis all the vanities in the world. We must stay behind our Leader and remove all obstacles in our path.. As the Imam is no longer with us, we must give more solidity to our lines, increase our efforts and enhance our support of the Leader and the Authorities of the Regime.

(In meeting with all directors of the Imam's Aid committees) January 15, 1990

Today, more solidly and decisively, we must remain behind the Leader and not let our Leader feel alone just the way we didn't let the Imam feel left alone. Obeying Khamenei is obeying the Imam. Anyone who denies this is surely not in imam's Line. And, anyone who says obeying Hadrat Khamenei is one thing, and obeying the Imam is something else is in the line of America.

Just as an inkling of the Imam would send all to the streets and fronts, we are ready to pour forth into the streets and fronts by an inkling of the Leader. After the ascension of the Imam I made a covenant with God and the Imam not to take the smallest step against the Leader and Leadership and, if you people, too, would renew such a covenant, we would surely be victorious in all areas against America.

(at the opening ceremonies of the Fajr Decade Festival) January 1, 1990

It is a duty of all of us members of the Council of Experts¹⁰ to protect the ideals of our Regime. Thanks God today our Regime is guided by a man, who, to defend the ideals of the Imam and Islam, invests all his abilities and might. By our confirmation and support we must pave the way for the Leadership.

(at a meeting with delegates of the second Council of Experts) February 20, 1990

We do not claim to have completely solved all of the complicated economic, political, social and military problems of the society. However, we can claim that the Regime and Revolution are in the line of the Imam and have not had the slightest deviation from the line of the Imam nor from the supreme Commands of Islam.

The general course and movement of the Regime has its base in the Imam's Line and thought and we, too, should do all we can to follow it and to support it. The problems of our Islamic society are so enormous that require highly competent authorities to act for their solution. For eradication of deprivation and solution of difficulties the state executive staff do all they can and we hope our Regime will triumph in this struggle.

(In meeting with members of the Management Council of the Qum Theological Center) March 12, 1990

Today we must all be united and get behind our Leader in support of our system. Our Leader is a student of the Imam. He is a well known feature of the Revolution who has spent long years in the prisons of the savage Pahlavi regime”.¹¹ He has rendered plenty of service during the Revolution, and at front lines of the war. He has actively fought at the battle fronts. We must then feel proud to have such a Leader and all of us must walk behind him in opposition to American hellish force. We shall resist the evil power of the East and the West and defend the ideals of our Imam:

(In meeting with the police Personnel of the Islamic Republic of Iran) .../.../1990

Today, too, we have a Leader; Guardianship (*wilayat*), makes no difference, whether it is the *wilayat* or guardianship of the Imam or that of His Holiness the Prophet (s). Today is exactly like the time of the Imam. Let us see what the Leader has said. Now that the Leader has not said anything, let us go back to ourselves, to our friends. The difference of views among us must be solved someday. If the leader expresses a view we must act according to it. If every one tries to act according to his own views, what then is the use of Leadership? When we have a Leader we must try to walk behind him and act according to him.

If you want to work for the people without obeying the Leader you may be sure that another group which is opposed to the Leader will move in and take over the government and say that these people cannot act for God. Be sure they will link Iran to the West.

Today we are in a war too, we are engaged in conflicts, we cannot abandon our Revolutionary criteria.

Praise Allah, we shall remain behind our Leader, Our disputes will not drive us toward the West. Our revolutionary stern will not draw our holy Revolution toward the West. The West has our annihilation in mind!

(In meeting with the Director, responsible staff and employees of the state organization for Registration of Documents) .../ .. /1990

Since the Westerners consider our Leader their enemy, they do not reflect his words and revolutionary positions. We must be seriously worried about the Line of Imam becoming marred. With the least indulgence we must

promulgate the Imam's thoughts in all areas of the community. Today, reverence for the Imam must be shown in conjunction with his path and thought. Some acted this way even when the Imam was alive. But, today, foreign radios, falsely but frankly, suggest that the general policy of our Regime has changed. Such claims are the worst insults to our Revolution and Regime. We must, today, more than ever before, and with more power, defend the line of the Imam and stand against those who do things without permission from the great leader of the Revolution. We must not let the thoughts of the Imam and the Leader and the ideals of the Regime leave this country. As we have the grand Leader of the Revolution we are sure such policies and plans will not materialize; however, the harm of such issues is not a small thing to be ignored.

(In meeting with members of the staff for celebrating the Imam's ascension anniversary) May 13, 1991

In the present conditions we must maintain our brotherhood and unity. Today our country and Regime need unity. Preservation of oneness and unity is one of the principles of our Revolution. The Imam used to emphasize the necessity of unity in the files and lines of the Islamic nation. Our Revolution's healing prescription is the Line of Imam. Attempts must be made to call all Muslims of the world to unity. Today, the pivot of unity of world Muslims is the "Wali-ye Faqih" and Leader who strides in the Line of the Imam.

(In meeting with the Commanders and Personnel of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps) June 7, 1991

We must know that the defense of the martyrs of the of Tir¹² (June 28) is pawned to the defense of the fruits of the Islamic Revolution. Today, we must, in the best manner, guard and preserve all that the martyrs of the 7th of Tir and other noble martyrs of the Islamic Revolution have given to us as trustees so that we may transmit the same to future generations without any deviation.

We must support and defend the great leader of the Revolution, the heads of the three powers and other officials of the Regime and fight with the moves

that attack the core of the Revolution. Today, too, the supporters of the Imam and of the martyrs of the 7th of Tir are serving as executives of the country and the Revolution. We must know that we have paid dearly for the fruits of the Revolution, protection of which can be perpetuated through support of the administrators and authorities of the country and by preventing any deviation in the process of the Revolution and the ruling system.

(In meeting with families of the 7th Tir martyrs on occasion of observing the tenth anniversary of the martyrs of the Islamic Republic Party) June 27, 1991

The children of the Revolution should join hands, maintain their unity, do not criticize one another over trifles, and do not scare away the people from the arenas with their groundless disputes. They must fear the fate of the Revolution which has come by the blood of thousands of martyrs and tremendous efforts of the Imam. I have often said that the Islamic Revolution, next to God Almighty, rests on the people. And, it is the people who can defend, as heretofore, their dignity, grandeur, nationality and religion against the foes. Certainly any move that results in breaking the people's unity is a sin, regardless of the source of such move. Foreigners, especially Americans, have long standing enmity with Islam, the Revolution and the Imam. They know that the children of the Imam are the managers of the Islamic system who never take a step backward from the path of Islam and the Revolution. Thus, their animosity with us is about principles and we, in turn, must be serious in encountering them.

The least deviation from the principles of the Revolution and moving away from the Imam's Line will make us lose the popular support and enables the foes to gain strength to destroy our Regime. Therefore, all the Revolutionary and pro-pure Islam forces must, by reason and faith, join in a single rank and be ready for a hard struggle.

(In meeting with the authorities and personnel of the Aviation Organization of the Islamic Republic of Iran) July 27, 1991

The political wings and the Imam's Revolutionary children must be aware that the region is pregnant with a terrible explosion. Hard days await the

Muslims, trial day is at hand. Mat which is certain in the present dire and vital conditions is that the world arrogance headed by America, the die hard foe of Islam is showing its fangs and claws. If we be united and aim at the sensitive points of the enemy, by God's help we shall be victorious. If we continue our disputes over trifle things and neglect the essential principles of Islam, the winner party in the fate-deciding fight shall not be either one of the two wings¹³ and, in the word of our dear Imam, the victorious party is not going to be a clergyman. And if it be one who needs the service of a clergyman, he'll select some petrified clergy. More than ever before, care must be taken not to make moves that render the anti Revolutionaries more bold and daring. Shortcomings and weaknesses must not be exaggerated and thus the people become disappointed. On the other hand assumption of positions should not be made in such a manner that will discourage the children of the Revolution and the dear Hizbullah, so, God forbid, they become indifferent to the fate of the Revolution and Islam. If, under certain conditions a precautionary position must be assumed for the solution of a knotty issue of the Islamic Revolution or if an enemy is to be disarmed somehow, in order to inflict a blow on him, care must be taken to see what effects such soft position assumption will have, what will be its aftermaths on various levels of the community. Furthermore, what will be the negative effects of such aftermath, on the faithful pro-Revolution elements who, generally, manifest revolutionary frankness and demand assumption of rough mannerism against the arrogance camp? If some day the Revolution and the Regime require the brave lads of the war fronts, will they, willingly, come to the arenas again? We all know that economic problems are enormous in this sensitive stage of the Islamic Revolution and a capable person such as Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani is determined to steer the caravan of the Iranian Islamic Revolutionaries through the currents of unrest to the port of safety; therefore, we must all do our best to assist him in these difficult conditions, forget the "we" and the "I", so that we may be able to guide the Revolution properly in the direction of the ideals of our dear Imam and Leader.

If in this grave path we run into ominous whirlpools, we shall, hand in hand, as before, overcome all obstacles so that, God willing, we can hoist the banner of Islam on high peaks of liberty and greatness and thus please the soul of our Imam. In this historic move we must all help the authorities of the Revolution and of the country. If we have critics to point out we should do it

without confusing the mind of the public. If we see that the ship of the Revolution is deviating from its correct course we must ring up the warning bell immediately and follow the postures assumed by our Leader; for, in the Islamic system we have no more responsibility.

*(In a meeting with families of the Martyrs)
August 6, 1991*

International pilferers and ill-wishers enter from every side road to deviate the move of the Revolution from its divine course. They poison public opinions by their vast and extensive propaganda. They try to show that after the Imam's ascension the Regime has moved out of its Islamic framework and is now leaning Westward and the Imam's pupils follow a course other than that of the Imam (s). Such suggestions have devilish and preventive roots.

*(In a meeting with coeds of Teacher
Training Center) August 11, 1991*

Under hard conditions, we can, by our unity, prevent deterioration and deviation from entering into our ideals, objectives, Revolution and our Regime, and thus, make this Revolution attain its objectives. The rightful struggles of our people are pawned to unity around the axis of leadership. Both political wings must state their views and opinions and this does not contradict our unity.

*(In meeting with the families of the martyrs
of the Islamic Revolution, on occasion of the
4th day of Holy Defense Week, the day to
glorify martyrs and sacrificers) 9/26/1991*

The Islamic Revolution move still continues and we must, by our unity and brotherhood, and by supporting Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei, a friend and student of the Great Imam, be prepared to realize the ideals of the Revolution and the Imam. You ought to know that under his guidance, we shall never bow before America and world order of paganism, rather, we shall, as before, move ahead for the maintenance of the banner of monotheism.

*(In meeting with LRI Airforce Personnel)
January 7, 1991*

Today, preservation of unity of the Islamic *ummah* can be realized by supporting the *wilayat-e faqih*. You are intermediate representatives of the “*Wali-ye Faqih*” and should, in addition to protecting your own prestige and rank, preserve the lofty station of the leadership of the Revolution and the Regime within the span of your responsibilities. The Leadership of the Islamic Revolution is the axis for all Islamic and Revolutionary moves and decision-makings.

The slightest deviation from the axis of the *Wilayat-e faqih*, will mete out hard blows to the maintenance of the unity of Islamic *Ummah* and it is a sin. The unity of the Islamic round and about the axis of the leadership of the *Wali-ye Faqih* has been able to defend the fruits of the Revolution and Regime vis-à-vis the ruses and deceitfulness of the powers and superpowers. The *Wali-ye Faqih* is the axis of the values of the Revolution. Anyone who shuns it , shuns the Revolution and the Regime and is responsible before God.

(In meeting with participants in the cross-country Seminar of the responsible personnel of the Disciplinary forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran politico -ideologic-offices) 2/19/1992

The rumors of separation of the Regime from the Line of the Imam, and its nearness to the West and separation of the revolutionary children of Imam from the Line of *Wilayat* are circulated by Western spy machinery. Today, surely both political currents are far from such acts and such unethical and un-Islamic issues do not enter the minds of Imam’s Revolutionary children. After every political and non-political event that is related to the Regime and Revolution, such bitter accounts become current in the community. Be sure such points are raised and designed by agents of Western spying and propaganda machinery.

Who benefits by the rumors of separation of the Regime from the Imam’s Line or nearness of the Regime to the West and the rumor of separation of the children of the Imam and Revolution from the Line of Guardianship or

Wilayat? Some of the individually assumed postures may enhance the rumors spread by Western spy machinery to support these two false analyses. But, if anyone, from any spectrum or current acts like that, he'll be beset by the general resolution of Western spy machineries for making the people suspect each other.

Let us be aware that the business of the C.I.A, and Mossad, too, is both to spread rumors and generate silence and we are today beset by both of them. The world has put aside from world news arena, our dear Leader as the number one enemy of the West. Of course this is glad tidings, for, it shows the deep effect of our Leader's words in the world. The deadly silence of the world arrogance vis-à-vis the Quranic positions of our leadership must make us realize how much the world fears the Revolutionary positions of our Leadership. On the other hand, the uncalculated, soft positions shown by some of our second or even third rank officials are afforded so loud publicity in their mass media as though such persons are the uncontested leaders of the Revolution and their words are the words of the Imam of the Time¹⁴ (the 12th Shiite Imam now in occultation but expected to make his advent some day). Along with such deadly silence and the rigmarole, trumpet sounding of internal agents, they make heinous propaganda

(In meeting with a group of members of the Central Council of the Labor House) July 27, 1992

The solid and uncompromising positions of the Great Leader Ayatullah Khamenei vis-à-vis the treacheries of the world of arrogance is reminiscent of Imam Khomeini's wise positions. Today the Western mass media vis-à-vis the solid postures of our noble Leader pursue a policy of silence and boycott. They have clearly understood that his positions are against the interests of the world of arrogance and if they want to attack him the way they attacked at the time of Hadrat Imam they will get contrary results. This plotting of the enemy is a serious danger. On various occasions we must all make effort to break this atmosphere of silence and boycott, that has engulfed us, and clarify the wise positions and policies of the great Leader of the Revolution. Once more I say that the Leader's positions are exactly the same as those of the Imam and we must demonstrate to the publics both at home and abroad that it is false to think that the Imam's followers, his students and the revolutionary forces have

deviated from Imam's line. Today the general policies of the Revolution and the Regime are drawn up by the great Leader and on the basis of the Religion and the constitutional Law none of the Majlis, the government, the judiciary power or the others can act contrary to his views. Therefore, the rumors that are broadcast by the enemy that if the government, the Majlis or other organs of the Regime be this or that they will move Westwardly or Eastwardly and if it be so and so they may encounter the interests of the West; these and similar rumors are nothing but empty and baseless words said to confuse the minds of the public. Today we all know what the positions of Hadrat Imam and the Grand Leader are in respect of the West. The Leader has said: "Our path is the path of the Imam. Religious and worldly expediencies point to us the path of Hadrat Imam (s). We must not take a single step short of that path." The Leader has repeatedly reminded us of the perpetuation of the Imam's path and he himself follows that path in all his actions. The positions held by the great Leader of the Revolution puts our minds at ease. If we wish to walk in God's path and pleasure, we must follow the leader's moves.

Uppermost among the plots of the enemies is the idea to separate the people from the ruling system. Considerable investment has been made on this point to prepare a heavy invasion on us from this dimension. If the Revolution and the Regime wish to follow the path of the Imam with might, we must apprise the people at home and abroad of the positions of the Imam and the Leader concerning the West, and our foreign policy, and on political, economic and cultural problems. Mass Media of communication especially radios and televisions must give priority to these matters in their broadcasts so that, God willing, we get rid of the enemies' ruses.

(In meeting with the secretary and members of the staff observing the Imam's ascension anniversary) April 27, 1992

In honoring the path and objective of the Imam we must draw people's attention, at home and abroad, to the ideals of the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Today the grand Leader of the Revolution is the standard-bearer of these ideals. We must show to the world that the Revolution and the Regime still move in their correct and real path.

Today the entire propaganda of the West is centered on this point that the objectives of Imam Khomeini have been forgotten after his ascension and, that,

Islamic Iran has moved away from his uncompromising positions. On commemorating the anniversary of the ascension of Imam Khomeini we must witness the perpetuation of the Imam's path and ideal and this is possible only by clearly stating the uncompromising positions and objectives of the Grand Leader of the Revolution, His Holiness Ayatullah Khamenei .

(In orientation gathering of heads of various committees observing the ascension anniversary of the Imam) May 12, 1992

If the people be all united and move around the axis of the Leadership of the Revolution, no one will be able to defeat them. No matter how strong our enemies may be as long as we act under the Leadership, of the Wali-ye Amr, they shall be in a weak position.

(In meeting with the university students, Basij members) May 2, 1992

The world of arrogance is an enemy of Islam because of Islam's opposition to domineering elements. That which can be dangerous to them is the pure Islam projected by the Imam (s). Today, in the absence of the Imam, his noble and holy objectives are not forgotten. They are perpetuated, with the same zeal, under the Leadership of Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei who defends the prestige of Islam and Muslims.

(In meeting with thousands including Ministry of Defense commanders, responsible heads and personnel) May 2, 1993

The presence of the people on the scene proved false the contentions and analyses that, after the Imam things will be so and so. Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei assumed the position of Commander-in-Chief of all forces and powers. He stepped in the footsteps of the Imam, in assuming positions, attacking America, challenging arrogance and in lack of compromise vis-à-vis international bullies. We thank God, his leadership is nearing us to our ultimate objective.

Today, the Imam is not with us is not among us but the Leader is with us, as the center of the struggle. We must all gather around the Leader, be a united hand and oppose all enemies by our unity.

(In meeting with commanders and personnel of Army Joint Staff) June 3, 1992

The sensitive, historic and fate-deciding action of the Council of Experts in designating the Leadership of Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei was carried out in such a way that it brought forth divine mercy to the people of Iran.

The million-man audiences present on the various scenes of the Revolution and the Regime nullified all intrigues by the world arrogance and today, with the Islamic Revolution being on its mid-way, their dangers and intrigues each moment threaten the existence and prestige of Islam and the Revolution because the leadership of Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei in pursuit of his great preceptor and standard bearer of the pure Islam of Muhammad (s) means to fight the world of oppression and cruelty and the camp of arrogance will never like this.

If America means to impose its world order on the deprived nations it is to fight against the world-embracing light of Imam Khomeini's uncompromising Islam. To preserve the blessings and outcomes of the Islamic Revolution we must listen to the commands of the leader of the Islamic Revolution.

(In meeting with the Commanders of the trinary forces of Army, Islamic Revolutionary Guards and the Disciplinary forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran) June 3, 1992

Today, the conditions and positions of our Islamic Revolution is like the uprising of His Holiness Imam Husayn (a) because the entire propaganda machineries of the enemy try to annihilate the existence of those who want Islam and seek the Truth. In these hard conditions we must be aides to the thoughts of the Imam and the positions of the Leader of the Revolution, Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei. Today Western media confront the Islamic Revolution with grudge and enmity and try to hold the Muslims down in an intellectual deprivation level and to thwart the moral and intellectual influences of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

(In meeting with responsible officials and personnel of the Organization o~ the Isdustries of the Ministry of defense) July 7, 1992

We must bear in mind the instruction of the great leader, Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei vis-à-vis all perversions and cultural invasions in all dimensions. We must, in all dimensions, be aware that the thing which, in the course of guidance and encouragement of the dear Hizbullah can cause the effective execution of Leadership's orders, is paying attention to our own faithful forces. The Hizbullah forces must be in key positions in all cultural, artistic, academic and economic grounds. We can be true executors of the orders of the Leadership when we fight the world of arrogance. The Basiji¹⁵ must not feel useless, otherwise, by just using diplomacy and leniency in cultural and economic areas the values of the Revolution and Regime cannot be defended. The Basij and the dear Hizbullah will never forgive those who try to incline our cultural and economic gains toward the West. These two cannot compromise; they are incompatible with each other.

We must not give the Hizbullah only lip service but make them feel heart ache in action. Why should the cultures of luxury and easy living dominate us and we still expect that the Basijis and the Hizbullah Party keep their strongholds of Revolutionary and Islamic values. If dualism filters into our words and deeds no confidence will be accrued by it. People well distinguish sincerity from hypocrisy. Today, our Leader is consistently standing up against paganism and arrogance and people defend and support his uncompromising positions. In the present world that the strong crushes the weak underfoot, we ought not to think the problems of the Islamic Revolution are at an end. Yesterday's powers withstood the pressures of Russia on the newly made independent states of Estonia Latvia and Lethonia.

Today in the heart of the civilized Europe the criminal Serbs have undertaken genocide vis-à-vis the Bosnia Herzeguin Muslims. Their inhuman acts is a mark of shame on mankind's contemporary history, yet, the great powers show no reaction to it. We are in a world where all human values are toys in the hands of major powers. If we show fear in this world vis-à-vis the rigmarole of the camp of arrogance we shall have betrayed the ideals of the Imam and the martyrs. Today Islam is regarded as a great religious power and we all have the duty to guard our faith values.

(In a meeting with the freed prisoners of the war) August 16, 1992

We must all try to spy behind the commander-in-chief of all forces, His Holiness Ayatullah Khamenei and be ready to make sacrifices for the perpetuation of his objectives and thoughts.

*(In meeting with the Basij Resistance Force of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps)
September 29, 1992*

We must obey the orders of the great Leader of the Islamic Revolution Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei because we are soldiers under his command and it is necessary that we obey our commander.

We know that today the ideas and ideals of the great Leader have been recognized all over the world as original, divine and Islamic ideals and also have been boycotted by the world of arrogance. Each of us has a duty to promulgate the thoughts of the great Leader of the Revolution and to promote his way as much as we can, under all conditions and circumstances and not mind the raucous voices, for, if we fear noises and commotion we shall, undoubtedly, not attain to the ideals of Islam and the Revolution, and we shall be defeated.

*(In meeting with responsible authorities of the Offices of the Leader in the Jihad Sazandegi)
October 14, 1992*

Self-recognition is a prelude to the recognition of God. We shall be going astray and be lost as long as we do not truly know ourselves. Pursuit of the Imam's Line begins with self-purge and self-control. Crystallization of the moral link between the Imam and *Ummah* is indicative of the highest level of faith and belief of the people in the Principle of *Wilayat*.

(In a meeting with the disciplinary forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran) November 22, 1992

Today the great Leader of the Revolution has exactly these positions: He pursues, in the best manner, the Imam's path and line, vis-à-vis the cultural invasion of the west, he has drawn the principal lines of the Islamic Revolution and shown the methods of encounter. In the area of executing God's commands he has assigned a group for proper recognition of those commands and their application to political, economic, cultural and social

issues. With regard to diplomatic invasions, he acts through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or directly himself. We must try to carry out his instructions and implement his intentions.

(at the Yawmullah (God's Day) the 12th of Bahman Ceremonies) February 1, 1992

On the ascension anniversary of Hadrat Imam (s) we must try to transmit and introduce to the world the Islamic Revolution's message of justice and opposition to cruelty as well as the sound and solid postures of our great leader, Ayatullah Khomeini. Today our enemy's anger has been further spurred by the perpetuation of the Revolution's ideals under leadership of Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei and the attachment of the organs of the Regime to the principles of the Revolution and Islam. and because of the perpetuation of the Islamic principles and ideals the Regime and Revolution is placed under pressure by the arrogant powers.

(In meeting with members of the Staff celebrating the anniversary of the ascension of the Imam (s)) May 16, 1993

Today, the Revolution Leader is resisting, with all his might, against extortionist moves of the powers. He will not let the armed forces be weakened. He deeply believes in the power of the armed forces. We have all withstood the pressures and difficulties in order to preserve the frameworks and principles of the Revolution. We must not forget the martyrs, their survivors, the wounded, the lost ones and the prisoners of the imposed war and let us all know that it is expedient for us in this and the next world to obey the Guardian of the Time (Wali-ye Amr).

(At morning call ceremonies of the joint armed forces by the side of Imam, Khomeini's shrine. Occasion: Khorramshahr liberty anniversary) May 24, 1993

Criterion for recognition of false and true and criterion for our action is the guideline of the Leader as *Wali-ye Faqih* and the essential pillar of the Revolution and the Regime. His command is the final word in all arenas.

(In a meeting with Managing Director and Chief Editors of the IRI News Agency)

Our Regime is based on the principle of Guardianship (*Wilayat*). In all stages and in the general policy lines of the Regime we must secure the execution of the orders of the *Wali-ye Amr* and know that our good in this and in the next world rests in following and supporting the Leader.

(In a meeting with the diplomats of the Islamic Republic of Iran, abroad) July 17, 1993

Analysis-prone tendencies limits men of thought and makes them one-track minded. We must go after God's command. God's command is that the command of the Guardian (*Wali-ye Faqih*) must be obeyed in all circumstance. You, dear university fellows with a deep understanding of the *Wilayat-e faqih* take by *Wali-ye Amr*, you have to take care that, if necessary, to carry out an order issued by *Wali-ye Amr*, you have to take up arms and fight God's enemies. We must not, even for a moment let ourselves differentiate between the *Wilayat* or Guardianship of Hadrat Imam (s) and that of the Revolution Leader.

While the Imam lived I did whatever he commanded and today I shall do whatever the *Wali-ye Amr* orders; results are not important to me. That which is important is the carrying out of a command or order; to perform one's duty, not the pleasure of individuals. Today Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei is the worthy successor of the noble Imam. Do not say we accept the line of the Imam but what is going on does not concern us. If we analyze so superficially, we have not performed our religious duty and responsibility. The commands of the Leader of the Revolution, just as those of the Imam (s) are incumbent on all and must be carried out.

(At a gathering of students of the universities of Tehran) July 27, 1993

In the present conditions the most important duty of the Basijians is to support the positions of the grand leader of the Islamic Revolution. All Revolutionary forces, especially, the Basijians, must be alert and prevent the

positions of the Leader, in any aspect, to pale and, God unwilling, he be left alone.

If some day the grand Leader of the Revolution decides that a certain posturing is in the interest of the Regime and the Revolution, we must all follow it because we believe in *Wilayat-e Faqih* and must, as shadows, follow him to whom the shadow belongs.

(at a grand gathering of the commanders of the Basij Resistance forces) November 20, 1993

Economic problems must not remove our revolutionary society away from the objectives of the late Imam (s) and of the grand Leader of the Revolution. The country is undergoing reconstruction and economic changes. People should withstand economic pressures.

(In visit with P. T. T, Minister and personnel) May 30, 1994

The Imam's measures and thoughts impart original identity to the Revolution and Regime. Today the grand Leader of the Islamic Revolution defends the Imam's positions with all his being and tries to have the country's affairs move in the direction of the Imam's thoughts.

The essential issues of the Revolution and Regime must not be mixed with daily problems because if that is done the objectives will be forgotten. Those who criticize daily conditions must, with proven and practicable solutions, prepare the grounds for reconstruction.

If we by negligence or unwillingly deliver blows to the roots of the Revolution and Regime, prevailing circumstances shall not be corrected.

(In visit with responsible staff and personnel of the Ministry of Defense and Support of the Armed Forces) May 31, 1994

We must, more than before, act according to the Imam's recommendation for unity and national cohesion. The Leader of the Revolution and the authorities of the Regime have only the people to rely on while our enemies have entered the arena to destroy the outcomes of the Islamic Revolution with

all their might. We must preserve our revolutionary alertness and be ready to obey the commands of the Leadership.

Today, the Imam is not among us, but his worthy son has assumed leadership of the Revolution and the Regime. We must fill up this vacuity by supporting the Leadership and by our unity and one-heartedness so that the objectives of the Imam and the Revolution be perpetuated with candor.

(In meeting with the personnel of the Disciplinary Forces of the LR.I) May 2, 1994

I must thank the grand Leader of the Islamic Revolution Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei who, with iron will guards the line of the holy ideals of the Imam (s) and steers the society toward the pure Islam of Muhammad (s), and Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, my dear brother, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, this illustrious figure who has devoted all his life to the Revolution, and the Islamic Regime and advancement of the country. Also I here thank the head of both Legislative and Judiciary powers who are true and faithful friends of the Imam and worthy servants of the Islamic Regime.

(A message of thanks to the God-seeking Ummah) January 9, 1994

By their support of the Principle of *Wilayat Faqih* and the Leader, people protected Islam and the Revolution because they had understood that weakening the Wilayat entails the weakening of Islam and the Revolution all over the world and that is tantamount to destruction of Islam and of the fruits of the Revolution.

*(Commemoration of Laylatulqadr)
February 20, 1995*

Internally, today, we have nothing that could be termed as crisis or political difficulty. Thanks God, the Revolution and the Regime defend their rightful positions everywhere with power. It is a cause for honor and pride to see that, as yet, the Line of the Imam as the basic and dominant policy is being pursued by the grand Leader of the Revolution, by the authorities and by the people.

(In meeting with authorities, professors, personnel and students of the Shahid University) February 22, 1995

The fate of the Revolution and Islam, and the attitude of the Muslims towards the Islamic revolution and the faithfulness of the people and their enthusiasm toward the Revolution, the Imam and the ruling system after the ascension of the Imam had always been a matter of concern and uncertainty. However, the initiative and historic action by the Council of Experts in designating a worthy successor for Leadership of the Islamic Revolution did away with confusions and, as a result, the future path of the Revolution remained clear. The Imam (s) had no worries about the leadership of the Islamic Revolution, and used to say: "People made the Revolution, they themselves will protect and continue it. The Revolution is not the work of a few. The nation has found its path," After the ascension of the Imam (s) the Council of Experts, with praiseworthy speed that stunned the world, in determining the Imam's successor, put an end to all skimishes and rigmaroles. For, it was thought that politico-military disputes will ensue in the wake of Imam's demise; but the House of Experts was alert and soon enough chose one of Imam's students and thus people's sentiments, by the grace of God dwelt on the noble successor.

Today, under the aegis of Divine confirmation, the holy breaths of the late Imam and the wise leadership of Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei the entire intrigues of the enemies have been nullified and the Revolution continues its bright path.

(In visit with members of the Council of Experts) March 4, 1995

Thanks God, today the fruits of the Revolution are dexterously guided by the hand of a student of the Imam. We must avoid doing analysis. The analysis of problems is valid if done with obedience to the exalted position of *Welayat*. All of us must seek happiness in pursuing the *Waliyye Faqih* because we cannot perform the Islamic laws and rules unless we are followers of the *Waliyye Amr*.

(In meeting with members of the central of the Imam's Aid Committee) March 4, 1995

SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT

&

RESPONSIBLE EXECUTIVES

SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT & RESPONSIBLE EXECUTIVES

You very well know our top executives and our dear President. If our President be not opposed to America, who else in Iran is anti American? Our President has done all he could to get the Shah and America out of the country and has, in fact delivered the essential blow to America in the Region. He is a student of the Imam and has acted according to his instructions. He is not a person to separate himself, a single step from the Line of the Imam or his guidance.

*(In meeting with families of the martyrs) Sept
7, 1989*

We want to have a country with a sound economy, independent and unattached. These objectives will not be realized easily. You poured into the scene, threw out the Shah and formed the Islamic government. All this was because you meant to defend the ideals of your Imam. We must act so that Mr. Hashemi's government succeeds in its economic policies, otherwise the feature of our holy Regime will be smeared and will, consequently lose its attraction among the deprived nations. Success in economic programs does not mean butchering Islamic ideals.

If someone attacks America it must not be thought that economic welfare cannot be realized. You ought to know that our Revolution cannot preserve its originality apart from its Islamic content. We must all support the government programs.

(In meeting with responsible authorities, commanders and personnel of the Gendarmerie) July 24, 1990

We ought to try to have a strong President. If some weakness in the executive power is observed we should say it but weakness should not implicate Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, personally.

(In meeting with the martyr's families of the Qum bloody massacre dated Jan 9, 1977) Jan 9, 1990

We defend the government with all our being. We are not dead so that Mr. Hashemi Remains alone. We shall not let individuals do as they please.

Mr. Hashemi is in the Line of the Imam. He is a grand revolutionary and has defended the Imam and his Line in prisons and dungeons. We support his government today. Our Regime is an Islamic Regime and we defend the Majlis, the Judiciary and their top men.

(In ceremonies marking the beginning of the Fajr Decade Festival celebrating the victory of the Islamic Revolution) February 1, 1990

Getting the wheels of the economy moving is a major and essential way for the country's economy to blossom. In the post-war conditions of reparation and reconstruction of losses and damages, we must support the government and all responsible authorities of the Regime who are students of Hadrat Imam (s) so that they succeed in implementing the economic, social and cultural programs.

(In a meeting with student-clergies and the clergy of the theologic school of Eastern Tehran) Aug 30, 1991

In the matter of development and expansion of the country mere access to technology and industrial tools is not enough. We must work together by public participation and national basij (mobilization) and with all available possibilities and support the government and

authorities of the Regime and Revolution with self-confidence and with a spirit of self-trust and help the government and the responsible authorities in the Revolution and the Regime.

Today, all responsible authorities of the country are servants of the people and work hard for independence and economic self-sufficiency. It is incumbent on all of us to help them realize their programs.

Inspire of current economic problems and difficulties, thanks God, basic steps have been taken and the trend of the efforts and present economic moves inspire hope. Today the economic blossoming and development of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a part of instituting the divine commands in various stages of the community and it needs the cooperation and single-heartedness of other parts of the Regime.

(In meeting with a group of Basiji sisters)
526/1992

The social, economic and cultural development of the country and Revolution requires the support of the people and authorities especially the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis). Confirmation and real support by the Majlis implies awareness of the points of weakness and strength of the Executive administration. Majlis representatives must, in addition to being concerned in respect of supervisory matters and the proper implementation of the laws, confirm and enhance the points of strength of the executive forces and present sincere, logical and creative criticism in respect of points of weakness.

The internal and external position of the Revolution and the Regime is such that economic difficulties and administrative corruption must be intelligently solved by keeping our unity and cooperation. People vote for the Majlis representatives so that they may solve the problems of the society and this can be achieved by confirmation and support of the government.

Surely, if we create bottlenecks for the government, the Revolution and Islam will suffer the consequences. The confirmation of the government does not imply being attorney for the state, one must really care and, by observance of equity act on the basis of knowledge and divine pleasure.

(In meeting with representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis)).
May 28, 1992

Today, that the Country and the Revolution move in the path of construction, development and progress, the multi-color intrigues of the enemy continues in new forms. The people and the armed forces must, with active presence in the various scenes, declare their readiness to fight the enemies military, economic, and cultural intrigues. The enemies are making effort to weaken the political, economic and religious foundations of the Regime and the Revolution and by suggesting the doubt of separation of people from the ideals of the Revolution, try to delete Islamic ideals from the Revolution and, thus, ultimately, make the government and authorities in the Regime meet with defeat in their programs. Today, it is incumbent on all of us to protect the hard-working responsible authorities in the Islamic Republic Regime and to actively participate in various, political, economic and cultural arenas.

(In meeting with the Basijis of the office of the President) September 23, 1992

The noble people of Iran voted for the Revolutionary aid of the Imam (s) who was with the people and the Imam and is today at the helm of the ship of the state, in these turbulent times. No one denies the existence of certain weaknesses and inadequacies here and there throughout the country. But no fair and knowledgeable person can deny the reality that the President is an alert, intelligent and strong man of the Regime and Revolution. He is a commander-clergyman, an experienced *Mujtahid* who will guide the country through hard times when paganism and arrogance are rampant in the world. He does so by his original policies without rigmarole.

Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani is a great revolutionary who has spent nearly all his life fighting the arrogance.

He is a competent and worthy person to assume presidency of the Republic. The Imam (s) was deeply fond of Mr. Hashemi and affirmed his capabilities and prudence. We ask God to grant him success to manage the country in the manner that the Imam (s) and the great Leader have envisaged.

(In visit with a group of young Quran reciters and learners by heart) May 23, 1993

I shall vote for Mr. Hashemi because he is a *Mujtahid* (juriconsult), an exegete, a diplomat, and a revolutionary with wide experience whom the Imam (s) liked. He is a hard worker, efficient and excellent manager and a self-reliant person. He avoids noises and the common rigmarole. He does not place under foot, the interests of the country in order to please others. During the Imam's fight Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani had the Hardest and most sensitive works and duties. He defended the ideals of the Imam with all his being. Hashemi is the Imam's brave son who ignoring the affirmations and rebuttals of foreign mass media performs his Islamic and Revolutionary mission. He does not let himself be influenced by various atmospheres and is in perfect harmony with the Leadership of the Revolution.

I hope the brave Iranians by casting high number of votes for Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani help him to attain to the ideals and objectives of the Revolution and the Regime.

*(at a gathering of commanders and
personnel of the Army of the Islamic
Republic of Iran) June 3, 1993*

In spite of the overt or implied criticism that political wings may voice about Mr. Hashemi both sides have realized that if someone must have the responsibility for the executive administration, Mr. Hashemi is the most qualified person for the job. Some individuals generate doubt about me, to have disputes with Mr. Hashemi. The truth is something else. We enjoy unity of views and procedure in general principles. There is no dispute between the two of us.

*(In meeting with Iranian Diplomats
abroad) July 17, 1993*

Economic pressure must not disappoint us. No one denies the existence of economic pressure and difficulties. Did not the President say: "This passing stage is dangerous?" Sometime it makes several governments fall. Passing through this phase is no joke; if we want infrastructural programs to materialize, there are mishaps, even in some European countries infrastructural reforms carried out in economic structures made several governments collapse. Of course, some policies or programs may be wrong.

However, it is not fair to deride and ignore major infrastructural feats that have been performed on account of few mistakes. I hope the Iranian nation will continue its support to the government in this sensitive stage so that, God willing all the thorny passages will be traversed and we reach a hopeful point. The difficulties may increase in the future. But, the Iranian nation has withstood all sorts of sacrifices and self-denials for the perpetuation of Islam and human dignity.

*(Emphasis on necessity of participation by all in the demonstrations of the Qods World Day)
February 23, 1994*

No one denies the existence of shortcomings in administrative set-ups, the presence of inflation, and the social and economic problems. Yet, when we view the fruits of the Revolution with fairness, we will see that the Islamic Revolution of Iran has been the most wholesome and popular Revolution of the present era. Today the Soviet Union, with all its might is bogged down in socio-economic reform. In Afghanistan, although the Revolution has not attained its real maturity, lack of safety and security, disputes, and political and economic crises reigns over the innocent people of that country.

If today the entire world of arrogance mistreats the growth of Islamism with roughness and the freedom seeking nations consider the only way they can save themselves is to return to their Islamic identity; all this is due to the blessings of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The great fruits of the Revolution is not comparable with current difficulties. The protection and support of these fruits is today incumbent on all of us

(At a fast-breaking reception with the Taxi Drivers Union of Tehran & Suburbs) March 1, 1994

The infrastructural works that have been and are being carried out in the country must be fully explained to the people. Unfortunately such works are reported only briefly at inauguration ceremonies. The positive results of such works for the future of our economy must be relayed. Fortunately today, our Revolution is one of the most wholesome Revolutions. People's unity and sacrifices have politically improved the Revolution. The Revolution belongs to

yourselves because it has been stabilized with the blood of your eminent martyrs.

*(In meeting with responsible authorities,
professors, students and staff of the Shahid
University) March 3, 1994*

Generating hope about the future of Islamic Iran by eradication of depravity and improvement of the conditions of the weak and deprived people, is done with Divine assistance. Thanks God, our circumstances are more promising than those of our neighbor's. People's hearts should be made hopeful for the future. This is an Islamic and national duty.

*(In visit with members of the central
council of the Imam's Aid Committee)
March 5, 1994*

*EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF
CREATIVE CRITICISM*

EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF CREATIVE CRITICISM

Today any administrative office can easily be criticized or flattered. We must do all possible not to allow flattery in our Regime. For, if we do, it will be the source of danger to it. You recall that whenever someone said things to the Imam that smacked of flattery, the Imam would rule it out.

If, God forbid, we today, sow the seeds of flattery in our country, surely, those who do not like it, will leave the scenes. And, if flattery, which is fortunately minimal in our Regime, is not prevented we move, step by step, toward corruption. You, gentlemen and all those who have access to the mass media should pay great attention to this issue which is the most basic problem of a regime.

If we think that criticism damages the Regime we will be making a mistake. Our Regime matures with criticism. Right now ours is posed as a strong regime in the world. But, if we ignore criticism and certain circumspections prevent us from criticizing we shall be closing the door to liberty which is one of the principles of the Revolution and one of its indelible mottos. Therefore, we must emphasize this point. If freedom be withheld from the country, it will be seriously hurt, by a blow that is hard to remedy. Surely criticism is different from creating difficulties and causing obstacles and it may be easy for those who are on the outside to find faults and protest.

(In visit with authorities of the Judiciary Power) 4.4. 1990

The newspapers must prepare social grounds for expression of opinions in all areas. Of course no one says freedom in the absolute sense because our ideology has stated freedom within a specific framework. That liberty which is opposed to Islam and its ideals is not liberty. Also running away from truth gives rise to falsehood and truth cannot be indefinitely if concealed.

(In visit with commander and responsible authorities of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee) May 2, 1990

It would be highly valuable if the limits of the freedom of speech could be defined. If these remain undefined people and authorities would become confused and if someone wants to criticize an authority or say something beneficial to the Regime and the Revolution, for fear of being attacked, prefers to take refuge in flattery. But, when someone criticizes a particular authority in the Regime the weak points of that particular authority becomes revealed and places him under question. Consequently, this causes blossoming because here the branch is sacrificed to the root. The principle is freedom of speech and the secondary matter is such and such person, his work and his office.

On the other hand, when the responsible person faithfully and with sympathy removed his weakness he will no longer mind criticism.

If grounds for truthful criticism be not available in the community, the weak and strong points of the authorities will remain in the veil confusion and the people, with their high rate of political growth, will become aware of the issue. And, when people found out the point of weakness and saw that those responsible persons or authorities paid no attention to it, they then consider them to be ignorant. Is it better, that all responsible persons be regarded ignorant or the weaknesses, whatever they are, be truthfully stated and discussed!? Preparation of grounds for courage in stating views and criticisms is the task of the mass media especially the Press.

We must all accept that no one is absolute. Only God is the Absolute. We all, more or less, make mistakes. Defects and shortcomings must be stated in a friendly way and right path from wrong be thus clarified.

If a person does not clearly state his points he is being circumspect and circumspection prepares grounds for corruption. Silence and circumspection in the face of shortcomings and untruth is preliminary to the development of flatterers. He who declines to state the faults and falsehood, will be depriving the

truthful ones of opportunity to express their opinions. Although in stating the truth hard language must not be used, newspapers and other mass media of communication must announce the facts and truth openly and candidly and avoid false praise and circumspections, gradually revolutionary and faithful persons will be replaced by flatterers and circumspects and thus the Revolution will go to pieces in a single smash. It is at times like these that coup d'états succeed.

*(On occasion of Teacher's Week) May
7, 1990*

An issue I wish to point out is freedom of speech. No doubt freedom must be within an Islamic framework and undoubtedly no one has a right to trespass the sanctuary of the Leadership.

Respect for the leadership is an unimpeachable principle of the Islamic Revolution. All must obey the commands of leadership but this does not mean that we cannot criticize anyone else. The president of the Republic, Speaker of the Majlis, Head of the Judicial Power, and the cabinet ministers, all, are of the highest quality of acceptance of criticism. Criticism opens the ways. Criticism of any body causes blossoming of public intelligence. It is wrong to think that we weaken an organization by criticizing it. All people have the right to say what their understanding is of an issue. Newspapers, radio and television must prepare grounds for the meeting of minds and everyone of the people say whatever is on his/her mind.

Only two things require respect as sanctuaries, Islam and Leadership. Have Western counties, in which there are frequent brawls in their legislative assemblies, been weakened? Such oppositions, if continued, turn into insensitivity and the attraction of brawls disappears and it is true that there will be no convulsion, but suppose there be some convulsion; no harm; it won't cause an earthquake.

The root of our Regime is solid the Leader is its standard-bearer. Now, no matter how much the outer twigs converge and rub against one another, nothing serious happens. But if someone spoke of closeness to the West and we protested in such a way that he couldn't raise his head; If someone favored fighting the East, and we attacked him so hard that he couldn't say another word; What happens? the result is, as soon as there is a brawl between two representatives, all try to show their anger with an unpopular move. For example if someone believed that America had to be in the area in order to defeat Iraq or throw it

out of Kuwait and then itself leave the area and this person be able to defend such a thesis, makes interviews and says that the danger of greater Iraq for Iran and the Revolution is greater than that of America, and if someone else believed that America must make its exit from the area at once whether Iraq leaves Kuwait or not; suppose that, two ministers, two representatives or two chief executives held such viewpoints now if they are allowed to talk and present their proofs, the people then will choose for themselves. This is much better for Islam and the Revolution than, letting one responsible authority stick to his opinion and when he states it no one says a word or all say if you deny this it's "weakening". If we accept such manners, be sure, tomorrow, if we say something to any executive they call this, too, "weakening". We must not tolerate this for it surely leads to dictatorship.

(In visit with a group of freed Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps) October, 1990

Today, the converge of ideas and opinions causes the Islamic society to mature. In such clashes personal interests and preferences must not be taken as criteria. If today we have two political currents within the country it is due to use of personal tastes. If we want to reach to the Islam of Imam Khomeini, we must put aside individual interests and rely on the narratives quoted by the Infallible Imams. Certainly difference of tastes by itself doesn't matter but when the interests of the Regime is at stake, other interests must be sacrificed.

(In visit with participants in the first cross country seminar held by Islamic associations of the government agencies) November 23, 1990

The Imam's culture has emphatically banned flattery or sycophancy. Before the Revolution people paid respects to the agents of the Shah's Regime by force:

Today, with the shadow of the bright decrees of Islam over the country, agents and executives ought to be respected for their services and virtues. We all know that members of the Hizbullah, during early days after the victory of the Revolution used to fearlessly cry out and point to the weaknesses of the agents of the government. In line for protection of Imam's and the Revolution's culture we must preserve this spirit. If we promote the ugly habit

of sycophancy, the culture and the moral fruits of the Revolution will be destroyed. The danger of flattery or sycophancy threatens the fruits of the Revolution, the ideals of Islam and of the Imam.

(at a gathering of the personnel of the Navy of the Islamic Republic of Iran) December 3, 1990

I have often said that everyone in the nation must freely say what he has to say and the newspapers, the Radio and Television must prepare a wholesome atmosphere for minds to meet and ideals to be illuminated.

Freedom of speech and criticism have limits. That is, in stating the issues, in addition to negative aspects, it is necessary that positive aspects be not forgotten and, God forbid, by bias, other's honor be not smeared.

Criticism is free; but in saying things we must observe fairness. If, mistakenly we think that criticism means going to extremes, we surely have violated the true meaning of freedom of speech. Within the framework of Islamic ethics everyone is free to say what he has to say and to show a way for solution of some problems.

(In visit with model farmers) December 22, 1990

If an individual regardless of position or state, expresses his own personal views, it is perfectly alright, besides it is very useful and may enhance the country.

What kind of a habit is it? If some one says something not in agreement with a government policy it is said that he is weakening our ruling system. Is our system so weak that if a representative or minister or some other individual or group say or write something contrary to the policy of the government, the whole system would suffer by it?! No! Never! and those who think so must surely review their way of thinking. Ours is a Divine Regime based on the Wilayat-e faqih (Guardianship of the Jurisconsult) and is protected by real revolutionaries and, by God's Grace, will emerge triumphant from this crisis too.

(In visit with a group of personnel of marine industries of the Ministry of Defense and support of the armed forces on Occasion of

*the birth anniversary of the 9th bright star of
Imamate, Hadrat Javad (s)) January 27,
1990*

In the views of Hadrat Imam (s), radio & television must relate the facts. They must protect freedom as one of the most valuable fruits of the Revolution. If an individual or group has views fit for discussion he must present it together with the opposite views. If the Radio and Television adhere to this method they will have, firstly, guarded the freedom and, secondly, the news and rumors by foreign media will lose their validity, to the internal public opinion and, thirdly, flattery and dictatorship will be thwarted. If we constantly suggest to a responsible authority that all must follow him or his views are correct, that responsible authority may think he is some “specially woven taffeta”. We must act in such a way that flattery and absolutism be done with.

*(at a meeting with participants in the
seminar on analysis of the rights, the social
rate, the veil, and the model for modern
woman in Islam) March 5, 1990*

If we deprive the people of this freedom, we shall push the Regime toward unpopularity. People must be able to voice their lawful demands and all authorities must be answerable to them. Any regime from which freedom is withdrawn will become dictatorial and, in that case, a minister cannot speak freely to the people and neither people can voice their criticisms. Reliance on freedom is one of the essential mottos of our Revolution and people must be able to freely, within the framework of the holy religion, voice their views and demands.

Newspapers and other mass media must create a suitable atmosphere from which the people can have their views and opinions reflected. If freedom be curtailed in the country, surely, a severe blow will be inflicted on one of the Imam’s objectives which is to maintain freedom in the society. Establishment of freedom in the community is based on virtue, that is, if we seek freedom we don’t want it in our monopoly and our opponents must be able to voice their views and opinions too. We must prepare a suitable atmosphere, on the basis of

virtue and divine pleasure, in which the views of both sides come into contact with one another and the community may mature and advance.

(In visit with the Imam Jumah of Nawshahr and martyrs families) 2/24/90

Our Regime has, thanks God, stable and powerful bases and with all the criticism levied in the Mass media against the authorities and statesmen, it will not shake. On the other hand when we prevent the meeting of the various views and ideas in the press people become suspicious and may regard some false words as true. If a quiet atmosphere is devised for the meeting of minds gradually the borderline of truth becomes clear to the people and those who mean to pose baseless standpoints will run into dead end, and their sayings will have no acceptance. The discussion of the minority points of view re various issues of the country and the Regime will attract the confidence of the people to home mass media of communication and they will no longer rush to hear news broadcast from abroad and they will develop immunity vis-a-vis biased public opinion analyses and political maneuvers.

(In visit with responsible authorities and members of the Basij Resistance Forces) July 19, 1991

If someone thinks that in reviewing the community's social and economic problems all must express positive views, he is badly mistaken and has remained farther away from the realities. Today high prices, shortcomings and shortages and economic pressure have come down on the shoulders of the deprived people in bone-breaking fashion and require fast remedial action.

(In visit with a number of teachers, educators and students of Tehran) August 30, 1991

The continuation of our rightful challenges are pawned to unity around the axis of the Leadership. Both political wings must state their views and this is not opposed to unity. Stating views and opinions must open original paths to solution of problems. If this be our objective we shall surely help the growth and maturity of the Revolutionary and Islamic values.

We must clearly and frankly explain to the people the causes of current problems. Certainly people have, as in the past, the readiness to bear difficulties. People refuse to tolerate problems and difficulties when a few

live in affluence but the great majority be poor and destitute. The secret of the Imam's popularity was his frankness and truthfulness in stating current problems.

Thanks God, our people enjoy high political sense of understanding and can tolerate all the present problems and difficulties.

(In meeting with survivors of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution) September 26, 1991

One of the major problems emphasized by Hadrat Imam is defense of the true Islamic freedom. Clergy students as well as university students should in absolute freedom, have their words said and their views and opinions discussed.

Freedom of discussion is a basic means of attraction of the Islamic system. The students must put aside self-censure and fully participate in stating the problems and difficulties of the community. If we wish the universities and academic associations to be a powerful support and backing for the Regime and Revolution we must reduce the distance between this noble stratum and the government agents. If diverse political, economic, and cultural issues be discussed between the executives and the university specialists it certainly can be effective in the solution of difficulties. We must, in order to guide the generations, and to stabilize the Revolutionary values and to provide answers to the problems of the Islamic World, be after the all-around growth and maturity of everyone in the Islamic Ummah especially university fellows and student-clergies. If the moves of the universities and theological schools be not properly guided we shall surely face hard blows in the future:

(In visit with the President, Faculty Deans and professors of the Amir Kahir University of Technology) September 29, 1991

Political and religious virtue is prerequisite to assuming mannerism based on justice and equity and all of us are responsible for the destinies of the community "you are all guardians, and you are, all, responsible"¹⁶. However, the responsibility of the distinguished, dedicated clergies, having an executive position in the Regime is higher than others and must, therefore, try, more than

others, to side with justice and fairness within the context of political and social activities. The dedicated and responsible clergy must have close contact with all social and political wings, hear what adherents to various lines have to say so as to arrive at a sound conclusion.

Today, more than before, redundant panegyrists, eulogists that lack virtue and the opportunists that sow discord must be removed from the ranks of the responsible clergy and agents of the Revolution and the Regime. Those who enjoy a position and popularity among the people must, more than others, watch their own words and deeds, because, God forbid, they may, by assuming improper postures, by mistake, harm the honor of innocent individuals or trample on someone's rights. Or they might, within the distorted and twisted political contours fall prey to redundant panegyrists eulogist who lack virtue and to the discord sowing opportunists and thus, stay away from divine Islamic standards. If privileges are to be conferred on individuals, their virtue must receive uppermost consideration. Responsible authorities especially the clergy must weigh, against one another, the pros and cons of political currents. The standpoint of the authorities must be beyond group and personal problem solvings. The authorities and the clergy undertaking duties, must thoroughly know those around them. If a *Marja* or reference authority, a Mudarris or teacher or a clergy man associated with the government becomes so attracted to those about him as to become unable to discern the current and tangible realities of the community, that clergy or responsible authority is no longer himself. Rather, he is a self-alienated person who, far away from realities, repeats the words of those around him.

It must be realized that free presentation of different views and opinions is necessary for perpetuation and preservation of the basic principles of the Revolution and of the organs of the Regime. A clergyman, be he the leader of Friday Prayers (Imam Jumah) or one who preaches from the pulpit, or a reference authority (*marja taqlid*) or a government personality, must constantly relate this point to those about him, that freedom is a requirement of the Religion and never think that so and so is a great man, therefore, no one may question him! Except for the inviolability of the sanctuary of the great leader which is incumbent on all us, the greater a responsibility of an executive man, the more sensitive the people must be about presenting their views and criticism of him. A clergyman must be kind, otherwise, bitterness and lack of tolerance causes ordinary people, even his friends dare not tell

him the realities, and fearing the endangering of their positions they only relate things that will please him. In such a case the worse situation may take place, that is, redundant eulogy and flattery become tools and instruments in the hands of those around that responsible authority and gradually apart from his self-alienation the ones around him may come to believe that perhaps he is the standard or criterion for telling the right from wrong and forget their role which is, to protect and respect the sanctuary of such personality, they must tell him the things as they are. Some of those around exaggerate this state and become so self-alienated that if an authority or personality expresses his liking for a particular food or fruit they think only that food or fruit is wholesome and nothing else.

It is sometimes observed that the children of an authority or personality or religious scholar and those about him believe themselves to be able to do whatever they want, and therefore react violently if someone criticizes them.

Respect for views and opinions guarantees revolutionary health and development. Political and spiritual personalities must never regard themselves as absolute wisdom. All of us may more or less, make mistakes. We must frankly admit so that we do not lose people's trust. One of the difficulties with some people is that they cannot tolerate opposing views. This leads to dictatorship and is against the culture of the Revolution and underlying principles of the Islamic system. One must be exceedingly selfish to ignore others' prestige and honor: A political personality or clergy must, because of his heavy responsibility be alert to the fact that those near him, may, in order to advance their unlawful purposes, take to lying and accusing others and transmit with much ado to the concerned person, the news about violent criticism by the public or by agents against the person they want to avenge and then pretend to defend the accused person so as to attract the confidence of the responsible person to themselves, and he, be thinking that those around him are truthful and have goodwill. And then propose to such person and say: now that people may be vexed by your being criticized by that stranger person, come and do this or that. Political and spiritual personalities must be cognizant of this point so that they don't get trapped in devilish nets. Hadrat Imam often reminded people of this point because he knew its bitter consequences.

(In visit with members of the Red Crescent youth Organization) November 14, 1991

Posing views and opinions for free discussion in the community indicates freedom of thought in the various political, cultural and social arenas. The presence of diverse opinions and thoughts in a society is a prelude to progress and excellence. We never fear posing contradictory thoughts because we believe that the Islamic ideology currently governing the country is able to meet the needs of the community. The Islamic Iran is one of the freest countries and the principle of freedom, as one of the three basic elements of the Regime and Islamic Revolution must, for ever, be maintained within the shadows of faithfulness, will power and the spirit of righteousness of our nation.

The meetings of differing opinions and views in cultural, academic and educational centers will cause them to blossom forth and to become creative. We must not expect all members of a community to think alike, the coming together of opinions and views in the theological centers, universities, academic centers and educational institutes will enhance the blossoming and creativeness of members of that community. The Revolution and the Regime should always maintain wholesome atmosphere of excellence for exchange of views, opinions and thoughts so that all can say what they have to say. With threats and the weapon of excommunication the cultural needs of a community cannot be met. We must provide answers to the community needs in such a way that the line between truth and false be not erased. To promote truth-seeking mood, grounds for posing diverse ideas must be prepared and the academic and educational institutes prepared for the clash of thoughts, should be appreciated.

Radio and television, the press and other mass media of communication should make every effort to provide answers for the social and cultural needs of the people. People will cease to trust the mass media when, rather than providing answers to the needs of the community, the media, go a different way.

(In visit with a group of students and university men) February 3, 1992

In pursuit of our Imam's line we shall always be frank and truthful to the people. We think that the secret of the perpetuation of the Regime of the Islamic Republic and its popular backing lies in stating the facts and realities frankly without hypocrisy and profit-seeking.

The major factor for neutralizing the evil propaganda of the foes of the Regime and the Islamic Revolution is unity, sincerity, and mutual trust between the people and authorities. People trust their responsible authorities and as long as this trust prevails the enemies cannot separate the people and authorities regardless of their advanced propaganda tools.

(In a visit with responsible personnel of the offices of the Islamic Propaganda Organization) April 27, 1993

The news media of the country must act in such a way that the Revolution and Regime do not deviate their real path and, before foreign media enlarge our weak points ourselves should analyze our programs and the results of our policies.

That stand point which regards the stating of weaknesses as weakening a regime, is an erroneous standpoint. Criticizing a bad move or policy is protecting the regime and the country's news media must perform their roles in connection here with in best manner. People expect to see their views reflected in your news analyses. The major weakness of a news medium of a country is that foreign media provide the news needed by that community before its own media do it. Your task is very delicate and sensitive and, at times, dangerous and eventful. But he who chooses the profession and specialization of news correspondence work must be ready to accept its hardships. For us the criterion of false and true and standards of our action are the guidelines provided by the leader as the guardian and the basic pillar of the Revolution. His command is the final word in all arenas. Fortunately, the media in our country have had both qualitative and quantitative growth adequately, and they enjoy extensive freedom which has to be preserved and further extended; because freedom of speech causes any revolutionary community to blossom and advance.

The news agency of the Islamic Republic of Iran must, in its social dimensions, promote and encourage simple living and self-denial among the people and authorities and, by preparation of real and true news reports, do not permit flattery to take hold of the Revolution, the Regime and their agents.

During the past years the Iranian people have frequently proved that they enjoy high political sense and awareness. If our news media frankly tell the people the realities of events the people themselves have the ability to distinguish

truth from falsehood and pure from impure. This is the first duty of a news medium. The news agency must act to transmit the news in such a way as to preserve the interests of the Regime and the Revolution as a basic principle and, at the same time, news reports should include the views of the various levels of the community.

Students, workers and employees must be able to freely express pro and con views and this is the secret of the advancement and success of the Islamic regime. The news agency is the tongue of the system and must relate the facts as they are.

Unfortunately some wrongly think that if the performance of a responsible official in some corner of the country was brought under question the Regime becomes weakened. This wrong thinking gradually reaches a point that an agent, in some part of the country may regard his action as Islamic and his word as the decree of Islam and believes that Islam and the Revolution are what he thinks. Such beliefs are erroneous. If our news agencies and mass media work correctly such spirit will not be promoted. His Holiness the Imam (s) was severely opposed to such spirits. It is up to us today not to allow the dictatorial spirit of monarchical period. return to our Islamic and Revolutionary society.

Such spirits and their infiltration into the society is prelude to dictatorship and it is the mission of our news agencies to combat them.

(In visit with the Managing Director, deputies, directors and chief editors of the Islamic Republic Broadcasting Organization) May 27, 1993

The political mission of the universities in defending the ideals of the Islamic Revolution and of Imam Khomeini is to provide grounds for the clash of ideas and thoughts. It is to the interest of the country and the Revolution that the universities be the battlegrounds of thoughts.

(In visit with members of the students-Basij of the universities) June 7, 1993

Both currents are followers of the Wilayat-e faqih and are enthusiastic toward the Regime and the Revolution. Be sure if some day one of the currents was to be eliminated from the political arena, the other current would be shaken and confused. Political views and standpoints of both currents must be

discussed on the community level so that grounds for the growth and maturity of the community would be provided.

*(In visit with Iranian Diplomats Abroad)
July 17, 1993*

The Imams (leaders) of Friday Mass Prayers have a grave duty in neutralizing the biased propaganda of the enemies and ill-wishers of the Regime and the Revolution. To neutralize the negative foreign propaganda the Friday mass sermons must not be performed unilaterally. Rather by inviting individuals who may be even at odds with us ideally let us provide a suitable environment for the clash of thoughts.

Preparation of such environment makes the people welcome the scenes of Friday Prayers better and it also enriches the contents of the sermons. In your towns, surely, the Friday Prayer leaders are persons who believe in the Revolution, Islam, the Imam and the Leadership but have protests to make and criticism to voice with respect to some of the activities and issues but they don't have access to any tribunal. When the tribunal is in your hands and you feel you say things that some, who were with you until yesterday, do not accept, this will gradually make others disappointed and discouraged. It is in the interest of the regime and the Revolution that such things be not continued.

The Friday prayer leaders need not be the justifiers of any work done within the limits of the township because justification of any inaccurate act will surely damage their socio-political prestige and such damage is many times worse than our improper defense of some shortages, inadequacies and or certain political position. If distribution of staples is not carried out properly in your area, if there is no medicine or there is theft, corruption and bribery in government offices, people's business is neglected, etc and, on the other hand, some individuals abuse government facilities and then you think that by silence and or expedient-like defense the regime will be safe from damages, with the explication that the leader has made comments that we should defend the regime. Such justifications are basically wrong. First of all neither the grand leader of the Revolution nor any of the responsible higher level authorities are satisfied with your silence or justification. Secondly when and where did the leader of the Revolution say that, at any rate, you should defend the performance of such an authority in your town. Confirmation and support of responsible persons in the various layers of the

country is valid until such time that they act according to the Islamic principles and criteria otherwise, by themselves, they become invalid. You must be aware that improper defense has greater harm than attacks by the foes and ill-wishers of the regime and Revolution. We must be on the alert that growth of flattery and sycophancy is a major and dangerous pestilence in the community. The fact that when a major personality is going to visit a town, local authorities clean up that town and some repair jobs are done to the sights that meet the eyes in the streets, etc, this is a really bad paganism custom. Our noble leader had said in one of his trips: "I would like to see a city just the way it is before of enter in it..." If it be said that repair would benefit the local people, it is true but in that case we have not given the people priority whereas the Imam always put the people in the topmost place in any argument. You, dear people, who are the spiritual bodies of this holy Islamic regime, I ask you to try to prevent such pestilence from getting into your environments.

Redundant eulogy is a pagan mark and must be eradicated by a comprehensive effort.

(In visit with participants in the 9th meeting of all the Friday imams) September 20, 1993

The clash of thoughts and ideas in the university environment and theological schools is a prerequisite for the growth, blossoming and improvement of professors, students and clergy-students. University environs should provide atmospheres in which all different opinions and views can give their say.

The professors, students and clergy-students must freely voice their political and social opinions in the university environs. If these issues are not discussed within the universities and the holders of diversified opinions and ideas do not enjoy a serious presence, surely serious damage will affect the intellectual foundations of the Revolution and no one can make up for the spilled blood of the noble martyrs of the Revolution.

(In visit with the Minister of Culture and Higher Education and his Deputies) September 27, 1993

In meeting with political activities we must consider the principles of the regime and the positions of the leadership as two criteria for determining

friends and foes. If one or several persons truly accept the regime and the leadership, in their work and at home and wish to do political work but be opposed by the official organizations and they be tinged as opponents of the regime and leadership, such a thing is unfair. Those who believe in the regime and the leadership but do not accept, say, the director of the university or cannot accept such and such executive, it is not in the interest of the Revolution and regime to oust them from the scenes with the hallmark of opposition to leadership.

The leader of the Revolution has put finger on important problems. If a number of individuals, contrary to the views of the ministry of interior, wish to voice their dislike of America at a particular time and place, what does it matter? If we fail to provide free environment and conditions for the genuine revolutionary forces, how can we permit them to express their inner intents and political postures. We must properly comprehend the rich message of the leader of the Revolution and let all revolutionary forces, freely voice their ideas. If the honorable leaders of the Friday prayer wish to have an elegant namaz of prayer, let them invite persons with opposing views to present their views in the pre-namaz sermons. We must not consider this as opposition to the leadership or the regime.

*(In the gala congregation of the commanders
of various layers of the Basij resistance forces)
November 20, 1993*

Those of penmanship especially the newspapers must fight sycophancy which is a great pestilence to the Revolution. Certainly expression of interest in the executives of the regime is pleasing and encouraging to them and is a good thing in its proper place. However, it must be done in a way that we do not stay away from the values and principles of Islam and the Revolution.

*(In visit with producers of model cultivation
and garden products) December 23, 1993*

Frankness of expression, avoiding redundant eulogy and pointing out creative criticism are the most important missions of the press and are factors of the political power of the regime of the Islamic Republic. Presentation of untrue information will destroy the news attraction of the media. Truth and avoidance of going to extremes, are the criteria for attractiveness of the news and the

political analyses. We must view political power and the solution of difficulties of the community as a united aggregate. To this end the press must perform their guiding role. Political power cannot be had by concealing the difficulties and excessive optimism. We must not let self-censure and fear of negative attitude by such and such responsible authority prevent us from doing our duties. I have often said that if today we avoid criticizing the wrong acts of a minister or governor and overlook the realities, tomorrow we may not be able to criticize even the headman of a village.

The press should be kept away from demagoguery and excessive optimism. Approach with personal tastes does not solve community problems; for, the people, better than all of us, understand the realities. The press should, in the role of community watchmen clarify the political, economic and social problems. The people consider the Revolution and the regime as belonging to themselves. The difficulty is in our performance, we act in a way that the people do not approve. The mass media should, obtain popularity and attraction, by avoiding cliché and false methods so that the news desired and important to the people be truthfully published. News attraction has nothing to do with individual tastes, and points of view. Rather it has to do with transmission of realities and feeding to the people the news they need.

(In visit with members of the editorial council of the Abrar Newspaper) October 3, 1994

Omission of the veils of self-censure is a prerequisite to the realization of a wholesome society. The people love their Revolution, their regime, their Imam, their leader and their country. Therefore it is necessary that they voice their say, freely. The atmosphere developed by which people are frightened of the Intelligence Organization is not to the interest of the Revolution and the regime. Such an atmosphere need not exist. Why do the press and Majlis Representatives find courage and say what they want only after the President of the Republic has had his say and his stand is known? Why do they not say the accounts they already knew before the President's talk? In a wholesome, Islamic community, the people never take to self-censure and fear. Try to persuade the people to say what they have to say. We must generate courage in the people to criticize a minister's work and performance, if he errs. Let the Imam Jumah, the writers, the newsmen and people in the streets and bazaar

protest the work of such a minister because public conscience understands the realities better than anyone else.

To think that criticism weakens the state is wrong; the opposite is true exactly. Criticism solves a knot before it becomes a knotty problem and so there will be no need for a general mobilization (*basij*).

We must smash this atmosphere that the Intelligence does not let people and the media say what they want. The Intelligence Organization controls anti-Revolutionaries, infiltration elements, the hypocrites and the monarchists but it should be highly delighted to have the mass media reflect the people's words, and it really wants so.

*(In visit with internal security agents of the
of the Ministry of Information) October 10,
1994*

The elevation of public awareness and the role of mass media in analyzing and criticizing different economic problems is essentially important. No doubt our people, in comparison with other countries enjoy a high sense and political awareness. They are well acquainted with contemporary culture and political concepts and analyze the reasons why the Revolution and the regime are opposed to the world major powers; they know why we are not willing to come to terms with any super power, over the Islamic criteria and values. Or, why our political position in OPEC and other international bodies is such and such; or why we defend the world Muslims and say Israel is a cancerous tumor and should be removed; or why we don't recognize a country by name of Israel. People's ordinary knowledge of economic problems, in world dimension, with a view to the upset internal economic conditions must, more than before, be analyzed for them by experts, specialists and authorities and by the communication mass media.

People are not adequately informed about: major economic problems of the countries, the concept of dependence on the world major powers in the form of cartels and trusts, western capitalistic economic policies, crises, bankruptcies of some of the major corporations and their causes in the capitalist world, the role of western economy in swallowing the resources of the third world and its concomitant political crises, the views of great economic scholars in reaching economic objectives and, the attitudes of

political leaders in pursuing such views and methods of their implementation. Authorities, specialists and mass media analyze political problems much more than analyzing economic problems; if they do discuss economic issues it is usually inadequate and rare because most specialists and experts have spoken within the areas of their own specialty and the subject itself may not seem very interesting. People and even many authorities have no knowledge of it. And, because of this lack of information they either cannot have answers to the crises and problems or, if they have any, it is inadequate and unsatisfactory. Enlightenment in economic problems, it seems to be, to a great extent, the duty of the mass media especially radio and television. With long-term planning and perpetuation of specialized discussions, for months, people should be tutored on simple language basis so that all may feel the mass media of communication are for all the people. Just as His Holiness the Imam (s) used to state the complex philosophic and mystic issues in simple language and all, from philosopher to the layman, could understand and there was no trace of isms or strange expressions in his speech, in like manner, the policies governing the complicated world of economic issues and their effect on the internal economic system should be related to the people in a simple language. Enlightenment is very useful. We should be aware that the length of time spent by the mass media about political and international issues has resulted in the fact that people know why America is the number one enemy of our nation because every now and then Iran and several like countries are termed as violators of human rights and hundreds of other whys. The result is that in spite of the enormity of the volume of enemy propaganda not only people have not turned away from the principle of the Revolution and Islamic Regime rather, with more determined will, they defend them. A better proof of this is the demonstration walk on February 11 (22 Bahman)¹⁷ and on the World Quds Day¹⁸ of this year. However, in present conditions the way of clarification of such issues as economic problems internally, grave conditions and situations of other countries in the issues of high prices and inflation, particularly the neighboring countries, lack of coordination in economic policies, the state of production and distribution, reasons for non-investment by competent persons in production, reasons for opposition of the authorities to leech-like capitalists, lack of economic security due to assumption of diverse positions and announcement spontaneous economic and financial policies, increase in the prices of foreign exchange and gold

and consequently in prices of other commodities, all these cannot, unfortunately transmit scientific, exact and proven information for all the people in all the cases. The dark spots in the fight against high prices must be lighted up for the people. The promises of some ministers, responsible authorities, directors of production units given for presentation of a commodity at a specific price and at a given time and then, after a few days they boost their prices and delivery time without any satisfactory proof, and things as these, must be discussed, analyzed and criticized by the authorities, men of insight and specialists, for the people. Because, the importance of these issues nowadays is not less than political issues. In my view the problem of imparting awareness to the public, by several instances of deficient explanation, cannot be solved. Explanation must be continuous. Today explanation of the economic problems is most pressing. We all know that two economic view points exist in our society just as two political view points are present. Men of insight and specialists in both views who are enthused over the Revolution and the fate of our country and the Islamic Regime should be invited to express their views and standpoints regarding the bases of these policies so that real and false policies can be known. Let the dominant standpoint prevail and be followed and if no one is satisfied, then today's policy be pursued, although no one denies the tensions that this policy entails. The President of the Republic pointed out in the past that implementation of such policies may result in changes in the government and have variegated analyses, and when it is proven that such policies are correct, then actions must be taken to remove the weak points and obstacles. A good deal of the obstacles present in the path of economic programs are related to foreign or external factors. But that part that is related to ignorance and weakness of management if it is intentional the traitors must be punished just as good servants are to be encouraged. If a responsible authority is at fault he be punished or changed. If the factors are internal, they must be recognized and duly punished according to law. People complain that some of the problems and economic difficulties have internal roots but no decisive action is taken against them and they are right. They have nothing to say in respect of the external dimension of the economic difficulties, for, they ascribe them all to America and Western pressure and this is not right, for, people understand these things.

*(In visit with employees and students of the
Shahid university) March 3, 1994*

The noble people of Iran are ready to make any sacrifice to perpetuate the ideals of the Islamic Revolution and the Imam. Today the clergy must make these good and dedicated people aware of economic difficulties. If present realities in the area of economy are related for the people they will then protect the results of the Revolution with greater sincerity and faith, although it is likely that enemies of Islam and the Revolution may make false propaganda after hearing the realities through the authorities and the clergy but the Iranian people are the most aware people in the world from the political point of view and can tell friends from enemies.

*(In visit with member of the council of
experts) March 4, 1994*

The deficiencies must be related bravely just the way the facts regarding progress are to be related; this is encouraging.

*(In visit with members of the control
council of the Imam's Aid Committee)
March 4, 1994*

Today the main mission of the cultural agencies of the country is alertly encounter with the aggressive and anti-Islamic culture of the enemies of the Islamic Revolution and with the phenomena which tend to make anti-Islamic the cultural atmosphere prevailing in our country. This is an important problem of our regime and Revolution. The attraction of the youth, boys and girls, to the luster of worldly things, pleasure-seeking, carefree living in the critical periods of youth and adolescence is a natural unguided instinct, especially if it assumes a challenging and slogan aspect, when for example a government such as ours be opposed to it, then it will take an intellectual and progressive jest for the pleasure-seeking. And this is one of the bitter difficulties of our society.

The distribution of trite films and videos, and broadcast of radio waves to promote western and paganish cultures and relay messages that generate anti-religious mentality by means of audio-visual waves, as

well as, books and magazines on the one hand and lack of films and publications based on divine and Islamic values, on the other, and also, absence of lawful attractions, are among the most important issues to which attention must be paid and expeditious remedies sought for.

Rough encounter, instigative actions against superficial and passing vices or on the contrary, releasing and loosening the deep and lasting social, political and cultural vices; lack of coordination and unity of method among the organizations and the dear Hizbullah for encountering vices in all phases of the community and lack of clear-cut political lines in encountering the bribers, the flatterers and the jugglers and paid penmen and promoters of trite, each has a separate story to be handled in its proper time. More important than all is the discouragement of the Hizbullah in encountering vice in its various forms. These are all the woes of our Islamic society. Of course without the individual presence of the Hizbullah nation in the scenes of struggle against vice, the government cannot obtain desired results because the task is enormous and people's help must be enlisted in the fight against triteness. In the area of culture the enemies of the Revolution and system have always, by their deceptive propaganda succeeded to realize their objectives. They have never benefited by the lash or force. We have done no essential work with the publicity tools we've had and are, unfortunately, behind the enemy in this respect.

In the words of a friend, if today someone asks for a book in which to find answers to his doubts we still refer him to the works of Shahid Mutahhari.¹⁹ For example in respect of women, we immediately tell him to see the book "The system of women's Rights in Islam" and we do the same with regards to his other books. Undoubtedly, the martyr scholar, Professor Mutahhari, with his creative mind, may have provided solutions to a good many post-Revolution problems in his books or, he might have amended or deleted some issues dealt with in his books. What have we done in the 13-year period after the victory of the Revolution? Which problem solving work or book have we written? Perhaps some books have been written, but, insignificant, in comparison with the deluge-like aggression of the west.

Many are, the causes for people's discouragement in their fight against social vices. When the fight against the Shah's Regime heightened, people of the streets and bazaar gathered around the clergy who recited to them the

words of the Imam (s) and they all fought together in a single file, and all together crowded the Husayniahs²⁰. The homes and altars of the clergy were the rendezvous of men of truth and *jihad*. The local clergyman of each place was obeyed by them. People considered as true all that he said and did everything as he directed them. The challenges climaxed, people left the indifferent and anti-Revolution clergy and joined the clergy who spoke the truth. The combatant and enlightened clergy became the essential point of the Uprising. Truly, they wholeheartedly stood by the people and were ready for any sacrifice to set up the Islamic government. Reactionary clergymen had no valid argument therefore they were ostracized and isolated. The *jihad* waging clergy and fighters for truth became victorious. The Shah left. The Imam came. The challenge continued until this war was imposed²¹ on our nation. With the start of the War the country's atmosphere became all emotion and excitement. The slogans and mottos were strengthened. Death to America, death to Soviets, death to Israel, fight Saddam, fight the Persian Gulf reactionaries, fight the leech-like capitalists, all these made the people have better sentiments in continuing their path, the Imam had pointed out their path: either deliverance or martyrdom. Pressure, hardship, martyrdom, sacrifice, loss of life and property all had logical justifications for the people.

People all accepted the difficulties and chose the hard way of fighting. Poverty superimposed abundance because the Imam had said: "One strand of slum-dweller's hair is superior to all palace-dwellers." There were many persons who took their sons to the war scenes and asked the Imam to pray for martyrdom of their other children. Many a devoted youth asked for changes in their birth date so as to qualify for conscription and attend the war fronts to fight* the enemy. After the victory of the Revolution, the fighting clergy were absorbed by the system and each began to work in some place. They made and are making strenuous efforts. The anti-Revolution began to terrorize the noble clergy with the help of the arrogant elements. Explosion of the Republic Party building²², explosion in office of the Prime Minister and the terror of political and religious personalities and terror of the Imams of Friday Congregational Prayers, are cases in mind. Perforce the responsible clergy took refuge with the guards and asked for protection. The separation of the clergy from the people was conceived. The guards no longer let the clergymen enter groups of people. The major harm of the terrors was the separation of the responsible clergymen from the people. This separation, by

and by had its effect and responsible clergymen could no longer listen to people's heartaches. On another hand, having personal guard, became a jest and ceremoniousness altered the disposition of being of the people in the minds of the crusader clergies. The clergymen of executive duties no longer stood in line waiting for buses, like the south²³ dwellers of the city. Their residences no longer were like those of the bare footed, their diet became different from the ordinary people. Their journeys, and conditions of their wives and children completely changed and at last luxury replaced "dervishness". The voice of the Imam and Leader of the Revolution rose. Some changed the appearances until things calmed down, thinking that "splendor" is limited to the Mercedes Benz in which they ride, while it is not so. Ceremoniousness had penetrated into our minds. Each deviating step loses its indecency after some time and we think it is nothing. It is at this point that in the Imam's words, people think "perhaps on the other side of the book things are written that we do not know" The anti-Revolutionary and reactionary clergymen rose and regathered around them the faithful ones whom the Revolutionary clergymen had attracted. This time their words and oppositions were understandable to their former followers. Therefore, if some of the clergy who, before Revolution shared peoples joys and sorrows, those who were spokesmen for the Revolution, if they don't act quickly, the danger which is felt may become serious. The fact that when a clergyman speaks of the oppressed they say he is voicing slogans is because he preaches what he does not act and I think this is one of the major causes of the discouragement of the Hizbullah vis-à-vis social evils and vice. This is found among the non-clergy executives too, but since I am a *talabah* (student-clergy), I related the part pertaining to the clergy; let a non-clergy, an attorney, a representative or a minister relate the other parts. This is the gist of the issue. Yesterday the hardships of the challenge were shared with the people and people were warmed up in relentless challenge. However, today, the government prerogatives are not shared with people. Therefore, the Hizbullah lacks its former zeal and ardor. Certainly we are not talking about the Hizbullah whose faith and belief are solidly entrenched, for, he has entered a pact with his God and Imam to always stand up against hardships and deceptions and never to take a step, short.

On another hand, the soft words of some of the responsible authorities vis-à-vis the West, especially America and the leech-like capitalists give room for doubt to people who, in the streets and alleys, in the ups and downs of the

Revolution, followed the Imam and the system, to be coveted by the enemy. Foreign radios, by aggrandizing the hardships, picture the atmosphere prevailing in the country in such a way as if the system, and the children of the Imam are separated from Imam's line and method and are walking a different path.

On another hand, the newspapers haranguing one another, make disclosures without investigation, attacking those executives trusted by the people, further fan the atmosphere of non-trust. The deeds of some authorities, like sitting with run-away capitalists in America in spite of the Imam's words that "The dedicated clergy is thirsty for the blood of leech-like capitalists and will never compromise with them" and extensive defense of this wrong act; these are among the things that discourage the Hizbullah. Lack of coordination with some of the positions of the Leader, which also occurred in the time of the Imam, and the absence of cross-country or even single case of protest publicity makes a number of the children of the Revolution in theological centers, in universities and in political circles to believe that this lack of coordination is itself an accepted policy which hurt the Imam during his time and presently hurts the great leader.

All these are questioned and protested to by the Hizbullah and this is no small danger. The effects of such positioning and the unlimited trips, have extensive repercussions in the universities, the theological schools, factories, streets and the bazaar and is likely, in the long run, to entail irreparable damages. We must take care not to suffer political and religious defeat in order to attain economic well-being, for, in comparison with such well-being we receive more damages in other areas.

I merely pointed to a couple of clear cases and wanted to say that calling America as the main cause and culprit and blaming all weaknesses on foreign factors and ignoring our own shortcomings under a camouflage of such slogans is simple-mindedness. Today we all have a duty to support the government's economic policies. Defense of the Government is a religious duty of everyone. However, the mere fact that a certain plan has been drawn by several economists and some of those who understand economic issues have confirmed it, is no reason to insist on it to the very end. They must allot time for their plans or projects and speak bravely and frankly with the people and tell the people that such will be the result of this economic Plan until such time so that if it fails, immediately undertake remedial action. Otherwise we will reach a point that all of a sudden we realize we have no choice except to submit to difficulties. The result is: with the economic conditions of the people being as it is and the

luxuriousness of some combatant clergy and lack of effective cultural works and assumption of certain stances by some of the responsible authorities, and showing unnecessary softness, we should not expect the zeal and enthusiasm of the early days of the Revolution to be manifested in the people and vis-à-vis political and cultural tensions, pour in the arenas of challenge with social vices.

*(In visit with the families of martyrs)
September 3, 1991*

*FACTORS FOR THE TRIUMPH &
EXPANSION OF THE REVOLUTION*

FACTORS FOR THE TRIUMPH & EXPANSION OF THE REVOLUTION

Policy making, planning and movement in the direction of determined policies and steadfastness in respect of principles, sound policies in all areas including foreign policy, these are the factors and secrets of success.

*(In visit with the representative of the
Waliy-e Faqih in the Housing Foundation
of the Islamic Revolution and the personnel
of this Foundation) April 15, 1990*

Our overthrow comes about when our unity is destroyed. Our unity comes about when we have developed ourselves, Thus, if we attain to revolutionary self-development be sure we'll solve all of our country's problems; Economic and cultural problems will be solved. But, if we be selfish and substitute ourselves for God we shall surely face defeat, just the way those governments which had attained to some success but did not end warfare among themselves and tried to pose themselves, were defeated.

*(In visit with personnel of state agency for
registration of documents and properties)
... /... /1990*

I believe that what made the Imam, Imam, and heightened his historic and Islamic movement was his relentless challenge with the petrified, the hypocrites and the stupid reactionaries.

(In visit with the elite of the arts and cultural contests "Dar Harm Yar" (lit, in friend's sanctuary) November 10, 1990

In the arena of challenge between falsehood and truth the Islamic associations, very definitely, have a risky path to traverse. The Islamic Associations must realize that if they want their moves to be in the lines of the objectives of the Imam and Islam, before all else, they must preserve their unity and harmony. If you do not try for unity the enemy will create friction in your lines and will not let you reach your Islamic and revolutionary objectives.

The Islamic Associations have the duty to preserve unity among forces that follow the Imam's path and prevent discord by the enemies of Islam and the system. We all clearly know that the successive victories of our Revolution has been, more than anything else, the fruit of the unity of our sincere people who were followers of the Imam's path. This lasting unity of our people is the important and essential motive of our system and Revolution. If there had existed no unity among the revolutionary faithful forces, only one move of the enemies was enough to destroy our Islamic system. Vis-à-vis all events and blows that were inflicted, the factor of unity caused the stability of the system and discouraged the enemies one after another.

(In visit with participants in the first cross-country seminar of the Islamic Associations of government agencies) November 23, 1990

Generating friction in the community over minor issues destroys the essential objectives of the Revolution. If, today, both dominant wings want to eliminate each other the result is destruction and elimination of all followers of the Line of the Imam and the domination of the enemies of Islam in future. If, today, we observe a move contrary to standpoints of a certain wing, because of the expedencies of Islam and the

Revolution, it is necessary that we show patience and preserve our unity and brotherhood in these sensitive conditions that America and its allies have military presence in the Persian Gulf.

*(On occasion of the anniversary of the formation of the Education Foundation)
February 26, 1990*

The factor of penetration of the Imam's word in the hearts of the deprived and the oppressed peoples of the world is the commonness of the objectives of the Imam and Aba Abdullah-al-Husayn (a) and that is nothing save defense of Islamic and Divine values; therefore keeping the standard banner of Imam Husayn hoisted is keeping hoisted the Divine and Islamic values just as honoring the Imam has this effect.

(In visit with staff members of the Ascension anniversary of the Imam (s)) May 21, 1990

If it were not for the devotion of the armed forces, and faith in the sincerity and insight of the Imam (s) and the presence of the various layers of the population in the various scenes guarding and protection of the fruits of the Revolution would not have been possible. The Islamic Revolution is still on its midway. By perpetuating unity and brotherhood and support for the leadership of Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei, an aid and student of the Imam (s), we must be ready to realize the ideals of the Revolution and the Imam (s)

(In meeting with the I.R.I Air Force personnel) January 7, 1991

The secret of the moral influence of Imam Khomeini among Muslim masses in Iran and abroad was nothing but his devotion to the One and only Almighty God. Muslims must know that enforcing God's commands in the world requires, in addition to fighting with the despots and the arrogants of the time, self-purge, simple living and reliance on the eternal divine power. That which made the Iranian Revolution triumphant and attractive is its popular essence because there were no arms and_ weapons used in the leadership of Imam Khomeini (s).

(In visit with foreign guests of the Fajr Decade celebrations in which 58 countries participated) February 4, 1991

The important factor of the Islamic Revolution's victories is the gala presence of the various layers of the population in the scenes. On Bahman the 22nd (February 11) the Iranian nation will demonstrate to the world the power and popular support of the Islamic Revolution. Our Revolution is still on the move and we must maintain our active presence in all arenas at home and abroad until justice is instituted on Islamic standards throughout the society.

(In meeting with families of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution) February 9, 1991

The destiny of the country, the nation and the system is in the hands of the educated class, next to the masses of people. The main target of the world arrogance for domination over the nations is to get control over the centers of this class. In recent decades all the evil that has come to our country has been the work of the treacherous elements of this layer. This group with a knapsack of Westernization or Easternization, like thieves carrying lamps, picked out the choice elements for their masters and centre point of aims.

(In visit with education) February 27, 1990

The most important factor for the advancement of the ideals of the Revolution and the system is preservation of unity among the leaders, executives and the masses of people.

The Unity and harmony of the executives of the Revolution and the masses of the population is an exclusive characteristic of the grand Islamic Movement and we must appreciate this divine blessing and do all we can to support the responsible authorities of the country and Revolution.

(In meeting with families of the martyrs of the Province of Kermanshah) March 2, 1991

Enemy's tools and methods for confronting the Islamic Revolution varies according to conditions. Sometimes it uses war and military might,

sometimes imposes economic restrictions, or uses deceptive tricks, and or promulgate the Western culture. Many a time the Imam had said that America and the entire arrogant world cannot destroy our Revolution by threats or military invasion; the imposed Iraqi war against Iran has proved this. Economic restriction had no results. That which is effective blow is internal disputes. By the side of fanning internal disputes promotion of Western culture and their ruses can be very shattering. False rumors is one of the effective methods of the domineering Western culture. Differences, as long as they be limited to tastes, and cause the meeting of different thoughts and ideas, are blessings: "Difference of my *ummah* is a blessing"²⁴. However, if differences be basic, like the difference between false and true, then, they must surely be operated surgically "Be it hard on the pagan"²⁵.

Internal differences beyond those of personal taste are mostly selfishness. If one purges himself and moves within the framework of religious laws and be decked by Islamic ethics, he'll have no difference with others because, by reliance on God the path of truth becomes known and therefore there will be no brawl or disputes.

(In meeting with workers of Tehran and Karaj factories) April 25, 1992

The *Basij* resistance forces must be present in various scenes of the Revolution. Indifference to the destinies of Islamic system means lack of attention to its fruits and departure from the scenes means elimination of Islam from the Revolution. In conditions such as these the Islamic Revolution cannot preserve its existence and fruits. Islamic Revolution became solid in its constant fight against oppressor and oppressive regimes, solidified its value bases and spread the values everywhere on earth. In these challenges the *Basij* has always been in the first line of struggle with the arrogant world. Today, enemies of the Islamic Revolution try, by various tools, to make the *Basij* and the faithful forces indifferent and self-alienated. They want to destroy the Islamic Revolution from within.

As before, the *Basij* must be heralds in all of the Islamic Revolution's scenes. *Basij* students should be truthfully present in all political and cultural scenes and state their views frankly and freely. The communications mass media must carry the nation's message and the culture of the *Basij* so as to cause the perfection of thoughts in the clashes of ideas.

Students must not be unfamiliar with political, social and cultural issues. Alongside of military training, religious and political teachings must be included in the *Basij* education programs. Virtue and development of ethical excellences are our most cutting weapons in the poisoned Westernized atmosphere and cultural triteness.

(In meeting with responsible authorities of cross-country student Basij centers) October 6, 1992

The Islamic Revolution is the revolution of values. We must not let the values of the Revolution be forsaken. Every one of us is responsible before Islam and the Revolution and must feel responsible to the destinies of the country and the Revolution. “Everyone of you is a leader, and responsible”

We must not let our duty to “enjoin to the good and interdict the evil”²⁶ be forgotten. The Islamic Associations and all other Islamic bodies must not, for a moment, forget the incumbent duty of “enjoining to good and interdicting the evil” as it tends to strengthen the value structures of the Revolution. The faithful and Hizbullah forces must receive such support regularly. If an interdicted act is committed somewhere, the dear Hizbullah forces have a right to be worried because they regards themselves responsible before Islam, the Revolution and Imam.

(In meeting with, teachers, educators and students of the Shahed and with layers of people) October 25, 1992

The Islamic Revolution of Iran is regarded as one of the greatest miracles of contemporary history because it cut off the cruel domination of the arrogant powers and their pilferage of the national resources of the Iranian people and it caused the Muslims and the oppressed nations to be self-reliant and have self-confidence.

(In meeting with President of Cossackistan and his accompanying Delegation) November 1, 1992

The message of the Islamic Revolution means the implementation of the laws of Islam, fighting tyrannic powers, and not trespassing on the rights of others especially the oppressed. The message of our Revolution means the

rejection of the domination of super powers and, for this reason, they have consistently tried to show an unreal, redundant, Medieval picture of the Islamic Iran.

(In meeting with the Interior Minister of the Azerbaijan Republic) December 28, 1992

The Islamic Revolution of Iran was a great change in the contemporary age and, with its great moral and cultural backing sources it will remain a model for all freedom-loving humans.

The Islamic Revolution made freedom, from the Yoke of dictatorship, possible at a time and in conditions that was quite different in essence and objective from other revolutions. The Islamic Revolution is an offshoot of movements of divine prophets, it converted the dependent and decadent pagan culture into a divine Islamic culture.

The development and progress of popular cultural and political thought is a major blessing of the Revolution. We must promote and spread in all aspects of community life, the moral values and freedom of thought as the essential advantage of the Revolution, the system and Islam.

(In meeting with the university men) February 3, 1992

The Imam, the Leader and the executives of the country believe that the presence of too many indifferent individuals in the executive organizations will cause forgetfulness of the objectives of the Revolution, while the presence of faithful and Revolutionary elements guarantees the valuable and lofty ideals of the Islamic Revolution.

(At ceremonies honoring martyrs families) February 4, 1992

Every citizen must today consider the arena of crusade in reconstruction of the country and be a supporter of the executives and the Revolution in various political, economic, military and cultural areas and scenes. If, today, the independence and self-sufficiency of the country in various areas be not secure, we must surely witness the foreign domination, and this will go against the fundamental principles of the Islamic Revolution which guarantees independence and freedom.

All of us are obliged to feel duty-bound vis-à-vis the progress and advancement of the country and make efforts for the welfare and happiness of the society. All layers of population from workers, farmers, students, and teachers to military and university men must work together for reconstruction and progress of the country. We cannot always be witnessing our under development, poverty and deprivation. Therefore struggle for progress and development of the country is a national, Islamic and revolutionary duty for every citizen.

(In meeting with layers of population) April 21, 1993

The secret of all victories of the Iranian nation through out the Islamic Revolution has been the preservation of unity among the *ummah*, and the Leadership and reliance on the infinite divine power.

(at a meeting with professors and students of universities of Tehran) September 27, 1993

From early stages of the formation of the Islamic Revolution, the Imam's reliance on the infinite power of God made him fear no power except His, because other powers, as a whole, are nothing and all whatever there is, belongs to God; be that American, Soviet or European and the like. On the strength of religionism and morality the Imam laughed at all threats and, by the power of God, removed them all from his path. The morality, truthfulness, serenity and sincerity of the Imam made people regard him as a sympathetic hard working leader and willing to serve.

(At the opening ceremonies of the Fajr Decade, of the Islamic Revolution) February 1, 1994

Three factors: Divine affirmation, support by the people and guidance by the clergy, are the major factors for survival and perpetuation of the fruits of the Islamic Revolution and system.

(In meeting with members of the Council of Experts) March 4, 1994

CONFRONTING AMERICA
&
THE WORLD ARROGANCE

CONFRONTING AMERICA & THE WORLD ARROGANCE

The Iranian nation must realize that criminal America and its dirty aides do not cease their enmity with Islam, our system and the Imam. Therefore, we must tighten our belts and stand up against these criminals and prevent them from removing the children of the Revolution from the scenes with baseless excuses. We are in no way willing to compromise with America and its servants. I do not know how the Al-e Saud dares murder the pure and sweet-smelling “Muhammedan Roses”²⁷

Today, those who talk about normalizing relations with sworn enemies of the Revolution must explain these horrible mishaps.

*(In meeting with a group of the student
clergies of Qum theological center)
September 24, 1989*

The more we show lenience before America in particular and the superpowers in general, the worse our position will become in all areas. It is wrong to think that we shall have no more problems if those we have, we get solved with Western countries and Eastern powers.

*(In meeting with responsible personnel of the
Islamic Revolutionary Committee) May 2,
1990*

We must tell the people that war with America is rough and we must continue our readiness and insist on our holy ideals for the elevation of which the pure blood of the children of this land have been shed, otherwise the Islamic and Revolutionary identity of our people will be lost. The people say “We will not abandon the ideals of the Revolution and the Imam. We are engaged with the West and the East. The “Neither East nor West” is one of the unimpeachable principles of the Imam. The blood of the martyrs cannot be washed away by approach to the East or to the West, therefore we must accept that in order that the entire lofty objectives of the Imam materialize we must tolerate economic pressure for years. Man’s real worth is pawned to these challenges.

The people are backing the Revolution and are acquainted with the genuine culture of Islam and, if they accept something they’ll be with you to the end. We pose the issue of war with America and yet we regularly supply our people with American and Western goods. We pose the issue of war with trite Western culture while we do not challenge it with cultural tools.

(In meeting with Friday Mass Prayer Imams) May 28, 1990

Our enmity with America is not because of economic blockade. The source of our enmity is America’s aggressive, arrogant policy. Arrogance, headed by America wants to corrupt us from inside and destroy our genuine Islamic values and make us to be as it wants us to be. You should know that today, our abjection is tantamount to the abjection of all oppressed peoples of the world. America continues to be our greatest enemy and approaching her solves no problem.

Our government has always based itself on the shoulders of everyone of our devoted citizens and will continue to do so and will resist all hardships. For this reason the Arrogance cannot destroy the great fruits of the Revolution and the Islamic system. We must defend the Islamic fruits and ideals and introduce our system as the superior Islamic system. Any slowdown in our challenges will endanger our values and the ideals of our system. We must act so that the great and powerful waves of the Islamic Revolution resound in the ears of Muslims all over the world.

(In meeting with participants in the contest for memorizing and reciting the Quran) July 22, 1990

You know that today the region faces the calamity of having American presence here. You must not forget the Imam's standpoints against America; those are clear and solid positions. If, yesterday, your enemy Saddam attacked your other enemy Kuwait, your real enemy, America has entered the area to defend the Croesus of Arabia²⁸.

If America succeeds to destroy Iraq in the region, be sure she will not ignore you. Surely America has her eyes glued to your country. Surely America will try, to its last breath, to destroy you, she won't give you a moment's rest. Therefore, to honor your martyrs' blood and the prisoners of the war and in honor of the wounded and those lost you must tighten your belts and stand solidly behind your Leader and defend the ideals of your Imam.

You should realize we are situated in a locale surrounded by countries dependent on America. If we fail to stand firm and not announce our strong presence, tomorrow, we'll have trampled on the blood of the martyrs and all your bravery and imprisonments will become void and null. Therefore, we must have active presence in the world and tell the world that the Islamic Revolution will not abandon its ideals and our responsible authorities will stand up against America and its cohorts in the area.

*(In meeting with the first group of freed
P.O.W.s) August 20, 1990*

We have often said that turning away from the policies of the pure Islam means death of the Revolution and with the death of the Revolution our system cannot survive. Our Revolution shows the face of the pure religion, the Islam about which the Imam had said: "It requires sacrifices, and pray that I be one." The least softness vis-à-vis the West is tantamount to a major blow to the prestige of our Revolution, our system and Islam. We shall never have need for relations with England and the West.

*(In meeting with a group of the freed captives)
31/1/1990*

We will not, for a moment, tolerate the presence of America and its Western allies. Muslims of the Region must, everyone of them, stand up in opposition to America and the West and defend their Islam.

The presence of America in the Region means deletion of genuine Islamic moves. Accepting the presence of America here in the Region means turning

away from the Line of the Imam. Genuine revolutionaries must never submit to abjection, not even for a moment and must be solidly ready for a prolonged fight.

(In meeting with members of the Islamic Guards Corps) October 16, 1990

Those who delight in having relations between Iran and America to be reviewed have an unjust mind because America, as a sworn enemy of the Islamic Revolution will never tolerate the realization of our Islamic and Revolutionary ideals.

(In meeting with families of martyrs and various layers of the people) October 21, 1990

Today we are resisting America with all our might and no one dares approach the West or America. Political softness is acceptable if the policy of Islamic wrath be inscribed on the other side of the coin otherwise the dear people of Iran will not admit compromise by any authority. We still regard America and England as our sworn enemies.

(In meeting with a group of freed Revolutionary Guards) October 29, 1990

The essential purpose of the world of arrogance including America in sending such completely equipped armada and so many armes to the Area is to protect Israel's position and pilfer the economic resources of the countries in the area and to counter the religious values of the Iranian and other Muslim peoples in the area. If today the Muslims do not join hands in unity and brotherhood and neglect extending help to one another, America will for ever remain in the Region and Israel, as the most ominous cancer tumor will realize its claim "from the Nile to the Euphrates".

(In meeting with Sunni and shiite Basijis) November 29, 1990

Today, America and its allies, by their presence in the Persian Gulf, area, and by sending all kinds of armaments to the holy land of Hejaz, utilizing the facilities and monies of the people of the area, plan to defeat Islam. The only thing about which the world arrogance dose not think is defense of the

Sheikhs of the region. They have not entered the area to stabilize the interests of the countries of the Persian Gulf region. The world arrogance wants that Islamic Iran not to be the number one power in the Region because they have well realized that Iran is the great center of the Islamic World Revolution.

The aggressive nature of America and its plottings against us are the bases of our dispute with America. The occupation of their plotting center inside Islamic Iran in the early years of the triumph of the Revolution is not important merely because it was attacked and taken by our Revolutionary students. The importance of the occupation of the spy den is in the fact that it broke down America's appalling appearance and its false might in all the world and it was true, as the Imam had called it: "A Revolution greater than the first revolution".

We believe America must leave the Region and surely without participation by the most powerful country of the Region, that is, the Islamic Republic of Iran, solution of the crisis of the Persian Gulf is impossible. Undoubtedly, America has entered the region to threaten the interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

With this in view if we want to defend our Islamic ideals we must engage in a struggle with America. America is now, more than ever, aware of the danger and the Islamic World Revolution. As long as American fear of Imam Khomeini's Islam exists, Islamic Iran, as the great center of revolution, will be the base and center of the challenges by African Muslims and Muslims of the Middle East and other parts of the world. We must try to remain, as heretofore, a haven for the children of revolution all over the world.

(At ceremonies of graduates of the Islamic Revolution committees college) November 3, 1990

We do not regard softness toward the world arrogance, be it Eastern or Western, as key to the solution of economic difficulties, but believe that softness moves us toward corruption and annihilation and makes us poorer and more abject every day. We believe that nearness to and relation with the West and the entire arrogant world can be acceptable if the Islamic objectives and ideals be not made the scapegoat for such relations.

(In meeting with personnel of Ministry of Defense and support of the Armed Forces) November 18, 1990

In the arena of fight for beliefs we must turn the cutting edge of our blade to face the world arrogance headed by America. If we aim our attacks at American stooges and puppets it means we are aiming at the effect and not at the cause. I have often said that America intends to destroy your Islamic identity and Revolutionary prestige.

(In meeting with participants in the cross country seminar of the Islamic Associations) November 23, 1990

World Arrogance commits any crime if its interests are threatened anywhere in the world. The savage and inhuman acts of America revealed the meaning of the Imam's words re anti-human spirit of America as the number one enemy of the oppressed nations.

Alert consciences learned that the false heralds of human rights in fact consider human lives of no value when it comes to implementing their arrogant policies.

(In meeting with personnel of the Baqiyyatullah al-Azam Hospital) February 7, 1990

In fighting Imperialism and Zionism the Muslims should invest of their lives and property. The system of the Islamic Republic of Iran shall not tolerate the politico-military presence of America and its allies and, with the help of Muslims of the world, will do all possible to oust America from the Region. The pure Muhammedan Islam has cast such fear in the hearts of Israel and America that they consider it the most dangerous threat to their interests and existence in the Region because the pure Islam of Muhammad (s) has, included in itself as a basic component the fight against the arrogant and the defense of the oppressed. We ought to have close relations with all revolutionaries of the world in order that the lofty ideals of the pure Islam may be realized, and, so that we may rescue the anti-arrogance forces everywhere, from the economic, political and cultural domination of America.

(In meeting with members of the Administrative Councils of the Theologic center of Qum) March 22, 1990

Our region and the world are undergoing a new change. The New World Order means extension of American dominance in the political geography of the Persian Gulf. The new world order secures the absolute domination of America all over the world especially the Middle East and Persian Gulf. American imperialism intends, by posing the new world order, to destroy the Islamic and revolutionary movements by completely disarming them and to take the destinies of the world community in its own hands. Today world news and propaganda agencies are promoting a principle that America must, for protection of world peace, be absolute ruler and always have the last word to say. However the realities of world politics show that Europe, as an ally of America, cannot move with America at all and is opposed to the extension of its absolute rule.

Surely, today the Islamic Revolution thwarts the expansion of America's domination in the Persian Gulf region. The Islamic Revolution of Iran, as the central core of the liberating revolutions, is the only power which is properly opposing world paganism and the arrogance camp and will not let America be the sole body determining the fates of the Middle East area.

If we be lax today in the face of American domination it will institute its "New Order" in the Region. Muslims must, as defenders of Islamic ideology, resist the domineering policies of America and by maintaining their unity and brotherhood determine the destinies of their own nations.

*(In meeting with authorities of the Shahid
Foundation from all over the country) July
11, 1991*

In the external dimension, our system and Revolution face many problems: America's New Order is nothing but absolute American and Israeli domination over Muslims of the Region. America is determined to see Israel obtain the upper hand in the Region. The Imam (a) several times mentioned the dangers of Israel and America. Also, in the present conditions, the Leader of the Revolution reminded the Muslims not to let America get into the Region. America has attacked the prestige of Islam. The disputes of the Arrogance Camps with our Revolutionary system is over Islam as viewed by the Imam. The new world order is assuming a position against Islam, that which the Imam had planted and our dear martyrs watered. Let Muslims of the Region be sure that if America's new order be realized in our Area it will invade the

Islamic Revolution's growth. We must all rise up in a single file and line-up all together against the enemies of the interests of the people of the Region.

*(In meeting with the Basij Resistance force)
July 19, 1991*

We all should be ready for an immense fight in various arenas with the criminal America; because America and its stooges will settle for nothing short of destruction of Islam and the Revolution and discrediting our responsible authorities. We must realize that with each concession we make to the enemy we retreat as much from our ideals and the enemy's appetite to swallow the resources of the Muslims increases.

*(In meeting with families of the martyrs of
Tehran Province) August 6, 1991*

Our diplomacy is aggressive today vis-à-vis the cruel policies of the arrogant camp and the policy drawn by His Holiness the Imam has made it necessary for all of us to trespass against the enemy and this is exactly opposite to any leniency and compromise.

The cultural invasion of world of arrogance has been intensified following the publication of the book "Satanic Verses" and has found wider dimensions. We must, in pursuit of the prophetic counsels of our deceased Imam, avoid passive policies in the face of such intrigues and by aggressive policies discourage the enemies of the Islamic Revolution from attaining to their objectives. And surely the least leniency in this respect entails weakening of the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Imam's Line and the Revolution. You must defend the guidelines of Hadrat Imam and the Leadership and by being present in the cultural and political scenes, while not interfering in politics, you should pose your critics and reveal the errors. The Imam has decreed the aggression against seditious enemies as an incumbent duty on all of us.

If today we move away from the basic and pure Muhammedan cultural issues we shall fall in the chasm of the trite and unrestrained culture of the West. And, this is a subtle point that Hadrat Imam (s) diligently explained when issuing the decree for execution of Salman Rushdi.²⁹ Hadrat Imam has made it binding on us to perform our duties and not mind its aftermath.

Managers of the offices of representatives of the *Wali-ye faqih* in the Sepah must explain to members of the Sepah the viewpoints and standpoints of the Imam (s) and be aware that if we lack aggressive policies we shall receive blows from the enemies who thirst for the blood of these innocent people. As our deceased Imam has said: "The theological schools and the clergy must always take hold of the mental pulse and future needs of the society in their hands and be always ahead of events by several steps and ready to manifest proper reactions.

(In meeting with the authorities and commanders of the Revolutionary Guards Corps) September 18, 1991

Today we must be alert and know that diplomacy of prudence is a cause for the West's brazen behavior toward the values of the Revolution and our system. The 13 years of Islamic Revolutionary experience has proved that the world of arrogance never jokes with us and will do anything to destroy the attractions and genuine values of the Islamic Revolution. Vis-à-vis such method by the arrogant world, our diplomacy must be aggressive. With diplomacy of leniency we can never make our Islamic Revolution and the ideals of the Imam ring in the ears of the people of the world, it is impossible. Our path is that of the Imam (s). It is a clear road free of any ambiguity and is being pursued by the Leader of the Revolution. The diplomacy of prudence cannot be a continuation of the Islamic Revolution and Imam's path while Western arrogance is doing anything to destroy us.

Our system and Revolution are strange and lonely in modern world and they count on your sincere and faithful forces for support. Therefore just as our immortal Imam (s) believed, be present, with might, in all political, military and international scenes and feel your duty vis-à-vis internal and external plottings.

*(In commemoration of the Pasdar Day)
February 8, 1991*

Today the unprecedented exertion of pressure by the arrogant powers on the Islamic Republic of Iran is an indication of the cultural and moral influence of the Islamic Revolution among Muslim nations. Never before has the world of arrogance so ruthlessly invaded our national and Islamic interests as it has

today. After the breakdown of the Marxist regimes in the Eastern Block, Islam has emerged as the major ideological power that threatens the domination of the world mongers. America and Europe are of the opinion that the Islamic fundamentalism has levied deep crises on their stooge regimes. Therefore, by voicing the danger of Islamism and creating fear in their hearts, they try to pilfer, more than before, the national resources of the countries under their domination.

*(In commemoration of the Army Day) April
15, 1992*

Today the Western arrogance thirsts for the blood of all the children of the pure Islam of Muhammad (s), and, America intends, by use of the weapon of the new world order, to eradicate the universal values of the Islam of Muhammad (s). Today, the entire world Arrogance uses every loophole to cause friction in our lines. If we want to be followers of the Line of the Imam, we must be united, away from carnal desires.

*(Commemorating the Army Day) April
16, 1992*

America thirsts for the blood of Islam and our people. The West will give us no concession unless we butcher, in front of them the Islam of Muhammad, (s), the Prophet of God. Let all know that they consent to nothing short of destruction of Islam. They will not take a step in our favor unless we give up all of our Islamic ideals. The Imam (s) has clearly stated that the day the West says a word of praise in favor of us that is the day we must doubt our doings and may God never dawn that day. We must depend on our people, must depend on our own specialists, must rely on our own culture and not be deceived by the West. The West approaches step by step but if we act according to Imam's counsel to support the supreme Religious Leadership or *Wilayat-e Faqih*. We can be sure that no power can defeat us otherwise the creeping movement may someday succeed.

*(In meeting with a group of workers) March
25, 1992*

Today the West, particularly America, have risen to challenge the basic existence of the ideology of Islam and tries not to let Islamic laws be enforced in

other countries the way they are implemented in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Our people and the authorities of our system and Revolution are aware of the economic, political and cultural problems of the newly-made independent muslim republics. However, if these republics want to attain to independence, freedom, happiness and human grandeur, they must return to Islamic rules and decrees.

*(In meeting with the Attorney General of the
Azerbaijan Republic) May 4, 1992*

Declaration of immunity to the pagans does not mean opposition to the Saudi Rule or other regimes like it. Rather, it is declaration of immunity to world paganism headed by America and this is one of the basic principles of Abraham's version of the Hajj throughout history respected by all Muslims until eradication of atheism and polytheism. In the political and historic conditions of the Islamic world the declaration of immunity to paganism is far beyond opposition to the regime of one country, for example, such as Saudi Arabia. The Muslims declaration of immunity must aim its sharp edge against the atheistic policies of the criminal America. Today, encountering the new world order of America and the paganism that rules over the world, is the vignette in the declaration of immunity to atheism.

Muslims of the world must demonstrate their unanimous immunity to the new world order and reject the absolute domination of a country over all peoples of the world.

*(In meeting with inspectors of the Hajj
caravans) May 5, 1992*

In the hard struggle between the pure Islam of Muhammad (s) and the American version of Islam, the propaganda media of the arrogant World tries, with all its might to suggest to the minds that our system and Revolution has stood aloof from the Imam's Line. The cognizant Muslims who are aware of the positions of the Imam recognize this falsehood. However, announcing such wordings as: "The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Saudi Arabia are the two wings of Islam", without any protest by our foreign policy authorities, inflict heavy blows on the people's beliefs, people who, by acquiring their genuine Islamic identity, are about to make the West as they did with the East; and, this will trample down the bloods of hundreds of thousands of martyrs that were

shed on our homeland by the money of Saudi Arabia and with help from the Sheikhdoms during the life of Imam Khomeini (s)

(In meeting with authorities of the Judiciary Power) July 24, 1992

As in the past, today, too, the Muslims should feel the wrath against America and its allies, in their hearts, because America is against the existence of Islam and if the Muslims be negligent or show leniency the grandeur of Islam and the Muslims shall be destroyed.

In all Islamic lands America is busy trying to annihilate the genuine and revolutionary children of Islam and we as faithful followers of Imam Khomeini (s) will not let up our challenging America's extortion and avarice. Following the examples set by Imam Khomeini's thought, we stand up against America's extortion concealed under the slogan of a New World Order, with all our might. Softness before the anti-Islamic actions entails nothing but weakening of the Muslims. The Muslims have often experienced America's efforts to bury Islam by any means possible and, today, America's new world order is a means by which to thwart the revival of true Islam and international unity of the Muslims.

(In meeting with foreign guests participating in Imam Khomeini's ascension anniversary) June 3, 1993

Defense of pure Islam entails combating with the tyrants; it means designating Iran as the metropolis to absorb all Islamic revolutionary forces throughout the world. These are not things to be digestible by the arrogant world. If today America tries to impose something on the world, in the name of new world order, it is nothing but a plan to confront Islam because, with departure of Marxism the only potent force that can make their plans fail through is the revolutionary Islam of the Imam and you, the barefoot people.

(In meeting with personnel of the Joint Army Staff) June 5, 1992

Realization of justice to the nations bonded under the domination of the world of arrogance is possible if they would unite and cooperate. The Islamic decrees have taught us, aside from the distorted feature that the colonialists

have presented, that the grand duty of all of us is to defend the oppressed and to incessantly fight with the oppressors and arrogants and the most important factor for victory, in this struggle is the maintenance of unity and cooperation.

*(In visit of Mr. Nelson Mandella) July 21,
1992*

The domineering policies of the world are never compatible with the growth of Islamic culture in the various stages of human community. The bases of their animosity with us have roots in beliefs. The children of Islamic Iran must enjoy high political and religious sense so as to possess, in addition to the original Islamic ideology, the ability to recognize an enemy and thus, be immune to confusions in the political and social changes that occur internally and abroad.

*(In meeting with education authorities)
September 1, 1992*

The people and responsible authorities, by following the Grand Leader, must secure their positions of wrath against America, and know that, if for any reason they take one step backward America moves forward as much. We must not be naive to think that if we give up our combat with the West and America they'll reciprocate. This is wrong thinking rejected by the Imam and the Leader as well because America's animosity with us is for moral and ideological issues. Retreat will besmear our ideology. It will increase dependency on America and will further their aggression against us.

*(On occasion of theAnti
Arrogance Fighting Week) November 9,
1992*

Today America has not in the least reduced its rough treatment and pressure on us. Today America as the dominant world power oppresses the Islamic nations to the utmost. It dispatches military forces to any point on earth that its interests call for, and wherever a tyrant butchers the people, and American interests call for, this country prevents any actions taken by international bodies and organizations, example, the perpetuation of the crimes committed by the Serbs against Muslims in Herzegovin-Bosnia and the inhuman acts of the Zionist Regime against Palestinian Muslims and revolutionists. We all have

a duty to stand up in unison and combat their tricks and defend the dear Islam and the Islamic World Revolution.

(At the ceremonies of the Yumullah (lit.- God's Day-ref 12th of Bahman=15th of February) February 1, 1992

Within its new order framework, America intends to be the sole rider in the international arenas and, by threats with false excuses invades independent countries. World community has, today, a grave duty vis-à-vis American extortions. If terrorism and aircraft highjacking is condemned and, America, by taking hold of such false excuses means to use political, military and economic levers against Libya why does Washington give prize to the criminals who shot down the Iranian passenger aircraft³⁰ What essential difference is there between these two commitments? Why is the world community in such a state that affirms American cruelty and oppression? We firmly believe that terrorism and aircraft high-jacking, from any motive, it maybe, is condemnable as an inhuman act. What entitles America to use the excuse of fighting with terrorism as a means to encroach on the national sovereignty of other states? The conscience of the human community must prosecute America as the World's greatest world terrorist and criminal.

*(In meeting with various layers of people).
April 21, 1993*

The inhuman approach of American authorities to the member of economic mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Washington, D.C. indicates America's non competence to be host to international associations and organizations. Human society must do something to preserve the prestige and the standing of international organizations and associations because America lacks qualifications to be host to such meetings. By open violation of international laws and political immunity of authorities of other countries and by committing ugliest acts of official terrorism, America has made international meetings as its arenas for wresting tributes and constantly threatens their health and immunity. We must reserve for ourselves the policy of blow for blow so that they may not dare torture an Iranian authority and representative in such manner. Our nation has found its path and for this we have tolerated all kinds of pressures and threats and paid the price of our

independence. This nation will never submit to imposed domination and abjection from world plunderers.

(In meeting with employees of the Bus Company of Tehran and Suburbs) May 9, 1993

Today, as the invasion of enemies of the Islamic Revolution is heightened in non-military forms, we must defend the Islamic ideals. Today, as yesterday, America is the most dangerous enemy of us and of all Muslims and, as long as we preserve our state of readiness and aggressiveness against the Arrogance, surely, victory is ours. Retreat and bowing to super powers ends in abjection for the Muslims.

*(At morning call of the joint Armed Forces).
May 24, 1993*

Experience has proved that inclination to the West causes lowliness and abjection and servitude for the Muslim combatants and revolutionaries. Some think that by inclination to the West they can solve their problems or by obtaining a concession from the Western world they can deceive themselves or others. America and the Western Arrogance may make a redundant concession to someone only after they have metamorphosed that person from his real identity and no trace is left of his Islamic and revolutionary identity.

(In meeting with employees of the Ministry of Taavon) August 28, 1993

Murmur for compromise with America is condemned no matter who voices it. Today, as in the past, our essential enemy is America. Some naively think that by overlooking our Islamic and revolutionary ideals America will line up with us and we can be victors in some issues. Such analysis is wrong and erroneous and against the stance and commands of our Leadership and is surely condemned. Those who follow the line of compromise with America must give up their deviationist position because only those can work and serve in this Islamic system who are in harmony with the system and Leadership. Our essential enemy has not, even for a moment, concealed its animosity towards the divine ideals of the Imam. America is trying to defeat the Islam of Imam Khomeini (s)

as a factor for revolutionary movement in the world or at least cause it to be isolated. The efforts of the Leader of the Revolution are aimed at a point, which shows that the ideals of the Revolution and the Imam will not be forgotten for a moment, the same holy ideals for which noble Basiji martyrs made sacrifices. Did the Basiji martyrs make sacrifices for anything other than the exaltation of Islam, the Quran and the Islamic homeland? Did they think of anything else? Those who say they want to make the country prosperous and wipe out the tension between Islamic Iran and the world plunderer America have not, themselves been under pressure for even a moment. I say to them: "Have you ever been jailed? Have you ever been tortured? Have you ever been at the battle fronts? In those days you were abroad assuming incorrect attitudes and today you are assuming positions more incorrect than before. Verily, one's heart aches to see that a number of people who know nothing about our Basijis heroes, and their sentiments, make such utterances: If this group had served for a moment as the Basijis, they might appear as justified features. He who has not taken a single step for the Revolution and has been admitted to the Majlis merely because his name had been listed in a roll to which people had voted, by what right does such a man speak for the people and on their behalf?

(In meeting with commanders of the Basij Resistance Forces) November 20, 1993

Some people believe that if we let the world Arrogance alone and not stand up against their positions and interests they will leave us alone. Have the people of Bosnia who only wish to have an independent muslim state trespassed on the interests of the West? Or, do they threaten their interests? The only guilt of the Bosnian nation is their being Muslims. The whole Arrogance world will leave muslims alone only when they no longer exist. You have the duty to inform other muslims about this fact.

(In meeting with participants in the great Haj Congress) April 20, 1994

Honoring the Imam (s) must be honoring his thoughts in all their political, economic, social and ethical dimensions. Sometimes it is observed that the Imam's standpoints in economic and foreign policy issues are drawn up in

such a manner that is surely not his views or standpoints. In foreign policy the Imam believed in resistance and lack of leniency toward oppressive powers. If we believed in this policy of the Imam (s) and did all we could to teach it to others, surely the Muslims would be in a different position on international levels. We must today firmly oppose the hypocrisy and paganism of the enemies of Islam and the only road open to us for this challenge is the path of Imam Khomeini (s). If we choose another path the enemies will not rest until they destroy us and we shall surely be defeated in the shortest possible time.

*(In meeting with staff members of the
Committee to hold anniversary of Imam
Khomeini's ascension) 5/22/93*

Once more the Saudi government, on recommendation of America, prevented the immunity demonstration by Muslims who are eternal enemies of paganism and universal atheism. This anti-monotheistic move aroused regret and disgust in God's monotheistic and pious servants. Free Muslims, all of them, will not, for a moment, forget the atrocities of world mongering America and, to preserve, the honor, grandeur and power of the Islamic world will behave severely toward the atheists because the more leniency we show toward America and its hired aides the more they show their extortionist nature and enmity.

*(In meeting with strata of people) May 29,
1994*

We ought to have aggressive policies. For example in the case of expulsion of veiled coeds from French schools we should have shown sharp reaction. The event was so repulsive that unveiled French coeds came to their support. We, in Iran, should have dealt more seriously with the French government so as to show to the world that we defend Islam and Muslim people of other countries do not think that only during the life of Imam Khomeini such insults made our people show their wrath. Besides, other Western countries who claim having individual and social freedoms would realize that we seriously defend Muslims. In the case of Salman Rushdi, the atheist, the Imam ordered for the expulsion of delegates and ambassadors of the European Common Market member countries before any political move by said Market. For, the Imam was aware of their tricks and knew they would put all kinds of political and international pressures on Iran. When the news was aired by telex they called

in their diplomatic representatives and, later, being embarrassed and ashamed, returned them back to Tehran.

In our Islamic system, in pursuit of the positions of the deceased Imam, the Press must move ahead of others. Today our system and Revolution are under extensive attacks by the Western mass media and the Zionists. They attack us more than before. If we increase our combat against their positions they will be made to retreat. If in the political and international issues our aggressiveness is relaxed they will move forward and step by step they will corner us further and farther.

*(In meeting with chief editorial members of
Abrar Newspaper) October 3, 1994*

In the present conditions when enemies of Islam and of the Muslims use every opportunity to weaken Islam, cancellation of the economic boycott of the Zionist Regime of Israel by the Persian Gulf Cooperative Council is a shameful act. Today only revolutionary Iran does not submit to extortionist America and follows its own path heedless of American ratings. American ratings made the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council to cancel the economic boycott against Israel. This decision of the servant minded bodies is nothing to be compared with the grandeur of the Islamic Revolution and the resistance of our nation. The Iranian nation shall not bow to America even for a moment. To preserve its independence and the territorial integrity of its country, the nation will, by support from the Basijis, resist with full power.

*(In meeting with commanders of student
basij) October 7, 1994*

The people have wakened up by the light of Islamic truth. Our publicity endeavor in foreign countries has not been far reaching to inform all the people of the world. However, by the blessing of the Imam's truthfulness and that of the Iranian nation, the Muslim peoples everywhere voice our Islam. The fact that the Saudi and Kuwaiti Regimes drag America into this sensitive area because of a dubious and irrational move by Iraq must be considered carefully. They may invade the three Islands³¹ of the Persian Gulf. One of the suppositions is that they want to implement their decision in these three islands. I give warning that the presence of America in the Persian Gulf is a threat to Iranian security. We must all be ready for defense. Followers of the

Path of Imam Husayn (a) must be ready for defense. The countries of the Persian Gulf should know for sure that America, by imposing back-breaking, heavy expenses will impair their independence for ever and pilfer their economic resources. The losers in these propositions will be the Sheikhs themselves. The Iranian nation is experienced and has well learnt its own defense in the wake of the 8-year war.

(In meeting with the politico-religious authorities of the disciplinary forces from all over the country) October 17, 94

In various experiences America and Western powers must have understood that Iran cannot be pushed away from the essential course of the Revolution. The more you have clobbered this nation with your hammers of boycott, military attack, cultural aggression and propaganda the more steadfast they have become in their faith in the principles of the Revolution and in the Religious Leadership. Today, our people pursue the line of the Imam with greater faith than before and follow the lines drawn up by the noble Leadership of the Revolution which is the same as the Imam's Line. The bravery of our people has been proven to all during the 8-year holy defense; why don't they give up mischief ? Why don't they let a united nation with glorious past history attain to its objectives? Why do they coin some excuse?

You will be mistaken if you think that the Iranian nation will start ambulating in your path by fear of your propagandistic threats. Experience has proven the opposite of this in the past 15 years. Come and stop blockading this Revolution and stop putting our people under economic, political and publicity attacks and pressures. These days the American congress has threatened Russia and China with boycotts unless they cut their economic relations with Iran. You think now that Russia has stepped aside as a rival you have become the sole master of the world, and anything you say, goes?! Do you think all countries will sit by and let you determine their economic and political policies? Assuming your threats are realized, we have experienced hard periods of economic and political pressures before, and are used to them.

*(At the ceremonies marking the start of the festivals of the holy decade of the Revolution)
February 1, 1995*

America continues to be the number one enemy of the Revolution and the Islamic system of Iran. America and its allies bring increased economic, political and military pressure to bear on the Iranian nation so that it may abandon its freedom and independence. From economic standpoint America tries to press the European countries, and, recently china and Russia, not to have effective economic cooperation and relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. From political standpoint America and its allies put us under propagandistic pressure wherever they can. If, for instance, an Iranian or a body of Iranian change their itinerary to travel to a given country, the West's propaganda machinery immediately interprets that change in different ways. On the other hand they try, by using the human right issue to declare Iran and several other countries as violators of such rights. The human rights have always been used as a political excuse by major powers especially by America, else, they cannot present an acceptable definition for human rights. By the grace of eight years of holy defense by Iranian nation against the aggressors, we today enjoy a desirable defensive power. We produce our weapons and armament and our military equipment can counter enemy attacks. America and Europe have formally declared to the world not to sell any advanced military and strategic equipment and technology to Iran. In other words they have added military boycott to complete their political and economic encirclement of Iran. Little do they know that our defense arsenal has had such a development that it can adequately meet our needs.

(In meeting with students from various districts of Teharn) January 21, 1994

Let the grand clergymen, as religious and political leaders of the people, take care that internal problems and difficulties do not belittle the threats of foreign powers.

(In meeting with members of the Council of Experts) March 4, 1994

*SUPPORT FOR PALESTINE AND THE
UNITY OF THE ISLAMIC UMMAH*

SUPPORT FOR PALESTINE AND THE UNITY OF THE ISLAMIC UMMAH

The problems of the Islamic world and Shiism is nothing but incorrect understanding of the objectives of the Infallible Imams (a). If those objectives be recognized properly not only the Shiites would become a united fist vis-à-vis the arrogant world, rather, our Sunni brothers could attain to an acceptable unity around related decrees. And by such harmonious unity we would never allow the world Arrogance and their servants in Islamic countries to run over our affairs in this world and in the Hereafter with no one to stop them.

*(In world conference on the Ahl-e-Bayt) May
24, 1990*

On the basis of the Imam Khomeini's path which is the path to unity, brotherhood, and freedom of all Muslims of the world, the people and responsible authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran try to insure that the political interests of the Muslims, be not extorted by the covetousness and greed all over the world especially in the Persian Gulf Area. The problems of the Persian Gulf area must be solved by interested parties and the Arrogance has no right to interfere in the disputes of this Region. Under present conditions we strongly believe that the political geography of the Region must not be altered at all and Western armed forces must leave the region completely. The Persian Gulf Region is an Islamic Region and only the Muslim people of the Region have the right to decide about its destiny.

*(In meeting with the President of Algeria)
September 14, 1990*

Iran defends the Internationalism of Islam. World wide inclusiveness of Islam is the essential base of our Revolution. We shall not retreat one step from the Islamic standards nor from Islamic movements in all over the world, and we shall not abandon any part of the outcomes of the Revolution.

(In meeting with the Teachers of Literacy Movement) September 26, 1990

Brothers and sisters of both Sunni and Shiite denominations are well aware that the Arrogance has been, for a long time, investing a great deal to cause friction between them. You must know that in order to swallow the Islamic and national interests of the Muslim peoples the Arrogance leaves nothing undone. If all of us, with alertness and unity neutralize the devilish actions of the Arrogance, we shall have met with great success.

Know and beware that we can exalt Islam if we maintain our unity more firm than before and slap the Arrogance so hard that it wasn't be able to lift its head. Today Islam and the Regime are badly in need of your unity. stand up against the enemy with united thought and insight and sever the hands of the Arrogance from your national interests.

(In meeting with the Shiite and Sunni Basijis of Gonbad) November 3, 1990

The Imam considers fighting against Israel in its various dimensions. He regards the base and root of Israel as coming from America, England and the treacherous heads of Islamic countries. This means a plot devised by the ruling classes of America, England and Islamic governments. He believes that the help rendered to Israel via America and England has been provided with trignes of the heads of Islamic states. On the other hand the Russian policy of no aid to Palestinian fighters has prepared the grounds for their annihilation.

We know that fighting with Israel means fighting with America. America is not separate from Israel. The Imam insists on this point. Fighting with Israel is the same as fighting with America or England or Russia. Now let those who claim being fighters but don't want to fight, at least declare economic boycott. As a third step the Imam states: "Israel had made armed uprising against Islamic countries. It is incumbent on Islamic governments and nations to extripate it. This is a decree and it means it is necessary for the

Muslim governments and nations to overthrow Israel. Aid to Israel in the form of selling arms, explosives, or oil is religiously prohibited and contradicts Islam. Having commercial or political relations with Israel and its agents is also forbidden and against Islam”.

(In meeting with participants in the International Conference to support Palestinian Revolution) Novemeber 25, 1990

America intends to draw the Arabs into a humiliating compromise with the Zionist Regime and to carry out its evil intentions in every stage it attacks some parts of the great Islamic *Ummah*.

Today, the treacherous and compromising leaders who consented to register eternal shame in their own names must know that the blood of those martyred in the path of truth and Liberty continuously flows in the veins of the revolutionary children of Palestine. And the uprising of Muslims everywhere in the world vis-à-vis the camps of the pagans and the arrogants will continue with greater force and, ere long, those, such as Anwar Sadat³², who betrayed the liberating ideals, will be introduced as the dirtiest faces in history and receive their condign punishment for their ugly and shameful acts.

After the wrangle about peace between Arabs and Israel is over, America will continue its humiliating attitude toward the hired Arab leaders to utterly destroy the zeal and ardor of the oppressed people of Arab countries. The destruction of the dear Islam is the essential objective of America and today the intrigues of the Camp of Arrogance is directed at the Islam which our late Imam made every effort to plant its sapling and suffered hardships in doing so. Today, the Islamic Iran as the center of Revolutionary Islam and a lean-to for the oppressed and bonded nations, is the only real danger to realization of the sinister and colonialistic objectives of America, and the revolutionary Muslims must set up centers of popular resistance in wider scales and form teams for serious encounter with the interests of America and Israel and invest of their own beings, to the point of martyrdom, for defending the prestige, honor and freedom of themselves so as in a major war either continue Islam's way toward dignity or in line with their holy convention, join the caravan of martyrs.

(In meeting with families of martyrs of Tehran Province) August 6, 1991

Again, in near future, international conspirators headed by America and international Zionism are planning arrange the treasonous plot for Arab-Israeli peace meeting, this time in the heart of the Great Devil, i.e., Washington. Once more I warn the ignorant and hired heads of the states that choose to destroy the Islamic pride of more than one billion Muslims in order to continue their treasonous rule a few more days, that, they will get nothing except eternal shame of treason from these previously programmed negotiations.

(In meeting with members of the Basij Resistance Force) Jan 9, 1941

The Revolutionary and freedom loving Muslims, by creating cores of resistance in arenas of challenge, must threaten the interests of the international pilferers and arrogants. The Imam's Line means defense of Islam's being in the remotest places of the world and this cannot be achieved by voicing slogans only. The entire system of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, in confirmation and practical support of the interests of Muslims, stand in the first lines of fighting against the threatening elements and tyrants in international arenas.

(In meeting with Mr. Abdul Salam Jalloud, member of the commandant Council of Lybian Revolution) August 6, 1991

Never before have the enemies of Islam placed Iran under political aggression as they have today. Our path is clear and irreversible. We are decided, by traversing the path of Imam Khomeini (s), to over come all difficulties, build a country strong in various dimensions and not to neglect, even for a moment our support of the movements of the oppressed people in other countries. If the nations under domination and the newly-made independent states wish to become free and independent, they must prepare themselves to combat their domestic problems as well as the plottings of the world of arrogance. The Islamic Iran as the mother-land to the united Islamic *ummah* is developing and blossoming and it takes long and speedy strides in the direction of economic

and social expansion and perfection. Assuredly, the progress of Islamic Iran will gladden the friends of the Islamic Revolution in remote points on earth and frustrate the world of arrogance.

In view of the complex world conditions of today we think it is time that Islamic nations in unison and cooperation with one another do something to solve their problems and difficulties.

(In visit with Shaykh Murtiza Umbaka, leader of the Muridryya Sect in Senegal) April 1 Z 1992

Studying and analysis of the geographic characteristics of the Islamic countries is a prerequisite to the recognition of the strategic position of the Islamic world. Islamic countries, as formative components of the world of Islam are situated, mainly, in strategic areas. This fact shows, especially in the Persian Gulf Region; the significance of the Islamic lands in the political geography of the world.

As to the geographic characteristics, the Islamic countries have ample common points. Therefore, they must make effort to use their common geographic positions to boost their political unity and enhance their common features. The strategic positions of the Islamic countries necessitates careful study and recognition of their geographic characteristics for the purpose of attaining to economic and social progress and development. We must make efforts so that the Islamic community in its path to get rid of the domination of world Arrogance, in reaching self-sufficiency and a happy, worthy life, recognize its abilities in all areas and make the best use of them. Along this line scientific and cultural exchange by Islamic countries for transfer of experiences and geographic studies must be given special attention. The histories of Islamic states is replete with the cruelties that the colonialists have inflicted on Islamic nations. The whole purpose of Imam Khomeini was to make the Islamic nations aware of their talents and abilities and to guide them from retrogression to advancement and eminence.

(In meeting with participants in the Seminar on study special characteristics of the geography of Islam). April 23, 1992

Islamic Law as the most progressive and comprehensive laws for defense of mankind can be the axis for the unity of Islamic countries in solving conflicts and disputes among these countries.

We believe that Islamic laws should replace the laws of all courts in Islamic states. Extension of judicial cooperation among them will cause the Islamic courts to have greater role in International disputes and, because of unfair rulings of some of the international courts and judiciaries, the Islamic governments and nations should refer to Islamic courts for settlement of their disputes.

(In meeting with attorney general of the Republic of Azarbayejan)

Once more we declare that the illegal Quds Regime can understand no tongue except force and armed conflict. The only way to perpetuate the innocent Lebanese and Palestinian Muslims' rightful combat is through armed jihad or crusade.

The path of Truth is the path of Hizbullah and we regard as condemnable, any compromise with usurper Israel. Today any policy which tends to legalize the Zionist Regime is considered a treason to Islamic and Revolutionary ideals.

(In meeting with Basiji sisters) May 26, 1992

Revival of moral values, unity and concord is necessary for the might and grandeur of the united Islamic Ummah. The valuable experience of the genuine Islamic movement of our people under the leadership of His Holiness Imam Khomeini has clearly shown that Islamic faith and in consideration of the false glare of the arrogant world are the most important factors for the Muslims' victory in carrying out divine commands. Vis-à-vis the cruel acts of the pagan world the Muslims should have aggressive policies otherwise they become more daring in humiliating the Muslims.

(In meeting with foreign guests) June 6, 1992

The Islamic nations, if united, will form a great force under the banner of Islamic ideology for reaching lofty objectives. Faith in the Quran, alliance among the Islamic nations and ignoring false powers are the best grounds for revival of self-reliance and the revival of the spirit of self-reliance and self-confidence among Islamic nations can cause elimination of the enemies of Islam from the world scenes.

(In meeting with the Sudanese chief of military staff) July 31, 1992

Ideological unity and harmony of the Muslims entails the greatest manifestation of their power and grandeur in international equations. The unity of Muslims can be realized when they all feel that they have a common pain. In the present conditions the Islamic nations have in common, the pain of religion and of identity and, on the basis of their Islamism and spirit of truth-searching they have no alternative but to put aside friction and schism and to concentrate all their powers and facilities to draw the lines for the destiny of of Islam. The arrogant world considers the growth and development of Islamic beliefs a serious threat to its own being and, today, it is necessary for all Muslims to support the pure Islam with unity of words.

The Islamic world is today facing various intrigues by major powers. They use all sorts of publicity tools and means to create friction and deviation in the lines of Muslims and have made enormous investments for this purpose. To counter this, the Muslims must, by creating suitable information systems apprise all the world of their truth-seeking cry and call. If we want to truly actualize the Islamic unity we must boost our fighting power endeavors. We clearly inform the public that institution of Islamic decrees guarantees the happiness and honor of the Muslims and, in this path, we shall make use of all our might.

The creation of Islamic resistance cores and the inner purge and reformation of political systems that govern Islamic countries are the best methods for accomplishment of the united Islamic Ummah. Our defense of the interests of Muslims is based on the Islamic internationalism. We regard it our incumbent duty to defend the prestige and interests of the Muslims all over the world and for advancement of Islamic world objectives we shall never be bound by nationalistic limitations. We have proved this fact from the start of the victory of our Revolution. And, today, because we defend the universal

Islamic ideals and protect the interests of the united Islamic *Ummah*, enemies and ill-wishers put us under various pressures and intrigues in the Region and in the world at large. Their effort in this passage may have altered in form. However, they intend to reach to their devilish objectives by modern forms.

(At the international conference on Islamic Unity) August 27, 1992

The rise and struggle of the Muslims of Palestine to eradicate the traces of zionist aggression should receive prior consideration by all Muslims. Today, fighting zionism in the Middle East Region is an identical evidence of fighting America and the world arrogance.

Israel is the source of all cruelty and oppression levied against the Muslims of the Middle East, especially the dear Palestinians.

(In meeting with students supporting the Islamic Revolution of Palestine), October 21, 1992

The unity and joint action by the Muslims in international arenas is necessary for advancement of Islamic purposes.

That which brings power and honor to the Muslims is the firm determination which made them resist against the enemies in Lebanon, Palestine, Iran and North Africa. It inspired hope in the oppressed. The tendency of nations toward the liberating Islamic ideology is derived from the great outcomes of the Islamic Revolution. We must learn from the woes and pains inflicted on revolutionary nations especially Lebanon and Palestine that our enemies are mindful of nothing except the destruction of Islam and the Muslims. The challenge of the Arrogant world against the daily increasing Islamism is due to the fact that Islam is the greatest factor of liberation and independence of the Islamic nations.

(In meeting with members of the central council of the congregation of Lebanese Islamic Scholars) January 3, 1992

The enemies of Islam have always profited from the scattered positions of Muslims. Islamic nations must, under the name of United Islamic Nation play

an effective and determining role in world gatherings and scenes. Surely, by assumption of joint positions, the problems of the Islamic world especially those of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Afghanistan, Palestine and those of the occupied territories can attain the desired results. We hope that by unity the Muslim countries may be able to have and say the last words in international gatherings because, adoption of exact international policies needs understanding and recognition of the real positions of Islamic states and no difficulty in the world can be solved without due consideration of abundant power and might of the Islamic countries. The move to realization of the united Islamic *ummah* is feasible when we be united and not forget that our disputes are insignificant and easy to solve.

(In meeting with Malaysian P.M.) April 4, 1993

Cementing the unity of world Muslims is one of the great objectives of Hajj. Hadrat Imam (s) emphasized the preservation of unity and brotherhood especially during the Hajj season. In this connection he says: "We must realize that one of the major philosophies of the congregation of such enormous crowd from all over the world in this holy place and site of divine inspiration is that Muslims of the world unite and solidify their union among followers of the Prophet of Islam and the holy Quran against the pagans of the world. If, God forbid, the performance of some pilgrims cause friction in this unity, the culprit shall be subject to divine wrath. The respectable pilgrims who are by the House of God and by the site of His blessings must treat all God's servants with friendship and brotherhood and consider all of them as their very own regardless of color, tongue and environ and, altogether, be a single hand as decreed in the Quran so as to triumph over the enemies of Islam and humanity.

(In meeting with participants in the great Hajj congress) 4/22/93

Unfortunately, Muslims today are under oppression by the Arrogant all over the world. The painful circumstances of the innocent Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a great tragedy in the contemporary humanity. Continuation of genocide commitments in this country is the climax of Western crime and barbarism and of those false claimants of human rights. This great tragedy has

for ever removed the mask of hypocrisy and deception off the ugly face of Arrogance and registered in the annals of history the inhuman act of western civilization against an independent nation.

(In meeting with employees of the Sole Bus Company) May 9, 1993

As viewed by the Imam (s), the defense of the rights of Muslims is one of the most imperative tasks. This view may not be in harmony with the culture dominating the world diplomacy because in foreign diplomacy and international relations on which the international agencies and organizations emphasize national frameworks and borderlines exist.

In other words, if some people want to act to free the Muslims of their country there is no objection but if, for examples, a group of Iranians wish to act for the freedom and fulfillment of the rights of Muslims in countries like Cashmere, Palestine, Lebanon, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Tajikestan, Algeria, Phillipines, etc, their action is not at all acceptable to the international agencies and major powers (members of the U.N. Security Council).

Hadrat Imam (s) has a special standpoint about Muslims and Muslim nations and a different standpoint about governments and regimes. If governments want to have relations with us they must accept our terms which include negation of domineeringness and negation of accepting domineeringness. We do not permit other governments to interfere in our domestic or internal affairs nor to pilfer our material resources and cause their culture to dominate our country. This we reciprocate and will not put pressure on any country. We believe that Islamic ideology recognizes no borderlines and the transmission of Islamic ideology to other countries does not mean interference in internal affairs of those countries. We believe in Islamic internationalism. We do not regard the exportation of the Revolution as interference in socio-economic or cultural affairs of others. As we can see the Muslim nations themselves take the first steps to become acquainted with the message of the Islamic Revolution; we consider the priority for cultural relationship and transmission of the Revolution and believe that Islam is a universal ideology and recognizes no borders. And, on this basis we feel duty-bound not to remain indifferent vis-à-vis the destinies of Islamic nations.

The feeling of responsibility in connection with the destined affairs of Islamic nations is not a passing matter, rather, it is a strategic principle of our

system and Revolution. Now this question rises: Do you want to help other nations attain to liberty merely by relying on cultural activity or do you want to take practical action? This question forms the nucleus of disputes between Hadrat Imam (s) with the nationalists. The Imam (s) says: "We see no difference between Tehran and Baghdad nor between Abadan and Basra and wherever on earth we hear Muslims call for help, we must go and help. If we had the power to liberate the Afghan nation and the central Asian Muslim republic, we would attack aggressor Soviets. The nationalists say that the priority of the interests of Iran consist of national interests and religion is a national interest and we defend our religion within our nationalistic framework. Liberal religionists say we defend our religion in Iran but it is not admissible to place ourselves under pressure for the sake of religion in other countries.

The Imam(s) says: "If a Muslim in France is submitted to oppression it is as if it has happened in our own backyard, to an Iranian Muslim."

(In meeting with participants in International Seminar for the study of Imam Khomeini's Practical and Theoretic Conduct) March 31, 1993

The dual policy of the Arrogance vis-à-vis world events can in no way justify the aggression of the criminal America against other nations. The shameful missile attack of America on Iraq tells of a calculated intrigue against Islamic nations. We cannot be optimistic in regards to the extortionist efforts of America disguised as institution of peace and security in our region because they are determined to trespass on the interests of the Muslims wherever they can, and to accomplish this objective, they have allied with themselves, other powers and international organizations especially the United Nations.

(In meeting with families of the martyrs) June 29, 1993

Exchange of creative individual and group experiences between the youth of the Islamic states is a valuable step. In Islam no obstacles such as tribal, racial or geographical differences can prevent the solidification of friendship and brotherhood.

Development of understanding and sincerity among the youth of Islamic countries on the basis of love, unity, Islamic virtue, and recognition of the opposite ways of the world of arrogance and increasing growth of Islamic beliefs must be regarded as the major axis of acquaintance of the youth with the cultural and social problems of one another's country. Today, in most remote parts of the earth Islam is troubled by the dangerous wolf America.

In north Africa, Egypt, and Sudan the Muslims are pressured by America and its agents in various forms but for a single objective. The prestige of the Muslims is being marred in Palestine, Lebanon, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Somalia, Azerbaijan Republic and Tajikistan. We are all responsible in relation to the destinies Of the Muslim nations and cannot remain indifferent.

Therefore the recognition of problems with which the Muslim world is baset is a major objective of such gatherings.

(In meeting with participants in the International Camp for friendship of the youth) August 22, 1993

The issue of Palestine is the most basic problem of the Islamic world. The objective of those who plan compromise between Arabs and Israel is to destroy the Islamic revolution in the world.

At this sensitive cross-section of the history of Palestine it is incumbent on the genuine revolutionaries and followers of the thoughts of this His Holiness Imam Khomeini (s) to maintain their fighting spirit and jihad and not to let Intifadah to cool off. Defense of the ideals of Palestine is a strategic objective of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Islamic system and Revolution considers the defense of the Palestinian nation and fighting with the usurper Israel Regime as one of their own essential issues. The enemies of Islam have developed different problems. with a single root, in Islamic lands for realization of their evil aims. Today, after the Compromise, in Algeria, Egypt and other countries, we witness scores of dedicated Muslims, followers of the Line of Imam, being executed and Muslims and revolutionaries are brazenly placed under pressure. Institution of commercial relations of some Arab regimes with Israel is severely condemned and rejected, Today, under cover of compromise agreement between Arabs and Israel, commercial transactions are easily made with the usurper Israel by Arab Regimes and that, which until yesterday, was shame is carried out today with gladness and pride. Enemies of

Islam and of the oppressed Palestinian nation intend, by these actions, to break the spirit of resistance and challenge of the Muslims in the occupied lands. Thus the major action which all of us must undertake is to maintain the spirit of challenge and resistance. The perpetuation of Intifadah is the only way to fulfill the rights of the people of Palestine. The enemies of Islamic Resistance make huge investments to separate the genuine revolutionary forces, from one another. Therefore, the Palestinian fighters and challengers must, with understanding the present difficult conditions, more than ever before enhance their solidarity, harmony and unity in the path of their liberating fights.

*(In visit with Mr. Fathi Shaqaqi, Leader of
the Palestinian Islamic jihad) Octeber 12,
1993*

(From God we are and unto him we return)³³

(The wrong-doers shall see what a come-back they'll have)³⁴

The dimensions of the savage crime of the Zionists in the mosque of the city of al-Khalil is so awesome that no liberal person on earth and no Muslim who glorifies the Lord can hear about this painful calamity and remain silent. This time, it wasn't explosion of bombs, aimless rockets and direct battleground conflict which made blood baths. Rather, it was vis-à-vis the eyes of the people of the world, that savage Israelis with open eyes targeted the hearts of hundreds, innocent fasting Palestinians who were praying to the Lord. Woe be to the Muslim world if it remains indifferent to this great tragedy.

It is clear to everyone that the usurper Zionist government undertook this savage act in coordination with and by support from America and some western governments that back Israel.

The criers of human rights who set fire to an area and deafen universal ears by their cries over the loss of one aggressor American soldier in Lebanon or Somalia are missing and silent vis-à-vis this act. Where are they?? Where is the U.N who, to secure unlawful interests of America, on the slightest excuse, orders for military action?? Where are the traitors who for palf and position sign the documents for sale of their homelands? What answer can they present to 1.5 Billion sorrowful Muslims in connection with the said tragedy? Will the Muslim states who had pleased themselves with signing the humiliating Gaza-Jericho agreement³⁵ remain indifferent vis-à-vis this great crime.

If the Muslim governments that hold the life-artery of America and the West, had not been remiss vis-à-vis the most grievous human tragedy in Bosnia-Herzegovina and if at conference tables they would not sit in compromise with a regime so bold and savage, this calamity would have not happened today.

The world of Islam is undergoing a great test, although the dimensions of the crime is so wide and painful but it is a proof and criterion, for the last time, to distinguish the line of pioneers and flagmen of the Quds Liberation ideals from that of the false claimants who say they support Islam “He will not let the unbelievers triumph over the faithful.”³⁶ The innocent and bereaved nation of Palestine should be confident that the revolutionary government and nation of Iran, and the spiritual children of Imam Khomeini (s) all over the world shall not abandon their ideals, and cruelties such as these will, more and more, solidify their determination to support the united Palestinian uprising in the occupied Lands. By the grace of God and the blessings of this month of Fasting the world will soon witness that America and Israel and other traitors to the Palestinian ideals have made a terrible mistake in committing this crime which will serve as a link that will entail a universal out cry in the Islamic world. And, woe unto the governments who dare again utter compromise, and pass by this tragic event carelessly.

With a sad heart I offer condolences to all those who are fasting in the entire world especially the wronged Muslims of Palestine and emphasize on the ever lasting message of Great Khomeini that: “America and Israel will not settle for anything less than total destruction of Islam and occupation of the entire Muslim lands, and Quds will not be freed behind conference tables nor by funny diplomatic jargon, rather, by faith in God and the manly uprising of the entire Muslims of the world and “God’s will shall be done!”

Wassalamu alaykum Wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh.

*(Message of condolence for the massacre
of fasting Palestinians by Zionists)
February 25, 1993*

At the beginning of the 75th month of Intifadah, the Palestine uprising, the political and armed fighting of the suppressed Palestinian nation was enhanced by the initiative of the master of the crusaders, Imam Khomeini, the great, and the announcement of the Universal Quds Day and declaration of support of and

correlation with the destiny of Quds, sparked the light of hope in the hearts of the people of the occupied lands while world monger America with its vast financial, arsenal and publicity resources remains the protector of the illegitimate Israel. On the Quds day the oppressed people of Palestine look forward and hope to receive aid and support from all Muslims. The Palestinian fighters and crusaders who have consistently condemned the usurper enemy and the illegitimate rule of Zionism, and found their Islamic identity in the divine thoughts of Imam Khomeini will not hesitate, a moment, in continuing the path of jihad and martyrdom. Israel is an illegitimate patch on the appearance of the Islamic world and today we are witnessing that, under support of American Imperialism it is ultimately pursuing the same policy of usurping the rights of the Muslims of the Region.

The heroic nation of Iran, by the side of the entire Muslims of the world, will participate in the demonstration of the Universal Quds day and once more reaffirm the sound of Imam Khomeini (s) considering the continuation of jihad or crusade up to the annihilation of the illegitimate Israel with full alertness.

The Universal Quds day is the day for demonstrating the political and fighting power of the united Islamic Ummah in confronting the expansionism of Imperialists and Zionists. Participation in this demonstrative walk and declaration of correlation with and support for the oppressed nation of Palestine is an Islamic, humanistic duty.

The challenges of the Palestinian nation in this sensitive cross-section of history has entered a hard phase. The recent massacre of Palestinians while praying in the sanctuary of Hadrat Ibrahim Khalilullah is the natural result of the SAF leaders and Gaza-Jerico accord. If traitors had not infiltrated in the lines of the Palestinian crusaders, the Zionist hands for such slaughter would not have been free. The Palestinian martyrs' blood will guarantee the determination of the children of Quds to carry on until complete realization of Palestinian ideals. It will entail the unlimited support of the world Muslims.

*(Message for the demonstration walk on the
universal Quds Day.) March 7, 1993*

The political dimension of the Hajj ritual will not be realized unless its divine and moral aims are attained. Discussion of the Muslim world issues is a major point on the agenda of the Hajj rites. If the Muslims were not alien to the philosophy of Abraham's hajj, criminal Serbians could not have so savagely

massacred the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Abraham's Hajj is a cry by the innocent Muslims against the world arrogance. The rites of Hajj per se, are not dangerous to America and world arrogance. That Hajj which the Imam, Leader of the Revolution and Islamic system has pursued under the title of Abraham's Hajj, is subjected to attack by the Arrogant world. The political dimension of Hajj is a required associate of its devotional dimension. The political dimension of the Hajj cannot be suspended. The *raison d'être* of the Hajj is in its political dimension. Imam Khomeini (s) used to include all political issues of the Muslim world in the manifesto of the Hajj. He regarded the political dimension of the Hajj as most suppressed in the contemporary time.

Hajj is a center for solution of differences and solidification of brotherhood among Muslims. Had the Muslims really traversed in the path of unity and brotherhood, today the Middle East Muslims would not be so oppressed by the major powers and would not tolerate the humility of compromise with America and Israel, enemies of God's Religion. The Imam (s) says: "It is necessary that pilgrims to the God's House obey the commands of the Quran regardless of their nationality and denomination and shake hands of Islamic brotherhood vis-à-vis the devastating satanic flood of de-Islamization by the East and West and their thoughtless affiliates, and they must heed the holy Quranic Verses which calls on people to avoid disunity and disputes.

The Imam (s) regards the solidity of Muslim brotherhood as a necessary means to attain success in all matters. Had we acted according to the Imam's direction we could speak out our rightful words and the publicity machines of the arrogance could not have deceived the Muslims. With all their might, they try to introduce the face of the Imam and the Islamic system, as rough, and distort the truth of the message of the Islamic Revolution. During the Hajj season, you dear ones must establish links with other Hajj pilgrims and let them know that the claimings that our Revolution and Islamic system have steered away from the words of Imam (s) is absolutely false. Some believe that if we let alone the universal arrogance and do not attack them and, do not resist vis-à-vis their demands and positions they would leave us alone. Have the people of Bosnia who want an independent Muslim state attacked the interests of the West? Or, do they threat their interests? The only guilt of the Bosnian nation is that they are Muslims. The entire Arrogant world shall leave Muslims alone when nothing of their being remains. You have a duty to inform other Muslims of this fact.

(In meeting with participants in the great Hajj congress) April 21, 1993

The promotion of the Islamic Revolution culture and morality are among the major merits of the Islamic Revolution and of Imam Khomeini (s). Imam Khomeini would not allow silence where the destinies, of Muslims was at stake. He believed in the internationalism of Islam and regarded the geographic boundaries as obstacles to love and cooperation between Muslims. The honor and grandeur of the Muslims will be realized by the political and divine thoughts of Imam Khomeini (s). The foreign policy of the Muslim countries must be such as to act independently and intelligently vis-à-vis the ominous objectives of the major powers. Independence and alertness of Muslims vis-à-vis the intrigues of the dominant world powers does not mean severance of relations and bitter encounter with them. If we want Islam to triumph in the world we must carefully understand and diligently act according to the Imam's thoughts and advices. While world arrogance thinks of nothing except its own benefits or interests, the Muslims must try to materialize the real Islamic rule in their communities. To attain to this objective, the extension of Islamic nuclei of resistance in Lebanon and Palestine is a major factor in their steadfastness vis-à-vis the encroachment of the Zionist forces: Today, the only genuine movement that has stood up against Israeli aggression is the presence of these nuclei of resistance in the occupied lands that has given hope to Muslims regarding their future and destiny. Imam Khomeini cared for the religion; his heart beat for the independence, freedom and steadfastness of the Muslims against Cruel powers.

(In visit with foreign guests) June 3, 1994

We frankly declare today that our arms are open to receive our Muslim brothers in other countries with a deep sense of neighborliness and brotherhood. Come, for God's sake and for the sake of our nations, let ourselves assume the task of safeguarding the interests of the Persian Gulf region and not let foreign powers, especially America, to come and endanger the interests of the regional countries.

As long as America has interests in the Region it will provide her self-seeking support of you and will cease its support the day it has no further

interests. Let us think of peace, stability, security and lasting cooperation and show regard to the interests of our nations and countries.

We consider it our duty to support the oppressed Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Iraq, the Sheikhdoms, Central Asia and the occupied lands of Lebanon and Palestine, and extend help to all in the remotest parts of the world to the best of our abilities.

(at the ceremonies commemorating the beginning of the Fajr Decade of Islamic Revolution) February 1, 1994

Declaration of correlation and compassion with the suppressed and innocent people of Palestine is a humane and religious duty. Participation in the demonstrations of the Universal Quds Day is a real crystallization of the declaration of unity and compassion with the destiny of the dear Quds and neutralization of the evil propaganda of the enemy against the Muslims. It is a re-emphasis on the essential motto of combat against Israel and on the sensitivity of the late Imam to the destiny of the Palestinian Ummah. Imam Khomeini consistently believed that the banner of challenge must for ever flutter in the occupied lands. He would assume a position against America and usurper Israel on any occasion. While in holy Najaf, in exile he donated a considerable part of the alms³⁷ to Palestinian fightings and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic system in Iran, he did not confine himself within the framework of the current world diplomatic, rather by declaring the Universal Quds Day he invited the entire Muslim population of the world to declare unity with the innocent Palestinian nation and he did not take a single step back from his uncompromising position in respect of the Quds.

In order to pay respects to the fights of the innocent people of Palestine, to honor the Imam (s), to obey the commands of the great Leader of the Revolution and to oppose usurper Israel and the world Arrogance, surely tomorrow the tight and splendid ranks of the Iranian nation and Muslims everywhere will aptly demonstrate Revolutionary wrath against Israel.

The shameful propaganda of Western media shows that they are afraid of any alliance with the Palestinian nation. They fan such seditious propaganda in order to show that the universal Quds day has lost color. On this day the Iranian nation together with other Islamic nations and freedom fighters will

give decisive answer to the babblings of the arrogant world and International Zionism.

(On occasion of the Universal Quds Day demonstration) February 23, 1994

*SUPPORTING THE DEPRIVED,
COMBATING POVERTY
&
NEGATING CAPITALISM*

SUPPORTING THE DEPRIVED, COMBATING POVERTY & NEGATING CAPITALISM

I earnestly ask you the noble clergy and other gentlemen who are in your group to carefully study the economic stances of the Imam (s) and, on that basis, do not let the landlords and capitalists encroach upon the rights of the deprived and oppressed and may this not be just a slogan and mere talk.

*(In meeting with members of the seven-man
Land Allotment Boards) May 21, 1990*

Some of the basic teachings of the infallible Imams (a) include moving along with the oppressed and the deprived, resistance vis-à-vis cruel powers, combating the feudals and leechlike, Godless capitalists, self-independence in all instances, steering away from cardinal passions, obedience to the commands of the Master or Mawla and acting per teachings of the Quran and the Prophet (s). Now we claim we are followers of the infallible Imams (a). Are our lives and the culture governing ourselves and our families in harmony with the mustazafin (the oppressed) and Mahrumin (the deprived)? Are we willing to underpay ourselves and our children in order to help the needy and the destitute? The mere voicing of slogans without concomitant suitable action is condemned. If we do not carry out the teachings, how can we claim to be followers of the Amir al-Muminin³⁸ (Master of the Believers (Ali (a)))? Is it conceivable to be a shiite or follower of Ali (a) and yet sit at tables bedecked by fancy foods? Is it conceivable to be a shiite of the Infallible Imams (a) and yet our children live in best fashion, use the best supplies but the children of the poor not have enough bread to eat as supper? Is

it conceivable to tug the title of being a shiite of Ali (a) while our Muslim brothers in towns and villages of our Islamic countries live in dire conditions!? If we lived as the poor do, then we are shiites of the Infallible Imams (a) and have reached to one of the Imams' objectives.

*(In the World Conference of the Ahl-e Bayt)
May 24, 1990*

The value of our Revolution is in its combating quality against the cruel and cruelty. If you lack the defense of the deprived and defense of the world revolutionaries in the very text of your Revolution; if the core of your revolution be without combat with the Arrogant, yours is not then an Islamic revolution.

Rather, it is one which differ's very little from that of the Shah. Us or the Shah, if the context of our Revolution be without these points, we no longer have a revolution, ours will be a rule just any other rule.

*(In meeting with personnel of the P. T. T)
October 9, 1990*

From the earlier days of Islam until now, in most sensitive moments, the barefooted and deprived anathematized by the capitalists and the arrogant have stood up against the enemies of Islam and the Quran and made sacrifices. We must materialize the thought that deprived strata and Basijians are to be entitled to adequate social rights. In our Islamic community if the deprived and barefooted followers of the pure Islam of Muhammad (s) do not enjoy sufficient rights we lose the trust and confidence of the greatest supporters of our system and Islam.

*(In meeting with layers of the population)
October 29, 1990*

Invitation of runaway capitalists of the former Regime for participation in the economic programs of our reconstruction period is intensely opposed to the genuine revolutionary ideals of the Islamic Revolution and the Imam's Line. In the propaganda environment that the arrogant world has perpetrated against us invitation of runaway, capitalists like the Lajevardis and Barkhordars is exactly opposite to the way of thinking of the Imam. Some desperate persons have

concluded that to provide a remedy for the current difficulties we should let the runaway capitalists come back and make investments, whereas our difficulties cannot be solved by the acts of a few blood-thirsty runaway money grubber Capital owners. Fighting capitalism is embodied in the core of our school of thought and it is really regrettable that we naively invite owners of capital who do not believe in Islam, in the system, in the Imam and in our Leader, to come and invest because our people are poor.

It is more regrettable that they claim to be moving in the Line of the Imam. At what price do we want to bring in the runaway capitalists? at the price of losing the Hizbullah and disappointing the Revolutionary force?! The runaway capitalists have spite and enmity with our system and will never think of these innocent people! Why have our people suffered so much in the past 13 years of Islamic Revolution!? By what excuse do you abandon the clear, unconfused Line of the Imam?! And, you sit in meetings with Lajvardis and Barkhordars who have always been most despised by our nation and that at a time that the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, having been a noble student of the Imam emphatically insists on consistent non-compromising combat with the enemy of the Revolution and system, i.e., criminal America. He even considers being killed in fight with America, attainment of martyrdom. What a wrong policy is it that we sit by the side of those capitalists in America because we want to serve the people. Our people surely will reject such service. Inviting physicians who, in the most sensitive conditions of the imposed war did not take a single step in taking care of the wounded, cannot cure any pain of the people. For, immediately after re-entry to Iran they take up residence in the north of Tehran and will do no service to the people in deprived villages. Inviting experts and specialists can solve a problem of the country and the Revolution if it be based on Islamic beliefs and values, in which case no wise man will oppose it. Our yardstick in this connection should be compliance with our Revolutionary and Islamic standards and criteria.

When we hold meeting in America with the like of Lajvardis when invite those (doctors) who sat by abroad while the “children” of the Imam were dying for lack of physicians, we shouldn’t expect them not to say that all the values of the time of the Imam had changed into anti-values. Meeting with runaway Iranian capitalists will revert Iran to the time of the Shah, i.e, make it acceptable to the West and this is cruelty toward a Leader who consistently declares the West especially America as the enemy of the Revolution.

*(In meeting with members of the staff observing ceremonies of the ascension anniversary of Hadrat Imam Khomeini)
May 21, 1991*

We must really be attentive to the fact that the barefooted and deprived members of the community are our benefactors and to protect this noble layer we must solve, in proper way, the economic problems especially the soaring prices. With respect to the economic and social prices that before all put pressure on the low-income group, the statesmen must properly recognize the causes of the chaos and find solutions for them. Responsible authorities have the duty to initiate action for proper implementation of welfare plans and economic projects and while revamping the executive machinery they should eliminate the factors of distortion and disorder. Our system and Revolution faces no legal difficulty in respect of public welfare projects and, thanks God, has one of the most progressive laws in the contemporary age. Government, Majlis and Judiciary programs are adequately in the direction of general interests of the people. We must be steadfast and step solidly the execution of our laws.

(In meeting with the Basij Resistance Force) July 19, 1991

Today, the diffusion of the culture of the Revolution and precise economic programming for eradication of deprivation in remote parts of the country is an urgent necessity. Responsible authorities, in the process of reconstruction, must undertake proper cultural and economic policies with respect to eradication of deprivation and repair the shortcomings. If proper policies for conversion of deprived areas into developed areas are diligently written and carried out we should not, then, worry about side problems.

*(In meeting with people of Kurdistan)
August 25, 1991*

We shall not let leech-like capitalists who thirst for the blood of the dear Hizbullah, the deprived and the bare footed, take the economic destinies in their hands and infiltrate in the body of this divine and holy system. Today the camp of Arrogance is making double effort to distort the Islamic Revolution.

We must all be alert and know that economy is inseparable from politics and culture.

(In meeting with commanders of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps) September 18, 1991

Prophets are reckoned with the poor and deprived layer of their communities. They never have anything to bequeath except divine edicts. The prophets are always at war with the rich. Such war is instructed by all divine religions. If the *ulama* want to be true inheritors of the prophets they must consistently place this war between richness and poverty as preamble to their conduct and may not bequeath a worldly asset or pelf. The *ulema*, scholars and teachers, in pursuit of the prophets must have the war between poverty and affluence in the course of their teachings because this war is our ideologic war.

Our school or ideology is firmly based on Justice and, justice (*Idalat*) means equity (*qist*) in all issues. In our ideology, as in all divine schools the war between poverty and affluence is regarded as a fundamental, holy war and this war will continue throughout history until annihilation of cruel despots, exploiters and the arrogants. Whether we want it or not the war between poverty and affluence, just like (*nemaz*) prayers and other incumbent religious duties, has been drawn for us by the divine prophets and is viewed as worship. The *ulema*, educators and teachers inherit the divine teachings from the prophets and the statement of war between poverty and richness is an exalted teaching of the prophets.

*(In meeting with teachers and educators)
November 7, 1991*

That art which enhances the cultural objectives of the community and preserves the originality of the values is well received and praised in the school of Islam. Art must relate the pains, hardships, struggles and triumphs of nations and human societies. We shall never confirm that art which serves deprivation, exploitation, trite and redundancy of men and disappoints them and leads people to self alienation.

(In meeting with foreign artists) February 10, 1991

The most exalted objective of the Islamic Revolution is the establishment of a just social system and defense of the community's deprived class.

*(In meeting with members the Islamic councils of work and the House of Labor)
April 25, 1993*

From the inception of the Islamic victory the deprived and the noble religious masses were and still are the essential supports of the Revolution. Therefore, the responsible authorities should really consider themselves as the servants of the real capitals of our Islamic and Revolutionary society.

In an Islamic system which is based on morality, no service is nobler than service to the deprived, to the workers and to the painstaking masses.

(In meeting with self-sacrificer artists and writers) July 25, 1993

The former and present cabinet ministers who obtained vote of confidence from the Islamic Consultative Assembly should pay attention to this point: those who look for luxury and ease of life and want to be away from the people, cannot be regarded as good ministers for our Islamic Revolutionary system.

(In meeting with participants in the contests for memorization and recitation of the holy Quran) August 18, 1993

I have often mentioned that we should not adopt certain deeds that may be taken as acceptable ways and methods by government authorities and people. We must try to avoid unnecessary formalities. In the year 1358 (1979), after the Referendum, when the Newspapers were full of messages of congratulation, Hadrat Imam told me to tell the newspapers to stop this pagan practice. The great Leader of the Revolution in a speech he made at Shahr-e kurd said: "I would like to walk on the stones and dirt in your streets. Never pave a street or avenue for my sake. This is an un-becoming act." All government executives and personnel are in agreement with the words of the Leader of the Revolution. Mr. President goes to a province; take a look at the newspapers; tens of pages are full of congratulations on this occasion; most of them of the same wordings. Millions of Tumans is spent for such ads.

What need does the dear Mr. President have for such things. What use can the welcome messages of those who can pay for them have, for the President and the people?! Would it not be better to spend such funds on food or medicine for the poor.

Such jests are for the President today, Tomorrow, it will be done for some minister and the next day for a governor. Certainly our President whom I hold in highest regards, does not approve of such redundant formalities.

If such practices are not stopped today, tomorrow their omission for others will be deemed as insult to them. We should not let ourselves fall in such a bitter and de-valuating track. I ask the newspapers by calling on the great spirits of our Imam and the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution to discontinue such things and ignore this financial benefit, rather, encourage others to spend the money given for such ads, on the poor and the indigent. Looking into the situations that are current all over the country is an ordinary task of the President and other responsible authorities of the country and Revolution. We all must try to help him in the task of Reconstruction in which lies the satisfaction of God and people.

(In meeting with producers of garden and field products) December 23, 1993

All elements faithful to Islam, the Imam and the Revolution should try to prevent wrong and non-Islamic traditions from finding currency in the community. I have mentioned this several times and, because of its importance I say again that in an Islamic and Revolutionary environment it is not proper that when someone is given an assignment or promotion by the Leader or the President, a flood of congratulating advertisements and telegrams be poured into the newspapers. This can be admissible, for messages of condolence, provided that it is not at the expense of state treasury or (Baytulmal). But, for congratulations on appointments, all of us have the duty to prevent this wrong tradition from taking root in our Islamic culture. For instance, when an Imam Jumah, a governor general or a governor is appointed, responsible persons in the related provinces put ads in the newspapers in which they thank the Leader and the President for such appointments. If such expenses are on account of the Baytulmal or treasury, which unfortunately, usually are, then is it not better that these sums be spent on the deprived and the indigent people in the community? One of the harms—of such flattery is that if

there exists a religiously devoted and dedicated personality who does not have such inclinations and does not send confirmation and welcome telegrams, then, he will be branded as an opposing person, whereas in practice, he may better confirm the new assignee. The press, as educators of Islamic culture, should ignore this material benefit. What is the salary payment of an Imam Jumah or such and such responsible official to be willing to pay a part of it for such redundant practices. Authorities in the aid Committees³⁹ throughout the country, in cooperation and harmony with other responsible authorities must prevent such squandering of the public budget and use it for service to the deprived and the *Mustadafin*.

Accepting responsibility by any body who might be, makes his load of responsibility to perform his Islamic duties, heavier. Instead of excessive praises and congratulations for appointments, the press must apprise the public to be careful about their conducts and deeds.

(In meeting with officers of the Imam Khomeini's Aid Committee) March 6, 1993

In the area of economics the Imam (s) favored support for the oppressed. In his view, if a concession is to be given, it should be made available to all, equally and fairly so that individuals may act according to their abilities and talents.

(In meeting with the committee observing the annual ascension of Hadrat Imam Khomeini (s)) May 22, 1994

Unfortunately, today, too, big and small capitalists suck the blood of the oppressed. Some think that valuing the private sector means giving free hands to the capitalista to bottle the blood of the oppressed as much as they wish; this cannot be. The late Imam (s) has said that the clergy thirsts for the blood of the leechlike capitalists because they don't let the oppressed live their healthy normal lives. Our problem is not only that Western governments are against us. Had we encountered the big capitalists wisely, they could not have worked up problems vis-à-vis the government and the nation. Since the time the capitalists, under the banner of Private sector, began creating economic chaos every day obstacles are placed before the economic ability of the oppressed people and each day the government's economic policies are bequiled. Whenever a cue to these chaotic acts is found we see several big capitalists behind the scene. Had

we treated the capitalists as we had the hypocrites the country would have not been as such. A group of leech like capitalists making the false excuse that state economy is harmful are left unbridled to do as they please with the nation's body. No one denies that government economy has its disadvantages but this must not be used to allow an unbridled economy to rule. Today, even the most liberal economies have their own control mechanisms and special guidance. True that Marxism as an intellectual and economic order of thought has been beaten and we had not accepted it from the very beginning, however, Islam is opposed to a laissez-faire policy in economics. We must not submit to the open door economic policies of the West, otherwise, like former soviet union, we surely shall be in conditions worse than those of the present time.

*(In meeting with families of martyrs)
September 25, 1994*

We must encounter the overt and concealed groups that threaten our political, economic and social security as Imam used to do and not permit, under the deceptive title of "specialist bodies even if not dedicated", the big capitalists, who surely include spies too, infiltrate our system for the purpose of keeping the economic wheels running. Some years ago I warned that talks with big capitalists to get the wheels of the economy moving is a great danger for the Revolution. Today, too, I consider the rise in prices and other derangements in the affairs, to be due to the influence of big capitalists in the country's economy. If we try to encounter the small businesses and the retail sellers and shopkeepers, we will go astray. We must fight the economic terrorists and capitalists who are dependent on foreign relations as hardly as we can, for, these are persons who themselves together with their expert hands in various fields have infiltrated in the economic, cultural and university organs and, in some cases, by infiltrating into government machinery have brought the Revolutionary performance of our system and of the children of the Imam under question. They do all they can, in factories and offices, to make people pessimistic toward the Islamic system and the Revolution. The radius of action of the economic terrorists is much wider than that of the fighting hostile grouplets. A terrorist hypocrite may destroy several men but an economic terrorist aims at the nation on the whole. If we do not seriously encounter the rotten roots, we cannot attain the desired result, by slogans and attacking the effects.

Elements that make people dissatisfied must be carefully recognized and dealt with according to the law. By simple heartedness and just attacking the effects, the pressure being inflicted on the people cannot be reduced. Economic and cultural difficulties and shortcomings must be diagnosed and before they turn into major social problems remedial actions be taken. We earlier mentioned that such capitalists believe in nothing except their own interests. As the country's environ is religious, they hold rosary beads in their hands and put short beards on their faces to pose themselves as die-hard Muslims but go about their own businesses. The reason why there is corruption including bribery in government offices is that proper encounter with them was not made from the beginning.

When you see some people, rulelessly, misuse the existing mild argumentations and enter the country, take back their assets and properties and pursue their former activities and gradually, enter into economic and production centers and government offices and universities in the form of professional networks, you should expect the revolutionary youth, who until yesterday were standing before the enemy's bullets, become indifferent, today.

So many noble and sincere persons were martyred for the realization of the Revolution's objectives and the holy Islamic system. We should not let the communal base change so that people become disappointed. One really worries to see the nation become beset by the same entangling conditions as it was in the early days of the Revolution. In respect of the soaring prices let us not do anything that may make people think in a few days reduced rates will prevail, for, it may take several months for commodities to become inexpensive. We must work hard in this respect but make no promises that we can not carry out and then after a few months people think, God forbid, that the Government has been defeated in this challenge. This great social problem must be solved gradually by fighting the roots.

*(In meeting with Internal security authorities)
October 10, 1994*

You dear clergies and authorities of the disciplinary forces have ordinary lives. Maintain your ordinaryness. Those clergymen whose circumstances are good should focus their attention and consider the Imam's counsel not to abandon their vestment of clergymen. This vestment is in conformity with our grandees. Spiritual leaders have always led modest lives and their words

and actions have been in harmony with their position. The Imam (s) believed that the clergy must not abandon their vestment.

In the fight against high cost of living we must not allow, under influence of propagandistic atmosphere, an innocent person's rights be trampled on or an innocent person be convicted. For this grave task we must first go after the big shots. A good many government foundations and companies to increase their false income do not abide by the real prices and fair profits. Using such titles as "national" "governmental" as excuse, they do not supply people's needs with fair prices and profit. Government and authorities responsible for combat against overcharging must first control the conditions of the state corporations and foundations. We said from the start that freedom of action by big capitalists and hoarders will result in conditions like this. No one is opposed to economic infrastructural and reconstructive activities. We said do not let economic chaos prevail. By the motto of economic welfare some~dragged again the matter to the point of government penal action⁴⁰. To the extent that people and authorities suffer from high prices, if, God forbid, an innocent person is trespassed upon, that too, is cruelty.

*(In meeting with the Disciplinary Force)
October 17, 1994*

The Imam (s) expected the officials and authorities of the Islamic system to live ordinary simple lives. The more the authorities become world-conscious the more they sink in it. The Imam (s) emphasized that officials be in no way spendthrift; they should safeguard the Treasury better than their own, avoid worldly pelf and be of the people. Here I regard it incumbent on myself to testify that the inner living circumstances of Hadrat Ayatullah Khamenei is extremely simple. Not that our dear leader needs such words, rather, I consider it may duty to inform the Revolutionary people of Iran of this fact. I am aware of conditions inside his house, no more than one kind of food is served. His family live on moquette. One day I went to his house. There was a worn-out rug with moquette underneath. Other high level authorities of the country and Revolution are really of the people. Our beloved President still lives in the same little house which, in 1360 (1981) was made available to him next to the Imam's house. Heads of the legislative and Judiciary powers have similar lives. Other responsible officers especially the clergy must avoid

worldly pelf and stride in the true path of the Revolution, that is, morality with sincerity and chastity.

(At the festival of the Fajr Decade of the Islamic Revolution) January 1, 1994

We must imitate our grand Imam in all dimensions of life. what consistently troubled the Imam was luxury seeking and waste. We must compare our own situation with him. The Imam was not confined to political challenge. He had virtue, sincerity and avoidance of wastefulness and luxury. The responsible cadre, both, the student clergies and others, all have had an ordinary life before assuming their responsibilities. We must maintain this type of life. If we succeed in maintaining it then we have the ability to handle people's affairs, otherwise, we cannot be their servants.

While in Paris, the Imam sent word that his house in Tehran should be in southern parts of the city. We must live among the masses of people. He returned to Tehran during such days and resided in a house on Avenue Iran and moved to Qum from there. Later, however, because of his heart condition and on recommendation by physicians it was decided that he resides in Jamaran. He chose a bricklayer's house with an area of less than 100 square meters. Recently the Soviet Minister for Atomic Energy came to visit me in Jamaran and we visited the house of Imam. On the way back he was deeply impressed by the simple life of the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He insisted on seeing the house of Engineer Amrullahi, Director of Iranian Atomic Energy Agency. He said if Engr. Amrullahi's house was anything like the residence of the Imam he would then believe that the Engineer is a true follower of the Imam. My purpose in saying all this is to state the spiritual and simple mode of the Imam's living.

You dear survivors of the martyrs are the true support of the Revolution, the system and the Leadership and you carry the heavy burdens of hardship on your shoulders: On the other hand, some of the Godless capitalists are unwilling to invest in productive lines. they use their capital for brokerage. They drag into brokerage networks, one day the commodities and foreign exchange market, and the next day the necessities of the people. God willing, with elimination of brokerage and by guiding capitals to productive work, the wholesome, infrastructural investment, will then bear desired results.

(At ceremonies honoring the families of the martyr) 2/2/94

Solving Economic problems, providing security for investment by competent persons in various production sections through elimination of momentary and spontaneous decisions and providing legal protections, fighting the leechlike investors whose hands are dyed by the blood of our nation, all these must regularly be the focus of the enlightening speeches delivered by the clergy. We must prepare the texture of the community in fighting economic corruption in such a way that leech like investors be punished and not become so bold as to martyr our sincere Basijis. Furthermore they be not so free that each day, by their unlawful financial power attract the public attention to the shortages and high price of this or that necessary item.

(In meeting with members of the Council of Experts) March 4, 1993

Carnal passions are insatiable. Man is a perfectionist being. He is God's caliph on earth. If he was given the planet earth he would still feel shortages. Man's grandeur cannot be satisfied by worldly things. Sincerity, service to the deprived and the poor is one of the best ways to attain to humanly grandeur. You are persons who have chosen service to the deprived with all your sincerity, purity and truthfulness; certainly this is the way to humanly grandeur.

(In meeting with members of Imam Khomeini's Aid Committee) March 4, 1993

TRUST IN THE PEOPLE

TRUST IN THE PEOPLE

The great Iranian Nation knows by its political maturity, that the economic conditions of the country are not such as to be able to remedy the difficulties in a short time. Surely this nation will, as ever, in isolations and hardships, be aid and support for its faithful responsible authorities.

*(In a message to the President) August 31,
1989*

After the ascension of His Holiness Imam Khomeini (s) the enemies of the Iranian nation analyzed the conditions as one of chaos and bloodshed because after him there is no one, to unite the people, so they thought. But you all witnessed that people's unity increased after him, and people, with their political sense poured into the streets and meted a severe blow onto the mouths of the East and the West especially criminal America.

Some are trying to separate you from one another, At present, it is time for reconstruction. The presence of the people in the scenes causes the authorities to actualize the objectives of the country. If you stand up against the intrigues and always be in the scenes then the Islamic Republic will surely traverse the correct course of Reconstruction and welfare, but we must be in the scene with all our might.

The self-sacrificing people of Iran are presently bearing heavy economic pressures, deprivities. and shortages, all for saying "No!" to the enemies of the Quran. We must appreciate these valuable sacrifices, for, this kind of a nation can hardly be seen in the span of history and this is all due to love of the people for Islam, the Quran and for the exalted Islamic values.

*(In meeting with families of the martyrs)
September 7, 1989*

Our system has been and shall always be reclined on the shoulders of the individual citizens. They stand against all hardships. For this reason the arrogance cannot destroy the great outcomes of our Revolution and system. We must defend the Islamic ideals with all our beings and to introduce our Islamic system as the superlative Islamic system. Any slow-down in our challenges will endanger the system's values and ideals. We must bring the great and powerful waves of the Islamic Revolution within hearing of all Muslims of the world.

*(In meeting with students of Tehran) June
28, 1990*

In the hard post war Reconstruction conditions no one can claim that deprived people are not under pressure. However that which inspires hope and joy for the future of the Islamic Revolution is the steadfastness and patience of you, deprived and barefoot masses. And this patience is comparable to that of the Disciples of the Prophet (s).

*(In meeting with participants in the Quran
Reciting contest) July 22, 1990*

I have often said that, next to god, the Islamic Revolution has the people to rely on and it is the people who can, as before, vis-a-vis foreigners, defend the honor of the nation and their faith. Certainly any move that breaks the unity of the people is a sin no matter who the perpetrator may be.

*(In meeting with the people and the Imam
Jumah of Yazd) October 23, 1989*

The Imam as a leader who came from the text of the people had a firm faith in the understanding and common sense of the people and he often told the executives and responsible authorities: "In this Revolution only those will be honored who are with the people!" The Imam advised, with emphasis, that responsible officials should be with the people at all times because he regarded respect for the people as the prerequisite for the victory of the

Revolution and its perpetuation. He deeply believed that the entire might of the system and Revolution must be used to serve the people.

*(In meeting with the basijians and
personnel of judicial organization)
November 26, 1991*

We must all realize that public conscience can determine its own interests better than any individual or wing.

*(In meeting with authorities of the Ministry
of Interior) December, 19, 1991*

The Imam taught us all that the criterion is the vote of the people. It should make no difference to vote collectors who gets into the Majlis.

*(In meeting with authorities of the Ministry
of Interior) July 19, 1991*

The greatest lesson the Imam's and the Revolution have taught us is "Never separate from the people!"

*(In meeting with authorities of the interior
Ministry) December 19, 1991*

The system of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the only regime whose pillars are based on the power of people, and the army is an institution that has sprung from among the people and continues its thriving movement. The Islamic system and Revolution rests on people's votes and we clearly observe the consistent and active direct or indirect presence of the people in all organs including the Leadership of the system, the government, the Majlis and the Judiciary power.

*(On occasion of the Passdar Day) January
29, 1991*

Were it not for the presence of the people on the scenes, world arrogance would surely act more decidedly to realize its evil objectives.

The multi-million presence of our people in the various scenes of the Revolution and the country neutralized the intrigues of the world of arrogance.

*(In ceremonies of military personnel
renewing allegiance) April 16, 1992*

Our devoted people will never despair in the face, of hardships and economic problems but will surely be upset by discrimination and law breaking. They demand decisive fight against administrative corruption.

*(In meeting with the Basijians) June 18,
1992*

The major element for neutralizing the evil propaganda of the enemies and ill-wishers of the Regime and Islamic Revolution is the cordial unity, sincerity and mutual trust between the people and the authorities.

The Islamic belief of the people is the mightiest weapon and the most unbeatable force that must be considered in the all out war against the enemy. Because of their sincere support of Islam our people are immune to evil propaganda of the arrogant world. This is an important point. For, on the one hand, it is the base on which the Islamic system rests and on the other hand, it is severely under attack by the enemy. The intrusive culture of the arrogant world may be able to dominate the Muslim minds only if the Muslims create a gap between themselves and the genuine Islamic beliefs and this is not likely to be materialized easily.

*(In meeting with authorities of publicity
organization) April 27, 1993*

The presence of millions of Iranians in the streets, avenues and lanes of the capital, all other cities, towns, and villages was so markedly massive that it poured cold water on the heads of the enemies of this Revolution. Were it not for your presence in the scenes of the Revolution, the views and analyses would surely be different and grounds would be available for analyses by foreign mass media and enemies of the Revolution abroad and for their domestic hands at home.

*(In meeting with personnel of Joint army
Staff) June 3, 1994*

*THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AGRICULTURE
& THE POLICIES FOR ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT*

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AGRICULTURE & THE POLICIES FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During the period of reconstruction production is above all other economic issues. At present time, the Islamic Republic of Iran has greater need for expanding its agricultural products.

One of the weak points which the major arrogant powers and the enemies of our Regime and Revolution pin point, has been and still is (our) economic inability particularly in agriculture. Today, you, dear farmers are our hope for self-sufficiency in agricultural production.

In the past the land reform of the Shah⁴¹ and his American masters was nothing but destruction of agriculture and development of market for America and its satellites. After the splendid Islamic victory, the Shah's masters regarded their interests as lost and so they didn't ignore the danger of the establishment of an Islamic Regime and by imposing war on us through Saddam they deprived us of the opportunity for construction and development of social justice. We hope that within the framework of religion and the traditional jurisprudence or (*Fiqh*) we be able to realize the lofty objectives of the Revolution soon, and no longer witness the poverty of our oppressed farmers and the extortion of the landlords and capitalists.

You must use all water and land resources so that a major part of the oil revenue be not used for importation of food staples.

*(In meeting with members of the Land
Allotment Bodies) May 20, 1990*

People must try not to waste water but to make good use of the lands. The Imam thought of developing the agriculture first, and next, the industry. His reasoning was that we have land and water and we have manpower. We cannot put aside the things we have and become dependent on an industry that is controlled by other countries.

(In meeting with members of the seven-man Land Allotment Bodies) May 21, 1990

Sectional solution of problems is no a remedy. We must align the economic movements of the country with preservation of Islamic ideals. If we succeed in so doing we shall surely succeed in the arena of economics. No one can claim today, that he can solve all economic problems in a short time. But ours is an Islamic Regime, a regime known as the source of inspiration to Muslims everywhere in the world, and all Muslims are watching us. If we be able to achieve the necessary infrastructural works in the economy, surely the welfare problems of the people will be solved. No one says a Muslim should live in poverty. But in achieving economic objectives we must move in such a way as not to harm our Islamic ideals. Those who say: "We want to defend our Islamic ideals" do not mean to maintain poverty and people's hunger. Defending Revolutionary and Islamic ideals does not mean negation of economic welfare. We believe that all people should enjoy welfare and we believe in public welfare but to the point that no damage is done to our Revolutionary ideals and the prestige of our country. We ask this question: Those whose motto is economic welfare, how far and to what extent is this motto valuable? If we say we should have economic relations with the West, how far can we extend such relations? But, none of our authorities ever say let people be poor and hungry. We do not regard leniency toward Western or Eastern arrogance as a key to solve our economic problems. Rather, we believe such leniency pushes us to corruption and nothingness and makes us poorer and more miserable each day. We believe relations with the West can be acceptable provided that Islamic ideals and objectives are not sacrificed.

*(In meeting with layers of population)
November 18, 1990*

Farmers must, as fighters in the front line of economic independency enjoy the use of new farming technology and know how.

You, model farmers of Islamic Iran, are the hope of our people. If you be able to teach other farmers and free the agriculture from its present conditions you surely will have taken an effective step in the way of the Imam's objectives for economic independence of the country. Today, self-sufficiency and economic independence are geared to increase in agricultural production. Securing food, in fighting the intrigues of the world arrogance, has a strategic role. All hard-working farmers are like soldiers in the front line of the fight against economic aggression by the arrogance.

We must consolidate the economic infrastructure of the country which is based on agriculture and insure our economic . and political independence. You may know for sure that we can solve our problems with the East and the West when in the area of agriculture, as the essential pillar of the country's economy, we have reached all-around self sufficiency.

Since our Revolution is an inner or internal revolution and evolution and is based on the minds and hearts of the people, we must be answerable for all dimensions of the economic and political independence of our people. And, we can be answerable for the political independence of our people only when we be agriculturally affluent.

Today the country's independence is in your hands; if you enhance your efforts and increase your production you can rescue your country from dependence.

You must be prepared to be engaged with the Arrogance, in political and economic challenge and know that the essential war in the future will be economic, and only you can safeguard the frontlines of this war.

*(In meeting with the farmers) December
22, 1989*

Notwithstanding the political, moral and ample cultural influence that the Islamic Revolution has enjoyed among all Muslims, if it fails in the areas of economic, agricultural and industrial self-sufficiency and dose not have an acceptable progress, it will cease to move in its course. The young generation, especially students, are future assets of the country to meet the needs of the country for specialization, and must, in acquiring sciences and fresh knowledge, advance their country by adequately acquiring science and

technology to insure self-sufficiency against foreign technical and scientific abilities.

(In meeting with students) February 5, 1991

It is necessary to explain the challenge of the two cruel Western economic cultures and the economic policies of the capitalism of the world of arrogance for the Hajis of other Islamic countries.

The economic and political dominance of the world of arrogance over Islamic nations has actually imposed new slavery on them and has withheld them from the right of decision-making in economic problems so that, in spite of their vast resources, their people are beset by poverty and misery and by injection of colonial thinking they have made the deprived masses believe that they must live under their influence, otherwise no way for the barefoot to survive except submission to poverty. It is a major duty of all us to present to the Islamic nations creative plans and projects in the interest of the deprived and the barefooted, to replace the unsound system that dominates the world of Islam, and thus rescue the would of the oppressed and Muslims from poverty.

(At the gathering of the Haj caravans Inspectors) May 5, 1992

We must try to have the Islamic Iran on a high level from the point of view of economic and social foundations. Backwardness and lack of economic growth and development means poverty and poverty will threaten all the outcomes of the Islamic Revolution. During the post war period, and in the decade of reconstruction, we must try to become economically rich, and follow sound economic lines and policies. The authorities must, carefully explain to the people the cause of some of the economic insufficiencies. With regard to soaring prices and inflation, in addition to domestic roots of this phenomenon, its external causes should be explained, and the solutions shown for economic progress vis-à-vis the difficulties. To traverse through reconstruction period, there is no alternative to tolerating hardships, because, if, economic policies meet with obstacles and stop all the results of the Islamic Revolution will be threatened.

(In meeting with the armed forces) July 7, 1992

Socio-economic development and eradication of foreign domination are the two major objectives of the Islamic Revolution. Today, our country having passed the hard times of the imposed war period under guidance of the Leader of the Revolution and by efforts of its responsible authorities, has entered a new phase which will no doubt inspire hope and confidence in all Muslims of the world. We are determined to develop such socio-economic and cultural conditions as to be models for other Islamic lands. This is a great task but we think, by relying on the infinite divine power and the intention and determination of our nation it is attainable.

(In visit with foreign guests) February 4, 1992

Socio-economic development needs, more than anything, increase in agricultural production. The economy of our country must be based on agricultural outputs. Farmers and ethnic tribal groups must enhance their efforts to cut economic dependency.

Today, economic independence is possible only by increasing agricultural and industrial products and farmers and tribes⁴² are in the front line of production.

*(In meeting with Rural peoples and tribes) 15th
June, 1993*

You dear brothers and sisters, you carry the banner of the country's economic independence on your shoulders. Surely if all farmers be model producers like you, we shall have no need for others and we can have the final word in the area of politics. If in all areas of production we move in such a way as not to need imports of wheat, fodder, oil grains, raw materials for agricultural and conversion industries, we have then preserved the interest of the people and the country. Why should we lose the country's wealth and the people's assets for our needs of agricultural produce while our potential for extensive agricultural produce is very high indeed.

By relying on technology, use of improved seeds, production of good quality products, we can meet our internal needs and the needs of other regional countries as well. Every body knows the strategic role of agricultural production in reaching economic independence. We must increase efficiency and improve the agricultural products until the trade of agricultural products

replaces oil exports; because oil is the capital of future generations and its cheap sale is not in the interest of the country nor of future generations.

(In meeting with field and garden producers) December 23, 1993

In conditions now prevailing in the world, economic independence and efficiency lead all other issues. If Muslims had economic independence, they could act with force in International and political arenas and the world would not witness a tragedy such as the Bosnia-Herzegovina in Europe.

The ultimate and real victory of the Iranian nation comes about when Iran has become an acceptable model among Muslim nations from the standpoint of politics, economics and culture.

*(In meeting with workers representatives)
April 25, 1994*

Today, the Muslim world faces many difficulties. Surely, if we were independent from economic standpoint and in agricultural production, the Muslims in Bosnia, Chechen, and occupied Palestine would have been in different conditions. Formation of an independent economic structure based on industry is a bad mistake. We must begin our economic independence from agricultural base, otherwise, assemblage industry will not yield any growth to our national interests. Certainly self-sufficiency in agriculture is a prelude to self-sufficiency in other fields. If Muslim countries be dependent economically surely they will maintain such dependency in areas of politics, culture and military.

(In visit with Agricultural Ministers of Islamic Countries) 1/14/94

*EMPHASIS ON SELF-RELIANCE &
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EFFORTS*

EMPHASIS ON SELF-RELIANCE & SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EFFORTS

The Imam had placed all his hope in you high school and university students. The future of the Revolution is in your hands. If you wish to change the uneven relations of the world, learn your lessons well.

I want you to raise the level of your knowledge to the highest level in the world. With your intelligence and ample talent be a politician jurisprudent.

(In meeting with children of martyrs and students) July 15, 1990

I would like to say to the dear education personnel that man's basic evolution starts with education. The dear students must try to learn their lessons well so that the country may be able to secure its future needs in all areas and not need foreign aid. In the cultural or educational dimension, the dear students can, by hard study and effort, start an all inclusive fight with the enemies of the pure Islam of Muhammad (s).

(In meeting with various strata of the population) December 21, 1990

Schools and universities are today the major strongholds for service to the holy ideals of the Revolution and of the Imam and Islam. While you need political acumen and thought, you must study hard. If you study hard you can be sure that you will run your country in the future and will not ask foreign help for every issue. The Imam used to painfully say: "I become very distressed to see that we must beg foreign aid for this or that problem!"

If we want to be in the Imam's line, if we do not want to have our martyrs' blood wasted, if we want to elevate our Revolution to perfection we must try to save our country from dependency and the key to all this is education; the key is science. You who are students today, tomorrow, God willing, you will enter the society and will have a position. If you be specialist, you can surely save the country from the sad situation in which they have placed it for us in the course of centuries.

If we cannot stand on our own feet, if we cannot administer ourselves by your knowledge, we shall have to surrender. Therefore, if a society wants to live freely it must, from the start, be strong from the standpoint of faith and knowledge. Further more, from the standpoint of seeking knowledge and liberty it should be able to avoid being imposed upon, that is, it ought to be pro freedom and independence.

The nearest way to reach perfection is to promote knowledge, freedom loving and seeking independence.

(In visit paid by a group of students) January 30, 1990

Our dear students are tomorrow's builders of the country. Our country and Revolution have great need for their dedication and specialty. They must try to participate in blossoming of the society by their cultural growth, and defend the country's independence and freedom. During the 8 year war, our people proved that their Islamic and cultural growth was the main factor for the victory and safeguard of the results of the Islamic Revolution. By acquiring knowledge and learning, the students must support and protect the criteria of independence, freedom and the Islamism of our ruling system. If you do stay merely, in the area of lessons and learning and if you do not neglect the Islamic cultural growth, treaties such as the Golestan and the Torkmanchay will never again be forced on the country.

(In visit by strata of population) February 24, 1990

Education underlies all the genuine infrastructure of Islamic culture. In order to reach an acceptable level from the standpoint of cultural, scientific and research values the Islamic community must recognize the pure Islamic criteria as the best and purest indices. We' cannot claim being followers of pure

Islam and yet, in different areas, not study and understand the Islamic indices. Therefore one of the major missions of universities in the Islamic Regime must be the study and research of the essential problems and criteria which affect the society. As defenders and perpetrators of the course drawn by His Holiness the Imam (s), the universities must push aside the mask of hypocrisy and perversion from the faces of the enemies of the Revolution and the Regime and become attentive to the framework of the pure Islam for preservation of Islamic values.

*(In visit paid by university students)
September 27, 1991*

Today, attaining to the most recent outcomes of science and learning is required for strengthening the scientific and specialism back up of our country and Revolution. Our system and Revolution strongly need dedicated scholars. To realize the objectives of the Islamic Revolution and the line of the Imam, we must be equipped, in all areas, with knowledge of religion and of the world. If you dear students and teachers try in this respect you will strengthen the support of the Regime and the Revolution and will stand up against the enemies armed with knowledge and science. As you acquire knowledge and learning do not forget purification of the ego so that you do not go astray from the divine path which regards acquisition of knowledge as worship.

*(In meeting with teachers, instructors and
students) November 7, 1991*

No issue made the Imam (s) so uncomfortable as dependency of the Muslims on foreigners. We as heralds of the Islamic Movement must try so that nations may progress to the point that they themselves turn the wheels of their economy. If we do not sufficiently weigh and value the country's reconstruction and economic development we shall be held responsible to the future generations. In the present enlivening era, the Islamic world thirsts for the teachings of the Revolution's instructor, Hadrat Imam Khomeini (s).

In future the world will need the children of the Islamic Iran. You must take science and knowledge in service, with divine purposes, to help exalting the genuine humane and Islamic values. You high school and college students, if you reach high levels of—scientific specialization and insure the self-sufficiency and independence of the country, you will serve as sources

of inspiration for the newly found Islamic Regimes, in the future, and they will be fed by your sources of science. This is the issue that has put terror in the hearts of the Western world and you ought to stride in this direction with diligence and move while putting your trust in God.

(In meeting with students) February 5, 1991

In modern world equations, military weapons are no longer the determining factor. Today face to face encounter between Islamic and western ideological is posed with cultural fronts as the two basic poles. And, education stands in the front line of challenge with the cultural and ethical incursion of the enemies of the Islamic Revolution. We must try to make our education system a strong, solid and evolving one with high quality level.

(In meeting with education teachers) February 27, 1991

The quality of a country's human resources is the factor that determines the economic structure of that country. Along with human resources, the ability of a country in outlining its own social and economic destiny, to a large extent, is related to the degree of the country's dependence or independence. That which ultimately determines the characteristic and trend of a country's economic and social advancement is that country's human resources. Human resources form the essential pillar of the wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are production's subordinate factors whereas human beings are active agents that accumulate the capitals, make use of natural resources, form social, economic and political organizations and advance national development. Obviously the country which cannot develop the skills and knowledge of its people and make use of it in an effective manner in the national economy, will be unable to develop anything else. For this reason Islam has decreed acquiring knowledge from the cradle to the grave.

(In meeting with the workers) April 25, 1992

Today we claim to have an Islamic republic. This claim is not confined to superficial slogans, rather, it has a very close relation with the rich content of

the Islamic ideology and is based on knowledge and wisdom. Our Regime and Revolution are based on exact Islamic criteria and cannot, from the view point of development of health, industry, technology, agriculture and scientific research, be lacking in a sense of responsibility by its people. You dear university people, must, more than others, make effort to strengthen the country's scientific ability.

Presentation of a suitable model of an Islamic system in the areas of science and culture for the world of humanity, is better than other areas and surely, such actions will have highly creative and positive effects.

(In meeting with professors and students)
May 13, 1992

The major factor of dependence is lack of attention and lagging behind the scientific progress. Attainment to independence in all area is possible when we regard education as a national investment in the long run. The great mission of education in training skilled manpower and the institution of genuine Islamic values will become feasible when by using all available facilities of education and by public participation make a move suitable to the community needs. Today may economic, social and cultural problems arise from unsound moves away from contemporary science and information. Education authorities must, open-mindedly transmit to future generations the scientific teaching and religious beliefs. Cultural and religious growth and the quality of education must be considered and emphasized by the education authorities.

Formerly, the educated class and university people used to think that without reliance on the West it won't be possible to survive; but today, because of the deep changes that have come about in people's cultures and faiths, our Islamic society rapidly moves toward perfection and increases its abilities daily.

Self-trust and reliance become developed in the clean conscience of the students when we diagnose the symptoms of self-alienation in our youth and replace the strange and fanciful values with the real and genuine Islamic values.

(In meeting with students) May 27, 1992

It is not possible, today, to deny the strategic place of education in the course of socio-economic development in the various human positions and, at

present and in the future, that which will pose our Islamic Regime as a model for other societies is our scientific and educational capability. In the contemporary world that which is effective in determining the weaknesses and strengths of the nations are their scientific, economic, cultural and religious abilities and certainly the role of military equipment will diminish. The era of conquests and seeking affluence by the arrogant and owners of weapons is over. Today's students are our tomorrow's executives, specialists and thinkers. We must try, in addition to ethical and moral progress, to become acquainted with newest and most advanced scientific and educational achievements. Today evaluations in the arena of science are so fast and complex, as these terms are generally understood, that to understand many of them the life time of one generation is not enough. Therefore, it is necessary that for the various scientific fields expert manpower, proportionate to future needs of the country, be trained.

*(In meeting with education authorities)
September 1, 1992*

We live in an era that perfection of human knowledge and exchange of information has wide currency. Therefore, for the sake of scientific and cultural blossoming, illiteracy must be uprooted.

In the area of fighting illiteracy and adult training, the Literacy Movement⁴⁴ must pay attention to their educational needs. The main mission of the Literacy Movement is to develop favorable conditions and explain to all, the individual and social merits of literacy. Literacy is the first point of entry into the world of thinking and, there is no doubt that the community lacking in perception and thought will remain backward. We must try to wipe off mental ailments from the face of the society and, by reforming the society, stride in a course which will realize the material and moral development of the society simultaneously. We think that military wars among countries will, in not too distant a future, be replaced by scientific and intellectual wars. In such wars those with the newest moral and material products will win.

*(In meeting with education instructors)
December 24, 1992*

Cultural transformation is the infrastructure of growth and development in the various of political, social and economic action. Today, more than ever

before, we are facing the cultural and political incursion of the domineering enemies in most cruel fashion. In these hard conditions that the enemies make use of all political and cultural tools against our Islamic values and objectives our society must be fed by genuine Islamic culture.

As long as the society is not purged from deep down, expecting honesty and chastity in the socio-cultural areas is unrealistic. Fortunately, today, the entire cultural elements of the country enjoy rich and useful experiences and they ought to make greater effort in introducing the realities of Shiite jurisprudence or (*fiqh*)⁴⁵ in arts and culture.

Cultural organizations must, with self-confidence, not ignore creative moves. When we comprehend the grandeur of the Revolution, tolerance of difficulties becomes in the light of Islamic ideals.

(In meeting with the directors of the Ministry of culture and Islamic Guidance) January 19, 1992

In the light of attention to the builders of future, the realization of intellectual and cultural independence becomes possible. Education of the youth on the basis of Islamic principles and criteria guarantees the all-inclusive independence of the country. All students must be proud of their cultural identity and deeply believe that they do not need the foreigners. To be sure, scientific achievements belong to all mankind and we can have intellectual exchange with foreign cultures provided it does not prevent our return to ourselves and our demand for independence and, further more, provided such exchange does not entail domination by others.

The university layer must never feel weak and fear the invasive cultures, because our country and nation has enjoyed a solid cultural strength throughout the history, and foreign nations have, in many areas, benefited by our culture and scientific achievements and by our scholars and thinkers. Thus, with such immense cultural background we must firmly and with dignity be proud of our own cultural values.

(In meeting with university students) May 9, 1993

Development of religious, beliefs, self-trust and honor in the young generation, and avoiding empty features of Western materialism can

guarantee the country's independence. Voicing slogans is not enough; the young generation must be inspired with the spirit of demanding independence, of return to one's own self and attention to values so as to be immune to the West's invasive and redundant culture.

(In meeting with Islamic Assemblies) May 27, 1993

Realization of all-inclusive independence of the Islamic Republic system is feasible within the parameter of self-trust and self-recognition of the scientific experts. We must carefully recognize our own points of strength and weakness, We are not behind the Westerners in talents, capabilities and potentials and we must, in pursuit of our great Imam (s), practice continence and tolerate difficulties and prefer these to dependency.

(In meeting with the armed forces) May 31, 1993

The establishment of the Shahid University⁴⁶ by order of Hadrat Imam (s) is an answer to scientific and cultural needs to the martyr's children and the survivors of those who made sacrifices. Today their children are in this university busy with studies and research and purification of their egos.

Today, in the contemporary world, military wars are almost abandoned in determining destinies of the nations. The essential war is in the course science, culture and the enhancement of civilization.

(In meeting with students) March 3, 1994

*HONORING THE MARTYRS & THEIR
FAMILIES*

HONORING THE MARTYRS & THEIR FAMILIES

You children of the martyrs, you are messengers of this Revolution for other countries. You are the true designers of the line of Imam and Revolution in the future. Therefore, you dear ones, assume publicity work as Zainab⁴⁷(s) did, and try to enlighten on the truth not only your selves but also all those who are in touch with you. When you do this you may know that you and those whom you enlightened will belong to Paradise.

We here, make a covenant with our Imam. we make a covenant with the families of the martyrs, with the children of the martyrs by the side of the Imam, we make a vow that we shall never revert from the pure Islam of Muhammad (s). If we do not defend the martyrs' blood, by God, we shall have no answer before almighty God.

*(In meeting with martyrs families) August 11,
1990*

Martyrs in the path of Religion are surely among those most favored by God. And under this circling orbit no one ranks with the martyrs. I often heard the Imam say: "They traversed a hundred year long journey in a single night and we are behind this caravan." Often tears came to Imam's eyes for the innocence of the martyrs. And tears would not allow him to express his pure feelings about martyrs. Today, our country needs specialists or experts on all levels. You dear children of the martyrs, you will be the future higher echelon administrators of the country, therefore, you must study your lessons well by the side of your dedication, obtain expertise in economic, military, social and cultural sciences so as to be guarantors of the independence of your country.

*In meeting with students of Shahid school)
August 30, 1990*

Our nation offered martyrs to defend Islam and to resist American domination and, today, we all know very well that were it not for the sacrifices of the Islamic Revolution's martyrs no trace of Islam could be found today.

We must do all we can to develop the culture of the martyrs' children. They are inheritors of the exalted values of the Islamic Revolution and are surely among the most dedicated individuals in safeguarding the fruits of the Revolution and Islam.

(In meeting with authorities of the Shahid Foundation) July 11, 1991

The victory of the Islamic Revolution in political and international areas is pawned to the blood of the martyrs. The Martyrs are the torch bearers of the Islamic Revolution. As long as we support the objectives of the martyrs we shall be subject to the anger and wrath of the arrogant world because the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution, as true examples of Islamism, by their blood, imparted solidity to the cores of anti-arrogance challenges in Iran and inspired hope in the oppressed peoples of the world, in their rightful challenges.

*(In meeting with martyrs families) March 2,
1991*

Honoring the exalted martyrs of the 7th of Tir (June 28) means perpetuation of the red line of martyrdom and appreciation of the determining role of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution. Honoring the innocent martyr Ayatullah Beheshti⁴⁸, the great revolutionary, Martyr Muhammad Muntaziri⁴⁹ and or Ayatullah Shahid Allamah Mutahhari does not mean that the role of other martyrs in giving solidity to the values and results of the Islamic Revolution is less colorful. That which invites all noble martyrs to *Liqallah* (God's Favor) was the realization of objectives of God's Religion. Ayatullah Dr. Beheshti, in the political dimension and Ayatullah Mutahhari in the ideological dimension, led the Revolution in the sound Islamic course, by their Husayn-like martyrdom. Today, the condition of Islamic Revolution differs from the past, in that, the enemies have entered the

arena of challenge better equipped, and because of this the responsibility of each of us is heavier than before.

*(In visit with families of the martyrs of 8th Tir)
June 28, 1992*

Surely the blood of the noble martyrs of Islam will enhance the grandeur, honor and pride of the freedom-loving Muslims. Faithful Muslims will preserve their Revolutionary spite against enemies of God's Religion.

We believe that the only way to liberate Palestine and the occupied lands is armed conflict until the eradication of usurper Israel. We've made a covenant with our dear Imam and martyrs never to compromise with Israel, America and other supporters of Zionism and not to hesitate a moment fighting those who support usurper Israel materially, militarily, politically and or economically and in this path, surely martyrdom is a great achievement which ennoble every revolutionary and justice-seeking Muslim. For Muslims who are followers of the Husayni path at Karbala an objective which warrants their prestige, honor, purity and rightfulness in the present cruel world is to defend the Rights of Islam that have been trampled down underfoot. Today, that which frightens the arrogant world is the Revolutionary Islam. The Islamic Revolution of Iran regards defense of the rights of all Muslims as its main mission and in this path it is the great duty of all of us to follow the path of the martyrs with all our beings in such a way that its absence be not noticed.

*(In meeting with a group of selected Lebanese
Shahid students) August 19, 1992*

The exalted martyrs, by order of the Imam, entered fighting in order to elevate the name of Islam, protect the Regime and the territorial integrity of their Muslim homeland. They, as Imam Husayn (a) inflicted permanent defeat on the Yazidians⁵⁰ and once more proved that followers of Imam Husayn's ideology are ever victorious in the span of history.

Today, the scenes of war with paganism, cruelty and arrogance may have changed but our challenge with manifestations of arrogance continues. Today the most important mission of martyrs' children is to continue the challenges of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution in the various political, scientific and economic fields. The Islamic homeland needs at the present and in the future, faithful and expert forces for the fields of economics, sciences,

culture, politics and military and you are the best qualified persons who can defend the lofty ideals of the Revolution and Islam.

The responsible authorities try hard for your development and happiness. We hope that the objectives of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution will be followed eagerly and with a revolutionary Islamic spirit by the dear children of Shahid.

The most important ideals of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution has been to enjoin to good and interdict the evil.

(In meeting with selected Shahid students and strata of population) August 31, 1992

The essential and basic preference of the Islamic Movement of Iran over the other revolutions and movements is in the degree of attention to various material and moral dimensions and revival of Islamic and humane values. The martyrs, as soldiers of God's Religion, by the command of their Imam and with all their being fought the manifestations of paganism, cruelty and mundane matters until at last they registered the highest records of honor and bliss in helping God's religion.

Today every member of the Islamic Ummah has the duty to defend the ideals of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution, because, Islamic Revolution was nurtured by the blood of the martyrs and was established as a model of Islamic values for Muslims of other countries. We must present ourselves in various scenes, with intelligence and spiritual unity and idealism in perpetuating the political, economic, social and cultural objectives of the Regime and the Revolution.

(In meeting with martyrs families and layers of population) September 8, 1992

It is well known to all that, the culture of (Jihad) crusade and martyrdom grew with the sacrifices of the martyrs who were pioneers of jihad against tyranny and arrogance and moved ahead of others in the way to "meet the beloved (God)". Martyrs, the Disabled Veterans and the sacrifices helped God's Religion and to elevate the banner of monotheism forsook all worldly manifestations and thus were merited with a glimpse at the Divine Face. Islam and the Revolution became firm and blossomed with the blood of the martyrs and glittered as a universal model. All outcomes of the Islamic Revolution are

pawned to the sacrifices of the martyrs and we are now duty-bound to perpetuate their dignified path. The survivors of the martyrs and the disabled veterans are benefactors of all us. Pioneers of *jihad* and martyrdom must not be forgotten in the ups and downs of life. Handling of affairs of the martyrs and maimed veterans is, undoubtedly, regarded a great excellence by God and we all must give first priority to their affairs.

*(In meeting with layers of population)
September 24, 1992*

The martyrs are the glisters of hope in the eyes of the *ummah*. Were it not for the sincerity, and sacrifices of the martyrs and maimed veterans, today Iran would be moving on a path other than that of God and divine prophets.

Expansion of Islamism in the world is a blessing of the blood of martyrs, sacrificers and maimed veterans. If we are able to stand against dictatorship and world arrogance and defend liberty-seeking movements, it is due to the backing and support of you, families of martyrs and other veterans. You have the last word in the diplomacy of the world and the world of arrogance is always unable to understand your great spirits.

Today, we do not submit to any cruel and extortionist power in the areas of politics and culture. The great Leader of the Revolution, the government and the Majlis are moving in a direction that insures the defense of the rights of the deprived and the dear families of the martyrs and disabled veterans.

The presence of the survivors of martyrs, sacrificers and maimed or disabled veterans in the administration of the executive organs of the country warrants the lofty ideals of the Islamic Revolution.

*(At ceremonies honoring the martyrs
families) February 4, 1992*

Service to the survivors of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution is a highly valuable and rewarding task. Service to the survivors of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution and torch bearers of the arenas of crusade and *jihad* is a great, unexplainable honor. The path and objective of the Islamic Revolution is taken from the Ashura of Imam Husayn (*a*) and the followers of the path of Ali (*a*). Exalted martyrs of Islam are never confined by time and place. The path of our Revolution's martyrs, as the path of the Karbala martyrs will be modeled throughout history.

The relations between the Imam (s) and martyrs and their survivors was sincere and had special emotional aspects. The Imam (s) deeply felt that he was a member of the martyrs families and had a close and sincere relation with them. Whenever Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Karrubi, who was and still is a faithful revolutionist and servant of the deprived and of the martyrs' survivors, came to see the Imam (s) in relation to some business of the survivors and the Imam asked question from authorities of the Martyrs Foundation,⁵² verily the words and looks had a special and highly different state. You, dear ones, if you have the sensitivity of the Imam (s) in the area of affairs of the survivors of martyrs, you will surely be associated to the prophets and saints in the otherworld. The welfare and cultural affairs of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution must be emphasized and their handling expedited. Lest, by our remissness in conveying the message of the Revolution to the children of the martyrs we cause them to go astray. We must, along with handling the welfare and material needs of the survivors, from the cultural moral and ethical standpoint, prepare grounds for their advancement. If we do something, God forbid, that a martyr's survivor strays away from the path and ideals of martyrs we shall be answerable for it before God.

(In meeting with directors of the Foundation of the Islamic Revolutions' martyrs) June 21, 1993

All we have is by the grace of the martyrs, the disabled and captives of the imposed war. Comforting the survivors of the martyrs, the maimed and the prisoners or captives will make the soul of the Imam pleased and happy.

(In meeting with personnel of police forces) May 2, 1993

From Adam (a) to the eternity of history, the banner of martyrdom has been and shall be fluttering in the air and in the span of history. There have always been some divine people and some devil. The first group followed the right and just while the second followed the false and evil. The grand martyrs in order to protect the efforts of the divine prophets offered their highest capital with sincerity and went to war against the devils of the time and achieved the greatest honor. Today the faith of the martyrs is our guiding light. They repaid their debt to the dear Islam and rescued the Islamic Iran from the clutches of enemies and ill wishers. In the last 300 years with each war that

has been imposed on Iran a part of our country has been severed from the body. However in the era of Islamic Revolution with faith and sincerity of the martyrs this intrigue of the enemies reversed unto themselves. Those who helped the Islamic Revolution with all their moral and material might and sacrificed the best sons of Islam and the country, will never shake off their shoulders vis-à-vis the economic problems.

*(In meeting with families of martyrs)
September 25, 1994*

Were it not for the sacrificial acts of the martyrs surely, today, Iran would have lost its unity. The deceased Imam (s) always had special affection toward the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution and their survivors, to the extent that he personally followed up their educational and cultural affairs. The establishment of the Shahid University and its quantitative and qualitative expansion can be an answer to the educational needs of the children of the Islamic Revolution martyrs. The survivors of the martyrs in the arena of culture and knowledge must be the country's future support. If we neglect their education and cultural affairs we have shown ingratitude to the blessings and outcomes of the holy Islamic Revolution. The establishment of the Shahid University is a cultural imperative. The essential core of cultural activities for the survivors and the children of the martyrs includes pre-elementary education and extends its coverage to highest university levels. The children of the martyrs are entitled to enjoy more privileges in university centers.

Allocation of budget and facilities proportionate to the plan of the Shahid University is necessary for the educational progress and the fruitful future of the martyrs' children.

*(In visit paid by the Board of Trustees
of the Shahid University) June 7, 1994*

The feelings of attraction between the Imam (s) and the martyrs, the maimed, the survivors and those lost is a reciprocal thing that is divine, supernatural, and unprecedented. The Imam's entire effort was to make his life like yours, simple, acceptable as that of Amir al-Muminin (a), extremely simple and replete with morality. By the grace of the efforts of the martyrs and the noble sacrificers, today there is, in the world an issue known as the Imam's Line which shakes and threatens the value system of the materialistic Regime of Arrogance. In every country there are Muslims and real free men

followers of the Imam's Islam and that of the martyrs, and they think that your lofty status is above man's ability to comprehend. Among you there are numerous families who in spite of their dire living circumstances do not receive salaries from the Shahid Foundation or other organs. Many of your moral states, so transform one, that he is immediately reminded of the Imam, and his reminiscence becomes recalled and revived. You dear survivors of the martyrs and sacrificers are the true supports of the Revolution, the country and the Leadership and on your shoulders lay the heavier burdens.

(In ceremonies honoring the families of martyrs and sacrificers.) February 2, 1994

We make a covenant with the martyrs and their Imam (s) that we shall not stray one step from the objectives and intents of the Quran. O dear martyrs you gave your lives so that God's Religion may survive just the way the Infallible Imams (s) did. Be sure that your sacrifices are the best support for perpetuation of the Lines of Imamate and Wilayat.

The exalted martyrs are the roses of the Muhammedan garden. Candlewise, they burnt to provide light for the Islamic ideals in the world. Today, the genuine Islam rules in the hearts of Revolutionary Muslims by the efforts of the Martyrs and they have chosen the clear path of Imam Khomeini (a)

(At ceremonies honoring the exalted status of 3000 martyrs of the imposed war) June 7, 1994

No one has repaid his debt to Islam and the Revolution, and the country as much as the noble martyrs have done. All of us should be servants to the testaments and thoughts of the martyrs, the sacrificers, and their survivors. I recently ran across a writing by the Imam (s). It reads: "I have the asthma, do not arrange visits for me now, but make exception for the martyrs' families." In visit with the families of the martyrs and the sacrificers the Imam experienced a wondrous state and emphasized that their situation be carefully checked.

Survivors of the martyrs and the sacrificers are the worthiest and most meritorious fighters who can, in the front line of an all inclusive scientific and cultural challenge stand up and resist against the arrogant world. Such a challenge determines the survival and perpetuation of the thoughts of the

possessors and inheritors of the Islamic ideology. You must, as carriers of the message of the martyrs and of the values of Islamic Revolution, be pioneers in elevating the culture, science and education of the Islamic society.

(In meeting with students) March 3, 1994

*THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENCE
OF WOMEN & THEIR ROLES*

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENCE OF WOMEN & THEIR ROLES

In the area of cultural challenge the “*chador*” long veil of the Iranian women is a model for Muslim women every where, and this model is intolerable by America and its allies.

*(In meeting with Islamic Associations)
November 23, 1990*

You Basiji sisters, are today, regarded as a unique model for the entire Islamic world; because, all over the world, women pursue your beliefs and thoughts and this is a great honor for your generation, the followers of Hadrat Zaynab (a). Your role in our sanguinary Islamic Revolution cannot be explained. If in our performances we had listened to the words of the close-minded, this revolution would not have triumphed without the backing of women and these results obtained.

Unfortunately we have not done you a worthy service. We have not been able to obtain your rights under the pressure of these sanctimonious persons. To draw the real face of the Muslim women, essential actions must be taken in the material and moral areas and fortunately this matter has been under consideration by the great Leader of the Revolution His Holiness Ayatullah Khamenei

*(In meeting with members of the Basij)
November 24, 1990*

In the Islamic Regime, in pursuit of Her Holiness the Mistress of woman, Fatimah az-Zahra (a)⁵³ the women, in addition to education, have a determining role in political, social and cultural arenas. In no ideology based on faith are woman valued as high as they are in Islam. The Western regimes have emptied the women of their genuine identity as human nurturers and have lowered them to the level of objects without soul, whereas, in Islam women have acquired their real high rank and status from the beginning.

Our women have been present, in all scenes of battle, in the very text of the Revolution and maintained their presence with high spirits. From the start of the Islamic Movement of the people of Iran until the time that Hadrat Imam (s) was in Qum our Revolutionary Muslim women obeyed his orders accordingly. When he was sent into exile in Najaf, they obtained his guidance by intermediaries and sometimes by undertaking the risk of journey, they got in touch with the Imam for guidance.

Throughout the struggles of the Iranian Muslim people, the Shah's prisons witnessed the Revolutionary Muslim women of Iran, who endured all sorts of torture but refused to bow to the agents of the Shah, In those days agents of the cruel monarchy faced with the determination of mothers who preferred to see their small children suffer from torture rather than betray their revolutionary colleagues and thus defended their ideals. In the course of our struggles, the women always preceded the men in the related sanguinary demonstrations.

A good many of our Revolutionary women were the essential elements encouraging and urging their husbands and children to go to the war fronts. Today, even, as before, mothers and sisters of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution are present in the various political, social and cultural scenes. We must serve them as much as they invest of their revolutionary prestige for the realization of the ideals and objectives of the Regime.

*(In meeting with a group of women)
January 14, 1990*

Today, the vitality and perpetuation of the Islamic Revolution calls for the active presence of our women in political, social, cultural and economic affairs. Hadrat Imam (s) believed that women should fully participate in the society. Even in his letter to Mr. Gurbachev,⁵⁴ he sent a woman, Mrs. Dabbagh^{ss}, as one of his delegates to accompany the Imam delegation to Moscow.

(In the seminar on survey of women's rights and the social role of the women) February 4, 1990

The culture of the Islamic Regime is inspired by Islamic thoughts and ideals and, women as a great part of the defenders of the cultural prestige of the society have always had a determining role in the various conditions of the struggle.

At the start of the Islamic Revolution, some wanted to prevent devout and revolutionary women from entering social, political and cultural affairs. The Shah's machinery used this as an excuse and accused the Imam's Movement as perpetrator of such thought. However Imam Khomeini (s) often said: "We are not opposed to women's progress and their presence in the various scenes of the society, we oppose illegal acts." This part of the history of our enlightened people speaks the truth that the enemy had realized the determining role of women and to force them out of the scene they made such false accusations.

Today the enemy continues its line up against the exalted values of the pure Islam. The Islamic Iran and its faithful women that seek grandeur want to abide by their Islamic and Revolutionary positions but the world of paganism and arrogance uses every trick and intrigue to show a bad portrait of our Islamic and revolutionary positions.

(In meeting with a group of coeds.) August 11, 1991

As in the area of women's social rights and their status no comprehensive action has been taken, unfortunately the place and station of Islamic women has not been recognized. We hope away from any slogan or motto and superficialness and with deep attention to social realities, we be able to draw suitable models for the women in various fields. May the authorities make greater effort in this connection!

(In meeting with students.) February 5, 1991

Today, the presence of Iranian women in various economic, political, social, cultural and educational scenes of the Regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran is almost matchless. The essential core of the Islamic Revolution is

composed of women and men. We think that the Iranian Muslim women by the performance of their historic and religious parts in various stages of the Revolution and Islamic Regime have portrayed a distinguished feature of the Muslim women to the world. Today, our Revolutionary Muslim women are active in different sensitive social, political economic and cultural positions and they have always been placed in the front line of these activities.

The Imam (s) and all the authorities of the Regime, contrary to the false and evil enemy propaganda, have always had a clear picture of women's social position and we have, in the most sensitive moments of the history of the Islamic Revolution, witnessed that our women by playing determining roles have proven their political and cultural maturity.

When sending his unforgettable message to Gurbachev, Imam Khomeini a male delegate. This is a clear picture of Imam role of women in the various phases of the Revolution.

(In meeting with Health Minister of Turkmanistan Republic) November 12, 1992

In Islamic society women enjoy such station and status of which Her Holiness Fatimah (a) was a model. Women are the manifestation of realization of human aspirations, because the family, as the most basic unit of the society would have no meaning without the performance of the true role of women. Today a false and distorted picture of Muslim women has been portrayed by the enemies of Islam. We consider the veil as an element for protection of Islamic and human values and we believe, feasible for a woman to play her positive, creative and effective social role while maintaining her virtue and chastity. The western propaganda media call us imposers, reactionaries and medieval while, they force unveiling on Muslim women in their own societies and make them withdraw from their Islamic cover. Under these conditions they claim to support the rights of women and call us, who want the women to preserve their chastity and appear in various scenes in the community, autocrats.

Our women have consistently had an active and determining role in economic, social, political and cultural scenes. Today our society enjoys the most wholesome grounds for female activities. We must admit that without active and consistent participation of women we cannot take a step forward in

economic, social and cultural development. And in this respect it is necessary that we change the society's belief in male-prerogatives and generate more unity, accord and harmony between the male and female.

*(In meeting with a group of women)
December 15, 1992*

The women of Islamic Iran in pursuit of Hadrat Fatimah az-Zahra (a) have consistently been pioneers of the Islamic Movement. Our faithful and revolutionary women are holders of the scenes of *jihad* and martyrdom in such a way that in all ups and downs of the revolution, especially in the last 8 years of the holy defense, they made men follow them. They created the greatest epics in defending God's religion, and by sacrificing the bloods of their finest children they developed such scenes the like of which was scarce even in the early days of Islam.

The Islamic Revolution is nurtured by the hands of you survivors of martyrs. The martyrs of the Islamic Revolution passed the Divine Test with honor and proved that the path of Islam, Revolution and of the Imam never remains unattended and always some faithful followers stride in this difficult road.

The *jihad* and sacrifices of the Iranian women during the 8 years of holy defense and in the various scenes of the Islamic Revolution is prideful indeed. Let there be divine praise upon women who, in defending the honors of Islam in the battle arenas fighting the enemy, were buried alive and behind the front lines sacrificed their all-assets, properties limbs and lives so as to elevate Islam and the Quran. Lion-hearted women asking the Imam's permission to go to the war fronts were not few, for, they figured defense is incumbent on all and sex and age were not conditions. Praise unto you lionhearted women. Islam and history are indebted to your sincere sacrifices and *jihad*; joy unto Iran that selected the path of honor, happiness, freedom, and human dignity and answered positively to the call of the Imam. The area and world conditions are much more critical now than before, and in both East and West we face enemies who oppose the very existence of Islam, but as the women and men of the Revolution, by their presence in the scenes, preserved the fruits of the Revolution, the opponents can not do anything and we continue the path to Reconstruction and the progress of our nation with all our Islamic faith and might.

*(In meeting with Basijians) September
26, 1993*

The presence of women in sport fields, on the basis of Islamic rules, without attention to the poisonous alien propaganda and ignorant individuals, is a valuable step. Our revolutionary women during the Revolution, especially during the imposed war very well performed their Islamic and national duties and roles. The Revolution and Islamic Regime are ever obligated to the Revolutionary Muslim women for their troubles and efforts. Without women the Revolution could not triumph so fast.

The development of the sports of our women on national and international levels must be considered.

Today women's sports needs an all around double effort. Surely major works have been done. Women's sports in all fields must find its own real place and sport arenas must be purged of sin.

If today women's sport be not properly supported and guided, know that for years, our women will remain far away from sports and performance of their social roles. Some people who are not men of action may easily say it is interdicted or taboo, against the Faith, not becoming women's station. Today, "prudence" in doing one's social duties and affairs is exactly the opposite of "prudence" because we cannot prevent the performance of a lawful act on account of prudence. If women's sport be not considered and supported how can we fill their sport vacuum and recreation time!? If we fail to fill women's leisure time in a wholesome way based on ethical and human values the enemies of Islam will do in an unwholesome way.

Women form one half of the Islamic society therefore there should be suitable sport arenas for them across the country. Enemies of the Revolution and Regime use this issue as a weapon and say that Iranian Muslim women face limitation and isolation in political, social and cultural areas. We are concerned with ethical conduct in the society but this does not mean an atmosphere of isolation or limitation. A good many of the noble women are active in various offices of the Regime and Revolution. As many work in the Majlis, in judiciary, education and other organizations and foundations of the Regime. This shows that conditions for active presence of women in political, social and cultural arenas fair and suitable for service by women.

We hope authorities will follow up their efforts to extend female sport activities with care and diligence.

(In meeting with sportswomen) February 12, 1993

The presence of women in various social, political, economic and cultural areas is a supplement to the lofty objectives of Islam. Today, sports has a special place in the social life and relations of nations. Unfortunately big powers make-, use of sports in connection with their unsound ideals and objectives.

We must try to preserve, in sport arenas, our morality and purity and as the sanctity of sports fields calls for, move in the direction of attaining supreme human ranks. The presence of women in different social areas including sports can neutralize the enemy's negative publicity against the Islamic Revolution and Regime. Today, thanks God, in Islamic society women are free as men and can show their talents and ingenuity.

Women's activity in sports is a valuable thing. You should try to prepare the women's sport facilities in various fields. If we make the necessary programming, we shall be able to, according to Islamic culture, realize women's sports in other Islamic countries. Victory is not merely getting medals, rather, it is the transmission of the Islamic culture and values and acquaintance with the culture of other nations.

(In meeting with women) November 29, 1994

*HAI AHMAD AQA'S MEMORIES OF
THE IMAM (s)*

HAJ AHMAD AQA'S MEMORIES OF THE IMAM (S)

Think of Imam's spirit, a dear one indeed. When equations indicated that the "Resolution" must be accepted, he said: "I drink the potion of the Resolution." I was by his side but he continuously beat himself on the knee and repeatedly said: "Akh! akh!" because our Television was showing the fighters, the battle scenes. But, in such spirits, the Imam had come and accepted the Resolution. In the letter in which the Imam (s) indicated his acceptance he wrote: "O martyrs' families, families of the prisoners of war, I fought until now because I thought it was in your interest. But today I do not believe so and therefore I sign the U.N. Resolution 598 ⁵⁶.

God knew what went on in the Imam's house, no one dared go there, none dared go to see him. After signing Revolution 598 the Imam could not walk steadily. He kept saying: "Thank you O God, we seek your pleasure". You children of the Imam know his spirits better than anyone else.

Imam Khomeini (s) made no speeches after the Resolution. He did not go to the Jamaran Husayniyyah⁵⁷ to lecture or speak until he became ill and went to the hospital. I have a son by name of Ali. He is a child hardly 3 years old. He was very much attached to the Imam and wanted to be with him. As the Imam wanted to spend his last hours with his God, he said to the boy's mother: "Do not bring Ali here anymore. I want to focus all my attention on God!" During his last night, doctors said: The Imam has had no sleep but has said his prayers of namaz and then addressed the people in these words: "O people, you gave martyrs, prisoners, disabled, ask God to accept me."

*(In meeting with freed P.O.Ws veterans)
September 24, 1990*

The Imam (s) considered music, even radio and television programs in the regime of Shah as taboo; he had said: "If this music that is broadcast from IRIB be broadcast from the Al-e Saud radio and T.V. I would rule it out as taboo.

*(In the seminar for surveying the rights and
roles of women) February 4, 1990*

I dreamed of the Imam; he told me: "Tell the friends that I passed the "Serat", (bridge to paradise) but, it is extremely hard, it is no game!"

(In meeting with governors) March 13, 1990

Generally speaking when the Islamic Revolution processes were on ahead, and the Imam was still in Paris, a question was raised: What dangers would threaten the Revolution if it triumphed? We thought that the hypocrites⁵⁸ and leftists would create some internal problems. Because an individual whose name I do not remember went to Paris from Iran. He was an aide of the Shah and it become known later that he was a "CIA" member and was office manager for Shapur Bakhtiyar. He gave us a telephone number and said: "If you had some business with me call this number." That was the number of a telephone placed in a room next to Shapur Bakhtiyar's office. The point discussed was that the Imam had declined to see him. He told me this plus a few other internal issues: things we guessed the way he recounted, He said there is trouble in Turkman Sahra, also in Baluchistan and in parts of Kurdistan and even in the South a movement by name the Arab Khalq (people). We had guessed all these points and even thought it likely that a war would be initiated against the Revolution.

My most bitter memory that I remember was the signing of the Resolution and the sweetest one was the conquest⁵⁹ of Khorramshahr which was announced at 4:00 o'clock P.M and the Imam was taking a walk. The Imam walked three times a day, each time for half an hour and he carried a radio in his hand. For we knew earlier that the fighters of Islam were doing so, and operations had begun the night before, and fighting had been extremely heavy. As the Imam walked, suddenly the Radio announced the retake of Khorramshahr. On hearing the news I immediately looked and noticed good feeling had appeared in the Imam's face. On the whole, Imam never felt bitter about bitter issues nor did he show joy at

glad tidings. On the contrary, the Imam believed it was better to finish the war. However, war authorities said we should advance only as far as the Shatt al-Arab (Arvandrud), in order to be able to receive compensation from Iraq. Imam was not in favor of this and said: "If you continue the war in this manner and you do not succeed, it will never end, and we ought to continue to special point and now, with the conquest of Khorramshahr the best time is at hand to end the war.

After the start of the war, it took sometime before bombardments of towns and cities began. At the start of the war someone from the "joint staff", engineering unit came and built an anti-bomb shelter for the Imam. But Imam refused to use it. I persuaded him to come and see the place and he said he will see the place from the outside and he remained in his ordinary room while Tehran was under air raid. When I insisted, he swore he would not use it, and said there is no difference between him and any other man. He said: "If a bomb hits the house I am in, and the *Pasdars* around the house are killed and I survive in the bomb-resistant room, I won't be fit for leadership. I can guide the people when I live like one of them and all be by the side of one another.

From the family point of view let me tell you that years ago when the Savak⁶⁰ agents raided our house to arrest the Imam, my mother was standing in the yard. I ran out of the house and she said: "they took away your father. If you want to see him, hurry up." Things such as these do not usually upset my mother and sisters. They are not fearful persons; they only worried about the Imam's health condition.

Let me tell you an incident that just came to my mind: One day Tehran was under heavy rocket bombardment. My mother entered the room and noticed that a blanket had been floored obliquely. Very coolly she called me to help her straighten the blanket and Imam laughed at this sight.

(Interview) September, 1991

Following the occupation of the Spy Den⁶¹, a body headed by Mr. Ramsy Clerk was to come to Iran and request visit with the Imam (s). As soon as the Imam heard of this he made an announcement declining to meet with the American body. He also ruled out such a visit with the cabinet, the Revolutionary council and other authorities, and said that none had to meet this body. The interesting point about this incident is that it was the only announcement of the Imam (s) that lacked the opening phrase of

“*Bismillah...*” (in the name of God...) just as the Quranic *surah* “Repentance” (*at-Tawbah (Baraah)*) meaning that Hadrat Imam (s) in this declaration in pursuit of the *surah* “Repentance”, has begun his message without the *Bismillah*.

(In meeting with high school and university students) November 3, 1991

In the ups and downs of the Islamic Revolution of Afghauistan to decide their destiny, the Islamic Republic of Iran has consistently wished their will to be realized and, to prove this I remember the time when aggressor Russian leaders, in the height of the Imposed war sent a message to the great leader of the Islamic Revolution Hadrat Imam Khomeini saying “If you want us to supply you arms you ought to let up on the Afghanistan issue.” The Imam (s) replied: “We want weapons to protect Islam not to destroy it!”

(In meeting with layers of people) February 4, 1991

These are hard days for those who were and are in love with the Imam. On such days, three years ago, the friends of Imam were all ablaze. Two issues bothered us a great deal. One was Imam’s departure. What conditions will beset the country after his demise? Who will fill the vacuum after the Imam? Will the Leadership Council take over? Who will be the next Leader? The Imam was still alive when our friends gathered together in the Jamaran Hospital and greatly inflamed, they counted the minutes for his recovery when suddenly the Doctor called me and said that it was all over, the moment had come. In the first post-mortem minutes it was decided to call members of the Council of Experts to Tehran. Immediately a friend was assigned to this task and, overnight, all Experts were invited to Tehran and they came in fast from near and far. The multi-million presence of the people in Tehran streets and in the streets of every town, city, village and hamlet was so compressed and extensive that it rained cold water on the heads of all enemies of the Revolution. Were it not for the presence of the people in the scenes, the views and analyses would certainly be different and grounds would be ready for analysis by foreign media and enemies of the Revolution abroad and the mischief of their hired hands at home. However the presence of more than 9 million people who had poured in from provinces and joined up with the

mourners in Tehran on the one side and on the other, the quick, serious and destiny-making decision read by the Council of Experts, was as though the two had merged in such a way that one would think God had thrown open the doors to Mercy to the people of Iran, for, such an important thing had happened without the least bother to the Islamic Republic Regime.

*(In meeting with the army of the LRIran)
June 3, 1992*

When the site of the Islamic Republic Party had been blown up, coincidental with it, various other sites were blown up and many grantees were terrorized. A man by the name of Kashmiri⁶² who worked with the hypocrites, was assigned to bring a briefcase containing explosives and deposit it by the side of Imam at a time when the President, House speaker, the Prime Minister and the cabinet ministers were in the presence of Imam. You know that infiltration is a highly complicated task of intelligence machinery and of those who want to hurt their opponents. At that time, Kashmiri worked in the secretariat of the Security Council of the time, that is, he was secretary to the Council and had complete information on all that went on in that Council and he was a deputy to Mr. Rajai who was the President at that time. At the meeting with the Imam, were the President, the Prime Minister and his cabinet, the Majlis speaker and some other personalities. At the forked road to the street leading to Imam's house it was said that Mr. Kashmiri will join the group shortly and he has a briefcase with him containing materials he needs to take notes at the meeting, papers, pen and other similar things to note down the discussions between the Imam and the president, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet.

We had agreed to let no one, regardless of position or rank, to bring into the meeting hall, anything he carries in his hand, for, we had been aware of the fact that replacement of such things as briefcase or other similar things, is easy, with those carried by the President, the minister, etc. Such incidents had occurred in other countries against Palestinians by the Zionists. Words came that Mr. Rajai says: "Mr Kashmiri is the Secretary to the Council, let him in, he writes down whatever we say in the meeting. If we are to mistrust him, whom can we trust!? They came and told me this from the forked road to Imam's residence. I said we are a group and this is a group decision we cannot break it

while their signature has not completely dried, we won't do this, we can not allow it." Again words came that Messrs. Bahonar and Rajai have sent this message that they do not come up, and that Mr. Kashmiri must be present with his briefcase. We persisted and said no. Mr Kashmiri, fearing that if he leaves his briefcase there and goes to the presence of the Imam (s) without it security elements might suspect the briefcase and its contents become known, returned back in protest taking the case with him, and it was the same case that was placed beside the late Rajai and Bahonar in the office of the Prime Minister where it exploded and these two grand persons were terrorized.

(In meeting with the Basij of the Islamic Pasdaran Corps) September 29, 1992

The wise approach of Hadrat Imam Khomeini (s) to the acts of the Treacherous leaders of the SAF was a rare example of his clear position re the destiny of Palestine. Several years ago I recounted one of my memories of the second visit of Arafat to the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Imam's approach to him in the presence of the President which surprised all. Hadrat Imam did not accept to see Arafat in this trip and clearly stated that if Arafat be not worse the Beguin, he is on par with him. Because of the insistence of some of the responsible authorities and emphasis on the interests of the Movement of Palestinian people the Imam (s) received Arafat for a few minutes but did not even utter a word and never received him afterwards. The Imam was a clear-minded person. "All that we could not see in the mirror, he could see in the adobe brick!"

(In meeting with the Basijis) September 12, 1993

In the year 1358 (1979) when the Referendum about "Islamic Republic" was held for a day or two the press were busy with publishing congratulation messages. The Imam said: "Tell the newspapers to stop this!" Redundant praise is the work of pagans and must be eradicated with an all-inclusive effort.

(In meeting with Friday prayer Leaders) 9/20/1993

In hard conditions of making decisions that which would put the mind and heart of Imam at ease, was only his reliance on God and recitation of His

Name. Under no circumstances would he postpone the hour of his prayers and he performed all the commendables⁶³ just as he did in his political struggles; in pursuit of Hadrat Rasoul the prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams (a), he always observed his Islamic duties.

*(In meeting with university students) July 27,
1993*

In devotional matters, Hadrat Imam (s) never expressed a view and, like an ordinary person he abided by and observed the decrees just as had been relayed. He recited all the prayers in the *Mafatih al-Jinan*⁶⁴ exactly as they are written. I recall the day that this 90-year old man for every pilgrimage prayer, he performed one ablution⁶⁵ and in less than two hours he performed three, for reciting three different prayers, and he would not do with just one ablution. He was devout in the real meaning of the word. When he was in Najaf during the month of Ramadan, every three days he recited the entire Quran. When he was in Jamaran due to age he recited this holy book once every ten days. During the year he recited the Quran once a month. He associated with the Quran very closely. He used to divide one *jozve* (part) (total 30 parts) of the Quran in 8 sections, each section he recited at a particular time. Sometimes he dwelt on one verse of the Quran for a long time. He was so accustomed to the book *Mafatih* that he had to get a new copy every few months or have the old ones bound.

The great Imam always despised wastefulness, attachment to luxury, and avoiding simple living and clergy attire. Many a time, although in poor health I noted he had walked a relatively long distance in snow in order not to have asked us to do some task, say to put out a light in the yard. By the darkness falling in the yard we would know he was there. I would get to him quickly and tell him he could use the inter-com system to tell us do some chore, for instance, to put out a light. He would reply: "well, someone had to do it!"

When the Imam was going to return home from Paris he sent a message advising friends to provide a place for him downtown. After going to Qum and the onset of his heart condition, at the insistence of his physicians he went to live in Jamaran, at first, in the house of a mason with an area less than 100 square meters. It was also his place of work. Later on, Mr. Imam Jamarani made his house there, available to the Imam.

*(Statements at the commencement
ceremonies of the Ten-Day Dawn) 1/1/94*

The day the Shah fled agents of the entire communications media of the world had arranged interviews in Noephel Le Chateau with the Imam. Perhaps close to 150 television networks were broadcasting this program directly because it was a major event in the history of the Revolution. All wanted to know the Imam's views. He spoke a few minutes and then asked me if it was noontime I said that it was exactly noontime. The Imam called the meeting off by saying "*Wassalamu Alaykum*" He thus sacrificed such a meeting for the sake of saying noon prayer on exact time. Whereas mass media agents were cabling news of the interview for their audiences and viewers.

*(In meeting with members of taxicab drivers
union) February 26, 1993*

APPENDICES:

1. Traditional Fiqh:

Traditional *fiqh* is that method of extraction and deduction of religious decrees from valid and reliable jurisprudential sources and origins, which has been pursued by the Shiite jurisprudence since the time of the infallible Imams. Some regard traditional *fiqh* opposite to “searching” *fiqh*. However, from Imam’s viewpoint searching *fiqh* which is subject to elements of time and place in jurisprudence lies alongside the traditional *fiqh* and dominates over its conclusions.

2. The Works and Compilations of Hadrat Imam (s):

Hadrat Imam Khomeini (s) began his literary work when he was quite young. He wrote: “*Misbah al-Hidayah ilal-Khilafah wal-Wilayah*” when he was 27 years old and the “*Sharh-e Dua-ye Sahar*” at 29. Early in the 1320-1330 a.h.l. decade he wrote the “*Kashf al-Asrar*” which can be regarded as his first work in politics. His lessons in “*Wilayat-e Faqih*” (or Islamic Rule) that had been taught and edited in the city of Najaf Ashraf contains the Imam’s political and jurisprudential thoughts serves as the building stone of his complementary views about the absolute *Wilayat-e Faqih*. His other works include:

“*Sirr as-Salah*”, “*Adab-e Namaz*”, “*Taliqi bar Sharh-e Fusus wa Miftah wa Misbah*” (Appendix to the *Fusus*, the Key and the Light); “*Chehel Hadith*” (Forty Narratives) “*Jihad-e Akbar*” (The greater crusade); “*Kitab al-Bay*” (Book on Transaction) in 5 volumes; “*Tahrir al-Wasilah*” in 2 volumes; “*Tahzib al-Usul*” in 3 volumes; “*Al-Makasib al-Muharramah*” in two volumes; “*Kitab al-Taharah*” in 4 volumes, a comprehensive work on “expressions” of the principles of *fiqh*; Marginal comments on rational discourses of “*Kifayat al-Usul*,” written lectures of the Imam’s philosophy lessons, in several volumes in Persian language and... 1126 lecture; more than 470 decrees and commands; 367 letters to political and religious personalities abroad, 420 letters to political and religious personalities in Iran, and over 350 messages are extant and are being gradually embodied in tome volumes entitled *Kawthar*, with definition and description of each of these attached thereto.

3. *Hasibu Qabla an Tuhasibu:*

The Prophet of God said: "Reckon with yourselves before you are taken into reckoning and evaluate yourself before you are evaluated and get prepared for the grand Resurrection when all is revealed" *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol.7, p. 73.

4. *ROSARY BEADS:*

A string of beads for keeping count of prayers which are said while meditating.

5. *Intercession:*

The issue of "intercession" is a matter of Faith for the Muslims. It is mentioned in Quran, in the words of the Prophet (s) and in the words of the Ahl al-Bayt (a) we meet with three general types of verses in Quran re "intercession":

1- One set of verses that negate intercession. 2- The second group or set of verses that affirm intercession for God. 3- The third group of verses that affirm intercession for elements other than God.

In fact, there is no difference or contradiction among these Verses. Those that negate intercession do not negate it as an independent element. The Quran means to say that on that day (Resurrection) no one is independent enough to intercede with or without divine permission and the verses that affirm it, first, affirm its originality for God, and for agents other than God, they maintain it by divine permission and vesting. Thus intercession for non-divine agents is possible by divine permission. The Quranic Verse: "Who can intercede except by his permission?" indicates this fact.

6. *The World is the Planting Field for the Hereafter:*

The Prophet of God has said: "This world is a farming site for the next world."

(*Mizan al-Hikmah*, vol. 3, p. 285)

7. *Guardianship Council:*

To safeguard the Islamic decrees and the constitutional law against diversion and misinterpretation and to insure the compliance of the laws approved by the Majlis with them a council by the name of "Guardianship Council" is formed consisting of 6 learned and just *faqih*s or jurisconsults and

law experts (article 91, c.l.) These are elected for 6 years (article 92.) The Islamic constitutional Assembly has no legal validity without the Guardianship Council (article 93 c.l.). At the same time the entire approvals of the Majlis are routinely sent to the Guardianship Council for study, control and confirmation and for their compatibility and accord with Islamic laws and the Constitutional Law. (article 94 of the c.l.)

8. *The Sovereignty of Wilayat-e Faqih:*

On the basis of divine tenets, original resources of the ideology and valid narratives, the historic mission of the Prophets in forming governments, after the infallible Imams and during the occultation of the last Infallible Imam (*aj*), will necessarily fall on the shoulders of the most competent and erudite person in the ideology school, so that the line of *Wilayat* or guardianship and the sovereign rule of the Prophets may thus continue without interruption. These persons are the same *Foqaha* and *ulama* who are inheritors and trustees of the prophets and the title of their rule is “the Guardianship of the Jurisprudent” or Supreme Religious Leadership Or “*Wilayat-e faqih*”. On this basis, the Constitutional Law prepares grounds for realization of the Leadership of a thoroughly qualified Jurisprudent to insure that the various elements and organs of the government do not deviate from their essential Islamic duties. There is a book by Imam Khomeini that establishes and proves the jurisprudential basis of this. And, in his book *al-Bay*” (transaction) he has covered this subject.

9. *(The Ashura of Husayn-The Husayni Uprising Karbala Martyrs):*

The martyrdom of Hadrat Imam Husayn (*a*) together with 72 of his companions occurred in the 10th of Muharram, 61, a.h.l. (680 a.d.) in a land called Karbala. From that date on the day and its anniversaries are known as the “Ashura of Husayn” or just “Ashura” and Muslims mourn the first 10 days of the month of Muharram.

10. *The Council of Experts:*

In the Islamic Republic Regime of Iran the country’s business must be performed on the Basis of public opinion by means of elections, whether it be election of the President, or election of members the Islamic Consultative Assembly or members of various councils. If in an issue obtaining the majority

of votes be not possible or reaching an objective takes lengthy discussions and discourses, in such a case the people elect their experts and trustees and they assemble in a place called “Council of Experts” and discuss the points that concern the public. Example: Constitutional Law Experts or Experts of the Guardianship.

11. Prisons of the Murderous Pahlavi Regime:

In addition to great leader of the Islamic Revolution His Holiness Ayatullah Khamenei who was a prisoner of the Shah’s Regime, many other responsible authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran were imprisoned, sentenced for very long years.

Before the Islamic Revolution of Iran the prisons of the bloodthirsty Regime of the Shah were full of political prisoners. Censure and strangulation that prevailed over Iran prevented access to the statistics on political prisoners and the degree of their convictions so that Western press media estimated the number of political prisoners of Iran that were rotting in Prisons of the Shah’s Regime, between 30 to 100 thousand persons. Between the years 1972 to 1974 the Amnesty International gave these figures in its reports and pointed out that verification of these numbers was not possible. These prisoners were physically and mentally tortured, extensively, by the Savak. In addition to electric shocks and beatings, the Savak used all kinds of savage treatment in their interrogation of the prisoners.

12. Martyrs of the 7th of Tir:

These martyrs are those who were martyred by explosion of the Bomb planted by the hypocrites in the central offices of the Islamic Republic Party. In this incident which occurred on the 7th of Tir, 1360 (1981), Ayatullah Beheshti and 71 other high ranking authorities of the fledgling Islamic Republic Regime were martyred. The victims who attained the high honors of martyrdom included cabinet ministers, Majlis Representatives, Directors of Organs and major institutions.

13. Two Political Wings in Iran:

By two wings is meant “The Society of the Combatant Clergy” and “The Assembly of the Combatant Clergymen” Before the victory of the Islamic Revolution and in the early years after the victory, these two wings were active

under one title: "The Society of Combatant Clergy". The differences between them in matters of politics and economy as well as in social matters caused a branching between them in 1367 and, as is said a "left wing" emerged and was termed "Assembly of the Combatant Clergymen" and began its activities separately. His Holiness the Imam (s) in answer to questions raised by His Excellency Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Mr. Ansari that were put forth in his letter dated 10. 8. 1367 (November 1, 1988) had replied: "...If the difference be basic and fundamental it weakens the Regime. It is obvious that if there be a difference between individuals and existing wings affiliated to the Revolution, it is merely "political", even if the difference be given an ideological color. It is so because all believe in the same principles, in common, and for this reason I affirm them. They are faithful to Islam, to Quran and to the Revolution and they care for the country and the people and each has a plan for the growth of Islam and for service to the Muslims, and thinks his project leads to salvation..."

14. The Infallible Imam of the Time (Imam-e Zaman):

The 12th Imam of the Shiites, Hadrat Hujjat ibn al-Hasan al-Askari (*aj*), when he was hardly 5 years old, was chosen by God to the Imamate of the Muslim society. In view of the conditions of the time and on the basis of God's will the Imam chose occultation which consisted of two separate periods. The Lesser period lasted 69 years.

During this periods, Imam-e Zaman (*aj*) by means of four representatives was indirectly, in contact with the people. After this, the Major Occultation began to continue until the time comes for the emergence and victory of the true over the untrue. In Islamic thought, the extensive fights of Hadrat Mahdi (*aj*) (Imam of the time) and his advent shall be the last link in the chain of fights by the truth seekers against false-hood seekers. This means that the fighting of truth seekers continues throughout the history and the grounds for victory of truth become gradually prepared until the rise of the Promised Mahdi (*aj*) who carries these struggles to their final result and the sun of truth and justice dawns in the orbit of humanity. That day is the day of mankind's intellectual, moral and social maturity. *Mahdawiyyat* and the rise of Imam Mahdi are presented in the beliefs of the Sunnite sect too. In their books on narratives there are also, quotations proving this fact.

15. The Basij and Basijians:

When the troops of the Baathist military regime of Iraq invaded the territories of the Islamic Republic of Iran on 31st Shahrivar, 1359 (September 22, 1980) the only organized force that could resist the wide-spread invasion of Iraqi troops was the army. This imposed war that lasted 8 years resulted in, not only the formation of the Islamic Revolution's Guards (Sepah-e Pasdaran) corps, but also popular forces converged in an organization called "*Basij*". The personnel of this organization were called "*Basiji*". A large number of youth in lower ages and adults in upper ages joined up. The great majority of Basijis lived, simple lives and enjoyed minimum standards of living. The spirit of sacrifice and devotion was very high in them, most of them wished to be martyred in the path of God.

The Constitutional Law of the Islamic Republic has made it incumbent on the government, along with the army and the permanent Guards corps, to arrange military training for all Iranians so that everyone be able, when necessary, to undertake armed defense of the country and the Islamic Republic Regime of Iran. By participation in the Basij the people of Iran try to create a greater force which is called "The 20-million-man army". Formation of this army is one of the imitative works of Hadrat Imam Khomeini (s).

16. Kollukum Ra wa Kullukum Masul:

The Prophet of God said: "Beware, you are all patrons and are - all responsible to those under your patronage. The Emir who is assigned to the people is a patron and responsible to his under patronage ones. The man is a patron and is responsible to his family and a wife is a patroness of her husband's house and children and is responsible to them.

(Sahih-A1 Muslim vol. 3 p. 1459)

17. Bahman the 22nd:

The day the Islamic Revolution of Iran triumphed in the year 1357 (February 11, 1979) (1399 a.h.l.)

18. The Universal Quds Day:

By order of Imam Khomeini (s) the last Friday in the month of Ramazan was designated as the "Quds Day". In his message dated 16. 5. 1358 (August 7, 1978) addressed to the Iranian nation and Muslims of the world, the Imam said:

“I ask all Muslims of the world and the Islamic governments to unite in order to uproot this usurper and its supporters and I invite all Muslims of the world to designate the last Friday in the month of Ramazan, being a Qadr day, and can be a determiner of the destiny of the Palestinian people, as the Quds Day and with some ceremonies declare the international unity of Muslims in support of the legal rights of the Muslim people. I ask God to grant victory to the Muslims over the pagans”.

19. Shahid Mutahhari and His Works:

Professor Shahid Murtiza Mutahhari was one of the dedicated and hard working clergymen who had a highly effective role in presenting the real face of Islam. His countless lectures and speeches on various subjects of religion and his able pen in writing books and articles for various social strata of the population have left lasting effect in various theological and university centers.

After the triumph of the Islamic Revolution Shahid Mutahhari, was assigned by the great leader of the revolution to supervise the “Revolutionary Council” On 11. 2. 1358 (May 1, 1979) he was martyred by an agent of the Furqan terrorist group. More than 50 books and tens of articles and tape-recorded speeches of Shahid Mutahhari are available.

With regard to Shahid Mutahhari’s works, the Imam had said: “His works, his pen and his tongue, all without exception, are instructive and enlightening ... I recommend that the students and the intellectuals do not let the works of this grand professor be forgotten by non-Islamic intrigues”. Prof. Mutahhari was one of the outstanding students of Hadrat Imam. For years he benefited from Imam’s lectures on *fiqh*, principles, philosophy, ethics and *Irfan*.

20. Husayniyyah:

Husayniyyah is a place in which the people mourn and lament for the martyrdom of the infallible Imam Husayn (a) Nowadays a Husayniyyah is also used to perform mass prayers and for holding other religious ceremonies. One of the well-known Husayniyyahs is Jamaran Husayniyyah where the Imam’s lectures and speeches were delivered.

21. The Iraqi-Imposed War on Iran:

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran America lost one of the most sensitive strategic sites of the globe, and its clutches were removed off its immense resources. Therefore it began by various stratagems to regain it; help

to domestic resurgents, military attack on Iran (Attack on Tabas) and guiding a coup d'état had this aim. Not succeeding in these tricks, the U.S. used another trick and made the adventurous Iraqi Regime force an unwanted war on the Islamic Revolution. In this war that lasted 8 years hundreds of thousands of men lost their lives and losses and damages were many Billions of dollars. Hundreds of thousands other men became incapacitated, wounded, captives and stranded.

However, in spite of imposing such an intensive and expansive war, the super powers and their "ear-ringed" servant Saddam Aflaqi did not attain to any of their objectives.

22. Explosion of the Islamic Republic Party and Martyrdom of the Prime Minister:

This refers to two major explosions of bomb by infiltrating agents of the small group of hypocrites. The first was the explosion that occurred on 7. 4. 1360 (June 28, 1981) and destroyed the central office of the Islamic Republic Party resulting in the martyrdom of Shahid Beheshti and 71 other high ranking authorities of the fledgling Regime of the Islamic Republic. Victims included, cabinet ministers, Majlis Representatives and directors of organs and major institutions.

The second explosion occurred in the office of the Prime minister on 8. 6. 1360 (August 30, 1981) resulting in the martyrdom of President Muhammad Ali Rajai and Prime Minister Dr. Bahonar.

23. South of the City:

By this, is meant the deprived and poor people. Most of the power layers of the people of Tehran live in the southern part of the city and the rich live in the northern part of the city.

24. Differences among My Ummah is a Blessing:

Said the Prophet of God (s): "Differences among my people is a blessing."

25. Hard on the Pagans:

This is a part of the *Surah al-Fath*, verse 29, the translation of part of the *Surah* is as follows:

"Muhammad is God's messenger. Those who are with him are hard on the unbelievers but merciful to one another."

26. Duty to Enjoin to Good and Interdict the Evil:

The term good refers to anything that is good to do by reason of intellect and or religion and the term evil refers to anything which intellect and faith or religion recommend its cessation as good and its doing as bad and unfair. Hadrat Imam Khomeini (s) states in his book “*Tahrir al-Wasilah*”: “Whatever is necessary by reason or by religion or faith, enjoining to it is also necessary and whatever is ugly by reason and interdicted by religion, its interdiction is necessary. And, whatever is favored its recommendation is favored and all that is abominable its interdiction is favored.

27. Al-e Saud and Destruction of pure, aromatic Muhammadan Roses:

Al-e-Saud is the title of the Emirs who profess to Wahhabism as their religious sect. From A.D. 1735 (ah1, 1147) to the present time they have been ruling over the Arabian peninsula and termed this Island “Saudi Arabia.” In the opinion of Wahhabis, all Islamic sects and denominations including Shiah and Sunni are pagans and idol worshipers.

The result of 260 years of the rule of this family over the people of Arabia has been poverty, dependence, and moral as well material deprivation. Heads of this family were consistently at the service of British colonialism and in recent decades at the service of American imperialism.

It is to be mentioned that in the year 1366 (1987) at the command of America, more than 400 Iranian Hajj pilgrims to the House of God were massacred by the rulers of Al-e Saud, thus adding another black stain of shame on their record of performance.

28. Qarun of Arabia:

In Islamic culture Qarun is referred to as the manifestation of hoarding wealth and exploitation. By Qarun of Arabia is meant the ruler of Arabia, the Saudi ruler who has amassed incalculable wealth from the sale of the oil reserves of the Muslim, deprived people of Arabia.

29. Salman Rushdi -The Book Satanic Verses- His Dead Decree Issued by the Imam (s):

In the wake of publication of the whimsical and profane book titled “The Satanic Verses” by Salman Rushdi in which the pious beliefs and objects of the Muslims are derided and directly ridiculed, His Holiness Imam Khomeini (s) in a message dated 25. 11. 1367 (February 14, 1988) addressed to the Muslims of the world had said:

“In the Name of God. We are from God and unto Him we all return.

I hereby notify the entire Muslim people of the world that the writer of the book “Satanic Verses” that has been penned against Islam, the Prophet (s) and the Quran, also its publishers who are aware of the contents, are sentenced to death. I ask the Zealous Muslims to kill them the moment they find them, so that no one may dare insult the sanctities of the Muslims. Anyone who gets killed in connection with this is martyred, God willing....”

If some one has access to the author of the book but is himself unable to kill him he should inform others so that he may get his due punishment. *Wassalamu Alaykum wa Rahmatullah wa Barakatuh.*

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini”.

30. Iranian Aircraft Crash by American Missile:

The inhuman and unmanly air-raid to passenger aircraft of Iran in the Persian Gulf on July 3, 1988 by American aircraft carrier Winssens. The missile hit the aircraft which exploded and crashed down killing 290 innocent passengers, another mark of shame on America’s black book.

31- The Three Iranian Islands and Taking Them from Iran:

The lesser and greater Thumb and the Abu Musa Islands have belonged to Iran since the written history began. These 3 islands plus 7 other Iranian islands in the strait of Hormoz in fact form an archipelago with great strategic value overlooking the entrance adits and exits to the strait of Hormoz.

United Arab Republic, at the instigation of the U.S.A and England has raised a claim of ownership of the Islands which is nothing but a means to wrest these Islands from Iran and thus deliver a blow to the defense chain of Iran in said strait.

32. Anwar Sadat:

Anwar Sadat the destroyed president of Egypt who, by signing the shameful Camp David treaty in 1978 opened the way for other dependent Arab regimes to compromise with Israel. In 1981 he was killed by a young Muslim officer named Captain “Khalid Islamboli”

33. From God we are and unto Him We Return:

This phrase is a part of the verse 156 Surah Cow, it reads: “...Give good news to the patient who in adversity say: we belong to Allah and unto Him we shall return.”

34. The Wrongdoers shall See...:

“Not so are the true believers who do good works and remember Allah and defend themselves only after they, had been wronged.” The above phrase is a part of verse 227 of the Surah “the poets” which reads: “The wrongdoers will see what a come back they shall have.”

35. The Shameful Pact of Gaza Jerico:

On Monday September 13, 1993 (Shahrivar 22, 1372) a compromise agreement was signed between the Zionist Regime and the PLO. Present at the signing in the white House in Washington were Yasir Arafat, Isaac Shamir, Israeli prime minister, Bill Clinton, U.S. president and scores of diplomats from various countries, an agreement which until this date no Arab country except Egypt had dared to sign and formally recognize Israel.

This agreement appears to be a basis for granting self-rule to the Palestinians but the fact is that self-rule is a figurative term and the Zionist Regime is the real Ruler of the area (GAZA-JERICO)

A look at some articles of this agreement proves this point:

Article 3, note 1: The PLO has no objection to the development of new Jewish settlement in the occupied areas.

Article 5, note 1: The government of the self-rule Palestine does not have the right to engage in foreign diplomatic activities nor to open independent Palestinian embassies.

Article 6, note 1: The Palestinians have no right to generate self-rule government, nor to print Palestinian currency or independent Palestinian passports.

It is necessary to note that a number of major issues have deliberately been omitted in this agreement, these include Jerusalem, the Aqsa Mosque, the destiny of millions of Palestinians stranded in other countries,...

36. God will not Let the Unbelievers:

This is part of verse 141, *surah an-Nisa* (Women):

“...Allah will judge between you on the day of Resurrection. He will not let the unbelievers triumph over the faithful.”

37. “Zakat” the Poor-rate:

“Zakat” is the taxes of the Islamic rule which is, under certain conditions, collected from 9 commodities:

1- Camels 2- Cows 3- Sheep (the three beasts) 4- gold 5- silver (the two cash “payments”) 6- wheat 7- barley 8- dates 9- raisins (the four grains) Another kind of Zakat is called the *al-fitrāh* which becomes due the night of the *Id Fitr*, the amount payable is about 3 kilos of current diet or the price thereof.

38. Amir al-Muminin Ali (a):

Ali (a) is the first leader of the world Shiites. He was born in 600 a.d. to a mother by the name of Fatimah and a father by the name of Abutalib (uncle of the Prophet (s)). from the age of 6 he was raised in the house of the Prophet (s). Ali was the first man to accept Islam and promise to help the Prophet (s).

Early in his mission when, by God’s command, the Prophet (s) was inviting his kins to Islam at a gathering, he said to them:

He among you who first believes in me will succeed me!” He repeated this sentence three times; each time only Ali (a) professed his faith. On the eve of the Hijra, Ali (a) slept in the Prophets’ bed neutralizing the impending plot by the Quraysh to kill the prophet and so he proved his fidelity to the Prophet (s)

The Prophet (s) chose Ali (a) as his brother when returning from the last pilgrimage to Mecca and at a place called Ghadir he declared Ali (a) as the supreme leader and Wali of the Muslims after himself. Ali (a) was a companion of the Prophet in his lonely days and his ally in hardships and dangers. After the ascension of the Prophet, for certain reasons, Ali (a) remained away from the government for a period of 25 years; during this

period he acted as an overseer preventing perversion. When the 3rd caliph was killed, Ali's companions and a number of people swore allegiance to Ali (a) and elected him as Caliph. The rule of Imam Ali (a) lasted nearly 4 years and 9 months.

Ali (a) restored to their previous conditions, most of the changes that had occurred after the Prophet (s). Opposing elements whose interests were endangered rose the banner of opposition from every side and using the blood of the 3rd caliph as excuse started internal strifes that lasted as long as Ali's caliphate, and finally martyred this unique man of Islam after the Prophet (s) in his altar of prayers. It is difficult to talk about Ali (a). He did not neglect a moment of sacrifice in the path of God's religion. In his adobe home children such as Hasan, Husayn and Zainab were raised who left indelible mark on history and raised the bright torch of humanism in the darkness of time and themselves became leaders to those who search for truth.

39. The Imam's Aid Committee:

On 19.12.1357 (March 9, 1979) by a written order of the Imam (s) addressed to Hujjat al-Islam Karrubi, the Aid Committee was formed. The objective of this Committee was to look after the deprived, the needy, and the orphaned families and to extend help to the really poor and to obliterate the ominous phenomenon of begging. The positive actions taken by this Committee in economic, cultural and educational grounds are above a brief explanation.

40. State Penal acts (Tuzirat):

In Islamic jurisprudence "tazir" applies to penalties the degree of which is determined by the judge who can determine the kind and amount with consideration to the circumstances of the offender, type of the offense and its conditions in which it has occurred, provided that the penalty so meted does not go beyond a stipulated limit.

"State or government penalties" is an organization which was set up on 28.8.1364 (November 19, 1985) by an order of Imam Khomeini (s) to combat hoarding of commodities and overcharging and profiteering practices. The government was assigned to execute the penalties thereto. The Imam (s) ordered a body to be made up of Director of the Legal and Judicial Commission of the Majlis plus Chief of the State Supreme Court plus two

jurisconsult members of the Sentinel Council, to determine the penalties there upon.

41. The Shah's Land Reform:

"Land Reform" was one of the essential principles of neo-colonialism which was implemented everywhere from Latin America to Asia and Africa by aid of local governments under the domination of U.S. colonialism in almost a uniform manner.

In 1341 (1962) the Shah on the one hand in order to attract American capital investments and show his agreement and cooperation with the new American strategy and to open a new market to Western economy, and on the other hand, to ease, the internal conditions and avert public dissatisfaction that entailed the danger of social explosion, started his land reform as the first principle of the so called 6-principle "Shah and People Revolution" and dragged the country into bankruptcy.

"Land reform" which was associated in Iran, with the U.S. investment in commerce and industry, delivered a severe blow to Iranian agriculture so that in a few years the country moved down from the position of wheat exporter to a major importer of wheat. At the same time as a result of migration of rural people to the cities, and their absorption, as cheap labor, by industries and dependent services, in the course of 11 years 20 thousand Iranian rural areas lost their inhabitants.

42. TRIBES:

Tribesmen are parts of Iranian population who live a simple life on the mountain skirts and pasture lands. Some of them, in various seasons, migrate to places suitable for tribal life. They live on raising sheep and are herdsmen. The tribes have always had an active and determining role in political, social, and economic scenes of Iranian history. Their resistance vis-à-vis British colonial policies in recent decades, their extensive and uniform allegiance to the Grand Leader of the Islamic Revolution, His Holiness Imam Khomeini (a) and their presence in various scenes of the Revolution, especially in the imposed war, all indicate their effective presence in the various political and social arenas of Iran.

43. The Golistan and Torkmanchay Treaties:

Golistan is a village, in Qarehbagh, in which the Golistan treaty was concluded. The Czardom of Russia used to struggle hard for a link to Open Seas through Caucasia and Iran and this had resulted in long wars between Iran and Russia.

The first phase of those wars started in mid 1218 ahl (1803 a.d.) and ended in 1228 (1803) in the defeat of Iran and by the mediation of England, and the ominous Treaty of Golistan was signed in the valley of Golistan, in Qarah Bagh by side of the Aras River.

According to the terms of this treaty the townships fo Qarah Bagh, Ganja, Shaki, Shirvan, Qarabagh, Darband, Baku, Daghistan and Gorjistan which belonged to Iran were ceded to the Russian Empire.

The second phase began late in the year 1241 ahl with an unforeseen attack by Russia on the new borders of Iran and ended by midyear 1243 (1828).

This time, too, Russia triumphed and by mediation of England the Torkmanchay Treaty was signed between the two governments and consequently the rest of caucasia plus a major part of the Moghan plateau (Dasht-e) and the port of Lankaran was ceded to Russia and navigation through out the Caspian Sea monopolized by Russia and the government of Iran recognized capitulation rights for Russian diplomatic agents in Iran, and more over, war damages in the amount of five million *tumans* were levied.

44. The Literacy Movement:

On 10.7.1357 (1978) the Leader of the Islamic Revolution in a lengthy message, while confirming Iran's ancient heritage of culture and science and its role in the growth of knowledge under the shadow of the rightful religion of Islam, as this ideology considers seeking knowledge an incumbent duty on all, the Imam stressed the necessity of adult literacy and issued a command for public mobilization to uproot illiteracy. He assigned all literate persons, the education personnel, the Leaders of Friday Mass prayers and other literate layers of the population to make literate all illiterate people in the country. On the basis of this order the "Literacy Movement" became formally active in 1358 (1979).

45. The Shiite Jurisprudence (Fiqh Shiah):

The word “*Fiqh*” denotes exact understanding that is, understanding based on intelligence, ingenuity and curiosity. The science of *fiqh* means the science that deals with the recognition of the Religion’s decrees and its practical programs that are needed in individual and social life. The purpose of this science is understanding God’s commands and practicing according to them.

The sources of the Shiite jurisprudence or *fiqh* for deducing decrees include: The Quran, Traditions of the Prophet (s) and the Infallible Imams (a) and the Ijmae or consensus (all that the jurisconsults agree upon without any doubt) and the rationalism.

46. TYre Shahid University:

On 6.1.1365 (March 26, 1986) the Imam issued an order calling for attention to be paid to cultural and educational affairs of the martyr’s families. In session Nos. 160 and 166 of the Revolutionary cultural council in Mehr, 1369 (October, 1990) in view of the essential agreement of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education and the Ministry of Health, Medical Care, and Education the Shahid University was established as a non-profit organization and affiliated to the Martyrs Foundation of the Islamic Revolution having independent corporate body.

At present, this university has 7 colleges and 15 branches of study. In his letter to Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi, Imam Khomeini (a) has said: “..... It is required that greater care and attention be paid to the cultural affairs of my dear children, these mementos of the martyrs, the maimed, the lost ones and of the captives of the war, and that they be afforded the utmost care and concern from kindergarten to university.....” The main building of this university is presently being built by the side of the sacred shrine of the Imam (s).

47. Zainab-like Propagation:

Zainab the senior (s), this brave woman of Islam is the third child of Hadrat Fatimah (a) after Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn (s). She was born in the year AHI. 6, and raised by the side of her two brothers, under the patronage of the noblest family of all times-the Prophet (s), Hadrat Ali (a) and Hadrat Fatimah (a). Hadrat Zaynab (a) traversed a long hard distance to the tragic event of Karbala in which she witnessed the martyrdom of her illustrious brother and the younger members of the family, one by one. She went to Iraq and Syria

(Sham) in captivity and supervised the survivors of her brother Imam Husayn (s) who included only women and children. During this amazing adventure she did not lose her forbearance even for a second, and by her divulging speeches in the court of Yazid she germinated a nucleus of wrath and anger against the bloodthirsty Omriad Caliph, and with matchless bravery she hoisted the banner of fight against the criminals, and by performing an astonishing role, prepared the grounds for perpetuation of the epic event of Ashura in order to make the fight of the just against the unjust, immortal. Zaynab's deeds and words in the ever lasting history of the Shiah has been transmuted into a permanent quality, or adjective known as "Zaynab-likeness" that is imitated by Muslim women.

48. The Innocent Martyr Ayatullah Beheshti:

Is one of the scientific and political features of the Islamic Revolution. His management acumen in organizing the forces of the Islamic Revolution in the form of a structure known as "The Islamic Republic Party" was instrumental in neutralizing the enemy's plots, in the early years of the victory of the Islamic Revolution. He was the first person to be appointed by Imam Khomeini (s) as Chief of the State supreme Court to organize the Judiciary system of the country. This highly efficient administrator, politician and scholar, together with a group of executive authorities of the Islamic Republic were martyred in the explosion of the Islamic Republic Party headquarters by the Hypocrites (The Organization of Peoples Mojahidin) on Tir 1360 (June 1981). He has written numerous books on various subjects.

49. Shahid Muhammad Montaziri:

Muhammad Montazeri was a dedicated fighting clergyman who was martyred on June 28, 1981 (7 Tir) in the explosion of the Islamic Republic Party headquarters by the Hypocrites. Hadrat Imam Khomeini in a message to his father dated June 29, 81 has said:

"... He (Muhammad), from the time he recognized himself and entered the community, he also recognized the Islamic values and entered the struggles against the despots with a calculated commitment and motive. With his wide insight he tried to promote the ideology and train other self-sacrificing persons. He was the son of Islam and Quran. He spent a life amid physical

and mental tortures by the ill-wishers. He fled to the side of God and strode the path of truth together with his friends and brothers.

50. Yazidiyan:

The term means the followers of and attached to Yazid son of Muawiyah (born 26 ahl and died 62 ahl). He succeeded his father as Caliph in the year 60 ahl. Yazid was a youth devoid of knowledge and excellence and famous for his notoriety and infamy. His monarchy lasted three and a half years. In his first year he martyred Imam Husayn (a) son of Ali (a). In the second year he raided and pilfered the city of Medina (Seat of rule and burial of the Prophet (s)) and in the third year he invaded Mecca. In the vocabulary of the Shia the term Yazidians applies to those who stand against the line of Imam Husayn (a)

51. Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Mahdi Karrubi:

His Excellency Shaykh Mahdi Karrubi was appointed as the supervisor of the Islamic Revolution's Foundation of Martyrs by the Imam's order dated 25.12.1358 (March 15, 1979). Also, by another decree of the Imam (s) he was the Imam's representative in the affairs of the Haj and supervisor of the pilgrims to the House of God, (Kaba) from 25,5,1364 (August 16, 1985). Furthermore, he was speaker of the Majlis for a period of time.

52. The Martyrs Foundation of the Islamic Republic:

On 12.5.1358 (March 15, 1979) per an order of Hadrat Imam Khomeini (s), an organization named "Martyrs Foundation of the Islamic Revolution" was setup to supervise the affairs of the families of the martyrs and the disabled. In the ten-point order addressed to Hujjat al-Islam Karrubi for the establishment of this foundation the Imam (s) had emphasized the priority given to cultural, economic, employment, and medical care etc. of the esteemed members of the families of the martyrs and the disabled. At present the foundation with its solid and extensive organization all over the country has prepared facilities for the welfare of these families and for education of their children.

53. The Mistress of the Women, Her Holiness Fatimah (s)

Lady Fatimah Zahra, the daughter of the Prophet (s) of Islam and wife of Ali (a), man of justice, virtue and the first Infallible Imam of the Shiites, was the

mother to Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn, the 2nd and 3rd Shiite Infallible Imams. She was born in Medina in the 5th year of the prophetic mission. It is beyond the limits of this writing to set forth the qualities of Her Holiness Fatima, Islam's Grand Lady and model of Muslim women. Her love for her father was so intense that the Prophet of Islam (s) nicknamed her "Mother of her father".

Fatimah (a) was by the side of the Prophet (s) during his most sensitive period of life and by the side of Ali (a) during his most turbulent times and because of the toil she went through after the ascension of the Prophet (s) she died quite young.

54. The Imam's letter to Gorbachev:

One of the Prophet-like acts of Imam Khomeini (s) toward the end of his blissful life was sending a letter to Gorbachev leader of the (former) USSR. The letter was penned when the 8-year imposed war on Iran by Iraq had just terminated and political analysts, affiliated with world arrogance, in the pagan mass media regarded the acceptance of the U.N. resolution 598 by Iran, as a shaking in the religious beliefs of the executive authorities and the fading of the Islamic Revolutionary mottos, and publicity by enemies of Islam cherished the hope that the Islamic Revolution will be confined within Iranian borders and its effects abroad be foiled.

Under these conditions the news of sending a secret message by the Leader of the Islamic Revolution to the former soviet leader through a mission headed by one of the more creditable clergymen, attracted the attentions of all nations especially world political thinkers and leaders and analysts. The mission headed by Ayatullah Javadi Amoli, a student of Hadrat Imam (s), consisted of the Political Deputy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mrs. Dabbagh (Majlis Representative) entered Moscow on Dey 13, 1367 (January 7, 1989) and at 11:00 A.M. the following day met former USSR Leader in the Kremlin Palace. The composition of the mission and what message it carried, once more attracted the world attentions to the Islamic Revolution and its Great leader. The visit lasted two and a half hours. Russian leaders generally and particularly the Chief of the Politburo, thought of anything in the message except invitation to monotheism and the pure Islam of Muhammad (s) by the great monotheist. Like the prophets, Imam Khomeini had begun his invitation from a position of power and was sure it would filter out to points beyond. Although their approach to the Imam's

invitation was political, yet publishing the text of the message from mass media and its analyses by broadcasting media left the impression that the Imam (s) had envisioned, and although the letter was kept secret from former soviet public opinion and in spite of the ban on its publication in the USSR Muslim Republics, yet it gained very wide acceptance by the Soviet youth and had an import role in the inclination of the people of these Republics to Islam. The youth of former Soviet Union secretly photographed thousands copies of the letter and distributed them all over the country.

Today, several years after the issuance of said divine letter, the “decisive defeat of communism” and the “internal changes in the superpower of the East and its affiliated states” have been realized, as foreseen by the Imam.

The Imam’s letter to Gorbachev was in itself an exportation of the Revolution but not in the sense of interference in the affairs of the people of other countries, rather, in the sense of providing answer to the intellectual needs of a people who were thirsty for divine knowledge people who had lived 70 years under instructions and teachings against their nature.

55. *Madam Dabbagh:*

Marziyah (Tahireh) Hadidchi (Dabbagh) was a Tehran representative to the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Majlis) for the second and third sessions. Before the Revolution she was action in combatant groups and was with the Imam while he was in Paris.

56. *RESOLUTION 598:*

The U.N. security council issued numerous declarations and resolutions in order to end the Iraqi imposed war on Iran and the last one that was accepted by both, was Resolution 598 which, after lengthy arguments, consultations and agreement in principles, at last on 29 Tir, 1366 (January 20, 1987) Resolution 589 which was agreed upon word by word was adopted at the U.N. Security Council session no. 2750

The draft of the Resolution had been prepared by the permanent members of the Security Council and presented to non-permanent members and the views of this group had been some what considered. The Islamic Republic of Iran formally accepted the Resolution on 27. 4. 1367 (July 18, 1988) and the 8-year war between Iraq and Iran which was a holy defense for Iran came to an end.

57. The Jamaxan Husayniyyah:

Is a place in which Hadrat Imam Khomeini (a) made speeches and received his visitors and lovers who came to see him from various places. Although the Husayniyyah housed the greatest Reference Authority of the Shiah and the greatest leader of the age, yet its simplicity and lack of embellishment spoke of the depth of the attachment and link of that noble leader to the Almighty God.

58. Munafiqin:

By *munafiqin* is meant the same “members and enthusiasts” of “Peoples *mujahidin* (fighters) organization” established to fight Shah in 1344 (1965). This group due to the fact that its leaders were not acquainted with the all inclusive principles and teachings of the school of Islam, adopted an eclectic ideology and in a short time after the victory of the Islamic Revolution rose against the Revolution and its forces, and undertook the martyrdom of a large number of peoples’ servants, dedicated clergymen and some of the finest youth, and, by exploding scores of bombs all over country and setting fire to innocent peoples’ homes and buses filled with passengers, started a stream of blood. This group spared nothing in its efforts to uproot the Islamic Republic Regime. However, after several phases the group was suppressed by the Revolution forces and some of them fled to other countries abroad. These elements who once called themselves anti imperialist and feared their identity to be discovered, are today, in the laps of the imperialists living the last shameful days of their infamous life. The terrorist Peoples’ *Mujahidin*” group is termed the “*munafiqin*”, a name very well denoting their inner ominous character.

It is worth mentioning that during the Iran-Iraq war this group was by the side of the Iraqi army and fought the army of Islam.

59. The Conquest of Khorramshahr:

The important city port of Khorramshahr was, before the war, the major route for securing Iran’s needs from abroad. In addition, the military strategic position of this port in the mouth of Arvandrud and the cover it can provide for the important city of Basra Iraq, gave it a special importance.

After the attack of Iraq on Iran, in spite of the brave defense by the citizens who, empty handed held the enemy at bay, after 48 hours of resistance, Khorramshahr fell into the hands of Iraqi soldiers who infiltrated the city with all kinds of guns, tanks and troop carriers and occupied it.

Saddam, Iraq's President called Khorramshah, Muhammarah, and along with other towns and cities of the Province of Khuzistan regarded them as Iraqi territory. By the help and support of America and Israel and reactionary heads of Arab states, the best and most modern military equipment were stationed in Khorramshahr to be used by Iraqi forces as secure stronghold.

After some change that were effected in the Iranian armies during the earliest months of the war, Islamic forces launched a different kind of operations and cleared the occupied territories from the enemy forces. And Khorramshahr which after going through 578 days of invasion by Saddam's hired men was finally taken back in the operations named: Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem).

The conquest of Khorramshahr was considered extremely important internationally. It caused extensive defeat of American designs for the area, as well as the defeat of the efforts of the reactionary elements in their attempts to support the policies of the imperialism in respect of this war. Furthermore, it weakened Zionism more than before.

The freedom of Khorramshahr was one of the greatest moves of the Islamic forces in all the scenes of the war. The greatness of this victory cannot be calculated by material reckoning.

60. SAVAK:

"State organization for Information and Security" known as "SAVAK" was established in 1336 Ahs by order of Muhammad Reza Shah. Duties for which it was established included suppression of the enemies of his Regime and opposing the Islamic combatants.

"SAVAK" had close and intimate relations with "CIA" (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency) and "Mosaad" (Israeli Security Agency) Savak was so cruel in torturing the political prisoners that the secretary general of Amnesty International declared in 1354 (1975): "No country's record in the world is as black as that of Iran in the area of human rights".

61. Occupation of the Spy Den:

Before and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution the American Embassy in Tehran was, contrary to International common law, busy to do espionage and damage the newly born Islamic Republic. On 13th Aban 1358 (November 4, 1979) a group of students who called themselves "followers of

the Imam's line" invaded the American Embassy and conquered it. They got hold of documents that showed spying activities detrimental to the Islamic Revolution in Tehran, hence the term "Spy Den" was used by them instead of Embassy. In the culture of the Islamic Revolution the day the American Spy Den was conquered was named the Fighting Day against the world arrogance.

62. Kashmiri:

Masud Kashmiri was secretary to the Security Council when Martyr Muhammadl-Ali Rajai was President and Dr. Muhammad-Jawad Bahonar was Prime Minister. His influence among the state authorities was such that they all considered him a sincere and dedicated person. Even when bombs were exploded and both the President and the Prime Minister were martyred, all had thought that Kashmiri was among those slain and held funeral services for one whom they thought was Kashmiri but the search group gained proofs and evidences, during their search on the case, indicating that the assassin was Kashmiri who had left the country after explosion of the bombs.

63. Mustahabbat:

It is a plural term for "*mustahab*" and it means words or actions which yield great reward.

64. Mafatih al-Jinan (Lit, Keys to Heavens):

It is a book containing general prayers and the special pilgrimage prayers and devotions, compiled by Haj Shaykh Abbas Qummi

65. Pilgrimage Ablution:

When visiting the shrines of the Imams and religious saints people do a visitation ablution, thus making themselves somewhat closer to those esteemed noble men.

