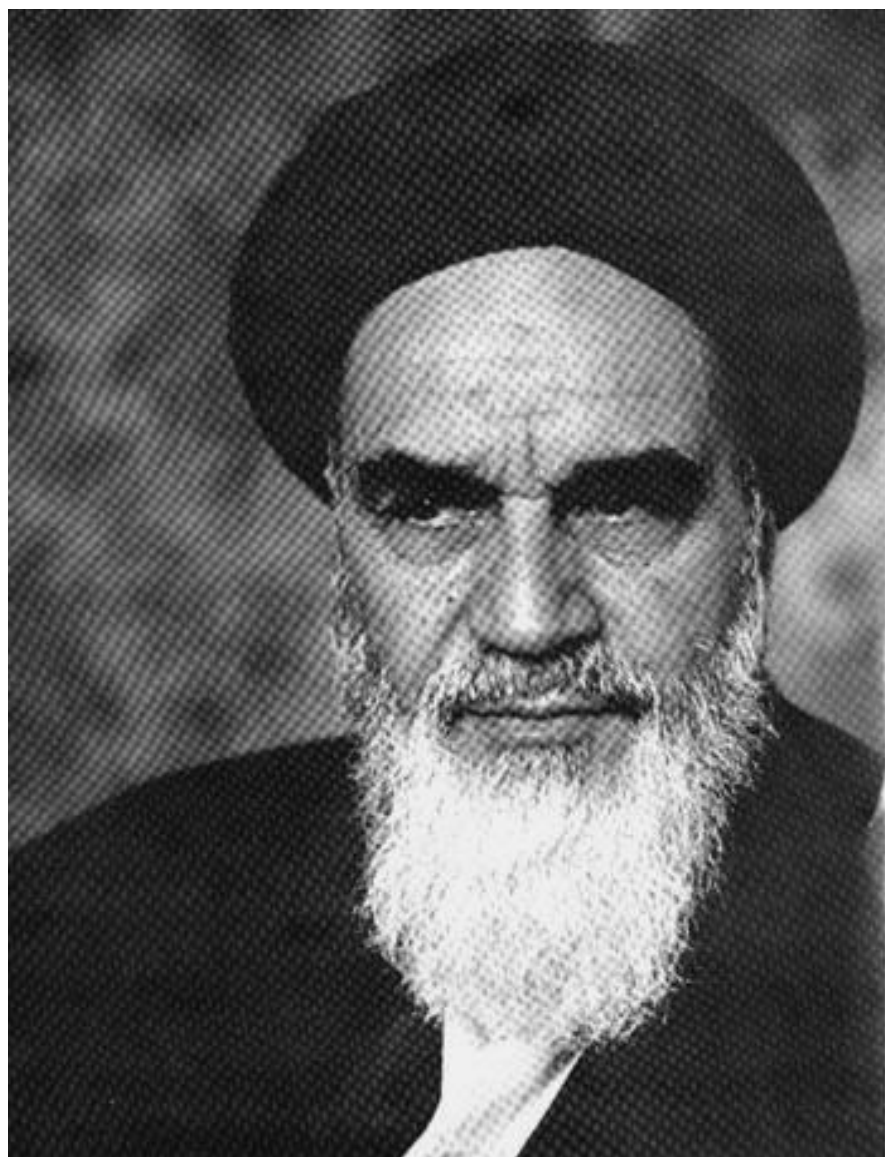




*In the Name of Allah,
the Compassionate, the Merciful*



KAWTHAR

Volume Two

An anthology of the speeches of Imam Khomeini (r)
including an account of the events of the revolution

1962-1978

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



***KAWTHAR VOLUME TWO: an anthology of the speeches of Imam Khomeini,
including an account of the events of the revolution, 1962-1978***

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کتاب کوثر جلد ۲ به زبان انگلیسی

Transliteration Symbols

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

Long Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
آ, ا	a, A
ای	i, I
او	u, 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 to Speech Number Thirty-One

Date: October 11, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 19, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 8, 1397 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The grounds and aims of the Islamic Revolution

Occasion: A response to the venomous propaganda of the Western media concerning the movement's aims

Those present: A group of Iranians resident in Paris

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

In the first volume of this anthology, we followed the events of the Islamic movement in Iran—a movement which has its roots in the reformatory uprisings of the Prophets and the friends (*awliya*) of God—from the Khordad 15 uprising in 1963, and even events before that, to October 9, 1978 through the speeches that Imam Khomeini delivered on various occasions. Now, at the beginning of the second volume, we continue to follow the progress of the Islamic movement on the same basis and by referring to historical eyewitness accounts, documents and the speeches of a great man who led the movement through the events of the bloody history of the Islamic Revolution.

The historic migration of Imam Khomeini (a) from Iraq to Paris opened up a new chapter in the Islamic Revolution and in the movement of which he was leader. The aeroplane carrying the Leader of the Revolution touched down at Paris airport two hours behind schedule at 6 pm (Tehran local time) on Friday, October 6, 1978. News of Imam's arrival in Paris gave rise to a state of euphoria in Iran. Hearing of Imam's departure from Iraq (October 5, 1978) put an end to the anxiety and worry felt by millions of Iranian men and women and by Imam's devoted following abroad, and allayed the doubts and fears felt by these people with regard to their leader's fate.

On the afternoon of Saturday, October 7, 1978 (Mehr 15, 1357 AHS), the day after his arrival in Paris, Imam gave a detailed account of his encounters with the Iraqi and Kuwaiti authorities and of his subsequent journey to Paris. Whilst giving this account he said: "The Iraqi authorities warned me that due to certain ties which they held with the Iranian regime they could not tolerate the activities in which I engaged. I responded by saying: If you are answerable to the Iranian government, I too am answerable to Islam and the nation of Iran and I am obliged to fulfil my divine and spiritual duty." In another part of this account he added: "Had I remained (in

Iraq) I would have felt guilty before the Iranian nation; but I am not one to remain impassive.”

In his speech given on October 11, 1978, Imam Khomeini refers to his migration from Iraq to Paris. Because Imam’s historic migration involves many points of particular historical import, we shall quote the words of his venerable son the late Hujjat al-Islam wal Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, as appear in an account carried by the *Ittilaat* newspaper on January 30, 1982:

“I was asked to write something about Imam’s migration (to Paris) and since certain things had been said or written in the past which did not concur with the truth, I considered it necessary to briefly say a few words about the affair to the best of my knowledge. The reason for Imam’s migration to Paris goes back to certain events which occurred some months prior to his having made this decision (to migrate). The popular struggle in Iran having reached a climax, both governments of Iran and Iraq held several meetings in Baghdad following which the conclusion was reached that Imam’s activities now posed a danger not only to Iran but to Iraq also. The interest shown by the Iraqi people in Imam, and the sensibilities of the Iranian pilgrims in Iraq were something which the government in Baghdad could not easily overlook. Because of this, they (Iraq) requested that our dear brother Mr. Du’ai make the views of the Revolutionary Council of Iraq quite clear to Imam. A summary of these views as related to Imam by Mr. Du’ai is as follows:

1. Your excellency (Imam) may continue to live a normal life in Iraq as you have done in the past, but you must refrain from those political activities which cause the relationship between ourselves and Iran to become strained.

2. Should you continue your political activities then you must leave Iraq.

“Imam’s decision went without saying. He faced me and said: ‘Bring both mine and your own passports;’ and this I did. Mr. Du’ai left for Baghdad with our passports but we were not told what had subsequently happened to them there. Some time later, Saadun Shakir, the head of the Iraqi security organisation, came to see Imam and spoke to him about issues concerning Iran-Iraq relations, the current state of affairs in Iraq and the region, and other such matters, but at the end of the day he did nothing more than to pass on the Iraqi government’s previous message. Many comments were made by Imam which unfortunately were never recorded, such as: ‘Wherever I go and lay down my carpet (he points to a pileless Afshar carpet) is my home;’ or ‘I am not one of those *akhunds* who would desist from carrying out his duty simply in order to continue his pilgrimage;’ and other such remarks.

“A period passed without event. The sentiments demonstrated by both the Iraqi and Iranian people whenever Imam would go to the shrine of the Lord of the Faithful (Imam Ali (a)) were truly something to behold. However, Imam was then placed under house arrest and no one was allowed to enter his home. Mr. Du‘ai was summoned to Baghdad to be told of the final decision reached by the Iraqi authorities, that being to deport Imam; and on his return to Najaf he had our passports with him. Imam gave permission for our close friends in Najaf to be told of his decision to go to Kuwait—that is to seven or eight of our most intimate companions; and immediately afterwards two letters of invitation were prepared by a friend in Kuwait for both Imam and myself (our surname and that used in the letters of invitation is Mustafawi, which is why it escaped the attention of the Kuwaiti government). Three cars were arranged for our use and after the morning prayer of the following day we set off—Imam and myself in one car, and our close friends in the other two cars.

“The situation in our house on the eve of our proposed departure was something to be seen: no one was their usual self, neither my mother, my sister, Husayn (my brother’s son), my wife nor my sister-in-law. My undivided attention was focused upon Imam. As on previous nights, he slept at the usual hour arising to perform the midnight prayer as always an hour and a half before sunrise. I distinctly remember him gathering the family together and saying many things to us such as: ‘Don’t be at all upset, for nothing is going to happen. Surely there is no way one can remain here and keep one’s silence. If we were to do this how would we answer God? One’s religious duty is of paramount importance; one cannot shirk the responsibility that this duty carries with it;’ and again: ‘Even if they were to say that I could continue to live here should I remain silent for a day, if I considered that one day’s silence detrimental then there is no way that I would comply to their request, let alone the request that they have in fact already made asking for absolute silence.’

“As we were about to get into the car, my attention was drawn to a non-clerical figure standing in the darkness, which on closer inspection I recognised as Dr. Yazdi. Dr. Yazdi had come to receive a message from Imam which he could pass on to the Islamic societies in Iran, Canada and America, when he unexpectedly witnessed what was going on. Until that moment he had known nothing at all about Imam’s migration; but now he too got into one of the two cars in which our friends were seated. I noticed that we were being escorted by the car of an Iraqi official. The arrangement was that Mr. Ridwaani (later to become a member of the Guardians Council) was

to carry out his daily routine during the first day of Imam's absence as if nothing had happened. On the day in question everyone attended the congregational prayer gathering as usual except for Imam who was no longer in Najaf. We ate breakfast which consisted of bread, cheese and tea, in a cafe. The midday prayer, led by Imam, was performed by us somewhere along the Iraqi border, after which the necessary borderline procedure was quickly undertaken. The Iraqi officials bid us farewell and went away, whilst our friends proceeded towards Najaf, except for the late Imlayi (may God rest his soul), Mr. Ferdowsi, the Member of Parliament for Tabas, and Mr. Yazdi, who along with Imam and myself headed for the Kuwaiti frontier. Kuwaiti frontier officials concluded their business with Messrs Yazdi, Ferdowsi and Imlayi, leaving Imam and myself still to be dealt with. They told us to wait, and it became apparent that Kuwait had been informed of our plans to enter their country. Someone from Central Office came and spoke to us for one hour saying, in a nutshell, no admittance!

"We returned to Iraq. The Iraqis were waiting to greet us. They detained us from 2 pm until 11 pm. The late Imlayi, as astute as ever, set off for Basra, informed those in Najaf all about what had happened, and returned to us with some bread, cheese, cutlets and other such provisions. Imam was suffering from extreme fatigue and this worried me greatly. He could tell by my facial expression that I was annoyed at his being kept waiting for such a long period, and he said: 'Does this kind of thing upset you?' I said: 'I am extremely upset for your sake.' He said: 'We too must go through a bad time at the national frontiers as do others in order to appreciate just one of the thousands of discomforts that are brought upon our brothers; be strong!' I said: 'Very well.'

"Whilst we were all gathered around Imam, who was lying down and resting in a squalid room, I turned to the Quran for a portent of things to come, and it read: *"Go to Pharaoh, surely he has exceeded all limits. He said: O my Lord! Expand my breast for me"* (surah 20, verses 24-25). Believe me when I say that I then found renewed strength; it was truly amazing. They detained us unnecessarily for more than nine hours, even though we had already told them that we simply wanted to return to Baghdad. Imam became angered and threatened them. Whenever I asked them why we were being detained they said that they had to wait for news from Baghdad; but following Imam's angry outburst, they immediately contacted Baghdad and reported the encounter they had with Imam. Imam told them: 'I shall let the outside world know about whatever happens to me whilst I am here;' and this too was then reported by them to those in

Baghdad. It wasn't long before they came to us full of apologies, explaining that the delay had been due to their inability to contact Central Office, and that the Iraqi authorities were not at all pleased about our having been detained.

"They then put us in a car; but Dr. Yazdi, who was kept behind, said to me: 'Don't worry, they can't keep me here.' Hence, the four of us then left for Basra, spending the night in a relatively good, clean hotel—Imam and myself in one room and Messrs Ferdowsi and Imlayi in another room. In spite of the terrible fatigue suffered by Imam, he arose to perform the midnight prayer after having rested for only three hours.

"After having performed the morning prayer with Imam, I asked him of his intentions, and he replied: 'Syria.' I asked: 'What if they don't let us in? What if they treat us like we were treated in Kuwait, then where do we go?' We examined each of the neighbouring countries in turn—Kuwait hadn't allowed us to enter; Sharjah, Dubai and other such UAE states would follow suit and refuse us entry; as for the Arabian states, they had consistently cursed us in the past; Afghanistan and Pakistan were out of the question; that left Syria. Imam had obviously made the right decision. But it was a case of looking before we leaped, for firstly, we would have to enter a country which did not require a visa from where we could make contact with the Syrian authorities to enquire whether they would be prepared to admit us into their country with no holds barred, that is, with no restrictions whatsoever being placed upon Imam's activities. This question needed to be raised because if there were to be restrictions placed upon Imam then we would be better off staying in Iraq where our home was. I suggested that we went to France since a short stay there could prove fruitful, it being easier for Imam to get his message across to the world: Imam accepted my proposal and we went to sleep.

"At 8 am, I said to the Iraqi officers: 'We want to go to Baghdad,' to which they replied: 'You can go to Najaf.' Then I said: 'No, we shall not go to Najaf.' An hour later the officers came to say that those at headquarters wanted to know of our decision. I said: 'Paris.' They left in astonishment! Some time between 10.30 am and 11 am Mr. Yazdi came. We were pleased to see him. The Iraqis wanted to send us to Baghdad by car, but Imam was not feeling too good, therefore they reluctantly allowed us to go by air. As soon as we had disembarked, I contacted Paris to inform them that we were about to go there. Mr. Habibi asked me what he should do and I told him: 'You are to stay by the telephone until we have actually entered Paris.'

“We spent the night in Baghdad and were once more with our friends for a time. That same night Imam went to Kazimayn, where the emotions expressed by the people were staggering. The following morning we went to the airport. There was a hold-up; a two-hour delay ensued. The aeroplane was a jumbo jet. The five of us were on the upper floor along with three other people who were unknown to us. A strange feeling had come over the friends who accompanied us; they did not know what was to become of Imam. Iraqi officials asked to see Mr. Du‘ai, and when the latter later returned he was filled with indignation. Too embarrassed to tell Imam what the officials had said, he told me: they had said Imam was never to return to Iraq again! (What audacity! What an effrontery!). I gave a wry smile.

“We were on the second floor of the aircraft. Although we never actually got to see the lower floor, there were other passengers there who were also travelling abroad. Two or three hours into the flight, we realised that we were in fact prisoners inside the aeroplane, since when one of us decided to go to the bathroom (situated on that same floor), one of the three aforementioned “co-passengers” stood up and followed him. In order to be absolutely certain that we weren’t mistaken, the late Imlayi got up to take a walk around the lower floor; but they prevented him from doing so. Once Imlayi had returned to his seat, a discussion broke out between the four of us during which many questions were raised such as: Do they want to get rid of us? Do they want to kidnap us? Are they thinking of imprisoning us in some country or other? Imam was looking down; it was as if he were not in fact undertaking such a journey. After talking endlessly, we reached the conclusion that Messrs Yazdi and Imlayi were to disembark at Geneva, whilst Mr. Ferdowsi and myself remained at Imam’s side. Should they be refused permission to disembark, then we were to create an uproar whereby those on the lower floor would become aware of the situation. Dr. Yazdi told one of the three “co-passengers” that we wanted to disembark at Geneva because we had business to attend to there. Moments later it was announced over the loudspeaker that no passengers other than those destined for Geneva were to leave the aircraft once it had landed.

“We began to imagine all kinds of things. Imam continued to hold his head down. We put our plan into action; Imlayi seized one of those who had wanted to prevent him from disembarking from behind, and Yazdi leaped to the stairway. Nothing was said, two of the “co-passengers” simply laying their weapons (which until that moment had remained unseen) on a shelf and going after Yazdi in hot pursuit. Mr. Habibi was at home in Paris, waiting by the telephone as planned. He was told to rally all of his friends together in

Paris Airport and to wait and see whether we were among those passengers who had disembarked—if not, then they were to do whatever they could to prevent the aeroplane from taking off (we thought it probable that they would fly us to some other country once the rest of the passengers had disembarked). In the meantime, Imam led us in the midday and afternoon prayers. Minutes after having performed our prayers we were pleased to see that Messrs Yazdi and Imlayi had returned; and only then did we tell Imam of what had happened and of the things we imagined might have happened. Imam said: ‘You must be mad!’

“We arrived in Paris. In order for our turbans not to attract attention Imam walked alone, I was a short distance behind him and the other two honourable gentlemen followed behind us both. That night representatives of the French government came to tell me that: ‘We are now confronted with this situation, and like it or not the Ayatullah is here. Had we known about this then we would not have allowed it.’ They requested to see Imam and Imam granted their request. They came and told Imam that he was not to engage in any political activities whatsoever, to which Imam replied: ‘We thought that here would not be like it is in Iraq. Wherever I go I shall say what I intend to say; I shall travel from airport to airport and from city to city in order to be able to tell the world that all of the oppressive governments have joined hands to prevent the oppressed from hearing our message. But in spite of their efforts I shall make the voice of the courageous Iranian people heard throughout the globe—I shall tell the world of what is happening in Iran.’

“Although Imam had said: ‘As soon as some Muslim country issues me with an invitation, I shall go there,’ not even one country, Muslim or non-Muslim, requested that Imam go there, be it even for one day ...

“Whilst in France Imam worked around the clock. Not a day passed in which he did not have either a speech to make, an interview to give or a declaration to issue. This old Father of the Revolution with all of his being was utterly engrossed in his efforts to overthrow the Iranian monarchy and to put an end to the American presence in Iran.

“News reporters would sometimes say that they had never witnessed anything like this before, where a clergyman speaks from within a room two by three, having no table and chair, and observing none of the conventional formalities and practices, and where, as a result, the Iranian nation speaks out and takes action. Political activists of Iran then began to pay visits to Imam. They came from all over; from Iran, Europe, Asia and America to suggest that Imam settle for the Shah’s overthrow and not demand anything more,

since it was impossible to defeat America and the Iranian army. However, Imam would tell them: 'Leave the people to do as they will; they want an Islamic Republic. If you intend to discuss these issues you have raised here publicly then I shall introduce you (as a traitor) to the people;' and again he would repeatedly say: 'The army is made up from our very own people; and as for America, she has no part to play in this. The Shah is on his way out. The roots of imperial rule must be severed and the people liberated.'

"The people of Iran were well aware of the situation; as a good friend of ours put it: 'Imam and the people have come to know and understand each other, and whatever others may say is of no consequence,' hence, this being the case, people drew their slogans from the statements which Imam made. Here, I must point out that Imam was a swift writer. For example, he would complete a large page of handwriting within fifteen minutes; a truly difficult feat especially considering that as the Imam, importance was ascribed to his every word, and yet notwithstanding he wrote in the most unique of styles. Furthermore, Imam wrote all of his own statements and declarations personally. This is in spite of the fact that it is customary, when one wants to take a stance on some issue or other, for one's aides and advisers to prepare certain material which is then read to the President or some other personage, who then expresses his opinion and signs the document once all the necessary alterations have been made. There is not a single statement issued by Imam of which he was not the sole author. We would simply pass on information to Imam and the rest was left to him, and that remains to be the case. The ridiculous thing is that in spite of all that has just been said, some had the audacity to claim that we were the ones who wrote material for Imam. Let me hereby state categorically that:

1) Imam's decision to migrate was purely his own and no one had the slightest part to play in his going to Paris. I merely mentioned Paris on that night as a suggestion, and Imam accepted it favourably.

2) All of the statements and declarations issued by Imam were written by himself; he conducted and controlled his own affairs. If this was not the case then let them prove otherwise. Anyone who claims that he either brought or took Imam to Paris, or that he wrote even one word on Imam's behalf is a downright liar; and unless he is able to provide evidence to substantiate his claim then it is groundless. The reason for my underlining these two points although they overstep the bounds of this composition, which is an account of the migration of the nation's leader, is because if I were not to do this then the future course of our history, of our revolution, and consequently of our Islamic republic would become deviated from the path it is meant to follow;

and it would not be long before the true, popular and religious movement set in motion by Imam would be converted into a political movement emanating from the West or the East or from this or that group—just as we have already seen how some have said (and with what recklessness and dishonesty) that: We were the ones who were at Imam's side whenever he travelled or made any moves.

“My dear brothers and sisters, let it be made clear that:

1) No one knew of Imam's intention to migrate except for myself and a few clerical friends from Najaf.

2) Imam himself made the decision to migrate to France. It was a move which had nothing to do with any other person or any of the political groups, be they in Iran or among the Iranians abroad. Don't let it be said in the future that: ‘We came to take Imam to Paris,’ or that: ‘We were told by those in Iran to tell Imam that he could conduct his struggle more easily in France,’ or any other such absurdities, for if these false claims are not dealt with and clarified whilst Imam is still amongst us then in the future they could give rise to political deviations within the revolution and its movement.

“After staying in Paris for two days, we went to Neauphle-le-Chateau, a village lying 42 kilometres outside Paris, where the home of Mr. ‘Asgari, a person who showed us much kindness, was situated. A house in Paris was found from where anyone wishing to go to Neauphle-le-Chateau to see Imam, could either seek directions or catch the minibus which passed by once or twice daily. At first Imam would speak publicly every night; then it became two nights a week; then Thursday nights; and later on Sundays at noon—the reason being that the students who came from all over Europe, could only manage to see Imam on a Sunday. Initially audiences were very thin, but towards the end of Imam's stay, the place used to become really crowded, so much so that on one occasion the crowd actually staged a sizeable demonstration which was led by Mr. Hadi Ghaffari. It was also interesting to see what happened at lunch- and dinner-time: Mr. Haj Aqa Mahdi ‘Araqi, may he rest in peace, was in charge of the kitchen. Each day lunch consisted of either one egg and half of a tomato or sometimes broth...”

Twenty-eight days have now passed since the massacre in Jaleh Square (Shuhada) by the regime. The newspapers on October 7, 1978 (Mehr 15, 1357 AHS) devote their headlines to Imam Khomeini's arrival in Paris.¹

¹ From September 23, 1978 (Mehr 1, 1357 AHS), when the news broke of Imam's house arrest in Najaf by Iraqi Baathist forces, and again from the time Imam left Najaf until the moment he arrived in Paris, a wave of anger and protest erupted nationwide, people staging demonstrations in many Iranian cities (see press reports carried during this period). The

Sharif Imami presides as Prime Minister, and martial law is being enforced in Tehran and eleven other major cities. General Oveissi, known as “the Tehran butcher” following the events of September 8, is the military governor of Tehran. The Shah and his wife have gone to the Senate to open the new session of Parliament. General Nasiri, who had been appointed to the Iranian embassy in Pakistan after a period as the head of SAVAK, has been discharged from office. Strikes have spread to many government offices and organisations, railway and national airline employees also joining forces with the strikers. Throughout the provinces, demonstrations, rallies and scenes of violent clashes between the people and government troops are in full evidence; several students having been killed and 47 people injured during the demonstration held in Khorramabad.

maraji ‘-i taqlid of Qum sent both individual telegrams and a joint statement to Hasan al-Bakr, the Iraqi President, and to Hadrat Ayatullah Khui. In these statements they called for immediate steps to be taken to lift the house arrest under which Imam was placed and to arrange for Imam’s return to Iran. Other statements along these lines were also issued by the *ulama* of Tehran, the people of Qum and various social groups. Refer to *Nihdat-i Ruhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 8, p. 115.

Speech Number Thirty-One

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... Then the head of Iraqi intelligence came to me saying that it was best for me not to incite the people of Iran and not to continue with my activities. He said that Iraq had a certain commitment toward the Iranian government to which I said that they may well have a certain obligation toward the Iranian government, but that I am under no obligation toward it. I said that we too have certain obligations to fulfill but these are toward Islam and toward our nation, so we shall carry on with what we are doing, and they too are to do whatever they will. Then he said: "But every day you issue statements and send recorded messages and so on. At least scale this down." I said: "No! I shall continue to issue statements and also to record messages and send them abroad; and should I ascend the pulpit, then I shall speak out. When it comes to these things, I cannot do otherwise." He then left and things worsened whereby I could tell they were at the end of their tether. Since the head of Intelligence had previously said that for the time being they would leave so-and-so alone but that they intended to do something about our friends, I thought that our friends may possibly be harmed by them. Hence, because it makes no difference to me where I actually reside as long as I can continue with my mission, I decided to go to Kuwait from where I could later travel to one of the Islamic countries. Even though we had visas, the Kuwaiti government prevented us from crossing its national frontier and entering the country. They did not even allow us to use their airport from where we could fly elsewhere. We returned to Iraq again. It became clear that those in Iraq also knew what was going on for they were expecting us on our return. The same group of people who had escorted us from Iraq were again standing there waiting for us! Thus, having returned to Iraq they at first took us to Basrah and then, several hours later, to Baghdad. While in Baghdad we made the decision to come here where we could choose some place or other from where to continue our activities. Hence, for the time being we have come to France.¹

¹ On September 18, 1978 [Shahrivar 27, 1357 AHS], the Iranian ambassador to Iraq met with Saddam Husayn, the then Iraqi vice-president, and requested the Iraqi government to arrange for stringent restrictions to be placed upon Imam Khomeini's activities in Najaf. Toward the end of Shahrivar [September] 1978, the Iranian Foreign Minister went to America to attend

I consider myself duty-bound. That is, I believe I have a religious and moral duty toward the nation of Iran at a time when the Iranian people have risen up and are sacrificing lives; when their youngsters have been arrested—some having been killed by the regime and others having been incarcerated; when some of our *ulama* are in prison and a large number of them are in exile; and when all of the people, small children and old men alike, are standing up to the Shah's regime crying out in unison: "We don't want the Shah." At such a time we all become answerable to this nation. And this nation, or indeed any other nation, has the right to determine its own destiny. This is a human right; a right which is stipulated in the Declaration of Human Rights. Any person, any nation, must determine his or its own destiny; it

the general joint assemblies held by the United Nations Organization. Throughout the course of these meetings, he held talks with the Iraqi Foreign Minister on three different occasions, during which he petitioned Iraq to expel Imam. He succeeded in gaining the approval of the American and Israeli Foreign Ministers with regard to the outcome of the discussions he had held, and at the end of the talks stated that steps to expel Imam were already being taken. Once this agreement had been reached, on September 23, 1978 [Mehr 1, 1357 AHS], Imam's home in Najaf was surrounded and placed under the surveillance of Iraqi troops, and Imam was asked to desist from giving interviews to news reporters and from delivering speeches and writing statements. However, he paid no attention to the warning given by Iraq. News of Imam's house arrest in Najaf prompted a wave of protest among the revolutionary Muslims worldwide, and in particular among the Muslim people of Iran who were in the midst of an Islamic movement. *Maraji'*, *ulama*, clergymen and political figures both from inside Iran and from abroad objected to the measures which had been taken in Najaf by publishing announcements and sending telegrams to various societies; while bazaar merchants, workers, members of the university and those from other sectors of society went on strike and took to holding protest marches, blaming the Iranian regime for the measures taken by Iraq. As the situation deteriorated, bloody clashes broke out on several occasions between demonstrators and government troops. In the meantime, SAVAK, in an effort to deceive the people, announced that there was no truth in the claim that Imam's movements had been restricted or that he was under house arrest. The people however, who closely followed any news and events with regard to Najaf, would not be brought to rest, and thus the Iranian regime was forced to turn to the Iraqi authorities for help. On October 2, 1978 [Mehr 10, 1357 AHS], an Iranian delegation of top security officials arrived in Baghdad and met with Sadun Shakir. After talks, it was decided that to continue taking restrictive measures was to no avail, but that at the same time neither would it be in the interests of Iran or Iraq to allow Imam complete freedom. Hence, they planned to indirectly force Imam to leave Iraq by bringing pressure to bear on his close relatives and friends. Eventually Imam left Iraq with the intention of heading for Syria via Kuwait. The Kuwaiti authorities did not permit Imam to enter their country however, leaving Imam no choice but to return to Iraq. Since Imam knew that none of the Islamic countries would permit him to engage in political activities, both because of the influence wielded by America within the Islamic states, and the latter's friendly relations with the Shah, he eventually went to Paris.

must not be determined by others. And so too our nation has now risen up to demand that it determine its own destiny.

This is why we who are abroad have a duty to cry out in unison with these people—people who are sacrificing lives to this end and who have risen up against this man¹ who has betrayed us and our religion of Islam; this man who is giving our national resources away to foreigners and who, in return, procures arms with which to kill the people, or who receives a sum of money which in part he spends on the procurement of arms and the suchlike while the remainder is used up by himself and his friends. Have no doubt that right now, even as we sit here, Iran is in an explosive state. Right now people are being killed, as they were a few days ago in many different Iranian cities when the resultant death toll was extremely high! Even as we sit here I wonder whether such outbursts are occurring in Iran, and I feel sure that they are. But as to whether people are now being killed or not we don't yet know. And why don't we know? Because we are too far away. Such incidents occur on a daily basis. But while they, the people of Iran, are at the battlefield engaged in battle, are we here to remain unconcerned and to carry on living our normal everyday lives?! To do this would be totally unfair and inhuman, and it would be against the canons of Islam.

Everyone is obliged to do their utmost to help these people in whatever way they can. Right now, I am able to speak to you and to urge you to offer your support irrespective of which front you may belong to abroad. I can appeal to you to join hands with your own people who have risen up in the interests of us all, including yourselves. I shall speak as much as I can regardless of the size of the audience present; and I shall write material and have it circulated, again, as much as I am able. You too must play your part and do whatever is within your power—demonstrating whenever it is called for and opportune; writing; speaking; talking to press reporters; doing anything that is within your power. Everyone must contribute as much as he can and help this oppressed nation which is now being trodden underfoot by these merciless beings.

I believe history has never before witnessed an uprising like the one currently in Iran where there is such unity of purpose. Now everyone, including those children who are not yet themselves aware of what they are saying, cries out: "We don't want the Shah!" Or maybe these children do so in imitation of what everyone else is saying; a five- or six-year-old child—just imagine! Even those who have just learned how to speak now cry:

¹ The Shah.

“Death to the Shah” in imitating what everyone else is crying. Everybody is saying the same thing. Everybody is making the same argument. There has probably never been another time in history when everybody has united to make the same cry—when the claims raised in the farthest reaches of Iran, in the most distant Iranian cities, have been the same as those raised in the country’s capital. But this is exactly the case now; and it is when a nation reaches this stage that it is sure to succeed. There is no way that this nation can now be defeated when it is standing up to oppression, confronting the tyrants and those with tanks and cannons with its bare hands and refusing to give in.

Various propaganda campaigns have now got under way. In fact these campaigns were already under way before but they have now been stepped up in an effort to break this unity between the people, to disband the various fronts, and to make certain people knuckle under. It has even been said that they intend to arrange for a group of SAVAK agents disguised as students to shout communist slogans in the university, when the university opens; that is in order to give the impression that if the Shah were to go then communist rule would take his place! But this Shah is even worse than the communists. Anybody would be better than this person, this Shah! What has this man ever done for our country? Has he done anything other than churn out false propaganda? What vast sums of money go toward propaganda, both at home and abroad, so that the foreign and national press will write lies for him. These are the kinds of things he gets up to, as well as being engaged in the accumulation of wealth and the acquisition of land and luxury for himself throughout the world. This is all he does! Other than this, what else does he do? ... He is either busy killing and beating the people or busy using them for his own gain! He is taking advantage and is squandering this nation’s wealth.

We have one thing to say and that is that those who are seated at the head of this table of spoils called Iran, along with the people and countries who have come from all over to join them, are feeding from this table of spoils while this nation of ours goes hungry. We argue that this must not be so. We say that this country of ours which is rich in oil and other resources must be left to us. We will run it ourselves. And should we want to enlist the help of experts, we will do the enlisting. Why should you do the enlisting, paying God knows how many hundreds of thousands of tumans per month to those enlisted?! We shall recruit experts without the need to resort to such measures. We shall recruit a different kind of expert, ones that we have trained ourselves.

From the time when Amir Kabir founded Iran's first university some seventy years ago¹ right up to the present, they prevented our youth from receiving adequate education and training, and from being able to perform a job of work competently. They impeded the progress of our youth. They ensured that no one could receive adequate education in our universities. They prevented those in the armed forces from receiving proper military training. American supervisors mislead these servicemen, that is, they instruct them in a way beneficial to themselves! Our culture has become that of the imperialists. We must have our own indigenous culture. These foreign cultures are ones which prevent our children from being properly educated. Now, even when he (the Shah) needs a tonsillectomy, he has someone brought in from Europe to perform the operation!² You are the one who talks of how you took the country to a great civilization and yet even your tonsillectomy is performed by someone from abroad. So evidently you can't do anything for yourselves! They want to lay a railway track from 'a' to 'b', so they bring someone from abroad to do it! Then they sign a contract with a company like the one which laid so many meters of track and then made off with the money leaving the job uncompleted! This is the kind of havoc they play with this country. The Soviet Union takes its gas³ and America takes its oil!⁴ When we say we want an Islamic government, we want a stop to be put

¹ Founded in 1848 by Amir Kabir, *Dar al-Funun* in Tehran was the first modern *madrasah* to be established in Iran. The two other *madrasahs*, which had been founded prior to this in Iran, were that in Urumiyah, founded in 1835 by an American named Parkins, and the *madrasah* in Tabriz, set up in 1836 by a French man named Eugene Buret. These two so-called 'religious' *madrasahs* had been established by foreigners to serve the particular interests of their own sovereign states.

² This is probably a reference to Dr. Fulandir, the famous French hematologist who came to Iran to treat the Shah.

³ In accordance with the fifteen-year contract which was concluded between Iran and the Soviet Union in 1967, Iran was to export gas to the Soviet Union via a gas pipeline which was to be constructed. The amount of gas piped was to have reached 10 billion cubic meters by 1975 meaning that the amount stipulated in the original contract would have to be doubled annually. The Soviet Union had undertaken to pay Iran a sum of 6 dollars and 6 cents in exchange for every 1,000 cubic meters of gas.

⁴ Following the coup d'état of Mordad 28 [August 19], Iran's oil was left in the hands of the consortium. The main shareholders of the consortium were American and British oil companies which, with each other's help, took part in the extraction, processing and sale of Iran's oil. In 1954 (1333 AHS), the National Iranian Oil Company was established under the auspices of the consortium. In principle this company was responsible for running the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's administrative affairs and had absolutely nothing to do with the extraction and refinement of oil. The NIOC's share in oil exports from 1969 until 1973 was 0.3%, whereas that of the consortium during the same period was as high as 92% (!) (The

to these libertines. It is not that we want to return to the kind of life lived 1,400 years ago, as the Shah alleges. It is the judicial laws of 1,400 years ago to which we want to return and not the lives of those who lived then. No indeed, we gladly welcome and accept any signs of civilization; but what they have to offer are not such signs. Are all of these murders a sign of civilization?! Enforcing martial law and attacking the people tooth and nail, are these signs of civilization?! Is giving away our oil to others in return for arms which we are incapable of using a sign of civilization? We don't have the trained personnel who know how to use these arms they bring to Iran! Foreign consultants have to supervise the use of these weapons themselves!¹ They have formed a military base here—an American military base under the pretext of wanting to do this and that for our country! An American military base, here, in Iran! We argue that we don't want our country to be in the shambles that this man, this servant, has created for the sake of his masters.

You who are young cannot remember, but I (who am older) can recall that from the very beginning, from the very first day of Rida Khan's coup d'état, it was the British who actually conducted the coup! And once Rida Shah had gone, having been taken to some island or other,² I myself heard the British state over Delhi Radio that they had placed Rida Shah on the throne, but that they had later got rid of him because he had betrayed them!³

remainder belonging to other foreign companies outside the consortium). Iran's oil revenue in 1975/76 reached 17,441 million dollars, 15,867 million dollars of which came from oil exported via the consortium. The NIOC received 874 million dollars, 700 million dollars going to other oil company shareholders! A comparison of these figures reveals how the consortium, after nationalization of the oil industry in 1973, had more or less retained its powerful position, while also showing the extent to which America and Britain were busy plundering the oil reserves of Iran.

¹ Before the revolution, the Iranian army was unable to use any weapons bought from America without the help of American specialists and advisers. This was due to inadequate training both with regard to the quality and the amount of training given; a deficiency in introductory and foundation course training; and other issues of political concern. The extent of Iran's military dependency on America was so great that the Iranian army was incapable of managing its own affairs without the daily assistance of America, any kind of aviation or aircraft maintenance only being possible under American supervision and with the help of their technical expertise. Today, the Iranian army employs military equipment without foreign assistance, and indeed its experts train others in the use of advanced equipment and arms.

² The island of Mauritius.

³ On November 5, 1941 [Aban 14, 1320 AHS], two months after Rida Khan had fled Iran, British Radio, in one of its political commentaries, openly spoke of Britain's tendentious friendship with Iran and of having brought Rida Khan to power. In this regard it stated: "British political policy in Iran is one based upon friendship: both a friendship with an underlying purpose and a friendship without an underlying purpose. As for the friendship

Mr. Muhammad Rida Khan himself also attested to this in something he wrote—it may have been in that book “Serving My Country”¹—but realizing that this was an improper thing to say, they later had it erased from the text! He had written that: “The Allies, after occupying Iran, thought it fitting that I should remain, and they agreed to my accession to the throne.” But be that as it may, it is you, your eminence, who is the puppet! To say that: “They saw it fitting that I should remain,” is to say: “They placed me on the throne,”² We argue that we don’t want that person who the Allies have seen fit to bring here, and who is now working for them and doing all he can for them, pouring whatever we have down the drain. We have no independence; we have no freedom of speech; we have no freedom of the pen. We have nothing.

In an agricultural country such as this, which should be exporting its agricultural produce on a grand scale, an official report stated that there were

which has no underlying purpose, this is enjoyed by the learned men only, for other than this the friendship held between the British government and Iran or any other country for that matter is not and cannot be void of personal motives... Once we saw how suspicious the Iranian nation was toward the treaty concluded in 1919, believing it to be based upon ulterior motives, we annulled the treaty and instead gave the Iranian government help and encouragement to establish order in its own country. The underlying reason why we gave help and encouragement to Rida Khan was that...our opponents used to accuse us of controlling Rida Shah’s actions and claim that whatever he did was in compliance with our instructions. But this was not in fact the case! When we realized however that Germany’s evil designs and the Shah’s negligence were endangering our interests, then we were forced to reluctantly take this course of action (i.e. the sending of Rida Khan into exile)”. Refer also to *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye Mu’assir-e Iran*, vol. 1, pp. 127-128.

¹ Referring to the first book attributed to the Shah: *Mission for My Country*. The Shah made claim to being the author of three ‘great and important’ books, and he was convinced that the leaders of underdeveloped countries ought to read these works and achieve development and prosperity for their own countries by adopting the principles and socio-political theories found therein! These books, which were all the product of a specific period of the Shah’s reign, are entitled: *Mission for my Country*, *White Revolution*, and *Toward the Great Civilization*. It seems likely that the author of the latter book was Shujaiddin Shafa, who had been in charge of cultural affairs during Rida Shah’s reign, and was Muhammad Rida Shah’s ambassador to London.

² On January 26, 1965 [Bahman 6, 1343 AHS], the Shah, in a message delivered to the people of Iran on the occasion of the anniversary of the announcement of the White Revolution (January 26, 1963), said: “He (Rida Khan) had to go. They felt that his son and successor was of the same sentiment as he, and of course this was so. So what was to be done? For two or three days the Allies of that time and the occupiers of Iran were hesitant about recognizing the new Iranian regime, that is my rule....but then they said well, the king must remain but the role of the king must be that of a powerless overseer.” This confession was later concealed from the public and all copies of it were collected. Refer to *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty, Memoirs of General Fardust*, vol. 1, p. 100.

only enough crops in Iran to suffice for something like thirty-three or thirty-four days' consumption, the remaining food requirements of the country having to be imported from abroad. Everyone can see how heaps of wheat, barley, eggs and so on are now continually brought in from abroad as well as all other kinds of things. They ruined Iran's agriculture in the name of 'land reforms'; that is to say they rendered the poor farmers and peasants helpless whereby they were no longer able to continue working their own fields. These poor farmers thus migrated and came to the outskirts of Tehran where they now live under miserable conditions; in a truly deplorable state. According to an account given to me in Najaf listing the number of people who live under such conditions and their whereabouts, a large number of people are scattered throughout Tehran in something like forty different areas where they live in small hovels and tents. In Tehran, the country's capital city, things are such that these people are living in hovels and tents! The report stated that in order to obtain a pitcher of water for their children, these people have to ascend a hundred steps or more from the deep hole in the ground in which they live, to reach this water tap which has been put there. In the bitter cold of winter, a woman has to carry her water pitcher all the way up those steps and then carry it back down again so as to take a jug of water to her children!

We say that this distressing situation must be rectified. Meanwhile however, the amount of money that they spend on themselves reaches exorbitant levels. The latest example of such expenditure about which I read concerned a certain villa which was bought for one of the Shah's sisters at heaven knows what price. I can't now recall exactly how much it cost but I know that it was a great amount of money. Five million dollars! Five million dollars on flower beds and floral displays!¹ And so we see the kind of lives they live. They are in fact much better off than this, so much so that it surpasses the imagination. Yet we also see how, even in the city of Tehran, a great number of people are living in a tent or a hovel, without any facilities. They have neither electricity for lighting nor water. As for tarmacked surfaces and the like, these poor people don't know the meaning of such things! When we say we want an Islamic government, we are saying that this situation must be done away with. The Shah says: "They say we must return

¹ The Shah's elder sister Shams had a fabulous palace named "Pearl" constructed on the moorland of south Karaj. This palace was built with the help of the most esteemed of British architects and the land on which it stood was bedecked with a multitude of beautiful plants and trees. To the west of this palace SAVAK built "Qezel Hisar," one of the most modern prisons in the country.

to the time when donkeys were the means of transport!”¹ But when we talk of an Islamic government this is not what we mean at all. Who has ever said that you must travel by donkey?! What we do say is that this situation must come to an end; and while Muhammad Rida and the Pahlavi dynasty remain in power we don’t see how our country can enjoy any kind of freedom or independence. This man is a puppet who has been put here by the imperialists. He is a man with a ‘mission’ for his country! He himself talks of having a “Mission for My Country”! And he is right in this; but it is a mission which has been assigned to him by America! He is commissioned by America to accomplish a mission for his country—a mission which requires that he prevent this poor country both from growing spiritually and from benefiting from its own wealth and resources. The wealth of this country is to go to America.

When we speak of an Islamic government, we are speaking of a government based on social justice. We maintain that we must have a ruler who will not fraudulently take from the treasury of the Muslims; who will not transgress by dipping into the treasury of the Muslims. This is the one argument by which we firmly stand. It is a reasonable argument which is acceptable to anyone no matter in which part of the world it may be raised. Today, the people of our country have risen up in revolt due to this person’s betrayal of us. This person has misappropriated our wealth; he has taken our wealth from this country and bought villas² for himself elsewhere, his family and devoted followers thereby living in grand style while we here remain hungry. But now those who are hungry have united to say that they don’t

¹ On June 8, 1963 [Khordad 18, 1342 AHS], while presenting title deeds to farmers, the Shah made an address in which he said: “Just what did the Black Reaction do on Wednesday, Khordad 15, 1963? It set fire to the library in Shahr Park because it has no use for anything based on knowledge and learning which answers today’s needs. It set fire to the sports arena, to vehicles, and to bus ticket booths; and it did this in all likelihood because it believes that in this century, when the world is conquering space, we ought to be riding on donkeys or mules!”

² Authors have said that to determine precise statistics with regard to the land and property owned abroad by the Shah and his close relatives is by no means an easy task; and that moreover, a complete list of such possessions is not in fact available. A few examples of such possessions which were owned by the Shah are as follows: several hectares of land in Australia; several large islands in Italy owned by Farah (the Shah’s wife); vast areas of the banks of Geneva Lake; four glorious places in the highly sought-after areas of Paris and Switzerland; the village of Saint Moritz; an entire ski slope and a winter palace in Switzerland; several large palaces in California, Texas and Florida. Refer to Mas’ud Ansari, *Man va Khandan-e Pahlavi*; *Pas az Suqut*; Husayn Fardust, *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*; *Kayhan* newspaper, February 25, 1979; and William Shawcross, *The Shah’s Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally*, to name but a few.

want this person to remain; so now what do you (the Shah) have to say for yourself? This is all we are arguing; this is all we have to say and nothing more.

Let me also now add that the press here can write whatever they like. Let them write that Islam is reactionary if they so wish, but let both them and yourself (the Shah) answer me this—let the entire newspapers of the world join together to explain why, when we have oil reserves, copper reserves, and other kinds of reserves, when we have everything we could need, why are they taking it all from us? Why are they plundering our wealth? We, a weak, backward nation don't wish to be plundered! You yourself say we are a backward nation, that may be the case, but we don't want to be backward for God's sake! You, the one who commits plunder are ahead of the times while we, the ones who are being plundered are behind the times! You are plundering the people because you have reached the gateway to civilization! Perhaps others have not yet reached that stage whereby you can grant them freedom! This good-for-nothing says that these people are not yet ready for freedom! They have not yet reached that stage! Just what is this supposed to mean?! How come they have not reached the stage whereby they can be granted freedom?!¹ Is it because they cry out and question your wrongdoings? Does this mean they have not yet reached the required stage? Must they indeed remain silent in order to reach that stage?! Are they to say nothing from now on no matter how much they are beaten and ill-treated, until they have reached that stage which permits them to be granted freedom?!

Today, our country is up in arms; and this uprising is one in which we all have a duty to play a part. That is to say, anyone who belongs to this country (of Iran)—from myself, a mere *talabah* (student of religious sciences), to you who are students, or to he who is a merchant or a businessman—each one of us must support his fellow countrymen in order to bring about a success, since reason dictates that one should involve oneself in such an affair. The Iranian people are laying claim to the most basic of human rights. To say: 'I want to be free, I want freedom of speech, I want to be independent, I want to stand on my own two feet' is to ask for the most basic of human rights; and

¹ In several of his speeches the Shah had implied that there would be a price to pay for granting freedom to the people! Both during a speech given to commemorate the opening of the upper and lower Houses of Parliament, and again in an interview given to mark the occasion of Mordad 28 (i.e. the 1953 coup), the Shah said: "I had said before in response to a question, that this is the price we have to pay in order to achieve freedom. But at that time I didn't think that the price would be so high!" The complete version of this interview was printed in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of August 19, 1978 [Mordad 28, 1357 AHS].

this is what we argue. It is an argument which would be accepted by anyone no matter where it were to be voiced. We all have a duty to fight for this cause. We are to give help in whatever way possible to those of our brothers who are making sacrifices. We are to send whatever we can to help those who are now at the battlefield so to speak. We are to do whatever we can: by way of writing, speaking, making statements, demonstrating, or by any other means. This is our stand.

May God, Exalted and Mighty, grant all of you success. I pray that you may be among the rightly guided in this struggle; that you may be among those who fight against corruption. I pray for you to be granted a favorable result in this struggle, while also attaining the favor of Almighty God. The objective is for the Muslim nations to be strong, to be powerful and to be prosperous. May God help you to successfully attain this objective.

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty-Two

Date: October 13, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 21, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 10, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Human rights and the Shah's American reforms

Occasion: The continuation of martial law and nationwide strikes

Those present: A group of students and Iranians resident in Paris

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Even though martial law was still being enforced, people paid even less attention than before to the warnings and threats of martial law officials, be it in Tehran or in the provinces. Demonstrations continued to be held and the majority of office employees were on an all-out strike. The newspapers were also playing their part in the protest by printing news and up to the minute reports to the best of their ability despite receiving daily threats from martial law officials and certain anonymous persons (SAVAK members). On Wednesday, October 11, 1978 (Mehr 19, 1357 AHS), however, press employees also began to take strike action in protest against the overwhelming suppression of news and against the appointment of a military censor to the press editorial board.

This strike action taken by the press received the support of religious and political groups as well as people from different segments of society. On Sharif Imami's instructions, Manuchehr Azmun, the Minister of State in charge of administrative affairs, and Dr. 'Amili Tehrani, the Minister for Information and Tourism, tried their utmost to bring the press strike to an end, but these devoted writers would only return to work on condition that the government gave an "official assurance" that censorship would be totally lifted. Other than a number of newspapers and magazines whose proprietors were totally at the Shah's service and which only printed those statements made by martial law officials, the rest of the press stayed out on strike for four days. Eventually, Sharif Imami's government conceded and on the afternoon of October 14, 1978 (Mehr 22, 1357 AHS), in a three-article statement it announced that censorship would be lifted and the press would be allowed to operate freely.

The secret which lay behind the Iranian nation's universal following of Imam Khomeini's leadership and their devotion to his aims and ideals can be discovered from one of the highlights of a statement made by Imam Khomeini (a) to the nation on October 12, 1978 (Mehr 20, 1357 AHS):

“... At present I am continuing to serve here. When it comes to the Islamic movement or to serving the Muslim people, one’s place of residence or the suffering one endures there is of no import. What does matter is one’s duty; the voice of one’s conscience. No matter what service I may be of, or what may befall me, this can be nothing but a source of embarrassment for me before you who have given lives in the fight for freedom and Islam. That which gives me pleasure and satisfaction living here in this place—a place which brings pain and suffering—is serving you. I see myself as someone who shares in the grief of those families nationwide who are a source of pride and honour.”

The inexorable attributes of Imam Khomeini were his faith and trust in God, his fulfilment of his religious duties and obligations, and his trenchancy, honesty and humility before the people—characteristics which he faithfully retained from the onset of his religious movement until the moment of his death.

In the statement issued on the occasion of the fortieth day following the tragedy at Jaleh Square when hundreds of people were killed by martial law agents, Imam declared Monday, October 16, 1978, a day of public mourning. A joint statement signed by their eminencies Gulpaygani and Mar’ashi Najafi and Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shari’atmadari was also issued in which the aforementioned voiced their support for the general shutdown proposed for this day. Part of this joint statement reads as follows: “... With Monday’s shutdown, the Muslim people will once again demonstrate their unity, and whilst conducting themselves with the utmost poise and calm, they will exhibit the nation’s awareness and the unified stance it has taken against the sowers of discord and the creators of conflict.”¹

In this speech (32), whilst referring to the restrictions placed by the Iraqi and French governments on his political activities, Imam Khomeini announces his determination to continue in his chosen path and states: “... They said: ‘We have certain commitments towards the Iranian government...’ and I said something like: ‘That may be so, but I too have certain commitments towards Islam and towards the Iranian nation—commitments which I too am unable to ignore.’”

In another part of his address, Imam criticises the total disregard shown towards “human rights,” and he strongly condemns the international community’s silence towards the plunder of resources in the East by the Soviet Union, China, and the Western governments, especially America.

¹ *Nihdat-i Ruhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 8, p. 163.

Imam then argues that the American government is responsible for the continued perpetration of crimes by the Shah and for the destruction of Iranian agriculture. Having conveyed the message of the Iranian nation for the whole world to hear, announcing the latter's state of oppression and its desire for freedom, Imam gives a detailed explanation of how struggling in this path constitutes a religious and moral duty for those from all the various social classes and groups both within and without the country.

Imam Khomeini condemns the defeated reasoning of those who justify their silence and support for the Shah's regime both on Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) and thereafter by use of the insidious slogan "Flesh cannot fight against the bayonet," and he says: "If an entire nation were to stand up and demand its rights then the bayonet could not stand in its way." Imam, in emphasising the importance of the slogan "Death to the Shah" and in stressing the need for this slogan's continued use, comes down hard on those parties, societies and personages who attempt to alter the movement's course by employing slogans other than the aforementioned—i.e. by using slogans which are meant to mislead and cause deviation.

Speech Number Thirty-Two

As a result of pressure from the Iranian government, Iraq asked us to back down somewhat and to put an end to our activities against Iran. I refused this request. Then they sent an official notice to me via the Security Organization of Najaf which I took from them and put to one side I did not reply to the notice but instead continued with my activities. It was about a year later that their relentless pursuit intensified, that being the time when we had become increasingly active and when, in addition to making statements and engaging in other activities, I had also begun to give interviews to *Le Monde* and other foreign newspapers.¹ This time the head of Public Security² came to see me in person. He reiterated former requests, saying something to the effect that I could engage in whatever activities I chose but that I was not to give interviews. This was of no concern to me for I was not used to giving interviews anyway. I therefore gave him no reply. Later however, I gave yet another interview with some people who had come from France, following which the latter were detained by the Iraqis as they were leaving my house.³

¹ Imam was not fond of giving press interviews. He himself explained the reason for this when he said: "The international press are more concerned with sensationalism and tittle-tattle than with the misfortunes of the Iranian people or the repression they have to suffer". On April 24, 1978 (Ordibehesht 4, 1357 AHS), Lucien George, a correspondent for the illustrious and widely-read French newspaper *Le Monde*, made a request to interview Imam Khomeini. For a long time, those in the West had been waiting for Imam to agree to speak to them to find out the reason for his opposition to the Shah's regime and to discover what his future plans were with regard to the revolution—that is, they wanted to hear Imam himself, this great Shi'ah *marja*, explain the reasons behind the national and religious struggle. Initially Imam did not want to consent to an interview with *Le Monde*, but once he became aware of the paper's past record and of how it had published certain truths in the past about the state of Iran thus disclosing some of the crimes committed by the Shah, he eventually granted their request to interview him. The interview which was subsequently held was totally frank and explicit and turned out to be extremely important, for it had a truly positive impact and stirred much interest in the West, not least because of the paper's high reputation and its wide readership.

² The Security Organization.

³ On September 14, 1978 [Shahrivar 23, 1357 AHS], a group of news reporters from French radio and television came to Baghdad, supposedly in response to an invitation by the Iraqi Radio and Television Broadcasting Company. During the night, this group secretly made for Najaf where they visited Imam and conducted an interview with him. Once the interview and filming had finished, the Iraqis, who had somehow found out about the whole affair, detained the French reporters. Friends of Imam managed to hide the sound tapes on which the interview

After this it was stressed that I was to treat Iraq as my own home—to use their own words—and that I was to live as I pleased, but I was not to engage in political activities. The gist of their argument was that a clergyman should confine himself to preaching and to discussing religious questions, to which I replied: “Islam is not separate from politics. Islam is not like religions found elsewhere, it is not like other religions which confine themselves to prayer and worship. In Islam, politics is seen in the same light as other religious precepts. Hence, I shall continue to interfere in political affairs; I shall both issue statements and record my messages on cassette tapes; and should I deem it necessary, I shall say what I have to say from the pulpit for this is a religious duty of mine.” They then said: “But we have certain commitments toward the Iranian government in the light of which we cannot allow this kind of thing to take place.” I responded by saying something like: “That may well be so, but I too have certain commitments toward Islam and toward the Iranian nation; and I too am unable to ignore these commitments.” Our discussion ended with them again saying that I was not to engage in political activities, and with me saying that I had every intention of continuing to be engaged in such activities. They then placed me under house arrest. It wasn’t that they told me not to leave my home of course, but it was a case of them preventing anyone from entering it. Those Iranians who used to visit me in my home were now prevented from doing so, and on one day in particular all but two or three people from a group of religious students were refused permission to see me. Thus throughout this period I did not leave my home,¹ and this gave rise to certain incidents in Iran of which you are all aware. Then I realized that were I to remain at home and do nothing, and were I to confine my activities to studying and...then this would be against my principles.

Many lives have now been lost in Iran. They have killed both children and adults, and they continue to do so, on a daily basis. This kind of thing is

had been recorded, but any film and photographs taken during the interview were destroyed by the Iraqis.

¹ Because of Imam’s house arrest, none of his messages were transmitted for a two-week period. Meanwhile, a flood of letters protesting about the situation in Najaf began to arrive. *Maraji’*, *ulama*, clergymen and various Iranian political groups and figures from both within Iran and from abroad objected to the Iraqi government’s actions. In addition, workers, civil servants and members of the bazaar inside Iran expressed their disgust at the behavior of both Iran and Iraq by engaging in a general shutdown and strike. Strike action was taken on September 24 [Mehr 2] by workers at the Abadan oil refinery; on September 25 by employees of the Tehran Telecommunications Company; on September 27 by workers at the Khark oil refinery; and on September 29 by employees of the Water Board and the State Railways.

also going on now in the universities. The newspapers in Iran tell of how, either yesterday or the day before, eighty-odd, eighty-five people were wounded in the university. It is plain to see what went on—the Iranian government has given the go-ahead and so many have been killed as a result.¹ They are attacking this nation tooth and nail. Not only do they take whatever the people of this nation possess away from them, they are now taking away their lives too. How can we sit by and watch while things like this are taking place? How can our consciences permit us, how can our faith permit us to sit by and watch while they gun down and kill the children of Islam? We shall make our voices heard as much as we possibly can, as much as the various governments allow us to, in order to tell the world of the kind of situation that prevails in Iran.

I doubt whether any other nation is like that of Iran at the present time, for right now Iran is being governed throughout by martial law. Martial law has been enforced in all the major Iranian cities—that is in about twelve cities which constitute the principal cities of the country—and it is also in force elsewhere in Iran, meaning that the Iranian military is now running the country.² And now, according to the regime, a member of the military is to

¹ See the *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 15, 1978 [Mehr 23, 1357 AHS].

² Isfahan was the first city in which martial law was declared. On Thursday and Friday, August 10 and 11, 1978 [Mordad 19-20, 1357 AHS], huge demonstrations and marches were staged in this city, which, due to the intervention of government troops, resulted in a vast number of demonstrators being killed and wounded and a number being held in custody. It was following this that on August 11, 1978, martial law was declared in Isfahan. The first statement to be made by the military governor of Isfahan (Major General Rida Naji), announced the imposition of a curfew which prohibited the circulation of people between 8 pm and 6 am, and declared the formation of any kind of social grouping in excess of three people categorically forbidden. The following day, Saturday, August 12, 1978, martial law was also declared in Najafabad. Due to the movement's expansion and the continued demonstrations, on September 8, 1978 [Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS], an official statement was issued which announced that in addition to Isfahan, martial law was also to be declared in Tehran, Qum, Tabriz, Mashhad, Shiraz, Kazerun, Abadan, Ahwaz, Karaj, Qazvin and Jahrom. Between 2 pm on Saturday, February 9, 1978, and the morning of Sunday, February 10, the military governor of Tehran issued four different statements numbered 40, 41, 42, and 43. Statement number 40 specified that the hours of curfew were to be from 4.30 pm until 5 am. However, word immediately spread throughout the city that Imam Khomeini had proclaimed the military governor to be without legitimate authority, and thus people were not to obey these regulations. On hearing this, people began to collect sand and sacks and by building barricades across the streets they in effect broke the imposed curfew. Some of these people carried side arms and were covered by a group of youngsters who were equipped with firearms, and who turned the streets into fields of combat during the hours of the curfew.

become the Prime Minister. They say that Fereidun Jam¹ is to become Prime Minister. He too is a member of the armed forces. But no matter what they do, these people (the regime) can no longer survive. The Shah can no longer survive, other than under the military flag or behind the bayonets of the military—a military which itself is being held at the point of the bayonets of America. Who knows whether the Iranian army would in fact continue to obey the regime as it now does if it weren't for the American bayonet. The army has also now awakened; it too is comprised of human beings; it too is Iranian; it too can see what is going on in Iran. Not a day goes by without the people showing their discontent in some city or other, upon which they are immediately beaten and killed or whatever.

But in spite of the present state of Iran, despite the turbulent situation which now prevails in this country, these great nation states make claim to being philanthropists! They claim to support human rights! This is sheer nonsense. These things which they have set up for the sake of human rights, security and so on, neither provide security for mankind nor do they protect their rights. The whole set-up is to enable them to devour these weaker nations. All of the efforts which are seen to be made by these 'superpowers' toward the protection of human rights etc., are but a cover-up; they form part of an organized plan—the plan being for these 'superpowers' to devour the Eastern countries, the weaker countries.

There are many reserves in the East.² There are many oil reserves in the East; in Kuwait for example,³ or the Hijaz,¹ or in Iran.² Yes, here the reserves

¹ Fereidun Jam, the first husband of Shams Pahlavi and a general and commanding officer of the armed forces, later became appointed as the Iranian ambassador to France. He came to Iran during Bakhtiyar's premiership, and it was rumored that he had refused an offer of a position in the Ministry of Defense, after which he went to England. Mr. Jam, who was sixty-four years old at the time, said in an interview with *The Sunday Telegraph*: "Iran has a bleak future; a future stained with blood." For further information on this loyal monarchist refer to the memoirs of the former General Husayn Fardust in *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, pp. 63, 244.

² Apart from the oil of Iran, Arabia and Kuwait, the amount of oil produced by other Eastern countries was as follows:

Iraq - 31 billion barrels in 1980

Oman - 2.4 billion barrels in 1980

Qatar - 5.6 billion barrels in 1978

United Arab Emirates - 31.3 billion barrels in 1978

Syria - 2 billion barrels in 1980

Bahrain - 270 million barrels in 1978

³ Kuwait possesses almost 20% of the world's oil deposits. This oil is extracted by the National Oil Company of Kuwait in which the Kuwaiti government has a 60% shareholding, the remaining shares belonging to American, British and Japanese companies. Kuwait's oil

are so great that all of these foreigners have their eyes fixed on them, and they are just being allowed to take them away free of charge. Do you imagine that America gives Iran money for these reserves? Indeed not; instead it establishes a military base for itself there and these weapons which they claim to have sold to Iran have in fact been given in exchange for oil. They are the weapons which America itself wants to have in Iran along with its military bases, so that it can ensure that the Soviet Union never launches an attack. It is not a case of them having given us something. This is all part of a game they are playing with us.

These 'superpowers' which go by different names—one being called 'communist', another 'communist China', yet another being called 'socialist' whatever, and again others being known as some '-ist' or other—these are all out to devour us irrespective of their names. At least four thousand were killed during the wholesale massacre which took place in Tehran³—one

reserves amounted to over 65.4 billion barrels in 1980 and its enormous fields of gas reserves are seen as one of the country's great national assets. Seventy-five percent of Kuwait's national revenue comes from oil, 15% from foreign investment and trade and the remainder from non-oil industries.

¹ Oil was firstly discovered in the Hijaz in the year 1933 and began to be exported from this country from the year 1938. The Hijaz has the capability of extracting 12 million barrels of oil per day, an amount which it can potentially increase to 16 million barrels. In 1984 its daily oil production amounted to between 7 and 8 million barrels and its total oil reserves have been estimated at approximately 160 billion barrels which constitutes 25% of the globe's proven reserves! Other estimates of the oil reserves in the Hijaz however, have quoted an even greater figure of 250 billion barrels. For a more extensive report refer to *OPEC va Atharat-e Takhribi-ye Qaymat-e Naft* [OPEC and the Destructive Effects of the Oil Price], p. 73.

² Massive oil reserves are to be found in many parts of Iran such as Khuzestan, Bakhtaran, Lorestan, Kurdistan, Azerbaijan, Gorgan, Mazandaran, Semnan, Qum and Baluchistan. The major oilfields in which oil extraction currently takes place comprise: the oil wells of Masjid-e Sulayman, Haftgol, Aqajari, Paznan, Gachsaran, Ahwaz in addition to other wells situated in both on-land and off-shore regions. In 1971, Iran's oil reserves were estimated at 80 billion barrels (although the book *OPEC va Atharat-e Takhribi-ye Qaymat-e Naft* quotes a figure of 58 billion barrels). Yet forecasts made by experts suggest that Iran's actual oil reserves in fact greatly exceed its proven reserves. For further information refer to *Naft, Siyasat va Kudeta* [Oil, Politics and Coup], vol. 3, from p. 146 onwards.

³ Once the demonstration and marches staged on Thursday, September 7, 1978 (Shahrivar 16, 1357 AHS) had come to an end, it was announced that the following day's demonstration was to take place at Shuhada Square (Zhaleh Square). On Friday morning people set off to reach the Square and by about 6 am those who had gathered numbered 100,000 people. However, armed forces had cordoned off the Square on all four sides and their rifles were aimed toward the people from all directions. At this point the unexpected announcement declaring that martial law was in force both in Tehran and ten other cities was made over the radio and the regime's forces immediately began to fire at the people. On this day, which later became

report put this figure at twenty thousand but this is an exaggeration, the actual figure being four thousand; four thousand is the figure which is repeatedly quoted and which has been said to agree with the number of burials performed at that time at Tehran's cemetery.¹ Yet you all saw how, on that very same day, as these very murders were being committed, the leader of 'communist' China—a China which is said to be 'communist', which supposedly advocates fairness with the people and so on, and which some of our youngsters mistakenly regard as worthy of emulation—came to Iran and shook hands with this tyrant, the Shah. He never uttered a word about what was going on, but instead offered the Shah his support.² He didn't even bother to ask why on earth the Shah was killing these people or what they had done to deserve this. What they had in fact done was to say that they want freedom and to demand other human rights. They had said that they want to be free; their cry was for freedom and independence. But nevertheless, this Chinese Premier didn't even bother to point out that these were human beings that were being killed; nor did he take the trouble to ask why they were being treated so. They are now killing small children, primary school children; it is as if adults were no longer within their reach. The news of such occurrences reaches us here on a daily basis. Even within the last two or three days they killed a number of small primary school children somewhere—twelve small boys and girls were killed by them on this occasion.³ Yet this person never said a thing to that vicious individual (the Shah) to ask what on earth he was doing. Instead he came and shook hands with him. The two greeted each other with open arms, and later the Chinese leader departed, laughing as he did so at the poor masses of people he was leaving behind him in the troubled country of Iran. Our youngsters are

known as "Black Friday", over 4,000 were actually martyred and hundreds wounded. The Shah's regime, however, announced that only 58 people had been killed and 25 wounded!

¹ The bodies of a number of those martyred on Black Friday [Shahrivar 17] were laid to rest in a section of Behesht-e Zahra cemetery which has since been named "The Martyrs of Shahrivar 17".

² On August 29, 1978 [Shahrivar 7, 1357 AHS], just when the movement was escalating, Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Premier, came to Iran by invitation of the Shah on a four-day visit. His stay coincided both with the dissolution of Jamshid Amuzegar's government and the appointment of Sharif Imami's government, and with the burning of the Rex Cinema in Abadan. The Shah boastfully sensationalized the fact that great nation states such as China still regarded him as a powerful sovereign and that they had pledged their support for him. Hua Kuo-feng, however, was hopeful that by accepting the Shah's invitation to come to Iran, he would be able to gain further important concessions from her.

³ For further information concerning the participation of school-children in demonstrations and their embroilment with martial law officers, refer to the newspapers published at that time.

mistaken; they are making a grave mistake in believing that these communist people can serve them in any way.¹ As for those who sit in the Kremlin, their country actually expressed its support for the Shah in the Russian press² with regard to Khordad 15—the day that 15,000 Iranian people were killed. And it has now expressed support for the Shah again, despite all the killings which take place in some Iranian city or other each day. These (imperialist powers) only do these things because one of them wants Iran's gas, and another wants its oil: one is taking the country's gas, and the other its oil. They are all trying to keep this weak nation in a state of backwardness; they are trying to ensure that it does not wake up. Their propagandists and the propaganda disseminated by them always carry a message which is anti-religion and anti-clergy in an attempt to alienate the people from these two forces. They want to drive a wedge both between the people and religious faith, and between the people and the clergy, leaving the people to quarrel among themselves while they sit back and make the most of the situation. We are to lose lives while Muhammad Rida Khan is to capitalize from the situation: his superiors having even more to gain than himself from this state of affairs.

What is this nation left with? What remains for the people other than suppression and military rule; other than martial law; other than the beating and killing of whoever ventures out of his home? The situation in which Iran now finds itself is an exceptional situation. Just consider whether a similar situation exists at all anywhere else in the world. Is there anywhere else in the world where martial law is in force throughout the entire country; a martial law which cannot be lifted? Indeed, they can't lift martial law in Iran even if they want to, because the people are in a defiant state; they are standing up and challenging the regime. Even now, while martial law is in force they are standing their ground. But just what is it they are shouting as

¹ It refers to those misled and uninformed youngsters who, as a result of political propaganda, espouse Communism.

² Later the followers of Socialism went even further, whereby on June 8, 1963 [Khordad 18, 1342 AHS], only three days after the bloody event of Khordad 15 when many were martyred, the newspaper *Ezvestia* of the official Communist Party in Russia, wrote: "Yesterday in the capital of Iran (Tehran), as well as in Mashhad, Qum and other major religious centers of that country, groups of revolutionaries were encouraged to create riots by the religious leaders. They were opposing the governments land reforms and took advantage of the fact that this coincided with the religious ceremonies performed annually to commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husayn. Shooting proved to be an unsuccessful plea to stop. A few young fanatics looted shops and several cars were overturned. The implementation of anti-feudalist land reforms and the decision to give women the right to vote was opposed by land owners and religious leaders from the very start; and now these reactionaries are trying to move from verbal to active opposition" (published in *Ittilaat* and *Kayhan*, June 10, 1963).

they stand in confrontation? Are they saying that which Mr. Carter said yesterday? Mr. Carter had said that the Shah is only too willing to grant freedom to the people; that he wants to grant absolute freedom and create a progressive country, a progressive society, but that the people of Iran oppose this!¹ So it is a case of the people having risen up in opposition because they don't want freedom and the Shah wanting to force it upon them at bayonet-point! (Laughter from the audience). Bayonets are being used to bludgeon people into accepting freedom! People don't want a 'progressive' society, so the bayonet has come and said: "You have to want it!" One is made to wonder about this Mr. Carter. Does he know no better than this? Or is this the best trick he can pull? Is he trying to fool someone? Who on earth is he trying to fool? Perhaps he wants to fool those who are oblivious of the situation in Iran, those who are unaware of what is going on there, because both you and I are fully aware of what is presently going on in the country, and we know only too well what the people want and what they are shouting out.

The people are shouting: "We want our oil to be ours for goodness sake; we want our country's agriculture to return to what it once was." They have truly made a mess of our agriculture. These 'land reforms' which were proposed by the gentleman himself (the Shah) and about which he spoke so grandiloquently, were 'land reforms' which were to be implemented in accordance with the orders of the American government. These reforms were to take place in order to create a market in which the Americans could sell their goods: that is to say our agriculture was to fall into ruin, rendering us

¹ On October 15, the *Ittilaat* newspaper quotes Carter as saying: "Strategically-speaking, enjoying good relations with a strong and independent Iran is a matter of vital importance." Carter then pays tribute to the Shah for having established 'democratic principles' in Iran saying: "We are aware of the fact that certain people...oppose the establishment of democracy. This current opposition to the Shah has arisen due to the establishment of democratic principles in Iran, a country where anti-government demonstrations have recently been incited by Leftists and Conservatives"! Carter thus held that the reason for the people's opposition to the Shah was that they had been 'granted freedom'! Furthermore, in a meeting held on June 7, 1978 [Khordad 17, 1357 AHS] with the Iranian Affairs Investigative Committee for the Shah-People Revolution, the Shah said: "True patriots must tolerate the turmoil which has arisen for the present and they are only to make a move when the time is ripe... There are those who claim that the granting of freedom has given rise to this uproar and has been the cause of attacks on banks and of window-smashing. Nevertheless, I say to you that this is the price we have to pay in order to achieve our goal—that being to grant as much freedom as possible within the constraints of the law." Refer to *Rastakhiz*, June 7, 1978.

dependent upon others for our agricultural needs.¹ And sure enough, today we can see how whatever we want has to come from abroad. This is the state to which our agriculture has been reduced; and that is what they did to it for it to end up this way i.e. they introduced 'land reforms.' Naturally, people poured into the cities; those poor farmers who could no longer live there on the land poured into the cities and into Tehran.² Many shanty towns can now be seen in Tehran—between 30 and 40, according to the report sent to me—which consist of homes made from mud, homes which have nothing; or of small tents in each of which ten family members have to live throughout the bitter cold winter. These homes have no water. They are situated in a deep pit from where some fifty to sixty steps have to be climbed in order to reach the

¹ Land Reform was one of the main principles of neo-colonialism, which was urged on all the countries under the dominance of colonialism, from Latin America to Asia and Africa, and was implemented by the governments of these countries in a very similar manner. In 1962 [1342 AHS], the Shah launched the land reform program as the first tenet of his six-point 'White Revolution,' later renamed the 'Shah-People Revolution.' This 'Revolution' was not a revolution at all, rather it was put into effect on the one hand to win the confidence of American capitalism; to show his approval of and co-operation with the new strategy; and to open a new market for the Western economy, and on the other to curb internal discontent and actually prevent a revolution! The reform program, which was dependent on foreign, especially American investment, dragged the Iranian agrarian economy into bankruptcy, such that a few years after its implementation the country had been changed from a wheat exporter to a major wheat importer. In addition, as a result of the migration of villagers into the towns and cities and their attraction as a cheap work force to the industries and the service sector, over a period of eleven years from 1966-1977 [1345-56 AHS], 20,000 Iranian villages became uninhabited! Refer to *Farhang-e Danestaniha*, p. 239 and *Tarikh-e Novin-e Iran* [The Modern History of Iran], p. 219.

² Before the so-called 'White Revolution', 25% of Iran's entire population resided in cities, while the remainder worked as cattle or crop farmers in villages and small towns. Implementation of the tenets of the 'White Revolution' caused the population of Tehran to rise from 1,300,000 in 1961, to 3,000,000 in 1971, 4,500,000 in 1975 and 5,500,000 in 1978! Rural migration came about because the government appropriated the farmers' land which it then used to set up agricultural shareholding companies. These companies however, did not have the expertise of specialists and experts to draw on; and following the development of various companies in both agriculture and industry, the remaining land which had been shared among the farmers was also snatched from the latter by giant investment companies both in Iran and abroad. As a consequence, the farmers' situation seriously deteriorated. Hence, in a state of poverty and misery they automatically became drawn to the big cities where the lure of city life, the privilege of working for the foreign-affiliated industrial factories and the prospect of easily-obtained employment offered new hope. However, their migration not only upset the urban way of life but also critically impaired the agriculture in Iran, whereby Iran very soon became transformed into a consumer market for foreign goods. Refer to the memoirs of the former General Husayn Fardust in *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 273.

street's surface. Once the surface has been reached and water has been collected, it then has to be taken all the way back down these steps again to be given to the children. But why have things turned out this way? It is because he (the Shah) ordered for 'land reforms' to be carried out! It was these land reforms which caused the peasants' undoing and which consequently forced them to make for the towns. Thus they indeed came to the towns and this is the result. Those poor souls ended up living like this and our agriculture ended up in ruins. According to experts and those who have made the necessary calculations, Iran, which was once an important agricultural centre whose province of Azerbaijan alone probably produced enough agricultural produce to meet the needs of the entire nation, the country's remaining produce having to be exported, now has only enough agricultural produce to meet domestic demand for a thirty-three-day period, its remaining needs having to be brought in from abroad!

Not surprisingly, the Iranian people united in protest. All Iranians are now expressing discontent and strike action is being taken nationwide. If the military and this military law were removed, the people would dispose of this regime in no time, because they have seen its evilness. Can the case really be that they want to give these people freedom, but it is the people who do not like to live in comfort?! Don't these people like to have a good life?! Do they insist on having to sleep in holes beneath the ground?! Or is it in fact that these poor people can see how their wealth is being taken away while they are having to live beneath the ground, and it is to this situation that they object? Yes, this is what they are in fact shouting. So look at what Mr. Carter has said and look at what the people are saying. The people are asking why their oil is being taken away, and free of charge at that. They (the imperialists) take away our oil and the gentlemen here say that they have bought weapons in its stead. But what do you want with weapons? The weapons they have bought are weapons with which Iran is unfamiliar. Iran cannot put these weapons into use. These things which the imperialists have manufactured can only be operated by the fiends themselves; those in Iran don't know how to operate them. Foreign advisers came to Iran to establish a presence there. They have gone to turn our regime into a parasitic regime, which indeed it now is, and to study better ways to partake of this prize catch and to keep things the way they are. They want to maintain the status quo and for the Iranian nation to say nothing. A nation that speaks up is an uncivilized nation! The nation that cries out: "For heavens sake, allow us to be free" is an uncivilized nation! A nation that cries out: "Don't devour our wealth" is an uncivilized nation! But they, the imperialists and their puppets,

are not uncivilized. They are progressive. They have to devour the people's wealth. They have to pillage and plunder! Our nation, from its small children to its elderly, is now making its discontent heard because the people can see their country collapsing before their very eyes; they can see it disintegrating. Instead of the regime heeding the nation's cries, as indeed it ought, we see how people are losing their lives and how their children are being killed, and the regime insists that this is something which it has to do. Therefore it continues to kill. Hence, there you have the current state of affairs in Iran and the way things stand between these powerful governments and ourselves.

We are duty-bound. You and I who are now seated here, have a duty to join the Iranian people in their cries of protest; that is we must do what we can to help them. And in doing so we will actually be helping ourselves and not some outsiders, for the people in Iran have risen up in revolt for your sakes. Their blood is now being spilled for your sakes. It is for you that their children are being killed—their youngsters, their sons and their daughters. We must help these people. We mustn't think that because we are here, abroad, then we are not obliged to help them. Our consciences, our religion, and reason, all oblige us to join the people in their struggle, to offer these oppressed people our support—these people who have risen up in revolt with the intention of claiming what is rightly theirs and what is rightly ours also. We can write an article or have something printed in the press. We can tell the people here, abroad, including those in the universities which we attend, as much as possible about what is happening there in Iran. You are to publicize these issues. My good men, no matter where you may be, each and every one of you must make the situation in Iran known to the public. Speak out and do so from the bottom of your hearts. Even though the newspapers here sometimes write about these issues, this is not good enough; it must come from you—you are the ones who must do the talking or the writing. The whole world must be made aware of this agitated state in which Iran now finds itself.

If a whole nation stands up and demands its rights, then there is nothing the bayonet can do to stop it. The bayonet is by no means capable of taking on the human flesh in combat. It is a mistake to believe that human flesh alone cannot fight against the bayonet. Once a nation unanimously refuses to do something, even if all the great powers in the world join forces, they cannot force that nation to comply. They cannot now force Iran to accept the Shah; they are simply not able to do this. The Shah has been placed upon the Iranian throne; but the people do not accept him as their ruler. They cry out that they don't want the Shah. None of the people have ever been prepared to

consent to this matter. The Iranian people have never, and will never resign themselves to this disgrace, for they have seen how this person has let go of whatever was best for Islam and for the country, while at the same time he has claimed to have granted freedom to the people and to have made the country progress! We can all see for ourselves what is happening in our country; and this is the progress of which he speaks. As for freedom, this he has granted us at the point of a bayonet!

We have a duty to do all we can to serve the people in Iran; to help those helpless souls, to help those who have lost their young. We are human beings and must therefore do all we can to serve them. Yet helping them also means helping ourselves, meaning that we along with other Iranians are all partners and all stand to share whatever assets the country may have. Were our country autonomous, were it independent and in a state of calm, then we too would be able to live in calm and comfort for we too are a part of that country. Those in Iran have risen in revolt and we too must follow suit. It is no use making apologies with the excuse of being in Europe or America or wherever, while they who have risen are in Iran. This is no excuse. Although you are abroad those of you who are in America are to assist in this struggle as much as you can; those of you who are in Paris are to assist in this struggle as much as you can; I too, who am here in Paris, am to assist as much as I can. Now, as I am holding an audience with you, I can fulfill my duty by speaking to you and by advising you; and this is something which I shall continue to do. You in turn must speak to your friends, with those who are resident here in Paris, with those who live abroad or wherever; and together you must decide how to help this movement which is under way. Never before has history witnessed a movement like that which is now taking place in Iran. Never before in Iranian history has there been such a movement whereby the whole of Iran has risen up together; where small children have shouted: "Death to the Shah"; where old men have also cried out: "Death to the Shah". No—such a movement has never been witnessed before in Iran. Do not allow this movement to fade away, keep it alive so that we can get rid of those who now rule us, so we can get rid of this governing body and replace it with an honorable, uncorrupt government.

May God Almighty preserve you all; may you be successful. May God Almighty remove this evil from rule over the Muslims; may He remove the evil of these 'superpowers' so they will never again appoint their puppets to rule over the Muslim lands (the audience cries "Amen").

Someone in the audience: ["May God preserve you."]

Imam: "May you be successful."

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty-Three

Date: October 14, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 22, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 11, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The comprehensive and edifying dimensions of the Islamic school of thought

Occasion: The Shah's decision to carry out a wholesale massacre on the fortieth day following the martyrdom of those killed on September 8 (Shahrivar 17 AHS)

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing in Paris

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Forty days after the tragedy of September 8 (Shahrivar 17 AHS), Imam Khomeini (a) issued a declaration in which he declared Monday, October 16, 1978 (Mehr 24, 1357 AHS) a day of public mourning; high-ranking members of the clergy also called on the people to observe a general shutdown on this day.¹ Two or three days before this day arrived, rumours spread that members of the military and disciplinary forces had been instructed to steep their hands in blood and to use a heavy hand in crushing any proposed popular demonstrations. Again, two or three days before the proposed demonstration, armoured vehicles and trucks crammed with soldiers had been stationed in the key positions of every city. Unlike before, soldiers in various parts of Tehran now prevented the gathering of any social group which comprised more than a few people.

Meanwhile, on another front, the Baathist government of Iraq released an official statement which read: "Hadrat Ayatullah al-'Uzma Khomeini, leader of the world's Shi'i Muslims, went to France of his own volition." The official Iraqi news agency wrote: "Ayatullah al-'Uzma Khomeini will always be welcome in Iraq on condition that he abides by the laws which apply to those who have been granted political asylum and that he respects international regulations."²

¹ The *maraji-i taqlid* in Qum also issued a statement on October 15, 1978 (Mehr 23, 1357 AHS) with regard to the day of public mourning proposed for the following day. See the *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 15, 1978.

² These comments by the Iraqi government were made because of the pressure of public opinion, and were published at a time when yet another delegation of top officials was sent from Iran to Iraq on October 2, 1978 (Mehr 10, 1357 AHS), to hold talks with Sadun Shakir concerning mutual cooperation between the two regimes to tighten the restrictions placed upon Imam Khomeini (see the introduction to volume 1 of this anthology). In a meeting held in Tehran on October 4, 1978, the American ambassador to Iran states: "Talks held between the American Foreign Minister, Vance, and his Iranian counterpart, Afshar, have had a favourable

News of the restrictions placed by the French government on Imam Khomeini's activities in Paris, led merchants and tradesmen in Tehran to issue a statement which was subsequently quoted by the French newspaper *Liberation* as saying: "Members of the bazaar in Tehran have warned that should Ayatullah al-'Uzma Khomeini be harassed in any way then they will boycott French products."

During this time, amongst the reports which came in from the provinces, one told of a teacher who was martyred during a demonstration in the city of Durud in Luristan; another, of female political prisoners going on hunger strike in Qasr prison; and yet another of employees of the Medical Organisation joining others who were taking strike action.¹

The rumour concerning further killings which were to take place on the fortieth day following the martyrdom of those killed on September 8 (Shahrivar 17 AHS) grew stronger by the second. Anonymous persons continued to contact the newspapers stressing that: "... It is your duty to publish what I am about to tell you in the press in order to prevent anyone from being killed. Instructions have been given by His Imperial Majesty personally for the demonstrations to be put down with the utmost severity."

This news also reached Paris and disturbed Imam, whose comments bespeak this concern as follows: "They have just informed me that the Shah has decided to carry out a wholesale massacre during tomorrow's strike action—action which the Muslim people propose to take because of the lives that they have already lost..."

On Monday, i.e. forty days after the martyrdom of those killed on September 8, against all expectations, and in particular the expectations of the prying eyes of foreign onlookers, the whole of Tehran observed a general shutdown in response to the call made by Imam and the clergy, whereby not a single shop was open throughout the entire bazaar of Tehran. In addition, various demonstrations were held in different parts of the city during which officers pursued the people and the latter attempted to escape the officers; whilst the majority of schools across the country were also either totally or partially closed.

outcome. Mr. Afshar has spoken to the Iraqis in New York, and it would seem that Iran-Iraq relations have improved considerably."(!) *Farazhayi az Tarikh-i Inqilab beh Riwayat-i Asnad-i SAVAK va Amrika*. It is interesting to note that the American ambassador's remarks were made on the same day that Imam Khomeini was left with no alternative but to leave Najaf and head for the Kuwaiti border.

¹ The press of October 16, 1978 (Mehrs 24, 1357 AHS).

Dr. Nahavandi, the former head of Farah's administrative bureau, who held office as the Minister of Science and Higher Education in Sharif Imami's Cabinet, now hands in his resignation; but meanwhile Dr. Ali Amini announces: "I conditionally accept the premiership" and "The holding of direct talks between Ayatullah al-'Uzma Khomeini and myself will help to resolve many of the problems."

In many cities, the aforementioned mourning ceremonies developed into bloody demonstrations, the press reporting twelve killed and hundreds wounded in various cities across the country. A major incident which occurred at this time concerned the burning of the Friday Mosque in Kerman by the regime's hired thugs. Armed with clubs and shouting "Long live the Shah," the latter set about beating and cursing the audience of a sermon which was being delivered by one of the preachers. Government forces who served as a back-up for the thugs then fired tear-gas canisters amongst the people thereby rendering the latter totally incapable of defending themselves. The thugs then attacked the shops in the town, setting ablaze or looting any shop which was found to have Imam's picture in its window. News of the attack made on the Friday Mosque by the regime's hired thugs in Kerman, subsequently gave rise to a surge of horror and disgust nationwide.

In the present speech (33) Imam Khomeini argues that America's all-out support for the Shah is the reason for the regime's continued existence and is the cause of a perpetuation of the crimes committed by it. In another part of his speech, Imam discusses in detail the comprehensiveness of the religion of Islam and introduces the uni-dimensional understanding reached by Islamic philosophers, gnostics and "experts," as an incomplete understanding of the harmonious order in Islamic thought. He argues that this incomplete understanding has led to a disregard of other dimensions found within the religion. Imam continues by emphasising the different stages of man's growth and development—stages which pass from the physical to the metaphysical world, and he states: "Islam is a school of thought which has come for the edification of mankind; and we are both to examine the different dimensions of this mankind, whose true nature, some argue, remains unknown, and are also to examine his needs... Islam contains instructions concerning Islamic government; it contains instructions on its organisation; it contains instructions on how to kill its enemies during battle; it contains instructions on how to motivate a society; it contains instructions on how to reach the metaphysical stage of existence; it contains all of these different kinds of instructions. Islam is not merely uni-dimensional ..."

Towards the end of his speech whilst pointing to the turbulent state within Iran and referring both to the nationwide strikes and demonstrations there and to the self-sacrifices being made by the people, Imam Khomeini drives home the grave responsibility borne by those Iranians residing abroad.

Speech Number Thirty-Three

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

They have just informed me that the Shah has decided to carry out a wholesale massacre during the strike action to be taken tomorrow—action which the Muslim people propose to take because of the lives that they have already lost. I have said time and again that this person has become mentally unstable. He is now living in a state of insanity; and having reached the last days of his life he wants to take revenge on the people of Iran. He has already committed whatever crimes he possibly could, but now that the people have risen up to demand that he go and he has sensed that indeed he does actually have to go, like a madman he wants to first massacre the people and then go. He had once said: “If I am to go, I shall firstly turn Iran back into a heap of soil and then go; yes, I shall make Iran into a heap of soil and go;” and now he evidently means to abide by these words.¹ I found out about it today; that is, they said someone had phoned from Iran to say that he (the Shah) is getting ready to slay the people en masse.

We are at a loss as to what we should do with this regime. The oppressed nation of Iran does not know what it should do with this person who has now become insane and is suffering from a mental disorder. What course of action are we to take? I am concerned about tomorrow; I am worried that what we have been told may be true and that these people may be gunned down and come under the attack of tanks and cannon-fire; I am worried that lives may be lost and that having reached the final stage before his (the Shah’s) departure, he firstly plans to do something to ensure that no one will be left behind and only then does he intend to go. This is the kind of creature with which we now have to deal and so we must truly pray for God’s assistance. We must ask the Lord to grant a favorable end to this affair (i.e. the proposed

¹ Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini writes in his memoirs:

“After Imam’s release from prison in 1964 (1343 AHS), he was taken to live in a house situated in Dawudiyyah in Tehran. When the regime continued with its threats however, Imam warned that on the following day he would attend the mosque, would perform a congregational prayer there (when he would naturally inform the people of what was going on in the country), and would then travel to Qum to continue his activities there. By contrast, when the Shah felt under threat, he issued a warning to the effect that should he, the Shah, be forced to leave Iran, then he would have no reservations about killing twenty million people if necessary in his defense of the royal crown and throne!”

protest demonstrations), for should such a massacre actually take place it would have truly disastrous results for Iran. Although it is true that his leaving would compensate for any kind of disaster, nevertheless, why should we have given him the opportunity to enact these deeds before he leaves? Needless to say, it is the machine guns and weapons of America that are behind him in all this, otherwise the people of Iran would never allow him to go ahead with such a deed. The fact is that these American guns and weapons are indeed here. However, he (the Shah) has reached the end of his life and there remains no doubt about his imminent departure.

There is something that I wish now to say to you gentlemen, and which I shall again make mention of, if and when we hold another gathering tomorrow; but before this let me say that tomorrow's gathering is for all the students and for all those Iranians who are living outside Iran. It is for everyone and you must regard it as you would your own home, as somewhere that belongs to you all. The doors of this gathering are open to whoever may wish to come. Therefore, if no hitches occur and tomorrow's gathering does actually go ahead as planned, then all of the gentlemen are welcome to attend. No one is interfering. Some have mistakenly suspected that someone, somewhere, is influencing affairs and that they hold sway over who attends our gatherings. This is not the case however. We are all united; we are all brothers together; and no one is to interfere in our affairs at all. These gatherings are for all of the gentlemen and everyone is equally welcome to attend. All participants at our gatherings should be regarded in the same light, everybody. We are all each other's equals. I am fond of you all. I pray for you all. No particular group can meddle with our affairs. It is not to be imagined that a certain group has a say in these affairs or that I am aligned with any particular group. No, I am with you all, and I pray for you all.

As for the matter about which I wanted to talk to you however, and on which I shall elaborate further at tomorrow's gathering should I have the time and the opportunity, it concerns a disaster, which has plagued Islam from the very beginning. That is, the disaster of Islam having been misunderstood. Those who have discussed Islam, be it in the past or the present, have not fully understood or grasped this religion in all of its different dimensions. Each of them has only ever looked at one of its many dimensions and has interpreted all of the issues found within Islam and within the Holy Quran according to his own limited perception. In the past, in centuries gone by, there used to be a group of Muslim theologians who expounded Islam according to their own understanding of it; each according

to his own level of understanding and ability to reason. This group either consisted of philosophers who, because of their knowledge of this subject, understood Islam to be a philosophy, thus mistakenly believing it to be a philosophical school of thought, or it consisted of mystics and the like who, until only recently, interpreted Islam according to the understanding of a mystic, thus believing Islam to be a mystical school of thought. Therefore, from the time of these theologians down to the recent past, many of Islam's different dimensions have remained undiscovered. Theologians were familiar with some of the various dimensions of Islam, although of course not completely so, but each religious sect would study Islam according to its own understanding, its own learning. They would interpret all the verses of the Quran and all of the teachings of the Prophet and the Immaculate Imams (a)¹ according to their own perception; according to what they had been able to grasp from Islam. They would relate every page of learning to that page which they had themselves grasped and understood. Therefore, these expositions of Islam make no mention of what Islam has to say about this world and about how it is to be governed; issues which relate to another of Islam's many dimensions. All of those issues which relate to philosophy and mysticism are to be found in these expositions, but nothing is said about the duty of those people who are living now, about the form an Islamic government should take, or about how people should relate to the physical world. They have nothing to say in this regard. These theologians have confined their discussions to issues concerning the metaphysical and to matters relating to mysticism and philosophy and so on. And so this situation has remained until the present, when it has now become the turn of this latest group of theologians, a group which has taken an opposite approach to that taken by its predecessors. That is to say this latest group has totally set aside those dimensions of Islam which concern its spiritual aspects, its philosophical aspects, its mystical aspects and has confined itself to objective and external aspects only. Hence, those in this group have perceived Islam as a materialist school of thought. Indeed, whereas the former group had perceived Islam as a spiritual school of thought as if it were totally unconcerned with temporal issues—even having expounded the Quranic verses concerning actual battles with the polytheists as concerning battles with the self and so on. This latter group of theologians, by contrast, although Muslim, although composed of good people, although just as religiously

¹ The abbreviation, “a” stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *alayhis-salam*, *alayhimus-salam*, or *alayhas-salam* [may peace be upon him/them/her], which is used after the names of the prophets, angels, Imams from the Prophet's progeny, and saints (a).

devout as the former group, has nevertheless understood Islam according to its material dimension. This is a situation which has come about over recent years, during a period when Western learning and knowledge has been promoted and reached us here in the East. Hence, whereas the former group propounded the subjective and the spiritual and ignored the objective and the temporal, the latter group propounds temporal concerns and disregards the spiritual. However, both of these groups are in error. Islam is neither confined to the spiritualism of which the former group speaks—yes, it has a spiritual dimension but it is not confined to this—nor is it confined to these temporal concerns of which the latter group speaks. That is to say, it covers temporal concerns in its teachings but does not exclusively confine itself to these issues.

Islam is a school of thought which has come for the edification of mankind; and we are to examine the different dimensions of this mankind, whose true nature, some argue, remains unknown, and are also to examine his needs. We must ask whether Islam, which has come for man's edification, only means to develop the animal nature in him, or whether it means to develop his spiritual nature; or yet again, whether its intention is to develop human beings as a whole. Human beings are unlike other creatures. Other creatures, such as animals for example, which are considered to exist on a superior plane to that of plants and minerals, merely exist on a physical plane, while also possessing a minute sense, a little but perverse understanding of the metaphysical, other than this they do not have a metaphysical state of being. Mankind, however, can pass through several phases of being; he can advance from his initial physical state of being until he finally reaches a spiritual state of being. Thus, man can transcend the physical to the metaphysical, and can then transcend the metaphysical to the divine until he then reaches the stage where he is actually able to comprehend this superior state of being.

Man is a multifaceted being; he is not a creature of but one or two dimensions. Some other creatures are often one-dimensional, some bi-dimensional, and yet others possess several dimensions; but none of these other creatures possesses all of the different dimensions collectively. It is only man who, among all other creatures, is a multi-dimensional being; a being who has needs for each of the dimensions he possesses. In order for him to develop in every dimension he has certain needs which have to be satisfied. With the exception of Islam, all of the other schools of thought are materialist schools—schools which have perceived man as an animal, as a creature which simply eats and sleeps, but which does so in a more desirable

manner. This is true for all schools. Although it is true that animals share the same need as we humans to eat and sleep, these schools of thought have perceived man to be an animal like all other animals whose needs and development revolve around those corporeal criteria, those corporeal matters, which they have called “matters of reality.” They mistakenly consider reality to be composed of this physical world only; whereas there are in fact other worlds that they have not perceived, worlds which are indeed more tangible—that is, worlds that are endowed with a more tangible reality than the physical world. The physical world has been placed last in the scheme of creation; it has been given the least recognition. Therefore, this world in which we now exist, this physical world, is the lowermost world. The lowest of all the worlds in the universe is the physical world. It is not a case of there just being man and this physical world, and of there being no other stages of existence to which man can ascend. There are several stages to mankind’s existence. He who has simply concerned himself with the metaphysical aspect of mankind’s existence and who has neglected to consider these other lower stages of his being has erred; and so too, he who has concentrated solely on this physical world, recognizing only the physical stage and ignoring the metaphysical.

Islam has a set of scheme; it has a program which can be followed by this comprehensive, multifaceted human being—this being who is capable of going beyond the physical stage of existence to reach the metaphysical, and then of transcending the metaphysical to reach the divine. Islam wants man to develop into a complete being, meaning it wants to allow him to grow in accordance with his true nature. If man wants to make the most of this physical world, then Islam teaches him how to do so; if he wants to make the most of his stay in purgatory,¹ then Islam teaches him how to do so; if he wants to make the most of a spiritual existence, then Islam teaches him how to do so; if he wants to make the most of the powers of reason, then Islam teaches him how to do so; if he wants to make the most of religious learning, then Islam teaches him how to do so. All religions have come to develop those properties with which man is endowed; properties which are imperfect and which are presently immature. All religions have come to enable this unripe fruit to ripen; to allow this undeveloped fruit to fully develop. Those of you who have now come to reside in the West—the West which is

¹ Purgatory (*barzakh* in Arabic), meaning barrier, is believed to be an intermediate realm, a period between death and the Day of Judgment where a complete life is lived. See Sayyid Mujtaba Musawi Lari, *Resurrection, Judgment and the Hereafter*, <http://www.al-islam.org/Resurrect/index.htm>.

obsessed with the material aspects of the world, and where no attention is paid to the metaphysical—must not be deluded by these Western schools of thought and thus mistakenly believe that man is nothing more than a creature who eats, sleeps and so on, and that no other considerations are involved. This is a mistaken belief which has developed because of those who have misunderstood Islam by concentrating wholly on these material issues and by retracing all of the verses and teachings in Islam to these same issues—verses and teachings which have come to allow man to grow. Yes, these people are in error; and so too were those before them who retraced every Islamic verse and teaching to metaphysical issues. Each of man's dimensions must be developed in turn. Man must develop on a physical level as much as he possibly can. He must make the most of this physical world, but within reasonable limits, limits which must obviously be determined by taking factors of temperance and virtue into consideration. Then once he has developed in this physical stage of his existence, he must go on to develop in the next, higher stage, and then again in the next. All of man's different dimensions must develop without exception in order for him to become a true human being.

To become a true human being is a difficult task, but nevertheless it is a task which man needs to undertake. The point I wish to make in saying these things is that you are not to mistakenly believe that Islam has come to train an animal; that it has come to prescribe the sleeping and eating habits of an animal. This is but one of its intentions. Yes, it gives such prescriptions, but this is merely one of its dimensions and the least important one at that. Islam also has other dimensions which relate to the training of mankind. It wants to train man to become a complete, mature being; a being which encompasses all of the different human dimensions in their entirety. And it has instructions which relate to these dimensions. Islam contains instructions concerning Islamic government; it contains instructions on its organization; it contains instructions on how to kill its enemies during battle; it contains instructions on how to motivate a society; it contains instructions on how to reach the metaphysical stage of existence; it contains all of these different kinds of instructions. Islam is not merely one-dimensional whereby one could claim to have understood it in its entirety were one to have a knowledge of its history for example, of its social history, or of its rules concerning the material aspects of life and so on. No, this is not the case. The issues with which Islam deals are loftier than those which are ascribed to it; and Islam's dimensions are manifold. Whoever wishes to become acquainted with Islam must make an accurate study of the Quran, for this is the key source of

reference. He must take note of all the dimensions found therein. He must not make the mistake of accepting only those verses which relate to the physical world, and with issues concerning government, rejecting the verses which relate to resurrection. He who makes this mistake is unaware of the meaning of resurrection, or of what will happen when the Day of Resurrection arrives. He thinks that there is no truth in it; that it is but a fantasy. But he is gravely mistaken. It is indeed true, and its truth is more real than the reality of this physical world; but we have not yet reached the level of understanding required for us to grasp this fact.

Be that as it may, I wanted to advise those studying in Europe, may God grant them all success, against categorizing Islam and thereby believing it to be a school of thought like that of communism; believing the issues it covers to resemble those found in the Marxist doctrine; believing it to be a school of thought like other schools of thought; for this is not the case at all. Those who are unacquainted with Islam however, mistakenly believe it to be some such school.

The other thing I must mention concerns our being obliged to fulfill certain duties. Even as we are now peacefully seated here, Iran is in turmoil. I do not know what will actually happen in Iran tomorrow. We must decide what to do about this situation and I am presently giving it much thought. As you yourselves are well aware, it has now been almost one year since turmoil began in Iran. No matter which part of the country one looks at one sees that the people there are up in arms. No matter which part of the country's many cities one looks at, one can see strike action being taken there. For several days or so now strikes have engulfed the country. Almost all of the factories, newspapers and both governmental and non-governmental offices are now on strike. The general public is all involved in this unfortunate situation and are taking part in strikes. We who are here and are not caught up in all this turbulence must not forget those who are there. We are to help them as much as we can. We can help by the use of our pen; if we are able to disseminate information via the press here with regard to the position of the Iranian people, the oppression to which they are being subjected, and the crimes which this regime has committed against them, then we are to do so. You are to do whatever is in your power; and anyone who is unable to do anything to help can at least pray for those who tomorrow are about to suffer the torments of this dying regime.

I pray that God grant you all success. Tomorrow, if I am able and the opportunity presents itself, I shall again speak with you, God willing (the audience recites a *salawat* [salutation to Prophet Muhammad and his pure

progeny (a)). I must apologize to you, both for my late arrival and for my inability to sit here with you for a longer period—an inability which stems from the fact that I am about eighty years of age, and thus, unlike you, who fortunately are young and have the strength and stamina to remain seated for a long period of time, I do not possess such strength. I therefore ask you to forgive me for not being able to sit here in your company for any length of time (the audience cries, *Allahu Akbar* [“God is the Great”]).

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty-Four

Date: October 15, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 23, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 12, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The imperialists' study into the customs, mentality and resources of the East

Occasion: A gathering of some of the combatant Muslim students in Paris

Those present: A number of students and Iranians residing in Paris

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Press censorship was nearing an end and the newspapers no longer faced restrictions as to the extent of their reporting. Even so, they had still not summoned up the courage to write anything about the crimes committed by the Shah and the royal family over the last half a century. All that appeared in the press were reports of daily events, which, in themselves, revealed the continuation of the uprising:

“Tens of thousands of people attended fortieth-day mourning ceremonies at Bihisht-i Zahra for the martyrs of the events of September 8 (Shahrivar 17 AHS).”

“Strikes beset the Ports and Shipping Organisation; the Abadan refinery; Umran bank; General Motors company; the Moqaddem factory; the main register office; the Ministry of Trade; the steel factory in Isfahan; Behshahr cotton mill; and dozens of other organisations and government offices, institutes and affiliated offices.”

Meanwhile, reports from Paris revealed that the French government had set restrictions on the activities of Imam Khomeini (may God's peace be upon him) and were preventing him from being interviewed by reporters, from issuing proclamations and delivering speeches¹. Iranian public opinion, which after Imam's migration to Paris began to reach a world-wide audience, called for the freedom of the Leader of the Revolution's actions. Prominent personalities and groups too inevitably began to echo the demands of the

¹ On October 9, 1978 (Mehr 17, 1357 AHS), the *Ittilaat* newspaper, quoting reports from French news agencies and Associated Press, wrote: “Meanwhile, according to a report in the same newspaper, as Imam Khomeini entered France and news of measures taken by the French government to restrict his activities came to light, a group of Indonesian clerics, Libyan Muslims and the Algerian government announced their willingness to give him refuge. Also, on Friday October 6 (Mehr 14 AHS), Muslims in Kuwait who had been sorely angered by their governments refusal to allow Imam to enter the country, took part in a protest march towards the Kuwait-Iraq border.” *Ittilaat* newspaper, October 9, 1978 (Mehr 17, 1357 AHS).

nation¹. For example, the Iranian Lawyers Society in a telegram to both the leader of the French Parliament and the head of the Judiciary objected to the restrictions placed on Imam's activities and stressed that "now that this honourable gentleman (Imam Khomeini) is the guest of the French nation, it is expected that the assembly which represents the French people will use the opportunity to strengthen the foundations of democracy and spread it more and more onto an international level and apply it for the well-being of all the peoples of the world²."

In the meantime, those parties and groups which had played no role or only a minor one in the formation and perpetuation of the Khordad 15 movement and subsequent events, now began to strive to find a suitable niche for themselves in the movement as it intensified. A step by step struggle against the Shah's regime³; the lifting of martial law; the

¹ The Pars news agency on October 16, 1978 (Mehr 24 1357 AHS) reported: "In a telegram addressed to Giscard D'Estaing, three hundred and forty lecturers from the universities of Tehran, Isfahan and Shiraz today called on the French President to allow Imam Khomeini freedom of speech during his stay in France." *Taqwim-i Tarikh-i Inqilab-i Islami-yi Iran*, p. 156.

² The *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 9, 1978 (Mehr 17, 1357 AHS).

³ The idea of a step-by-step struggle as opposed to Imam's more decisive approach was one espoused and propagated by the Freedom Movement and Mr. Shariatmadari. From what we read in the booklet published by Freedom Movement Publications in Murdad 1357 (July/Aug, 1978), entitled *Sima-yi Dowlat-i Mawaqqat az Wiladat ta Rihlat*, the head of this movement had sent a list of proposals to Imam Khomeini in the holy city of Najaf, an excerpt from which reads as follows:

"For the time being it is best to direct the thrust of attack towards despotic rule rather than imperial rule! Fighting on two fronts inhibits victory and will be inexpedient in undoing the policy of America and Europe which is aimed against us and serves to benefit and protect the Shah. All of the recent nationalist and religious movements have been able to make their voices better heard since the time the leaders of these movements welcomed the government's announcement concerning free elections and entering the electoral procedure. Of course, the ultimate goal is to topple the regime but it must be done in stages: firstly the Shah must go; then secondly, we must ensure that his successors govern under supervision and that they operate within the framework of existing laws and civil liberties (!!); and thirdly, we must work towards ... establishing a unique Islamic government - something which should be the ultimate goal and target of any Muslim." By paying attention to the above policy and to the sentences which now follow, bearing in mind when and by whom they were stated, much of the actual conditions which surrounded the struggle in 1977-78 (1356-57 AHS) can be discerned:

"The establishment of an Islamic government and of a truly just regime in Iran is an ardent and deep-seated desire of ours, but for the time being, given the present circumstances, what we have in mind and what we are fighting for is the implementation of the constitutional law ... one of the issues involved here is the holding of elections ..." - an interview conducted with Mr. Shariatmadari, June 30, 1978 (Tir 9, 1357 AHS).

establishment of democracy; a return to the principles of the constitutional law and a system of constitutional monarchy; promoting nationalist slogans and encouraging nationalist sentiment and partisan attacks were amongst some of the solutions and slogans put forward by each of these groups—which were to the left, right or centre of the political spectrum—and were based on their own inclinations, ideologies and historical alliances. But the aims of the uprising and the course it was to take were determined by the messages and speeches of Imam Khomeini, and it was to him that the people looked for guidance. The shouts of the people at this time were: “Independence, Freedom and Islamic Republic,” and “Our revolution is like that of Imam Husayn, our leader is Khomeini.” The charismatic character and decisive leadership of Imam Khomeini and the Iranian people’s acceptance of him as their leader completely overcame the problem of a leadership vacuum which has afflicted many popular uprisings.

The formation of the government of national reconciliation, the assurances of Sharif Imami and the overt and covert meetings of representatives of the new government with some of the ecclesiastics of the theological schools and the heads of some of the well-established political groups and parties, did not go far towards solving the problems of the Shah’s regime. Contrary to the predictions of those who had planned the “change of cabinet,” the leadership of Imam Khomeini proved to be even more assured than ever in determining the course of the Islamic Revolution. Apart from the professional politicians who had their own political designs, and the people

“They must point out who the murderer is ... The prime culprit is America, and the lesser culprit is the Shah ... If you should read anything written by some party which suggests that we are demanding nothing more than the implementation of the constitutional law, then this is as good as saying that he (the Shah) must remain.” - taken from a speech delivered by Imam Khomeini on May 31, 1978.

Mr. Bazargan had said: “If we look back in history, we see that sovereign rule in Iran has always been essentially autocratic rather than constitutional ...” and: “The Freedom Movement believes in constitutional law. If the Shah is prepared to implement whatever is contained within the Constitution, then we are ready to accept monarchical rule.” He continued: “Two issues are involved here; one is a question of opinion as to whether the Shah will agree to the Constitution; the other is a political concern which asks whether he will abide by this law and whether he is prepared to concede some of his power to those groups which may step forward.”

Tavakuli had said: “Did those in the Freedom Movement hope that substantial changes would really and truly come about whilst knowing in their hearts that he (the Shah) would not be prepared to do such a thing (i.e. concede power)?” (Here Tavakuli had underlined the words “really and truly”). Talks held between Mr. Mehdi Bazargan and Engineer Muhammad Tavakuli from the Freedom Movement and John Day - taken from the anthology entitled: *Documents from the US Espionage Den*, vol. 2, p. 203.

affiliated to the Shah's regime who were hopelessly doing their utmost to preserve the Shah's throne, other groups of people, imbued with the opinion that "blood will triumph over the sword" continued the struggle through demonstrations, strikes and shouts of "Death to the Shah." The mosque became the centre for revolutionary activity as mourning ceremonies marking the seventh and fortieth day of the martyrdom of demonstrators took place one after the other in each town. The clerics formed the vanguard of the people's ranks and in unison with them shouted for the destruction of the monarchical regime and the establishment of an Islamic Republic. Every day the newspapers led with reports like the following which appeared in the newspapers of October 18, 1978 (Mehr 26, 1357 AHS):

- A number of teachers were injured in demonstrations in Laristan in Fars Province.

- Three people were injured in a shooting incident in the town of Mahallat.

- A teacher from Kashan was injured by a bullet.

- Three thousand workers from the Abadan refinery have joined strikers.

- Workers from the ministries of agriculture and trade and the Customs and Excise Office have gone on strike.

- Martial law agents in Mashhad opened fire on thousands of demonstrators killing at least two and injuring many others.

- Political prisoners went on a hunger strike in Tabriz.

A few days after being installed as new Prime Minister, Jafar Sharif Imami proclaimed martial law in Tehran and with it announced the impending murder of the people of Tehran and other cities. In this way, he wanted to deter the people from participating in demonstrations and protest marches. However, not only were his designs unsuccessful, but they also further damaged his position. William Sullivan, the US ambassador to Iran at the time, in his book *Mission to Iran* writes: "The military, after the first shock of Jaleh Square, were given orders to refrain from firing at demonstrators. Instead they made a belated effort to develop riot-control tactics and sought additional equipment and training from the United States and the United Kingdom. Since our Congress had specifically prohibited police training for foreigners, the British were required to pick up the responsibility for much of this work. They did send a small military mission under the direction of an expert in riot control, and he, in turn, made arrangements for the sale to the Iranians of rubber bullets, plastic shields and other riot-control equipment that the British had developed in the course of their experience in Northern Ireland. We continued to ship tear gas but

otherwise to take no direct responsibility for its application (!) As the opposition forces began to recognise that they could resume their demonstrations in the streets without fear of mortal consequences (!), their actions became bolder. They developed tactics of fraternisation with the troops, and young female students began placing flowers in the muzzles of their weapons, as had been done during the revolution in Portugal¹.”

In his book *The Confessions of a General*, General ‘Abbas Qarabaghi refers to the ineffectiveness of martial law and the people’s disregard of the regime’s threats and intimidation and writes: “In one of the cabinet meetings as Interior Minister I said: “As you see, even with the proclamation of martial law not only has calm not been restored, but the security situation of the country has worsened day by day. In addition, one does not see signs of any activity by SAVAK, and indeed it is not clear why this organisation is unable to predict and stop these events from taking place or why it does not take the necessary steps. In my opinion, a fundamental decision about the establishment of security in the country needs to be made².”

Day by day the number of those wishing to meet Imam in Paris increased, and the congregational prayer gatherings for the afternoon and evening prayers were led by him in Neauphle-le-Chateau. The foreign reporters there, whose numbers ran into the dozens, found these gatherings very interesting and impressive. Although Neauphle-le-Chateau had become the focus of attention for the world’s media, the French government still persisted with its restrictions. In spite of these constraints, just before the noon prayer on October 15, 1978 (Mehr 23, 1357 AHS), as he sat amongst his devout friends, the humble leader of the greatest and most original revolution of contemporary history delivered the present speech to the students and Iranians who had come to visit him.

In this speech, Imam first of all gives a brief history of how the agents for the British, American and other imperialist governments penetrated the countries of the Middle East with a view to discovering and taking possession of the natural resources to be found there, and in this regard he relates a few of his own bitter memories. Then, while noting the great potential of the Islamic world, he describes the Islamic culture and the

¹ *Mission to Iran*, p. 168.

² *Confessions of a General*, pp. 26 and 27. It needs to be pointed out that in subsequent pages of this book, Qarabaghi confesses that a number of the army commanders, including Oveysi, coveted the premiership and to this end engaged in much calumny in the presence of the Shah. It was common knowledge that as the revolution reached its climax, SAVAK did not curtail its activities in any way nor refrain from its torment and torture of the people, especially those in prison or those in police custody.

clerical establishment as two great obstacles to the designs of the imperialists, and discusses in detail the type of propaganda used by the imperialists against Islam and its ecclesiastics. Imam then turns to the subject of the separation of religion and politics, and while stressing that the two are inseparable in Islam, he draws on the example of the Prophet's rule and that of Imam Ali along with the struggles of the Immaculate Imams and the combatant *ulama* and describes resistance to the Shah's crimes and to American interference in the country as a most pressing duty for both himself and the true *ulama*. Elsewhere in his speech, Imam refers to the treachery of the Pahlavi regime, in particular the sale of oil in return for equipment and arms to strengthen the American military bases in the country, and also the regime's wont to grant concessions to the Russians.

Speech Number Thirty-Four

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

It is unfortunate that I meet you gentlemen now when my power of speech is greatly impaired due partly to my age, which does not allow my voice to carry more than a few feet away from me, and partly to the situation of the Islamic countries in general and Iran in particular which is now enough to distress anyone and sap their strength. I had wanted today to come to the place where you gentlemen had gathered to speak to you about some of the problems we face, but circumstances were such that the French authorities did not deem it wise for me to do so.¹

That aside, the situation of the Islamic countries, especially those which have resources like Iran—which leads the others in this regard—has been studied by the experts of foreign powers and superpowers. From perhaps three hundred years ago, those travelers who came to the East, allegedly to tour the countries were all political agents sent to gather information on the situation there. They came to Iran and traveled to all her cities and villages in pursuit of their investigations. Their studies into the geographical situation of the East, and in particular Iran—about which we are informed—took them all over these countries, even through the desert regions where no grass or water existed and which they crossed with caravans, riding on camels and suffering many hardships in doing so. Their main aim was to discover where our mineral reserves lay—our gold, copper, petroleum, gas, etc. They made a careful study and drew maps. Whatever they found which was of use to them, they marked the spot on the map and noted the area, and these records are still in their possession.

Before America set foot into the region, it was Britain which exerted the most influence over these countries, then Russia, then some other countries. For more than three hundred years, they subjected these Eastern countries to their studies and their avarice. As time went on, their specialists developed more expertise, their travels became more widespread and more regular; indeed they found out more about these countries than the indigenous

¹ The *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 15, 1978 [Mehr 23, 1357 AHS] (on the day that this speech was delivered) wrote in an article: “One Sunday, Hadrat Imam refrained from attending a pre-arranged meeting with his followers because of steps taken by the French government to prevent the meeting from taking place.”

peoples themselves knew. For example, in Iran they studied the mental and spiritual make-up of such tribes as the Bakhtiari, the Qashqai Shahsivan in order to find out how these people think and how they could use them to their advantage. They sent their experts to study and gather information on all the provincial cities and villages in Iran; all the villages that exist in Iran came under their scrutiny, even the most remote, mountain village. They drew maps of them all and marked those places where they found something of use to them. They recorded everything and then made themselves ready for plundering our resources. The rulers of the Eastern countries however, whether kings or others, acted differently in complying with the wishes of the imperialists; some allowed their countries to be pillaged in all aspects whereas others were not as traitorous as they were.

Once when I was in Hamedan,¹ one of my friends brought a map to me, a large map which perhaps measured one square meter. It was a map of Hamedan province which, he said, showed all the villages of that province, and which was covered with many colored dots. He told me that these dots indicated where minerals, such as copper or petroleum, lay beneath the ground. These minerals had not yet been mined, but the foreign experts knew their location. They made their designs and then entered the countries of the East and studied their situation, and in Iran, which directly concerns us, they drew up plans and marked where all its natural resources lay.

They then undertook some psychological studies to determine how they could easily lay their hands on these countries' abundant resources without inciting opposition and confrontation from the people. The imperialists carried out extensive studies in this regard, and they came to the conclusion that in the Islamic countries there were two possible barriers which could block their way; one was Islam itself. They realized that were true Islam implemented, that is the Islam that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has established, then it would sound the death knell for all their hopes. And the other obstacle to their designs they perceived as being Islam's religious scholars. The imperialists realized that if the religious men became powerful, as they should be in these lands, then they would not be able to profit from these countries the way they wanted to. So they decided to smash these two barriers, which they deemed more dangerous than anything else to their designs, in whatever way necessary. They started devising schemes by means of which they hoped to make the people themselves whichever group and whenever they maybe crush these two barriers for them, and so from that

¹ Hamedan: a province in the north-western part of Iran.

time on, the propaganda against Islam and the clergy began. With such propaganda, they would manage to remove the threat of these two obstacles, which if empowered would be the greatest threat to the imperialists and their interests.

Of course there was something else which also constituted an obstacle to their contrivances, and that was the culture of these communities. The imperialists have studied the latter and have discovered that if their culture were an independent, correct culture then it would produce loyal and independent political groups which would prove to be counterproductive for them. Thus, on one side they saw the two barriers of Islam and the clergy, and on the other they saw the prospect of an independent culture, which would train the youth and nurture leading personalities who, even if the imperialists were to hold sway over the country, would still prevent them from attaining that which they desired, and that which they desired lay beneath the ground. They directed their efforts to acquiring the resources which lay above the ground as well, but the most important for them were those which were to be found underground. Hence... they set about destroying these three barriers.

With regard to Islam, they began to propagate the idea—gradually as is their wont—that Islam is an acquiescent religion! That it is an ideology concerned only with supplicatory prayer and invocation of God [*dhikr*], that it constitutes solely a relationship between man and the Creator and has nothing to do with politics or government. They have propagated this idea so well that even members of the clerical establishment have been influenced by it and many of them now believe that they have no role to play in politics or government, maintaining instead that their duties lie only in going to the mosque, engaging in canonical prayer, instructing the people, debating certain matters and presenting the people with legitimate rules of conduct.

The imperialists saw that the prayers of the clergy posed no threat to them. Prayers in Islam are not harmful to their policies, so they deemed that the clergy could pray as much as they like; they could pray until they were tired of praying, as long as they had nothing to do with the oil. They could teach as much as they liked, debate matters to their heart's content, as long as they did not start to question the policies of the imperialists in their countries and begin to speak out against them. This idea that Islam has nothing to do with politics or government was reiterated so much and propagated so well among the people that it became commonly accepted that interference in the affairs of state was incompatible with the status of a clergyman; that it was unbecoming the position of a clergyman to take an interest in the form the

government takes or in what these oppressors were doing to the people; that it was only befitting the position of a clergyman to remain in the schools and lead the noon and afternoon congregational prayers; and that the people should expect nothing more than this of the clergy! They said that essentially Islam had nothing to do with politics... that politics and religion were separate from one another. Politics is for them and religion is for us! The centers of power are in their hands to do with as they please, and the mosques and the old men who attend them are in ours! This is a division that they created from the beginning.

Those who were a bit more daring went so far as to describe Islam as “reactionary.” They said that basically religion was the opium of the people, that from the very beginning it was used by the capitalists and those with power to stupefy the people so they could take their wealth. Gradually, this notion came to be believed even by the Muslims themselves. Some of the clergy even came to believe that Islam was something which belonged to one thousand and so many hundreds of years ago and could not be put into practice now! This is how the imperialists presented Islam to the Muslim societies; and as for the *akhunds*,¹ they portrayed them as men who just sit in a corner and survive on the money they take from the people...

Thus, they presented Islam as an ideology which was concerned with nothing more than prayer and fasting and which was not involved with the people's lives and their affairs. And on the other hand, they presented the clergymen as people installed by the rulers and the powerful elite to opiate society, to put the people to sleep, stupefy them so that these rulers could plunder them and the people would not utter a word. They propagated this notion so well that even some of our own intellectuals, who were not well versed in the Quran and the Prophetic tradition [*sunnah*], came to believe it and they in turn also began to advance the same idea. We should not just accept whatever we hear or whatever is propagated by some groups as being true without proof of its verity. If someone accepts an unsubstantiated claim then that person suffers from a weak constitution, he is ill! A healthy human being does not accept something he is told without it first being substantiated.

We need only take a cursory glance at the lives of the prophets and of others who called the people to God to see what their intention was: Were they agents of the powerful elite? Were their aims to enfeeble the people,

¹ *Akhund*: a word of uncertain etymology that originally denoted a scholar of unusual attainment, but was later applied to lesser-ranking scholars, and then acquired a pejorative connotation, particularly in secularist usage.

make them powerless, and lull them to sleep? And we need only carry out a partial study of the Quran—it doesn't need to be a detailed study—to see if its purpose is simply to teach us invocatory prayer, supplicatory prayers, deprecations¹ and the like, or whether it has not been properly understood. If you study the Quran you will see that there are so many verses encouraging the people to do battle with those holding power. The verses pertaining to battle and the way it must be fought are not only one or two; there are many in this regard. The battles which took place in the early years of Islam's history were between the powerful elite and the Prophet of Islam. The Quran is a book which favors "movement"; it awakens the people and stirs them from their stupor to confront the *taghuts*.²

When the Noble Prophet was in Hijaz, he had to confront the plutocracy there. One group was found in Mecca and comprised the town's reputable, powerful merchants, while another was made up of the wealthy, affluent people of Taif.³ People such as Abu Sufyan⁴ were like rulers or kings and had everything, yet the Prophet opposed them. When he went to Medina, he associated with the poor people; he did not align himself with the rich to stupefy the community. He was on the side of the poor, he encouraged them to rise up against the rich who plundered the people and oppressed them. The Prophet fought many battles, and in all of them he fought against the rich and powerful oppressors.

If we go further back [in history], we see that Hadrat⁵ Musa (Moses), may God's peace be upon him, also confronted those holding power. With his staff in hand he confronted Pharaoh; he didn't opiate the people for the Egyptian king! With his staff and his words he encouraged them to rise against the king. And you all know how Abraham (a) took up his axe and shattered all the idols belonging to the aristocrats (of his time). He confronted the aristocrats in the interests of the masses, to stop them from oppressing the masses. Of course the mission of these prophets was primarily a spiritual one, but when they came across tyranny in the society they deemed it their duty to confront the oppressive leaders and do battle with them in whatever way they could.

¹ Deprecations: praying that an evil may be removed or prevented.

² *Taghut*: one who surpasses all bounds in his despotism and tyranny and claims the prerogatives of divinity for himself, whether explicitly or implicitly.

³ Taif: a city in the southern part of Hijaz (modern Saudi Arabia), 40 miles east of Mecca.

⁴ Abu Sufyan: father of Mu'awiyah, head of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca and the staunchest enemy of the Holy Prophet of Islam. He was at the head of the non-believers and idol worshipping groups who opposed Islam and persecuted Muslims.

⁵ Hadrat: The word *Hadrat* is used as a respectful form of address.

So this notion that the men of religion are used by the powerful elite to opiate the people is one which the imperialists themselves created and advanced to turn you away from the Quran, the Book of God, and Islam so that they could smash this barrier to their designs. Indeed, they have been successful in this, for the Muslims have now been lulled to sleep by their propaganda. The Muslims have now risen to do battle with Islam without themselves knowing it. For when a Muslim asks what Islam has to do with temporal issues, this constitutes war against Islam; this is not knowing Islam. When he asks what Islam has to do with politics, again this is like waging war against Islam. These ideas are spread among Muslims by Muslims and the posing of such questions means they have taken up arms against Islam.

We should look at the example set by those who propagated Islam. The Prophet himself battled with the powerful elite of Mecca and the Hijaz, and his immediate successors—whether those we accept or those we do not—formed armies and fought against the kings of the Persian and Byzantine Empires. They fought against these kings; they did not act as their agents creating apathy among the people. They had a mission to arouse the people, to stir the Muslim people and the oppressed to rise up against those who plundered the wealth of the people. At that time it was the Persian and the Byzantine Empires against which they fought and which they subsequently conquered for Islam; never was it suggested that a compromise be made with the ruling classes or the kings. The time of the Prophet and his immediate successors was marked by struggle.

Hadrat Amir [Imam Ali (a)],¹ became embroiled in an internal war with Mu‘awiyah because he saw that if he didn’t do battle with him, Mu‘awiyah

¹ Hadrat Amir: Imam Ali (a), the leader of the Muslim world was born in 600 CE to his mother by the name of Fatimah and a father by the name of Abu Talib (Prophet’s uncle), and from the age of 6 he grew up in the Prophet’s house. He was the first man to accept Islam and promised to aid the Prophet (s). In the early days of his mission when, at God’s command, the Prophet was inviting his kith and kin to Islam, at a gathering, he announced to them: “He among you, who accepts my Faith will succeed me.” He repeated this declaration three times and each time, only Ali (a) declared his faithfulness. On the eve of the *hijrah* or migration, notwithstanding the plot of the Quraysh against the Prophet’s life, Ali (a) slept in the Prophet’s bed and thus proved his fidelity to him. The Prophet selected him as his brother and when returning from the last *hajj* pilgrimage, at a place called Ghadir, introduced Ali (a) as the master and guardian [*wali*] of the Muslims, after himself. Ali was the companion of the Prophet during his loneliness and his aid in his struggles and in time of dangers. After the Prophet’s spiritual ascension, for about 25 years, Ali (a) kept aloof from government administration and leadership. During this period he was the observer and overseer who prevented deviations and defections. After the murder of the 3rd Caliph, the Muslims swore allegiance to Ali (a) and elected him as the caliph. The Imam’s period of administration lasted

would destroy Islam.¹ Mu'awiyah was the governor of Sham who had his seat in Damascus and he lived like a king with an army and all the appendages of a ruler. Hadrat Amir was the head of the religious scholars, when we look at his life, his battles and his leadership we see that his aim was not to put the people to sleep so that the powerful ones could come and plunder their wealth. He too went to battle. With whom? With Mu'awiyah who sat in Damascus, who enslaved and oppressed the people and whose very existence endangered Islam.

... All our Imams (a) were killed because they opposed the tyrannical regimes. Had they sat at home and invited the people to rally round the Bani 'Umayyah and the Bani 'Abbas, as the imperialists like to say they did, then they would have been shown the utmost respect. But each of our Imams (a) strove against the oppressors, and although their circumstances did not permit them the military might with which to fight, still they engaged in underground struggle against them. This is the reason why they were arrested and thrown into prison for several years. Was Hadrat Musa ibn Jafar (a)

for 4 years and 9 months. Ali obliterated the changes that had been made after the Prophet (s) and restored things to their earlier conditions. Opposition elements, whose personal interests were threatened, rose pretending to take revenge for the 3rd Caliph's death. Bloody civil wars followed that lasted throughout the reign of Ali (a). Finally the unique man of history was martyred in the altar at Kufah, Iraq.

For further information on the Imamate of Ali ibn Abi Talib, see Yousuf N. Lalljee, *Ali the Magnificent* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1987); Muhammad Jawad Chirri, *The Brother of the Prophet Mohammad (Imam Ali)*, (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); George Jorda, *The Voice of Human Justice*, trans. M. Fazal Haq (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1990), and visit: <http://www.al-islam.org/faq>.

¹ Mu'awiyah ibn Abi Sufyan (607-680 CE), the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, accepted Islam on the day Mecca was conquered (630 CE). He was the commander of the army during the caliphate of Abu Bakr and at the time of 'Umar he was first the governor of Jordan and then governor of Damascus, and at the time of 'Uthman he was responsible for the entire principality of Syria. After the death of 'Uthman, Hadrat Ali (a) was proclaimed caliph and issued orders for Mu'awiyah's dismissal. However, Mu'awiyah did not comply with Imam Ali's orders and accused him of involvement in the murder of 'Uthman and demanded vengeance for his death. During the battle of Siffin, which was fought between Mu'awiyah's troops and those of Hadrat Ali, 'Amr ibn al-'As, Mu'awiyah's army commander, on seeing the battle going in Ali's favor, resorted to a ruse and ordered his soldiers to fasten copies of the Quran to their lances and hold them up in the air. This move brought about a dispute among Ali's followers, the battle was ended and Mu'awiyah remained in his principality. After Imam Ali's martyrdom, his son Imam Hasan (a) was forced into a conditional peace with Mu'awiyah because of the actions of his traitorous troops and commanders and eventually relinquished the caliphate to him in 661 CE. From this date on, Mu'awiyah called himself the official Muslim caliph. See Philip K. Hitti's *History of the Arabs* and S.H.M. Jafri's *The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*.

imprisoned for praying, fasting or calling the people to support Harun ar-Rashid? Was he incarcerated for years because he told the people to compromise with Harun ar-Rashid and to ignore his oppression? No, the despots saw that our Imams (a) posed a threat to their rule that is why they incarcerated them, banished and killed them.

Did that wretch¹ transport Imam ar-Rida (a) to Khorasan² simply because he prayed? Was Hadrat [Imam Hasan] al-‘Askari (a) held in Samarra for all those years suffering much persecution and imprisonment because he prayed?³ The caliphs too prayed; so it was not prayer that upset them. Was it because the Imams were the descendants of the Prophet? No, for if the descendants of the Prophet had sat at home and had had nothing to do with the affairs of the people, then the rulers would not have bothered them so. It was the Imams who encouraged the people to rise up against the illegitimate regimes, and if they seemingly disapproved when one of the Bani Hashim rose up against the ruling powers, they did so out of fear for their religion (for they knew that were their role in the affair discovered they would be destroyed;) otherwise it was they who instigated the revolts. The Imams prayed for Zayd and others like him who rose up against the caliphs and the powerful elite.⁴ The clergy have always opposed the ruling powerful elite,

¹ This relates to Mamun, the son of Harun ar-Rashid and Abbasid caliph from 813-833 CE who brought Imam Rida (a), the eighth of the twelve Imams from the Prophet’s Progeny, from Medina to Khorasan.

² Khorasan: a province in the north-eastern part of Iran.

³ Imam Hasan al-‘Askari (845-872 CE): the eleventh Imam from the Prophet’s Progeny, spent most of his life in the prisons of the ‘Abbasid caliphs, al-Muhtadi, al-Mu‘taz and al-Mu‘tamid. Imam al-‘Askari was at times incarcerated and at others kept in close confinement in his home in Samarra under the watchful eye of the caliph. It is for this reason that he and his father are known as the ‘*askarin*’ because their house was constantly surrounded by the soldiers (Arabic = ‘*askarun*’) of the ‘Abbasid government.

⁴ Zayd ibn Ali (d. 740 CE) was the son of Imam as-Sajjad the fourth Imam and a contemporary of Hisham ibn ‘Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad caliph from 724-743 CE. He was a great man, erudite and pious. He rose up to rectify the affairs of the Muslims and to remove heresy. However, at the very inception of his revolt, he was killed by the Umayyad forces. In his uprising, he never claimed to be an Imam and he openly acknowledged the Imamate of his brother Imam Muhammad al-Baqir and the latter’s son Imam as-Sadiq. Zayd was held in such high esteem that in some of the traditions he is given the title of ‘martyr’. Because of his familiarity with and constant recitation of the Quran, he became known as ‘the ally of the Quran’. Imam as-Sadiq said about this martyr: “May God have mercy upon my uncle’s soul. His revolt constituted nothing other than following the path laid down by his forefathers, and I would have liked to have done what he did. His companions who were martyred with him have now joined the martyrs of Karbala.” Khwarazmi, *Maqtal al-Husayn*, vol. 2, p. 120. The other Imams also prayed for Zayd and supported his uprising, however, Zayd and his

and if you find examples of instances when this was not the case and they joined the service of the government or were corrupt, then this has nothing to do with Islam; they did not belong to this school. Sometimes, however, circumstances were such that even the true clergymen of Islam did not deem it wise to act.

So, by dint of their propaganda, the imperialists have succeeded in smashing these two barriers which the Muslims possessed. They distanced the people from the realities of Islam and made them dissociate themselves from the progressive clerics, so that they could achieve their aims. They created the propaganda and when these barriers were smashed, they came freely and took the oil; nobody could say a word, and nobody did! They reshaped our culture making it into an imperialist one, not one that was independent. Even now our educational system is not the independent one for which the minds of the nation had planned.

They [imperialists] are still interfering; they do not allow our educational system to produce good doctors or good politicians. The politicians that their imperialist culture spawns are those who are of benefit to them. This is what has happened to our education! Unfortunately, I do not have the time now to go into further detail. So they broke these barriers and came freely and began plundering the wealth of the Muslims. You all know the extent to which they are plundering the oil of Iran. They are taking so much of our oil that reserves will soon run dry. They extract our oil from the ground and take it back to their own countries where they store it for themselves because they fear that one day someone may stop them from exploiting our reserves in this way. From the time of Rida Shah, may God punish him severely, until the present day, Iran has suffered under a government which has handed over the whole of the country's dignity and respect to the oil-devourers on a silver platter.

Look at the state of our economy; you will see that in the name of 'land reforms'¹—an idea of the Americans—our agrarian economy has been totally

followers were condemned by the reactionaries because according to them they had started a conflict with the heads of the Umayyads without permission.

¹ Land Reform was one of the main principles of neo-colonialism, which was urged on all the countries under the dominance of colonialism, from Latin America to Asia and Africa, and was implemented by the governments of these countries in a very similar manner. In 1962 (1342 AHS), the Shah launched the land reform program as the first tenet of his six-point 'White Revolution,' later renamed the 'Shah-People Revolution.' This 'Revolution' was not a revolution at all, rather it was put into effect on the one hand to win the confidence of American capitalism; to show his approval of and cooperation with the new strategy; and to open a new market for the Western economy, and on the other to curb internal discontent and

disrupted. These land reforms brought such disaster upon us. Our agriculture was completely destroyed. Our country once had a thriving agrarian economy, the produce of its Azerbaijan province or its Khorasan province alone could meet the needs of the whole nation, but now agricultural production is only sufficient to meet domestic demand for the most thirty-three days of the year! So what does the regime do to satisfy demand for the rest of the year? It imports from abroad. The Shah and his regime have turned Iran into a consumer market for American goods! The Americans produce a surplus of goods, which they either burn or throw into the sea. Now, however, they give it to us and in return take money or oil for it! The destruction of our agriculture was one aspect of their reforms that resulted in our country being turned into a consumer market for American surplus goods.

Another damaging effect of the land reforms was that it led to mass migration of the villagers into the towns. When these villagers—whom initially he had said had been taken from their peasant status and were now on a par with the landowners—lost their land, they swarmed into the towns and cities, into Tehran in particular. They settled in areas around Tehran where they now live with their families in hovels, in tents or mud houses. They live at subsistence level and suffer many hardships. They have neither electricity nor water, and there is no asphalt on the roads. They live in pits, in large holes in the ground, and in order to obtain a jugful of water for their children, the poor women, even in the middle of a biting winter, have to take their jugs and climb up scores of steps, perhaps a hundred, out of this pit until they reach a water tap, and then climb back down again. This is how these big farmers that they claim to have created now live and this is the state of their ‘great civilization’!¹ Our agriculture is now totally paralyzed; we no longer have any agriculture. Where will it all end?

actually prevent a revolution! The reform program, which was dependent on foreign, especially American investment, dragged the Iranian agrarian economy into bankruptcy, such that a few years after its implementation the country had been changed from a wheat exporter to a major wheat importer. In addition, as a result of the migration of villagers into the towns and cities and their attraction as a cheap work force to the industries and the service sector, over a period of eleven years from 1966-1977 [1345-56 AHS], 20,000 Iranian villages became uninhabited!

¹ Great Civilization: “Toward the Great Civilization” is the title of a book compiled by Muhammad Rida Shah. In the said book, the deposed Iranian monarch had made unrealistic claims regarding Iran’s having obtained new technology and the country’s stepping into the new industrial age.

They give our oil to America and what do they get in return? I have spoken about this before, but I feel I must repeat myself every day so that someone who is not aware of the situation may hear my words. They give our oil to America and they get weapons in return. What kind of weapons? Weapons that Iran is unable to use, our army doesn't know how to use them, so why does the government get these weapons for us? It does this in order to build bases for the Americans in the country. Do not suppose that the Americans pay for the oil they take from us with money. They devour our oil and in return they give us arms, arms which have no equal, not even in France. But do they give them to us for Iran to use? No, they create bases for themselves with them. They not only take the oil, they take that which they give in exchange for it as well!

God only knows what treason this unworthy man, this Muhammad Rida, has committed against Islam and Muslims. You and I cannot yet find out about everything he has done, when he dies or falls from power and leaves our country, then we will discover just what he has done, most certainly some people have recorded what took place during his rule and when these historical accounts are made available, then we will come to understand just what he did to this country. He tells us that our oil reserves will be exhausted in thirty years' time and then we will have to think of ways to use solar energy! Someone who does not even know what to do with an oil lamp now wants to use solar energy! And why is this oil of ours going to finish? Because it is being carried off through huge pipes which, according to those who saw them twenty years ago, are large enough for a man to walk into; perhaps by now they are even bigger. In return, arms come into the country for the (American) bases! If an end could be brought to the thievery of the Shah and his relatives, and the oil were exported and sold in a correct manner, that is, only as much as was needed to satisfy the needs of Iran and administer the country being sold, then we may have oil for maybe the next two hundred years. The Shah says our oil will finish, but who is finishing it? He is! Then what will we do? The nation's oil is finishing, as he says, its agriculture has been destroyed, so what are we to do? What does the future hold for this weak nation? He answers by saying: "We will become industrialized!" But do not be deceived by this. What is happening to our country is not industrialization. The creation of a steel mill does not constitute industrialization; it is not being established for the good of the nation; it is being built to allow the Russians to make a base here, so that they can facilitate the entry of their agents into the country and their activities here! They take our gas and the others take our oil. Soon there will be no gas,

no oil, no agriculture, nothing. Then what will this nation do? The Shah once said that if he had to leave Iran he would turn it into a heap of rubble first. He has already done this, and if he stays he'll make things even worse. If he leaves then it's still possible for some true-hearted, upright people to take over and save our oil reserves, to preserve them so they remain for us and to correct the state of our agriculture. If he finishes his ruining of the country and then gets out, even this is to our advantage and is better than if he remains.

This is why we are shouting so, not because we do not want the manifestations of civilization. He accuses the *akhunds* of being opposed to civilization, of wanting to ride around on donkeys. What can one say to such a person? We are shouting out that we accept all the manifestations of civilization, but do these include the present actions of the martial-law government? Over the past few days, our young children, eight- and nine-year old girls have been killed. The government agents have shed the blood of the youth in the senior high-schools and the universities, they have committed so many crimes that the students are constantly on strike. Now the regime has turned its attention to the primary school children! Now it is these young children who are being killed. This is how the Shah hopes to destroy us, he hopes to slay the nation and then leave.

We are crying out that this nation should be in control of its own wealth; it should administer its own affairs. We do not want "advisers" from America! The budget that is allocated to these sixty thousand advisers is so great that you and I cannot imagine it. Do not use the country's budget to finance military advisers. It is truly amazing; they create bases for them here; they bring in the military advisers and then the nation has to pay the cost! The nation gives its oil in exchange for military bases! Just think about it for a moment, the Americans send us weapons that are of no use at all to Iran and never will be, they are only good for use in a war between two superpowers. These weapons are not sent for our use, Iran doesn't need such weapons; machine-guns and the like are all that this regime needs to see to its domestic affairs! Our country does not want to embark on a war. Can we fight Russia or America? No, we can only fight with the bazaar merchants in Tehran; so machine-guns are all we need! We can only fight with the university students! And we have now reached the stage where we are fighting with the primary school children as well, with eight- and nine-year olds! Just yesterday or the day before I was informed that the regime had once again sent its agents to a primary school where they beat up the small children, crippling some of them. Machine-guns are sufficient for slaying our

own countrymen; we do not need these other weapons! These weapons that are brought into the country are not for us; they are for someone else, someone who knows how to use them and has use for them; they're here for the Americans! We give them our oil and in return build bases for them! We use the money they pay for our oil to build these bases and buy weaponry to equip them, and then we bring in their military advisers to operate these weapons and pay them for doing this! This is what this regime is doing; it has reduced the country to a state of ruin. Your country is being destroyed!

Gentlemen, our fellow-countrymen have now risen up. We are duty-bound to help them as much as we can. Your number runs into the thousands; if each of you informs only ten of your European friends and acquaintances of the situation in Iran, then you will have made thousands of people aware of the truth, for the Western newspapers have not painted a true picture of events in Iran. They receive hundreds of millions of dollars from this man for propaganda purposes, so they portray the situation in Iran in a bad light. You are Iranians; you should explain to these European people just what exactly is happening in Iran, what problems the people there face. If you are able, write about it in newspapers or magazines. We should not be indifferent toward a nation which is giving its youth, which is sacrificing lives for a cause which is yours too. Tomorrow is the fortieth day after the massacre on Black Friday.¹ I do not know what disasters lie in store for the nation. The people have arisen, they are sacrificing lives, seven- and eight-year old children have arisen with them and are shouting "Death to this Pahlavi monarchy" are slain. Demonstrations are held and people are slain. Tomorrow the children will be in the streets again voicing their opposition. Iran has risen up and we have a duty to help our fellow-countrymen. We should not be apathetic; we should speak to people and write about what is happening in Iran and publish what we write. We should inform the world of this disaster which has befallen our nation. It is now time for prayer. May God protect you all and may you all be successful.

¹ The Iranian nation named as "Black Friday" Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS [September 8, 1978] when large numbers of innocent demonstrators were massacred at the Zhaleh Square (now Martyrs' Square).

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty-Five

Date: October 16, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 24, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 13, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The comprehensiveness of Islam

Occasion: Advising the younger generation in society and encouraging them to engage in the struggle with divine motives in mind

Those present: A group of young students and Iranians resident abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

On Monday, October 16, Imam Khomeini (a) gave two speeches: speeches which were delivered at a time when the Iranian nation was in fact observing a work stoppage and holding various ceremonies to commemorate the fortieth day following the death of those martyred during the demonstration held at Jaleh Square on Bloody Friday. These days also marked the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam's son, Mustafa Khomeini. Bihisht-i Zahra cemetery was full to overflowing and people were making their way to the burial ground of those martyred, disregarding the presence of armed troops who were strategically positioned throughout the city, and undeterred by the widespread rumour (of which mention has been made earlier in the book) that martial law agents intended to open fire on the people as commanded by the Shah himself.

When, on that same day, a group of people began to demonstrate in Amiriyeh Street (today's Vali 'Asr Street) in Tehran, disciplinary forces immediately appeared on the scene and dispersed the crowd. Traffic police made way for military vehicles to pass by; military troops patrolled the city in a convoy of tanks, jeeps and trucks which carried soldiers armed with rifles and machine-guns; and an helicopter hovered above the route along which this convoy was proceeding. Disciplinary forces were keeping the entire city under surveillance and in particular the city's main streets and the area surrounding Jaleh Square; and military troops were stationed in all major areas of the city—areas such as Sepah Square (today's Imam Khomeini Square) and other important squares and thoroughfares.

Reuters published a report which stated: "If today's mourning ceremony passes without incident, the government will have gained an opportunity to calm the political unrest and to take steps towards the implementation of promised political reforms—reforms such as the holding of free parliamentary elections following the lifting of martial law."

Despite the fact that the outskirts of Bihisht-i Zahra cemetery had been surrounded by government troops, the crowd of people that had assembled there grew by the second. Thousands of boys and girls clothed in black strew flowers over the burial ground of the martyrs whose gravestones they then washed down. Tens of thousands of people shouted out slogans expressing their condemnation of the regime's crimes and their support for Imam Khomeini. Cassette tapes of Imam's speeches were played throughout the cemetery; his declarations were distributed in large numbers; and the air was filled with the cries: "Death to the Shah" and "Long live Khomeini."¹

Although Imam Khomeini had spent many years in exile and was now in fact thousands of kilometres away from his homeland, nevertheless he carefully controlled the movement's affairs. All of the plots that had been weaved by the regime's security and political organisations and by Western experts, and all of the tricks which highly-esteemed religious and political parties and figures had played to rescue the Shah's regime from the edge of collapse were offset by Imam; and each of the latter's messages, speeches and interviews prepared the ground for subsequent uprisings and served to disclose the plans of those who sought compromise.

A characteristic feature of the Islamic Revolution, and one which was always emphasised by Imam both during the period stretching from Khordad 15, 1963 (June 5, 1342 AHS), until the revolution's triumph, and again from this time until the time of his demise, was the attention society paid to spiritual and moral values. Imam Khomeini's movement was more than a political campaign aimed against a particular system of rule, it was essentially a revolution of the values which prevailed in society. The pace of events from January 9, 1978 (Dey 19, 1356 AHS) onwards and the increasing support given by the various sectors of society and its youth to the aims of the revolution, could well have been accompanied by the revolution's higher aims and spiritual values being overshadowed by its political concerns. This was especially so since a number of political groups which either did not really adhere to the doctrinal and moral principles of the Islamic movement, or which had not truly accepted the ideology of Islam, had used this opportunity to capitalise from the popular uprising. It was for this reason that at the same time as steering the political direction of the revolution, Imam would also aptly warn against the possible appearance of deviated trends from those groups which were not sympathetic towards Islamic mores and ethics, whilst he would also discuss the importance of

¹ See the newspapers for October 16 and 17, 1978 (Mehr 24 and 26, 1357 AHS); and *Taqwim-e Tarikh-e Inqilab-i Islami-ye Iran*, p. 156.

giving a correct upbringing to the generation which, following victory, would have to take on the responsibility of continuing the movement.

Hence, in the present speech (and in many of his other speeches) which was delivered during the most critical stage of the revolution—a stage full of political incident—Imam Khomeini mainly focuses his attention on moral values and spiritual concerns. He therefore can be seen to discuss the reality of the Hereafter, of man being brought to account for his deeds, and the actual incarnation of man's deeds, concerning which he states: "If you do not begin to fight against illicit passions and desires, against passions which have never before been restrained in any way... Work towards reforming the self both for this life and for the Hereafter. God forbid that you should expend all of your energy on satisfying illicit desires... Do not expend your time and energy on this world alone." Having said this Imam then turns his attention to the comprehensiveness of the religion of Islam and the heed it pays to the entire material and spiritual needs of mankind. He concludes by reminding the students and the Iranian residents outside Iran of how crucial it is that they actively support the nation and of the rightfulness of the Iranian nation's cause.

Speech Number Thirty-Five

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The action we are now taking is for the benefit of society, it is to enable our young and our society in general to develop. This deed is a spiritual deed; it is a sacred deed which will become manifest in the next world; there you will actually see the true manifestations of all your deeds, manifestations which are presently beyond our vision... The next world will reflect whatever is here in this world. Just as a sound echoes and reverberates when made here in this life, so too whatever deeds we perform here will be reflected there in the next world. We will realize the truth of our deeds once we have departed from this world; only then shall we truly see them for what they are. The Holy Quran states: *“So, he who has done an atom’s weight of good shall see it.”*¹ That is, whosoever performs a good deed here (in this life) will be confronted by that same good deed there (in the Hereafter). There, in the next world, this good deed will appear in pleasant forms; it will appear in forms which befit the deed itself. And after man’s death, it will accompany him right until the very end. *“And he who has done an atom’s weight of evil shall see it.”*² Whoever does evil, no matter how great, no matter how small, he too will see this deed in the next world. He will see its true manifestation there. Indeed, Heaven and Hell will be created from my deeds and yours. Our deeds are the essential ingredients of Heaven and Hell.

Therefore, do not waste this life. God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given this precious life to you so that you may make the most of it and do good while you are here in this world. God has provided you with guidance so that you may perform good deeds—deeds which benefit the society and which benefit you yourselves. And this He has done because He knows and is aware of the actual truth, that being that one will be confronted by whatever deeds one has performed here, in the next world. Just as the effect of medicines or poisonous substances consumed by man can be seen here in this world, so too the effect of a deed performed here will be tangible and visible there in the next world where it will assume the form of the deed itself. Indeed, there man will see his true self. Thus, reason dictates that during his

¹ Surah az-Zilzalah 99:7.

² Surah az-Zilzalah 99:8.

brief stay in this world man ought not to waste his life, he ought not to allow it to be used in the path of evil whereby it becomes a weight around his neck. Instead he should put it to good use. Any good deed which you may perform here, God willing, is for your own benefit and for the benefit of the society in which you live. It will reappear to you there in the next world, God willing.

However, do not defer the performance of good deeds until the time when your life is drawing to an end. This intention is an illusion which man may well entertain but which is in fact one of those evil fallacies which merely prevent one from doing good, whereby one tells oneself that one is still young, that one is in the prime of one's life and so must make the most of one's youth; that one is to let his passions run wild and is to commit wrongdoings—that one is to go ahead and commit those ugly deeds one would like to commit, for God willing, one will be able to make amends at a later stage of one's life. But if man does not begin to fight against his illicit passions and desires while still in his youth—against those passions, both healthy and unhealthy, which have never before been restrained in any way—then there is no way that he can make amends for his evil deeds at a later stage. God forbid that you should at all give way to unhealthy desires; that you should allow yourselves to violate people's rights or to encroach upon that which belongs to others. And God forbid that during your brief stay here (in this world)—a stay which is indeed short for us all—you should spend these precious few days in the performance of evil deeds whose effect will never be lost but rather will prevail forever, to the end of time. While it is true that the doors to God-given bounties and blessings are open to you all and you are to freely make use of them, nevertheless, there must be a limit to how much you avail yourselves of them. That is to say, the extent to which we make use of these blessings must be within the limits set by divine law. Whatever we do must conform to divine law if we are to attain true development.

Divine law is unlike these worldly laws. The latter have taken but one or two aspects of life into account and relate only to the life of this world. This is all these worldly laws constitute and are restricted to and even then there is no certainty that man has been able to determine all the various aspects involved enabling him to design laws for them all. However, the laws of God contain provisions for everything. Injunctions have even been laid down which pertain to the time prior to man's conception—the time when two people come together to conceive a child. Consider a human being before being conceived by his parents—in God's laws there are instructions regarding measures which are to be taken to ensure that the child to be born

is healthy and morally upright. There are religious instructions which relate to the choosing of a partner: instructions concerning the kind of husband to be chosen for a woman and the kind of wife to be chosen for a man. And once married, God's laws stipulate certain duties that are incumbent upon both spouses during their marital state—duties which have been stipulated so that the awaited offspring may develop into a morally upright and virtuous human being. There are injunctions which pertain to that very moment when a clot of blood is about to turn into an embryo; there are certain rules which are to be observed here. And this is all to enable the correct development of the fetus. Again, there are also rules with regard to a mother's pregnancy. Divine laws contain provisions which relate to the moment a child is born into the world and which concern how a newborn baby is to be reared; how the mother should relate to her child; and the responsibilities she has toward it. As the child grows the mother and father's responsibilities toward it increase, and the parents have a duty to bring this child up to the best of their ability. Then the stage is reached where the type of training given to a child is no longer to be solely parental in nature but must become essentially instructive; and again there are religious rules which apply to each of these stages and yet further laws which apply to the time when a child reaches an independent age. Indeed, Islam has provided laws for each stage of man's development. It has laws which apply to the time of man's death and laws which pertain even to the stage after death. Yes, while still here in this life, Islam has even provided us with laws which pertain to the next life. The laws of God, unlike these mundane, man-made laws which can see no further than this material realm, have also taken the spiritual realm into account, and hence contain provisions which relate to that realm. All of God's prophets (a) have come to teach man how to develop in every way. No one other than the prophets is capable of teaching man how to develop in every dimension. Even if one succeeded in rearing a virtuous human being, a person who was morally upright, this training would only be designed for the life of this world. It would only teach one how to live in this world, how to lead a virtuous life here and so on. It could do no more than this since the second state of being which follows the life in this world is beyond man's reach and therefore he is unable to provide his child with the training needed for that later state. This responsibility lies solely with the prophets; and no one other than the prophets is capable of performing this function. The prophets have left teachings which refer to the temporal aspects of man's existence; they have provided instructions and laid down laws in this respect. And again, they have instructed man in the spiritual aspects of his being and in those

aspects which concern the next life, thus laying down numerous injunctions and guidelines to this end.

You who are still young, who are still blessed with the gift of youth, should try to be of some significance here in this life. You who are yet students should endeavor to be persons who have a positive effect on this life. You should try to be beneficial; you should try to benefit your brothers (in Islam); and to be of benefit to yourselves, your society, your nation and your country. Try not to waste your lives whereby you lose this chance, for when you have reached my age you will then realize that you can no longer make up for the past. Make the decision now to do something worthwhile with your lives, for things such as infirmity and illness which come to you later in life, prevent you from being able to do anything anymore. Use this God-given strength that you now possess in the way of God. This strength has been entrusted to you by God, so use it in His path. To use this strength in God's path means using it for the benefit of society, for the benefit of an Islamic country. It means using it to strengthen Islam, to drive out the enemies of Islam, and to force the retreat of these people who have come to our country and are infringing upon the rights of the Muslims and depleting the state treasuries of the Muslims.

In addition, pay due attention to all of those religious rules, practices and so on which have been laid down with a view to your life in the next world. Work toward (reforming the self) both for this life and for the Hereafter. God forbid that you should expend all of your energy on satisfying illicit desires. Do not let your energy go to waste. Do not expend your time and energy on this world alone; but instead, benefit both from this world and from the next. Islam, unlike Christianity, does not tell one to sit on the sidelines and to remain inactive; and even then I wonder whether this is actually something which has been said by Jesus (a) himself, or whether it has in fact been said by some *akhunds* who have then attributed such a statement to him. Again, I cannot see how the teachings of Jesus would be such that they would, for example, teach this mankind whom God has put on this earth and on whom He has bestowed many blessings, to deprive himself of these blessings. Surely this cannot be the case. Jesus (a), this great prophet of God, would never teach someone to turn the other cheek were he to be struck by an oppressor! Indeed, these are the words of Satan and not Jesus.¹ Jesus, the

¹ In the Gospel of Saint Matthew 5:38-40 it reads: *You have heard it said an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also, and him that taketh away thy cloak forbid not to take thy coat also.*

great prophet, is a true human being in every sense of the word. It is their *akhunds* who claim to follow in his path, their priests who have invented such words. And even then do not be mistaken in thinking that they actually practice what they preach, for indeed they do not. Instead they tell their fellow-believers to practice it! This is surely not what Jesus taught.

However, regardless of what Christianity supposedly espouses, that which Islam advocates is unambiguously clear. Its injunctions are plain for all to see. Islam contains certain injunctions with regard to war. The Quran repeatedly discusses engaging in battle with the infidels and the corrupt. So draw your swords and cut down these harmful weeds—these people who want to lead mankind into corruption and these who have pounced on the people. Yes, you are either to draw your swords and rid the earth of those who behave in this way, or you are to pull them back into line. If possible, do the latter; but if not, then get rid of them for otherwise you may one day find that one such corrupt being has caused a whole society to become corrupt. Islam and the Quran contain many verses in regard to war and peace. They speak both of training the mind and the body. Everything can be found in the Quran. The Quran abounds with all of those issues needed to meet man's requirements. That is to say, man is a creature with many needs; needs which possess different dimensions. It is not a case of him having one type of need only. In the animal kingdom needs are purely physical; animals have no needs other than those on a physical plane. Hence, those who call on us to believe that this worldly existence is the be all and end all, are therefore in fact calling on us to be like animals! They tell a nation¹ of one billion people that they are simply to eat and sleep as do animals; that you are to do no more than this. But this is a mistake. Man is not like an animal. Man possesses intellect; he possesses other capabilities and powers—powers which must be put to some use. Yes, Islam concerns itself with spirituality, but it also concerns itself with this temporal world, just like those who concentrate on the affairs of this world. Islam concentrates on a healthy world; however, it is not a world in which people's possessions are appropriated and their lives and property usurped. No, Islam forbids such things. As for healthy desires and pastimes however, Islam and the Quran have in no way prevented these. That which Islam does forbid and which it opposes is that which leads people toward illicit desires.

¹ It refers to China whose population was estimated to be one billion people at the time of this speech.

If those in the clergy sometimes voice discontent and opposition toward the cinema, it is because these cinemas which are now widespread throughout Iran are there to corrupt the younger generation. After having frequented this kind of cinema over a period of time, these youngsters become corrupted. This is the sort of thing that we are against. Were the cinema to be morally and intellectually instructive then who would oppose it? But the fact is that we can see that our entire country, from its cinemas to its schools, is serving imperialism. That is, these institutions have been brought into our country from abroad; they have been brought to us as “gifts”—gifts which will corrupt our youth in every way. Indeed, should the mosque one day turn into one such institution, an institution which enjoins evil, then we would even close the doors to the mosque. In fact the Holy Prophet (s)¹ once destroyed a mosque—the “Mosque of Destruction” [*Masjid ad-Darar*] Mosque, which had been built as a place from where to oppose the Prophet and from where immoral teachings and the like were propagated. The Prophet (s) ordered for this mosque to be destroyed.² Similarly, if there were a mosque which was injurious to society, and which was beyond reform, then we too would order for its destruction. It is not that we would only consider destroying the cinemas. Our opposition to the cinema is an opposition to that particular type of cinema which is in Iran today. It is not that we oppose the cinema in itself for we have nothing against the cinema as such. Indeed, if the cinema is an uncorrupted institution, if it is not used as a means of indoctrination, if it serves to educate the young and if there is freedom, then it is but another means of providing instruction and guidance; it is just like a school. The present situation in Iran, however, is an exceptional one. From the time these usurpers of oil entered Iran and conducted investigations about it and about other Eastern countries, thereby realizing the benefits to be gained there—for the East is rich in resources

¹ The abbreviation, “s”, stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *sallallahu ‘alayhi wa alihi wa sallam* [may God’s salutation and peace be upon him and his progeny], which is used after the name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (s).

² This occurred when the Prophet (s) had returned from battle against the infidels of Tabuk. The *munafiqin* (hypocrites) approached the Prophet and told him that they had built a mosque to where people could go on cold and rainy nights and where the sick could find shelter. They then requested that the Prophet take part in a congregational prayer which was to be held in their mosque. The Prophet said that he would reply to this request on his return from Tabuk; and having returned, he ordered for the mosque in question to be demolished. Subsequently the following holy verse was revealed: *And those who built a masjid (mosque) to cause harm and for unbelief and to cause disunion among the believers ...* (Surah at-Tawbah 9:107). For further information, see commentary of the verse at <http://www.al-islam.org/quran>.

which are needed by the West—they launched their propaganda campaign and began to take other such measures to further their interests. Their aim was to lead us astray, to brainwash us with imperialist notions, to ensure that our minds did not develop correctly. They wanted to prevent us from developing, to prevent our schools from producing true human beings, from producing a single morally-upright human being. Whatever has been passed on to us by the West is harmful for our youth. And it is because these things are harmful that we oppose them and that any reasonable person should also oppose them. No one opposes something which is of benefit, something which helps to develop the mind and to improve the powers of reason. The fact is that these Western powers have sold their ideas to the East to enable them to take away our national assets. And they continue to do so even now. Even now they are taking away Iran's assets; they are devouring them and almost . . .

As well as attending to self-edification, you, my good men, are to make the decision to join and co-operate with the nation of Iran—with these people who have now risen up and who have embarked upon this great movement for the sake of Islam and mankind. You are to help as much as you can. Each of you, wherever you may be, should help as much as possible. As fellow human beings we must do what we can to assist this weak nation which has risen up for your sakes and for the sake of us all, so that, God willing, this element of corruption may be removed, the hands of those who are destroying our every possession and are plundering our every reserve may be severed, and instead these things may remain for you to do with as you see fit. This is all that we argue. Let the papers go ahead and write whatever they like. When they write of the *akhunds* wanting to take the people back to the age of barbarism, this is nothing but propaganda which is put across to make the usurpation of oil possible. So beware, for all of these measures have been taken with a view to usurping our oil and devouring the resources in the East. To the Americans and to the Russians—to these two countries, one of which is taking away our oil and the other our gas—we say: “We want you to desist from taking these resources away. We want these resources to belong to us. We want this Pahlavi dynasty, which is serving you and betraying us, to be no more. We want someone; we ourselves have chosen to rule us;” although our present rulers in fact tell their newspapers to write the contrary. I pray that you may all be successful; that you may all receive God's assistance; and that God willing, you may serve Islam.

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty-Six

Date: October 16, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 24, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 13, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Monarchy is synonymous with oppression, brutality and dictatorship

Occasion: The fortieth day following the death of those martyred on Black Friday (Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS)

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The second speech to be delivered by Imam Khomeini (a) on Monday, October 16, 1978 (Mehr 24, 1357 AHS), was given at a time when the French newspaper *Liberation* had published a report which told of “strict security measures around Imam’s home.” Envoys had already been sent on a previous occasion from the Elysee Palace to formally inform Imam of the French government’s reluctance to allow him to stay in Paris. On this second occasion however, having been informed by other envoys from the French Presidential Palace that he was not to become involved in any political activities, Imam replied that he could not remain silent and that if necessary he would travel from airport to airport in order to convey the rightfulness of the Iranian nation’s uprising to the world¹.

Imam’s devoted followers came from all over Iran as well as from other countries to see their leader in France. The French government which, like other governments in the West, was seen as being a staunch ally and supporter of the Shah’s regime, was now in a quandary. On October 6, 1978 (Mehr 16, 1357 AHS), a telegram sent by almost a hundred religious leaders in Iran, requested Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, the French President, not to stand in the way of Imam’s activities; and on the whole world opinion wanted Imam to be free to continue with his campaign.

Despite these requests, the French government forbade Imam to give interviews, to publish statements, to hold congregational prayer meetings in the mosques in Paris and to participate in social gatherings. On one occasion, Imam was prevented by the French government from participating in a special ceremony in Central Paris to which he had been invited by the

¹ *Taqwim-e Tarikh-e Inqilab-i Islami-ye Iran*, p. 153.

Confederation of Iranian Students' Islamic Associations in Europe¹. But nevertheless he relentlessly continued to fulfil his obligation to God and the Iranian nation, and succeeded in getting his message concerning issues relating to the movement across to the people in Iran and to the world as a whole via the speeches and statements he made daily to his close associates.

In Iran, nationwide strikes were being held and many government offices and organisations had either fully or partially closed down. In effect, the Iranian government did not have a leg to stand on, differences and discord now even having arisen between Cabinet members. General Qarabaghi, the Minister of Interior in Sharif Imami's Cabinet, avowedly writes in his book *Confessions of a General*: "Even though martial law had been declared in the country, demonstrations grew daily. According to incoming reports, now that demonstrations in the provinces had become more broad-based, certain government appointees and even some governors-general had also begun to join in with the demonstrators... Meanwhile, further reports explained how due to the non-implementation of the law and of martial law regulations in Tehran, the majority of government employees in the capital were also participating in demonstrations and one by one even top ministerial figures were joining in with them!" Ardeshir Zahidi, the son of Fadlullah Zahidi (a person who played a crucial role in the coup d'état of August 19, 1953 (Mordad 28, 1332 AHS) and Iran's ambassador to the US, came to Iran at this point, and reports suggest that having held official talks with the Shah he then in fact paid a visit to Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shari'atmadari.

On October 15, 1978 (Mehr 23, 1357 AHS), *Kayhan International* (the English publication) carried the news of Zahedi's visit to Iran and of his fourteen-hour-long negotiations with the Shah. In addition, the paper also printed pictures of Dr. Amini, General Zahidi and General Jam—three people whose names were being circulated as prospective candidates for the premiership. The caption which appeared beneath Dr. Amini's picture read: "The Morning Candidate;" that which appeared beneath General Zahedi's picture read: "The Afternoon Candidate;" and that beneath General Jam's picture read: "The Evening Candidate"! This report therefore spoke for itself in that it indicated the utter state of confusion into which the White House and the Shah's regime had fallen.

It is important to note that Imam Khomeini had left no doors open for the monarchical system in Iran to be rescued, although this was in fact something which America and the West in general would have dearly wished for; and

² *Ibid.* p. 156, as quoted by the French news agency on October 16, 1978 (Mehr 24, 1357 AHS).

on this count it is clear that the circumstances which prevailed at this time were incomparable to those which had prevailed on August 19, 1953 (Mordad 28, 1332 AHS).

The present speech, which was the second to be delivered to the public by Imam on October 16, 1978 (Mehr 24, 1357 AHS), marks the fortieth day following the death of those martyred on September 8, 1978 (Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS: Black Friday). In this speech, Imam examines fifty years of repressive rule by the Pahlavis. He clearly expresses his opposition to the basic principle of monarchical rule by saying: "Monarchy is synonymous with oppression, brutality and dictatorship," and he discards those policies which had been forwarded by the nationalists and by those who were prepared to compromise their position.

In pointing to the American sanctioning of crimes committed by the Shah's regime, Imam argues that the call for human rights by the American President and Western governments is but a trick to deceive the nations. Elsewhere in his address, Imam discusses the conditions prevalent in Iran, the plundering of oil throughout the Shah's reign, and the nation's mass uprising. He then talks of America's plans having been foiled—plans such as government reshuffles—and he confirms the people's imminent victory. The speech concludes with Imam reminding those Iranians resident abroad of their duty to propagate both the rightfulness of the nation's uprising and the aims of the Islamic Revolution¹.

³ On October 16, 1978, Imam Khomeini spoke for those present on three different occasions. The first two of these addresses have been included in the present work and have been designated as Speech 35 and Speech 36. However, due to the poor quality of the recorded tape, which has rendered the third address inaudible, the latter has not been included in this book. Should a suitable and discernible recording of this latter speech be obtained, then God willing, a copy of this discourse will be added to the contents of future editions.

Speech Number Thirty-Six

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... However, I am living somewhere that my visitors have to remain standing; they are standing ... and there is not sufficient space for them to be received hospitably.¹ I apologize for this. Please feel at home here. May you all prove to be assets to your community wherever you may be. Indeed, our society will need certain people to help run the country; it will need them to fill positions in government and administration and in areas of even more importance. Iran is still in a state of turmoil. America does not have what it takes to keep the country under control; and as for the Shah, he also is unable to bring calm to the country. None of these powers or forces can calm the people down. Even if they decided to allow a military figure to rule the country or agreed to a coup d'état whereby some ruthless military officer came to power, they still would not be able to calm the situation in Iran. A nation cannot be silenced at bayonet-point and told that it must remain repressed forever. Such a situation can only last for so long; it cannot continue indefinitely.

And now it looks as though this state of repression which has reigned in Iran for the past fifty years has now reached the end of its term, because the Iranian nation of today is no longer the nation it was twenty years ago. Now, the nation of Iran is one which is awake and one in which all social classes have risen up in opposition both to this dynasty's sovereign rule and to the idea of monarchism. The basic principles of monarchy are something which made no sense from the very start. They have never made sense, since monarchy is synonymous with oppression, brutality and dictatorship; and that goes for all countries both large and small. No matter which past monarchy one may consider ... one sees that it has mainly entailed these elements of tyranny and dictatorship. This is not something, which is exclusive to Iran and to Iranian kings, for others, such as the emperors and tsars of Russia have in fact been worse than the kings of Iran.

Even though many foreign countries have now become republican states, these factors still prevail but they appear in another guise.

¹ Imam spoke to his audience beneath a fifty-square-meter awning which had been erected in the yard of his residence at Neauphle-le-Château, but due to a lack of space many people actually remained standing out in the cold, open air.

Do not be mistaken in thinking that some country or other is now governed on the basis of justice, for this is not the case. Take America for example; this is one of those large countries, which is now governed as a republic. It is a country which has signed the Declaration of Human Rights and which loudly advocates these rights, speaking up for people's freedom and so on; and yet it is a country where true freedom and justice do not prevail. The situation is one whereby the President there does not in fact exert a great deal of force within his own country, but instead he governs as a dictator in other countries such as ours. America and the like have installed their agents in countries like our own—countries, which are under their domination—and they continue to offer these agents their support, endorsing their acts of murder and condoning those criminal and treacherous acts, which these agents have committed for the sake of their masters. Not one of these existing forms of government, be it republican, monarchical, constitutional or dictatorial, can be said to be a form of government which is just, a government which really improves people's lives, which truly governs for the sake of the people and not for the superpowers or for themselves. No indeed, no such government presently exists. But the government sought by us has these characteristic features—that is, the government sought by us is an Islamic government. If one day, God willing, we are able to administer an Islamic government in these countries or in our own country of Iran, then everyone would see just what form a government should in fact take. They would see what the essential qualifications are for someone to become a ruler—qualifications which have carefully been specified in Islam. Should a ruler not fulfill these requirements then he will inevitably fall from power. There is no need for him to relinquish power or for him to be ousted from his position, for he will automatically fall from power eventually anyway. Nevertheless, the nation still has a duty to try its best to get rid of him. So much for the prerequisite qualities of a ruler; but when one considers a nation, there are other issues involved ... issues which concern human rights for example.

These countries which boast about things such as human rights are in fact guilty of violating the rights of mankind more than anything else. All of these deadly weapons which have been the cause of warfare world-wide have in fact been made by these very countries—countries which have signed the Declaration of Human Rights—countries such as France, for example. Yes, the latter indeed signed this Declaration, but just look at what it did in

Algeria;¹ and even now, given the chance, it will continue to engage in such acts. The same goes for America and the Soviet Union too. They are all busy plundering the people; devouring that which belongs to the people. They do so under different guises, however—guises which serve to deceive the people. Hence, people are convinced, for example, that the government of the Soviet Union is now one, which truly serves the people; that it is “communist” in the true sense of the word; and that it serves the popular masses. On closer inspection however, one sees that this is not in fact the case, and that this “communist” state is even more brutal and oppressive than other countries; that people are treated with more contempt there than they are elsewhere.² One of its leaders³ once said that the amount of work done by the people in his country ought to be measured against the amount of food they consumed, and that should someone’s output be found to be less than their consumption, then that person ought to be thrown into the sea! Yes, this is the kind of conviction held by these so-called “lovers of mankind.”

All this talk of human rights, etc. is nothing other than their use of different guises to deceive us. It is nothing but a game. They want to fool the people in the East with these different ideologies of theirs. And indeed, we in turn have been taken in by this trick. Similarly, we have become so

¹ In 1830, France dispatched troops to Algeria with a view to conquering this country, but in so doing it met with resistance from the Algerian people. The leader of this resistance, Amir ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jazayiri, engaged in a prolonged battle against the French, and following seventeen years of fighting and conflict was eventually defeated and captured by his French opponents. In 1847, having occupied a large area of Algeria, the French actually colonized the country; and by the beginning of the twentieth century the whole of Algeria lay under French control. Following a prolonged period of resistance by the Algerian people, in 1959 De Gaulle eventually gave them political autonomy. Since the Algerian combatants sought complete independence however, they continued in their struggle against the French until 1962 when De Gaulle was forced to sign a peace pact which granted full independence to Algeria. Nevertheless, the French military command was deeply disappointed by the signed agreement and thus took measures to stir up internal strife in Algeria. At the end of the day, the Algerian revolution left one million Algerians dead—Algerians who had been killed by the French.

² Stalin believed in the motto: “The dead are still.” Anyone was likely to have heard Stalin say the words, “We shall shoot you down,” for he believed this to be the solution to all problems. Lenin was no different. During the ‘Red Terrorism’ campaign which was a campaign carried out on Lenin’s orders to counteract ‘White Terrorism,’ a series of mass executions were held, those executed having no recourse to any kind of trial. It is said that within a few minutes Lenin once recalled and prepared a long list of the names of suspected opponents of the revolution who were to be sentenced to death, to which list he then gave his signature! Refer to the book, *Kajraheh* by Ihsan Tabari, the former theorist of the Tudeh Party in Iran.

³ Lenin.

infatuated with the West, so “xenomaniac”¹ as someone once put it, that we do not even bother to ask ourselves exactly what is so special about this “West” that everyone raves about; they have even robbed us of the ability to give this matter thought. They do not even allow us to consider what those in the West are actually doing to mankind, or what they have already done to it. Yes, they have achieved progress, but this has been a deadly progress, a progress that is leading to man’s annihilation.

Therefore, that which we seek is a just system of rule, a just regime and a just ruling body; one which can be trusted by the people and which will serve the society; one which will not embezzle public funds and which will not swindle the State treasury. And indeed, should such a government be established in Iran for example—a country possessing massive reserves, only one of which is oil—and should the present thieving be stopped, and an end be put to the present squandering and treachery, then it may be possible for our country to be run on its oil alone. Furthermore, there would be no need to extract oil on the same present-day scale; a reasonable amount could be extracted, a reasonable amount could be sold, and a reasonable amount could be consumed. Yes, Iran possesses various reserves, but they are devouring them, they are plundering them. And eventually revenues will dwindle away for they are using whatever there is now for themselves.

However, be that as it may, the fact remains that Iran is now a country that is up in arms. I am concerned about what might happen, and I only hope that today, which is the fortieth day following the events of Black Friday, we do not witness further killings thereby necessitating the holding of another fortieth-day memorial ceremony. God willing this will not be the case. Now in Iran they are ... ruling by the bayonet. The country is being governed at the point of a bayonet, but the people are not yielding to this iron-fisted rule. That is, they have risen up in revolt out of utter despair at these injustices that have been committed against them. They have now decided to risk their lives and have entered the battlefield, small children and old men alike. Now they are all crying out: “Death to this Shah,” and “Death to this monarchy!” This uprising, which is a popular, mass uprising, and which constitutes a referendum on the illegitimacy of monarchical rule, is something which

¹ Xenomaniacs: those infatuated with foreign and especially Western models of culture. This is a translation of a Persian term, *gharbzadeh-ha*, popularized by Jalal Al-i Ahmad (d. 1969) in his book *Gharbzadegi* (“Xenomania”). See its English translation, R. Campbell (trans.) and Hamid Algar (ed. and anno.), *Occidentosis: A Plague from the West* (Berkeley: Al-Mizan Press, 1984). He was a writer of great influence and Imam Khomeini was acquainted with his work. See the commemorative supplement on Jalal Al-i Ahmad in the Tehran daily newspaper *Jumhuri-ye Islami*, Shahrvivar 20, 1359 AHS [September 11, 1980], p. 10.

cannot be silenced by use of the bayonet. It is a matter which requires a remedy. These different regimes, these various Prime Ministers who come and go one after another, cannot provide this remedy; and nor can any military figure. It is the Shah alone who can provide the remedy—that being for him to get up and leave. If he leaves Iran the country will rest content; it will be governed in a better way. However, the Americans believe their interests to lie in his hands, and since he is the best servant they have, they give him their backing. The fact that America has so far not been able to ... if it were not to support him (the Shah) the nation would get rid of him much sooner.

In any event, those of us who are here have a duty to fulfill and that includes all of you gentlemen, regardless of where you reside. Our consciences, our religious law and reason all dictate that we help those Iranians whose blood is being spilled; those who are sacrificing the lives of their children. We are to help by disseminating information. Wherever you may be, each one of you can communicate with a certain number of people there and can explain to them about what has happened in Iran. Make it clear just what the people of Iran actually want. The Iranian people do not want their country to be in a state of unrest and turmoil; they want peace and tranquility. But there is no chance of this while this dynasty remains. Therefore, the people want this dynasty which has betrayed them to exist no more. This is what you must explain in order to enlighten the people. If possible, you can then get what you have to say printed in these magazines and newspapers that are published here (abroad). This is the sort of assistance you can give over here. As for the helpless people in Iran, they are under extreme pressure. Every day conflict arises somewhere or other; killings take place; an explosive situation breaks out; and it is they who are on the receiving end. You are not on the receiving end in that sense, but nevertheless you are still to bear their suffering firmly in mind so that you may do your utmost for the people of your nation. The latter have risen up for your sakes and you in return must do your part by propagating the Iranian nation's cause for their sakes. Do whatever is in your power to help. May God preserve you and may you be successful.

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty-Seven

Date: October 20, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 28, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 17, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Islam and the clergy: two great obstacles in the way of imperialist penetration

Occasion: The intensification of the propaganda campaign at home and abroad against the movement and the struggle against the waves of adverse Western propaganda

Those present: A group of students and Iranians resident abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

As protests and demonstrations against the regime continued in different cities, a strike by workers resulted in most of the offices in the country being closed. Students of the schools and universities joined in the protest by staying away from classes. The official, government-controlled Pars news agency reported from Mashhad that on the anniversary of the birthday of the eighth Imam (Imam Rida (a)), thousands of people of that city gathered outside the home of Ayatullah Shirazi and set off on a protest march that was to end at the shrine of Imam Rida. Skirmishes between the people and security forces broke out along the way and tear gas was used to disperse the crowd. The demonstrators reassembled in the 'Atiq courtyard of the shrine and the voice of protest could be heard until 9 pm that evening.

In Sari, about three thousand men and women, members of the Society of Teachers of that city, took to the streets in a large demonstration in which, amongst other things, they called for the lifting of martial law throughout the country; freedom of expression and the press; the formation of an independent teachers' society; the release of all imprisoned students and teachers; and the closing of SAVAK offices in the departments of education. In Rasht, twenty-seven thousand male and female employees from both the public and private sectors of Gilan province went on strike. A few days earlier during demonstrations in Kermanshah (Bakhtaran) about fifteen banks were set on fire; to prevent further attacks and to ensure better security, barricades were put up in front of the windows of many banks. In Abadan, workers from the oil refinery there went on strike; when security agents arrested seven of them, other employees joined the strikers in protest at the actions of the agents.

On October 16, as anxious relatives looked on, political prisoners in Kermanshah, Ahwaz and Shiraz staged a hunger strike. Reports from Dezful, Andimeshk, Zanjan and Minab spoke of peaceful demonstrations by the people being marred by bloodshed as agents of the regime attacked the demonstrators, martyring many. A great number of those killed were school-children.¹

Qarabaghi in the book *The Confessions of a General* while pointing to the disagreements which existed between the government of Sharif Imami and General Oveissi, the Military Governor of Tehran, writes: "... in reply to Sharif Imami I said: 'What you have said is correct. The police have also reported to me that a number of irresponsible, incompetent and suspicious people have got together in the Military Governorate of Tehran... instead of implementing martial law regulations on time and arresting the instigators and leaders of the riots... without having the slightest effect, the security situation of the country is getting worse day by day. If this continues there is not the slightest hope for improvement and it is imperative that a fundamental decision be taken on this matter.'"² Qarabaghi's statements show that the government was losing all control of the situation.

The people no longer pay heed to any of the regime's promises, they look to their leader, Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace). They neither believe the analyses and justifications of the professional politicians nor accept the shows put on for them by the representatives in the puppet Parliament. The following report constitutes an example of the helplessness of a man who once upon a time called himself "the King of kings." "The Shah called almost all the senior figures of his regime to his palace at Sad Abad: Sharif Imami, the Prime Minister; Muhammad Baheri, the Minister of Justice; Hushang Nahavandi, the Minister of Science and Higher Education; Manuchehr Azmun, the Minister of State in charge of Administrative Affairs; Manuchehr Ganji, the Minister of Education; Kazim Vadi'i, the Minister of Labour and Social Affairs; General Azhari, Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces; General Oveissi, Commander of the Land Forces and Head of the Military Governorate of Tehran; General Nassir Moqaddam, Deputy Prime Minister and Head of SAVAK; and General Qarabaghi the Interior Minister all attended. The Shah also asked his wife Farah to be present at this meeting. Discussions began at 7 pm and carried on until 2 am the following morning ... Manuchehr Azmun spoke about the critical situation of the country and proposed the dissolution of both houses of the

¹ Refer to the press reports of October 17 to 21, 1978 (Mehr 25-29 1357 AHS).

² *The Confessions of a General*, pp. 35-36.

Parliament, that is the National Consultative Assembly and the Senate, and the formation of a 'revolutionary council,' so that those who had been guilty of corruption in the past and were subsequently the cause of public discontent and hatred could be quickly brought to trial in a war-time like tribunal and executed! General Moqaddam (the head of SAVAK) immediately retorted: 'If Mr. Azmun's proposal is sanctioned, he himself will be the first to be punished!' His Excellency and the others laughed!"¹

In his speech of October 20, 1978 (Mehr 28, 1357 AHS), Imam Khomeini, while emphasising the fact that throughout history the imperialists have tried to break the two main obstacles to their penetration of Islamic countries i.e. the institutions of Islam and the clergy as the guardians and protectors of the Islamic laws, gives a brief account of Rida Shah's hostile encounters with the clergy and presents specific examples of the *ulama's* struggles. He speaks about the uprising of the great Prophets, such as Abraham and Moses, and the Prophet of Islam against the capitalists, kings and oppressors, and dismisses the idea put forth by the capitalists that religion was the opium of the people, saying: "The Prophets confronted the capitalists, they were opposed to capitalism... the clergy and different classes of Iranian society have stood up to the big capitalists and the superpowers and are shouting for their freedom and independence."

In the second section of his speech, Imam points to the fact that there are many verses in the Quran which call on the Muslims to struggle against the capitalists and the illegitimate rulers, and he introduces Islam, the Quran and the clergy as the rallying points and sources of unity for the Iranian people in the recent movement. At the same time, he elucidates the position of the clergy and announces that they were not opposed to civilisation in itself but to the evils of an imperialist civilisation and university system, and a cinema and radio which are in the service of imperialism.

Elsewhere in his speech, Imam speaks about the worsening economic situation in Iran. He explains the people's aims in the uprising and draws attention to their sacrifices. He also speaks of the regime's increasing bewilderment in the face of the uprising and its inability to deal with the course of events. Imam's repeated revelations of the situation in Iran from his base in Paris had a noticeable effect on world public opinion, especially on the views of Westerners. The latter had for years been subject to distorted news from the regime's propaganda organs and the false reports of its Western allies and thought of Iran as an island of stability and a land of

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 36-38.

freedom and prosperity. Imam's words served to inform them that the truth was otherwise.

In concluding his speech, Imam reminds those Iranians residing abroad of their mission, as he had done many times before, saying: "Now that the Iranians are giving their lives, you ought to at least give your voice, you should at least make people aware of the truth....Neither the Soviet Union nor America can stop this roaring flood. This is a just act; this is the hand of God, and nobody can stop it."

Speech Number Thirty-Seven

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... Because of the natural resources and minerals that they possess and the interests of certain groups, the countries of the East have become an important concern for the world. Consequently, the Western newspapers have examined their situation thoroughly and the information can be found therein. The discussion revolves around ways to lull these Eastern societies and keep them from progressing in certain important areas. The imperialists have studied this issue very carefully and have come to the conclusion that there is one great force which stands in the path of their ambitions—whether materialistic or spiritual. They have concluded that in these Islamic countries, Islam is this great force and is a barrier which could block imperialism and endanger their interests, and that those who impart the message of Islam, and they consist of the clergy, form a further obstacle to their designs. They have identified these two forces and have concluded that were true Islam and the true clerics of Islam to gain dominance; they would not give the imperialists and the foreigners the opportunity to exploit the country. Their plan is to keep these countries in a state of backwardness so that they can realize their own ambitions there and install their own agents in power. They view these two forces as two motivating forces which have to be destroyed. These two forces must be taken away from the East so that they can implement their plans easily.

You may be too young, but during my own lifetime I have witnessed this plan in action. When Rida Shah came to power his mission was twofold: to destroy Islam, even in the eyes of the Muslims themselves, and to belittle the clergy and then destroy them, thus removing what the foreigners saw as the barriers to their designs. He began his task by banning all religious assemblies throughout Iran. For a time, if one wanted to preach to one's congregation or deliver a sermon, it was not possible, not openly anyway. Sometimes such gatherings took place surreptitiously, at midnight or before dawn, but even then the agents were on the look-out and at times they would burst in on gatherings and arrest people and take them away. In this way, this person wanted to obliterate all Islamic manifestations.

As for the clergy, I cannot describe for you what he did to the *ulama*, and especially to those who were influential in any way, such as the late Mudarris.¹ The latter stood up to Rida Shah, and he had to endure much suffering for doing so before Rida Shah eventually killed him. This monarch brought groups of *ulama*² to Tehran from the provinces. For example, the late Aqazadeh, who was a very influential person in Khorasan—so much so that he was called the “King of Khorasan”—was arrested and brought to Tehran.³

¹ Sayyid Hasan Mudarris [1859-1938] was one of the greatest religious and political figures in the recent history of Iran. He received his elementary education in Isfahan and then traveled to the cities of the holy shrines (the cities of Iraq where certain of the Imams are buried: Najaf, Karbala and Kazimayn, and to a certain extent some others) where he received further education from such scholars as Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khurasani and, after graduation to the level of *ijtihād*, he returned to Isfahan and began teaching Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and principles [*usul*]. In 1909, at the time of the Second National Assembly, he entered Parliament having been chosen by the *maraji' at-taqlid* and the *ulama* of Najaf as one of the five *mujtahids* who were to oversee the law-making procedures. At the time of the Third National Assembly, he was chosen as a Member of Parliament. When Rida Khan carried out his coup d'état, Mudarris was arrested and sent into exile, but after being freed he was again chosen by the people and again entered Parliament. In the Fourth National Assembly, he headed the opposition majority against Rida Khan. At the time of the Fifth and Sixth National Assemblies, he opposed the proposal for the establishment of a republic, which Rida Khan was in favor of, to replace the constitutional government, and he dissuaded the Parliament from approving it. He was resolute in his stand against the stubborn Rida Khan, such that the Shah hired an assassin to kill Mudarris and when he escaped the attempt, he sent him first into exile in the remote town of Khaf near the Afghan border, and later in Kashmar, where eleven years later in Ramadan 1338, the agents of the Shah poisoned him. In this way, one of the greatest political and religious personalities of Iran was martyred in the way of Allah. Mudarris possessed outstanding qualities, and even though he was a man of great political and religious influence, he lived very simply. Imam Khomeini always spoke of him with a great deal of respect. The Leader of the Revolution, on the occasion of the renovation of Mudarris' grave, wrote: “At a time when pens were broken, voices silenced and throats gripped, he never ceased from revealing the truth and abolishing falsehood....this feeble scholar, weak in body but strong in a spirit joyful from belief, sincerity and truth, and possessing a tongue like the sword of Haydar Karar (Imam Ali), stood in front of them and shouted out the truth and disclosed the crimes, making life difficult for Rida Khan and blackening his days. Finally, he sacrificed his own pure life in the way of dear Islam and the noble nation, and was martyred in exile at the hands of the oppressive Shah's executioner and joined his virtuous forefathers.”

² *ulama*: Islamic scholars; plural from of *Alim* [Islamic scholar, learned man].

³ Mirza Muhammad (Aqazadeh) Najafi Khorasani (1877-1938) the son of Akhund Khorasani began his studies with his father and received the authorization for becoming a *mujtahid* from him. In 1907, he left Najaf, Iraq for Khorasan in Iran and took up residence in Mashhad where he taught *usul* [principles of jurisprudence] and *fiqh* [jurisprudence] for a while. He was a staunch supporter of the constitutional movement and with the rise to power of Rida Khan and the establishment of his despotic rule, he continued struggling against oppression and called upon the people to rise up against the first Pahlavi monarch. After the barbaric events at

I myself saw him in a house that was guarded; a chair had been placed outside because he was apparently tired and was sitting there. I was told how Rida Shah's agents had taken him, without his turban accompanied by a few soldiers, to the court of justice to stand trial. They had taken him on foot through the streets in this condition so that the prosecutor could question him. They arrested all the *ulama* of Azerbaijan,¹ including two of the great personalities there: the late Haj Sadiq Aqa and the late Angaji,² and took them to a village in Kurdistan where they kept them stay for a while. They tormented the *ulama* of Isfahan in much the same way. Rida Shah put so much pressure on the theological schools that one day only one person turned up for my class which was usually attended by a number of students! I was told that between dawn and sunrise they had all run away from their rooms and had gone to the orchards, returning later dressed in different clothes so that they wouldn't be recognized. His agents would enter the schools and arrest the religious students and the learned ones and take them away on the pretext that they should not be wearing turbans or that they should go to perform their national service and thousands of other excuses.

This was how this man carried out his mission to destroy these two forces which blocked the imperialists' plans. Both Islam and the Islamic

Gauhar Shad Mosque in Mashhad, Khorasani was arrested and sentenced to death. However, measures taken by those at the Najaf theological school forced Rida Khan's regime to commute his sentence. Consequently, he was held in prison for a while and upon his release he was expelled from Mashhad and forced to move to Tehran. There his home was kept under constant surveillance. It is believed that he died at the hands of one Doctor Ahmadi who killed him while treating him for an illness. His body was laid to rest at the shrine of 'Abdul-'Azim al-Hasani in Shahri Rey in the south of Tehran. Some of his most notable works are *Kitab al-Qada*, *Ash-Shahadah* and *Mabhath al-Fazz*. See *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*, vol. 6, p. 252.

¹ One of the freedom movements during the despotic reign of Rida Khan was that of the *ulama* of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan. This movement was led by Mirza Sadiq Aqa and Angaji, two of the great religious jurists (*fuqaha*) and *maraji'* of the people of Azerbaijan. In order to suppress the movement, Rida Khan sent these two theologians first to Kurdistan and then to Qum. Angaji was able to return to Tabriz after a while, but Sadiq Aqa remained in exile in Qum until the end of his life.

² Ayatullah Mirza Sadiq, the great religious jurist (*faqih*) and *marja* of the people of Azerbaijan province, resided in Tabriz. He was one of the great theologians and *mujtahids* of the Shi'ah during the first half of the twentieth century. Haj Mirza Abul-Hasan Angaji (1862-1937) the son of Sayyid Muhammad Shaykh Shari'at was one of the religious jurists and *maraji'* of Tabriz. He studied under Haj Mirfatah Sarabi and Mirza Mahmud Usuli in Tabriz until 1884 when he went to Najaf to study under Fadil Irvani, Haj Mirza Habibullah Roshani and Aqa Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Mamaqani. Four years later, toward the end of 1888, he returned to Tabriz and began teaching. In 1933, he was arrested and sent into exile first in Sanandaj and then in Qum. He died in Tabriz in 1937. His works include *Kitab-e Hajj* and *Hashiyeh bar Riyaz*.

scholars and propagators must be defeated. Gradually, however, the imperialists came to realize that this method of elimination was not very effective. So they chose another way: to introduce Islam to the people within the country and those outside in such a way that made it appear a very insignificant, petty and out-dated affair filled with superstitions. Thus they embarked on their propaganda campaign both at home and abroad to advance the idea that yes, Islam exists, but if it is anything important its importance belongs to 1,400 years ago, when the Arabs were uncivilized and these teachings were for them, that now with the advent of civilization, Islam is out-dated and useless. Its teachings oppose progress and freedom; it does not allow the people to be free; women have no freedom at all in Islam and education is prohibited. They would have the people believe that were Islam to gain predominance, all traces of modernity would be effaced; travel by airplane would be forbidden; schooling would be prohibited; and women would not be allowed to leave their homes. They have succeeded in spreading such ideas on a vast scale throughout the world.

As for the *ulama* of Islam who pursued the task of diffusing the word of Islam, they vilified them, called them “worshippers of the old,” said they had been installed by courtiers and capitalists to opiate the people so that the capitalists could achieve their aims. They accused them of always appealing to the people to keep silent in the face of oppression and of allowing themselves to be robbed. They said they put the people to sleep; they lull them so that when these foreigners come to plunder their wealth they can do so easily and no one will utter a word. Those who wanted to plunder your wealth began such propaganda, and they spread these ideas in such a way that at one time even the people of Iran believed that this was true.

At the time of Rida Khan, one class of people treated the *ulama* the way that the regime desired; they did exactly what the regime dictated. Then later, when the propaganda against Islam began, it took on a different form. Perhaps the beliefs of these people, this one class of people, helped the idea that the *ulama* were harmful for the society gain precedence. They then went one step further and said that from the very beginning religion has been the opium of the people, that religion has stupefied the people, dulled their senses while the imperialists pursued their interests.

This has been the propaganda which they began several centuries ago because they thought that these two forces may present a danger to them, and it has continued to the present day when it has reached its zenith. The newspapers, magazines and foreign press, all propagate these ideas and are paid a lot of money for doing so.

This was merely a brief account of what Islam and the clergy have had to contend with so far. Nevertheless, those who are conversant with Islam and have studied the Quran, which is the source of Islam, and have given even a cursory glance at the lives of the prophets of old and the Most Noble Prophet (s), that is the Prophet of Islam, and at how they conducted themselves, realize the devilry of the imperialists and see that all these ideas they advance are corrupt.

When you look at the life of the Prophet of Islam, and indeed any of the other prophets, you see that it is not the case that they established a monarchy or capitalism as a governing force, that they were against the people or that they stupefied the people so that the capitalists could do whatever they wanted. From the very beginning, the uprisings of the prophets were against kings. We have stories about Prophet Abraham (a), who lived all those years ago, and the Holy Quran tells us a little about how he rose up against the kings and the elders who worshipped idols and oppressed the people. Moses was a simple shepherd, a shepherd who grazed his sheep, but he rose up with his staff in hand against the Pharaoh, that great king of Egypt. There were no kings in Mecca, where the Most Noble Messenger was born and raised, but there were rich capitalists. The people of Taif and the Hijaz¹ earned immense wealth from their trade and owned large orchards, and never did any of these capitalists support the Messenger. They were all against him. In his struggle against these capitalists, the Most Noble Messenger was helped by the weak and oppressed class. In that short time that he clandestinely spread his message in Mecca, it was this group of people, this group of lowly, oppressed people from the class of the poor and needy, that gathered around him, and when he left Mecca for Medina, there too it was the people from the poor and oppressed class who gathered around him and little by little a group of tribal leaders also joined him.

At the time of the Prophet of Islam, the uprising was against the great capitalists of the Quraysh tribe such as Abu Sufyan and his kind, and the people of Taif who had wealth and property. He did not rise up against them merely because they were wealthy, but because the rich always persecute the poor, they rob them of their property and possessions and oppress them. From the time that we have information about kings to the present day, we see that they were people who, wherever they were in the world, used dictatorship and force to plunder the wealth of the people and rob them of their honor and that which they held dear. From the very beginning the

¹ Hijaz: the region in Western Arabia that includes Mecca and Medina.

prophets confronted such kings. The story of the prophets is not that which the capitalists like to promote. The prophets confronted the capitalists; they were opposed to capitalism; they were not used by the capitalists to keep the poor and the weak quiet. No, the capitalists formed one group and the prophets along with the people who assisted in propagation formed another opposing group who attacked them and, as far as they were able, crushed them. So these utterances that religion is the opium of the people and the prophets were the servants of the capitalists are very clearly absurd and anyone who gives the conduct of the prophets even a cursory examination will realize the falsity of such claims. But what can we do? Their propaganda is presented on such a large scale and is so widespread that we cannot compete with it. We do not have the means; all the means lie in their hands. The radio, television and press are in their hands; they control everything. The domestic and foreign magazines are in their hands; the capitalists and large sums of money are in their hands, so they are able to pay the media to disseminate the ideas that they want propagated and in the manner they choose. We, however, have only the faculty of speech and expression; we have a pen and some paper, nothing else. We want to awaken the nation; we want to make this nation understand what has been done to them so far; we want the people to see how they are presenting their beliefs and their religion to the world.

Even at this time, when the country of Iran, the clergy of Iran and the different classes of Iranian society have stood up to the big capitalists and the superpowers and are shouting for their freedom and independence, these things are still being said, even though they shouldn't be. Even now we see in one of the foreign newspapers that untruths continue to be propagated.

As for the clergy, whose foundations lie with the prophets and with those who came after the prophets, their uprisings against the monarchs in Iran alone are so numerous—and I myself can remember some of them—that I do not have the time to go into them now.

And as for Islam itself, one only needs to make a cursory study of the Quran, which is the source of Islam, to see that it does not oblige the people to remain silent before capitalists and kings. It is the Quran which tells Moses to arise and invite Pharaoh (to the right path), to speak to him mildly so that he may accept (his call).¹ And it is God who gives the mission to Moses to struggle with Pharaoh; it is God who through the Holy Quran

¹ It refers to a subject mentioned in several places of the Holy Quran; for example, *Surah Taha* 20:44: “*But speak to him mildly; perhaps he may take warning or fear (Allah).*”

commands his Messenger to do battle with the polytheists, with the capitalists and with those who have deviated from the right path.

The verses in the Quran pertaining to fighting, battle and war are not just one or two. There are many verses in the Quran which are concerned with war, which give orders to go to war, to do battle with all those who are corrupt, to rise up and put them in their place. These are commands which apply to us today. However, we do not have the means to go to battle, but we do have the wherewithal to awaken the people, to let the people know Islam's situation, to let them know the situation of the Muslims and the clergy. We can do this and little by little it is being done.

So they wanted to present Islam and the clergy in a bad light in order to weaken the Islam of the people and to distance them from the clergy.

If the people were to set aside the clergy who guide them and the Quran which is their religious book, then they would not be able to achieve anything; only when they band together, when they have something on which they can depend, can they act against these tyrants. No one can stand up to them alone; there has to be a pivotal point and this for the Muslims is the Quran. They must turn toward it and unite under the banner of the Quran. The clergy too are a unifying force which the people can rely on. Now that Iran has risen, praise be to God, it is the clergy and Islam to which the people turn; it is Islam that they call for; all the people are shouting for an Islamic government.

It is not the case that were an Islamic government to be formed, it would ruin the people's lives, that tanks and weapons would no longer be required, that we would ride around on donkeys! These are their foolish ramblings. Where in the Quran does it oppose modernity? Which one of the Quranic laws opposes modernity? Which clergyman has ever said that the clergy opposes modernity? We are opposed to corruption. When the manifestations of civilization fall into the hands of those who seek to corrupt and those who seek to derive profit or advantage, they distort them. They change a cinema, which can be a teacher for the people and the nation, into a place which makes our youth dissolute, which corrupts them. We opposed to this. We are not opposed to cinema itself; if the cinema is used for the good of the people, if it is used to educate and guide our children then we are not against it. We are opposed to these centers of corruption which are taking our youth away from us.

You can see in Iran, in Tehran alone, how many of these centers exist and how many of our youth have become addicted to opium and other drugs, and on a greater scale still to alcohol, because of them. There are so many

distilleries in Iran now. We are opposed to these things which corrupt our nation. Are we opposed to books? Are we opposed to universities? Our claim is that our universities have been created in such a way that they cannot produce human beings, they cannot produce human beings who will stand up to the foreigners. They produce only parasites! Our universities are imperialist universities; that is they are run as the imperialists want them to be run, they are not allowed to progress. This is what we oppose. How can we be against universities? Are we against having doctors, engineers and scientists in Iran? When have we opposed such things? Our grievances lie in the fact that the universities which should be centers of learning and education, which should be centers for training our youth to be independent, to be freedom-seekers and to be useful for their country, are not.

If the present regime claims that its methods of education and training are correct, then let it give us some evidence of this; but it is not able to do this. We oppose the radio in Iran now which as soon as it is switched on imparts nothing only praise for Aryamehr¹ and dance music and songs which sully our youth. We oppose a radio which corrupts our children; we do not oppose radio in itself. If the regime would let us take control of it then we would most certainly approve. We can run the radio much better than the regime can. The television in Iran, as I understand, shows scenes which are ruining our youth, depraving a generation. This is what we are opposed to, not the features of civilization.

We are opposed to those who want to keep us in a state of backwardness; this is what they want and this is what we are against. These are the things that the clergy opposes. Which clergyman has ever said that we oppose the radio when it is used to broadcast decent programs and give sound teachings? Which clergyman has ever said that we are against the television when it is used to disseminate sound teachings and when it helps the nation to progress? We are against these things when they are in their hands! We oppose these leaders who are ruining our country. We oppose this Shah and his father before him who have destroyed this nation. They have exhausted our wealth and continue to do so.

¹ The title Aryamehr, which means 'the sun and light of the Aryan race', was created by Rida Zadeh Shafaq, a senator from the province of Azerbaijan. Asadullah 'Alam, who had asked the writers and other literary personalities of the time to think of an honorific title for the Shah, chose Aryamehr. In 1346 AHS [circa 1967], the National Consultative Assembly bestowed this title upon the Shah. It reflected the nationalist ideology of the regime and demonstrated its rejection of Islamic ideology. R.K. Karanjia, in the book *The Mind of a Monarch*, p. 236, reports the Shah as one who hoped for a revival of the great Aryan civilization as seen in the days of the Emperor Cyrus.

Our oil is being sold in such a way that reserves won't last for long.¹ Our agriculture has been destroyed such that the country is now a market for America. How will the next generation live in this country in thirty years' time? We must take everyone into consideration. Is it enough to see only to our own needs? I am nearly eighty-years-old; I may only be alive for another six months or a year, but Islam has made us responsible; we have a responsibility to the people; we have to tell them what disasters they are bringing about for this nation.

But when we start speaking out and telling them what should be done, they increase their activities against us to stop us from getting our message across, to block us. I am forced to leave Iraq, and neither Kuwait nor Syria will allow me in; even though I haven't asked permission from the Syrian authorities to enter their country yet, I know they won't allow me in. I cannot live in an Islamic country, because I am not allowed to continue my activities in an Islamic country, so I came here, but even here I see that there are also restrictions imposed on me.

The Shah's regime is actively pursuing its aims: to stop the truth from reaching the people, from reaching the world; to prevent the world from hearing the cries of this nation; to stop news of these killings, that are being carried out every day, from reaching the world. The situation is such in the country, every day killings are taking place. Wherever you look, whichever newspaper you look in or foreign radio station you tune in to, even though they only impart the bare minimum of facts about what is happening in Iran, you learn that a few people have been killed. They only report that a few people have been killed, but my own sources inform me that we should multiply their figures by ten. There are not only tens or hundreds of people being killed; the killings take place every day.

So what is it that this nation wants that it is ready to sacrifice so many lives for? You should listen to what the people are saying. The world has said many things about this nation, but it hasn't listened to the people. Come and listen to the people themselves, ask them what they want, ask them why they are raising such a hue and cry. This nation has been given freedom so why are the people shouting? This nation has been taken to the 'threshold of a great civilization' yet still they shout. They are crying out because of this great civilization. Are they shouting that the Shah is creating a great civilization and they do not want it? Are they shouting that he is giving them freedom and creating "free men and free women" and they do not want this?

¹ According to official statistics, in 1978 oil production before the start of strikes in the oil industry was 5.3 million barrels a day.

Or are they calling out for freedom, independence, an Islamic government, a just government, for a leader who is at least not a thief, for a government which is not predacious, whose members do not take the wealth of the Muslims abroad to buy things for themselves and their families. They are asking them (the Shah and his regime) not to buy so many things from abroad; they are telling them not to deposit the wealth of the people in foreign banks in their own names. This nation is proclaiming that it wants freedom, and this gentleman turns around and says: "We have given you freedom!" If he has given the people freedom, then what do they want? What else do they want? Do all these killings constitute freedom? Is this a government of reconciliation which imbrues Iran's soil with blood? If this is what he means by reconciliation, then what will his war be?

You gentlemen who are living abroad at this time, you are duty bound to unite with your Iranian brothers. Their uprising is not for themselves alone, they have arisen for you too. You are their partners. Their success means your success. Many of our young people cannot return home now because of a word, just one word that they have spoken over here; perhaps during a visit by the Shah they expressed their concerns or demonstrated against him and their names have now been added to the list so they cannot return.

These people, who have risen up, from school-children to high-school and university students, are giving their lives. The people of the bazaar are sacrificing their lives. The clergy are sacrificing their lives. They are all being persecuted and they are all crying out. Every day there is a demonstration and every day the cries of death to this man, death to the Pahlavi monarchy ring out. The people want the country to be in their own hands, they want to administer it themselves. They have the youth, they have the scientists, they have everything, but they are not allowed to do this. The people want to remove this class who will not let their country progress, who will not let their youth be educated properly. They want a government of Islamic justice which will help the people, a government whose leaders will put the needs of the people first. They want a ruler who will eat made of barley bread because he is afraid that somewhere in his realm there is someone who has to eat bread like this or worse. Of course we can't find such a person, but we can find someone who will not steal from us at least.

We are all duty bound to help our Iranian brothers as much as we can. Explain your problems to as many of these Europeans that you meet as you can; tell them what these Iranians who have risen are saying; tell them what their demands are. Whenever you come across an article in a newspaper or magazine which runs contrary to the facts, voice your objections, tell the

person who wrote the article that he has not understood the matter correctly. This will be effective. Try to inform at least ten Europeans or Americans of the facts; try to make them understand just what our problems are; try to make them see that because the Iranian people have risen in opposition it does not mean that they are uncivilized, it does not mean that they can no longer be given freedom, that if they were given freedom they would set everywhere aflame. No, you must make them understand that it is the Shah and his regime that have inflamed the people; they have caused them to shout so. The people are shouting because of the fire they have had to endure. Your numbers are many in Europe, if each one of you could acquaint even ten people with the facts, then a wave of public opinion would be created.

Spread the word. Now that the Iranians are giving their lives, you ought to give your voice at least; you ought to at least make people aware of the truth. Do not simply sit at home under the delusion that because you are here you can be comfortable. Do not simply listen to accounts of the killings in Iran, expressing sorrow at news of the murders of eight- and ten-year-old schoolgirls attacked in their schools. Go and tell your friends and colleagues about these events. If you are able, write about them in the press over here. Wherever you are speak out. If someone has written a report, which contradicts the facts, confront him, tell him that he has not presented the true facts, ask him why he is not doing so, complain to him, and God willing an even greater wave of public support will come about. I can assure you that, God willing, our nation will win, because this is a national uprising, it involves all sections of society. When this roaring flood of people begins to move in one direction, no matter how weak they are, neither tanks nor America can stop them. Thirty million people have begun to move. Only a few hundred people have not joined the movement and they are the hirelings of the regime. This roaring flood of people is on the move now and neither Russia nor America can stop it. This is a just act. This is the hand of God and no one can stop it. This is an obvious call for justice. A nation is calling out for its freedom and no one can say they do not have that right. They are human beings too. The situation is very difficult for the Shah and his regime now, but they cannot continue to confront such a just call with bayonets. Martial law cannot be imposed forever. This regime may not be able to survive a day without martial law, but it cannot be in effect forever.

In any case you must explain the situation to these foreigners. Give your friends the facts. If you attend schools over here, speak to the people who attend with you and tell them what is really happening. Form groups, gradually they will increase and you will become preachers and speakers,

telling the people about the problems of Iran. If you do this, a wave (of public opinion) will come about which the reporters will not be able to counteract; then it will be the people here who stand up to the false propaganda.

This is a service that we who are abroad can perform for the nation of Islam. I beseech God the Blessed and Exalted to assist you and to grant you success. May He keep you safe from harm and protect you. May you be successful.

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty-Eight

Date: October 20, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 28, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 17, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The uprising of the Muslim nation of Iran is unprecedented in history

Occasion: To thank the families of the martyrs of the Islamic movement

Those present: A number of students and Iranians resident abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

A deluge of foreign reporters flooded into Tehran from the important press centres of the world to report on events taking place throughout the country: the popular demonstrations; the attacks by martial law agents on unarmed demonstrators; and the killings by the regime. Reports from Paris showed an unprecedented interest in Imam Khomeini by reporters from all over the world as they descended on his residence at Neauphle-le-Chateau.

As the Iranian people took to the streets with shouts of “Death to the Shah” and “Long Live Khomeini” in a unified display of opposition to the Shah, Jimmy Carter, the American President at the time, expressed his support for the Shah in a press conference and said that in his opinion the Shah had made “considerable progress towards establishing democracy in Iran.” At the same conference, in reply to a question posed by a reporter, Carter underlined the importance of good relations between the US and Iran, because of the latter’s important strategic position, and stressed the need for America to have good ties with a “strong and independent Iran.” For the sake of diplomacy, the US President added that the US “had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Iran.”¹ He then went on to praise the Shah and said: “My own belief is that the Shah has moved aggressively to establish democratic principles in Iran and to have a progressive attitude towards social questions and social problems. Unfortunately, this has been the source of much opposition to him in Iran recently from the conservatives and leftists.”¹

In this speech, while pointing to the reasons for America’s support of the Shah and the imperial regime, Imam Khomeini says: “Of course he (Carter) must say that the Shah has given his people freedom and has created a progressive country! According to Mr. Carter’s logic, freedom comprises all

¹ *Ittilaat* newspaper, October 15, 1978 (Mehr 23, 1357 AHS), according to reporters from Reuter, United Press and Associated Press.

these killings which are occurring every day in Iran now...Yes, what he does is very good for Mr. Carter, it works to his benefit. The oil of the East, especially that of Iran and the Hijaz, is profitable for the foreigners; of course Carter must announce his support... “

After the release of a government statement announcing the abolition of press censorship, Manuchehr Azmun said: “Complete freedom of the press may prove to be a blow to us, but it is one that we have to take.”

The time of hajj arrived and tens of thousands of Iranian people set off to Saudi Arabia to perform the hajj rituals. On October 18, 1978 (Mehr 26, 1357 AHS), Imam Khomeini, taking advantage of the occasion, sent an important message to the pilgrims. In this message he explained the situation in Iran and said: “Now that our people in recent years have awakened, risen up to gain their rights, and cried out against oppression, they have been answered with machine-guns, tanks and cannons. The massacres that have occurred in Iranian cities over the past few months have blackened the pages of history. With the support of America and with all the infernal means at his disposal, the Shah has fallen upon our oppressed people, turning Iran into one vast graveyard. General strikes engulf the country, and the Shah wishes to avenge himself on his oppressed people during his last moments... I have not been permitted to continue my activity in any Islamic country, my activity that consists of conveying to the world the cry of my oppressed people. Because I must at all events fulfil my religious and ethical duty, I have been obliged to leave the Islamic world in the hope of alerting human society to the suffering of the oppressed people of Iran. I shall continue to live abroad until I have the opportunity to continue my work in one of the Muslim countries...” “

Iranian correspondents sent to Saudi Arabia to cover the hajj ceremonies reported that even though numerous measures were taken by the Saudi government to restrict the distribution of Imam’s message, it was still widely circulated among the pilgrims of Iran and the world and succeeded in provoking a widespread reaction.

The secret of Imam Khomeini’s amazing popularity with the people is surely to be found in his sincerity and his humility before them. The opening sentences of this next speech reflect that humility: “I feel that I have not performed any service for the Iranian nation which is now sacrificing everything it has in the way of Islam, or for those fathers who have lost their children ... I have not been able to pay my debt to them.”

Elsewhere in his speech, Imam describes the participation of the different classes and political groups in the Islamic Revolution as an

unprecedented phenomenon and one brought about by the grace of God, and he emphasises that without the downfall of the Pahlavi dynasty, attaining independence is not possible. The Leader of the Revolution draws attention to the two principal slogans of the people, those being “freedom” and “independence,” and describes the dependence of the Shah’s regime on America; the subservience of Rida Shah; the interference of foreign governments in Iran; and the plunder of the country’s oil as the reasons for Iran’s economical and agricultural backwardness. In this speech too, he illustrates the treason committed by the Pahlavi dynasty in various areas, and by describing the plight of the desperately poor in Iran who were forced to live in hovels in Tehran and other cities, he exposes the truth of the Shah’s “great civilisation” to the world, a civilisation which, in a recent interview, Carter himself had praised.

Speech Number Thirty-Eight

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Whenever I meet those people who have relinquished all their desires, who have sacrificed their children and have suffered great hardships in the way of God, whenever I look upon those human faces, words fail me and a great sense of humility overwhelms me. I feel that I have not performed any service for the Iranian nation, which is now sacrificing everything it has in the way of Islam, or for those fathers who have lost their children... I have not been able to pay my debt to those people who have risen for God and I can only ask forgiveness for my shortcomings from God, the Exalted... We are all His servants, we all submit to His will and we are all ready to sacrifice our lives for His holy laws.

The Iranian people have risen today to revive Islam and Islamic laws. Their uprising is unique in the history of Islam and Iran, for it is so deep-rooted and fundamental. The dimensions of this uprising embrace all classes of society; it is not an uprising, which belongs exclusively to one particular class. Previously, whenever there was an uprising or a movement, if it was led by the clergy, the political groups were not involved, or if it was led by political groups, other groups were not involved. If the merchants of the bazaar made demands, other groups were indifferent. Today however, by the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, all groups in Iran have come together: political groups, the clergy, the merchants of the bazaar, school-children and students of the high-schools and universities, all have risen and have set off in one direction. They have one aim.

This is an unprecedented event in history. They all ask for one thing, they all raise their voices for freedom and independence. The first steps toward this freedom and independence is the abolition of this wicked dynasty, which from its inception has done nothing but harm to Islam and Iran. Now, when the small children leave their schools and young people leave their universities, their chant as they walk through the streets on their way home is "Death to the Shah." This unity of purpose which has come about in Iran now and which has permeated every section of society is not something that the hand of man can create; this has been brought about by the hidden hand of God and for this reason we should be optimistic. I myself am optimistic that this society, which is surging forward like a flood, will

extirpate anything that stands in its way. Whatever power [cannot stand against] the power of the nation; when a nation has risen and its demands are just and are recognized as being just by all human societies then no power can withstand the power of the people. Others will ask you why you have gone on strike, why you are sacrificing your youth, why your clergy are being imprisoned and sent into exile, why your politicians are being arrested and imprisoned and the merchants of your bazaars persecuted and tortured. They will ask you what it is that you seek that makes you shout so. The people will reply: "We do not want to be the prisoners of the superpowers; we want our own country to be in our own hands, we want to administer it ourselves; we want freedom." But they do not want the kind of freedom that the Shah gives, for that is only good for himself and his family. His kind of freedom is like the "reconciliation" of his government, which comprises of nothing but bloodshed, imprisonment and persecution! The people have all joined hands and are shouting with a single voice: "We want freedom and independence."

"We do not want the Americans to administer our military, we do not want our army to be under the supervision of American advisers, we do not want them to create a parasitic army, an army which is fed from the wealth of Iran but which, under the supervision and training of American advisers, works for America." However, this is in fact the way things are, and we see that the Shah's army is such an army. Look at the Shah himself, he was installed by the Allies; he himself said, "The Allies felt it was fitting that I should ascend the throne!" His father too was brought to power by the British, as they admitted in a broadcast over *Radio Delhi* at the time of the Second World War,¹ "We brought Rida Shah into power; he has proven himself to be treacherous and we removed him." They carried him off to the island of Mauritius and then sent him to Hell.²

When one looks at the culture of Iran, one sees that it is an imperialist culture; that is, a culture imposed on us by the imperialists. The Shah chose an apt title for his book *Mission for My Country*,³ for he indeed had a "mission," a mission that the Americans had given him! He has a mission to destroy the country and ruin the Iranian youth, to keep the country in a state

¹ The World War II of Shahriyar 1320 AHS [September 1941].

² The British transported Rida Khan first to Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean situated about 850 kilometers east of Madagascar to the south-east of Africa, and then to Johannesburg, South Africa where he died on July 26, 1944.

³ *Mission for My Country*: the ghost-written autobiography of the Shah that appeared in a number of languages in 1961.

of backwardness so it does not progress, so that the youth does not develop into people who would stand up to America and ask them: "What do you want from us?" How many years have we had schools? It is more than seventy years since the founding of the Dar al-Funun school.¹ How many years have we had universities? Yet when the Shah or his child needs a tonsillectomy, doctors have to be brought from America or somewhere else to perform the operation. Other people too, if they fall ill and have the means to go abroad for treatment, they do so. This shows that we do not have [universities]; if we did, then our own doctors would be able to treat the people. When they want to erect a building, build a dam, make a road or even asphalt a road, experts have to be brought in from abroad. If we have our own experts, then why does the Shah bring them in from abroad? If we have our own experts and he does not employ them, then he is betraying the people by not giving them jobs. If we ourselves do not have the expertise, then he is still being treacherous, he is still betraying our people because after all these years whenever we want to construct a building or a dam, or something else, still we have to bring in experts from abroad, from Europe or America.

Wherever you look, you see that there is something wrong. The economy is in ruins. According to experts, agricultural production in Iran now is only sufficient to meet the needs of the nation for thirty-three days of the year; foodstuffs have to be imported from abroad to satisfy demand for the remaining eleven months, as is being done now. The result of the gentleman's "Land Reform Program" was to turn Iran into a consumer market for America, so that the Americans could sell us all the things that they usually throw away! They are taking our oil now in such a way that in thirty years' time, according to the Shah, reserves will have run dry. However, this is not the case; the reserves will not have run dry, and they will have exhausted them. They are extracting our oil now and sending it to America through huge pipes the size of a room, some of them are even the size of a human being or greater... In return, the Americans sell us the arms that they want for their military bases which they have set up in Iran to confront the Soviet Union. They should give (money) to Iran in return for being allowed to set up bases in the country. Of course, the Americans should not have been allowed to do this in the first place, but now that this

¹ In 1848, the country's first secular high school was established, the *Dar al-Funun* [Abode of Learning]. The *Dar al-Funun*, whose students were mostly sons of the aristocracy, offered classes in foreign languages, political science, engineering, agriculture, mineralogy, medicine, veterinary medicine, military sciences, and band music.

act of treachery has been committed and they have been given the permission, then we should receive something in return; instead they take our oil and then build bases for themselves. The Shah gives them our oil and then uses the oil revenues to establish military bases for the Americans or to buy expensive weaponry—which is of no use to us—from them and other countries such as France. They take our oil and in return, they sell us airplanes worth three hundred and fifty million or five hundred and fifty million dollars!

This person, who is worse than his father—and his father was worse than Shimr¹—has damaged everything in the country from religion to the economy, to social, cultural and military matters. He is a traitor. Our nation is now saying “death to this monarchy, to this treacherous monarchy.” The people are saying that they do not want this perfidious monarchy. Since its very inception, this monarchy has been a treacherous monarchy; its monarchs were all traitors. Even those who, because of the propaganda made about them, were reputed to be good and for whose souls prayers are said were actually vile and wicked. However, these Pahlavi monarchs have been the worst of them all.

Our call is that we want a government, which is sympathetic toward the nation. We want a regime, which is just. If we examine the nature of all regimes, we see that, apart from an Islamic regime, an Islamic government, none of them has been just; they have all served their own interests. However, there is one group, which consists of those governments, which act with moderation and temperance, and another which are extremist and excessive. Our country is among those which are ruled by extremists who want to destroy their homelands very fast and aggressively! If this man remains in power, God forbid; if this sinister and decadent regime remains in place; if this ruling body which has governed us for all these years stays with us, then there will be nothing left for our future generations apart from poverty. This is because they are giving the country’s oil away and are exhausting its reserves; they are giving the country’s gas to the Soviet Union and exhausting supplies. Our pasturelands and forests have been given away to this country and that and are now ruined. Our agrarian economy is now in such a state that it cannot meet the needs of this nation. In thirty years’ time this country will have no sources of wealth. If this regime remains in power, all your sources of wealth will be annihilated. We are shouting, the clergy are shouting, the politicians and those who care about the country, are shouting

¹ Shimr: the Umayyad general who martyred Imam Husayn (a) during the battle at Karbala.

for them to leave the country so that it will remain for the next generation, so that future generations will be able to live there. Within a century or even thirty years' time, if this regime remains, no one will be able to live in this country because everything will have been destroyed.

In one of his interviews, the Shah said, "If I am to go, I will turn the country into a heap of dust and go." Nevertheless, even now that he still rules he has destroyed everything, he has not left us anything. Of course, the Americans have to help him, they have to support him because they won't find a servant better than him, one who offers them all the wealth of the country and builds bases for them with the money he receives in return.¹ What better servant than this could they want? Of course, he (Carter) must say that the Shah has given his people freedom and has created a progressive country. According to Mr. Carter's logic, freedom comprises all these killings which are occurring every day now in Iran and all the crimes, savagery and repression the Shah practices represent efforts to find progressive solutions for social problems. Yes, what he does is very good for Mr. Carter. It works to his benefit. The oil of the East, especially that of Iran and Hijaz, is very profitable for the foreigners; of course, Carter must announce his support for him. The Soviet Union too must announce its support, because they are taking the country's gas. They too have interests to protect.

Now the voice of the people has been raised, they are saying that they want their resources to be recovered sensibly and correctly and to be sold in a proper way. They do not want to put this oil into their pockets or to eat it; they want it to be sold, but they do not want it to be plundered. They want to sell their oil to whichever country will give them the better price for it, and they want money in exchange; they want currency for it not scrap metal, not airplanes which are of no use to them. They are saying that they want money so they can spend it on this nation—this nation that does not even have running water.

Ignore the northern section of Tehran where they have put things in order; go take a look at other areas; go look at the tents and the hovels that some people live in. Go and see what kind of lives they have in this city which is the centre of this 'great civilization.' Go one day and take a look around and spend sometime... In so many areas of Tehran now, shantytowns have been created the best houses of which are those which people have built for themselves and their families out of mud. Why have the people come and

¹ The oil goes into their pockets and in return for the oil, bases are built for them here.

settled here? They have come here because of the “land reforms.” When they implemented the land reform program, the people could not remain in their own villages. Everything there was turned upside down and they had to leave. They swarmed into the cities; most of them went to Tehran and now these poor people have to endure a very unpleasant and difficult life there. Those who have migrated to the cities are not all young people, they are not able to earn money by carrying things around for people, and they cannot simply get hold of a cart and work as street vendors. Most of them are old men and women, and most of them are frail and poor and they are now living in these hovels. People have written telling me about these problems, (I had noted down all that they said, but I do not have the notes with me now and I cannot remember all the particulars). They told me that there are thirty areas or more in Tehran where these shanty-towns have been set up, some of them are situated near the shrine of Hadrat ‘Abd al-‘Azim¹ and some are even to be found in the northern sections of the city. These places are full of these poor migrants, people who, because of the land reforms, had to move there and now have to suffer a poverty-stricken life. They have no water, no electricity, and no lives. They have nothing! Not only do they not have electricity, other districts of Tehran do not either, every day a few areas of Tehran are plunged into darkness because of the shortage of electricity. Some of these poor migrants live in pits, in very deep holes, in dwellings you reach by going down scores of steps into the ground. In order to obtain water they have to take their jugs and climb up those steps until they reach a water tap. This is the life that they have made for them.

The people from a village not too far away from Tehran, who are in touch with me, have written asking for permission to use some of the money from the charitable funds to help them build a water storage tank so that they can collect the rainwater because the nearest water storage tank is about five kilometers from their village. Do not be deceived by these cars that you see in Tehran which are owned by only a small portion of the population, those who own them are either working for the regime or are doing well for themselves, they do not give a true picture of the state of the country. Go look at the other cities of Iran; go to the areas of Tehran where people live in hovels, go and see the true situation of this nation, a nation that has so much natural wealth. The money from the oil should be used for the people. If we had an honest government which sold the oil in a proper way and spent the revenues from it on the people, then this nation would not be in the state it is

¹ ‘Abd al-‘Azim Hasani: a learned and pious descendant of Imam Hasan (a) whose shrine is located in Shahri Rey, in the south of Tehran.

today. This is why we are shouting. We ask why one group of people has to live in such poverty while another group has to spend five million dollars just for decorating their villas. I have received correspondence telling me that five million dollars has been spent on plants and flowers for the garden of the villa of the Shah's sister. Where did she get this money from? Rida Shah had nothing when he enacted his coup d'état, but he confiscated the property of the people by means of force and later just a small portion of it was given back. Their wealth comes from the people. How is this Pahlavi Foundation administered? It is run with the nation's money. They take this nation's oil and its other sources of wealth; they plunder this nation so that they can live like this while others live in poverty. We are shouting that we should not be plundered in this way that this regime must be replaced. We shall continue shouting until our last breath, and when we have no breath left, well then we have an excuse before God, the Blessed and Exalted.

Gentlemen, you too have a responsibility which you must shoulder. You must speak out, for the interests of a nation and Islam are involved here. You have a responsibility to propagate as much as you can against the ruling regime in Iran, and this means exposing the truth and realities of Iran. Let those around you know what is happening to your people. Tell them what is taking place in the universities, in the colleges, in the schools even. They have killed little girls, this year it's the turn of little seven- and eight-year-old girls. Tell them what goes on in the prisons of Iran, in Iran itself, which is a prison. Tell these facts to those you are acquainted with over here, those you attend school with and to those you meet at the gatherings which you attend. If each one of you tells twenty people or even ten people about the realities in Iran, then a wave of public opinion will be formed and your actions will have been a service to the people who are giving their lives and doing you a service. You must propagate the facts, you must speak out. If you are able, get your views published in the press here, give interviews, and let the people know what you have to say. You are not in the same situation as I am, I cannot give interviews, but you can, so speak out.

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant all of you peace and good health. I hope and pray that God, the Blessed and Exalted, gives you all good health and I hope that if He wills, this roaring flood of people in Iran which is moving in one direction and which in my opinion has been brought about by the hand of God—for such a phenomenon cannot be created by man—will sweep away this profligate regime and your country will become your own for you to administer yourselves. (The audience says: "God willing"). May God grant you success and assist you. I apologize that my state of health does

not permit me to sit here longer and speak to you further. May God preserve you.

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty-Nine

Date: October 21, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 29, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 18, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The multifarious interference of America in the internal affairs of Iran

Occasion: Carter's remarks on the Shah's services and the uprising of the people

Those present: A number of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

On October 21, 1978 (Mehr 29, 1357 AHS), Mr. Mahdi Bazargan and Mr. Nasir Minachi set off for Paris to visit Imam Khomeini. What follows is an account of their meeting as related by Imam's son¹: "Mr. Bazargan, Mr. Minachi, Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi and I went together to see Imam. As he had done many times before, Imam said that the Shah must go, the imperial regime must be destroyed and an Islamic Republic established, adding that the people must be told clearly and openly that these are the aims so that the movement will not be deviated. Mr. Bazargan said: 'The imperial system has three pillars: the Shah, the army and America. We must follow a step by step policy: 1- The Shah must reign not govern. 2- We must make the army and police forces aware that if the Shah attempts to interfere in the affairs of state, they have to act to stop him. 3- Later, if it is in our interests, we will limit America's role so its influence in Iran will gradually be severed.' Imam said: 'You say that the Shah must reign, but if he does and the people lose their fervour and he once again goes back to his old deeds, what power then is going to motivate the people to rise up again?' To this they had no reply but asked whether it was possible to defeat the Shah while the army remained in place. Imam replied: 'The army is with the people. The traitors and army heads must be removed, the rest are with us.' Nevertheless, Mr. Bazargan insisted that his proposals were the best.

"After this meeting, Mr. Bazargan went to London where he reiterated his opinions in an interview. His speeches at gatherings of Iranian students in London were met with much criticism and opposition. He remained in London for only a few days and then returned to Paris. Upon his return, Dr. Yazdi approached Imam and asked him to meet with Mr. Bazargan again. Imam replied: 'He must accept the aims of the movement, approve them and announce them to the people, then I will agree to see him.' A few days later,

¹ *Yadigar-i Hadrat Imam*. Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.

Mr. Bazargan had still not altered his stance and thus Imam did not agree to a meeting with him despite repeated requests and disputations that to refuse to see him would cause Mr. Bazargan loss of face. Thus Mr. Bazargan left Paris for Tehran without having had a further meeting with Imam. The radical wing of the Freedom Movement abroad issued a declaration agreeing with Imam's views on the movement in Iran, but in Tehran it was announced that this declaration did not reflect the official stance of the Freedom Movement."

Recapitulating the reasons why Mr. Bazargan was chosen to head the provisional revolutionary government does not fall within the scope of this work, but naturally the matter will be discussed where appropriate in the subsequent speeches of this anthology. Suffice it to say at this point that in one of his proclamations, Imam said: "I confess today, ten years after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, as I have done before, that some decisions made at the beginning of the Revolution as regards entrusting posts or important matters of state to a group of people who did not have a sincere and true belief in the pure religion of Muhammad, may the peace of God be upon him and his descendants, were erroneous and their bitter effects will not be easily eliminated. Although at the time I personally was not in favour of these appointments, still I accepted the judgements and recommendations of friends." Imam's friends at that time believed that, in the light of prevailing circumstances, Mr. Bazargan was the best choice for that post.

Although during Imam's stay in France steps were taken by the French government to restrict his activities, Imam continued to issue declarations and directives and to deliver speeches. On October 18, 1978 (Mehr 26, 1357 AHS), in a message to the *hajj* pilgrims, he said: "... the massacres that have occurred in Iranian cities over the past few months have blackened the pages of history. With the support of America and with all the infernal means at his disposal, the Shah has fallen upon our oppressed people, turning Iran into one vast graveyard. General strikes engulf the country, and the Shah wishes to avenge himself on his oppressed people during his last moments ..."

On October 21, 1978 (Mehr 29, 1357 AHS), the Leader of the Revolution in reply to remarks made by US President Jimmy Carter in support of the Shah, delivered two important speeches in which he ridiculed Carter's supposition that the recent opposition to the Shah had been caused by his quick and decisive implementation of democracy in Iran.¹ Carter had made these remarks in a press conference at a time when William Sullivan, the US Ambassador to Iran, believed: "The Carter administration had made

¹ *Ittिलात* newspaper, October 15, 1978 (Mehr 23, 1357 AHS).

human-rights practices a touchstone for the nature of its relations with governments around the world. It was generally conceded that the shah's regime was not a democratic one and that it abused human rights."¹

In his first speech, Imam Khomeini points to the manner in which Rida Khan was brought to power by the British and how later his son, Muhammad Rida, was imposed on the nation on the orders of the foreigners and the Allied forces in Iran at that time, and he asks Carter:..."during which of these two Pahlavi periods, and especially this most recent period when this man has moved aggressively to establish democracy, have the members of Parliament truly represented the people?"

In the book *Documents from the US Espionage Den*, published by the Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam, it is stressed that: "For election in Tehran, confirmation of the government and the court was sufficient, active support was not necessary... the elected delegates were those whom the Shah wished to see enter government and included women, workers, members of guilds, merchants ... "And in another book we read: "From the time that the Shah's power became absolute, the Parliament was treated as the rubber stamp of the king."²

Fully aware that detailed reports on the political situation in Iran reached the American President, Imam Khomeini swept aside any intimations of President Carter's ignorance of the Shah's true nature, saying: "Mr. Carter knows what kind of a person this Shah is, he knows only too well what kind of person has been given the mission... "

In his press conference, Carter claimed that the US did not interfere in the internal affairs of Iran. However his Ambassador to Iran, William Sullivan, in his famous book *Mission to Iran* painted a different picture: "In 1957, after considerable organisational effort by the CIA, the United States government devised for the shah a framework of a modern intelligence system and helped him establish it. It was given the name Sazman-e Ettelaat va Amniyat-e Keshvar (Iranian State Intelligence and Security Organisation) and, from the initials of this title, soon became known as SAVAK. Recruits who were designated for this new service were given training in intelligence and counter intelligence methods in the United States and, later, in Israel. They were trained not only in fundamental police work but also in the analysis of Soviet techniques and, above all, in the detection of sophisticated Soviet electronic espionage."³

¹ William H. Sullivan, *Mission to Iran*, pp. 121-122.

² *From the Rise to the Fall*, pp. 128 and 139.

³ *Mission to Iran*, p. 96.

In this speech, Imam also refers to the establishment of American espionage bases in Iran and asks Carter: “Who has set up these bases in the mountains of Iran? For whom have they been set up? Does this not constitute interference in the affairs of our country? Are not these remarks of yours in themselves a form of interference? Is it not you who oblige the Shah to destroy the country in this manner?” Sullivan in this regard writes: “Whatever the quality of the information exchange, our intelligence collaboration with Iran was more than justified, in Washington’s view, by Iran’s willingness to let us position two major listening posts on Iranian soil overlooking the rocket—and missile-launching facilities that the Soviets maintained in their central-Asian republics. From these stations, we could monitor every electronic activity at those facilities, as well as Soviet military activity in the whole arc of territory facing toward the Persian Gulf. They were essentially simple antennae with tape-recording devices, manned by civilian technicians who lived in barren isolation, but their product was the most sophisticated compendium of military intelligence in the entire watching brief that we maintained on the Soviet threat.”¹

In his press conference, Carter described the supporters of the Shah as “reformers” and his opponents as a “number of communists and reactionaries.” Carter’s comments emanate from the awareness of the American political elite that the formation of an Islamic government under the leadership of Imam Khomeini would not augur well for American policy in the region. With the prospect of the espionage bases being destroyed in Iran and the American oil companies suffering extreme losses looming high on the horizon, Carter could do no other than adopt the political ruse of portraying a favoured dictator as a ruler meeting unjust opposition because of his quest to “aggressively implement democratic principles” and drag his country along the road of progress!

In the present speech, Imam notes the three main points of Carter’s comments and bases his replies on the reality of the situation in Iran. In response to Carter’s statement that “we have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Iran,” Imam says: “... you have no intention of interfering? Where haven’t you interfered? What are your advisers doing in our army? All these disasters which occur in Iran and in Eastern countries are brought about by the heads of these so-called superpowers.”

¹ *Ibid.* p. 99.

Speech Number Thirty-Nine

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Carter has made three statements: one is that the Shah has moved quickly and decisively to establish democratic principles in Iran and this, he says, has been the cause of opposition from the leftists and the conservatives; another is that the Shah has formed a progressive society in Iran; and in the third statement he once again repeats that he has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Iran. Now the Iranians themselves must study these remarks and decide whether they have been made for them, for a Western audience, for the American people or for people on another planet!

Well, let us look at his first statement that the Shah has moved aggressively to establish democratic principles in Iran. Has the situation in the country changed from the time that he opened his eyes in his cradle to an Iran ruled by his father to the time that he himself, upon the orders of the foreigners and Allies, assumed power and began his rule? Does this democracy which he has moved aggressively to implement, or this freedom that he has granted the people “quickly and decisively,” include all these deeds that he has perpetrated throughout his reign?

Which of the many Parliaments, the National Consultative Assembly, as they call it, and the Senate, that have come into existence throughout the whole Pahlavi era—and I have witnessed events from the inception of the Pahlavi rule—have been selected by the people, as is their right, to determine their destiny? When have the people ever voted in a free and fair referendum? During which of these two Pahlavi periods, and especially this most recent period when this man has moved quickly to establish democracy, have the members of Parliament truly represented the people? Isn't it the case that they are ordered into Parliament? The people believe that it is the Shah who gives the orders as to who should enter Parliament, but the reality is that the foreigners give the orders. They give a list of the names of those they want to enter Parliament! The Shah has said himself on several occasions that although this practice is not observed now; it was at one time that the embassies provided a list of the names of their chosen delegates, that is those who served them not the people, and he had to oblige them! But now of course the Shah claims that we are no longer subservient to any power. It is the indisputable right of the people to be able to vote freely and to send the

delegate of their choice to Parliament, a right which all the world recognizes and which forms the basis of democracy. The destiny of a nation lies in the hands of the representatives in Parliament, and the people themselves should be able to determine their own destiny, indeed the constitutional law has given this right to the people. From the time that the present Shah assumed power, or rather was brought to power, to the present day, has this democracy of his, which according to Carter he implemented aggressively, ever granted the people this indisputable, manifest right of theirs? Have we ever had a representative in the Parliament who truly represented the people? You can go to any city in Iran and ask the person there who the person is who represents them in Parliament, what kind of a person he is. It is a well-known fact that most of the people in Iran do not even know who represents them in Parliament! This nation should determine its own fate, should appoint its own representatives, but most of the people do not know who is representing them... When you tell them their names, they mean nothing to them! This 'aggressive democracy' has robbed the nation of their indisputable, manifest right!

Try to find even one city where the people voted freely for their representatives! Take Tehran for example, this is the capital, the political hub of the country, if there is freedom then surely it is to be found there. But none of these Tehran delegates has reached Parliament through the free voting of the people. This is no secret, it is a well-known fact. So who is Mr. Carter making these remarks for? The people on the planet Jupiter who know nothing about this world, or for the people on this planet? If he is speaking for the latter, then where in the world isn't it known (that there is no freedom and democracy in Iran)? Which one of the world's newspapers is not informed of this? Yes, perhaps many of them write in support of Mr. Carter and say that democracy and freedom do exist in the country, that the people have selected their delegates through their votes, but they are aware that this is not true, just as Mr. Carter is. Mr. Carter knows what kind of a person this Shah is. He knows only too well what kind of person has been given the mission; he knows the problems the people have to face.

This covered one aspect of freedom and democracy: the indisputable right of the people to vote. Now let's take a look at another: freedom of the press. Whatever the newspapers of Iran wrote, they did so on the orders of "His Imperial Majesty Aryamehr;" they never voiced the opinions of the people; they simply sang the praises of the Shah. The press now says that they were never free! Even the regime's own newspapers now say that they have never been free to write what they wanted. They are not allowed to be

free even now. Throughout the years of his reign—we are not concerned with that of his father here, which was either worse than this or just the same—when has he ever allowed freedom of the press? Which one of the newspapers that Iran has had from the very beginning of his reign, when the Allies bestowed the monarchy upon him and imposed him on the Iranian nation, has been free and it was His Imperial Majesty who made it free? He says that now he has granted freedom of the press, but what about a year ago? If now he says he has made it free, then obviously we did not have freedom of the press a year ago.

So he is a criminal; he's a traitor. Even according to the logic of Carter, this man who wants to make him appear innocent and exempt from blame; he is a traitor! Carter says that the Shah has now moved aggressively to implement democracy and this is the source of opposition to him. But he has only recently decided to grant the nation this quick, decisive democracy, as the Shah himself said: "We want to grant freedom to the nation." Will no one stand up and ask him: "Who are you to grant freedom to the people? Now you want to grant it—their freedom that is guaranteed by the Constitution—to them?! Who are you to grant freedom?" Your rule is illegal; you should never have ruled. Even if we suppose that your rule is legal, all the time that you have sat on your usurped throne, you have governed, never was any government in the country empowered to do anything. You did it all. Thus the responsibility for all the crimes lies on your shoulders. Carter says that he has now granted freedom to the people and implemented an aggressive democracy; this means that freedom and democracy did not exist previously, and the country was administered through force. This is in itself a crime and according to the law the person who bears all the responsibility, the Shah, should be tried before the people. He should not be allowed to escape; he should be grabbed and put on trial for all the bloodshed he has caused and for depriving the people of their freedom. He should be made to answer for his crimes.

The newspapers in the country then were never free and neither were the radio and television, the two other mediums used for propaganda purposes. These two organs were never allowed to speak the truth either. When the Shah violates the law, when he murders the people, can they say that the Shah has done this? When have the media dared to say that the Shah gives the commands. Even now they say that it is the government which is responsible, or it is the fault of the police or due to martial law. This is all nonsense. It is this man's fault. Even in defeat, he continues with his deeds. The police are not concerned about the people's demonstrations; they are

ordered to stop them. They all say they are just carrying out orders. Those we spoke to after the attack on the Faydiyyah Madrasah¹ in Qum, when the students were beaten and some even killed, told us that the attack was carried out on the orders of 'His Imperial Majesty'; even the police in Qum said this. And this was the truth; he ordered the attack and up until the present day all the atrocities that have been perpetrated in this country have been done so on the orders of 'His Imperial Majesty'. No one else is responsible other than him. This relates to his radio and television; these are instances of his propaganda.

Carter says that the Shah has given the people a "quick freedom" and a "quick democracy!" He has given the people so much freedom now that they have had enough and are shouting out against it because his democracy has been so quick! Everyone is complaining to the Shah, their argument being that he wants to grant freedom and they are opposed to this, they do not want it! What these people really mean when they take to the streets and call for "freedom and independence" is that they do not want freedom and independence! The Shah wants to give them freedom and independence but they are shouting that it is not what they want! They are showing their opposition in this way! This interpretation issues from what we read in the newspapers. Carter has said that because the Shah has moved aggressively to establish democratic principles this has been the source of much opposition to him from all the people. Because he has granted freedom now the different political groups and the various factions are opposed to it and are asking: "Why have you granted us freedom?!" The people too oppose him for giving them freedom! This is Carter's logic concerning the freedom, which the Shah has given the nation.

Now, what about this progressive country he has created, this progressive attitude he has toward social problems?! Mr. Carter claims that the Shah has set his country on the road to progress and that this has been another source of opposition to him; that this has always been a source of opposition to him! Mr. Carter's understanding of the meaning of progress seems to be totally different from ours. Otherwise, how can a country in which everything has been destroyed be described as progressive? Wherever you look in the country you can see what the Shah has brought about by the tenets of this

¹ Faydiyyah Madrasah, founded in Safavid times, has acquired particular fame among the teaching institutions in Qum because of the role it has played in the Islamic movement. Closed down in 1975 by the Shah's regime, it was ceremonially reopened after the triumph of the Revolution.

‘White Revolution’¹ of his, as he calls it. According to him, his White Revolution has destroyed the feudal relationship, which existed between the landlord and the peasant, indeed he says landlords and peasants no longer exist! There are, as he has repeated on numerous occasions, only villagers and free men and free women! But in fact these villagers, these poor people are those who have lost all their means of livelihood (because of this White Revolution). These “land reforms” have completely destroyed the country’s agriculture. You no longer have agriculture in your country. Agricultural production in the country is now only sufficient to meet the needs of the nation for thirty-three days of the year; food has to be imported from abroad to satisfy the demand for the rest of the year.

As for these other institutions that he has set up, the Literacy Corps,² the I-do not-know-what corps, the Religious Corps, the people know why they have been created, they know why this Literacy Corps has been sent into the rural areas: to sing the praises of the Shah, to spread falsehoods, to keep the people backward, to make the people believe that they should all obey the Shah and that “the command of God and the command of the Shah” are one and the same. Everything that this man has done in the country has driven it further and further into a state of backwardness. He does not allow a virtuous person to exist in our country, he is afraid of true human beings, he is afraid that if a virtuous person is found he will stand up to him and his regime and ask them why they are doing these things. This is why they do not let the people select their own representatives because they know that the elected representatives would stand up to them and question what they do in the country. They know that elected representatives would not let the government do just whatever it wanted, they would interpolate. They would not let the Shah do whatever he wanted, they would stop him, they would

¹ White Revolution: a pilot plan forwarded by John. F. Kennedy, which was given the deceptive publicity for implementation of social reforms in underdeveloped countries. Muhammad Rida Shah put the plan into effect and it was named as the ‘White Revolution’. The most serious damage that resulted from the implementation of the plan was that the agricultural sector of the country became absolutely incapable of meeting the domestic demand for foodstuff. Naturally, the country was made fully dependent on imports from the West, especially from the US.

² The Literacy Corps (the heading of the sixth tenet of the Shah’s White Revolution) was set up ostensibly to combat illiteracy in the countryside. However, the books and teaching methods used by the high-school graduates in the corps accomplished little more than spreading pro-regime propaganda and introducing ideas aimed at destroying whatever remained of the villagers’ religious beliefs. After fifteen years of activities by the Corps, more than seventy percent of the rural population remained illiterate.

object, they would ask him to explain. So obviously he won't allow the people to send their own representatives to the Parliament.

Where is this progressive country, this progressive society that we do not know about, that we have not been told about? Where has he caused this country to prosper? He has turned this country into nothing other than a base for others; he has allowed others to dominate us. America is now involved in all aspects of our lives. Is this what you call a "progressive country?" The first sign of progress in a country lies in its independence, in it being able to stand on its own feet. Is our country independent? [America] dictates to us from one direction and [the Soviet Union] from the other. America digs its claws deep into the depths of our oil wells while the Soviet Union does the same to our gas supplies. In what way is this country progressive? Which one of our universities is progressive? Where is our culture progressive? Do we have a progressive army? Can an army which is under the command of American advisers be called our army?

According to the way Carter thinks, surrendering everything the country has to him represents progress! Of course, Carter, who is an oil-devourer, must say that the country has progressed. He wants the oil; he is devouring our oil; of course, he must say such things.

Now let's move on to Carter's third remark. Of course all three of his remarks demand more explanation than this, but you yourselves know enough about these matters and so it is not called for here. His third remark was that America has no intention of interfering in the affairs of Iran. So, Mr. Carter, you claim you have no intention of interfering? In what have you not interfered? What are your military advisers doing in our army? Why have they come here? To do what? Who has set up these bases in the mountains of Iran? For whom have they been set up? Does this not constitute interference in the affairs of our country? Are not these remarks of yours in themselves a form of interference? Is it not you who oblige the Shah to destroy the country in this manner? Do you not interfere in the affairs of the country at all? The Shah himself has said that lists of names were given to the regime. Of course, now he claims that this practice does not occur any more, but he's lying, even now these lists are sent to the regime. Even now the parliamentary delegates are [selected] from their lists. "I will not interfere!" You are talking about a country in which the people are aware of their situation; they know what is being done to their country and what has befallen them. "I will not interfere!" Why is he saying that he won't interfere? The Iranians know that he interferes, the world's media know that Mr. Carter, and whoever becomes

president in America, will interfere in the affairs of our country and prevent us from standing on our own two feet.

We have no independence; we are not free; the people are in no way free and the press is still not free. Martial law does not allow the press to speak out. Why do not these newspapers, that now claim to enjoy freedom, write about what the Shah is doing? If you look at all the newspapers, there is not one word written therein which says that the person perpetrating all these crimes is the Shah himself. [He is] the one who has committed these crimes from the beginning of his rule until the present time. The day that the pillars of this regime crumble, the press will speak out, but for now they are not brave enough because now the country is under the control of martial-law, which will either close down the newspaper that speaks out or execute its employees.

How can you claim that there is freedom and progress? It's ridiculous to say that this opposition has come about because the Shah wishes to give the people freedom and set the country on the road to progress. Is Carter really saying that all this uproar the people are creating in the streets, all their cries of protest, are because the Shah wants to give them freedom and they do not want it! What a ridiculous statement to be made by anyone, let alone the President of a country! They have written about this in the newspapers and no one remarks on its absurdity. It appears that these are simply idle remarks, because everyone knows about the situation in Iran.

All our problems are caused by the heads of these nations, the heads of these governments. All these disasters, which occur in Iran and in Eastern countries, are brought about by the heads of these so-called superpowers. These powerful countries seek to dominate the weaker nations and rob them of their natural wealth, meaning that the weak should work and surrender to the powerful. They devour their oil while the weak nation goes hungry; they exhaust their mines while the people go hungry; the people live on these large oil deposits yet they go hungry. This is the logic of these great "superpowers" such as the Soviet Union and America and the like. This is how they want it to be, but we do not want it to be like this.

Our first step must be to change the present situation in Iran. The Shah, the government, the ministers and the representatives have all been imposed on this nation, the people did not select their representatives; the members of the Senate have not been appointed by the people to the extent that they should have been. When the Parliament has been appointed without the vote and consent of the people, then it is not legal because according to the constitutional law, the Parliament should be voted for by the people. If the

Parliament is illegal then the ministers that are appointed, the Prime Minister who is appointed, are also illegal, and all the agreements that they sign with other countries, no matter what kind of agreements they are, be they oil or arms agreements, are null and void. All of this is against the constitution because it is against the law ...

Introduction to Speech Number Forty

Date: October 21, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 29, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 18, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: America's mission for the Shah

Occasion: Confronting the propaganda of the government-controlled press in Iran and that of the superpowers

Those present: A group of students and Iranians resident abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

This speech is the second that Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) delivered on October 21, 1978 and is in fact a continuation of his first discourse of that day (Speech 39). On this day, demonstrations continued throughout the country of Iran even though martial law remained in force in Tehran and eleven other big cities. As one thousand students from the Melli University (now called Shahid Bihishti University) took to the streets in a show of support for Imam Khomeini and in opposition to the Shah, large demonstrations by students and different groups of people were also being held at the University of Tehran.

The demonstrations and extensive strikes involving workers from different departments of the oil company, among them workers of the oil refinery in Abadan placed great strain on the government of Sharif Imami. Strikes by staff at the Ministry of the Interior also began on this day, and even though General Qarabaghi, the Interior Minister, made promises to provide a better standard of living for his employees, the strikes continued leading one to presume that their aims were not material. This date in the history of the Iranian Revolution also marked the day that the employees of the Iran-British Bank shut up shop and joined demonstrators at the University of Tehran which had become the rallying point for the protesters. Employees from other banks had already joined the protest strikes.

As the country's press announced that the many restrictions placed on the activities of the Leader of the Revolution in France had given rise to the possibility that he would leave Paris for Kashmir, at the behest of some of the Kashmiri Muslims, where he would continue with his struggle, Mahdi Bazargan and Nasir Minachi left Tehran for Paris to visit Imam Khomeini. When asked by a *Kayhan* reporter for the reason behind his trip to Paris, Bazargan simply replied that he was "going to visit Hadrat Ayatullah to inform him of the situation in the country." However, one of the newspapers

reported that Bazargan's trip was to "clear up some misunderstandings," but it failed to elaborate exactly what those "misunderstandings" were.

The strain on the government of Jafar Sharif Imami was beginning to show. As tens of thousands of Iranian combatants, clergymen, *ulama*, religious students and men and women from various walks of life languished in the Shah's gaols suffering torture and unmentionable abuse, the government announced that it was considering the granting of a general amnesty to political prisoners. Furthermore, Sharif Imami in a speech said: "The government firmly believes in freedom of conviction and expression." The Prime Minister's words came at a time when the representatives of the puppet Parliament had begun to openly criticise the policies of the present and former governments; most of the censors being people who from the day that they had entered Parliament had never stood up to voice the opinions of their constituents or discuss their problems!

As the Shah's position continued to deteriorate, the Iranian Ambassador to the US, Ardeshtir Zahedi, arrived in Tehran for talks with the Shah¹. Initial discussions went on for fourteen hours after which Zahedi announced his readiness to go to Paris to meet with Imam. However, the newspapers reported Imam's unwillingness to meet with him, and Zahedi's plan did not come to fruition. However, during his stay in Iran, Zahedi did meet once with Mr. Shari'atmadari. The arrival of the "Russel Judicial Committee" in Tehran to assess the situation coincided with comments made in a speech by the Shah that "the battle with corruption must constitute a permanent policy!"

Imam's migration to Paris, in spite of the restrictions placed on his activities, proved on the whole to be quite beneficial. A never-ending stream of Iranians, from Europe and the US as well as Iran itself, continued to visit and pay homage to Imam and to consult with him. The world's media also turned its attention to his modest residence at Neauphle-le-Chateau, and his words revealing the truth of events in Iran and the realities of the revolution began to reach a global audience.

The subject of many of Imam's discourses at this time was the continued, multiform support given to the Shah by America which ran

¹ William Shawcross in the book *The Shah's Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally* (p. 106) writes: "As the Shah crumbled towards collapse, Zahedi shed the mantle of bon vivant and became, in partnership with Brzezinski, a controversial player in the drama of the final days. He returned twice to Teheran. Before his second visit, in November 1978, Brzezinski asked him to come to the White House to meet Carter, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, and Stansfield Turner, the director of the CIA. Carter made a rather remarkable commitment to him, saying, "Don't worry about Washington, I will be the ambassador for Iran here."

counter to world public opinion and which was proffered despite the uprising of the Iranian nation against him and his regime. In his attempts to preserve America's vital interests in Iran, Carter apparently had no other choice but to support the Shah to the hilt even though recognition of him as one of the most despised dictators in the world was rapidly gaining ground, more so in the light of the atrocities he had already committed during this final year of his rule.

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini enumerates the results of the regime's destructive economic and agricultural policies, especially the land reform programme, and adduces actual and recognisable examples arising from the realities of Iran at the time. He points to America's interference in the country, its support for the Shah and the unlimited sale of the country's oil in return for equipment for the American listening stations and military bases in the country, as the root causes of Iran's problems, saying: "We must sever the hands of the traitors from this land. We say that it is America who has perpetrated the greatest act of treachery against our country. It is America that we now confront, the others are merely the leaves and branches, the Shah is one of the branches of America, he is only a servant... we say that America too must go, for it is the trunk."

In continuing his speech, Imam refers to recent remarks made by Carter in which he described the Shah as a progressive and freedom-loving person, and attacks the distorted logic of American human rights. Elsewhere in this speech, the Leader of the Revolution emphasises the necessity for cultural reform in the society and the continuation of the uprising, and draws attention to the nation's desire to see an Islamic system established in the country. He points to the ultimate goals of the movement in this way: "... God willing, we may all join hands together and smash this barrier; this barrier which consists of Muhammad Rida at the front and Carter behind. When this is shattered, then the way to happiness lies open."

It was by dint of Imam's disclosures of US policies in Iran and his repeated attacks on the US in his speeches, which in fact manifested Iranian national sentiment, that the slogan "Death to America" became the slogan of demonstrators across the country, and when confronted with clear examples of the Shah's treachery, they would shout: "This is evidence of America's crimes." Imam's stance against America was not however welcomed by the nationalist groups who saw the defeat of domestic despotism as being their ultimate goal. Thus, linking the movement to other issues of the Islamic world and other Islamic movements—especially that of the Palestinians—was not accepted by those groups and along with differences over how to

confront the regime and whether to preserve or destroy the monarchical system, this caused the main area of disagreement between the followers of Imam and other groups.

Speech Number Forty

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Shah is the bloodthirsty enemy of us all; he is not only my enemy.¹ May God preserve the nation. May God repel this bloodthirsty enemy—this enemy who is the enemy of the existence of this country; the enemy of the existence of Islam and the Muslims. Only a few days ago some of the Shah's agents murdered seven- or eight-year-old children, schoolboys and schoolgirls. He is not only my enemy; he is the enemy of us all; he is the enemy of humanity; he is the enemy of honor. You should all join hands together. Those of us who are outside the country have a duty to raise our voices in support of the people in Iran who stand united against him, and will continue to do so until, God willing, this enemy is destroyed. The regime's destruction is imminent, the bluster and self-glorification of the past is over now, but we should not be neglectful, those of us who are abroad should not be heedless of the situation of our brothers in the country. We have a duty, a moral and a religious duty to help them to the best of our ability. We must propagate their cause in whatever way we can; if we are able to get statements published in the newspapers then we must do so. We must do whatever we can.

The people of Iran today are suffering at the hands of this man.² He has a mission to crush (them) and to prevent the interests of the foreigners from being destroyed. He is an agent. He has a mission to exhaust the country's oil supplies so that nothing is left for the people. This is the main reason why he was brought to power. He says that he has a mission for his country,³ and this is indeed the truth! He has a "mission for my country," the mission America gave to him: to take the country to the brink of non-existence! He has the mission to give all our oil to the Americans and in return buy scrap metal from them, a deal which benefits only them. These arms which are now being bought are of no use to Iran, they are arms that the Americans want to have here so that if a war breaks out between America and Russia, for

¹ The beginning of the Imam's speech in response to the feelings and slogans of the University students and those present who shouted "Khomeini, Khomeini may Allah preserve you. Death, death to your blood thirsty enemy."

² Shah.

³ It refers to the Shah's reported book, *Mission for My Country*.

example, they have all the weapons they need in one place. Iran is one of their bases, which they want armed. They take our oil and in return they bring arms here for themselves. They set up military installations for themselves in Iran to be used should war break out. Do not suppose that they give us arms in return for oil. What good are weapons that we cannot use? These are weapons which no one in Iran can use. These are weapons that they themselves want to bring here, even if they hadn't taken our oil, they would still have brought these weapons here and would still have strengthened their bases because they fear that one day Russia may attack them. So what better than to take our oil and in exchange, under the pretext of doing us a favor, build their bases! They build bases for themselves in Iran that is what we get in return for our oil.

And such great amounts of oil they take! Some people who went to the oil fields said that the pipes through which they are taking the oil are so large that a man can easily walk into them! This was the case a while ago, perhaps by now they are even bigger! In only a few minutes the oil tankers are filled with oil and leave. This is the oil that was supposed to be used for running this country till the end of its days. But now the Shah says that it will finish in thirty years' time. He now says that this large reserve, which should nourish this generation, sustain and make this country prosperous, will finish in thirty years' time. Who is finishing it? One should ask him who is finishing this oil. He is finishing it. The Shah is depleting these abundant, God-given reserves and what does this nation get in return for their oil? Arms! Why does he buy so many arms? Can he fight Russia? Can he fight America? The guns that he has now are sufficient for crushing the people of his country; he does not need to bring in more from America. The guns he has are enough to crush our merchants, our young people, our university students, our girls, our boys, our women and our men. What are those huge pieces of equipment that are coming into the country in return for the large amounts of oil, which go out... is our country anything other than a base for them? So they take our oil and they take the profit from it also. They take our oil and then they take back the money they pay for it and use it to build bases for themselves.

We are not fully aware of what this regime is doing to this country; we do not have all the information. If, God willing, this man goes, then those people, who do know what is truly happening, who know the realities of Iran and are aware of the acts of treachery this man has perpetrated, will be able to speak out. But for the moment we do not have all the information. However, even the slight amount we do have shows us that he has destroyed

the agriculture of Iran through his “land reforms.” Do you suppose that Iran has any agriculture left for itself? He has destroyed it. And then the regime boasts about how much it has imported from abroad! This is laughable really. These boasts in a country, which used to export such commodities as wheat, barley and other items, are truly ridiculous. The situation should be lamented not lauded. Who has destroyed this great agrarian economy of Iran? At one time the needs of the whole country were met by the produce of just one of its provinces. Now we are reduced to depending on the outside world for all our essential needs. They have completely destroyed animal husbandry in the country. They have “nationalized,” as they put it, our pastures on which the animals graze. But what they mean by “nationalized” is that everything goes to the Shah; he sees only himself and his family as comprising the nation! So when they say something has been nationalized, they mean it now belongs to them! The nation comprises of no one else. No one else matters. What is the nation? Just a group of ordinary people, merchants and people from the university. What use are they? The nation is the Shah and his gang! They have nationalized the pasturelands and the forests, but their nationalization serves only their own interests. They have prevented the farmers from grazing their animals on the pastures, so these farmers in turn have lost everything. They didn’t allow the people to make use of the forests; instead they sold the forests to this place and that and took the profit for themselves. However, we still do not know about everything that they do.

We know about the agriculture of Iran because we can see what has happened to it since he implemented his land reform program. Our agrarian economy has been completely ruined. One way in which these land reforms have proved detrimental to our country is that we have now become a market for America. We are now forced to import wheat from America; the Iranian people now have to give their money to import a commodity that they once produced themselves, a commodity from which they should be deriving profit. And the same goes for everything else, they even say that eggs are brought in from Israel.

Another way in which the land reform program has proved detrimental is that it has displaced the villagers. As a result of the reforms, the villagers could no longer remain in their villages and so they migrated to Tehran and other cities. People have written to me telling me that there are twenty or thirty areas around Tehran. I cannot remember the exact number but these poor migrants have set up tents or some other forms of shelter for themselves in pits, in large holes in the ground. Just imagine two hundred, three hundred, five hundred tents where they live with their children and elderly relatives.

And this is happening in Tehran, the capital of a country on the ‘threshold of a great civilization.’ Not only do they not have electricity, they have no water, there is no asphalt on the roads, and they have to take their jugs and climb up scores of steps out of this pit until they reach a water tap where they fill their jugs and climb down again. Picture some poor woman in the middle of the biting winter of Tehran climbing up and down those steps to fetch a jugful of water for her children. God only knows how many times she stumbles, how much trouble she has to go through, and this is not only in one area, there are forty or fifty more like this around Tehran. I have received reports of the areas where people have left their villages because of “land reforms” and the fall of agriculture. They have left their villages and flooded into Tehran and maybe other cities as well. They have taken refuge in Tehran so that can make a living. This is the situation of these people in a capital where the places are so grand!

This is the kind of life that they have while the relatives of this man live as they do. Only a few days ago I read somewhere that one of the Shah’s sisters had spent a few million dollars on a villa some place, I can’t remember exactly where, but what I do recall is that she spent five million dollars just on flowers and plants for decorating the garden of her¹ villa. Five million dollars! It’s beyond imagination. The nation has one lifestyle and they have another. How did this come about? On the one hand, it came about because the Americans ordered him to: “Carry out ‘land reforms’; create a market for our goods, for we over-produce and we throw the surplus into the sea, but instead we’ll sell it to you and get money for it!” And on the other hand because if some small amount of the oil money is left after the Americans have taken all that they want, the Shah and his gang grab it and spend it on their enjoyment.

We say that this situation should be changed. This is what anyone would say. Any human being would say this. Our country is in such a troubled situation because of this man and the people have suffered so under his rule as they did under that of his father before him. Now we say this state of affairs has to change. Nothing else. We say that this regime has betrayed this country. Even now treason is being committed. We must sever the hands of the traitors from this land. We say that it is America who has perpetrated the greatest act of treachery against our country. It is America that we now confront; the others are merely the leaves and branches. The Shah is one of the branches of America; he is only a servant; he has to do whatever they tell

¹ Ashraf Pahlavi.

him. We say that America too must go, for it is the trunk. These branches take the wealth of the people; they are useless. They are traitors; they have to go too. The country belongs to us and we want to administer it ourselves. What has it got to do with America if we do not progress? It is ridiculous.

Only today I was shown a newspaper which reported that Mr. Carter had said in an interview that the Iranian people are opposing the Shah because he wants to create a progressive society in Iran and wants to give the people freedom! It was in yesterday's newspaper also. So all these people are opposing him, this nation is opposing him because he wants to give them freedom! They are shouting that they do not want freedom! According to the logic of Mr. Carter, who thinks he knows everything, the Shah is asking the people to let him give them a prosperous life and they are saying no, we do not want it, we want to continue living in these pits! What can we do with such people? What should we say about this Carter? Should we say that he does not know what is really happening in the country, that he is not informed? Is it possible that Carter is not informed while you and I are? He has his experts everywhere; they are deeply involved in everything, so he knows what is going on. Who is he trying to fool? If he were to make such remarks at some other gathering where the people were not aware of the realities in Iran, they would think that all the people in Iran were mad, because this kind man wants to give them freedom, he wants to give them a good life and they do not want it. They would ask, "Do not you want to have a car? Do not you want to have a prosperous life? He wants to give it to you, he is offering it to you with both hands and telling you to come and take it. So why are you pushing his hands away and saying you do not want it?" This is the logic of Mr. Carter, the President of America! Yet he knows fully well what he is saying; he is well aware of the situation. By making these remarks he hopes to deceive some people, well supposing that he can; this is devilry.

We are troubled by such a being in the world. The logic of we, backward people, is that we want to have control of our own wealth. We are people whom they describe as backward. Sometimes they say we are not worthy of freedom. The Shah himself has said that the people of our country do not deserve freedom and because they are not worthy they must be imprisoned. They deserve nothing other than imprisonment. They are not deserving of freedom. Why? Is it because they are shouting, "Give us freedom?" Is this why they are not worthy of it? Now everyone from the four- or five-year-old children, who of course learn from their elders, to the elderly are calling for freedom and independence. Well, if they already have freedom, then what more do they want? If he wants to grant them freedom, then why are all these

people calling for “freedom and independence?” Obviously our logic differs. According to the Shah’s way of thinking, his country is free, but that means everyone is being persecuted. This is his logic. What one man calls freedom is what we call tortured. According to his logic, he has granted freedom to those who were imprisoned, those who were suppressed, those who were persecuted! Independence too in the Shah’s logic means something else: a country which is dependent on others in all aspects, which he has made dependent, is according to him independent.

Do you think that the members of the Iranian Parliament, whose selection has nothing to do with the people, are nominated by the Shah? No, the embassies prepare a list of the names of those to be selected beforehand and give it to him. This is not something peculiar only to this period; it occurred at the time of Rida Khan also, only then it was the British Embassy, which prepared the list, and probably before them the Russian Embassy, and now it is the American Embassy that does this. Perhaps they, meaning America, Britain and Russia, all confer together and come to an understanding on this matter. They also come to an understanding on devouring the wealth of the people. One takes the gas while the other takes the oil. These representatives of ours are ordered into the Parliament by America. If it was the Shah himself who did this, then at least we could say he is from this country, even though we do not want a compatriot like this. But even he doesn’t order them into Parliament. They say who should be the delegates, they give him the list and he passes it on to those who deal with the referendum, without modification. What say do the people have in the matter? How are the people involved in this? Who are the people? The people should be suppressed. They should work and eat nothing... They should work and whatever they earn should go into the pockets of others; and whatever is... left over from Carter and America goes into the pockets of the Shah and his Pahlavi relatives. What of the people? Suppression is their lot in life. They have to have something to put into their mouths, well let it be a punch!

We say that this situation must be changed; it cannot carry on like this. A nation of thirty million¹ or more cannot be constantly suppressed;² the people cannot always work while others take the fruits of their labor. This does not conform to any logic. This situation has to be rectified. This is the logic of

¹ The thirty-million figure pertains to the population of Iran before the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

² The population of Iran before the victory of the Islamic Revolution was estimated to be thirty million. According to a census carried out in 1986, the figure was 49,445,010.

Islam. Can they in any way question this logic? They say that Islam is 'reactionary';¹ well, what business is it of theirs if it is or not? They call it reactionary because Islam says they must leave the country and let the people live independently. When they say "Islam is reactionary" they do so because Islam tells you that foreigners should not rule over you, it has forbidden you to be ruled by foreigners, it says you should be independent. Naturally then, in their logic, because Islam says you should be independent, it is reactionary. As long as you are independent of America and it is not involved in all of your country's affairs, then you are not progressive. This is their logic, and with this logic they want to make us progressive and take us to the "threshold of civilization." Our logic is different from theirs. Our terminology is different. According to their logic, what is happening in the country now—these actions of the Shah—are all part of taking us to the threshold of civilization.

At this very moment, as we sit here, fighting is taking place in many places in Iran and shots are being fired. Our people are saying: "We do not want you to take us to the 'threshold of civilization'. You leave the country; we know what to do." Let America leave our country; let the American advisers leave; when they go we shall administer our lives ourselves; our lives are none of their business. The Shah wishes to make us a 'progressive' country, but we do not want the kind of progress that he has in mind. If we are able we will make our nation progressive ourselves, but if we do not succeed then so be it. We are a group of peasants who want to cultivate wheat or barley on our own land and then eat it ourselves. We are telling you Americans who have come here from the other side of the world and have grasped all the resources of Iran, its oil, copper, steel, everything, and are plundering the wealth of this country, to take your hands off! We will do what we want with our own resources. Carter tells us that we can't, but what has it got to do with him? If I cannot put my 'aba on, does that mean he has to come and take it off me? His talk of progress is all lies; he won't allow us to progress.

We have had universities in Iran for some seventy years now. We have had schools from the time of Amir Kabir.² We have universities,¹ but they

¹ Reactionary [*irtija*]: The deposed monarch used to refer to combatant clerics and those who opposed his White Revolution as the black reactionary forces.

² Amir Kabir: Mirza Taqi Khan Farahani, better known as Amir Kabir (1803-1848), was the strong and popular prime minister of Nasir ad-Din Shah of the Qajar dynasty, who, by relying on his shrewdness, sagacity and perseverance managed to do away with many aspects of foreign colonialism and domestic autocracy to promote the welfare of the country in the face many challenging difficulties.

have not been allowed to teach properly. Our educational system is an imperialist system. It is a system which they created for us, which they dictated to us. The imperialists do not let our youth become properly educated. They do not let us progress. If they release their hold on us, then the Iranians will make progress like the rest, they are no less capable than anyone else. But they do not let us progress, because if they were to do this then their interests would be jeopardized. They want to devour the East and keep it in a state of backwardness. They need it to be in this state so they can consume its wealth. They have installed their agents everywhere; in our country it's this Mr. Shah with his "mission for my country" and we can all see what that mission has entailed.

Ours is the logic of Islam, a logic which says that Muslims should not be ruled by foreigners,² they should not be dominated by others. We do not want to be subservient to others. This is what we are really saying, that America must go, not only America, Russia too, all foreign powers must leave our country. This is our logic and this is what we are shouting for. Now if, according to this logic, anyone has anything to say, then let us hear it. According to the propaganda in these newspapers—and it is said that the Shah spends a hundred million dollars every year on propaganda for his regime, to preserve his regime,³ of course one expects such statements to be

¹ A center of higher education called Dar al-Mu'allimin was established in 1918 and the University of Tehran was founded in 1935. The system of education at the University of Tehran was mostly adopted from the French system and many of the older lecturers had been educated in France. However, after the coup of August 19, 1953 [Mordad 28, 1332 AHS] and the rise in American influence in the country, the educational system of the universities in Iran gradually moved toward the American model and many of the sensitive posts were given to Freemasons.

² *Surah an-Nisa* 4:141: "And never will Allah grant to the unbelievers a way (to triumph) over the Believers."

³ The Shah used to spend part of the country's revenue on heavily financing propaganda campaigns. Both ambassadors and the Royal Public Relations Bureau gave millions of dollars to writers and publicity agencies and to the press, radio and television, to ensure that the Shah's crimes and treacherous activities remained concealed and that instead he was introduced as one of the world's great politicians and outstanding thinkers. *Le Point*, printed in France, voted the Shah as "the Man of the Year"! Barry Rubin, the American researcher, in his book *The Power Struggle in Iran* writes: "The extensive nature of the propaganda which was spread by the regime was one of the main reasons why the latter's shortcomings remained hidden." The sums of money given by the Shah for propaganda purposes were so vast that rivalry broke out between Iranologists from America, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Holland over the translation of material such as the Shah's own book or the *Mu'arrifi-ye Tamaddun va Shahan-e Gozashteh*. Such payments were made in absolute secrecy and hence the exact amounts involved for these or other payments offered as bribes for propaganda are

found in these newspapers—the *akhunds* are reactionaries; the *akhunds* are worshippers of the old; the *akhunds* are such and such. Then they turn to Islam and they paint a bad picture of both Islam and the *akhunds*. Why? Because that which stands in the way of the imperialists is Islam and it is the *akhunds* who are implementing Islam. The imperialists try to get rid of these obstacles to their designs by disparaging Islam so the people will turn away from its teachings and spurn the *akhunds*, and then only their agents, and whoever else they want, will be left.

They have made our universities such that our students cannot study properly. There is so much pressure on them. Nowadays no one can study in our theological schools or universities. The universities are always on strike.¹ It has been over a year now that they have been on strike; they cannot function; the regime does not let them function. Its agents storm the universities, beating and injuring both men and women, or arresting them and taking them off to prison. The same happens in the schools. Every so often they attack the schools and assault the pupils and teachers there. The religious students and university students cannot study in such a tense atmosphere, and now it is the same for the school-children. Nowadays they are beating the school-children, even killing them. Only today I was

not yet known. Documents uncovered since the victory of the Revolution however, both in Iran and in Iranian embassies abroad, indicate that these amounts had been quite substantial. In America alone, millions of dollars were spent each year on popularizing the Shah's regime. Among the contracts made to this end, was the five hundred and seven thousand dollar contract made with the New York public relations counseling agency "Ruder and Finn, Inc."; the agreement to pay Marion Javits, the wife of Senator Javits, an annual sum of sixty-seven thousand five hundred dollars; and the regular payment of exorbitant sums to William Rogers, the former Foreign Minister of the United States. Following his departure from Iran in November 1978 [Aban 1357 AHS], Siamak Zand, the head of the press section of the Royal Public Relations Bureau, stated in an interview that he used to bribe most of the foreign journalists. In the same interview he clearly named four of the journalists in question to be the editor-in-chief of the American magazine *Newsweek*; two journalists from *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*; and the French reporter Gerard de Villiers. Refer to *The Power Struggle in Iran*, p. 117; *In the Service of the Peacock Throne*, p. 310; and the *Herald Tribune* newspaper of November 17, 1978 [Aban 26, 1357 AHS].

¹ On October 7, 1978 [Mehr 15, 1357 AHS], a number of universities across the country did begin lectures after a slight delay, but most of them went on strike on the same day and closed down again. The Teacher Training University closed after only being open for a day and the students of the Azad University of Tabriz announced in a declaration on the afternoon of October 7 that they would not attend classes until martial law was lifted. Ferdowsi University of Mashhad, Kerman University, Isfahan University, Shiraz University, Amir Kabir University and Rida'i University did not reopen at all. The students of the Teacher Training University and the College of Higher Education in Arak also announced that they would not attend classes. Refer to the newspapers of October 1978.

informed of the killing of many young schoolboys and schoolgirls by the regime.¹

The situation in Iran at present is unprecedented, and even more unexampled is the spirit of the Iranian people at this time. Their spirit now is so strong that even though tanks close in on them from one side and soldiers with bayonets from another, they raise their fists into the air and go forward; they confront them with sticks and stones. One is slain and another takes his place. They do not give up. It is this spirit which will make this regime retreat, as it has done already.

This Rastakhiz Party was so highly praised by the regime and the Shah insisted so strongly that all Iranians had to join it saying that whoever did not must leave the country because he was no longer an Iranian, he no longer had a nation.² But then he later changed his stance and said the Rastakhiz Party was not important, it was like other parties.³ Sometimes he says something

¹ On October 18, 1978 [Mehr 26, 1357 AHS], police attacked the Ibrat high school for girls injuring and arresting a number of pupils there. A protest demonstration by students of Nazi-Abad high school was disrupted when police and soldiers moved in and a number of pupils were injured. A fire began in the Ilahi high school during demonstrations by pupils there, as a result of which a number of them were trapped. Many pupils of both girls' and boys' high schools were killed on this day as a result of the actions of the police and army.

² The Shah had ordered for various parties to be formed such as the "Mardom [People's] Party," the "Milliyun [Nationals] Party" and the "Iran-e Novin [Modern Iran] Party." In 1974 [1353 AHS], however, he announced that the Rastakhiz Party was to be regarded as the country's only legitimate party and he made membership of it obligatory. He demanded that anyone who was opposed to this party should leave Iran! The Rastakhiz Party was established on the basis of three principles: allegiance to the constitutional law; allegiance to the monarchical regime; and allegiance to the Shah-People Revolution. Hoveyda, the Prime Minister of the day, was elected as Secretary General of the Rastakhiz Party and "Rastakhiz" became the focal attraction for those who sought power or influence. No sooner had this party been established than Imam declared its illegality according to religious law. He thus issued a religious decree forbidding anyone to become a member of this party and he argued that to demand compulsory membership was a violation of the Constitution. On the party's first birthday following its establishment, the regime announced that this party enjoyed a membership of twenty-three million people! (The total population of Iran at that time was only thirty-three million people.) The Shah forbade the party's members to discuss or hold meetings about oil, the White Revolution, the procurement of arms and equipment, and the country's foreign policy. Six months after its establishment, high-officials of the American embassy in Iran reported to Washington that this party played no practical role in the politics of Iran. Refer to *Tarikh-e Novin-e Iran* [The Modern History of Iran], p. 257.

³ It refers to the mass media on Mordad 27-28, 1357 AHS. At the time of the establishment of the Rastakhiz or National Resurgence Party, the Shah declared: "We must straighten out Iranians' ranks. To do so, we divide them into two categories: those who believe in Monarchy, the Constitution and the Sixth Bahman Revolution (i.e. the date on which the White Revolution was announced in 1963); and those who don't... A person who does not enter the

and persists with it so much, but now this very nation... has forced him to shift his ground. The people have forced him to say that this Rastakhiz Party is nothing. I said from the very beginning that this was not a party, that this was just talk. His other plans are the same. Gradually, he will say the same about the land reforms, because these were not reforms, they amounted to nothing other than acts of corruption. What did the land reform program do with its Literacy Corps—this corps that does nothing other than send people into the towns and villages to sing the Shah's praises and promote his image?

Now all the people, from the remotest villages to the provincial capitals, stand unified and shout: "We do not want this Shah." Is any referendum better than this? A whole nation is saying we do not want this, so what is America saying? It is our country and we do not want this Shah ruling it. He must go, and it has nothing to do with America. We will determine our own destiny. The destiny of each country must lie in the hands of its people. We do not want him, he must go and we will appoint someone ourselves. Our

new political party and does not believe in the three cardinal principles which I referred to, will have only two choices. He is either an individual who belongs to an illegal organization, or is related to the outlawed Tudeh Party, or in other words, is a traitor. Such an individual belongs in an Iranian prison, or if he desires he can leave the country tomorrow, without even paying exit fees; he can go any where he likes, because he is not an Iranian, he has no nation, and his activities are illegal and punishable according to the law ... Everyone must be man enough to clarify his position in this country. He either approves of the conditions or he does not. As I said before, if his disapproval has treacherous overtones, his fate is clear. If it has ideological roots, he is free in Iran, but he should not have any expectations... We expect everyone, any individual who has come of age, to vote, either to enter this new political structure or to clarify his position as of tomorrow or as soon as possible." (The Shah, speech of March 2, 1975, Ministry of Information and Tourism pamphlet, pp. 11-13.) Fred Halliday in his book *Iran: Dictatorship and Development*, (p. 48) adds: "The pressure was therefore on, for everyone to be seen to join the new entity: the ominous phrase 'he should not have any expectations' takes on a special meaning in a country where the state is the dominant patron and source of advancement. It would be a mistake to see Rastakhiz as simply designed to further the pretence that there exists in Iran a form of democracy that is in reality absent. These organizations have an additional and important purpose, namely to generate support for the regime and to provide a means of forcing people to compromise themselves by declarations of loyalty. Promotion, security, contacts—much can depend on whether someone is a party member or not." However, by 1978, the Shah had been forced to think again, and in an interview given on the anniversary of the August 19 coup d'état, he said: "At that time we said that the party is for everyone which meant anyone could join it. Now we see that with the so-called open door policy and absolute, one hundred percent freedom, we no longer expect one hundred percent of the people to join this party. No. A person may not wish to join it for some reason. He may have another way of thinking. He will have this choice and has it now. And later, according to the law of the civilized, progressive world he will be able to say and write whatever he wants." Refer to the newspapers of August 18 and 19, 1978 [Mordad 27 and 28, 1357 AHS].

destiny should be based on rules, on reasonable, rational rules, on laws, and it should be in the hands of those who have the right to determine it.

At any rate, the duty of those of us here today, and the others who are out of the country is to help the Iranians. They have arisen; they have stood up—actually their movement is fifteen years old now, but it is only over the past year that it has become so strong, that it is proving effective. We are at a very critical stage in our history, perhaps there has never been such a period in Iranian history when the people have demonstrated such emotions, when seven- and eight-year-old school-children have taken to the streets in demonstrations shouting: “We do not want the Shah. Death to the Shah!” And as one small child is killed another comes forward and shouts the same slogan. Men and women do the same and the slogan is repeated throughout the country, in the traditional and modern learning institutions, the theological schools and the universities, in the bazaars and mosques. Wherever you go the slogan is the same. This is an unprecedented event; Iran has never witnessed such unanimity. I cannot remember anything like this happening before, and I believe that neither Iranian nor world history can recall such a time when all the people spoke with one voice and shouted one slogan. If the bayonets of America were removed, the army wouldn't support the Shah either. But the bayonets of America are there, America is supporting him. All our troubles are caused by America. If these bayonets were removed, the army would not support him, no one would. This is the situation in Iran now. I am very optimistic that this unity of purpose which exists in Iran now will allow the people to achieve their aims and will lead them to success.

A nation cannot be kept under martial law for ever. Now that martial law has been implemented, the people continue to resist. A country cannot be kept under martial law and held at bayonet-point for ever. There is no other way but to change the system. Mr. Carter can say whatever he likes, he can say that all that the Shah is doing is for freedom and progress, but nothing can stop what is happening in Iran today. The movement will progress. Yet still we who are over here have a duty to help. If I can speak out, even though restraints have been imposed on my activities, you can surely speak out. Speak to your brothers over here, publish articles, do whatever you can. Help your friends in Iran, help your brothers who have risen up and are shedding their blood, in whatever way you can. The blood of young children as well as adults is being shed; we should do as much as we can to help them. We must speak out for them, we must use our pens and take other steps to help them so that, God willing, we may all join hands together and smash this barrier—

this barrier which consists of Muhammad Rida at the front and Carter behind. When this is shattered then the way to happiness lies open. For the happiness of you all and your nation lies beyond this barrier. I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant you success. My prayers are with you. May God keep you safe and, God willing, may you all endeavor to be beneficial to your country. God willing, when you return home you will be useful for your country and you will not be like this present ruling body. May God preserve you all.

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-One

Date: October 22, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 30, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 19, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The false propaganda promoted by the imperialists in their attempts to crush Islam and the Muslims

Occasion: The continuation of adverse propaganda against Islam and the Quran

Those present: A number of students and other Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

On October 22, 1978 (Mehr 30, 1357 AHS), Imam Khomeini once again delivered two important speeches. In this his first discourse, he points to the suffering of the Iranian nation, the circumstances surrounding Rida Khan's rise to power and his transformation into monarch saying: "We all know that the Iranian nation has lived under the yoke of the Pahlavi dynasty for more than fifty years... This dynasty was initiated with the rule of Rida Khan, the servant of the British who brought him to power. In our more recent history, it has been his vicious son, the servant of America, who has dominated us. He himself confessed that the Allies thought it fitting that he should be in control of affairs..."

In the book *Tarikh-i Bist Saleh-yi Iran* we read: "... The British Foreign Office openly admits that its government interferes in the affairs of Iran and that it brought Rida Khan to power. In order to successfully continue with this policy of hidden influence, the British Foreign Office brought a large organisation into being. To say that this secret organisation has complete influence in all the political, social, administrative and cultural affairs of our country would be an understatement. It carries out the duties assigned to it so skilfully that there is no limit to what it can achieve..."¹

Confirmation of the British role in the origins of the Pahlavi dynasty is supplied by the memoirs of Major-General Sir Edmund Ironside, once commander of the British forces in Iran. He wrote on February 23, 1921, the day of Rida Shah's coup d'état: "I fancy that all the people think I engineered the coup d'état. I suppose I did strictly speaking."²

¹ *Tarikh-i Bist Saleh-yi Iran*, vol. 2, p. 15.

² Quoted in Denis Wright, *The English Amongst the Persians During the Qajar Period, 1787-1921*, p. 183.

In August 1941, British and Soviet forces invaded Iran in a move to forestall the growth of German influence, to secure the oil fields of Iran and to acquire a route for the transport of supplies to the Soviet Union. During the invasion, and despite the fact that throughout the Second World War Iran had declared her neutrality, Rida Shah was ousted by the very patron who had brought him to power, exiled to Mauritius and his twenty-two-year-old son Muhammad Rida Pahlavi installed on the throne. The report given of his “abdication” was: “On September 16, 1941, Rida Khan, exhausted by having expended all his energy on the country over the past few years, announced that he was to abdicate. Early in the morning he left the Sad Abad palace and headed for his palace in the city where his baggage was ready and waiting for him. His letter of abdication was drawn up ready for him to sign. He then set off to Isfahan.”¹ After the Anglo-Russian invasion of Iran, British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden made a statement conceding that Britain had engineered the rise to power of Rida Shah.²

So British imperialism, in the form of Major-General Ironside, had engineered Rida Khan’s rise from a humble officer in the Cossack Brigade to absolute ruler of Iran, and fifteen years later his son was made nominal suzerain of the country by the World War Two Allies. At the time, the British and Russian occupiers had no other option but to install Muhammad Rida on the throne, for they had no other suitable candidate. A fortuitous international situation at the time was to prove propitious for the establishment of his rule. As Russian forces continued their occupation of northern provinces of the country past the deadline provided by treaty after the war had ended, the United States moved in on the pretext of assisting anti-communist forces. By March 1946, the Red Army had moved out of Iranian territory and the US had gained a strong foothold in the country. Gradually, the US replaced both Russian and British influence in the country and emerged as the principal patron of the Shah’s post-war regime, propping it up with military and economic aid as well as with political backing.

Imam Khomeini refers to these events in this speech, and touches on the 1943 Tehran Conference in which Franklin Roosevelt, the US President at the time met with the then British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin, the leader of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Throughout the crisis of the last year of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi’s rule, American support remained stalwart. In December 1977, US President Jimmy Carter paid a brief visit to Tehran where he announced that the Shah

¹ *Tarikh-i Bist Saleh-yi Iran*, vol. 2, pp. 7 and 529.

² See Peter Avery, *Modern Iran*, p. 228.

and he had identical views on human rights, and that there was no leader in the world for whom he felt such “deep gratitude and personal friendship” as the Shah¹. In the days following the Jaleh Square massacre (September 8, 1978/Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS), Carter telephoned the Shah to reassure him of US support, while regretting the loss of life, and US diplomats underlined the vital importance of the Shah to their strategy. Other Western leaders did the same, but the Shah also received a visit in the midst of the August crisis from another friend, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng of China. Hua repeated conventional Chinese views about the importance of Iran to the security of the Gulf, and when the Shah’s troops shot at the Iranian population in Jaleh Square a few days later, the Chinese press attacked the demonstrators for being “financed and organised from abroad².”

Imam voiced very strong objections to the Chinese leader’s visit at this time and in this speech he urges the young Iranians residing abroad to make the voice of the oppressed people heard in the world: “You can propagate their cause and this would prove to be very valuable. You are responsible before God. Do not suppose that because you are here, you are, thank God, relieved of any responsibility. No, this is not the case. You are responsible before God, each one of you has a duty to speak out wherever you go and to whomever you meet.”

As demonstrators took to the streets throughout Iran with shouts of “God is Greater, Khomeini is the Leader,” and demanding “independence, freedom and an Islamic republic,” David Owen, the British Foreign Minister, disregarding the demands of the people which were being broadcast across the globe by the world’s press, stated in a press conference that if the Shah’s regime fell, the communists would take over. His statements constituted nothing other than an open expression of support for the Shah’s regime³.

Dr. Ali Amini, an experienced Iranian politician, reappeared as a key adviser to the Shah as the revolution came to a climax. Amini, who in May 1961 had been appointed to replace Sharif Imami as Prime Minister by the Shah who felt himself under pressure “too strong to resist⁴” from the Kennedy administration, was widely viewed by the Iranian people as being “Washington’s man” and up until a few days earlier he had not seen the formation of a military government as a fundamental solution to the problems. However, on October 22, 1978 (Mehr 30, 1357 AHS), he suddenly

¹ Refer to Fred Halliday’s, *Iran, Dictatorship and Development*, p. 295.

² *Afrique-Asie*, No. 170, September 18, 1978.

³ *Kayhan*, October 21, 1978 (Mehr 29, 1357 AHS).

⁴ Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi, *Answer to History*, p. 22.

shifts position and says: "I am not a member of the CIA nor an American agent, but if needs necessitate, I will support the formation of a military government as long as there is no resultant bloodshed."(!) Dr. Amini had earlier stated: "I will accept the premiership on certain conditions; and my discussions with Imam Khomeini will solve all the problems." And in discussing the Shah's regime he had also admitted that: "This authoritarian, oppressive and rigid regime was bound to disintegrate sooner or later because its foundations are rotten¹." Most certainly, when Mr. Amini categorically denied his membership of the CIA, he did not think that exactly one year later documents from the American Espionage Den in Iran would fall into the hands of the Shah's opponents and a collection under the heading of "moderates" and referring to his long association with the CIA would be published.

The judges and the employees of the Prosecutor's Office are on full strike. Martial law agents, who until today had occupied the Prosecutor's Office, leave the building after complaints by a few of the judges to the Minister of Justice. At a time when the media reports that most of the schools in the provincial cities are closed and pupils are out on the streets demonstrating, the Minister of Education announces that 167 schools are closed throughout the country. Tehran is directly confronted with a shortage of oil and petrol as tanker drivers go on strike and stoppages at the Rey oil storage depot continue. Long lines of cars can be seen at the petrol stations and people queue for cooking and heating fuel. Tehran is not too cold; the people are ready to suffer the shortages and continue the movement.

At the radio and television stations, which up until a few days ago were under the complete control of the regime, a large number of employees issue a written statement demanding the complete political neutrality of the TV and radio. The statement comes at a time when the two stations are surrounded by armed troops.

The Tehran University of Technology (now renamed Sharif University of Technology) witnesses student demonstrations unknown in its history. As students gather in the university grounds, the cries of "Death to the Shah" and "Long Live Khomeini" fill the air. A *Kayhan* reporter in a dispatch from Isfahan describes how peaceful demonstrations by the people there were marred by violence as troops, acting on the orders of General Naji, the military governor of Isfahan, tried to disperse the crowds. On this occasion tear gas canisters were thrown from army helicopters above the crowds.

¹ *Le Monde*, September 12, 1978.

Demonstrations in Qum, a city which from January 9, 1977 (Dey 19, 1356 AHS) had been the initiator of this most recent uprising of the Iranian nation, continue unabated. The French *Figaro* newspaper writes: "The holy city of Qum situated 150 kilometres from Tehran, has once again been turned into the capital of the opponents of the Iranian government. The clergymen, who are now immersed in prayer and politics, have come to realise two things: one, that after years of rule by self-serving governments, there exist no other opposition forces apart from the clergy; second, that the number of communists and liberals in the country does not exceed more than the fingers on one's hand and that even then most of these are in exile. A month ago the government apparently surrendered on all fronts, yet still when one walks around Qum one discovers the meaning of struggle until the last breath¹."

The key aspect of this speech is Imam's response to the propaganda of the Western media and of some of the leftist and "Islamic Marxist" groups inside the country who at that time endeavoured to portray the repetitive victories of the people in the recent struggles as being insignificant and who, by attacking Islam and the clergy, attempted to make it appear that the leftists had a crucial role in the movement. In this speech, Imam also draws on particular historical examples of the behaviour of the prophets and the religious leaders and compares these with examples of the actions of leaders of the materialistic schools of thought and the world powers. He then speaks out in support of the rightness of the path chosen by the Iranian nation and criticises the inhuman policies of the leaders of America, China and Russia. He goes on to describe Carter's latest statements² in support of the Shah as deceitful.

In concluding his speech, Imam emphasises the important role both individuals and groups can play in promoting the cause of the oppressed people of Iran and in helping their voice to reach the world. Finally he says: "Our nation is now crying out that this traitor must go, they are shouting 'death to this monarchy,' and, God willing, it will be swept away. When a nation wants something, God willing it will achieve it."

¹ *Figaro*, October 18, 1978.

² Referring to Carter's press conference and reported in the Iranian newspaper *Ittilaat* on October 15, 1978 (Mehr 23, 1357 AHS).

Speech Number Forty-One

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Some of the gentlemen say that if I have any commands, they are ready to carry them out. I have no commands; they are not mine to give. The commands that we are now all mindful of and we must obey are the commands of God, for we are His servants and are making use of His blessings.

The Iranian nation is an oppressed nation; it is a Muslim nation; it is a nation, which is blessed by God, and we who are the servants of God. Wherever we are, we must help the Iranian people as much as we can. This is not the time for commands, prohibitions, leadership or non-leadership—the situation does not call for such things. There is no leader and follower. Now all classes of our society, from our youth—our school children and our university and theological students to the merchants of the bazaar and farmers—all of them know what to do. They do not need to be guided by anyone.

Now everyone knows what afflicts the Muslims, the nation of Iran, the Muslim nation and the school of Islam. They know what our problems are and how they should be solved; this is clear for everyone to a certain degree, God willing. We all know that the Iranian nation has lived under the yoke of the Pahlavi dynasty for more than fifty years, and that throughout this period the Pahlavi monarchs did whatever they wanted to this country. They tyrannized the people and acted as servants to the foreigners. This dynasty was initiated with the rule of Rida Khan, the servant of the British who brought him to power.¹ In our more recent history, it has been his vicious son, the servant of America, who has dominated us. He himself confessed in

¹ Rida Khan Mirpanj, who held military command over a Cossack unit in Qazvin, occupied Tehran in 1920 [1299 AHS] in accordance with a plan devised by the British government, and by carrying out a coup d'état he forced Ahmad Shah to appoint Sayyid Ziyad-Din Tabatabai as the Prime Minister. Rida Khan gradually consolidated his position and took steps to establish a unified national army. In 1923, Ahmad Shah appointed Rida Khan to act as Prime Minister after which he then left Iran to visit Europe. Eventually, in 1925 [1304 AHS], parliamentary representatives were pressurized by Rida Khan into presenting a single article to the Majlis by virtue of which Ahmad Shah was ousted from the throne and Rida Khan was elected as monarch. This article was ratified by the Majlis in spite of opposition voiced by the clergy and certain crusaders such as Mudarris.

one of his speeches (which was later reproduced in one of his books) that the Allies thought it fitting that he should be in control of affairs, but then later, this sentence was expunged from the book because it was felt that it was a disgrace for him to admit such a thing. But he had indeed said such a thing.

The foreigners are the root cause of our problems, and these problems of ours have not appeared recently, they have a long history. They began when the foreigners penetrated Iran and other countries of the East. The foreign experts studied all aspects of these countries and realized that they could derive much profit from the natural resources and minerals that they found there. They knew that to do this, they had to take these resources in whatever way necessary and not let the indigenous people make use of them. Their experts know where all our mineral reserves are. Once when I was in Hamedan, a former student of the religious sciences came to see me and showed me a large map on which all the villages of the Hamedan province were delineated. Certain places had been marked, and when I asked him what the marks signified he told me they indicated where minerals, petroleum or metals that had been located by foreign experts lay beneath the ground. This did not only happen in Hamedan. Their experts traveled through the deserts of Iran, on camels when they were the only means of transport, searching for our minerals, and when they found what they felt they could use, they marked the spot.

Over the past two hundred or three hundred years, they have also been successful in removing the obstacles, which impede their plans. They recognized Islam as being one of these obstacles and over these many years they strived to remove this barrier, which they realized would not allow them to attain their goals in the country. Their propagandists and experts... disseminated deceitful propaganda against Islam. They did not present Islam as it truly is. They said that Islam, like all other religions... was a drug. They see all religions as being the opium of the people, as something used to opiate the people so whatever is taken from them they will not make a sound, and this is how they presented Islam. Throughout this long period the propagandists of these exploitative oil-devourers have constantly spread this notion, such that many of our youth who do not have enough information about Islam, who lack a correct understanding of what the Quran really is, what it contains, what it demands, what solutions it offers for the problems of the day, have been deceived by them. They believe their propaganda without realizing what lies behind it and where it has its roots.

Today, there are those both abroad and sometimes within Iran itself who introduce our youth to certain ideologies which are neither scientifically nor

politically founded, rather they are perversions that have been created and propagated in order to turn people away from Islam. For these exploiters and oil-devourers have realized that if the people recognize Islam for what it truly is, then the way would not be open for their penetration of Muslim lands and the devouring of their oil. Islam leaves no way open for them, and if the Quran is studied correctly, then it becomes clear that it is not a book which seeks to stupefy; it is a book that seeks to rouse (the people). It was this book, which stirred those Arabs, who at that time knew nothing to topple the mighty, oppressive empires. If the Quran and the teachings of Islam were opiates, then the Muslim armies would not have spread throughout the world and destroyed the empires of the time as they did. The battles fought by the founders of Islam or the founders of other divine, monotheistic ideologies, have always involved the prophets and the people on one side, against the monarchs on the other. Moses, may God's peace be upon him, took his shepherd's staff and set off toward Pharaoh's palace to destroy it. Pharaoh did not use Moses to stupefy the people so that he could continue with his oppression; rather Moses took his staff and stopped his tyranny. The Prophet of Islam (s), when appointed, did the same. One only needs to look at history to see whether the Prophet acted in the interests of those capitalists of Hijaz, Taif, Mecca and such places and encouraged apathy among the people so that these capitalists could do with them as they wished, or whether he stirred these weak, oppressed people, destitute people, to battle with these capitalists until they defeated them or made human beings out of some of them.

...When our youth hear of these spurious ideologies they do not stop to consider, they do not pay enough attention to what those promoting them are saying and why they speak so highly of such an ideology as communism. They do not look to see what the aim behind this action is. The aim is to present the Muslims and Islam in such a way as to cause our youth to turn away from Islam. Islam is portrayed as being a means to allow the aristocrats and the noblemen to gain dominance over the people and to prevent them from objecting. Well, they obviously have not read the Quran to see what the message of Islam is. The Quran contains numerous verses concerned with battle. Islam has declared war on these capitalists, on these kings, these monarchs; it does not help them to plunder the people.

The *ulama* of Islam, the Prophet of Islam, the Imams of Islam, all of them opposed the kings of their day. [Harun] who reigned under the title of "caliph," imprisoned Hadrat Musa ibn Jafar (a) for ten or fifteen years. Why? Because he prayed? Both Harun and Mamun prayed. They were even the congregational prayer leaders and the leaders of the Friday prayers. So did

Harun imprison Imam Musa because he prayed? Did he have him arrested because he was a *sayyid*, a descendant of the Prophet, or because he was an Imam? Was this the reason? No, he arrested and imprisoned him because Imam Musa opposed his rule; he opposed the rule of the *taghut*—the illegitimate regime. His opposition to Harun’s regime caused all his problems. He was not arrested simply because he prayed or because he was a good man or because he was a descendant of the Prophet. No, for Harun himself invoked the Prophet’s name when he called the *adhan*¹ and he praised him. Imam Musa was arrested and imprisoned because he opposed Harun’s regime.

From the outset and throughout each period of history, our *ulama* have staged uprisings. History relates their struggles and their defeats. At the time of the Imams, their sons rose up with the encouragement of the Imams themselves; it wasn’t the case that the Imams were unaware of the actions of their sons. On occasion, the Imams (a) would speak out in defense of the caliphs or for some other reason, but in reality it was they who instigated the uprisings against them. The Imams praised Zayd so highly for his uprising; would they have done so had they believed him to have done something wrong? Why did they speak so highly of him? Why did they mourn him so if he was in the wrong? How many uprisings of the *ulama* have we ourselves witnessed in our own lifetime—these *ulama* whom the leftists and others who have gone astray describe as being court-affiliated? Those who make such statements have not looked into the matter deeply enough, they are too young to remember the uprisings, and they turn a deaf ear to accounts of the many times during the rule of Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah that the *ulama* of Islam rose up against these Pahlavis who suppressed the people so. One time it was the *ulama* of Isfahan, at another the *ulama* of Azerbaijan, at yet another, the *ulama* of Mashhad or Qum who came together and declared their opposition.

When did these *ulama* work for the interests of the court? Of course, in all social groups the world, over, one finds a few people who are insincere and work for the rulers, and this rings true for our society too. But that does not mean to say that ours is an ideology that opiates the people or that those in whose hands this ideology lies have always been the allies of the oppressors and the friends of the monarchs. No, this is not so. This is all just propaganda. They have used this propaganda on you... The oil-devourers have promoted these ideas saying so-and-so is a British agent in order to

¹ *Adhan*: the call to prayer.

destroy that gentleman's reputation. The British themselves allow such ideas to circulate, for they know that they are held in such low esteem by the people that if someone is seen to be associated with them, then he too will be regarded in the same light. That gentleman is a British agent, that one has relations with America, that one has relations with somewhere else! They attempt to destroy the reputation of the clergymen one after the other. Some of our more credulous youth have been deluded by these ideologies. You have been deceived gentlemen. Do not think that these are true ideologies; *tawhid* is the only true ideology.

Take a look at the life of the Messenger of God (s), who brought us the ideology of Islam, or the Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali) (a) who was his rightful successor. What kind of life did Imam Ali lead? He was a ruler whose dominions were extensive, a few times larger than Iran, spreading over an area from Hijaz to Africa and further. Yet look at how he lived, how he spent his days and nights, how he worshipped, how he acted toward the people, how he treated the poor and weak. He was constantly worried lest he had eaten bread to eat while someone in a remote corner of his realm went hungry. Yet these leaders who deceive you with their ideologies eat so much that they develop stomach problems!¹ When the Chinese leader, that lover of humankind, stayed in Iran for a few days, he saw what the situation was; he passed over the dead bodies of our people. The Shah could not take him through the streets because the people were demonstrating and shouting: "Death to the Shah," so he took him to his residence by helicopter. He knew what was happening. This person who espouses the communist ideology, who claims to be with the people, with the masses, was aware that the Shah was killing all these people, yet still he went to Iran and shook hands with him and accepted the invitations offered him by the Shah's sister...

They are deceiving you gentlemen! I can remember during the Second World War, when that head of the communists came to Iran along with the heads of the Allied Forces, Churchill² arrived in his own car; Roosevelt also came in a conventional manner. Stalin,³ however, arrived with his own milk cow, because he was afraid that the milk in Iran would cause him some kind of upset! I myself can vouch for this. At the time, everyone was talking about

¹ Stomach problems stemming from overeating.

² Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill (1874-1964): the celebrated British statesman. He became Prime Minister in May 1940 and served as war leader until 1945.

³ Joseph Vissarionovich (1879-1953), known as Stalin (the Iron Man), was a member of the central Bolshevik Party, who took over the leadership of the Soviet Union upon the death of Lenin. He was a great politician and a high profile personality of the Russian Revolution who stood by Lenin till the latter's death.

how Stalin had brought his own cow along with him. I saw for myself the state of his army in this country. Khorasan province was in the hands of the Russian army and I myself witnessed Russian soldiers begging for cigarettes along the Khorasan road. The people in Iran called them “brothers!” What kind of fraternal relationship did they have with this man who wanted to put these poor wretches to sleep with this ideology and then plunder them? It is the communist ideology, which is the opium of the people, not the Quran.

When the leading followers of the Quran went into battle, they did so against the oppressors. They lived a virtuous life, a life more modest than that of others. Islam is a true ideology, not one that produces a leader who takes a cow with him because he will only drink the milk, which it produces; a leader who plunders the people, who oppresses them more than anyone else! It used to be said that Mr. Lenin¹ calculated everything... and that he had calculated that whoever could earn enough to meet his expenses had the right to live, but whoever could not had to be killed, had to be thrown into the sea! This is the doctrine of this “lover-of-mankind,” of he who claims to be the provider of the people! In what way does he practice the preaching of an ideology which claims to be more mindful of the poor and weak who cannot work than it is of the rich and the aristocratic; an ideology which claims to take care of the poor and help them financially?

They² are playing you along, gentlemen. God knows they are deceiving you. They have deceived our youth abroad, and many of those in Iran who claim to be communists are in fact security agents who are out to deceive the people. They even went to Behesht-e Zahra³ and began shouting communist slogans, but the people grabbed them and threw them out for they knew that they were from SAVAK.⁴ The regime also sent some SAVAK agents to the

¹ Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov: founder of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), inspirer and leader of the Bolshevik Revolution (1917), and the first head of the Soviet state (1917-24). As a thinker, he was the formulator of Marxism-Leninism, which until the late 1980s and early 1990s was the official ideology of the Soviet Union and several other communist nations.

² It refers to the Marxist groups.

³ Behesht-e Zahra: the grand cemetery located in the southern part of Tehran.

⁴ SAVAK: The bill for the formation of SAVAK, The State Security and Intelligence Organization, was passed by Parliament in 1956 [1335 AHS] and the organization was subsequently officially established in 1957 [1336 AHS]. SAVAK's mission was to quash and confront any Islamic struggle or opposition to the regime. SAVAK was closely linked to the intelligence agencies of both America and Israel (CIA and MOSSAD) and gradually it turned into a terrorist organization. This institution, which in fact served as the CIA's headquarters, possessed several investigative and detective teams. In order to obtain information from those they had arrested, SAVAK would firstly send the latter to torture chambers, after which it would hand its captives over to rubber-stamp courts where, after the passing of a

university to shout communist slogans. They were not communists, they were security agents sent to frighten the people into thinking that were the Aryamehr to go, everything would fall into complete disarray and the communists would take over. However, this would not be the case; if the Shah were to go, Iran would become a much better place for this hindrance would have gone and Iran could get on with putting its affairs in order.

The Iranian people are not saying now that they have one leader and one guide. Everyone is a leader; everyone knows what the situation is. They are all saying that they do not want this regime, which has oppressed them from its inception, which has given away everything they had, which has given their oil away gratuitously. If only it had been given away for free! The Shah and his regime gave away our oil and in return the Americans sent arms and set up bases for themselves in Iran! They first took our oil and then set up bases for themselves! The people of Iran, from the children to the elderly, are all crying out: "Death to this regime, which causes us so much suffering." They are shouting out for freedom. Over the past fifty years (of Pahlavi rule), nothing has been free in this country. Our press was never free; our preachers never enjoyed freedom of speech; our *ulama* were never free; our universities never functioned as they should have done, nothing was right. Now the people are taking a stand and shouting that they want freedom; they want independence; they do not want to depend on others for everything like parasites. They want to be independent; they want to administer their country themselves. They are shouting for freedom.

I read in the newspapers recently that Mr. Carter had said that the people in Iran are making such a hue and cry because the Shah has given them a "quick democracy" and a "quick freedom" which they cannot tolerate. It was written in the newspapers—the *Ittilaat* or *Kayhan*—that this is the reason for the people's opposition to him, that all of this opposition is because he has given them this "quick freedom!" Thus, what all these people who have taken to the streets shouting, "Give us freedom," really mean to say is "Do

predetermined court verdict, the accused would be convicted and taken to horrendous prisons. The cruelty and callousness of SAVAK was so great that the Secretary General of Amnesty International, in a report made in 1975 stated: "No country in the world has a worse record in human rights than Iran... In order to obtain confessions, the torturers of SAVAK subject its captives to beatings and electric shocks. It employs all kinds of horrendous and inhumane methods to achieve its ends; the inflicting of agonizing pain on the sexual organs and the sexual assault of the wives and daughters of the captives before the latter's very eyes, are but two of such atrocities perpetrated." The Shah was fully aware of SAVAK's practices. This organization was abolished by Iranian Muslims in 1978 [1357 AHS] and its torturers were prosecuted in revolutionary courts.

not give us freedom"! Of course, they do not want the freedom that the Shah has given them, for we all know what that has entailed: the imprisonment of our *ulama*, our politicians and our bazaar merchants; and now groups of young boys and girls, men and women languish in his goals too. What was their crime? They merely uttered a word against him! This is the freedom that we Iranians have! Yet supposedly, Mr. Carter believes that all our discontent arises from this fast democracy that the Shah has given us and this progressive country and society, which he has tried to create. He makes out that we do not want to progress, that we want to ride around on donkeys!... These are not, however, Carter's true beliefs, they are but his tricks. He thinks that he can deceive the people in this way, but let me tell him that the people no longer accept these tricks that he plays; they are no longer deceived by these games. The people now know the truth of the matter.

Be that as it may, I have told everyone who has come to see me that they have a duty to perform. I, a student of religion, who sits here, you sitting there, all of you, wherever you live and under whatever circumstances, are duty bound to participate with the nation of Iran in their uprising. You who are in Europe, there are no battlefields as such here for you to go to, they lie in Iran, it is there that the battle takes place, that the people are beaten up, killed and shed their blood in combat. It is not like that here. But still you can contribute; you can help the Iranian people by propagating their cause. Each one of you must be acquainted with at least ten or twenty Europeans wherever you are in Europe, they may be your friends, so tell them what the situation is in Iran, tell them why the Iranians are making such an outcry. Adverse propaganda is being disseminated against the movement in Iran and against Islam. You must tell people here that we have not begun this struggle because of the reasons he (Carter) gives, that we are not opposing the Shah and his regime because they have given us freedom and we do not want it. The Iranian people have risen up because they do not have freedom and they want it. The Shah and his regime have betrayed us. They are giving the country's wealth to America. They are giving our oil to America and they are giving it in such a way that according to the Shah himself the country will have nothing left in thirty years' time. Who has brought about this situation for us? The Shah himself, he is at fault. Our oil reserves are being exhausted, and who is doing this? He is, because he is selling more than is necessary and the country is getting nothing for it. The people are now recognizing these acts of treachery; they are saying that they no longer want these traitors. This is why the people are shouting.

You who are here today, I, a theologian, who sits here, you sir sitting there, you university student, you high-school pupil, all you men and women, you can propagate the cause of the Iranian nation. Each one of you, wherever you live, explain the problems in Iran to those you are in contact with. If each member of this community of a few thousand Iranians residing abroad, tells ten or twenty people over here about what is happening in Iran, then a wave of public opinion will be created and this in itself will have been a service. People are asking me all the time if they should return to Iran. No, it is not necessary. You can play a role in the movement by propagating its cause wherever you live over here, whether it is in France, Germany, America, or wherever. When you attend your schools or other institutions, tell the people you meet there about the situation of the Iranian people. You know the language; you can speak; so stop and speak to the people where you are. Tell them what is happening in Iran, what the problems of the people are. Tell them that their problems are caused by Mr. Carter and others like him, like Russia. Russia takes our gas and America takes our oil. They are plundering our resources. Tell these people this, and gradually, because of your efforts, these people who have been misled by the propaganda that they are exposed to over here may come to understand your problems. They are human beings too, when they learn of the suffering of the innocent Iranian nation and are told the truth about events in Iran, this large community over here will support your cause and maybe then their leaders will leave us alone.

The Shah has ruined our agriculture; he is exhausting our oil supplies. In a few years' time we will have neither agriculture nor oil, then how will this nation survive? Our nation is now crying out that this traitor must go, they are shouting "death to this monarchy" and, God willing, it will be swept away. When a nation wants something, God willing, it will achieve it. You who are resident over here can help your people, you can propagate their cause and this would prove to be most valuable. You are responsible before God. Do not suppose that because you are over here, you are, thank God, relieved of any responsibility. No, this is not the case. You are responsible before God; each one of you has a duty to speak out wherever you go and to whomever you meet. Do not worry about whether your words will be accepted or not, go ahead and propagate the cause and this will be effective. Gradually, through your efforts, a wave of support for the Iranian nation will be created in Europe and this may force the Western leaders to leave us alone.

May God grant you all success (the audience thanks him). May He assist you so that you will all become of benefit to Iran and Islam. Endeavor to be

of service to these people in Iran who from all social classes are either languishing in prisons or shedding their blood for your sakes, for the improvement of your country. Help them and pray for them. Train yourselves so that if tomorrow this regime falls and you return to Iran and are given a post, you will not act as those in the Shah's regime did. Usually when we have nothing we are good people, but as soon as something comes into our hands, that changes! You must strive to purify yourselves, adhere to the teachings of Islam and act accordingly. Make yourselves virtuous people, so that when, God willing, the destiny of the country comes into the hands of the people (which will hopefully be soon) you may return and administer your own country. I apologize that our house is small and that not many people can come inside, but we have to make do with it.

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-Two

Date: October 22, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 30, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 19, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The necessity of rising up for God against the oppression and treason of the Pahlavi dynasty

Occasion: The transfer of some of the crown jewels to America by the Shah

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The present speech was delivered as news of a large demonstration by the people of Hamadan reached Tehran. Tens of thousands of men and women took part in this demonstration shouting slogans against the Shah's regime and in support of Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace). In response, police along with a number of profligates hired by the regime attacked the demonstrators martyring an unspecified number of them and injuring many¹.

Following the killing of demonstrators in Hamadan, the *ulama* and other clergymen gathered at one of the city's mosques and sent a telegram to the great *maraji'* of Qum and others in authority requesting that something be done. The people of Khorramabad meanwhile, upon hearing of this incident, took to the streets in protest and were attacked by military agents; thus, the demonstration by the people of this town also ended in bloodshed².

The holding of prayer gatherings in mosques throughout the country and the delivery of critical and revolutionary sermons by preachers at these gatherings, along with the distribution of Imam's proclamations and those of

¹ The *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 23, 1978 (Aban 1, 1357 AHS) carried moving pictures and reports of the previous day's demonstrations and described this event as the bloodiest of the recent confrontations in the country. According to the authorities, the number of those killed in this incident was seven; however the paper reported that eyewitness accounts and the number of corpses in the hospital morgue suggested a figure much higher than this. Reuters news agency in its report of October 22 (Mehr 30), put the number of those killed in the attack at between thirty and forty. On the same day, the Friday mosque in Kerman was set ablaze by the Shah's thugs.

² The *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 23, 1978 (Aban 1, 1357 AHS) in its reports on the demonstrations, gave detailed accounts of marches by teachers and pupils in Kerman, Semnan, Mashhad, Shiraz, Tabriz, Arak, Yazd, Gorgan, Rasht, Mahabad, Shushtar, Lahijan, Khorramabad, Abadan and Bushehr.

other *maraji*’, caused the authorities great concern and set them searching for a way to bring an end to these gatherings.

The front pages of the newspapers at this time were full of reports on the demonstrations and bloody confrontations which were taking place all over the country, as well as the daily strikes in the different offices and government centres¹. Dozens of foreign correspondents joined Iranian reporters in different areas of Tehran to take pictures and compile reports on the people’s demonstrations and gatherings. The University of Tehran became a rallying point as the people of Tehran converged there at the start of demonstrations and gathered there to listen to speeches on the atrocities perpetrated by the Shah’s regime. The cries of “Long Live Khomeini” and “Death to the Shah” rang out daily throughout the campus.

On the seventh day after the attack by the Shah’s hirelings on the Friday mosque of Kerman, the clergy of this city declared a day of public mourning and residents shut up shop. In part of a declaration by one of the *ulama* of Kerman concerning the tragedy at the Friday mosque we read: “. . . On Monday October 16 (Mehr 24) this year, all the shops of Kerman including the bazaars were closed, and the city was in a state of closure. About twenty thousand people were gathered at the Friday mosque to mourn the martyrdom of those in the Jaleh Square massacre in Tehran. At eleven o’clock that morning, as soon as the preacher began to speak and as the people were sitting quietly without shouting any kind of slogan, a number of hired *kolis*²—supported by armed agents—after setting fire to the people’s cars, motor bikes and bicycles outside the mosque, entered the building through the doors and from the roof carrying stones, sticks and arms, and threw tear-gas canisters inside. As the unarmed and defenceless people suffered from the effects of the gas, the *kolis* began to beat them with the means at their disposal. Everyone was struck and injured severely. They did not even show any pity for the young children and babies. They hurled

¹ The *Ittिलात* newspaper of October 22, 1978 (Mehr 30, 1357 AHS) published news of strikes by teachers; numerous schools in Tehran; some sections of the Department of Education; administrative staff at Tehran University; workers at the Pasteur Institute; the Department of Social Security; Tehran’s oil refinery; the Job Training Centre; the Atomic Energy Organisation; the College of Nutrition; the Centre for Psychological Studies in Tehran; the Office for the Registration of Deeds and Properties and the Registry Office; high schools in Rey; the Omid insurance company; the Home Office; the Finance Ministry; Pahlavi University of Shiraz; and of strikes by the families of political prisoners, drivers of the transport company, workers at the Citroen and Saipa car factories and those at the Institute of Chemical Industries, to name but a few of the strikes taking place throughout the country at this time.

² Refer to footnote 19 of this speech.

obscene abuse at those around them: the *ulama* and clergymen of Islam, the men and the women; and they broke doors and windows and finally set the mosque ablaze. Even as people fled from the mosque they were severely beaten and injured, the veils of the women were ripped off and these Muslim women were abused such that some of them were left without their veils and had to use the clergymen's abas with which to cover themselves. In this incident a number of people were killed and injured. After attacking the mosque, the assailants went onto the streets and into the bazaar where, supervised and supported by agents (of the regime), they plundered many shops and set them on fire ...”

A group of *ulama* and preachers from Tehran also issued a declaration on the painful tragedy in Kerman and stressed that: “The oppressed and deprived nation has had enough. All groups and classes of people have now stood up in a show of unprecedented unity and have raised their voices in protest. They have made a firm decision that by taking inspiration from the leadership of the responsible and enlightened clerics, in particular the great *marja* Grand Ayatullah Imam Khomeini, and by employing basic Islamic criteria, they will push aside the hands of the executioners, the plunderers and thieves of the wealth, dignity and honour of the people and country, and will not rest until freedom, independence and social justice is established under the banner of Islam... “

Workers at the power station, in a calculated move, cut off the supply of electricity to the whole of the country every night for a period of two hours coinciding with the broadcast of the news on television. This was a novel move taken towards blocking the regime's propaganda efforts.

Imam Khomeini begins his speech of October 22, 1978 (Mehr 30, 1357 AHS) with this verse from the Quran: “*Say I do admonish you to do one thing, to rise up for God; it may be in pairs or it may be singly,*” and on the basis of this, he declares an individual or group uprising against the oppression of the Shah's regime as being one of the most important duties of all Muslims. Imam then goes on to discuss the moves taken by the regime to make the Islamic *hijra* calendar defunct in Iran, its introduction of an imperial calendar and the establishment of the Rastakhiz Party and he reminds his audience how, in the face of opposition, the regime was forced to retreat from its stance on these matters. By explaining the events surrounding Rida Shah's expulsion from Iran, he warns the people to be on their guard against moves by the imperial regime, sensing its imminent collapse, to transfer the nation's crown jewels and plundered wealth abroad.

At this time, Western analysts and the Western media warned that were the Shah to go, America or the Soviet Union would intervene directly and Iran would be divided. However, in his speech, Imam rejects such analyses as groundless and while dismissing the idea of communist interference in the destiny of the Islamic revolution, he declares ten years before the collapse of international communism: “communism is one of the world’s defeated ideologies, and is not worth paying attention to.”

Other important aspects of Imam’s present speech include the difficult living conditions suffered by the majority of Iranians; the nation’s bloody uprising; the continuation of crimes by the Shah’s regime and the need for those Iranians residing abroad to support the people’s uprising.

Speech Number Forty-Two

I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*“Say: I do admonish you to do one thing, to rise up for God; it may be in pairs or it may be singly...”*¹ God, the Exalted, has determined our duties. He tells the Prophet to inform the people that He admonishes them to do one thing; listen carefully, that one important thing which God wishes to exhort us all to do, which He commissioned His Most Noble Messenger to inform us what we must do, is to rise up for God, in pairs or alone. The admonisher is God, the Blessed and Exalted, the conveyer is the Prophet and the admonition is to do one thing, to rise up for God, either in pairs, which is the least number of people in a group, or alone.

Hadrat Moses (a) was given the mission to go to Pharaoh and invite him to God. He was sent to Pharaoh, a man with great power, he had more power than our Pharaoh has—as can be seen from the pyramids of Egypt—he even laid claim to divinity! Yet Moses was to be sent alone to confront him. Moses pleaded for his brother to accompany him... to support him. So the order came for both of them to go, to go and invite Pharaoh to God so that he may fear God and mend his ways, that he may become a (true) human being. Moses (a) was at first told to go alone, but after requesting God, the Blessed and Exalted, to allow his brother to accompany him, the order was given for them both to go and invite Pharaoh to the Truth.

Today, we do not need to wait for the means, for the money or the guns and tanks before we rise up for God, all that matters is that the uprising is for God.

Your uprising, your movement, should be for the sake of God, the Exalted, and for the benefit of the Muslims. God, the Blessed and Exalted, wants us to pay attention to the affairs of Muslims: “He who arises in the morning and gives no thought to the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim.”² A Muslim is someone who attaches importance to remedying the affairs of the Muslims. This movement is for the good of a nation, it is not a movement which will benefit only one person. It is not a personal affair; it is

¹ *Surah Saba* 34:46.

² *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 2, p. 163.

not as if someone is doing something for himself so others have the excuse to say: "Leave him to it." This movement is for the benefit of Islam, which is more precious than anything. It is for the benefit of a nation. A nation of thirty-odd million is being suppressed every day. People are being killed or thrown into prison daily. Now as we sit here, we do not know what is happening in Iran, but everyday we hear reports about such and such a city, such and such a school, such and such a university. What is certain is that the people have risen; they have awakened and have protested. Protecting is not like this (that there are no lives lost)... This is the result of the pressures, which, over these past fifty years, have created a complex in the hearts of the people. Now that they have found a way out through their newly-discovered unity, their ideological unity, they are ridding themselves of this complex. The uprising is an uprising for God, for Islam and to remedy the affairs of the Muslims.

If you weigh everything that we have lost because of this man, all the crimes that this man has perpetrated and the treason that he has committed—from giving our oil away to foreigners, ruining our agriculture, destroying our culture, to throwing away the dignity of our army—against the changes he made to our calendar, against his changing the Islamic *hijrah* calendar to one of the fire-worshippers;¹ you will see that this act of his is more significant and weighs the heaviest. Do not suppose that had the nation given him more time, this would have been the only move he would have made against Islam. Changing the calendar was merely the first step. The Zoroastrians were so pleased about it that they wrote to him saying that no one had done their religion as much service as he had! No one has done the Zoroastrian religion, the religion of the fire-worshippers, as much service! Changing the Islamic calendar was his first step; he had other plans but, thank God, the nation gave him a punch in the mouth before he could carry them out and now he has even had to reinstate the Islamic calendar. The pillars that he has erected are being destroyed one by one because of the blow that the people have delivered him. You must be patient; one by one these pillars will crumble. Just look at all the fuss that was made about the Rastakhiz Party over these last few years. The Shah sang his own praises loudly and even made non-membership of the party illegal—he who does not even know what law is—declaring that whoever did not join should get his passport and leave the country for he was no longer an Iranian. Such an important matter the Rastakhiz Party once was for him, but now it has come

¹ It refers to the pre-Islamic chain of Magian imperial dynasties.

to naught and it is no longer recognized as a party! These pillars are crumbling. The Islamic calendar has had to be reintroduced and his party has been destroyed.

But now we are faced with another danger, and that is the transfer of the nation's wealth abroad. Today, two reports were given to me; one came from Iran and the other from one of the gentlemen here who had some information. The report from Iran indicated that yesterday, apparently, gold and the crown jewels were transferred to America. His father, Rida Khan, did the same thing when the Allies invaded Iran and expelled him. The Allied invasion of Iran is a story in itself... three big powers: Britain, the Soviet Union and America... poured into our country. It happened during the Civil War,¹ these three powers invaded our country from three points and the army about which Rida Khan used to rave so much—and now his son is doing the same only in much stronger terms—could not resist them even for one hour...

The Allies invaded us, and, well, just the fact that foreigners had entered our country was itself a disaster for the nation. It was war time and they wanted to pass through Iran, but in reality they planned to remain there, and in their war with Germany they wanted Iran to be their “bridge of victory,” as they put it. When they sent Rida Shah into exile, God knows that instead of mourning, the people rejoiced. He was so beloved of his people, just as his son is now! The king-loving nation of Iran loved their king so much that when the armies of three countries entered their land and plundered it, seizing it bit by bit; when the country faced all kinds of dangers from all directions—for the people did not know that the Allied armies would not harm them; they didn't know that the Allies were only interested in achieving their own goals—still the people were happy because the Allies had come and sent this wretch away with all the troubles that went with him! Such was the situation at that time, and now today had the people not risen, had the Muslims and Iranians, may God assist them, not begun this movement, this man would not have stopped here. He would not have been satisfied with what he has already done, he had many more plans.

At the time when the Allies came and sent Rida Shah away, an informed person told me how one of the high-ranking officials who had traveled with Rida Shah some of the way, perhaps even to the island of Mauritius, on the ship that was taking him into exile, had related to him that Rida Shah had taken numerous suitcases with him which were full of the Iranian crown

¹ That is, World War II.

jewels. These “crown” jewels did not belong to the king; they were the country’s assets. This same person was told by the official that on the way, a ship used for transporting animals stopped the ship carrying this animal (Rida Shah) and that the (British) agents on board ordered Rida Shah to board their ship. When he asked them what he should do with all his suitcases, they told him to leave them where they were, that they would take care of them. And deal with them they did! They took him to the island and carried his suitcases off with themselves! Such a blow he inflicted on our country right at the time of leaving. He left, but he took the crown jewels with him. And now today we received a call from Iran to the effect that Muhammad Rida Pahlavi has sent gold and the crown jewels...to America. Whether he has sent them there for his own use or whether the Americans will take them, we do not know, but they have been taken from the pocket of our nation. The people were not able to stop this thief from doing this, but they should try to prevent him from stealing anything else, God willing.

The second report that...I received came from one of the informed gentlemen here. He told me that the cost of constructing the magnificent casinos on that island,¹ as well as the other expenditures for facilitating the activities of the buffoons of the world who came to gamble there, was met by the Pahlavi Foundation. That is it came from the pious bequests of the people and from the wealth of the nation. This gentleman continued by saying that now that the Shah and his regime have realized that their days in power are numbered, they have sold these buildings to the oil company to get the money. They have stolen as much of the nation’s wealth as they could up until now and transferred it abroad, and what is left they are now changing into money and sending it out of the country. This is the situation in our country at present. Some gentlemen have said: “Let him go, let him do whatever he wants as long as he leaves, it’s worth him taking this money with him as long as he leaves.” However, the people should try to prevent this.

Our nation has now risen, and its uprising is unprecedented in the history of Iran. I do not say that it has little precedent; rather it has no precedent in Iran’s history. Never before in Iran’s history has the whole of the country risen for one cause. Whenever there was an uprising, it was a case of only one city rising; Tehran rose, or, as during the Constitutional Revolution,²

¹ It refers to the Kish island of Iran along the Persian Gulf.

² What has become known as the Constitutional Revolution took place due to the chaotic situation in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the popular protest over the tyranny of the governors and agents of the dictatorial

Tabriz¹ and Rasht² and gradually some other cities also joined in until the matter was settled. However, there has never been a popular movement in our country on the scale that we hear of today. There are demonstrations taking place now in cities which have never risen before; people are being killed during these demonstrations and all the people are shouting the same thing: "Death to this Pahlavi monarchy." This is unprecedented in our history. Yes, there have been uprisings before, there has even been a revolution, but not one that has engulfed the whole of the country in this way and during which the call of the people has been the same nationwide. This has been brought about by the will of God, the Exalted. Such a feat cannot be achieved by man; one should not say that so-and-so has done this. This is the doing of God, the Blessed and Exalted, it has happened because He willed it.

When all the people of a country are united in their aims, martial law or a military coup d'état cannot stop them. This nation is now moving forward like a roaring flood with the aim of uprooting this Pahlavi dynasty, and it will succeed. Do not think that the superpowers, America and the Soviet Union, will stop this from happening; have no fear for they cannot oppose the will of a nation, especially the legitimate and just will of a nation. If you ask these people why this man should go, they would tell you how they have suffered under his rule, how for fifty years under the rule of this dynasty they have been imprisoned and suppressed; and if you ask them what they want, they will say they now want to be free. Freedom is a basic human right. Man should be free, he should enjoy freedom of expression, freedom of action, and he should be free in his own country.

Yet this nation has not even had a whiff of freedom during the fifty years that this father and son have ruled over it. Do not think that it is only now that the press is not free; at the time of Rida Shah it was not free either. I can remember that neither the press was free nor were the people free to speak

regime and the unruly officials of the government, the weakness and ineptitude of the then king Muzaffar ad-Din Shah, and finally the rising awareness among the people and revolt of the clerics and *ulama*. Years of struggle by the people culminated in the victory of the Constitutional Revolution in 1906.

Although the Constitutional Movement was derailed from its proper path, it was able to transform the social organization in Iran, to destroy class privileges, to obliterate the power of the courtiers, and great landowners, and to establish justice and the rule of law. However, with the influence of the Westernized elements, and eliminating the clergies from the political scene and governance, the Constitutional Movement did not achieve its desired objectives and finally with the coup staged by Rida Khan, the father of Iran's ex-Shah, a monarchical rule once again emerged in Iran.

¹ Tabriz: the provincial capital of Eastern Azerbaijan in the north-western part of Iran.

² Rasht: the provincial capital of Gilan in the northern part of Iran along the Caspian Sea.

out during his reign. Throughout the Pahlavi rule, the clergy have not been free to disseminate religious teachings, the preachers have been unable to express themselves freely from the pulpit; our *ulama*' have not been allowed to speak out freely on a matter, nor have the merchants of our bazaars, our academics or our political groups. If they opened their mouths they were thrown into prison where they had to endure all kinds of torture, they were burnt by being laid over something that was heated until it was red hot, or were subjected to other methods of torture about which you have all heard. It is said that experts from Israel were brought in to teach the best methods of torturing the people both physically and mentally.

This was the state of our troubled country. Now, however, the people have had enough, they have reached their limit, such that the father whose son is killed says: "I am proud that such a thing has happened in the way of God and for the freedom of our country." Some of the mothers who visit me have stated: "We are happy, we have given our sacrifices and, God willing, He will grant them their reward." This is the attitude of the people now. The country of Iran is now a revolutionary country and its people have become a revolutionary people. This revolutionary nation cannot be silenced by such things. That which they want and which constitutes the last phase of their movement is to sever the treacherous hands of the foreigners from their country and to take control of its destiny and administer it themselves. They want to have control over their culture and education; they want their army to be in their own hands, this is the common aim of our nation and they are pursuing it like a roaring flood, which no one can stop.

At present, both America and the Soviet Union are studying the situation. It will not be the case that guns and tanks will be brought into the country... or that two superpowers will confront one another here, one reacting when the other makes a move. They themselves will not be able to reach a compromise on Iran. These two powers are not going to pour into the country and divide it as the Shah is saying. This kind of talk is nonsense. He has taken everything so what is there left to divide? We want to be independent; we want to drive the foreigners out of our country. The country will be divided! What nonsense is this he is saying ... He also says that if he goes the communists will take over! This is all the talk of the regime. The security organization (SAVAK) tried to create a scene ... that is, it sent some of its agents to shout communist slogans in a demonstration at the university. It tried to do the same at Behesht-e Zahra but the people caught onto them and stopped them, saying, "You are not communists, you are SAVAK agents!" There are no communists in Iran. Do not be afraid of what this wretch says,

he is saying it for his own benefit. There are no communists in Iran; the people are all Muslim. This man¹ says that this party is his. Where are the communists? If a few young people who are not from SAVAK sometimes say certain things, it is because they have been deceived, when they realize what is going on.

Who is a communist? Will thirty million Muslims allow Iran to become a communist state? Communism is a lost cause in the world today. Indeed, it has been defeated, for the people have realized that Marxism or communism is an opiate used to lull the people to sleep! The Soviet Union used it to put her people to sleep; China did the same. These larger countries want to devour the smaller ones and they use this ideology to deceive the people (and facilitate their plans). A few of our own young people have been deceived and they think that communism is the answer to their problems. This is not the case. Communism is one of the world's defeated ideologies and is not worth paying attention to.

Be that as it may, as I have stressed many times before to those who have visited me here, I would like once again to say that I feel it is imperative for you gentlemen to propagate the Iranian cause. This is the duty of those of us who are residing abroad, it is a duty, which we can all act upon, and which I believe will prove to be very effective. Each of us, wherever we are, should make people aware of the situation in Iran. At school, at university, wherever, tell your friends how he is destroying everything. He has ruined our agriculture; he is keeping our education in a state of backwardness; he doesn't let our youth develop correctly and be guided to the right path. He has created so many centers of corruption with the aim of depraving our youth. These are all plots, which the regime has devised or which others have devised and it is implemented in order to make our people indifferent toward social affairs and keep them from having anything to do with religion. So there are cabarets where we can go to spend a few hours, there are centers of corruption where we can go to gratify our sensual appetites while we remain oblivious to what befalls Iran, what befalls its wealth and its culture. To the best of our capabilities, we should enlighten public opinion abroad as to the situation in Iran. The foreign newspapers are reporting on events there and the national press within Iran is also gradually commenting on the situation; now you too tell your foreign friends what you know. You Iranians who are

¹ The Secretary General of the Tudeh Party.

abroad now form a large community, *masha Allah* [well done];¹ if each of you informs ten people then a large section of society here will be enlightened and gradually a wave of support for you and your nation will be created, which will prove effective and valuable. This is a duty, which we must undertake. When our friends, our brothers in Iran are sacrificing their children, when everywhere in the universities, bazaars and mosques blood is being shed and lives are being given, the least you can do is take the trouble to help them by speaking out on these matters and attracting the attention of the press. They are looking for fresh news. Find it and place it at their disposal, so that, God willing, a great wave of support for your cause will be created which will make your task easier and remove this barrier blocking the way of the Muslims. Then, God willing, things will be different, and, God willing, our plan for a just and honorable government, which will answer the needs of the poor—not a government that is only for the rich and wealthy—will come to pass. We want a government, which will take care of the poor and wretched, those who have no water, or electricity.

Perhaps many of you gentlemen are unaware that some of the villages around Shiraz are without drinking water. Some of the people from this area are in contact with me and they tell me how they have to walk for miles in order to get drinking water for their children from a storage tank, in which water from the winter rain has been collected. They asked my permission to use some of the charitable donations and said they would put some of their own money toward the construction of a water-storage tank in their own village so that at least the women and children would not have to walk so far for water.

Yet we still hear talk of this ‘progressive country’. You can see the ‘progress’ of which they speak, and the freedom. They say that at his (the Shah’s) time, the country was free, with free men and free women! Yet you can see there are no free men, women or children. The regime kills both small children and old men.

They then describe their killers as ‘*kolis*’.² This is a new name that the regime is using now, its agents pose as *kolis* and attack a place, a theological

¹ *Masha Allah* is an Islamic expression which means ‘well done’, ‘may God preserve you, him, etc. from evil eye’, ‘what wonders God has wrought!’ or ‘what God has willed!’ depending on the context.

² The ‘*kolis*’ were a group of people who usually lived in tents or huts on the outskirts of towns and cities in the south of the country and struggled (sometimes turning to crime) to make ends meet. After the army’s failure to stop the progress of the Revolution following the killings of September 8 [Shahrivar 17: Black Friday], the Shah’s regime adopted a new approach. It employed criminals and rogues to attack the gatherings and demonstrations of the

school or a university, beating and killing people and the police stand by and let them do whatever they want. At one time the regime created a “group of avengers” who were bent on blowing up people’s homes, and now its agents pose as *kolis* and attack the people. When they attacked the Faydiyyah Madrasah, they did so pretending to be peasants.¹ Peasants! How was it that they were all wearing eau de cologne if they were peasants!? (The audience laughs). What kind of peasants were they? Posing as peasants it was SAVAK agents who assaulted the Faydiyyah Madrasah and did what they did there, and now they pose as “*kolis*” in their attacks. In any case, we are all duty bound to help our brothers who have risen for their nation. You gentlemen here can help by propagating their cause to the best of your ability. I cannot say to what extent you can do this, you yourselves know how well informed you are of the situation in Iran.

I ask God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant you all success and health, and I pray for you all. God willing, Iran will become an independent, free Iran, an Iran which belongs to you; not like today’s Iran which does not belong to us and which is being plundered from all directions—one takes its gas, another its oil, another its copper, another its forests and another its pasturelands. We have proof for what I am saying. They have given the good pasturelands of Iran to the Queen of England and some of the plutocracy there. The best of our forestland has apparently been given to Austria, and yet the regime says that it has nationalized these lands. The Shah gives our resources away to foreigners and pockets the money himself. Can this be called nationalization gentlemen, when the country no longer has animal husbandry, when there is nowhere for the livestock to graze?

This is the animal husbandry situation in Iran, it has been destroyed and now frozen meat is imported from abroad. Iran had no need for these imports before, but these are the blessings given to us by this Shah! Our animal husbandry has been destroyed, as has our agriculture. Our oil is being taken now at such a rate that, as the government itself says, reserves will be exhausted in twenty or thirty years’ time. It is being taken through pipes so large that it is said a man can walk freely into them; and there are not only one or two such pipes, there are many! Every few minutes a large tanker is filled with oil! This is how they are taking the country’s oil, and in return they build bases for America and buy arms for these bases. Do you think they

people around the country under the guidance and support of armed agents from the military and security forces. These people became known as the regime’s thugs and their attack on the Friday mosque in Kerman serves as an example of the regime’s new tactics.

¹ Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS [March 22, 1963].

are buying these weapons for us? The Iranians do not know how to use these weapons. No, the Americans want to make bases in Iran, so they take our oil and build bases for themselves in return! This is the situation in our country. So much for our progress and our progressive society! Carter speaks of a progressive society and a free nation! He says the Shah has given us a 'quick freedom' and a 'quick democracy'. This is the quick democracy and the progressive society that you witness in Iran now. May God preserve you all and may you be successful.

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-Three

Date: October 24, 1978 (AD) / Aban 2, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 21, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty is a religious duty

Occasion: The compliance of those religio-political groups of moderate leanings with the plan for a Regency Council

Those present: A group of students and Iranians resident abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The Iranian nation, deaf to the regime's many promises of an "increase in the rights of workers," a "reduction in income tax for workers" and "more welfare for the working class," followed the instructions of Imam Khomeini their true leader. The bloody tragedy of September 8 (Shahrivar 17), the setting alight of the Friday mosque in Kerman and the merciless killings in other provincial towns and cities, were still fresh in people's minds as they called for one thing: the overthrow of the imperial regime and the establishment of an Islamic government. Their slogans reflected this sentiment and they gave scant regard to the secret meetings and communications of the politicians and the solutions which were presented for bringing an end to the crisis.

At this time, seasoned politicians wrote articles in newspapers offering solutions and putting forth suggestions for the legal prosecution and punishment of old traitors. Political groups raked up their past militant records and Dr. Amini stated that he was ready, under the prevailing circumstances, to accept the premiership.

Messrs. Bazargan and Minachi had set off to Paris for a meeting with Imam. The idea that from now on the Shah should reign and not rule was put forward by some politicians¹. However, in this speech Imam rendered these suggestions and solutions invalid, saying: "... some people, some of the respected gentlemen, say that it is a good idea that this person (the Shah) goes, but the fundamentals of the regime be kept! Some even openly say that he should be retained as monarch and that he should reign but not govern, as specified in the constitutional law for the duties of a king... This is one of the mistakes that the gentlemen make ..."

¹ This was the slogan of the National Front throughout the period of Musaddiq's term in office.

Meanwhile, the government employed new tactics to try to ease the unrest and in October 1978 (Mehr 1357 AHS), under public pressure, the order for the release of one thousand one hundred and twenty-six political prisoners was issued. Amongst those released were some who had spent thirty years in the Shah's gaols. Upon their release, the slogan "greetings to the valiant prisoners" rang out through the streets of Tehran.

The government was flung even deeper into a quandary by the unexpected events taking place every day:

- Students and academics at the Bu Ali University in Hamadan began a three-day hunger strike.

- Parliament continued to voice criticism but it did not touch the person of the Shah or the imperial regime.

- Oil-tanker drivers from the Tabriz refinery and workers with the electricity company in Kermanshah began their all-out strike; amongst their demands were the lifting of martial law, freedom of speech and an end to the slaughter of people by martial law agents.

- On this day post-office workers brought a conditional end to their strike of several days in order to help the people in their efforts and facilitate the flow of correspondence¹.

The people of Iran, in reply to the call of Imam Khomeini, had risen up in a united front. Various groups and parties grasped the opportunity to announce their existence or give some kind of order to their disorganised groupings. Both Western- and Eastern-oriented intellectuals, who during the period of Pahlavi repression had either fled abroad, crept into a secluded corner or co-operated with the regime, now saw themselves as the vanguard of the movement.

Realisation in the White House that the Shah's regime was now too unstable to guarantee American interests prompted the dispatch, in mid-October 1978, of an American mission to Tehran led by Charles Duncan, Deputy Secretary of Defence, who was accompanied by General Earnest Greaves, Director of Arms Sales at the Pentagon. During this trip, Reuters news agency reported that: "Discussions held between this mission and the Shah centred around a possible drop in the purchase of billions of dollars

¹ Striking post office workers contacted Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini in Paris informing him that the continuation of their action was preventing Imam's messages from reaching the provincial towns and cities. When Imam was told about this, he agreed to the workers returning to their offices. The efforts of the revolutionary post-office and telecommunications workers throughout the movement were especially noteworthy and effective, and this group played a very important role in the distribution of Imam's messages.

worth of arms from America. During this trip, Charles Duncan also announced the American government's support for the establishment of a military government in Iran."

Foreign news agencies were completely in the dark about the content of Imam's talks with Mr. Bazargan and Dr. Sanjabi, but still they presented various commentaries on "the effects of talks held by Bazargan and Sanjabi in Paris on the Iranian crisis¹." One such commentary claimed that: "Fresh efforts have started for the return of Imam Khomeini to Iran." However, Imam remained firm in his stance and stated: "If someone does not agree with us in this matter (that the Shah must go), then he either has bad intentions, is ignorant of the facts or has been ill-advised. He who is ill-advised should be put right and he who harbours malicious intent should be castigated and told to stop... this is tantamount to treason against this nation which has sacrificed lives... no, he must go, this dynasty must be destroyed, Iran does not want this dynasty." And with these words, Imam in fact rendered ineffectual the call of conservative elements for the Shah to "reign not rule."

¹ Refer to the introduction of Speech 39.

Speech Number Forty-Three

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

My constitution tonight demands that I do not inconvenience you gentlemen for long. The situation in Iran has left me with no strength. Nearly every day there is another killing in Iran and once again, this vile, bloodthirsty regime has fallen upon the people and is massacring them.

Even so, the situation is satisfactory for it has filled him (the Shah) with despair, he has abandoned all hope for his position and he admits this.¹ Therefore, he should despair. Now, because of his desperate situation, he is taking the wealth of the people out of the country. It is said that he has sent the crown jewels abroad by plane, and according to some of the gentlemen, he has sold a number of the buildings he put up on that island², which he

¹ In an article in the *Figaro* newspaper, covering an interview conducted by Terry D. Jordan with the Shah at a time when the revolution was unfurling, the former described the monarch as thin, pale and run-down, adding that throughout the interview the Shah repeated the word “despair” at least twenty times. On November 5, 1978 (Aban 14, 1357 AHS), most of the London morning papers reported that the Shah had lost his self-control and was in a highly nervous state. On August 4, 1980 (Murdad 13, 1359 AHS), an article appeared in the *Times* describing how from 1973 onwards the Shah had become power crazy and this was reflected in the statements he made. On July 28, 1980 (Murdad 6, 1359 AHS), in commenting on the Shah’s mental state the *International Herald Tribune* wrote: “The Shah aggrandised himself and was smitten by megalomania. His self-conceitedness and self-aggrandisement stemmed from being humiliated and put to shame in the past and from a sense of self-contempt.” *Le Monde* on July 29, 1980 (Murdad 7, 1359 AHS) wrote: “The Shah faced constant fear and anxiety.”

² Referring to the island of Kish situated to the south of Iran in the Persian Gulf. American experts decided in 1970 (1349 AHS) that this island would make a suitable location for the leading figures in the regime and their foreign masters to spend their leisure time. In 1972 (1351 AHS), the Kish Development Organisation was established under the leadership of Amir Asadullah ‘Alam, the Shah’s Minister of Court, and with an initial investment of ten milliard rials, eighty percent of which came from SAVAK and twenty percent from the Development Bank. Iran’s Central Bank loaned the Organisation sixty milliard rials until 1976 (1355 AHS) for the construction of palaces, villas, hotels, motels, clubs, casinos and a private airport. A palatial complex was also constructed, and in order to build this many people were made homeless. The agreement for the construction of a radio and television station on the island was signed with the famous American company RCI and a contract for the construction of a water purification plant was signed with an Israeli company which had already constructed large water purification units for the airforce bases in Bandar ‘Abbas, Jask, Bandar Lengeh, Bushehr and a few other places. A palace for the Shah, a palace for the prince,

created at great expense for obscene activities, to the oil company, and he has transferred the money received thereby abroad. So on the one hand his desperation has driven him to take the nation's wealth, and on the other to fall upon the people, massacring them without mercy.

The Iranian nation should delay no longer; he should be removed from power immediately. If he is given a respite, it will prove to be disastrous for our nation. At times we hear suggestions from some people, some of the respected gentlemen, who do not pay enough attention to matters, to the effect that it is a good idea that this person (the Shah) goes, but the fundamentals of the regime be kept. Some even openly say that he should be retained as monarch and should reign but not govern, as specified in the constitutional law for the duties of a king. They say that we should abide by the Constitution and be satisfied with this for now, moving forward step by step. This is one of the mistakes that the gentlemen make; those whose intentions are bad, well, they harbor ill intent; that is, they want to preserve this regime and then later do whatever they please. Those whose intentions are good, and who are not seeking a continuation of this oppression, are simply mistaken in believing that the Shah should remain.

This man has been the perpetrator of crimes now for over thirty years; over the past year alone, numerous people have been killed on his orders. After all this killing, after handing over all our resources, our oil, our land, our forests, to others, after exhausting our oil reserves and destroying our agriculture to the extent that in a few years time this nation will have no reserves, nothing, can the Iranian nation now be expected to turn round and tell him: "Well sir, you remain seated on your throne and continue with your corruption but have nothing to do with the government!?" Can this nation which has sacrificed so many lives now accept this man as their ruler, saying simply: "Sorry! You can reign over us, but there is no need for you to be the governing power also!?"

a palatial villa for Hoveyda and one for 'Alam, a luxurious gambling casino, tennis courts and golf courses, swimming pools, three recreation centres and a private airport large enough to accommodate Concorde formed part of the construction work on the island. It is worth pointing out here that ninety-five percent of this construction project was given to a company called "Mercury" which was owned by Virginia, the French wife of Mahmud Munsef, the managing-director of the Kish Development Organisation.² At the time of this speech the revolution was reaching its zenith (refer to the introduction of this speech). In demonstrations in the cities of Tehran, Kerman, Dezful, Andimeshk, Zanzan, Minab and some other cities, large numbers of people were being martyred and many injured daily. One of the most painful tragedies at this time, however, was the slaughter of people at the Friday mosque in Kerman which was perpetrated by thugs working for the regime.

Which Muslim could accept such a thing from us? Which just person would accept this bloodthirsty man as ruler after all the years of crimes he has committed against this nation, after the years of betrayal? He has killed the people's children, their young sons and daughters, their infants. He was the one giving the orders on Khordad 15 and it is said that fifteen thousand people were killed on that day upon his orders. No one dares kill the people on such a scale without first receiving the command from him, it is impossible. Not even once has he denied that he was responsible or said that it was his agents who carried out the killings. It is quiet obvious. For a lifetime this man has committed crimes against this nation and betrayed it, he has shed the blood of the country's children and yet now are we expected to say: "Well, in order to calm the situation let him reign, let him remain, the others will be the servants!?" Which nation could agree to such a thing? Which person who believes in God and Islam could agree to this and put such a plan into action? Only he who has mistaken ideas could do this, and to him we say correct your notions.

Furthermore, these gentlemen should realize that were this man given a respite today, were the nation to tell him to be the king, but not to govern, he would accept it "for now." He himself has said in the Parliament that he accepts the restrictions placed upon him by the law. However, he just wants to deceive you with this; he wants to deceive the people so that they will keep quiet; he wants to stop this movement which has started now and silence the calls for his removal and the cries of "death to this monarchy." Once this movement has been stopped, there is no way that it can be started again to the same degree. If this uprising, this movement, which has been brought to this stage through numerous efforts, loses its momentum, if the people return to going about their daily affairs, then it will be impossible to start again; and this man will massacre the people and his opponents on a larger scale than he is doing now.

Which person, which logic, would accept that now that we have forced an obstinate enemy of a nation to yield, now when he is getting ready to leave the country, we should give him a respite and take this matter step by step?! Now is the time to deal with this matter, we should extirpate the roots of this regime now. Moreover, this is something, which we all have to do together; all classes of the nation should take part in this. If someone does not agree with us in this matter, then he either has bad intentions, is ignorant of the facts, or has been ill advised. He who is ill-advised should be put right and he who harbors malicious intent should be castigated and told to stop. It is tantamount to treason against this nation which has sacrificed lives to say

that for now we will take our first step, which is for him to reign¹ or for him to go and his wife Farah to become the ruler of our country² and a Regency Council to be formed, then later we will take our second step saying “No, he must now go too.” Gentlemen, he must be removed from power now! To allow anything else would be a mistake. This nation, which has come so far, should make the move and just as now the people are moving forward like a flood and destroying the pillars of this regime one by one, so they should continue until all the pillars have been destroyed and this traitor leaves. This is what we are aiming for right now. We say that all those hands which hold sway over our country and which are taking our resources by force should be severed. These hands should be severed and removed from this country. The country belongs to us and we want to administer it ourselves. We do not want American advisers here; we do not want someone to take our gas and someone else our oil, our pasturelands and our forests. What has this person left for our country?

¹ At the time that this speech was delivered, many of the nationalists supported the idea that the Shah “must reign not rule.” More explanation about this view and its supporters can be found in the introductions and footnotes of later speeches, especially in the later volumes of this compilation.

² At this time, Farah acted as the Shah’s regent. An interview held with the Shah and his wife by the German magazine *Der Spiegel* showed that she used everything within her power to preserve the monarchy and at a time when the Shah was unable to make decisions, she took control of the situation. In this interview, the Shah said: “They want to send the Empress and myself away for a holiday against our wishes, if it were up to me, I would have left in mid-Autumn, however my wife made me stay.” The reporter then turned to Farah and asked her whether she was preventing her husband from leaving the country, Farah cast an angry glance at the Shah and said that she differed with her husband only on the date of their proposed trip and that she wished to leave when the “law of the street” no longer prevailed. The reporter then asked her if in her opinion their trip would be one of no return. She replied: “No, definitely not! I am thinking only of a long holiday, as long as it takes for the fever of the streets to cool and the throne to be saved ... If the people are insisting that we leave, very well then, we’ll go, but the people should realise that we will return!” The reporter asked: “Did you expect so much hatred from the nation.” To which she replied: “No, never! It surprises me greatly.” When asked what his feelings were at this time, the Shah answered: “A deep sorrow; I am truly tired.” It is quite obvious from this interview that the Shah by now had lost any hope of continuing his rule, and that he was ready to leave Iran, Farah however was determined to stay and quash the movement by whatever means possible. Be that as it may, during the final days of the Shah’s rule, at a time when the revolutionary movement was shaking the very foundations of the oppressive regime, this woman was trying through intrigue and plots, through meetings and discussions with different political and influential figures of the West to defeat the “law of the street.” For more information on the personality of Farah, refer to General Husayn Fardust’s memoirs *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*.

This is what we are calling for, and gentlemen, this that we call for is not a right which is ours to forgo, this right is a divine right, this command is God's command, the matter is one of a divine religious duty which no one can or should oppose. Someone who is the epitome of oppression must be removed. The roots of his regime must be eradicated. He is annihilating the Muslims of Iran; he must be removed so that the people can breathe a little easier. For more than fifty years, the people have been repressed and deprived of all kinds of freedoms. For fifty years, whether at the time of that father or this son, the people have been suppressed; they have sacrificed their children; and now [is the time] when they have reached this stage and have risen up; now that the people of Iran have courageously risen up; now even as you and I sit here, Iran is in a state of turmoil. We have heard from Qum that gunfire can be heard and such and such has been done today, Hamedan is in a state of rebellion, there are uprisings around Kerman¹ and there is always something happening in Tehran. Now that the people are ready and have brought the uprising to this stage; now that they are ready to make all kinds of sacrifices for Islam and their nation, should we turn around and say: "This is enough for the time being, we'll do that later! We'll take the first step now which is to tell this man to reign but not rule!" What is this that you are telling us to say? Which nation could accept such a thing? No, he must go; this dynasty must be destroyed; Iran does not want this dynasty; neither the seven-year-old child nor the eighty-year-old man wants this dynasty.

Now is the time for us all to join hands together. You who are abroad should do everything within your power to help the country and the people of your country. They are giving their blood; you should give your pen. You should do whatever it is within your power to do, demonstrate, deliver speeches to the people of these countries and tell them what is happening in Iran, what calamities have befallen the Iranian people so that, God willing, other nations will awaken also. We have been informed that the French nation has now accepted that this man must go.² They are right, but still we

¹ Kerman: a province in the south-central part of Iran. Its capital is also called Kerman.

² Imam's presence in Paris, his numerous speeches and messages, and his propagation of the cause of the Iranian people at every available opportunity had proved to be very effective. Some of the Paris newspapers carried out a survey of the views of the French people on the events surrounding the unrest in Iran and on whether they thought that the Shah should leave the country, the majority of those interviewed were of the opinion that he should and that Imam and the Iranian people were right to want him to go. Amazingly at a time when this view was shared by many across the world, let alone in Iran itself, the Iranian liberals and some of the clerics still supported the idea of the Shah remaining on his throne to reign as a

must continue to tell them the facts for maybe many people here do not know what the poor people of Iran are saying because of the propaganda that they have been exposed to for years. The idea is disseminated that the Iranian people have been given freedom, and Carter says that they are opposing the Shah because they have been given a quick freedom! What kind of foolish talk is this? Are the people now shouting, "Give us freedom" because they have been given freedom? Are they shouting because he is taking the country toward progress and the people do not want their country to progress!?

He has taken the country to the brink of destruction and if, God forbid, this man should remain, then in a few years' time you will have neither oil—because they have opened the pipes and it is gushing out—nor agriculture; and what is left when there is no oil or agriculture? What will we have left? Nothing! If this person remains in power for a few more years, he will destroy us, he will destroy the nation.

Now is the time for us all to join hands together and sever this root, and after that sever all the other roots of this regime too. The country is ours and we have something to say which is right and just and that is that we ourselves want to administer our own country. We have people to administer it, we have suitable men, we have Muslim men, we have educated people: There are so many in Europe and America who cannot return to their country for fear of being harassed, imprisoned or executed, and those things are real but once he has gone they will return to their country there to live and administer it.

Some say if he goes, the communists will take over! This is a mistaken notion.¹ The communists are not involved in this matter; there are no communists in Iran. There may be a few young people who have been misled and sometimes say something—that is if they are not from SAVAK or have been incited by SAVAK—but they are insignificant, they will disappear, they are not going to take over the country if he leaves... Will a country with

constitutional monarch and dismissed any talk of a change in the Constitution itself which was based on monarchical rule

¹ The Shah and his agents called the revolutionary people of Iran communists! During an interview to mark Murdad 28 (August 19), in reply to a question as to whether a bunch of hooligans and the Islamic Marxist groups had been responsible for recent events, the Shah said: "Without question! Islamic Marxists are undoubtedly to blame."(!) Eight days after the bloody event of September 8 (Shahrivar 17), Sharif Imami announced that "Undeniable facts and incontestable circumstantial evidence testify to the fact that the Marxists were the central cause of the violence." Moreover, Dr. 'Amili, the regime's Minister for Information and Tourism said: "We are in no doubt that a communist campaign is directing this movement, since the slogans used and procedure followed by those concerned are communist."

a population of thirty million people who have risen the flag of Islam and are shouting “Islam, Islam,” become communist? These people will shut the communists up! Is it possible for this country to become communist? This is just the Shah’s propaganda. He wants to preserve his rule for a while longer so he says, “If I leave, Iran will become a communist country.” He is worse than the communists are!

You all, we all, are duty bound to help our friends in Iran. Those of us abroad now can help by propagating their cause; each of you should be a speaker for the people. When you go to your schools speak to some of those there with you, tell them the facts, tell them what is really happening in your country and what the people want, tell them what this man (the Shah) has done. You are all informed about the situation in our country now, so you know what to tell them. May God grant you success and protect you. God willing May He protect you. Make ready yourselves for your country. God willing, you will all return to it together and your country will be yours. (*Salawat* from the audience).

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-Four

Date: October 24, 1978 (AD) / Aban 2, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 21, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The roots of the people's opposition to the Shah and the ruling body in Iran

Occasion: The escalation in the wave of killings in Iran and SAVAK's new plan for spreading anti-Islamic slogans

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Most schools throughout Iran were closed. In Khorramabad, students held a large demonstration and were confronted by police who attacked them mercilessly. In this demonstration, three of the students were martyred and a number of people injured. The schools in Tehran also became the scene of confrontations between students and police and large demonstrations were held at Tehran University in which fierce clashes with police resulted in many of the students being injured.

As strikes continued throughout the country, the number of strikers increased with each passing day. Council workers in Chahar Mahal and Shahr-i Kurd and employees from the National Bus Company in Mashhad joined the action.

Anti-Shah demonstrations continued throughout the whole of the country, but David Owen, the British Foreign Minister at the time, in an attack on the Iranian Muslim people's movement, made a statement categorically supporting the Shah, saying: "Now is the time for us to support the Iranian government and affirm our friendship towards it."! This statement came at a time when the remonstrations of the people in Dezful, Qum, Gorgan and Hamadan were answered with gunfire. Students from schools and colleges in Tehran stayed away from their classes and set off in a protest march towards Tehran University to join the large demonstration taking place there.

Meanwhile in France, in spite of restrictions and a lack of facilities, the number of those wishing to visit and pay homage to Imam rose as correspondents, newspaper reporters, Iranians and others from all over the world flooded to his modest residence at Neauphle-le-Chateau. On the Sunday marking the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam's son,

widespread demonstrations were expected in Iran¹. At this time, the Indian government categorically disavowed knowledge of Imam's intent to take up residence in Kashmir.

In this speech, Imam Khomeini analyses the root cause of the people's uprising in Iran and whilst referring to the recent statement by the British Foreign Minister in support of the Shah, he condemns the interference of the Soviet Union, America and Britain in Iran. In reply to accusations by the Shah that Imam's opposition to his regime stems from a personal dispute, the Leader of the Revolution says: "I don't have a personal or family dispute with you as you claim. What personal dispute do I have with you? I am speaking for the nation, the pain of the nation concerns us not personal pain... this is a struggle over the nation, over Islam and because you are destroying all of Iran's resources, you are giving them away to others and we are telling you to stop it."

Imam continues his speech by enumerating the treacherous acts of the Shah's regime against the nation and warning the young generation against SAVAK's recent plan to spread anti-Islamic and communist slogans through a few misguided members of leftist groups. In conclusion, he once again reminds his audience of the need to use everything within their power to inform the people of the world about the Islamic movement in Iran, describing this as a religious and national duty.

¹ Refer to the newspapers *Ittilaat* and *Kayhan* of October 24 and 25, 1978 (Aban 1 and 2, 1357 AHS).

Speech Number Forty-Four

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Nowadays, we are faced with problems every day, which hitherto we only encountered once every month or every twenty days. Previously, the people were given a respite until the seventh or fortieth day after a killing before another was perpetrated. But today the situation in Iran is such that as I speak to you now, there are disturbances in Hamedan and confrontations between the people and the police which have been going on for three days. The people's opposition to the regime does not stem from one or two reasons. The people see that everything that a nation needs, each institution that the nation can benefit from, this oppressive regime, this Shah, these masters of the Shah of whom America, Britain and the Soviet Union are the most important, have endangered or destroyed.

A nation needs education; a nation can have a political existence through its culture and education. Our educational system is not an independent one, it is not one which relates to the people; rather it is planned and controlled by foreigners. Consequently, they do not give us a sound system; they do not give us sound teachers. The university lecturers cannot and have never been able to pursue their tasks as they should. The university students cannot pursue their tasks in a way that they want to. All the institutions must glorify Aryamehr; all must be organs, which support the apparatus of oppression. When the nation looks at its education, it sees a paralyzed system, one which can achieve nothing and which does not have a sound role to play in the society. When the nation looks at its army, it sees a parasitic army. Sixty thousand military advisers have come to this country and the majority of them are American advisers who have taken control of our army and now administer it¹. The army is not under our command, it is not under the

¹ Prior to the Islamic Revolution approximately 30,000 American military advisers were working in Iran, and the U.S. Senate had announced in a report that by the year 1980 there would be 50-60,000 American residents there. Those foreign residents who already resided in Iran lived in modern apartments and grand, luxurious villas in the north of Tehran, and the salaries and fringe benefits they received were many times greater than those received by their Iranian counterparts, amounting to more than 1,000,000 rials per month. The consumer items they required were supplied to them via stores which were exclusively for their use. In Tehran there was a large American school, a hospital, a psychiatric clinic and a general support centre in addition to special clubs for American citizens only. One of Iran's radio stations and at

command of the nation, and it is not beneficial to the nation. The armed forces have now come together to crush this nation on the orders of the Shah and those above him. The Shah is using his subordinates to cause all these tragedies and many of them are not happy doing what they are doing, but there is another power over their heads and that is these American military advisers. They issue the orders and these subordinates carry them out. They (the Shah's masters) want the Shah with all his crimes to be retained.

Only yesterday or the day before the British Foreign Minister said that they had interests in Iran and they could not withdraw their support from someone who was safeguarding their interests¹. This is what we are saying too, we maintain that the Shah is being retained now to safeguard British, American and Russian interests. The Allies put him in power to safeguard their interests. He himself admitted that the Allies wanted him to rule, that they wanted the Pahlavi dynasty to rule. May God curse those Allies for imposing such an animal on us. We are saying the same as the British Foreign Minister! All our problems now are caused by the fact that he is staying in the country to safeguard the interests of the foreigners. He wants to destroy everything we have to their avail. He gives our oil and our minerals to them; he sacrifices our culture and education for them; he does not allow a sound culture to exist, one that will prevent them from reaching their aims; he weakens Islam; he does not allow Islam to be presented as it truly is so as to prevent it from forming an obstacle to the foreigners' aims. He weakens the *ulama* of Islam, he does not allow them to speak out and tell the people what is being done to them. Political groups, all groups, the righteous and enlightened bazaar merchants, our university students and academics, he crushes them all. He does not allow them to speak out and if a

certain times one of its television channels were given over to the broadcasting of certain programmes in English for foreigners and especially for Americans. America's overwhelming presence in Iran can be explained not only by military issues and Iran's employment of American arms and equipment in her army, but also by the development of mutual ties between the CIA and SAVAK; the installation of surveillance equipment to procure Russian intelligence in various places throughout Iran; and the industrial and commercial activities undertaken by American companies and individuals there. See *Dowlat va Hukumat dar Iran*, p. 231; *Mission to Iran*, pp. 15-42; *I'tirafat-i Shah*, p. 78; *Siyohaft Ruz Pas Az Siyohaft Sal*, p. 110.

¹ David Owen, the British Foreign Minister, in an interview broadcast by British television on October 22, 1978 whilst re-affirming his government's support for the Shah said: "The Shah has demonstrated that he is favourably disposed towards matters of human rights and in this respect it must be said that regardless of the fact that he is a suitable person for securing British national interests, we prefer his rule to that of the mullahs or the communists. Now is the time for us to support the government of Iran and affirm our friendship towards it."

voice is raised anywhere it is silenced by these commandos and hirelings. What did the people of Hamedan do to be treated so? They only said one word and subsequently were attacked; the girls were arrested and the tumult that we now witness ensued. One of the girls was raped and she committed suicide because of it. These disturbances in Hamedan, in which they say fifty people have been killed, stem from a voice being raised.

About two or three years ago, I anticipated that we should be wary of this dictator in his last days, and now we see that these actions also stem from the fact that he, like most of our other dictators, has gone insane in his final days. Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar also went insane toward the end of his rule¹, as did Nadir Shah². Some of them were mad from the beginning, like Rida

¹ Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar (1741-1797 AD) was the founder of the Qajar dynasty. After the merciless killing of Lutf-Ali Khan Zand in 1794, he made Tehran his capital and crowned himself king. Aqa Muhammad Khan was a fearless, bloodthirsty and cruel man. When in his battle with Lutf-Ali Khan Zand he captured the city of Kerman and failed to find Lutf-Ali, the latter having fled to the city of Bam, he ordered the massacre of the people of Kerman. Some inhabitants escaped with their lives only to be blinded under the personal supervision of the Shah. His soldiers gouged 35,000 eyes out of their sockets and took 30,000 women and children prisoner. Aqa Muhammad Khan went mad at the end of his life and met his death at the hands of three of his servants. Refer to *Sharh-i Hal-i Rejal-i Siyasi-yi Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 246-257

² Nadir Quli Afshar Qarakhlu (1687-1747 AD), one of the kings of Iran and the founder of the Afsharid dynasty, was a prisoner of the Uzbeks in his youth and after escaping from them, he entered the service of the governor of Abivard. While in his service, Nadir Quli showed great expertise, and for this reason as well as his success in crushing the governor's enemies, he was promoted to a position close to the governor and married his daughter, Gawhar Shad. A short while after, Nadir led a successful uprising against his master and ordered that he be skinned alive in front of him. Following these events, Nadir Quli entered the service of the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp and, as head of his army, he won back all the Safavid territories which had fallen into the hands of the Russians, Ottomans and Afghans and crushed all his internal and external enemies. In 1732, Nadir Quli deposed Tahmasp in favour of his infant son 'Abbas and in 1736 he formally assumed power himself and became known as Nadir Shah. His constant campaigns were paid for by enormous taxes and heavy contributions and were, on numerous occasions, the direct cause of famine in many areas of the country. Indeed, his bloody assault on India in 1738-39 AD was prompted by the promise of an immense booty to replenish his depleted treasury. Nadir Shah's rule, like that of most of the Persian kings, was marked by atrocities, bloodshed and oppression. Eighteen years of war during his reign wreaked destruction and famine on the country and brought much suffering to the people. His lust for blood led him to murder on a mass scale; the slaughter of the people of Shiraz in 1744 and the erection of two grim towers made from their heads serves as just one example of the atrocities he committed against the people. Intrigues against him were rife, and when in 1741/2 an attempt was made on his life, he had his own son, Rida Quli Mirza, blinded because he suspected him of complicity in the plot. At the end of his life he went insane and killed a great number of his tribal chiefs and courtiers. However, his intention to kill some of his army

Shah; he was mad from the start! Now this one (the Shah) has become high-strung and mentally disturbed. When he is interviewed nowadays he appears distracted. Apparently he was interviewed recently by a reporter from a French newspaper who said that throughout the interview, the Shah kept muttering to himself, complaining to himself and that he repeated about twenty times: "What's the solution now? Now what should we do? What should be done now? What shall we do?" Well it is obvious what you should do, get up and go. What else do you want from this nation? The solution lies with you, leave! Now he is taking gold out of the country, yesterday or the day before we were informed that the day before that an airplane left the country carrying the crown jewels. His father did the same thing. They have been the bane of the nation.

I do not have a personal or family dispute with you as you claim. What personal dispute do I have with you? I am speaking for the nation; the pain of the nation concerns us, not personal pain. We are objecting to what you are doing to our nation and our *ulama*, and what you have done and are doing to our Islam. This is not a personal dispute; this is a struggle over the nation, over Islam, and because you are destroying all of Iran's resources, you are giving them away to others and we are telling you to stop it, these should be ours; our hungry people should be fed. We are concerned about these hungry, naked people who wander around the streets, who have nothing and are in dire straits, as we are about these farmers whom you say you wanted to do something for through your so-called land reforms, whereas in reality you implemented these reforms for America. This was the mission for your country, which America gave you and you carried it out, making the country dependent on America and foreigners in all respects.

The people are shouting now for freedom, for independence; they are shouting that they do not want their resources to be destroyed this way. This is what ails the nation. In twenty years' time we will have no oil; our agriculture has already been destroyed; we have nothing. When the nation has nothing how is it expected to survive? How is the future generation expected to live? We have a responsibility toward the future generation. We should now do whatever is within our power to sever the hands that grip our resources, our nation's resources, so that they will last a little longer. We have large reserves of oil, but such a great amount is being taken, and taken without payment at that, that they are being depleted. If only they (the

heads and relatives was not realised as in 1747 he met his death at the hands of a group of chiefs from his own tribe of the Afshar who conspired together with some of the Qajar chiefs. Refer to *Sharh-i Hal-i Rejal-i Siyasi-yi Iran*, vol. 4, p. 193.

Americans) were taking it free of charge, but in return, they build bases for themselves! They give us arms in return! Are these arms for us? No, they are for creating their own bases in Iran! Bases for America are being built all over the country, in the mountains of Kurdistan and this place and that. Arms! These arms are of no use to us. Arms that we do not know how to operate are of no use to us. On the one hand, they take our oil and on the other, they send weapons to Iran for their bases here, so that they can say that they have paid for the oil with these weapons and thus stem protests from the Soviet Union and other countries. This is being done in the name of meeting our needs and with the excuse that our power should be such and such.

A few years ago, this person, the Shah himself, said that we didn't want arms, we didn't need arms, that what we already had were sufficient for administering the country. This is true, he does not need these things (that the Americans send) to kill the people! These machine-guns that he already has are enough, they are killing the people! He does not need them for anything else apart from killing his own nation! This same person, who once claimed that the country did not want weapons, soon changed his tune when he received the command from America that he had to take the weapons and build bases on the pretext of them being in return for the oil, to which he said: "No, we should have arms, other powers like us have many weapons," and other things to the effect that Iraq for instance had weapons in its arsenal that could do goodness knows what in a day. This is all a lie! The arms that we buy are not for us, they are for America. The Americans wanted to set up bases here, but they realized that if they openly stated that they intended to do this, Russia would oppose them and a dispute would ensue. Therefore, under the pretext of paying for the oil they get with 'goods', their goods comprising of these weapons, they build bases for themselves in Iran! Our nation's woes stem from the fact that he is a traitor; the father was a traitor and the son is a traitor, too!

The nation has now had enough. The people do not want him. School-children and old men alike are saying that they do not want him. A whole nation says that it does not want him. Is there a better referendum than this? When the nation says that it does not want him, it means that this Shah is no longer a Shah. A Shah is only a Shah when the nation wishes him to be so; when the people vote against him, he forfeits his position¹. Parliament likewise, when it does not enjoy the vote of the people, it is no longer a Parliament. Our Parliament was not a Parliament from the beginning! We

¹ According to the stipulations of the general principles of Article 35 of the previous Constitution: "Monarchy is a trust given to the king by the people."

just need to look at the history of our Parliament.¹ I myself am like a history of our Parliament; I can remember what has happened from the time that Rida Khan carried out his coup d'état up to the present time. I can remember the Constituent Assembly, which was formed at bayonet point². This is the kind of Parliament that we have had! When did we ever have a true Parliament? Never, from the time of Rida Shah to the present, we have never had a Parliament that the people have voted for of their own volition; we have never had such a Parliament.

¹ Imam Khomeini was born during the reign of the Qajar king Muzaffar ud-Din Shah in 1902. The victory of the constitutional movement in 1906; the death of Muzaffar ud-Din Shah in 1907 and the accession to the throne of his son Muhammad Ali Shah in the same year; the deposition and expulsion of Muhammad Ali Shah in 1909; the accession of the twelve-year-old Ahmad Shah to the Qajar throne; the deposition of Ahmad Shah and the coming to power of Rida Shah in 1925 were some of the events of Iranian contemporary history which took place during Imam's lifetime. However, here Imam is referring to Rida Shah's reign and the Parliament during this period. A notebook full of poems which Imam kept in his youth reflects the political environment in Imam's house and his familiarity, from an early age, with his country's political affairs. The poems to be found therein include some from famous poets of that time who described the adverse social and political conditions in the Iran of that day in verse form. Imam re-wrote these poems himself at the early age of 9-10. A particularly noteworthy poem is to be found therein by Muhammad Taqi Bahar concerning the Russian and British occupation of northern and southern areas of Iran and encouraging the Iranians to rise up against the occupiers.

² After a bloodless coup on February 21, 1921 carried out with British encouragement, Rida Khan, the main architect of the coup, quickly established himself as the dominant political personality in the country. On October 31, 1925, the Parliament deposed the reigning monarch Ahmad Shah, and it was decided that a Constituent Assembly should be elected to decide on a new ruler. Only those who had already agreed to Rida Khan ascending the throne were allowed to become members of this assembly and consequently the people, knowing what the results of the referendum would be, saw their voting on the matter to be a futile act. However, police and army personnel forced people to the voting booths and handed them a list of the names of the people for whom they were to vote. Eventually, a single article was prepared in the home of Rida Khan and ratified. This article read: "The National Consultative Assembly, for the well-being of the nation, announces the overthrow of the Qajar dynasty and hands over temporary rule within the confines of the Constitution and the country's common laws to the person of Mr. Rida Pahlavi." This article gave the Constituent Assembly, which was formed to change articles 36, 37, 38 and 44 of the Constitution, the authority to determine who was to rule. After the ratification of this article deposing Ahmad Shah and prior to the formation of the Constituent Assembly, the plan was for the people to select a successor to the deposed ruler. But this plan was not followed through and monarchical rule was given to Rida Khan, the Sardar Sipah (Commander-in-Chief), for the duration of his life with the intention that after his death Parliament would choose his successor. However, after the Constituent Assembly completed its work and Rida Khan was crowned Rida Shah in April 1926, he opposed this ruling and decided that monarchical rule should become the hereditary right of his family. In this way, the Pahlavi dynasty came into being.

The present Members of Parliament are all traitors, because they know that they are there only on the orders of the Shah and the nation has no say in the matter! This is the first problem we have with all you Members of Parliament, for you are all aware of this, there is no denying it, you haven't come from outer space, you are more aware of this than the nation is itself. You know that your entry into Parliament was not brought about by the approval and votes of the people; rather it happened because the Shah installed you, because this was 'the Shah's mission'. The embassies handed over a list and you were appointed. Still you entered Parliament even though you knew this. So the first question we have to put to those of you who claim to be nationalists is: "Why then did you enter Parliament knowing what you did?" You may reply that you had no choice, but surely, nobody could force you in, no, you yourself wanted it. Therefore, you entered Parliament and approved of everything that was put in front of you. But now you see that things are changing, the opponent is coming to the fore and so you want to compromise and make a place for yourself. The question remains though as to why you are in a Parliament that has been appointed by the Shah and which contravenes the Constitution. The Constitution has given the people the right to choose their representatives and no one has the right to interfere with this...

According to the Constitution, the Shah is a criminal and must be deposed. The Shah is a traitor and traitors, as stated in the Constitution, must be deposed. A Shah who acts against the interests of the nation or against that which the law has determined can no longer be a Shah, he automatically forfeits his office. This Shah is not a Shah, he is a usurper, he is a bandit and as such, he is automatically deposed.

This bandit was placed over us and Britain supports him from one side, America from another, China another and the Soviet Union from another. They are all seeking their own interests. There is no better, more foolish servant for them than he is. He has given all the wealth of this nation to them free of charge. The nation's gas is taken by Russia, its oil by America and Britain; everything this country has is being taken by somebody. The Queen of England has taken its pasturelands; our lush, green pasturelands were handed over to the Queen of England and some other people there, and I have received information to the effect that the nation's forests have been given to another company.¹ Everything in this country has now fallen prey to

¹ Situated in the north of the Buin Zahra region, the 'Umran Plain (Qazvin Plain) was one of the extremely fertile plains of the Zanjan province. The Shah agreed to give this plain over to

these hyenas who tug at it from all directions. Iran is now food for these oil-devourers and these hyenas and they are tugging at her from all directions, and it is Muhammad Rida Pahlavi who is letting this happen. He is her executive power! When we say that we do not want this man, this is why, it is not because the nation has been given freedom and it does not want it! According to Carter, this nation has been given a very quick freedom; the Shah has given his nation a quick freedom! This is the fast freedom that has been recently implemented in Hamedan, in Kerman a few days ago and in towns close to Kerman. Murder is now widespread in Iran and this man has gone insane, he has become mentally disturbed and very dangerous. The people should get rid of him as fast as they can to be free of him.

I am surprised at the army on the one hand, and on the other at those youth in Iran who sometimes allow themselves to be led into error. I am surprised at the army for allowing this Shah to sully its reputation for the sake of his own and his masters' goals. The military forces have a bad name now among the people because whatever he wants to do he does it through them. He uses the army if the action is a little widespread, as on Khordad 15 and other similar occasions, or if not he uses a smaller force such as commandos and such people like them. These forces are all giving themselves a bad name for the sake of the interest of this man and his masters! It surprises me that the army, which is made up of nationals of this country, would do such things to its own nation for the sake of a man who is a traitor and who it knows to be a traitor, that it would bring shame upon itself and give itself a bad name for the sake of the goals of a traitor who wants to prolong his treacherous rule for a few days longer! This is surprising for me.

On the other hand, I am surprised at our youth, some of our youth of course, those who have allowed themselves to be led astray by this regime, which has deceived them through various means. Their elders have made them shout slogans at the university, slogans that are anti-Islamic and unpatriotic so that the people will be afraid that if His Imperial Majesty goes the communists will take over! A group of our young people has now become the instruments of some of their elders who make them do such things and who are working for SAVAK and for this regime. These people are not communists; they are communist-makers. They make our young people say and do things, which are for the benefit of the Shah and America and beguile these young people into thinking that what they are doing is for

Israel where it could establish modern agricultural organisations. See *Az Sayyid Diya ta Bakhtiar*, p. 495

the sake of communism and the Tudeh Party and such things. I find it truly surprising that at a time when such matters are obvious even to the bazaar merchants, the farmers and the young children, some of these young people allow themselves to be deceived so. They are making a mistake and it works to the benefit of the regime, but the Muslims will not let the regime take full advantage of this and only humiliation will be left for these young people. It is indeed surprising for me.

I ask you gentlemen who are studying abroad and who form part of the enlightened classes not to let our youth fall into the trap of these people. Some of our youth have been deceived; they have been deceived by some of their elders. They have made a mistake; they haven't read about Islam; they haven't seen true Islam (in practice); they haven't read about the laws of Islam nor seen them in practice; they are not familiar with the language of the Quran; they do not know that the Quran is a book designed to create human beings, to stimulate man toward progress and development, toward crushing the oppressors and the apparatus of oppression. They do not know these things. They know nothing about the economics of Islam either. So when they come here, they come almost totally ignorant about Islam, and some people, some groups who themselves have no belief in these matters, mislead these young people and force them to do such acts and our youth are deceived. You are intellectual people; you are Muslim and you preserve your national sentiments; so, I ask you to take care of our children; do not let them fall into these traps. These are the traps of SAVAK, not those of the communists. The SAVAK agents have a mission to make these young people shout slogans which benefit the regime and in this way destroy these youth. If you meet some of these young people here, take them by the hand, do not let them work for the benefit of the Shah or the regime, for America, the Soviet Union and other powers, do not lose them in this way.

Another duty, which we who are residing abroad now have, is to help the Iranian nation. It has a right over all of us who are abroad now for it is giving blood for us, it is sacrificing its youth. Wherever you go in Iran nowadays there are disturbances, a movement has begun, the people are speaking out and are shouting: "We want freedom; we do not want this dynasty because it has deprived us of our freedom and has plundered our resources for its own benefit and that of the foreigners." Those of us here are indebted to them; we are responsible before God, the Blessed and Exalted, and before the nation. We have to help these people and that which you and I can do for them is to propagate their cause. Those of you, who attend the universities and colleges

over here, speak to your friends there, whenever and wherever possible sit down and speak about the situation in Iran.

Everybody nowadays is watching events in Iran. Tell them what this man is doing to the people; tell them what ails the people and that the cure for their ailment is for him (the Shah) to leave. An even better cure is that Mr. Carter and the leaders of China, the Soviet Union and Britain leave this nation alone and let the people administer their own affairs. What business does that wretch have coming here from the other side of the world, robbing us of our oil, taking it for free or worse than if it were for free. Tell these people, these students that you meet, whether in America or in Europe, about these things. There are about five thousand of you over here, if each one of you tells only ten people, then that will mean that a great number of people have been informed and a wave of support will be created in Europe and America which will prove useful to the Iranian nation's cause. This is a service, which you can do for the Iranian nation, and in this way, you can repay your debt to them. I ask you all to invite the people to support the nation of Iran, ask the American nation to support the Iranian nation, to understand what the American government has done to Iran and why it has the bad reputation that it does in Iran. Gradually, people may come to presume that the American nation supports the policies of their government in Iran, but this is not the case. In the same way, wherever you are living speak to the people about your problems, alert them to the fact that their governments' policies toward Iran are detrimental to your nation, to everything that your nation has, and (in this way) help the Iranians in this movement that they have started.

May God grant you health and success. May you all be ready to make sacrifices for Islam and your nation and may you strengthen yourselves. God willing, you will take control of your nation, your country, and others will leave and you will administer your own country yourselves. (The audience replies with "God willing").

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-Five

Date: October 25, 1978 (AD) / Aban 3, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 22, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Making sacrifices for the sake of God was the practice of the prophets and the friends of God (*awliya*)

Occasion: The release of a number of political prisoners

Those present: A group of Iranian citizens and students resident abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

On October 25, 1978 (Aban 3, 1357 AHS), Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) is informed of the release of a number of political prisoners, who, because of trumped-up charges had endured years of torture by SAVAK¹. He therefore devotes one part of his speech to this matter and states:

“... But does that then mean that these five years which have been wasted of a Muslim’s life, of a human being’s life, these five, ten years of persecuting a human being, a Muslim, are to be disregarded?! Now that he is free to go does that then mean that the matter is closed?! Is the release of a number of *ulama* and other members of society supposed to make us content?! Is the nation now supposed to calm down?! Have they (the regime) made it up to the nation?!... “

On the one hand Imam is informed of “the release of a number of prisoners,” and on the other, the sharp-sighted Leader of the Revolution hears accounts of security forces of the so-called ‘government of national reconciliation’ violently crushing peaceful demonstrations in Hamadan, Qum and Gorgan, killing dozens of the Muslim people in these cities such that the hospitals there have insufficient space to admit all of those injured.²

Other reports released at that time told of how 3,000 workers from the Arak car-manufacturing company had, on that same day, set off towards the town from their place of work in a protest march, whilst shouting slogans in demand of their legal rights. For years these workers had not dared to make any kind of demand since any employee with a legitimate claim would have been arrested, tortured by SAVAK agents and forced to hold his tongue. Yet

¹ See footnote 1 of this speech (45), and refer to the *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 25, 1978 (Aban 3, 1357 AHS), page 2, which includes the names of hundreds of prisoners released.

² See the press for October 24 and 25, 1978 (Aban 2 & 3, 1357 AHS).

now, these same workers crossed swords with disciplinary officers in the city centre. So too in Rasht, the enraged people of that city attacked the building which housed the Rastakhiz Party's offices—offices which for years had been the centre where important decisions had been made by the regime's stooges.¹

Foreseeing an imminent blow to the interests of Great Britain and America (Britain's closest ally) as a result of the monarchical regime's disintegration, the British Foreign Minister announces at a London press conference that the fall of Sharif Imami's government would initially lead to the rise to power of conservative elements in Iran, followed by that of the communists!² It would therefore seem that the British Foreign Minister had in fact disregarded both the people's constant cries for "Freedom, Independence and an Islamic Republic," and their recognition of Imam Khomeini as their sole leader and *marja-i taqlid*.

It would seem that the mass movement of Iran had totally baffled the rest of the world. The American CIA, which, until this time, was famed for its ability to predict revolutions world-wide, or at least was known for its full-level intelligence on the root causes of revolutions and political movements, is now however, at an absolute loss to understand. In response to a question posed by journalists as to the reasons for the Iranian people's opposition to the Shah, the head of the CIA vaguely states: "The problems in Iran have brought about the rise of conservative elements."(!) However, the latter never explains what he means by "conservative," nor does he mention which social class or sector these people actually belong to. This was in spite of the fact that everyone at that time was aware that the Iranian Revolution was a revolution embarked upon by those people who had had enough of fifty years of oppression by the monarchical regime, and who, by demonstrating, conducting protest marches, and sacrificing lives, had called for the Shah to leave the country, for an end to American interference in Iran,

¹ *Ibid.*

² A report by BBC Radio on October 23, 1978 (Aban 1, 1357 AHS) stated: "Britain's independent television station broadcast a one-hour-long programme about the situation in Iran. In this programme, David Owen, the British Foreign Minister, said in referring to Iran that should the Shah's regime be toppled this would in the first instance have come about due to the efforts of a right-wing group, but that immediately afterwards a left-wing group would assume leadership. In expressing the view of the British government, he stated: "I believe the continued survival of the regime in Iran to be in the best interests of regional stability there ... and the downfall of the regime in Iran will benefit neither Britain nor the West as a whole ... I believe we should give the Shah of Iran our support." *Ruz Shumar-i Inqilab-i Islami-yi Iran*, p. 166.

and for the establishment of a government based upon justice and fairness—a government based upon the lofty principles of Islam.

As the Islamic Revolution draws closer to its zenith with each passing day, the heads of the governments of Egypt, Israel and America assemble at Camp David where they draw up a peace agreement, and, with hand shakes all round, firmly trample on the rights of millions of Palestinians. The sum and substance of the Islamic Revolution and its inextricable link with the destiny of other Islamic nations—especially with that of the Palestinian people—are now revealed via slogans chanted by members of Tehran University's sizeable community: "Death to these three criminals: Carter, Sadat and Begin." At this point in time, Husni Mubarak, who was the then Vice-President of Egypt during Anwar Sadat's presidency, makes a quick visit to Tehran and several hours later, having informed the Shah of developments at Camp David, he then leaves Iran.

Imam Khomeini's presence in Paris and the continual revelations made by him with regard to the regime in Iran, means that the voice of the Islamic Revolution now reaches overseas and causes the oppressed nations to rise up in support of the revolution. The first to engage in widespread demonstrations in support of the Iranian Revolution were the oppressed Palestinian people, and news of these events were broadcast world-wide via major news agencies.¹

Mourning ceremonies and memorial services continue to be held in Tehran and other Iranian cities for those tragically killed in the mosque in Kerman; and in their speeches on this tragedy and on the crimes committed by the Shah's regime, the religious speakers at these gatherings continue to make revelatory statements. In order to pacify the people, 'Ameli Tehrani, the Minister of Information and Tourism, hints that those responsible for the crime in Kerman have been apprehended, and he announces that: "The results of a full enquiry into the event in Kerman will soon be submitted to the Prime Minister."

Classes at Tehran University have now become either totally or partially cancelled, and every day students hold congregational prayer gatherings and chant anti-regime slogans in the university grounds. Meanwhile, in Gurgan, following an anti-regime demonstration and protest march, the people charge towards SAVAK headquarters and are dispersed both by shots fired from

¹ Refer to press articles printed on October 23, 1978 (Aban 1, 1357 AHS), and to the book *Do Sal-i Akhar*, pp. 205 and 207.

within the building by SAVAK agents, and by an attack made on them in the streets by members of the security forces.¹

High-powered and passionate meetings are now conducted in the National Consultative Assembly. During a performance staged for the public, certain assigned Members of Parliament attack the government by forming both minority and majority factions, whilst other delegates, despite the ongoing popular demonstrations and strikes, stand in defence of the government.

Sharif Imami's ineffectual government now adopts a mercurial political policy: on occasion promising to implement reforms, to guarantee the rights of workers, and to punish those responsible for crimes committed, and at other times resorting to threatening and intimidating the people by creating a bloodbath in the streets of Tehran and the provinces.

Whilst the world's powerful governments, such as those of America and Britain, are busy giving the Shah their assurances by declaring their support for his policies², it is the words of Imam Khomeini which count—words uttered from a modest house situated in a remote French village, words which in fact express the view of the people:

“... We want to free a nation; we want to make a nation independent; we want to break loose from the fetters of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, and naturally this will mean that self-sacrifices have to be made. It will mean that our youth are to lose their lives, that we will be imprisoned for something like ten years... We in no way fear these things. They can attack to their hearts' content ... And let these powerful nations declare their support for him (the Shah) as much as they like, let anyone who so desires go ahead and do this, for an entire nation is now standing up in confrontation and is saying 'no.' No cannons or tanks can be effective before the 'no' of a nation ...”

¹ For information concerning the ever-growing demonstrations which were held; the contemporary events which took place; the intense clashes which broke out both in Qum and Tehran and across the country as a whole; and the nationwide strikes which were staged, refer to the reports and articles published in the press from October 23-25, 1978 (Aban 1-3, 1357 AHS).

² Despite its announcement that: “The CIA wants to enforce martial law in Iran,” Radio Moscow, mouthpiece for the ruling Communist Party in the Soviet Union, assumes an incredibly neutral stance. And whilst Iran is engulfed in blood and fire and the Shah is on the verge of being toppled, this radio station gives special coverage to the Soviet Union's position in this regard and to her former political policies. This indifferent stance adopted by the Russians in fact represented a green light which allowed further crimes and atrocities to be committed by the Americans and the Shah. See the *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 25, 1978 (Aban 3, 1357 AHS), p. 1.

Yes indeed, we see that this is in fact the slogan that the people are shouting: “Cannons, tanks and machine-guns no longer have any effect!”

Speech Number Forty-Five

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today they announced that they have released a number of political prisoners, and that a further number is to be released later¹. But the question is, does this freeing of prisoners compensate for everything? They deprive a human being in every way for something like five or ten years, stripping him of any kind of freedom, and persecuting and torturing him in prison, then they tell him that he is free to go²! But does that then mean that these five years which have been wasted of a Muslim's life, of a human being's life, these five, ten years of persecuting a human being, a Muslim, are to be disregarded?! Now that he is free to go, does that mean that the matter is closed?! Is the release of a number of *ulama* and other members of society supposed to make us content?! Is the nation now supposed to calm down?! Have they (the regime) made it up to the nation?! Or is it that the present situation is such that they are no longer able to continue to behave as they have in the past; is it that they are struggling to come through the present situation alive, a situation in which the entire population has turned against them? Are they truly now able to save themselves?! Can they actually be saved?!

This Shah who has reigned over us for about thirty years, who has reigned over the Muslim people in the manner of Genghis Khan, this Shah who has killed so many of the Muslim people, who has caused so many Muslims to flee their homeland, who has deprived and stripped so many human beings of their civil rights, this Shah now says: we have released them (the political prisoners), so now what more can you possibly expect from us!

¹ On October 23 (Aban 1), the *Ittilaat* newspaper read: "To mark October 26 (Aban 4), the Shah's birthday, 1126 people who are currently in prison for their involvement in activities which threatened national security, are to be released." Ayatullah Taliqani and Ayatullah Muntaziri were among those due to be released. On November 1, 1978 (Aban 10, 1357 AHS), the same newspaper quotes the head of SAVAK as saying that a further 600 political prisoners at present serving prison sentences, are also to be released by December 10, 1978 (Azar 19, 1357 AHS).

² In 1957 (1335 AHS), the Shah ordered the establishment of a National Information and Security Organisation (SAVAK) and in 1971 (1350 AHS) on his orders a joint committee of SAVAK and the Town and City Police was organised. Agents of this organisation arrested opponents of the regime and took them away to political prisons.

But the people expect you to provide ten years of life! You wasted ten years of a human being's life in prison, in a room two metres square¹. You took away the life of a human being, of someone who could have served the people, who could have served the people by being active and writing in a free environment. You wasted ten years of a nation's life, and now, having allowed it to go free, you ask what more do we want? We want compensation for these ten years. The people want these ten years in which you persecuted their children in prison to be compensated for. Yet there is no way that such compensation could be given in this world.

One of the clear proofs for there having to be another place where God Almighty will punish these oppressors, is that supposing you came together and tore Muhammad-Rida Khan limb from limb, you then would only have killed one person. He is only one person, one vile person, and thus you would have taken a life for a life. Let's imagine that the person you are to kill is a good person, that like the person for whose life you wish to obtain retribution, he is an honourable person, nevertheless, were you to kill him you would have only taken one honourable life in return for another honourable life! But what about all of those honourable people whom he has deprived of existence, all of those youngsters of ours that he has killed and whose lives he has curtailed. If someone were to have killed someone else, then his punishment would be for him also to be killed in return for the life he had taken. But if that someone were to have brought about the death of, and to have killed, a multitude of people, then is there any way that retribution could be exacted for this here in this world? Of course the person in question would have to be punished most severely here in this world, but even then would retribution have been fully exacted? Retribution would have been exacted for one family. If we were to cut someone's life short in return for his having cut short the life of a family, then this would be retribution for one family, but what about the other families?

Are we now to content ourselves with the fact that this man² has granted a pardon? We are talking about men for whom your pardon means nothing. Indeed, it is not a question of granting a pardon, it is in fact a question of doing that which is required of you, and right now you are obliged to release these people. Many of these prisoners were people whose unlawful sentences

¹ Here reference is made to the solitary prison cells which were less than two square metres in area, and which were devoid of light and sanitary facilities. These cells were so small that prisoners sometimes had no choice but to sleep either in a sitting or semi-upright position. Yet certain political prisoners were held captive in these cramped conditions for years.

² The Shah.

had already been served anyway. Yes, their sentences were unlawful from the start, but even having served the assigned term of imprisonment, they continued to be detained without reason. But now that these SAVAK agents, these perpetrators of so many crimes, have come and opened the prison gates, releasing certain prisoners, is that the end of the matter?! No indeed, now the matter is only just beginning! He (the Shah) and all of his agents are to stand trial. But even then, supposing they are all executed, retribution will still not have been exacted, for a hundred lives will have been taken in return for hundreds, for thousands of lives.

In Tehran, during one bout of killings alone, four to five thousand people are said to have been killed¹. They say that these latest killings in Hamadan have left up to a hundred people dead. I'm not sure whether this was yesterday or the day before. And even now Hamadan is once again in a turbulent state². In Qum too, both yesterday and today, there have been disturbances and the sound of gunfire has rung out³. As to how many people have been killed however, I just do not know. The same has also been happening in Zanjan⁴; and you have all heard about Kerman. The situation is

¹ A reference to the tragedy of Black Friday, September 8, 1978 (Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS), on which occasion a great number of those who had gathered at Shuhada Square were attacked by security forces, thousands of people being killed as a result.

² From September to November 1978 (Mehr and Aban 1357 AHS), Hamadan was the scene of boundless chaos and so it was that on October 22 (Mehr 30) a group of demonstrators died from bullet wounds inflicted by the regime's hired henchmen. See the *Ittilaat* newspaper for October 23, 1978 (Aban 1, 1357 AHS).

³ For Qum, October 24, 1978 (Aban 2, 1357 AHS), was the most dramatic day it had witnessed since the events of September 8 (Shahrivar 17—Black Friday). A demonstration got under way at 8:30 am, and several hours later a massive crowd assembled in the streets of Qum, a number of demonstrators later being wounded by government troops as clashes broke out. Again, on October 25, 1978 (Aban 3, 1357 AHS), Qum witnessed more disturbances than any other Iranian city. On this occasion three people were killed and a number wounded during demonstrations held. See the *Ittilaat* newspaper for October 25 and 26, 1978 (Aban 3 & 4, 1357 AHS). Throughout the revolution, Qum was witness to continuous demonstrations and clashes which took place in various parts of the city, and especially in Azar Street, Chaharmardan Street, and in the neighbouring areas of Imam's home located in the Yakhchal-i Qadi district.

⁴ On October 14, 1978 (Mehr 22, 1357 AHS), the teachers and pupils of Zanjan set off through the city's streets on a protest march after having assembled in front of Zanjan's education authority headquarters and after delivering a 26-article declaration there. Two days later, from 9 am on October 16, 1978 (Mehr 24, 1357 AHS), an abnormal state once more reigned over this city and severe clashes between government forces and the people resulted in the death or injury of a number of civilians. On this same day Zanjan radio announced that the city's hospitals were in need of blood. Again, on October 27, 1978 (Aban 5, 1357 AHS), clashes between government forces and the people in Zanjan were so severe that newspaper reports

the same everywhere. Crimes have been committed in every place you could possibly mention. Yet now he (the Shah) has granted a pardon!! To hell with this pardon of his. If it weren't for the pressure exerted by the people and this widespread public opinion, then he would not have granted a pardon at all. This is not a case of granting a pardon, it is a case of doing that which one is compelled to do anyway. The crimes he has perpetrated cannot be recompensed by taking such measures. It is beyond us to exact retribution, for how can we compensate for the killing of four to five thousand people when there is only one person to be punished and no more, and even then when he is the kind of person that he is. This is why there has to be a world in which constant torment prevails until retribution is exacted; a world in which unremitting anguish awaits these tyrants.

We are really at a loss as to what we should do about the current situation in Iran. Of course, that is not to say that the situation is not promising, for it is. It is not that we are now concerned as to why such a situation prevails, but nonetheless, you can see for yourselves just what they are doing, just what madness they have called into being. Having said that however, it is worth having to contend with these things in order to rescue a nation. We must not be concerned by the fact that we are making self-sacrifices, for this was the practice of the prophets, these were the things that the prophets themselves did. The prophets and the friends of God (*awliya*) rose up against those who were cruel, those who oppressed the people, and in so doing they killed and were killed, they sacrificed their young and they sacrificed their close friends and followers. So there is now no call for us to be concerned that blood might be spilled. Indeed, blood has to be spilled¹!

A nation will not succeed in rescuing itself from the suffering which stems from all these crimes and losses without having to pay a price. A certain mother has been seen to have stood up in Bihisht-i Zahra cemetery and to have said that the tree of freedom needs to be watered and that her

spoke of the city being razed to the ground. Furthermore, having performed a prayer which called on God to grant them freedom, the pupils of this city spilled into the streets and formed a protest march which continued until 3:30 pm, thousands of other people joining in with the demonstrators as they marched along. See the *Ittilaat* and other newspapers for October 15, 17 and 28, 1978 (Mehr 23 and 25 and Aban 6, 1357 AHS).

¹ Certain "virtuous" and "reverend" personages, and even some of the distinguished *maraji* in the theological centres of Qum and Najaf, had chosen to remain silent in the face of the regime's crimes on the pretext of "protecting the blood of the Muslims." Not only did they choose not to speak up but on occasion they would mutter protests as to who would be held responsible for the blood which had been spilled!

son's blood is something which serves this purpose¹. These are the kind of lion-hearted women we have amongst us.

Islam needs us to make sacrifices for its sake. Just consider what pure and virtuous lives have been sacrificed from the advent of Islam down to the present. A case in point is Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali) who fought against Mu'awiyah for eighteen months in the battle of Siffin, and who killed so many adversaries and lost the lives of so many fellow combatants, over ten thousand people in all, well over this figure². Mu'awiyah was someone who made claim to being Muslim and to being the Prophet's rightful successor. He prayed at congregational prayer gatherings, was the Friday prayer leader, and so on. He practised all of the outwardly visible religious practices. Unlike Yazid, whose exterior was as aberrant as his interior, Mu'awiyah was good at keeping up appearances. He kept up appearances and also advocated Islam, so what actually happened to cause Hadrat Amir to engage in battle against him? The reason Imam Ali fought against Mu'awiyah was because he was a tyrant who had unfairly exploited the people. He had seized Damascus from Islamic rule and was forcing the people to behave ruthlessly and to commit injustices. He plundered the people's wealth, the public treasury. Hadrat Amir was obliged by duty to fight against him irrespective of whether he was to be the vanquished or the vanquisher. The fact that he may be defeated if he were to engage in battle at this time, did not concern Hadrat Amir. Once he saw that he was able to confront Mu'awiyah in battle, he rounded up his troops and battle commenced, although it is true to say that on this particular occasion he was eventually defeated.

When the Lord of the Martyrs (Imam Husayn), may peace be upon him, sees that an oppressive ruler, a tyrant, is governing over the people, he makes it clear that should one witness an oppressive ruler governing over the people and tyrannising them, then he is to stand in confrontation against the tyrant and is to do all he can to put a stop to his tyranny. And this is exactly what Imam Husayn did with only several people supporting him, people who were so few in number that they were nothing compared to the soldiers and the

¹ A woman who had lost several children during the revolution, is said to have cried out in Bihisht-i Zahra cemetery, urging the youngsters not to relax their efforts and not to be afraid of the Shah and his might. Refer to *Gam beh Gam ba Inqilab*, p. 46.

² Some historians have put the death toll of the battle of Siffin at 110,000 people, whilst others have quoted a figure of 70,000. Twenty-five of those who fought alongside Imam Ali (s) at the battle of Badr attained martyrdom during the battle fought at Siffin.

outfit they were to confront¹. Nevertheless, the Imam considered it his duty to rise up and sacrifice his blood in order for him to reform the people and to haul down the banner of Yazid. And indeed this he did, and an end was put to the affair. He sacrificed his own blood and that of his sons, as well as his children and everything he possessed in God's path, for the sake of Islam. Now, is our blood more precious than the blood of the Lord of the Martyrs?

Why should we be afraid of sacrificing our blood or of sacrificing our lives? That tyrannical sultan (Yazid) said that he was Muslim, but Yazid was the kind of Muslim that the Shah is—he may in fact have been somewhat better than the Shah, but he was certainly no worse than he. However, because he treated the people so badly, because he was a tyrannous, cruel man who wanted to mislead the people by forcing them to obey him, the Lord of the Martyrs deemed it necessary to confront this cruel sultan even if it meant losing his life. This is the line of action that was taken by the prophets. If a cruel, unjust sultan wished to rule over the people the prophets would stand up against him and would do as they saw fit with him. Now, we too must confront him (the Shah) with whatever it takes. We must forbid him to do evil and enjoin him to do good, and we are to pull him down from this redundant throne. Hence, we are not concerned about sacrificing our lives; let us sacrifice them. This is clearly something which we must do.

We want to free a people; we want to free a nation; we want to make a nation independent; we want to break loose from the fetters of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, and naturally this will mean that self-sacrifices have to be made. It will mean that our youth are to lose their lives, that we will be imprisoned for something like ten years. These things will have to happen. All kinds of sacrifices will have to be made. But we are in no way upset by the fact that we are to go to prison, or that our youngsters are to sacrifice their lives, since these things are to happen for the sake of truth, for the sake of God.

When something is to be done for the sake of God and for the sake of fighting oppression, then what is there for us to worry about? The fact that we are working for the sake of God and that our youngsters are making self-sacrifices for His sake is no cause at all for worry or grief. Be sure not to allow this fear to enter your hearts in any way. Be sure not to pay attention to those evil whisperings which ask: What on earth can we possibly do about the situation? What will the eventual outcome be? And so on. Or to those words

¹ Between 22-30,000 combatants are reported to have participated in the fight against Imam Husayn (s), whereas those who fought alongside the Imam numbered no more than 150 people. Refer to *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 45, p. 4.

uttered by certain of the devil's accomplices to us clergymen and to you the people. Be sure to stand firm and not to allow any kind of fear to enter your hearts for, God willing, you shall be the victors. Whether we are killed or whether we kill others, Truth is on our side. Even if we are killed, we will have been killed in the fight for Truth, and this constitutes victory. And again, if we kill others, this too will have been in the fight for Truth, and therefore also constitutes victory.

We in no way fear these things. They can attack to their hearts' content, but they will eventually bite the dust and be destroyed. And let these powerful nations declare their support for him (the Shah) as much as they like, let anyone who so desires go ahead and do this, for an entire nation is now standing up in confrontation, and is saying 'no.' No cannons or tanks can be effective before the 'no' of a nation, as we have seen since martial law has been implemented. Martial law is in force right now in Qum, but yesterday saw the holding of many demonstrations there yet again, and it is said that further demonstrations have been held there today also. People no longer pay any attention to this martial law of theirs. Truth can no longer be put to silence at bayonet point. This is just not possible any more.

I beseech the Lord to protect you all, and to enable us all to serve this nation and to serve Islam. God willing, may He grant us success in carrying out our bounden duty (the audience chants a *salawat*).

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-Six

Date: October 26, 1978 (AD) / Aban 4, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 23, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The prime culprit behind all of the crimes in Iran is the Shah himself

Occasion: The Shah's birthday

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Every year on October 26 (Aban 4)—the day which marks the birthday of the Iranian dictator—ceremonies which cost millions of tumans to organise, and which received wide and spectacular publicity, would be held in government offices and organisations. In the cities, boroughs and villages members of the police and the gendarmerie would force merchants and shopkeepers to hang both a picture of the Shah and the national flag over their shop entrances. On October 26 of 1978 however (Aban 4, 1357 AHS), there was no sign of these practices being observed. Instead, this particular day saw a great number of the youth in Tehran donning black clothes as part of a co-ordinated plan to express the loathing and aversion they felt towards the Shah's regime. Again, dressed in black and carrying bunches of flowers, political prisoners who had recently been released from prison went to Bihisht-i Zahra cemetery to visit the graves of those martyred in the revolution, and to pay homage to the blood they had shed; whilst certain employees of the Radio and Television Broadcasting Company also turned up for work on that day dressed in black clothing.

Also on this day, Brigadier General Nadva—the military governor of Jahrum, who had behaved with extreme ruthlessness in this city from day one of martial law being implemented—and Colonel Tasaudi—the Chief of Police, who had frequently ordered his troops to open fire on demonstrators—are both shot and killed by a brave, revolutionary soldier on duty by the name of Hasan Kherad-Asadi, following which the executor of this courageous act is unfortunately arrested.

Meanwhile, journalists report a number of people killed and others wounded during mass demonstrations in Dezful and Eqid-i Fars; and in Zanjan, a bloody demonstration takes place and most of the city's banks, government-affiliated organisations, and centres of corruption are set on fire,

no report being forthcoming as to the number of those killed or wounded during this event.

October 26, 1978 (Aban 4, 1357 AHS) also witnesses the staging of a demonstration and protest march by the students of Tehran University. Here, martial law officers open fire on the students, some of whom are hit and wounded and are then taken to hospital by fellow students.

In Isfahan meanwhile, Major General Naji, the city's military governor, gives an early command for his troops to shoot and as a result a great number of the Muslim people in Isfahan are left writhing in the agony wrought on the streets there. As on other occasions, the actual number of people killed during this event is never revealed. However, the city's hospitals make a constant plea for blood donations, and journalists' reports claim this demonstration in Isfahan to be the most bloody to have taken place since the enforcement of martial law.

Massive demonstrations held by the people in Mashhad, Qum, Abadeh, Gorgan, Ridaiyyah (Urmieh), West Shahabad (Islamabad), Bihbahan, Yazd, Ilam, Rudsar, Miyandoab and Firuzabad-i Fars all end when clashes break out between demonstrators and the Shah's hirelings, leaving a number of people dead and others injured in each of the said cities.

This day, October 26, 1978, also sees the release of a number of political prisoners, who, on their release, receive a tumultuous reception from the people of Tehran—people who are aware of the truth of the matter. Garlands of flowers are hung around the freed prisoners' necks—prisoners who were now returning to their families after having endured years of torture by the SAVAK agents in prison.

In various parts of Tehran, huge demonstrations are now in full swing and journalists' reports tell of martial law officers firing at the demonstrators whereby six people are killed and those wounded are taken to several different hospitals for treatment. In order to help the injured, people with motorbikes now ride around the city of Tehran appealing for blood to be donated, and as a result, those who wish to give blood form long queues outside each and every hospital, refusing to go away and leave the queues despite being threatened by disciplinary officers.

In the wake of the uprising of Khordad 15 (June 5), Qum was a city which had witnessed demonstrations and clashes on a daily basis as from January 7, 1978 (Dey 17, 1356 AHS), but now, on October 26, 1978 (Aban 4, 1357 AHS), even this city has assumed a particularly striking appearance for only very few people are not wearing black clothing and black flags are hanging above the entrances to shops and even homes. The idea of wearing

black had been spread via leaflets which had been prepared by a group of militant clergymen. These leaflets had then been distributed in Tehran and the provinces and had been popularly received by the people there. News of this move is now relayed to the world's major news agencies by reporters who describe it as an "unprecedented event." Meanwhile, protest marches and rallies are in evidence throughout the cities and villages of Iran including the capital, Tehran, and cries of "Death to the Shah" and "Long live Khomeini" ring out in all parts of the country.

A ceremony hailing October 26 is held in the Shah's presence, and Jafar Sharif Imami, the Prime Minister, announces: "This year, October 26 coincides with the full implementation of the policy to allow freedom of thought and speech."(!) Similarly, during an address given at the ceremony in which various issues are discussed, the Shah states: "Certain mistakes have inevitably been made. A number of sound programmes have inevitably strayed from their intended path, and organisation has been lacking in certain affairs. But this is nevertheless something which can be corrected and remedied." He then adds: "Certain mistakes have been made in the past, but the country must continue to survive. We firmly believe in freedom and support an open political climate; and indeed, freedom must prevail. As can be seen, the press now writes whatever it likes." The Shah then admits to thousands of people being held in prisons, and says: "Thousands of those who were held in prisons have been released. We have already released and shall continue to release such prisoners whenever this is possible, and this open social climate will become increasingly apparent to you as the days pass by."¹

The USA still hopes to keep the Shah in power by whatever means necessary, hence, in a message sent to the Shah to mark October 26, Carter expresses himself thus: "The present difficulties will blow over and thanks to the progressive political policy which His Royal Highness has had implemented, the nation of Iran will arise as a powerful nation. Your Royal Highness, allow me to stress once more that the USA greatly values the firm and long-standing relationship it enjoys with Iran."²

Walter Scheel, the West German President, and Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese leader, also send congratulatory messages to the Shah on his birthday. Here, the reader needs to be reminded that Hua Kuo-feng is the very person who came to Tehran as an official guest of the Shah on

¹ *Kayhan*, October 27, 1978 (Aban 5, 1357 AHS).

² *Ibid.*

September 8, 1978 (Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS), a day when thousands of people attained martyrdom at the hands of the regime's agents both in Tehran and in the provinces. Needless to say, later, following the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Mr. Hua Kuo-feng sent a message to the government of the Islamic Republic in which he made an official apology for having visited Tehran and having been a guest of the Shah during those sombre and traumatic days!

As well as Carter and Hua Kuo-feng, others who also sent congratulatory messages to the Shah included Leonid Brezhnev, the USSR's Head of State, and the leaders and presidents of Canada, Morocco, Malta, Syria, Indonesia, Holland, Bangladesh, Guinea, North Korea, South Africa, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, Senegal, Bulgaria, Mauritius, West Germany, Tunisia, Oman, Vietnam, Albania, France, and several other countries. There can be no doubt that these declarations of support for the Shah served to delay the latter's departure from Iran and to prolong the killings which he brought about in the country.

In a major speech delivered on October 26, 1978 by Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) from his place of residence in Neauphle-le-Chateau before an audience of students and Iranians resident abroad, reference is made to the Shah's crimes, to the regime's anti-Islamic propaganda campaigns, and to the tragic attack on the Friday Mosque in Kerman by mercenaries. In this speech, Imam also urges everyone, irrespective of their social class, to unite as one in order to continue in their struggle against the regime; and in declaring October 26 (the Shah's birthday) a day of mourning, he stresses: "October 26 is a day of national mourning, and is the day from whence all of the miseries suffered by the oppressed nation of Iran initially sprung. The noble and oppressed people of Iran, and those fronts which have a love of Islam and the country, are to divest the enemy of their ability to think straight, and must bring an end to their tyrannical rule as soon as possible."

Speech Number Forty-Six

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Today, on October 26 (Aban 4)¹, even Iran's own radio service has spoken of demonstrations and disturbances taking place in many of the cities in Iran; and according to reports, people in Qum, northern Tehran and certain other places have dressed in black clothing, black banners also being in evidence in some places².

There are different kinds of birthdays: one kind of birthday is something from which goodness springs, it is a source of blessings, it is something which leads to the oppressor being crushed and to the idol - and firetemples being destroyed. This is the kind of birthday which pertains to the Holy Prophet. It has been said that the fire in the temple at Pars was extinguished and that the columns of Taq-i Kasra tumbled to the ground. History has spoken of this demolition and extirpation³, but the point to bear in mind is that at that time two powerful forces were in existence: one of them comprising the oppressive rulers of the day, and the other, the fire-worshipping clerical authorities, and because of the birth of the Holy Prophet, because he had been brought into this world, these two forces were eventually

¹ On October 26 (Aban 4), the Shah's birthday, the regime would order for the cities to be lit up and shopkeepers would be forced to hang the national flag above their shop entrances. Young students would be taken to sports stadiums where they were persuaded to dance and perform physical exercises. The Shah and his family would usually attend the Amjadiyeh Stadium (today's Shahid Shirudi Stadium) on this day, and would watch the programmes performed by the boys and girls there, especially those of schoolgirls, performers of traditional sports, and students from the Police Academy, after which, for the finale, a firework display would be put on. Also each year on the Shah's birthday, government members, high-ranking military officials and other of the regime's statesmen, along with foreign ambassadors to Iran, would be granted an audience with the Shah for them to offer him their congratulations in person. Whilst all of the Iranian people had risen up in opposition to the Shah, and at the same time that they were shouting curses against him, the latter was celebrating his final birthday within his palace in Iran, in a highly-tense atmosphere!

² For details of the situation in Iran on this day, refer to the introduction to this speech (46).

³ "It has been related that on the eve of the day on which the Prophet (Muhammad (s)) was born, Kisra's colonnade shook and fourteen of its columns tumbled to the ground; the fires of the fire worshippers went out after having burned continually for one thousand years; and Saveh Lake sunk." Taken from the translation of *Tarikh-i Tabari*, vol. 2, p. 717.

destroyed. The awe-inspiring columns of Taq-i Kisra which served as a visible sign of these powerful forces came tumbling down.

“Anushirvan the Just¹” of whom some speak, is nothing but a myth! He was in fact a cruel tyrant of a man, but maybe he was called “just” in comparison to other kings, for otherwise how could he possibly be called “Anushirvan the Just?!” It was because the Holy Prophet was born into this world that these columns of oppression collapsed. That is, the roots of oppression were eradicated and the flames of dualism, polytheism and fire-worship were extinguished because the Prophet came into the world ... the foundations of both of the powerful forces which prevailed at that time were destroyed because of him. The following two basic principles then became widespread: via the Holy Prophet, monotheism grew world-wide, and, God willing, still continues to grow; and the essential purpose of prophethood was actually realised, for the real purpose of prophethood is a prophet’s mission to wipe out the roots of power held by those in authority who treat the people unfairly.

Thus, the Prophet had come to wipe out these roots of oppression, to destroy these columns of oppression which were so impressive, these palace columns which were erected through the hard toil of these poor people, through the torment suffered by these poor people, through the exploitation of these poor powerless people. And at the same time, since that which really matters is the spread of monotheism, the Prophet destroyed those places from where fire and beings other than God were worshipped, and he extinguished the fires therein.

However, quite the opposite results from the births of certain other people, and October 26 is a case in point. Of course, I must beg the Holy Prophet’s forgiveness for mentioning his birthday in conjunction with that of this despicable wretch (the Shah), but it is a case of wanting to compare light to darkness, of comparing a true human being to one who is inhuman. And it is this inauspicious birthday (of the Shah) which has led to the present state of affairs of which you are all aware. These two affairs concerning the signs of polytheism and oppression constituted the reason for the Holy Prophet’s coming and indeed both of these signs were eventually wiped out by him, but

¹ Chosroes the First, known as “Anushirvan the Just,” a king of the Sassanid dynasty (acceded to the throne in 531 AD), had all of his brothers and their male offspring killed at the onset of his reign. Within one day this man massacred the Mazdakites who are said to have numbered 80,000, whilst other of his cruel deeds included the murder of Buzurgmehr, his learned minister, whose execution he ordered. See: *Dairatul Muarif-i Zarrin*, p. 1054; and refer to: *Farhang-i Muin va Furugh-i Abdin*.

the situation with regard to them both was reversed with the birth of this person! That is to say, the birth of this person has led to a situation where both fire worshippers and the worship of fire have gained strength and have been promoted, and where the roots of oppression have become increasingly firm. And this is especially the case in our own country of Iran.

One side of the story in Iran concerns the fire worshippers who live in and around Yazd, and who have been given so much encouragement and support¹, that according to the newspapers, these American fire worshippers even wrote to the Shah thanking him and stating that no one else had hitherto supported and honoured their faith to the extent that he had. It was God's will that our people soon awoke. Even though they awoke after the event, they nevertheless awoke in time and were thus able to prevent this person from following his plans through. The American fire worshippers and the wealthy among them had intended to impose their will upon him (the Shah), or perhaps it was also a case of him being found willing, but whatever, there was more to this affair than that which I have mentioned. There was much more involved than the issues I have pointed to and indeed these issues were of a more delicate nature.

It all began when he helped to promote some of the firetemples and changed the calendar whereby time was reckoned according to Zoroastrian history rather than that of Islam. God knows that this act of betrayal by him towards Islam, and this affront to the Holy Prophet, God's peace and blessings be upon him and his descendants, constitutes a crime of much more serious proportions than that of these killings which he has brought about. If we were to balance all these killings against this one deed which involved changing the official calendar of Islam, changing the symbol of monotheism, the symbol of humanity, into these things which relate to fire worshippers, into a fire worshippers' calendar, a calendar for the Zoroastrians, then we

¹ The province of Yazd, situated in the south of Iran, is the Zoroastrians' capital (Zoroastrianism having been the religion of Iranians in the ancient past) and its fire temple, having retained its fame, is still highly regarded by Iranian Zoroastrians. By holding the two-and-a-half millennia celebrations, building up Iran's past via publicity campaigns, and promoting ancient beliefs—in particular the Zoroastrian faith and invented religions such as Bahaism—the Iranian regime intended to obliterate the religion of Islam, or at least to weaken it and place it on a par with other religious faiths. This policy was continuously promoted by broadcasting and publishing special programmes and material, and to this end, several meetings and seminars were held each year. That which was in fact promoted by the Shah however, involved much more than the Zoroastrian faith alone. Today, the Zoroastrians in Iran are officially regarded as a religious minority in the Islamic Republic. They are free to conduct Zoroastrian religious ceremonies and have their own representative in the Parliament.

would see that this crime outweighs all of the other crimes that he has committed against us. This person wanted to ruin Islam's reputation and worth; he wanted to destroy the symbol of Islam.

He has sent our oil to them, taking it and giving it away to them. And yet these are things which matter in material terms only but which nevertheless clearly constitute a crime. Giving a country's reserves away to foreigners constitutes a crime against a nation, but changing the calendar constitutes an affront to the reputation of Islam. And this is exactly what this person has done. Indeed, if it weren't for that punch which the nation gave him in the mouth thus compelling him to bring back the Islamic calendar and dispose with the Zoroastrian calendar, then this affair would have developed even further. Basically, they had intended to return things to the way they were before the Holy Prophet of Islam, to the time of those tyrannical kings, those vicious murderers; and they had intentions of behaving as the latter had done and of bringing about the same state of affairs that had existed at the time of these kings.

"Pan Iranianism"¹ "is the belief that Iran must preserve its Iranian identity! But do the ancient kings mean everything to you? Are the ancient kings all that you can claim to have had in the past? Just look at what these kings did to the people. And the same goes for that group which comprised the Magi and others like them, just look at how they treated the people of Iran"².

As for the other side of the story, this concerns how the Holy Prophet behaved towards his own people when he came and called on them to believe

¹ "Pan-Iranianism" is a political concept which advocates the unification of all Iranian peoples and races. The prefix "pan" in the English language means "all" or "the whole of" and was first placed before the name of a country, race or religion, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by newly-formed political movements in Europe, and later in Asia and Africa. These movements had done this to signify their demand for national and political unity amongst those of the same race, tongue, nationality, or religion. Hence, strictly speaking, "pan-Iranianism" means the unification of Iran under one flag. "Pan-Iranianism," "pan-Arabism" and "pan-Turkism" however, in fact meant nothing other than to create separation between the Muslims or to work towards creating this.

² During the reign of the Sassanids, that land which lay idle and one-tenth of the produce it yielded was given over to the Zoroastrian priests. Mobadan-Mobad, the country's chief religious leader, ruled over a certain powerful and influential priestly caste which was called the Magi, and whose members inherited their social position. These people ruled over the spiritual life of the Iranians at that time. For four centuries they influenced Iranian thinking. The Magis were so wealthy that the Shah would sometimes loan money from their priestly treasury. When judging someone's innocence or guilt they would ask the accused to prove his innocence either by walking over fire, by placing his feet into a vessel of molten metal, or by eating poisoned food. Refer to: *Tamaddun-i Iran-i Sasani*, p. 112; and to R. N. Frye's book: *The Heritage of Persia*.

in monotheism, and even how he behaved towards those infidels who paid tribute to the Islamic state, those people who were against religion. Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), peace and blessings be upon him, once said that he had heard of an army of soldiers—apparently they had been Mu‘awiyah’s soldiers—arriving at a certain place and of them stealing, amongst other things, an anklet from the foot of a non-Muslim (*dhimmi*), from the foot of a woman who was either Jewish or Christian. Accounts describe how Hadrat Amir then said: “Even if one died of grief because of this incident, this would not be an overreaction¹.”

This is the kind of person he was. This is the kind of ruler we seek. We seek the kind of regime whose ruler, whose king—indeed, it is impertinent of me to call Hadrat Amir “king”—whose ruler, whose leader, is like he who governed over a range of countries including the Hijaz, Iran, Egypt and so on; like he who showed concern for all of his subjects, including the person who was not of his own faith. On the very day that they swore allegiance to Hadrat Amir, accepting him as their sultan as it were, as their imam and caliph, once homage had been paid to him, he took up his pick and went to work, for he was someone who used to get things done himself, through his own toil. But why should he have done this—why did he dig the soil? Once he had in fact dug a well, someone came to him to congratulate him after which he replied: “It is the succeeding generations that you should congratulate.” He then asked that the indigent be brought to him and he endowed the place in question to them².

Yes, we seek a ruler like Hadrat Amir, who would sit and reckon the accounts of the public treasury in the light emitted from one lamp, from one paraffin lamp or oil lamp or whatever kind of lamp they used at that time. In fact, on one occasion Hadrat Amir was busy making such calculations when somebody called on him to discuss something which bore no relation to the

¹ Referring to the attack of Sufyan ibn ‘Awf on the city of Anbar that took place at the time of Imam Ali’s rule. One of the soldiers stopped two women, one a Muslim and the other a *dhimmi* and robbed them of their anklets, bracelets and earrings.

² It has been narrated in a tradition from Imam Sadiq that when apportioning the spoils obtained from those foreign lands which succumbed to Islam without partaking in battle, the Prophet gave Ali ibn Ali Talib a piece of land. On this land the Imam dug a well from which water gushed forth like blood from a camel’s neck. He called this well Yenbu’. When someone congratulated him on owning such a well, Imam replied: “Congratulate those who will inherit it.” Then he said: “This well is to be given over to charitable use, to be placed at the disposal of the pilgrims of God’s house and to those who pass by here, it should never be sold nor given as a gift or as inheritance. The curse of God and His angels be upon he who would sell it or give it away as a gift.” *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 41, p. 39.

work in which the Hadrat was engaged at that moment. Imam Ali therefore turned out the light saying: “Until this moment I was reckoning the accounts of the public treasury. This light is public property and I was using it to enable me to do work which relates to the people’s property, but now that you wish to speak to me about something else, something which bears no relation to the public treasury, why should we continue to use the people’s lamp¹? Of course no one can behave as Hadrat Amir did, no one in the world is capable of this, but the least we ask is that our ruler be someone who is not a thief! Now we have reached the stage where we will be content to have a ruler who at least does not steal to such an extent, a ruler who will not plunder the wealth of these people so, or oppress them in this way.

As I previously explained, the birth of the Most Noble Messenger, peace and blessings be upon him, led to the fires in the firetemples being extinguished, but on the contrary, besides his (the Shah’s) intention to relight the fires in such temples—firetemples which had once given occasion to oppression—according to what they say, he has actually given his approval and support to some of the firetemples which are located around Yazd. Furthermore, he changed the calendar and he had intended to continue with this line of action, putting such plans into effect one by one that is, of course, until the nation came to the rescue and caused the columns of Kisra’s Palace to tumble to the ground, although true enough, oppression is yet to be put down in this way.

Do you now see what he did to this nation? Do you see how he has oppressed and continues to oppress this nation? Yet even at this late hour, now that his number is up and his efforts are in vain, he has come up with certain ideas! From what they say, the regime has sent a certain group of people to Kerman, people who are supposedly *kolis*, people whom they call “vagrants”—now whether the regime paid these people to go there or not I don’t know—but it is similar to what happened in the year when Faydiyah Madrasah was stormed.

On that occasion I was present, I was in Qum when those SAVAK agents and those commandos posing as “peasants” charged into Faydiyah Madrasah, setting fire to the Quran, setting fire to turbans, flinging people to their deaths from the roof. And all this was supposedly done because the peasants no longer favoured the *akhund*²! It was claimed that these peasants no longer

¹ Refer to: *The Virtues of the Son of Talib, the Son of Ashub*, vol. 2 (in: *Al musabiqeh bil ‘Adl wal Maneh*)

² On March 22, 1963 (Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS), the Shah’s regime dispatched officers dressed as peasants to Faydiyah Madrasah in order to quash the Islamic movement. The hair of the

desired to follow the Quran, that they did not want the *akhund*! But is this really the case? Whenever the peasant is questioned as to what he desires, he replies that he desires both the Quran and Islam. Those commandos and the others who you (the Shah) trained in order to crush Islam, are they really our peasants?! Yes indeed, I was present to witness events and to see what they (the regime) did on that occasion. They even came to my home at that time, but the harsh reaction I showed towards them prevented them from fulfilling their intentions.

The whole incident at Faydiyah began during a gathering there. Certain speakers wished to speak at this gathering, and I had either already spoken or was due to speak when someone told me, and indeed I myself witnessed, that an uncalled for *salawat* had been chanted. I then instructed a friend to announce that should anyone attempt to cause trouble at the gathering, then I would ascend the pulpit in the courtyard of the holy shrine of Hadrat Masuma (s) and would speak out to the people there. Those agents present were not the sort of people to persist with such behaviour knowing that it would bring about such consequences; and since they were at a loss as to what they should do, they left the gathering¹.

It was on that same day that they poured into Faydiyah Madrasa and went wild; it was on that very same afternoon that they committed those outrages

members of the armed forces however, was styled like that of German soldiers, which gave away their true identity! These undercover servicemen continually recited *salawat* during the delivery of a speech until they succeeded in totally disrupting the meeting and fighting broke out. At this moment, other servicemen who were lying in wait nearby also joined in. The Prime Minister, Amir Asadullah 'Alam in a subsequent interview maintained that the skirmish was in fact between those clergymen who opposed "land reform" and some peasants who were visiting Qum on a pilgrimage and that during this encounter a peasant had been killed by the religious students! Refer to *Nihdat-i Ruhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 3, p. 265; and see the *Ittilaat* newspaper of March 26, 1963 (Farvardin 6, 1342 AHS).

¹ On the morning of March 22, 1963 (Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS), a meeting attended by a group of people, *ulama*, and clergymen was held in the home of Imam Khomeini to commemorate the demise of Imam Sadiq. Once the preacher had ascended the pulpit, agents of the regime who were sitting amongst the crowd, began to repeatedly chant uncalled-for benedictions (*salawat*) so as to disrupt the gathering. Imam Khomeini, who was immediately informed of this, then instructed Hujjat al-Islam Sadiq Khalkhali to announce the following to those present: "Attention! Hadrat Ayatullah (Imam Khomeini) wishes to tell those who have been sent to this gathering in order to break it up, that he gives them final warning that should they once more consider behaving badly thus creating a turmoil and causing the meeting to be disrupted by preventing the preachers from delivering their speeches, then without delay he will go to the holy shrine of Hadrat Fatimah Masumah (s) and will personally let the people there hear certain things which he feels they should know about."

in Faydiyah Madrasa¹. On that particular day it was in the guise of peasants that they ran riot and behaved so disgracefully and now they have started to claim that it is the *kolis* who are doing whatever². The regime's agents poured into the city of Kerman in the guise of *kolis*, and they have done the same elsewhere, in other cities, cities such as Hamadan where the people were so savagely attacked. It is said that the same has also happened in Zanzan. As for Qum, disturbances, shootings and killings have been going on for the past two or three days now, and the city has been in a state of unrest as have some parts of Tehran. Even today, I listened to a number of reports broadcast over Iranian radio which named many different places where there is unrest and so on.

And so there we have the people's celebration for October 26, the day which commemorates his birthday! Black is being worn today. Yes, the radio mentioned one or two places—I think it was Maragheh or somewhere—where this and that had happened, and then the radio continued to give some account or other of events there. As for who did what, I don't know how valid their accounts are or who was actually involved in these events, but having said that, the fact remains that many cities have been quoted over the radio even though the truth is without doubt something other than that which they have been reporting. There is certainly more to it than this, and news of what actually occurred during these events will no doubt reach you later.

Whilst two important events came to pass because of the Most Noble Messenger's birth, those being: the end brought to polytheistic and fire-worshipping tendencies, and the collapse of the columns of oppression, now his (the Shah's) birth has in fact served to rekindle fire-worshipping! If he had been given the chance he would have revived the principles of fire-

¹ Refer to the introduction to Speech 9 in Volume 1 of this anthology.

² On October 16, 1978 (Mehr 24, 1357 AHS), the people of Kerman had gathered in the Friday Mosque to hold a ceremony in commemoration of the fortieth day following the death of those martyred on September 8 (Shahrivar 17), when suddenly, SAVAK agents and the police along with a group of *kolis* (for an explanation of this word see footnote 19 of Speech 42) who were carrying nailed clubs and other lethal weapons, charged at the people whilst members of the disciplinary force threw tear-gas canisters into the mosque. The *kolis*, nailed clubs in hand, savagely beat the people about their heads and bodies. Some people were knocked to the ground by clubs, some were seriously injured, and copies of the Quran were torn up. Following this, certain shops were attacked and looted by the *kolis*. Those who had been beaten and injured, having dragged themselves away from the awesome scene inside the mosque, were then shot and killed outside by the regime's mercenaries. This tragedy at the Friday Mosque in Kerman was amongst the most harrowing of events to have occurred throughout the revolution, and was one of the most monstrous crimes to have been committed by the brutal regime and the criminal Pahlavi.

worshipping, for we already saw how he had changed the calendar, and had erected those towers of besetting oppression.

It is such towers of oppression which give rise to these holocausts of fire. What exactly had those poor people who had gone to the cinema¹ done to warrant the Chief of Police going and closing the doors (whilst the cinema was ablaze) and refusing to allow the people to open them? Of course it must be said that the cinema in Iran is not really a place which one should frequent. This is one of the tragedies in Iran, that the cinemas there serve to corrupt and ruin our youth. In spite of this fact certain people had indeed gone to the cinema on this occasion, but even so, why should they have been treated in this way? Evidently certain incendiary devices had been planted there with the intention of creating a fire, of burning those poor people alive, of turning them into ashes. And the whole purpose was to make others out to be terrorists! Surely though, there was no need to go so far as to commit such a terrorist act yourselves and then to place the blame on other supposed terrorists. But then these are the kind of people they are.

This is the kind of regime the Iranian people have to put up with. They (the regime) committed that shameful act in Kerman, storming the mosque there, suffocating a group of those present by means of certain gases, killing another group comprising men and women, adults and children, setting fire to everything in the mosque, in the people's place of worship; and then they invaded the bazaar, looting it and setting it ablaze. Yet now, after all that,

¹ An allusion to the Rex Cinema tragedy in Abadan which occurred on August 19, 1978 (Mordad 28, 1357 AHS). This outrage which had been planned in advance, involved the horrendous immolation of over four hundred people. Following the tragedy, the regime immediately announced that various groups had been involved in the perpetration of this crime (see the *Ittilaat* newspaper for August 22, 1978 (Mordad 31, 1357 AHS)). Several factors however, point to the regime itself as the perpetrator of this horrendous crime, such as the fact that the doors of the cinema had been locked whilst the fire inside was blazing; the fact that the fire brigade had been very late in arriving at the scene of the fire; and the fact that the judicial body had delayed its enquiry into the tragedy and was also late in publicising its concluding report. Two days prior to this tragic event the Shah, in addressing the people, had said: "I didn't think that the price we are to pay for freedom would be so great!" And again, during the same interview, he had wanted to make the people fear the clergy and the outcome of the struggle when he said: "We have promised the people a great civilisation, whilst the enemy has promised them a great terror." In retrospect, it is clear that by saying these things the Shah had been warning of the horrendous event to come. Some days after the tragedy, the regime announced the arrest of one of the perpetrators of the crime who had fled to Iraq. The judicial body carrying out the investigation into the tragedy however, failed to publish a report in this regard. Extensive investigations conducted after the victory of the revolution, have since provided information which proves conclusively that the regime had indeed planned this act in advance in order to make the revolutionaries the subject of popular revulsion.

they say that they intend to send some people to discover who actually committed such a deed! But who does he intend to send to make enquiries? Does he mean to send the same people that he sent to discover who had caused the incident in Abadan (i.e. the Rex Cinema tragedy)?! Does “His Imperial Majesty” wish to punish the ruthless brutes who committed this act? He himself is that person! It is he who is the source of all the tyranny and misery suffered by the people.

If the people of Iran do not make a move and put an end to this soon, then there are many things which he intends to do. This nation must be rescued. Everyone, wherever they may be, must help these people, otherwise this man will destroy the very fabric of society. Now, having behaved so disgracefully in Kerman and having laid the blame on the *kolis* or whoever—no one being more of a *koli* than he (the Shah) himself—yes, now he has sent people to conduct a so-called public enquiry into who carried out such an act, who committed such an atrocious deed! But sir, the nation can no longer believe these things that you say.

From the very beginning of events in Abadan, the people of that city took to the streets of their own volition for they realised that they (the regime) were the ones who were responsible for this crime. They realised this because it was evident that if someone or some trouble-maker had wanted to carry out this deed in such a smooth manner, if he had wanted to create a fire with such skill, to plant incendiary substances so effectively and then to close the cinema doors thus preventing anyone from leaving the cinema ... there is no way that he could have achieved this. And this is why people began to make their voices heard (in protest), and why now, whenever such incidents occur, the people themselves are aware of who is to blame.

Again, anti-regime protests were widely held when the people went to visit the cemetery¹. And this is how things now are in Kerman; how they are in Hamadan; how they are in Zanjan. Now he (the Shah) has recently made the decision to silence the people in this way. The people all know that these acts of oppression are all performed on his orders. There is no way that a member of the police would set people on fire unless he had been given leave to do so by him (the Shah). Do you really think they would dare to kill someone without his permission?—without his instructions, without his strict instructions?

¹ Following the Rex Cinema tragedy, everywhere in the city of Abadan was closed down and mourners in various processions chanted anti-regime slogans throughout the burial ceremonies of those who had been burned to death.

On Khordad 15 (June 5), he himself was in command. From what they say he commanded the forces himself¹. He who is in command in all of these different places is this very man. This man's birth has been the source of all the sufferings of the people of Iran. May God remove this source of oppression (the audience cries Amen), may He cast this black flag to the ground (the audience cries Amen); and soon so He shall, God willing. This is something which is about to take place. This kind of frantic action that we now see is that of an animal whose head has been severed and who now wants to make a last desperate struggle.

Be that as it may, we are all duty-bound, all of us. Those of us here all have a duty to perform. Each one of you, if possible, must pass on written material about Iran to the newspapers here, to the journals here, to your fellow students and to the universities here. Pass on information about the situation in Iran. Tell the people about Iran. Even now there may still be certain people who are not aware of what is really going on.

Is America right in saying that the people are upset because they have been given freedom, because they have been given too much freedom too quickly? Have the Iranian people got indigestion because of the freedom that has been given to them?! Has the nation raised its voice because it has been given too much freedom?! Indeed, this is how Mr. Carter sees it! And the newspapers—either *Kayhan* or *Ittilaat*—have quoted him as saying that a quick democracy has been brought about, a sudden new-found freedom has been given, and that this is why the people are now opposing him (the Shah)!

¹ It is said that on Khordad 15 and 16, 1342 (June 5 and 6, 1963), the Shah had given his military commanders the permission to “shoot as they saw fit,” and he had stressed that soldiers were not to waste their bullets, nor to fire into the air, but instead, they were ordered to target the upper-part of the body when firing. Furthermore, it is also said that on Khordad 15 the Shah actually flew above the city of Tehran in a helicopter from where he personally took it upon himself to command the operations in progress. In his memoirs (p. 51), General Fardust writes: “On the morning of Khordad 15, 1342 ... (Pakravan) spoke with Muhammad-Rida (Shah) over the telephone, and the latter gave orders for Oveissi to assume responsibility for the operation to exterminate and suppress the people who had risen up in revolt and for him to maintain direct and frequent contact with the Shah in this regard ... At twelve noon on that same day, Oveissi telephoned me and said: ‘I have been put in a helpless situation! I don’t even have one military company fully under my command; and should a group of demonstrators attack me or my company, then they will all be destroyed outright!’ I must add that up until midday of Khordad 15, both Muhammad-Rida, the Americans and the British, had perceived the demonstrations as a grandiose, well-thought-out plan to topple the Shah and thus they were extremely nervous about the whole affair. It is also interesting to note that at that time there was an American adviser who worked in Headquarters No. 3, as a member of SAVAK, and who was the most intelligent and pre-eminent person within America’s advisory body there.”

Is this really the case? Is it that he has granted freedom, and because of this the people still cry out: “We want freedom, we want freedom?!” Are they crying out because of the independence and the “great civilisation” that they enjoy?!

Again only today, this man (the Shah) was talking about how everyone could see for themselves how much freedom there is in Iran; how everyone could see the freedom he had granted to this nation. Only today, October 26, did he say these things¹. I really can't figure out what makes these people tick! I am astonished! God knows there is indeed call to be astonished, firstly, at the kind of people they are ... and secondly, at the fear that has arisen amongst the Muslim people that, as the Shah puts it: “If it weren't for me the communists would take over.”² The world would in fact come to an end! Without him (the Shah) there is no Iran! Indeed, Iran is Muhammad-Rida! Without him Iran would no longer exist! Thus, he argues that we Iranians wish to live in our own country, we wish to resolve our differences or whatever in our own country; but he says that if he were not there then there would no longer be an Iran!

Those young people who shout slogans such as these³, slogans which are false and groundless, those people are presently assisting the regime. On the one hand they are assisting it by trying to make a group of people afraid of a possible communist takeover should the Shah leave—although in fact these kinds of remarks no longer frighten the people—and on the other hand, these

¹ In a short speech delivered on October 26, 1978 (Aban 4, 1357 AHS), the Shah said: “Certain mistakes have been made in the past, but the country must survive. We firmly believe in freedom and support an open political climate, and indeed, freedom must prevail. As can be seen, the press now writes whatever it likes. We believe that the judiciary should have as much legal power as is the norm amongst the world community. You are to do your utmost to ensure that those who have committed offences in the past are handed over to the courts where they can be dealt with. Indeed, we intend to follow this matter up.”

² The Shah and his agents called the revolutionary people of Iran communists! During an interview to mark Mordad 28 (August 19), in reply to a question as to whether a bunch of hooligans and the Islamic Marxists group had been responsible for recent events, the Shah said: “Without question! Islamic Marxists are undoubtedly to blame”! Eight days after the bloody event of September 8, Sharif Imami announced that: “Undeniable facts and incontestable circumstantial evidence testify to the fact that the Marxists were the central cause of the violence”. Moreover, Dr. ‘Ameli, the regime's Minister for Information and Tourism said: “We are in no doubt that a communist campaign is directing this movement, since the slogans used and procedure followed by those concerned are communist.” See also footnote 18 of Speech 41.

³ A reference to the leftist and erroneous slogans chanted by the communists, slogans which caused the people to become undecided and which served to underline the warnings and threats made by the Shah with regard to the communists.

very differences of opinion which exist between us and between the young people themselves, this dichotomy which is to be found amongst the young people, serves to assist this regime whereby those of you who are under the impression that you are helping to bring the Shah down, are in fact, paradoxically strengthening the bases of his oppression.

I regret the fact that these youngsters are assisting the regime in this way without even being aware of what they are doing. Those who ask you to chant these slogans are those who are actually allied to this very regime. These communists who belong to the officially recognised Tudeh Party, these leading communist figures, in actual fact serve his (the Shah's) regime¹ and our children, our youngsters, will have been taken in if they go along with their game. The light of Islam still lies within these youngsters but they have been deceived. They ought to break away from these criminals, from those who urge them to join their outfit. These people in fact want to save the Shah and you are unaware of this. It makes no difference whether they are inside the country or abroad.

Propaganda is being disseminated under various pretexts in order to save this person (the Shah). Whatever means possible are being resorted to so that this person can remain, and this affair (concerning the supposed threat of communism) is one such means. Wake up. These youngsters of ours are to pay close attention to what is currently going on for events which are now unfolding are crucial. If what they say is true and one and a half thousand students have staged a pro-communist demonstration, then this itself is a sign of the defeat of communism in Iran. The very fact that a mere one and a half thousand people are standing in confrontation against a population of thirty million, all of whom have risen the banner (of Islam) and are crying out for the Quran, is itself proof that these (communists) have suffered a defeat in Iran.

Hence, it is not the case that the communists would take over should he (the Shah) leave. If he should leave, not even a single communist would be found in Iran, for even if we suppose that instead of one and a half thousand

¹ "The danger of communism" was the refrain which was constantly repeated in the Shah's propaganda campaign, although the regime was well aware that the members of the official communist party of Iran did not in fact pose any threat. For example, people like Jafariyan, Parviz Nikkhah, Hushang Nahavandi, and Muhammad Baheri were self-proclaimed and official members of the Tudeh (communist) Party, who, in order to serve the Shah's American regime, had been given posts in some of the country's key organisations such as the Radio and Television Broadcasting Centre; the Centre for the Intellectual Development of Infants and Children; and in press and film agencies. Indeed, even the Rastakhiz Party was run by a number of these so-called "Marxists."

people, five thousand people are now standing in confrontation against the rest of the population, these youngsters of ours in Qum alone could easily deal with them. There would be no need for those in Tehran to assist in any way, for our youngsters in Qum alone could put paid to these communists. What on earth are the communists capable of doing? They have tricked you. Everything that they say is mere rhetoric. They wish to use you to the Shah's advantage. They have now exploited you; they have made fools of you.

Do not listen to what they have to say. Unite and cry out with one voice. Join the Muslims in their cries. If you were to cry out in unison, then it would be all over for him (the Shah). Do not sow discord. A house divided against itself cannot stand. Today, the presence of differences means suicide for the Muslims. Everyone must unite. Everyone must cry out in unison. Everyone must cry out for the same thing, they must all cry: "Death to this Shah and to this monarchy; death to those who support him, such as Carter and others like him." This is what we are crying out and this is what will make the people succeed. Do not be afraid of these things that they say and all this commotion that they make. Can a nation which has risen up to make a legitimate claim carry on living under oppression?

We all saw for ourselves how the martial law governments were unable to do anything about the situation. In Qum for example, isn't martial law still in force there? Yet for the past three or four days now, anti-regime slogans have rung out in the city. Clashes have broken out there. Unrest prevails. And what about the situation in Tehran, is that any different? No indeed, the situation there is the same as in Qum.

I beseech God, the Blessed and Exalted, to grant good health to all of those brethren both inside the country and abroad, who are making sacrifices for the sake of Islam. May the Lord grant you all success. May He grant you all good health. Everyone must make an effort to assist this nation which has now risen up and is shedding its blood. Everyone must cooperate with this nation so that, God willing, it may succeed. Right now, in order for you who are abroad to cooperate, you must propagate the nation's message. The people there in Iran are having to deal with commandos and those so-called "*kolis*"—who are in fact commandos also—and they are presently having to shed their blood, whereas those of you who are here, abroad, must help your fellow countryman in whatever way possible by means of propagation (those present chant a *salawat*).

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-Seven

Date: October 28, 1978 (AD) / Aban 6, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 25, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The politico-devotional dimensions of Islam and the characteristics of Islamic government

Occasion: The malicious propaganda spread by the Shah's supporters and the attempts to make the people wary of Islamic government

Those present: A group of students and Iranians resident abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

On October 28, 1978 (Aban 6, 1357 AHS), the statement issued by Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) on October 26 (Aban 4) with regard to the tragic events in Kerman and other Iranian cities reached Tehran from Paris and was duplicated in vast numbers. In addition to being circulated by hand amongst the people, this statement was also posted onto doors and walls throughout the cities' streets and alleys. Taking past experience into account, and being aware of the nature of past events, Imam Khomeini states in a message:

"I am deeply concerned about the current situation in Iran. I am worried that the severe pressure bearing down on the Shah and his comrades spurred on these insane attacks of theirs and caused the Iranian people to suffer even greater loss and pain than they did on previous occasions. The mass murder in Kerman; setting fire to the Muslims' place of worship; the murders committed inside the mosque; the burning and looting of shops in the bazaar; and subsequently, the merciless killings in Hamadan and certain other provinces, all point to this. These are the kinds of atrocities which are to be expected from those who have lost all hope of continuing with their crimes, those who are in despair with regard to the continued survival of their oppressive system of rule, and for whom the sands of life are running out."

In another part of his message, Imam Khomeini alerts the people by saying:

"... The Shah has recently been involved in yet another form of betrayal; according to information received, he has transferred the crown jewels abroad, jewels which belong to the nation, and he has sold institutions and property which were purchased with the people's money and again has transferred the money so obtained abroad. His relatives are likewise busy plundering the nation's wealth and transferring it abroad. The nation must

not give this fleeing outlaw any kind of a chance. Strikes, demonstrations and both active and passive forms of protest must continue. To consider the issues of accepting peace, being content with the newly-granted “freedom,” and abiding by the constitutional law, which are issues quietly discussed amongst certain groups, is to take pity on a rapacious panther and to betray the country and Islam. Allowing the regime to survive once the Shah has departed, is like killing a venomous serpent and then fostering its young.”

Also in this statement, the Leader of the Revolution asked the people not to have any reservation about sacrificing and devoting their lives and wealth in the path of God and Islam, since this was the line of action followed by the Most Noble Prophet and his heirs and apostles.

Now that the countries of America, Britain and the Soviet Union have voiced their support for the Shah’s policies in their congratulatory messages to him, and because the media at the regime’s disposal (radio, television and even the press) has printed the texts of these messages, some short-sighted people now believe that the Shah’s position has been strengthened by the backing it has received from these three powerful governments. However, in the second paragraph of this important statement made by him, Imam refers to this matter and stresses: “Do not be frightened by the remarks made by the governments of America, Britain and the Soviet Union in support of the Shah—remarks which were made to preserve their own interests—for no power can extinguish the fire burning in the hearts of that oppressed nation which has risen up to achieve freedom and independence. Our people will not tolerate the Shah and his treacherous deeds and the loss suffered by those supporting the Shah will be greater than the benefits they hope to gain from him. We are fighting for our rights. Truth is on our side, and God is on our side, and His support is mightier than the power of the superpowers.”

Imam Khomeini addresses another part of his message to the army. According to journalists’ reports, a number of the Muslim and militant youth at that time, by employing various tactics and making use of certain airforce personnel who by then had allied with the people, distribute copies of Imam’s statement throughout the army bases, and having discovered the addresses of the high-ranking military commanders, they then post the said copies to these very addresses. This action terrifies the leading figures of the regime.

In spite of the government’s written guarantee to grant freedom to the press, a guarantee which carried the signatures of Jafar Sharif Imami, the Prime Minister, Manuchehr Azmun, the Minister of State for Administrative Affairs, and Dr. ‘Amili Tehrani, the Minister of Information and Tourism,

the leading figures within the martial law government threatened the press editorial board, stating: "Should you print that part of the speech which pertains to the army, then we shall bombard the building which houses the press offices." The initiative shown by the people in reproducing the said statement which became known as "the xeroxed newspaper," prevented the government from achieving its aim. In one part of his message, Imam addresses those in the army and says: "Iran is your country, and the people of Iran, your people. Unite with the people. You, more than others, are responsible before Almighty God, the people and future generations. Be brave, all of you, and break the shackles of captivity..."

It was following the issuance of this sensational statement that many soldiers fled their barracks, and that during demonstrations many others fired at and killed their own military commanders instead of the people¹. Thus, this rousing statement which had in fact been published in connection with the Kerman Mosque tragedy, caused a stir nationwide.

Imam Khomeini not only delivered messages and statements, but every day he would give interviews and hold meetings in which he would elucidate the aims of the struggle and would expose and offset any plots hatched by the regime and those small groups which had deviated from the movement's Islamic course. The three consecutive speeches which were delivered by Imam on October 30, 1978 (Aban 8, 1357 AHS), indicate just how sensitive the situation had become and how paramount Imam's role as leader was. In the present speech (47), the Leader of the Revolution describes the various aspects of Islamic government and refers to documented historical facts to underline the comprehensiveness of the religion of Islam and its ability to administer society.

In the speech delivered on October 28, 1978 (Aban 6, 1357 AHS), before an audience of students and Iranians resident abroad, Imam Khomeini tells of how dozens of people had been killed and injured during anti-regime demonstrations in Qum, Kabudar Ahang, Isfahan, Dezful, Burujird, Shahrda and Eqlid-i Fars. At the same time, journalists' reports point to the wounding of a great number of people during demonstrations and shootings in Tehran.

Now that the employees at Melli Bank have protested against the killing of people and have engaged in strike action, all of the different branches of this bank are now closed down without exception. Tehran University, Melli University and most of the high schools are closed or partially closed. Those conducting the regime's affairs managed to organise a pro-government

¹ Such as the revolutionary executions of the commander of the military forces in Jahrum and the Chief of Police in that city by a self-sacrificing soldier.

demonstration in West Shahabad (today's Islamabad) by hiring a number of mercenaries and receiving the backing of the police officials in that city. During this demonstration three people were seriously injured and the regime's hirelings set fire to several cars, to the sign-board above the entrance to the Owliya Mosque, and to the books found within the mosque. Their intention had been to bring about a repetition of the tragedy which occurred in the Friday Mosque in Kerman, but the resistance shown by the people prevented this from happening. Similar attempts were also made by the regime in Rudsar and Semnan, but again, due to the people's vigilance these attempts led to nothing but embarrassment for those who were running the regime.

During Bazargan's stay in Paris, the "National Front" announced that it had taken part in a discussion of the sensitive issues now facing that city. Journalists reported that during the past week Bazargan had met and held talks with Imam Khomeini on three different occasions.

The night before this speech (47) was delivered, Imam Khomeini, during an interview with French television, had spoken of the situation in Iran and the aims of the Islamic Revolution. He had also predicted fundamental changes on the horizon and had stated: "The present situation cannot last much longer."

Speech Number Forty-Seven

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... for all of those dimensions which pertain to the human being. The human being does not solely comprise this outer, apparent being which eats, drinks and performs those other functions which animals also perform. This is not the extent of his being; differences exist between him and other animals. Other creatures also live an animal existence in this material world to the extent of that seen to be lived by the human being. Other living beings, whatever exists in this material world, whatever lives an animal existence, exists on a material plane as does the human being, and the same applies to the living matter which lives the life of a plant, an existence which is on a lower plane than that of the human being.

Amongst all the living creatures which exist in the natural world, the human being possesses certain properties not possessed by other creatures. An inner faculty, an intellectual faculty, a faculty even more superior than that of the intellect is innate in the human being. From birth it is in man's instinct to transcend this material world to that world which lies beyond our comprehension, and each of the stages to be passed on this journey require guidance and instruction. Just as there are relevant instructions and guidelines to deal with the material life of this world, so too there are further instructions which pertain to other stages of being, some of which man is able to grasp and others—which form the majority—of which are beyond man's comprehension. God, the Blessed and the Most High, is He who is all-knowing.

The mission of the prophets is to develop, promote and give instruction on those stages of man's existence of which man himself is unaware, stages which others, the materialists, are incapable of understanding and concerning which they cannot therefore instruct man, those stages of man's being of which mankind itself is oblivious. And such instruction is necessary, for without knowledge of the malady and the remedy, there can be no cure.

The ultimate level of understanding which can be attained by any of the materialists, irrespective of the actual level they may indeed reach, is confined to that which they grasp of the features of this material world. But there is both a mundane world and a supramundane world, both of which enjoy a similar existence, although in reality the latter exists on a much higher

plane than the former. Now, we are in fact asleep and cannot perceive that (metaphysical) world with our natural eyesight. But because man is capable of being trained and so can discover those spheres of existence which lie beyond the material realm, and because there is no one who can offer mankind the necessary training and instruction, God, the Blessed and Exalted has appointed the prophets to come and instruct man so that he may reach those metaphysical stages, so that whatever possesses potential may realise that potential, and so that instruction given may be divine instruction.

Those of you gentlemen who either reside outside Iran or are living inside the country, you young people of whom we are truly fond and whom we look upon as our own children, you who have entered a new stage in your lives, be you abroad or within Iran, you can now only see the visible exterior of this world and the actions you now take are taken in accordance with this vision. What I mean to say is that you are aware only of that material realm and of those things which pertain to it such as these acts of revolt which are now taking place. Although these acts of revolt are divinely-inspired and are of course divinely-decreed, their purpose being to allow these people to win their rights, nevertheless, even once this aim is achieved, these are material matters, matters which are related to the life of this world. Yet there are in fact higher levels of existence of which you must take note.

These acts of worship which were brought to you via the prophets and which the latter urged you to perform—acts such as prayer, such as fasting, such as performing the holy pilgrimage and so on—these are a set of commands, a set of prescriptions prescribed by those original and authentic doctors who came to help you reach the various stages on the road to perfection. This they did, so that just as you continually make use of the material world throughout your natural life, so too when your souls have departed from this material existence and your newly-enlightened souls have departed for another world, you may go to that world having received the correct instruction and you may live a life there which is full of bliss and happiness.

I hear that some of our youth do not properly or fully perform all of the externally visible Islamic acts of worship, acts such as prayer which is of extreme importance in Islam. And that which grieves us is that, God forbid, as Muslim youth you are not acting in accordance with these divinely-prescribed rules which have been given to us by the physicians of the soul, and that later, on the Day of Judgement, when remorse may fill your hearts, there may no longer be anything that you can do about it.

Islam is unlike Christianity in that it has not concentrated on one aspect of man's being; Islam contains instructions to meet all of man's requirements. Those instructions which are to be found in Islam—be they with regard to politics, to government, to the society as a whole, to the individual, or to Islamic culture—these are all instructions to match man's needs. That is to say, no matter what kind of needs man may have, no matter what kind of material needs he may have, Islam contains instructions which pertain to those needs. This need within man for the metaphysical—a need which at present you and I are unaware—is also provided for in Islam by relevant instructions and guidelines. Hence, this need can be satisfied, or in other words, Islam can offer us the correct training and can lead us to happiness.

God, the Blessed and the Most High, is not at all in need of our deeds or of us ourselves. Neither do the prophets need you and I or the deeds performed by us. When one examines the kind of lives led by the prophets and sees to what pains they went, when one examines the lives of Moses and Jesus, peace be upon them, and especially the life of the Most Noble Messenger, our own prophet (Muhammad), and when one considers the history of Islam and the historical accounts given of these prophets and the lives they led, one realises that a number of the latter actually formed a government during their lifetime, that they have certain rules and guidelines which relate to government. But in spite of this, when one takes another look at the lives and character of these prophets, one sees that they were in fact nothing like the presidents and kings of today. The prophets were different; they lived and conducted themselves differently.

During the Most Noble Messenger's lifetime, for example, although the latter ruled over both the Arabian Peninsula and certain other countries, at the same time, when we look at his life and the way he interacted with others, we see that his way of life doesn't even bear a remote resemblance to the life lived by a district Chief of Police. As the sovereign of the Hijaz and as its supreme commander, the Holy Prophet, when seated beside his friends and companions in the mosque, could not be distinguished from the rest of the people. Those who entered the mosque could not identify him as that prophet who rules over all of those vast lands. This was the way in which he interacted socially. Do not suppose that just as I, because of my age, have been asked to sit on this seat here, so too he, the Prophet, used to sit on such a seat. No indeed, he used to sit there where you are seated (i.e. on the floor) and would sit as you are now sitting. Thus, people entering the gathering at which he was present, could not tell who was the Prophet and who was not.

This is how he conducted his life, unlike the present heads of state, to obtain an audience with whom, one has to go to such great lengths and for such a long period of time, and even then not everyone is granted an audience for only certain people are allowed to meet with them. With regard to the Prophet however, the door to his mosque was open to everyone, and everybody would go to visit him: the wealthy, the poor, the dervish, the orphan, whoever, they would all go to talk and discuss their problems with him, to listen to what he had to say in reply, to listen to his teachings and so on.

And once he had a house and had built a mosque there, do you suppose that this mosque was like that in Medina now? Not at all—it consisted of a piece of land around which they had built a kind of protective fence in order to prevent animals from entering, a fence which was made from pieces of wood and branches taken from trees. That is what his mosque was like. Initially they built two or three houses there, two or three rooms made from mud. The Prophet's house didn't even have the trimmings and decorations found in mine and your homes. This is what the Holy Prophet was like.

What do we find when we turn to Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), peace and blessings be upon him, the rightful executor of the Prophet's will, and we examine his life at the time when he was the sovereign—to use the word “sovereign” is in fact impertinent of me—when he was the leader of certain vast countries and when the entire Hijaz, the whole of Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Iran were under his rule and formed part of his sovereign dominion. What kind of person was he and what kind of life did he lead? Was he like an emperor? In fact the Hadrat possessed one pelisse made from sheepskin which, according to the religious traditions and historical documents, he would spread on the floor at night in order for his wife and himself to sleep upon it. During the day he would scatter grass upon this very same covering so that his camels could come and eat¹. And thus you can see the lifestyle adopted by a ruler in Islam.

Hadrat Amir, peace and blessings be upon him, used to construct wells single-handed, by using his very own pick. History relates how on that day when they paid allegiance to Hadrat Amir as their caliph—the caliph of such

¹ Daylami in *Irshad al-Qulub* quotes Savid ibn Ghafleh as saying: “One day, after the people had paid allegiance to the Imam (Ali), I went to visit him. I saw that he was sitting on a small mat and that apart from this mat there was nothing else in the house. I said: ‘O Lord of the Faithful, the public treasury is yours to do with as you will, and yet you have no furniture or anything in your home.’ He replied: ‘O son of Ghafleh, the house which you must eventually leave behind needs no furniture. I shall take the most beautiful of furniture to that house in which I am to abide forever and towards which I am soon to hasten.’”

a vast domain at that—on that same day, allegiance having been paid, the Hadrat took up his pick and spade and got on with the job in hand (i.e. the digging of a well). He worked. The work in which he was engaged at that time was not for his own personal benefit, it was not for him to gain some kind of return from the well. But rather, when water gushed from beneath the ground, like blood from a camel, he took up pen and paper and bequeathed the well to the poor. He bequeathed it to the poor for it to be used by them.

This is the kind of ruler we want. We who go to such lengths and who shout out in protest, urge the nation of Islam to join us in our demands for a ruler, for a king, who is not treacherous. Hadrat Amir was busy reckoning the accounts of the public treasury, he was making a written account of the religious and other forms of taxes which were due from the people to the public treasury, and he was doing so in the light emitted from an oil-lamp—it seems that in those days oil used to be burned to give light. However, according to written accounts¹, when someone came to speak with the Hadrat, the latter turned out the light and said: “Before, when the lamp was lit, it was lit to enable me to reckon the public treasury of the Muslims, but now that you want to speak with me concerning something which bears no relation to the public treasury, I have turned out the light. This lamp belongs to the public treasury and thus I have no right to use it under these circumstances.”

On the contrary, just look at how these heads of state behave today, how these kings behave. Since we are not familiar with these people, let’s take a look at Iran. Just take note of how this man (the Shah) behaves, this person who now stands responsible for so much corruption. Just look at what he does with the public funds, with the public treasury of the Muslims. The kind of ruler we seek is like those rulers described earlier. They continually ask: What is Islam? Islam is not something which wants to disrupt everything. Islam preserves and follows the exact laws of nature: it roots out all forms of corruption one by one. Islam says that there is to be a government but that this is not to be a government of a plunderer, a government of a traitor. Hence, it is not a case of Islam wanting to destroy the governmental system. Indeed as we saw, Islamic rulers themselves in fact adopted a governmental system. But in Islam sovereignty means government, it does not mean committing these offences and so on, it means governing by Islam.

¹ Refer to *Manaqib-i Al-e Abi Talib, Ibn Shar-i Ashub*, vol. 2 (in “*Fil Musabiqah Bil ‘Adl Wal Amanah*”).

In Islam the ruler is to be Islamic, the system is to be Islamic, and it is to be devoid of these plunderers and these acts of theft and betrayal¹. When we cry out for an Islamic government and we shout out: “Death to this depraved sovereign rule,” this is because by looking back in history we are able to see for ourselves that former kings in fact committed very few acts of treachery. Yes they were tyrants and so on, but whatever they were, they were nevertheless not treacherous. They were cruel tyrants, they were evil, they oppressed the people, yet even so, they did not give their country, their country’s assets, away to other countries. I myself have never heard of a former king selling his country to someone, of him offering his country’s assets to someone. This is something which has only taken place in the recent past and especially during the reign of this man (the Shah). This kind of thing has appeared during the reign of this depraved king who has destroyed whatever we had.

Yes, that is the kind of life he lives, and this, as you see, is the kind of life we live, having to sit here in damp places such as this. I have said this two or three times on previous occasions—I can’t remember now whether I read it somewhere in a magazine or whether someone wrote to me about it—and that is that one of this gentleman’s (the Shah’s) sisters has purchased a villa somewhere or other, the cost of which was some phenomenally large figure, I can’t remember what exactly. What I do recall however, are the words: “Five million dollars have been spent on flower-beds and floral layouts.” That is thirty-five million tumans!

Yet we have seen how another sultan turns out the lamp for it not to give light during the two minutes it takes to speak to someone about customary issues, or to hold a friendly conversation for example. And as for his court and palace, we see that this is the mosque. He comes to the mosque, sits down, and everyone comes to him to discuss whatever they will. He also uses the mosque as a military base from where to assemble an army which he then dispatches here and there in order for Islam to spread.

Yet we see how the life he leads is that I described when I spoke of a sheepskin pelisse. On the eve of the Hadrat’s demise, the night before his martyrdom, he was a guest in his daughter’s home and the latter brought him

¹ In *Wilayat-e Faqih* Imam has written a chapter entitled “The Form of Islamic Government.” Here, he has given a detailed description of Islamic government for which he offers clear proofs and whose critics he convincingly confutes. In addition, he has explained other issues under such headings as: “The Difference Between This and Other Forms of Government;” “The Prerequisite Qualities of a Ruler;” “The Prerequisite Qualities During the Period of Occultation;” etc.

some salt and milk. According to written accounts, he then said: "When did you ever see me eating two different kinds of food at the same time?" So his daughter took away the salt, but the Hadrat told her to take away the milk instead. Thus, this sultan of the Hijaz, of Iran and Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, Jordan and elsewhere, ate bread and salt. This was how this sultan, in spite of all his power and might, spent the last night of his life. And as for his daughter, what a great and noble lady she was!

The criminal sister of this criminal man (the Shah) however, spends five million dollars on floral embellishments! This is the figure which was quoted as the cost of the floral layout for this villa she has purchased abroad. And only yesterday evening, in one of the local newspapers that had been brought to me, I read that the Shah and Farah (the Shah's wife) had held a celebration alone on the eve of October 26 (the Shah's birthday)! This had been because all of the other members of his family have gone. They have taken the money and gone! The nation's wealth has now gone to America. And furthermore, it has been said that several days prior to this, someone had telephoned from Iran and had said that an aeroplane full of jewellery, the crown jewels, had been flown to America. Now he (the Shah) realises that he will probably be leaving soon, he is plundering the people; he is taking their wealth out of the country.

When we say we want an Islamic government we do so because we don't want such a chaotic situation to exist. Yet they say that the reason we want to rule via Islamic government is in fact so that we can bring the wheels of progress in this country to a halt! What they say is wrong however. This is nothing but false propaganda. Indeed, we want to set the wheels of progress in motion. At present, the wheels of this country are travelling in the direction of Europe. Your oil is now on its way to Europe and to America, and this is what we want to be stopped. We want a reasonable quantity of oil to be sold, and moreover, we want to be paid in cash for it rather than having our oil taken away, and in return weapons being brought into the country and a military base being set up there for America.

What we say is that such a chaotic state of affairs is not to prevail in our country, and not that we do not want any form of government. Yes we do want a government, but a government like that described earlier, although not the same as that established by Imam Ali, for there is no doubt that neither we nor anyone else is capable of achieving what he did. Nevertheless, we want a government which will not thieve; a government which, at the very least, will not indulge in crime and treachery; a government which will not kill a group of people should the slogan: "Death to the Shah" ring out at any time. But in

any case, this is the task now ahead of us and this is the Islamic government for which we must strive.

Don't let them make you afraid of Islamic government. Islamic government is a government of justice. It is a government which will afford you a life of ease and happiness, god willing. It is in the people's best interests. It is something which can only benefit the people. And it is hoped that this task of establishing an Islamic government will soon be accomplished, god willing (the audience cries: "god willing").

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-Eight

Date: October 28, 1978 (AD) / Aban 6, 1357 (AHS) / Dhu al-Qadah 25, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Neglect of spiritual matters is dangerous for the continuation of the movement

Occasion: The growing disregard amongst the eclectic groups for spiritual matters

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

In late October 1978, coinciding with the anniversary of Imam Khomeini's historic speech against the Capitulation Bill (October 26, 1964) and his subsequent expulsion to Turkey (November 4, 1964), Iran was engulfed in a popular uprising against the monarchical system, a system which received unstinting support from the United States and other foreign powers. Following his momentous decision to migrate to France, Imam had taken up residence at Neauphle-le-Chateau near Paris, and this tiny hamlet quickly became inundated with reporters from around the world as they focused their attention on what was ultimately becoming the most news-creating place in the world.

As press censorship slackened because of the Iranian nation's recent uprising, some bloody scenes from the people's uprising were covered in the newspapers. The government of Sharif Imami, the Shah, the Court, SAVAK, indeed all elements of the regime expended their efforts in a hopeless attempt to prevent the downfall of the monarchical regime; however the regime's crisis had reached its peak. The efforts of the British and American ambassadors and the continuous interviews given by Carter—the US President—and other Western political figures in support of the Shah were to no avail and produced no results other than to increase the number of those killed by martial law agents and make the nation shout even louder.

At this time, marches and demonstrations—however peaceful—were marred by bloodshed from the attacks of martial law agents. In Hamadan, the people were chased from alleyway to alleyway and gunned down. One of the correspondents reporting on the killings in this city, while in a state of great anguish, relayed this report to his newspaper: “Gentlemen: It's the desert of Karbala here. They shoot at anything which moves. The city is in a state of complete closure. Armed soldiers in tanks, armour-plated vehicles and army trucks can be seen all over the place. All the lawyers of the Ministry of

Justice in Hamadan have staged a sit-in at the Public Prosecutor's Office and have announced that they will not leave the premises until those responsible for the killings are identified and punished, adding that they will remain there day and night if necessary. When asked by the Public Prosecutor about the number of those killed and injured, the Chief of Police coolly replied that eight guards and two officers had been injured and six demonstrators killed, but both the Public Prosecutor and the people know that the number of those martyred in this incident is much higher. Hamadan's Public Prosecutor wrote a harsh letter to the chief of police demanding that all those wounded in the incident be kept at the hospital so that investigations into finding those responsible for the killings could be made."

One hundred and thirty female students at Hamadan's College of Hygiene went on strike in protest at the killings in the city, classes were suspended and demonstrations were held in the college grounds. Reuters news agency carried a report from one of Imam's relations in Paris entitled: "Between thirty and forty killed in bloody events in Hamadan." This person, who was in touch with people in Tehran, had told the Reuters' reporter that: "Up until six o'clock that afternoon, the number of those martyred in Hamadan was reported to be between thirty and forty people."¹

A report from Qum spoke of demonstrations at the shrine of Hadrat Masuma (a) following evening and night prayers, and on this day too students from the technical schools took to the streets in a show of protest. Qum's largest high-school, Hakim Nizami, with a pupil population of one thousand six hundred, was closed that morning and pupils were prevented from entering the premises, the demonstrations which the pupils had held every day in the school grounds being the reason behind its closure. According to reporters in Qum, the shouts of "Salutations Khomeini" and "Death to the Shah" by these one thousand six hundred pupils could be heard over a wide area, leaving the authorities with no alternative but to close the school. Prevented from entering the premises, the pupils marched through the streets instead².

News of the restrictions placed by the French government upon Imam Khomeini's interviews with reporters prompted judges from the Ministry of Justice to write a letter to the French President Giscard D'Estaing and by stating the fact that: "Hadrat Ayatullah Khomeini is not only the religious leader of the Muslims, he is also the great leader of the national and anti-

¹ From the archives of the *Jumhuri-yi Islami* news agency (formerly Pars) and the archives at the *Kayhan* newspaper.

² Refer to the newspapers of October 27 and 28, 1978 (Aban 5 & 6, 1357 AHS).

imperialist struggles of recent years,” they reminded the French government of the Iranian people’s right to expect that their leader be treated in a manner befitting his position.

Meanwhile, so-called seasoned politicians began to voice their opinions on the future of Iran. Shahpour Bakhtiyar, in an interview with *Kayhan* said: “I see a very bleak future. If a fundamental change in the country does not take place and the situation continues as it is, considering the people’s lack of confidence in the regime, regrettably I do not see a bright future under any circumstances.” He continued: “In order to change the situation, the government’s first duty is to hand over power to those who enjoy the people’s confidence!” At this time, Mr. Bakhtiyar was considered as a viable alternative to lead a surrogate administration and both the regime and America held discussions with him. MAzhari, one of the members of Parliament, predicted civil war! Abulfazl Qasemi, a newspaper reporter, saw the solution to lie in the establishment of the rule of law and democracy. ‘Ameli Tehrani, the Minister of Information and Tourism, after criticising what had happened in the past and after presenting solutions, put his hopes in SAVAK’s plans and said: “I feel in my heart that Iran has a promising future!”

News reaching the newspapers reported that:

- Striking workers at the oil services company (the former consortium) demand that foreign employees leave the oil industry.
- Two people were killed in bloody demonstrations in Khorramabad.
- Thousands of students and pupils marched to Tehran University to join demonstrating students there.
- The people of Burujird took to the streets in a concerted show of protest.
- The clerics of Hamadan protested against police violence.
- Teachers and pupils of schools in Shahrud hold a demonstration.

Imam’s movement was bearing fruit and the moment of victory was close. Imam Khomeini took into consideration the future of the revolution and the education of the generation in whose hands the destiny of the revolution lay: yes, the youth, who had entered the field of battle in an unprecedented manner. Those parties and groups which lacked conviction in the moral foundations and spiritual values of Islam announced their existence and took advantage of the prevailing situation to draw supporters. The voice of those killed for the crime of opposing the ideological deviations of the *Mujahidin-i Khalq* Organisation, in the latter’s purgation, was lost in the propaganda ballyhoo of this organisation, and eclectic ideas gained currency.

Nationalists of long standing saw the victorious end of the uprising to lie in the obliteration of despotism and the establishment of a democratic government.

Political events unfurled rapidly and the political aspects of the movement began to overshadow all others. For this reason, Imam Khomeini in the present speech turns his attention to the importance of both the spiritual and material aspects of Islam. He refers to man's spiritual and material needs and in so doing he discusses the different stages of the human being's evolutionary path with regard to the material life and explains man's spiritual needs. He stresses that one of the most important duties of the prophets was to improve and develop man's spiritual qualities and that it is these qualities which make the human being distinct from other creatures. Referring to the one-dimensional views of some people who claim to understand Islam, Imam describes those who comprehend both the material and spiritual aspects of Islam as truly knowing Islam. The need for a supreme *jihad* (*jihad-i akbar*) alongside the struggle against the *taghut* regime and the importance of accepting and acting upon all the Islamic laws, those of a spiritual nature as well as those concerned with material matters, as a means of achieving happiness in this world and the next, form other aspects of Imam's speech.

These guidelines were just what were needed to keep the revolution going along the right track, for revolutionary fervour had allowed political matters to come to the fore, especially amongst the young people both inside Iran and abroad, and had pushed spiritual matters into the background, making them appear less important. Under such circumstances, speeches on morals and spiritual matters normally provoked objection and criticism from the intellectuals and led to condemnation of the speaker for his stagnated ideas and lack of insight into the realities of the revolution. Imam Khomeini was pursuing a loftier aim than the mere downfall of a political system, his speeches on moral edification delivered throughout the course of the revolution find their similitude in the gnostic speeches and prayers and the loving benedictions recited by Imam Husayn on '*Ashura*.

Speech Number Forty-Eight

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The house is small and the respected gentlemen are uncomfortable ... may they be successful and enjoy good health¹. I feel it necessary to remind the young people, both inside Iran and abroad, of a few things.

A while after the appearance of Islam, it was the wont of different groups and scholars to devote all of their attention to the spiritual aspects of Islam, to those Quranic verses and traditions which were concerned with spiritual matters, with self-purification and things beyond this physical world. The Holy Quran contains many verses pertaining to spiritual matters, that is, to that aspect of the human being which is of the unseen world. For a while this was the situation and scant attention, if indeed any at all, was paid to the social and political laws that exist in Islam.

Then gradually some groups appeared who began to address themselves to social and political affairs and issues of the day, but they took matters to the extreme, they concentrated solely on social and political issues and the rules for government and paid no heed to spiritual matters. So there now exists a group of people who concentrate solely on these matters, just as up until some time ago the other group, which comprised scholastics, philosophers, gnostics and Sufis, looked only at one side of Islam and spoke only of its spiritual aspects and invited people to these—some of them even strove to change the meaning of those verses and traditions which dealt with matters of this world, with social and political affairs, into a spiritual one and tried to convince everyone else to see them in the same light.

¹ In Neauphle-le-Chateau (situated twenty-five kilometres from Paris) two small houses had been placed at the disposal of Imam Khomeini and his entourage. Imam along with his family resided in house number one which was very small; house number two, which stood opposite, was set aside for gatherings and the use of Iranian students and members of Imam's office. It was in this house that Imam held prayer gatherings. Another building was rented and used as a hostel where students and others visiting Imam could rest. This hostel was administered by Mahdi Araqi (who was later martyred) and because of a shortage of space, sometimes twenty or thirty people had to sleep in one room. Those visiting Imam could stay here for a period of two days and nights. Imam was very particular about how religious funds were spent and he would not allow the rent for this building to be paid from moneys given as *sahm-i Imam* for charitable disbursement, instead it was paid by those Iranians whose financial situation allowed them to do so.

This was unfortunate for Islam, for to concentrate only on spiritual matters, to ignore those verses of the Quran which pertain to social affairs, to disregard those verses and traditions which are to do with the government of Islam, with the politics of Islam, with social affairs and with reforming this world was tantamount to paying no heed to Islam. This group has only understood one aspect of Islam and has ignored the other which deals with worldly affairs, for Islam comprises this aspect also, it is concerned with all matters that relate to the human being. So the fact that those belonging to this group strove to give a spiritual meaning to all the verses of the Quran and the traditions which pertained to social and worldly matters constituted a blow to Islam, for they concentrated only on the inner or secret (*batin*) meanings of Islam and ignored its external, obvious (*zahir*) meanings.

Now the blow to Islam comes from the fact that our young people, our intellectuals and scientists who have studied the natural sciences are striving to give all the traditions and the Quranic verses, even those pertaining to spiritual matters, a temporal and mundane meaning and they are neglecting spiritual matters. This group of people are both mindful and heedless of Islam, they have read about one aspect of it and have neglected the other. Neither of these two groups has understood Islam properly. Islam's call is restricted neither to the spiritual nor the material, it contains both aspects. The Holy Quran was revealed to train and develop the human being in all his dimensions.

If you consider the human being, you see that in the beginning he grows and develops no differently from a vegetable organism. A date seed, for example, or any other seed, is planted in soil which nourishes it and makes it grow. Soil is its special place where it grows. Animals too begin life as a seed, they have their special place where they are nourished and that is the womb. If at any time another place is created which has the same qualities and can perform the same function as the womb, then it is possible that their sperm can develop there, this applies even to a human being. So in the beginning man is no different from a plant, he grows just as a plant grows, and although he has his special place with certain qualities and the plant has its, nevertheless they are like one another in that they have both been planted and this planted seed begins to grow through the power that God the Blessed and Exalted has placed in the earth and the womb.

So at first they have this in common. However, the seed which is cultivated in the soil develops into a vegetable organism, remains such and produces fruit of the same type, whereas the seeds of animals, including man, gradually develop beyond the plant stage and find an animal spirit while still

in the womb. They become distinct from vegetable organisms, but they are all animals in that they have sense organs, can move and possess an animal spirit. Animals are distinct from plants in another aspect and that is that at the required time they are born into this world and are cut off from their place of development (the womb). If a plant is separated from its place of growth (the soil), it will die, but animals are cut off from the womb when that aspect about them which they have in common with plants has been fully developed and they take on animal characteristics and no longer need the womb.

So they enter this world as animals sharing common characteristics: they eat, sleep and have the same desires. They are all animals, all the same, bearing no difference in their animal characteristics, it is in their degree of perception that they differ from one another. Monkeys have a higher level of understanding than other animals. Man is distinct among the animals in that he can advance further, he is different from them in both his perceptive capability and in the extremes to which this can reach. Animals can perceive only to a certain degree beyond which they cannot pass. Man on the other hand is almost unlimited in his perceptive ability and his capacity to be trained.

Man is a microcosm of this world and more. He has things in common with all that exists in this world, from the beginning of his existence up until the stage where he is distinguished from them, he has things in common with all animal, plant and mineral life. But he has something more, he possesses the power of reason and a higher power which the others do not possess. If man were meant to develop only to the degree that the other animals do, then there would be no need for prophets. What would we need prophets for if man were simply meant to come into this world and live an animal existence, to eat and sleep like an animal until death? Man needs prophets because he is not the same as other animals, he does not have an animalistic limit which cannot be surpassed, his limit is beyond that of animals and he can attain a stage higher than the animal stage, a stage beyond reason (*'aql*), until he reaches a stage that we cannot explain, although this final stage has been described by some as “annihilation” (*fana*)¹ or “god-like,”² among other

¹ *Fana* (Ar.) means extinction, cessation, annihilation, passing away. As a technical term in Islamic mysticism it is used to indicate a stage in the mystical experience in which all man's imperfections and earthly ties are annihilated or extinguished, and he is absorbed into the Deity losing consciousness of the self and those things which impeded his spiritual perfection. To put it another way, *fana* means that man “dies to himself” so that he may be “born in God.”

² It is the world of essence (*dhat*), attributes (*sifat*) and actions (*afal*). Islamic philosophers believe in four worlds or four beginnings: the world of nature or mortals; the world of fancy or

interpretations it has been given. So man needs prophets, because the training of a human being in all his dimensions, his physical, spiritual and intellectual dimensions and beyond these cannot be left up to ordinary men, for they are not aware of all a human being's needs and do not know how to educate a human being in the metaphysical. If you put all of man's abilities together, you see that he can understand only this world and the attributes of nature, even then he has not discovered all that nature has to offer and although in recent years many of the doors to nature's secrets have been unlocked, many more remain for posterity to find the key.

Whatever man discovers up until the end of time will be of this natural realm, of this world, of this side of the coin. Those things that man can understand, that are within the bounds of his understanding of nature, lie within the world of nature. Even if we suppose that one day man discovers everything there is to know about natural phenomena, his understanding will still be confined to the realms of nature, it will not have extended beyond. He will have gained no knowledge of the other side of the coin. If man tries till the end of time he can only come to understand the relationship that exists between things in nature, the cause and effect. He can be trained and educated but in the end he will only discover the nature of this tangible world with all its attributes and its relationships. For example, he may understand how an earthquake affects the earth, when it will strike, he may determine the results and effects, how long it will last, and whether it will occur vertically or horizontally. He may understand all of this, the relationship between the nature of man and all other things, and we may suppose that there is nothing left for him to uncover, but his knowledge will still be confined to the realms of nature, he will not have stepped further than this and will not have understood what lies beyond this.

Thus, there is a group of natural scientists and philosophers who, because they cannot comprehend the metaphysical, because they cannot sense it or see it, have denied its existence, denied it without proof. They have said that because they have not seen it, they do not know of it and because it has not come under their knife¹, they can say that this non-material intellect, for example, does not exist. But it is wrong for a person to say something "does not exist," he must say "I do not know if it exists or not." There are things of which man knows nothing. There are those who will say: "I have reached this

angels; the rational world or the world of dominion; and the world of the godhead or the divine world.

¹ A French physician once said: "I will not believe in the existence of the spirit until I discover it with my scalpel."

stage and of this much I am sure, but I don't know about the rest." Denial stems from ignorance. You do not comprehend everything that exists in the world so you should not deny its existence. This group of people have reached a certain level of understanding, and even if they were to uncover all the secrets of nature their understanding would still be confined to the realms of nature.

This understanding can attend to the human being's material desires, that is, our material requirements. When nature in all its aspects has been discovered, when all the powers of the natural world and the relationships that exist between the elements of nature have been discovered, even then only our material requirements will have been met, no more than this. Our material requirements vary according to our level of development, to what has been discovered so far. Travel nowadays calls for the use of an aeroplane, whereas in days gone by man travelled by camel, and in the future he will travel by something more advanced, but it still belongs to the realms of nature and is satisfying man's material needs.

If man were confined to the bounds of a natural dimension, possessing no other, then there would be no need for something to be sent from the unseen to train his spiritual dimension, because this would not exist. But man is a reality independent of this natural world. Nature itself implies an existence beyond this natural realm. For the human being possesses another dimension besides his natural dimension, and, according to the proofs which are established in philosophy, something beyond nature exists in the human being and man possesses a potential non-material intellect which will later be actualised. The training of that dimension, which is man's spiritual dimension, should be in the hands of one who has knowledge of the Hereafter, a true knowledge, a knowledge of the relationship between man and the metaphysical, one who has this level of perception. This is a task which does not belong to ordinary men, for they do not have this level of perception, ordinary men can only understand matters which pertain to this natural world, whatever can be put under the microscope; the metaphysical, however, cannot be seen under a microscope, it requires different means.

The relationship between man and the celestial world is hidden from man. However, God the Blessed and Exalted, who is the creator of everything, gave knowledge of it through divine revelation to some individuals who had attained spiritual perfection. They were sent amongst the people to develop and give instruction on this second dimension of man, and to educate them in this regard.

God the Blessed and Exalted needs neither us nor our training; whether we are polytheists or monotheists makes no difference to Him, He does not benefit from our being monotheists, we are the ones it makes a difference to. The prophets were sent to educate us, to give us the training we need for the next life, to ensure that we are trained in such a way that in the other world our life will be a blissful one. If man were not given this training and he entered the next world bearing the same animalistic nature he had in this world, then his life in the Hereafter would not be a happy one and he would be in a state of misery; man would enter into darkness in that world. The prophets came to gradually educate us away from this natural world—for otherwise we would remain as animals confined to this natural realm unable to perceive further than this—and, through the revelation of God Almighty, to give us the spiritual instruction needed to prepare us for the next world, so that when we are taken from this earthly existence to the Hereafter, our life there will be a happy one too. The whole point of the prophets' coming is to educate mankind, for man is capable of being educated and is superior to other animals, so that just as in this world—material circumstances permitting—he enjoys a happy life, the next too will be blissful for him.

The fact that man is capable of being trained is a kindness from God the Blessed and Exalted. The training which man receives from the prophets through divine revelation concerns those things that form a relationship between this world and the next. If we act upon that which we are instructed to do, it will have a hand in our spiritual training. We are told to do certain things and we do not know what the relationship is between us performing the ritual prayer (*namaz*), for example, and our happiness in the next world, but God does. Just as you and I who are not physicians do not understand what the connection is between the tablets the doctor prescribes and the illness, but a connection does exist, he who is knowledgeable in this field understands the relationship and tells us what we should do to cure our illness and we must follow his instructions.

The prophets, through the revelation of God the Almighty and Blessed, knew about the relationship that exists between our actions, our virtuous actions, and the other world. They were sent to tell us that if we perform certain virtuous acts, this will have a bearing on our life after death, and will train our spirit so that we will be happy when we enter the next world. Likewise, the commission of sin is like a poison which affects us in the metaphysical and spiritual world. If a human being eats something which is poisoned, he will suffer from the effects of that poison and may even perish. There are some sinful acts or beliefs which, if committed or believed in by

man, are like a deadly poison taken in degrees, sometimes there is a cure but if taken persistently there is none. The prophets have informed us of these things, they have told us what to do and what not to do. Of course, some of their teachings pertain to the organisation and reformation of the material world and society, but there are many which concern the life beyond this one. For the human being is a creature of many dimensions, with many needs. The prophets came to answer these needs and teach man how to act in order to attain true happiness.

Therefore, neither of these two groups has understood Islam, neither the one which concentrates solely on spiritual matters ignoring social concerns nor the other which focuses on social and political matters, science and such things, disregarding spiritual matters. He who understands both the spiritual and material dimensions of Islam knows Islam. He who wants to have an understanding of Islam must look at both these aspects. He must try his best to understand the Quranic verses and injunctions which have been revealed and the traditions which have been passed down to us concerning spiritual matters, just as he must understand those verses, commands and traditions which are to do with regulating and setting right social, political and governmental matters. He who understands these two aspects, as much as man is indeed capable of understanding them, has understood Islam. Islam is not monastic like Christianity. Of course the Christian religion has been changed and that which is practised nowadays—with the emphasis being solely on spiritual matters—is not true Christianity. Neither is Islam like the religion of Moses, which concentrates mainly on temporal issues. The message and laws of Hadrat Moses (s), who was one of the great prophets of the book, were of course for his time complete and sufficient to meet the needs of man then, but his book, along with that of Hadrat Jesus, has been lost. The content of the books which are in the hands of their followers today is proof itself that they are not the original Torah and Bible. Our book (the Quran), however, praise be to God, has been preserved throughout the years; even the Quran written by Imam Ali in his own hand or that by Imam Sajjad are still extant¹. We don't have anything else which has remained totally

¹ A number of copies of the Quran ascribed to Imam Ali (s) can be found in libraries and museums throughout Iran. They include: a copy in Imam Rida's shrine in Mashhad—written in Kufic writing on parchment and beginning with *Surah Hud* (the Prophet Hud) and ending with the final verses of the *Surah Kahf* (the Cave)—at the end of which appears the inscription: "Written by Ali ibn Abi Talib." Another copy can be found in the Amir al Muminin library in Najaf written in the Kufic style and at the end of which this sentence: "Written by Ali ibn Abi Talib in the fortieth year after *hijra*," appears. The Iran Bastan museum houses a copy written in Kufic on parchment at the end of which we read: "Written

unchanged except for the Quran. Islam was revealed to educate us and if we don't follow its teachings in all their aspects, then we will not learn.

So at the same time as you, our dear youth, involve yourselves in the pursuit of the natural sciences or in the *jihads* which are necessary for you to carry out—indeed a *jihad* which all of us must carry out now is to assist our Muslim brethren who are suffering in Iran, by at least propagating their cause—you must not neglect the supreme *jihad*¹, you must not disregard the spiritual aspects of Islam. For you are not a uni-dimensional being, you do not simply possess this dimension, you are not only men of *jihad*, or men of the natural sciences, you are human beings and a human being possesses both spiritual and material dimensions. Your material dimension is being satisfied by that which you are doing now, but you should struggle to satisfy your spiritual dimension also. You must take heed of all God's commands, a Muslim cannot say that he accepts the aspect of Islam which pertains to *jihad*, but not its spiritual aspects or vice versa. We should accept it all. A Muslim is he who accepts and acts upon all the teachings of the Most Noble Prophet. So, although you may find it difficult to understand the relationship that exists between the spirit and the outwardly apparent acts of worship that God commands us to perform in this world, you should not pay less attention to them. They are important for you. They are important for your life in the next world. You should continue with your *jihads* and your pursuit of the natural sciences and complete your work in these areas, but at the same time pursue spiritual matters so that you will find true happiness.

May god grant you all this happiness. may we all act upon our duties, one of which, now that a movement has begun in iran and the people are relinquishing their lives, their wealth, their children and their dear ones for this cause, is for us who are over here to do our utmost to help them. You gentlemen should speak about the problems of Iran and propagate the Iranian cause amongst the people of the countries in which you reside at present, be they one of the European countries or America. Speak to your friends and your acquaintances, whenever you get together tell them about the problems in iran and about the crimes committed by the pahlavi dynasty and this shah, who is more treacherous and criminal than all other past kings, or rather who is just as criminal as they were but more treacherous. This man is ruining Iran,

and illuminated by Ali ibn Abi Talib.” A copy of the Quran ascribed to Imam Sajjad (s) and written from verse 180 of Sura *Baqara* (the Heifer) until the end of the book is in Imam Rida's shrine in Mashhad. It is written in the Kufic style on parchment made from deer skin. The name of Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib appears on this copy.

¹ That is, the struggle against the appetitive soul.

he is destroying it, he is getting ready to leave the country and he wants to destroy it before he goes. Tell your American and European friends about this. Speak to your friends at the schools that you attend. God willing a wave of support will be created amongst these people and they will help the Iranian nation, and their governments, those which are just, may also help Iran to rid itself of this man. Please god the evil of this man and the foreigners who assist him will be uprooted from the land and Iran will be yours for you to administer yourselves.

Introduction to Speech Number Forty-Nine

Date: October 29, 1978 (AD) / Aban 7, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 26, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Freedom and independence, the two fundamental and legitimate demands of the Iranian nation

Occasion: The continuation of the movement and the revolution's need for committed and self-reformed elements

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Demonstrations continued in the different areas of Tehran. A strike by oil workers and the shortage of petrol caused long queues of cars to form at the petrol stations. Marches and demonstrations in the different cities had reached their climax and after ten hours of gunfire and bloody demonstrations, Hamadan was brought to a complete standstill.

Police in Khorramabad, in an attempt to disperse teachers who, along with other groups of people, had embarked on a protest march, resorted to harsh tactics, first using water cannons against the demonstrators, and then, upon seeing that this action had no effect, firing tear gas into the crowds. The demonstrators, who were mainly students, set tyres alight in a move to impede the police action, and then they attacked a few banks breaking the windows. After the demonstrators had dispersed, the city of Khorramabad came to a virtual standstill, even so, tanks and armoured vehicles took up position in the different areas of the city.

In Dezful too, clashes between police and demonstrators also took place. The Chief of Police along with a commissioned and a non-commissioned officer were injured and a number of demonstrators were either injured or martyred by police bullets in this incident. The interrogator at the office of the Public Prosecutor in Dezful busied himself with his investigations into the eyewitness accounts of the incident. Lawyers at the office sent telegrams in praise of the steps taken by the interrogator for administering justice.

In Andimeshk, Kermanshah, Gorgan and Arsanjan tens of thousands of people took to the streets to protest against the ruling Pahlavi regime and amongst other things called for its overthrow. The holy city of Mashhad also witnessed peaceful demonstrations by a multitude of people. In Minab, demonstrators carrying pictures of their martyred loved ones, gathered outside police headquarters and the governor's office where one of the

clergymen in a speech demanded that those responsible for the killing of the defenceless people of this town be brought to justice. In what was suspected to be an act of arson, the Friday mosque in the town of Ravar in Kerman province was set alight. The fire service arrived in time to stop the spread of the fire and assisted by the people it was soon extinguished.

Under such circumstances, the head of the CIA in an interview with reporters declared that: "To a certain extent Russia probably has a hand in the events and disturbances currently taking place in Iran," while later in the same interview he remarked that: "Russia is not making much effort to overthrow the Iranian government," and then "Iran's problems have been caused by conservative elements who are resisting the efforts of the Iranian government to modernise the country." The British press also expressed sympathy with the Iranian government, and the London newspapers opined that: "If the regime in Iran collapses, the Leftists will come to power!" David Owen, the British Foreign Minister at the time, claimed in a TV interview in London that: "True friends are those who stand by one when one is being attacked and when one needs them. I think that we have to choose, and it is my belief that we should support the Iranian government so that it can continue with its modernisation programme and the giving of more liberties. We should not allow it to steer away from this course or to collude and compromise with reactionary rightist elements in a bid to buy their satisfaction!"

In reply to the statements of the CIA chief, Russia denied any kind of involvement in recent events in Iran. Tass, the official news agency of the Soviet Union, commented: "The relationship between the Soviet Union and Iran is based on the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs." Tass attacked the American monopolist companies, which for many years had been plundering Iran's resources, and condemned the government in Washington for imposing on Iran a huge arms programme which was in complete disproportion to Iran's defence needs and which laid a heavy burden on the economy.

It should be noted that at a time when the movement of Imam Khomeini was once again gaining momentum, the American and other Western governments attempted to cover up the defeat of all steps taken to stop the movement by spreading the idea that events in Iran were connected to the intervention of other powers. The Soviet Union at this time demonstrated indifference towards the killings in Iran and was more concerned with its fictitious battle against its rival America than anything else.

As the Muslim people of Iran demonstrated throughout the streets and alleyways of the country, suffering injury and attaining martyrdom, the BBC on this day in 1978 reported that: "Yesterday in London a small banquet was held to mark the launch of a new weekly magazine: *Iranshahr*. This weekly will be published in London and will be run by Ahmad Shamlu, an Iranian poet. Representatives from several British newspapers attended yesterday's banquet along with some Iranian literary personalities including the novelist and playwright Dr. Gholam Husayn Saidi... Shamlu was not prepared to give details about where the financial backing for the magazine was coming from and said only that a private company, supported by Iranians both within Iran and abroad, was involved."

Jalali Naini, a member of the Iranian Senate and the head of the Lawyers' Society, in a statement claimed that "the dissatisfied people can be calmed!" However, none of the policies adopted to try to calm the nation proved to be successful and the people continued to follow their leader saying only one thing "the Shah must go" and refusing to take even one step back from their stance.

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini speaks of the two principles of "freedom" and "independence" describing them as two legitimate, just demands which he and the Iranian nation had continually emphasised since the Khordad 15 uprising. He goes on to discuss Islamic government, the establishment of which the majority of the Iranian people were calling for, describing it as being totally unlike dictatorial or despotic regimes, and while citing examples of the unique attitude of the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him and his descendants) and Imam Ali (a) towards the rights of the people, he says: "Do not suppose that an Islamic government is that which is in power in the Hijaz at present. The government there has nothing to do with Islam; they too are dictators who only pay lip service to Islam¹."

While referring to the difficult living conditions which the people in Iran have to endure and the plundering of their wealth by the capitalists, Imam Khomeini makes a strong attack on the aristocratic system and points to service to the elite and the capitalists and trampling on the rights of the weak

¹ Up until the end of his life, Imam Khomeini constantly emphasised his stance in this regard, and he viewed the Islam that the Saudi regime espoused as an American brand of Islam. The world witnessed the truth of his words and the true nature of the regime there was revealed when a few years later during the hajj ceremonies of 1987 (1366 AHS), the Saudi authorities ordered the police to attack pilgrims who were shouting "Death to America" and "Death to Israel" as they took part in the Deliverance from Pagans ceremonies. Four hundred people were killed and thousands injured in this incident.

and the poor as characteristics of the existing world governments, saying: “An Islamic government is a just system... there should be no bullying or oppression, plundering should not be allowed, the wealth of the nation should not be taken and devoured. All the people should live comfortably, the poor should be given help, the poverty-stricken hovel-dwellers who have nothing should be taken care of. The wealth of the nation should not lie only in the hands of the elite and the aristocrats.”

In concluding his speech, Imam reminds his listeners of the importance of observing all the divine commands and says: “Just as you engage in struggle and pursue your studies, so too you must perform those deeds which God has enjoined you to do. Do not neglect these. Do not view *namaz* as being of no account... If you strengthen your relationship with God, He will help you all, He will remove all the evils that afflict you and He will make you independent and free.”

Speech Number Forty-Nine

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I seek forgiveness from you gentlemen for not being able to maintain much contact with you due to my age and weak constitution. There is no barrier existing between me and you and anyone wishing to see me may do so, I welcome everyone. We are all brothers together and I am very fond of you gentlemen who are performing a service for Islam and your country here abroad. The reason I cannot come out and contact you much must be put down to my heavy workload, which does not give me much time¹, and also my old age, which saps my strength, otherwise I would very much like to keep in constant contact with you all so that I might express my appreciation and thank all you young Muslim people abroad who are busy both with your studies and with serving Islam and the Muslims.

Today, I do not have anything new to add to that which I have already said before, my words have always centred around the same thing. From the very beginning of the Islamic movement, which began about fifteen years ago and which has passed through different stages, sometimes progressing quickly, sometimes slowly, up until the present when, praise be to God, it has reached its peak, our aim, one in which we have persevered, has been the same, and that is to secure freedom and independence for the Iranian nation. Both these demands are legitimate rights that all human societies, those that is which have not strayed from the path of humanity, recognise. A nation of thirty or thirty-five million people is being suppressed; for fifty years this thirty-million-strong nation has been stifled and repressed and has suffered difficulties in every respect. Throughout this period, its preachers and orators

¹ During his stay in Paris and in addition to delivering speeches and meeting with students and others daily, Imam Khomeini was kept busy with the following tasks: issuing legal opinions; studying the translated text of the important news reports and analyses from foreign newspapers; studying the news reports received from Iran on the progress of the revolution and events taking place in the country; reading letters sent to him by political and religious personalities from around the world and replying where necessary; holding private meetings with different individuals; giving interviews to foreign and Iranian reporters, (in the book *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution*, one hundred and thirteen interviews given by him during his stay in Paris have been published); writing messages and issuing directives and declarations; observing religious duties, performing supererogatory prayers and reading a section of the Quran at eight specific times, as well as spending time with his family members.

have not been free to speak out on different matters, it has enjoyed neither a free press nor has its radio been a national radio run by the people. All have been under police pressure and control. But now this thirty-million-strong nation, having been deprived of its legitimate right for fifty years, has risen up and is demanding its right. The people are saying that they want to be free and this is a demand that all human societies recognise, for it is a just demand. The Iranian people are not asking for something which is not their right.

Secondly they demand independence. There have been many periods in our history, and especially during the rule of this father and son¹, although more so during the rule of the son, when our country was dominated in all aspects by foreigners. Our economy is now disrupted because it is being controlled by foreigners. They are taking our oil and in return they build bases for themselves in Iran, that is, they sell us the weapons for bases to be built for themselves here. They have kept our education in a state of backwardness; they do not allow our young people to receive a proper education lest some of them begin to oppose what they are doing here. They do not permit our Islamic culture to develop, and through their propaganda, they try to distance the people from Islam and the *ulama* of Islam, for they know that the two oppose their designs, and they realise that were true Islam put into practice in Iran, or in other countries, the foreigners would have no place there. One of the commands of Islam states that foreigners should not be allowed to interfere in the destiny of Muslims. If the *ulama* of Islam acquire power, they will not permit this command to be forgotten, they will put it into practice. So these two forces, the forces of Islam and the *ulama*, must be defeated (in the view of the foreigners).

For many years their specialists studied the problem and arrived at the conclusion that those barriers which could possibly stop them from achieving their aims should be destroyed, and they determined how they should be destroyed. After much research into the matter, they decided that one of these barriers is the country's culture and education, such that if Iran were to have one proper university, one non-parasitic and independent university, then righteous people would be found there, independent-minded scholars would be found there who would not let them do whatever they want to do. This itself would be a barrier blocking these opportunists in their aims. So education must be kept in a state of backwardness so that the foreigners can take the advantage.

¹ Rida Khan and Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi.

Another barrier which is greater than all the others is Islam. Islam is an obstacle to their exploitative plans so the Muslims must be made to view it disparagingly, they must be distanced from it. To this end, their propagandists, wherever and in whatever way they can, spread the idea that Islam contains rules which pertain to one thousand four hundred years ago and that it is of no use today. They describe it by using words such as “reactionary” and “retrogressive,” amongst other such inappropriate adjectives, while others say it is dictatorial. A person here yesterday said that some people believe—and perhaps he was airing his own views but was too shy to say so—that once we get rid of the Shah’s dictatorship we will be faced with the problem of an Islamic dictatorship! I asked him: “Which Islamic government have you seen up until the present that has led you to believe that Islam is dictatorial?” I will relate some of the stories that I have in mind now so that these gentlemen who presume that Islamic government means a dictatorship will realise how uninformed they really are on the subject. One story, which has been fully confirmed, concerns the Prophet, who is the head of Islam, and the other is about Imam Ali.

The first is about the time that the Most Noble Messenger was the ruler. It is related how one day, towards the end of his life when he was ill, this leader of Islam, who, according to the logic of the gentleman who was here yesterday, was a dictator, went to the mosque and ascended the pulpit where he told the congregation that if any one of them was nursing a grievance against him to speak out so that he might put it right. An Arab gentleman stood up saying that he had a grievance against him. When the Prophet asked him what it was, he said: “You struck me on the shoulder,” upon which the Prophet told him to come forward and return like for like. The man said: “When you struck my shoulder it was bare.” So, as the story has it, the Prophet bared his own shoulder so that the man could strike it. However, the gentleman came forward and kissed the Prophet’s shoulder instead¹. Tell me,

¹ Ibn Babuyeh quotes from Ibn ‘Abbas an event which occurred just before the Prophet’s demise. He relates how the Prophet went to the mosque and ascended the pulpit from where he spoke to the people. During his speech the Prophet said: “The Most High God has sworn that He will not overlook any unjust or oppressive acts so in God’s name I beseech whoever has suffered an injustice at the hands of Muhammad to rise up and take their revenge, for retribution in this world is more desirable to me than retribution in that world in the presence of God’s angels and the prophets.” Sawada ibn Qays then stood up saying: “May my mother and father be sacrificed for you oh Messenger of God, when you were coming from Taif I came to greet you, you were riding upon your she-camel with your staff in hand and when you raised it to strike your camel you struck me on the abdomen. I do not know whether you did it intentionally or whether it was an accident.” The Prophet replied: “God forbid that I should do

is this how a dictator acts?! The head of a nation declared that if anyone had a morally just or legal claim against him that person was to speak out so that he might put it right, even had the Prophet taken ten pennies off someone, that person had the right to say “you have wronged me, you have taken my wealth.” But no one said anything, only this one man who said that the Prophet had struck him, and then it became clear that this was merely an excuse on his part to kiss the naked shoulder of the Prophet. Now if amongst all the world’s governments, all those governments which you consider to be democratic, you can find one leader who will stand before the nation, before peasants, and tell them to speak out if they have a morally just or legal claim against him, if you can find one government in the world which acts in this way, then you can say that the Islamic system of government is dictatorial.

Another story which I would like to relate for you concerns Imam Ali, upon whom be peace. A Jew went to a judge, whom Imam Ali himself had appointed, complaining that Imam Ali had a coat of mail belonging to him. The judge sent for Imam Ali, who came and sat before him with the Jew, even insisting that he be shown no preferential treatment while the Jew’s case was heard. At the end of the hearing, the judge found in favour of the Jew and commanded Imam Ali to give him back his coat of mail! Imam Ali was the leader at that time, he was the caliph, the sultan, yet the judge, who had been appointed by him, summoned him to court and Imam Ali complied and sat before him along with the complainant, who was a Jew, while the case against him was heard, and at the end of the hearing it was Imam Ali who was found to be in the wrong! If you can find just one government from amongst all these democratic governments which acts like this, then you can say that Islamic government is dictatorial.

Yes, did you think that an Islamic government is that which is in power in the Hijaz at present¹?! The government there has nothing to do with Islam; they (the rulers there) too are dictators who only pay lip service to Islam. Or did you suppose it was like the government of that military ruler² in Pakistan? He knows nothing about Islam.

An Islamic government is like that which was in effect at the time of the Prophet and Imam Ali, its leaders act as they did and in the eyes of the law

such a thing intentionally,” and then he ordered for his staff to be brought to him and asked Sawada to return like for like. Sawada rose up and approached the Prophet, but when he reached him he began to kiss his body. The Prophet asked him: “Are you taking your revenge or granting your pardon?” Whereupon Sawada said: “I am granting my pardon.” *Muntahi al-Amal*, Volume 1, pp. 101-103.

¹ The government of Khalid ‘Aziz in Saudi Arabia.

² General Diya’ al-Haqq, military ruler in Pakistan at the time.

they are on a par with the lowliest in the land. Do not think that were an Islamic government set up it would torment the people or ignore education and take everything back to such and such a time! This is just idle talk which is spoken to deceive the people, to frighten them away from Islam and belittle the Islamic *ulama* in their eyes. At the time of Rida Shah, the Islamic *ulama* were disparaged to such a great extent that when a clergyman wished to ride in a taxi, the wretch of a driver would not allow him into his car saying: "You and certain others¹ are people we will not allow into our cars!" This is what it was like at the time of Rida Shah. Indeed their propaganda has been so effective that they have led our people, our youth, to believe that the mullahs work for the court! Well, if this were correct, then why did they clench their fists and rise up against the court? These people who have now clenched their fists are following the example of the *ulama*, this movement began with them. Are they then courtiers? Of course there are those who wear turbans on their heads and have joined the service of the court, but they number only three or four and the people know who they are. They are not true members of the *ulama*, they are people whom SAVAK has issued with a turban and describe as mullahs! When have the *ulama* ever been affiliated to the court?! This idea has been created by imperialist propaganda to distance you from the *ulama*, for when the power of the *ulama* has been separated from the power of the people, then the *ulama* can do nothing. This is all part of the imperialists' plans to distance the youth, through different forms of propaganda, from Islam and the *ulama* of Islam, for once this has been achieved they will be able to do whatever they want (in the country).

However, be that as it may, this uprising, this movement which is taking place in Iran now is becoming more extensive day by day. As we sit here a revolution is unfurling in many Iranian cities, the people have raised their voices in protest, there are clashes and killings. Iran is now gripped by a revolution which like a flood is sweeping away the Shah and destroying the interests of those who have benefited from his rule. Please God it will succeed. We ourselves want to administer this country, which is ours and which has been passed on to us from our ancestors. We don't want the American President to send people to administer it! We don't want him to send someone to control our army, we don't want our universities to be under his control or our Members of Parliament to be appointed from the list which the foreigners give. We want our nation to appoint its own parliamentary representatives. For fifty years now the people have not enjoyed true

¹ Prostitutes.

parliamentary representation. From the time that the Constitution came into being up until the present it has not been observed as it should have been. Before the establishment of the Constitution our country was always subjected to the rule of despots, but its situation since then has been even worse. When at the time of the despots were there so many killings? When at the time of the despots did the country suffer from so much suppression? Our clergymen have not been free to speak out, nor have our politicians, our academics or our students. No one has been allowed to utter a word. Two years ago this was still the case, however today, praise be to God, things are slightly better and the people are speaking out a little more freely than before.

The imperialists are trying to divide you through this propaganda that they disseminate. They want to distance you from Islam and other Muslims through different means and by employing different names so that they can execute their plans. To this end, they create deviations and promote much propaganda about how the clergymen are “retrogressive” and “reactionary!” Who are the reactionaries? Which manifestations of civilisation are the clergy opposed to? We accept all aspects of civilisation, what we don’t accept are these deviations. We say that a country in which the centres of corruption outnumber the libraries or whose inhabitants stand in line to sell their blood cannot be a country for us! According to what we are told, the poor people are having to queue up to sell their blood in order to get a few tumans to subsist on! We are saying that this situation has to change, the centres of fornication must go, this plundering must end. We are saying that one group of people should not have to live in hovels or go into holes in the ground to sleep while another owns multimillion dollar villas at home and abroad. This is what the *ulama* of Islam are saying. They are calling for the establishment of Islam, of justice, of Islamic justice; they want the nation’s wealth to be distributed more evenly and Islamic laws to be implemented. An Islamic government is a just system of government, far better than the present one; it is a government minus the thieving, the plundering, the wrongdoings and the bullying. There should be no bullying or oppression, plundering should not be allowed, the wealth of the nation should not be stolen and devoured. All the people should live comfortably, the poor should be helped, the poverty-stricken hovel-dwellers who have nothing should be taken care of. The wealth of the nation should not lie only in the hands of the elite and the aristocrats. The government should not see solely to the needs of the aristocrats. No, the government belongs to all sections of the community, it should work for everyone, it should work more for the weak and the poor in order to help

them attain a suitable standard of living. Gentlemen, do not listen to their propaganda.

Another thing I must remind you of is the importance of performing those deeds which Islam has made known to you, for they are for your own good. The rules that Islam has brought you are to train your spirit so that in the next life you will enjoy a happy, good life there also. All the deeds which you are told to perform are to ensure your own happiness. So just as you engage in struggle and pursue your studies, so too you must perform those deeds which God has enjoined you to do. Do not neglect these. Do not view *namaz* as being of no account, it is necessary for you to pray. Fasting and the other deeds which you are told to perform are to train you and guide you so that you reach higher degrees of perfection and attain (true) happiness. Thus, I ask you all most sincerely, I advise you all not to desist from performing those deeds which belong to the branches (*furu'*) of religion. I say this now because on different occasions I have been told that some of our young people have begun to neglect those aspects of the religion. Do not neglect these things gentlemen, they are for your own good, they will benefit you. If you strengthen your relationship with God, He will help you all, He will remove all the evils that afflict you and He will make you independent and free.

I pray to God the Almighty and Blessed for your health and for the greatness of Islam and the Muslims. May God grant you all success and assist you.

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty

Date: October 29, 1978 (AD) / Aban 7, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 26, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The expulsion of the Shah from Iran, the key to the solution of the present crisis

Occasion: Rumours on the take-over of a military government intensify

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) refers to the rumours about the formation of a military government and responds to remarks made by the Shah on October 26 (Aban 4 AHS), the day of his fifty-ninth birthday, in the presence of the regime's sycophants as they visited him to wish him many happy returns. In part of his speech made on this occasion the Shah said: "Mistakes have been made in the past, but the system of the country must remain as it is." In continuing the Shah added: "We believe in maximum power for the judiciary and today especially we must bring a lot of pressure to bear so that those who have done wrong are brought to justice. I hope that you will all pursue this aim."

In reply to the congratulations offered him by the parliamentary speaker, the dictator said: "On many occasions we have said that mistakes have indisputably been made in the past, that for sure a number of people have deviated from the path of candour, and mismanagement has taken place, but this is something that can be put right. So now we must do all we can to redress this situation that is we must struggle against corruption and rectify all injustices." In continuing his show of remorse, the Shah stated: "We are moving quickly towards an open political climate and from the point of view of written expression; you are all now witnessing how the press has reached the highest level of freedom and is now completely free. Thousands of people who were in prison have been freed... Of course the country's most important interests must be protected. The legislature, which is a significant and fundamental pillar of the country, will most certainly prove to be very effective in this task. I hope that with the kind of spirit I know you all to possess this task will be accomplished, and while upholding our religious customs, our holy practices, and safeguarding the independence of our country and political and individual freedoms, we will take Iran towards a stage of development."

Imam Khomeini, who was fully aware of the dictatorial nature of the Shah, said in response to his remarks: “Even if we suppose that he is truly repentant now, as he says he is, and that when he promises not to do such things again and to act in accordance with the Constitution from now on, he is speaking the truth—which he is not but let us suppose that he is—could the people ever accept the repentance of someone who has committed all these crimes and has killed so many?”

At the same time, as the Shah’s flunkies pandered to him with their fulsome remarks and as he promised to make up for past mistakes, agents under the Shah’s command opened fire on people in Khorramabad, Shahriz, Isfahan and Qum as they participated in peaceful demonstrations and marches calling for freedom and independence. Latest reports on this day put the number of those killed at six, while dozens of people were seriously injured and taken to hospital. A reporter from Qum in his report said that the city’s hospitals did not have enough beds for the injured and many of those hurt in the incident were forced to lie down in the corridors.

Also at this time, as Jafar Sharif Imami—the Freemason Prime Minister—tells the Shah: “This year Aban 4 (October 24) coincides with the complete implementation of the principle of freedom of written, verbal and ideological expression, which has been the aim of His Excellency the King of kings...”¹ martial law agents, armed to the teeth, use tear gas and bullets to disperse students and others who had gathered in the streets surrounding Tehran University, injuring dozens in the attack. In a report on this incident we read: “Dozens of old people who had been rendered immobile by the effects of the tear gas were taken away from the scene by those fleeing the bullets of the agents, despite the risk to their own lives.”

Yes, at the same time as the Shah pledged to redress past mistakes, martial law agents in the holy city of Qum were busy attacking the female pupils of Mehran High School who, dressed completely in black *hijab* (Islamic veil) and carrying pictures of Imam Khomeini, were holding a peaceful demonstration. This attack, in which tear gas was once again used, resulted in the serious injury of many of the girls and according to eyewitness accounts, a number were also martyred. As the unrest continued, a young fifth-former named Ahmad Abdipour was shot and martyred in an alleyway, and a woman whose identity is not known was also shot and killed. Around the shrine of Hadrat Masuma (a) shots also rang out as agents opened fire on the people there. The situation in Qum was reported to be very convulsive

¹ *Ittilaat* newspaper, October 24, 1978 (Aban 4, 1357 AHS).

and in Chahar Mardan Street, which was at the heart of the demonstrations, the thunder of tanks could be heard and the hail of machine-gun fire was incessant. Under such circumstances, does not Imam have the right as a representative of the nation to refuse to accept the Shah's claim of repentance?

In his present speech, Imam Khomeini predicts with confidence that the formation of a military government will not solve any of the regime's problems, and he assures the Iranian people that the backing of America, the Soviet Union, Britain and a military force cannot do anything in the face of a nation's demands.

Speech Number Fifty

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

A matter about which we have spoken repeatedly was made public by the British Foreign Minister. From the very beginning we have said that the previous Shah (Rida Khan) carried out a coup d'état on the orders of the British and came to power to preserve their interests; he was thrown out of the country and taken off to the island of Mauritius only when he transgressed their bounds and broke their rules¹. The present Shah also came to power in Iran to protect the interests of the Allies: the Russians, Americans and the British, and throughout his rule he has worked for their interests. A few days ago the British Foreign Minister confirmed this saying that they could not remain silent while someone who was in Iran to preserve their interests was in such a situation! The Iranian nation which has risen now has done so because of this matter of which the British Foreign Minister speaks.

The nation of Iran—a nation which has been dragged into so much bloodshed and whose youth have been killed in such great numbers—all the important cities of Iran, the towns and large villages of Iran are now in the grip of revolution. They have written that Zanzan is aflame with fire and every corner of Tehran is seething with revolt. The situation is the same in Qum and other cities. A full-scale uprising is taking place which I am afraid may result in a revolution that no one will be able to stop.

The British Foreign Minister and those foreign ministers of other exploiting countries do not have the sense to realise that they cannot treat a nation in this way. The heads of the superpower nations think that because they are superpowers they can devour the whole world! But when a nation rises and gives everything it has for the sake of its freedom and independence then this fire cannot be quenched with bayonets, martial law or a military government. They are mistaken by thinking it can.

¹ Rida Khan viewed the progress made by Germany in the First World War with great interest and admiration and he considered siding with the victorious party in the war. Towards the end of his rule and at the beginning of the Second World War, he invited a number of German specialists to work in Iran. This did not conform to the policies of the Allies who had put him in power, so they ordered him to expel the German specialists immediately. Even though Rida Shah obeyed the orders of the Allies, they still did not agree to the continuation of his rule and in his stead they put his son, Muhammad-Rida, on the throne.

If they want to set up a military government for instance, what good is it actually going to do them, for twelve cities are already under martial law, indeed the whole of Iran is unofficially under martial law. The government in Iran now is like a military government, but the people have not succumbed to it. Someone who is ready to sacrifice everything is not worried by a military government. Suppose that a military coup d'état does take place and a military figure comes to power, he will be no different from this person¹. As it is now the Iranian government is (like) a military government, and yet the people have stood up and are demanding their rights. They are not calling for something which is illegal; they are calling for something to which they are legally entitled.

It's been more than fifty years! Our forty and fifty-year-olds were born into suppression. The people have two things to say: firstly, that this Shah is not a constitutional monarch, he is a despot, and secondly that the crimes he has committed are unforgivable. Even if we suppose that he is truly repentant now, as he says he is, and that when he promises not to do such things again and to act in accordance with the Constitution² from now on, he is speaking the truth—which he is not, but let us suppose that he is—could the people ever accept the repentance of someone who has committed all these crimes and has killed so many? According to Islamic law, the penalty for someone who orders the killing of someone else, even though he does not actually carry out the killing himself, is life imprisonment. Now someone who has ordered the killing of a multitude of people turns around and says: “I will reign, not govern!” The hell you will! Rule is for he who is legally appointed to rule and who then rules according to the Constitution and does not govern.

¹ Sharif Imami.

² In Mehr 1357 AHS (Sept/Oct, 1978), during the opening ceremony of the National Consultative Assembly, the Shah said: “It goes without saying that in our endeavours to fortify the foundations of religious faith, the sublime mores and principles of Islam will always be our greatest source of guidance and inspiration. An outline of the resolutions which are to be passed during the coming year can be clearly defined from our overall objectives and proposed policy ... Obviously as a Muslim country, one of our prime objectives and aims is to strive for the advancement of the Islamic world and for its ever-increasing development and greatness.”(!) Again, on the occasion of the seventy-third anniversary of constitutional government, he had said: “From the beginning of my childhood, religion and Islam were an integral part of my life. That is to say that I am a devout Muslim. And as the nation's leader I state with conviction that a society needs to have a spiritual faith, and most essentially it needs to have a religious faith, for it is this which affords order and stability. So I, who have sworn to preserve the Constitution, to defend the country's frontiers and boundaries, and to safeguard the twelve-Imami religion of Shi'ism, have certain obligations to fulfil—obligations which the people must also fulfil in another way.”(!)

We all know that the Pahlavi rule is not at all legal. The Pahlavi dynasty came into being through the power of the bayonet. It began with Rida Shah who carried out a coup d'état, he was an army commander, then he became Minister of War and then temporary governor, and all this took place through the force of the bayonet. Initially, the Iranian nation was not aware of the kind of man he really was, so they said nothing. Later, however, he gradually began to show his true face, that of a person who respected nothing. He destroyed Iran's dignity, he formed a Parliament at bayonet point and this Constituent Assembly that he created in order to depose the Qajar ruler and put himself on the throne did not have any connection with the people, the people were not aware of what was going on, they had no say in the matter. It was created at bayonet point and he himself was a bayonet! Those who were a part of it voted for him, it was set up only to give him the vote! Articles were removed from the Constitution and others put in their place so that the Qajar monarchy could be disposed of and the Pahlavi monarchy brought in its stead: this was all done through the power of the bayonet, it was not lawful. These articles which are now in the Constitution are not constitutional articles, originally the Constitution did not contain such articles. They were put there by force of the bayonet, and the people were not aware of what had happened.

So Rida Shah came to power against the wishes of a nation through the might of the bayonet in an un-constitutional manner. After him, rule was passed onto his son who himself said that the Allies had told him that he must rule! An unlawful rule! From the beginning his rule was unlawful! This Shah is a criminal, it wasn't only his father who was a criminal, he is one too. The people could not speak out, but now, praise be to God, they can, now they give lives and speak out.

In sum, everything that our nation is saying is that this man is a traitor. Let us suppose that his rule has been legal—which it hasn't and according to the rightful law it has always been invalid—but let us suppose that it has been legal and that he has ruled according to the Constitution, when he betrays a nation, when he diverges from the constitutional law, then he should be dismissed, he should no longer be the ruler. Throughout his rule this man has deprived the people of freedom. He even admits this himself. When he says that he will give the people freedom, it means that he had taken their freedom away from them. He had it in his pocket and now he wants to give it to them! This is admitting a crime. If he is tried in court, which God willing he will be, the fact that he says he will give the people freedom is confessing to a crime, for according to both the constitutional law and the sharia (Islamic) law the

nation is supposed to be free; the constitutional law has granted the people freedom so when he says he will give them freedom it means that he had taken it away from them and thus he is admitting a crime.

One of the things that the people are shouting is that they have never had freedom, neither throughout his rule nor that of his father. Our youth have never tasted freedom, when they first opened their eyes (on this world) there was a policeman standing over them, a military agent, a government agent or a plunderer, they have not witnessed a day of freedom and neither have we. From the time of Rida Shah to the present there has not been a hint of freedom. One thing that the people are shouting for is their freedom. The young children are shouting for freedom, the old men are shouting for freedom, the people from the universities and others are all shouting for freedom, everyone wants freedom. He has deprived a nation of freedom, he is not fit to rule, so even if we suppose that his rule was once lawful, it is no longer and he is the ruler no more.

Moreover, even if he were the legal ruler, the whole nation is now saying that they no longer want him, they are saying death to this Pahlavi monarchy! This is itself a referendum, all the people from all over Iran are shouting that they don't want him, they are shutting down the bazaars, they are showing their opposition in governmental institutions. The people don't want him, and even if on the basis of the Constitution and the votes of the nation this man was once the shah, as soon as the people refuse him their vote, he is shah no longer. Now our people are saying that they don't want this man, and one of the reasons why they don't want him is that he has deprived them of their freedom, for fifty years he and his father have deprived them of their freedom and now they are saying that they no longer want him.

Another reason why they want to be rid of him is that he is selling off their resources to foreigners. Whatever the nation had he has given to others! God forbid that his rule should be perpetuated for a few more years. If his rule continues for a few more years he will give all of our oil to America, Britain and other countries! At present he is recklessly giving away our oil without us knowing what the oil money is being spent on. Yes, we know that the regime buys arms from America, arms which are used only for creating American bases in the country. America wants to create military bases in Iran against the Soviet Union, so it takes our oil and builds bases for itself in the country with the money it pays for the oil! It takes our oil and uses the money it paid for it for itself! So this too is to its benefit! What need does Iran have for these sophisticated weapons which the Iranian army knows neither how to use nor what they are good for? Only their own experts know how to use

them. He is a person who has disrupted our economy. On the one hand he is giving our oil away to others such that if he remains in power, in a few years' time there will be neither oil nor other resources left for us; and on the other hand, in the name of "land reforms," he has destroyed the agriculture of Iran and has turned the country into a market for the consumption of American goods. So now everything we need we have to get from abroad, and if they ever stop the imports, Iran will be left with no food supplies. If he remains in power for a few more years, he will exhaust the oil reserves, he has already destroyed the agriculture so how will the future generation live? What will they have to live off? Nothing!

So this is the state of our country's economy. Now, what of its education? The hands of foreigners will not allow our children to receive a proper education, they prevent them from being educated properly. Today, the call of all the teachers and students is that they want to be independent, they want to be in control of their own affairs, they are shouting: "You don't allow us to live our own lives." They (the foreigners) have a mission to keep our education in a state of backwardness, they do not allow our educational system to train true human beings, they do not permit our youth to receive a proper, independent education for fear that they will become independent thinkers. They don't want a generation to be produced which will think independently and which will grasp the reins of power in their own hands. Our educational system must produce only parasitic individuals whose sole concern is with the policies of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, so that these countries can take the advantage!

So we have no education now, he has destroyed both our education and our economy. What is there then left for us? When we look at the army we see it is an army which is under the control of American advisers. So do we have an army? An army which does not enjoy independence, an army which cannot do anything for itself, is not independent in its actions. Sixty thousand American spongers have gone to Iran under the name of "military advisers",¹

¹ An American researcher writes: "24,000 Americans were reported to have been working in Iran in July 1976, and even then this figure was rising. Some of these, such as the 1,700 American workforce at the Bell helicopter manufacturing company, worked directly under the supervision of their own American bosses, and had little contact with Iranians. The majority of Americans however, worked with Iranian officers and workers, whether they were employed in military organisations or in technical and administrative sectors; and here the difference in the salaries, fringe benefits, and material comforts enjoyed by the Americans was a cause of Iranian discontent." A report made by the Foreign Affairs Committee in the American Senate, stated that the number of American residents in Iran was expected to rise from 24,000 in the year of the report (1976), to 50-60,000 in the year 1980."

I have no idea what they are actually doing there, but our army is under their control. So we have no army either. What then do we have? What does Iran have? This Iran that he says has reached the gates of a “great civilisation!” Is this his great civilisation?!

Carter says that the cause of opposition to the Shah stems from the fast freedom that he has given the people! According to Carter’s logic, all this shouting by the people is because they have had their fill of freedom, he has given them so much freedom that they can’t digest it, it is giving them indigestion! That’s why they are shouting, so they say! Carter said this just a few days ago. It was reported in our newspapers that he had said the Shah had given the people a “fast freedom” and that this was the source of the people’s opposition to him! This is why the people are shouting out so much for freedom!

Now, as we sit here, I don’t know exactly what is happening in Iran. I know that incidents are taking place, but I have no information on where or on how many people have been killed in them. Any newspaper which comes from Iran now reports on some incident or other, and even though the press may not be able to give all the facts, we can get an idea of what is happening there from their reports which speak constantly of people being killed in one place or another. In Kabutar Ahang, a village in the vicinity of Hamadan, the newspapers reported five people killed in incidents there¹. Five people in one village! This fire which has been lit in Iran now is spreading and is engulfing all the villages of Iran, all the towns of Iran, and all the Iranian cities, both large and small. It bears glad tidings for us, for it shows that the disaffected have raised their voices. They are being killed and not without reason, they are being killed because they are shouting out that they don’t want this man. If they don’t shout “death to the Shah” they won’t be shot at. The agents are ordered to shoot at them whenever they utter the name of the Shah without saying “His Excellency Aryamehr!” All the people of Iran today, from the small children to the elderly gentlemen, are shouting just one thing and that is: “We don’t want this man, he has to go.”

Such a nation cannot be anything other than victorious. Rest assured that this nation will be victorious (the audience says “God willing”). A nation cannot be trifled with². Do not be afraid of the support that Carter, the British

¹ The *Ittilaat* newspaper dated October 30, 1978 reported: “The demonstrations of Kabutar Ahang in Hamadan province were marred by bloodshed yesterday, five people were killed and eighteen people critically injured.” At the end of this report the names of the five martyrs were mentioned.

² Refer to the introductions of previous speeches.

Foreign Minister and the Kremlin have said they will give the Shah¹. This is all talk, don't let it scare you. When a nation, no matter how weak, says "no" it means "no," and no one can make it into a "yes," the military cannot do this and neither can the armies of America and the Soviet Union, it simply cannot be done.

The Shah and his government keep talking about how they must sit down and find a solution to this impasse which they themselves have created, but the solution does not lie in the hands of a minister or a representative of the Parliament, it lies in the hands of the Shah, nobody but he can quench this fire, he holds the key and that is for him to go, to leave the country and let the people be! When he goes, then there will be peace, and when those who supported him gather their forces and leave after him, the country will be calm. And why shouldn't Iran be calm? The Iranian people are a peace-loving people, but when they are put under so much pressure, then they raise their voices, otherwise they are a peace-loving and noble people. It is because of their noble nature and their strength of character that they are shouting out now.

May God assist you all, all the people of our country. Every night, gentlemen, I repeat that we all have a duty to perform, you who are here have a duty to perform. We are indebted to the Iranian nation. There are those in Iran now who have sacrificed their children, mothers and fathers have seen their children killed, we are indebted to them, for they have risen for the benefit of the whole nation, they are not doing this just for their own benefit they have risen for the (whole) nation. We too are a part of the Iranian nation, so they have risen for us too. So now wherever you are, here, America, Britain, elsewhere in Europe, you should serve this country, and the service that you can do is to propagate the Iranian nation's cause. You can all do this, each one of you has contact with a few individuals and can tell them about Iran's problems.

These people (in the West) have been misinformed about the circumstances surrounding events in Iran by the evil propaganda that has been disseminated. It has been said that they (the clergy) are reactionaries,

¹ *Pravda* newspaper in an attack on the religious leaders of Iran wrote that in the Kremlin's opinion the best reforms in Iran were those carried out by His Excellency! The uprising against the Shah should have been greeted warmly by the Communists in Moscow, but instead the Russian leaders expressed concern about the outcome of this movement. A high-ranking Russian official in this regard told Muhammad Hasanain Heikal, the famous Egyptian journalist and political analyst, that the Iranian revolution was guided by the religious leaders whereas Marxism saw religion as intrinsically reactionary and an obstacle to revolution.

that they want to put the clock back, they want to take the country back to how it was some one thousand and odd years ago. No, they don't want to do this, you (the Shah) are the one who wants to put the clock back, you are the one who changed our current calendar, adopting one of two thousand five hundred years ago: a Zoroastrian calendar! This is reactionary, not that which we say. We want our history, our own vital Islamic history. They say that the Iranian people are reactionaries. This is not so, they are not reactionary, they are progressive, they want freedom and independence. Is someone who wants freedom and independence a reactionary?! He who deprives the people of freedom and he who wants to go back to the time of the tyrannical kings is reactionary. The reactionary is he who takes away freedom, he who betrays a country and a nation, not the people who ask why he betrays them, why he deprives them of freedom.

I hope that, God willing, you will all serve your country and tell the people in your universities about the situation in Iran, tell them how this man has oppressed us. If we suppose that every one of ten thousand Iranians (and there are more than that number here) tells ten people of the facts, then a large number of people will be informed about the situation in Iran and even if they are already informed you can enlighten them further. Thus, the problems from which this nation suffers will be made clear to them and they will realise that this nation wants to be free. God willing, a wave of support will be found over here for the Iranian people's cause which will bear fruit soon. There is no doubt that it will eventually bear fruit, but let us pray that it will happen soon. May God keep you all.

Peace be upon you, and also the mercy and blessings of god.

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-One

Date: October 30, 1978 (AD) / Aban 8, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 27, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The form of government established by the Holy Prophet, and the struggles engaged in by the Imams and the Shi'i clergy against the tyrannical rulers of the day

Occasion: The continuation of the superpowers' propaganda against Islam and the clergy, and the perpetuation of the uprising in Iran

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The continued national uprising in protest against the Shah's crimes, along with the high-profile presence of Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) in Paris and the campaign of his friends and associates, meant that the world was now focusing its attention on the issues concerning Iran more than it had done at any other time. After Jimmy Carter (the US President) and David Owen (the British Foreign Minister) had declared their support for the Shah, the members of an international watchdog committee announced the findings of an enquiry into the recent unrest and human rights violations in Iran, having completed a ten-day visit to that country on the invitation of legal experts there. At a press conference the members of this committee stated that in their opinion supporting the Iranian regime was a grave mistake, and in a letter to the government of Iran they repudiated the regime's claims with regard to the freeing of political prisoners.

In the report compiled by this committee, Western governments had been asked to withdraw their support for the Shah's regime and to stop freighting arms to Iran, and it had been pointed out that since America and Britain had supported the Iranian regime they were therefore heavily responsible for the current situation in Iran. The said report had also stressed that at present Iran was the scene of the most deliberate and massive movement to have been fought for freedom and national independence. It said that Iran was currently in the whirlwind of a revolution and that the Shah's regime was in effect unable to do anything about it. The report concluded by stating that although, due to international pressure, torture in Iranian prisons had lessened, instead the location of detention centres had been altered and these centres were now not only used to detain political activists but were also being used to detain a great number of young people who had become involved in political activities for the first time.

News cabled by the world's largest news agencies at this time mainly featured the Iranian people's relentless struggle against the Shah under the leadership of Imam Khomeini. The most famous of these news agencies reported that: "In none of the talks which took place in France over the past few days between certain political figures and Ayatullah Khomeini, did the Leader of the Revolution show any signs of waiving or relaxing the position he had formerly adopted."

In the replies given to those who had visited him for talks, Imam had referred to three points:

1- The current crisis in Iran is one which has been totally unprecedented during the post World War Two period. This opportunity which has come about because of an arousal of public opinion must be seized and those basic reforms which are essential to the country's future must be implemented.

2—The appointment of a provisional government to hold office during the period of transition is ill-advised and would prove to be inexpedient.

3—One must not be alarmed or concerned by the reaction of America, for once it becomes convinced that Iran's foreign policy truly intends to follow a non-aligned political strategy which is in no way obligated to the superpowers, it will be forced to accept the new state of affairs.

Reports released by the world's largest news agencies now indicate that over the past few days Paris had become the centre of important political talks on Iran's destiny and the political stand it is to adopt in the future. Whilst these political developments were unfolding, nationwide protest rallies and demonstrations continued to be held. Government-affiliated establishments such as the Saderat Bank were attacked and set ablaze by demonstrators in Bushehr. Students from the College of Law and Economics in Qazvin assembled at noon in Khayyam Street (in Qazvin) where they performed a congregational prayer whilst surrounded by government forces. Pupils at the Shahpur High School in Tuisirkan staged a demonstration in the school-yard and chanted slogans declaring their refusal to return to classes until their demands were met. Similarly, having voiced protest against the recent killings in Hamadan, pupils at Amir Kabir High School of the same city held a congregational prayer gathering in the school-yard following which they conducted a demonstration along Amir Kabir Street, fleeing from the scene after using sticks and stones to smash the windows of the Rastakhiz Party's headquarters and the city's only cinema.

At this point in time, massive demonstrations and rallies take place in Burujird, Aliabad in Gorgan, Kermanshah (Bakhtaran), Khorramabad, Abadeh, Jahrum, Ridaiyeh (Urmieh) and Dezful. In Dezful, thousands of

pupils and teachers march through the city's main streets carrying upon their shoulders the coffined Sayyid Mahmud Musawi, a young teacher who had died from bullet wounds inflicted by government agents.

Due to strike action by the employees of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Company of Iran, televised news reports are no longer broadcast and television programmes now finish two hours earlier than usual. Likewise, the duration of radio news bulletins now become shorter. In a twenty-article statement issued by the employees of the Radio and Television Broadcasting Company, the latter demand freedom of speech as stipulated in the constitutional law and its supplementary acts; respect for universally-accepted human rights' standards; the release of political prisoners; a re-examination of the criterion used to assess rights and earnings and an elimination of discrimination in this regard; and above all, the broadcast of programmes and reports covering the demonstrations held by the people. Furthermore, the Radio and Television Broadcasting Company employees based in Gilan, also now take strike action in a show of support and fraternity for their striking colleagues in Tehran, and in order for further demands made by the latter to be met.

Meanwhile, 8,700 employees of the Agricultural and Industrial Complex in Ahwaz stage a hunger strike in support of that staged by the workers' representatives of the same complex. The bazaar merchants in Tehran turn out the lights in their shops in a show of protest against the present situation and against the deplorable events which have occurred across the country. Hence, from today, shops and stalls in the bazaar are plunged into darkness thus giving rise to a state of emergency. In Khorramabad, one person is killed and a number injured when security forces fire on a crowd of 20,000 demonstrators.

Because of the strike action taken by employees of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Company of Iran, people now listen to news reports transmitted by other radio stations such as the BBC. In an extensive commentary, a BBC newscaster gives an in-depth account of demonstrations and rallies held by the people and announces: "Ayatullah Khomeini stands firm and resolute in his opposition. Neither is he prepared to hold talks, nor is he prepared to tone down his demands... Cassette tapes of Ayatullah Khomeini's speeches are reproduced and distributed amongst the people in Iran within the space of a few hours via a coordinated plan of action whereby these tapes are taken to Tehran by travellers from Paris. Even though martial law is in force and trucks filled with soldiers and armed troops are stationed at various points across the city, nevertheless, these cassette tapes are swiftly

handed out amongst the people of Tehran and are also sent to different cities via various means.”

In the present speech (51), Imam Khomeini describes the multi-faceted nature of the regime’s propaganda and the wide-ranging methods employed by the enemies of Islam against religion and the clerical establishment. By referring to historical facts, he responds to leftist propaganda which regards religion as the opium of the people and the cause of their torpid state. By emphasising that the prophets, the Imams and the true clergy all in fact rose up from amongst the deprived masses of society to fight against the capitalists and oppressors, and by stressing that throughout their entire lives they were involved in struggle and holy war (*jihad*), Imam gives examples of the way in which the leaders of so-called “civilised” and “humanitarian” countries behave, and he alerts the teenagers and the younger generation to the deception behind the propaganda disseminated by the world’s major powers.

In another part of his speech, Imam refers to the telegrams sent to the Shah by the heads of the world’s powerful countries, telegrams which were sent to mark the Shah’s inauspicious birthday and which bespoke the support given by these countries to the Iranian dictator. In this regard Imam says: “We want to be free, we want independence in our country, we want freedom. Neither can a martial law government stand in the way of this nation any more, nor can any other form of government... neither can Carter stand in its way, nor can those who sit in the Kremlin.” Then he states in no uncertain terms: “This person must go; there are no two ways about it. If you would like Iran to be put right then know that this is not possible whilst Muhammad Rida and that evil Pahlavi dynasty remain. He must leave in order for Iran to be put right. And following this, if the country is to be straightened out, the hands of America, Britain and Russia—these three superpowers—must be severed from Iran...”

Speech Number Fifty-One

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

We are now confronted by a propaganda campaign which was launched by the foreigners when they first made inroads into Iran and conducted research on the country with a view to taking away Iran's resources. At that time they began to propagate that the people saw Islam and the religious establishment as something which was against this life, something against reason, something reactionary, something of no use to their everyday life and so on. Via this extensive propaganda campaign, they accused the different religions of essentially being an opium to stupefy the people¹, of being a creation of the capitalists, and they accused the *ulama* of Islam of being the agents of these capitalists, who serve to stupefy the people so that they remain acquiescent, so that there is no chance of a revolution taking place at any time. This kind of propaganda was spread by those missionaries and others, who regarded Islam as something which stood in the way of their interests, and who saw the *ulama* of Islam as another such barrier.

During my past few days here, I have spoken on different occasions about many of the issues involved in this regard to the gentlemen in the audience, an audience which of course changes from day to day as people come and go. An example of those things of which I have spoken and which need to be repeated, is the question which asks: if one were to study the scripture of Islam, that is the Quran, or were to learn its teachings, then would it be as if he had taken opium? Would this person then retire to his home and become torpid? Does the Quran invite people to retire to a monastery? Or is the Quran a stimulus for society whereby he who reads it comes to support the elimination of oppression and of those acts of cruelty which take place?

Whoever is in any way familiar with the logic of the Quran, realises that indeed it was the Quran which led the Prophet of Islam to constantly wage war against the capitalists, against those who were capitalists in the Hijaz, in

¹ The misconceived phrase: "Religion is the opium of the masses" is one of Lenin's celebrated theories. During the third congress of the Communist Youth Association, Lenin said: "Marxism is materialism and as such it is the dour enemy of religion ... religion is the opium and morphine of the masses and Marxism has always held all modern religions, churches and the entire religious establishment to constitute anachronistic means employed by the bourgeoisie to preserve exploitation and to poison the minds of the working classes."

Taif, in Mecca and so on, and who possessed power and were cruel. It was the Quran which urged the Holy Prophet to wage war against those who did not respect the people's national sentiments and who acted as a barrier to the interests of the social masses, unfairly exploiting the latter. It was the Quran which urged the Holy Prophet to do this and to establish some form of justice.

Those battles which were declared by the Prophet during his lifetime, once he had mustered up the troops needed to go to war that is, were always fought against the holders of power. They were fought against people like Abu Sufyan and others like him, people who possessed power and who wanted to appropriate the people's assets, the assets of their own people, for themselves; and they were fought at a time when oppression, injustice and acts of cruelty were rife. And those battles which took place, were fought between the oppressed in society, those in society's lower social stratum, the poor, and those with power, those who wanted to take possession of what rightfully belonged to the indigent.

That which the Quran has to say about war and about waging battle against these polytheists who were the holders of power at the time, is by no means exiguous; those verses contained in the Quran in this regard, are by no means few in number. There are numerous verses which relate to war and to struggle against these men of power. If anyone is able to find one verse throughout the entire Quran which tells the people to act moderately towards these powerful men, and to go home and sleep leaving the latter free to do as they please, then indeed he is entitled to say that this Quran and this religion have come to stupefy the people, that they are the opium of the people—opium in the sense that like a narcotic substance which is consumed and which subsequently induces man to feel drowsy, the Quran too has come to make people feel drowsy!

This has all been but propaganda directed against the Quran, and its aim has been to separate the Muslims from this holy book and to destroy the logic contained in it in full view of the Muslims so that those Easterners who are Muslim and who possess valuable resources no longer have the power to put up a fight. If there is no Quran and no religious ministers of the Quran, then these people and popular masses will not put up a fight. It is due to the very fact that we do have the Quran and its religious ministers that putting up resistance is indeed a possibility...

This kind of research has concluded that that which constitutes an obstacle in the path of Western interests is the Quran and those people who have read its teachings. These people may at some time stand in the way of the West's interests. Hence, these two barriers must be destroyed in order for

the path to be cleared. They destroyed—to use their own words—the Quran, or they intended to do so that is, by using the argument which holds that essentially religion, not only the religion of Islam but religion in general, has always been a kind of opiate from time immemorial. And they used this argument not because they were unaware of the facts, for they were indeed aware, they were fully aware of the facts, but rather they did this because they were involved in a plan which was meant to deceive. It is we who were unaware of the fact that we were being deceived. They were involved in a deceitful plan, and their plan had a purpose, a political purpose from which they hoped to gain; but as for the Muslims, they were duped. We were the ones who were ignorant of the facts.

Even now that Islam, the Quran, the clergy and so on have such firm foundations amongst the youth in our society, they are trying to shake and destroy these foundations. Someone who is working for the foreign powers, or if not, then someone who has been fooled by them, might still forward the same argument and insist that the Quran, and for example the clergy, are in fact opiates! Even though they are witnessing this movement, a movement which got under way fifteen years ago and which has now caused such upset—not only to the Shah, but to America, Britain and the Soviet Union, those who are trying to discover how to find deliverance but who cannot, since the bayonet can do nothing when faced with the will of the people—nevertheless, even now some ignoramus from amongst them may still be found to utter such foolish words.

All of the former prophets, those of whose life histories we are aware that is, were from the lower social strata, they were from amongst the poor in society, and yet they rose up against the sultan of the day as did the prophet Moses, upon whom be peace, for example against Pharaoh. A simple shepherd with staff in hand rises up and invites the people to lead a virtuous life. He then goes to Pharaoh whom he wishes to guide aright in order for him to become a true human being. It wasn't a case of Moses being appointed by Pharaoh to stupefy the masses! He himself (Moses) came from the masses. That is, God chose him from among the popular masses to confront the might of Pharaoh; and the same goes for the other prophets, peace be upon them, those with whose lives we are familiar that is.

The Most Noble Prophet (Muhammad) lived nearer to us in time than did the other prophets and we know more about his life than we do about the lives of the other prophets. Hence, we know about all of the battles in which he was involved, we know how many battles he fought and against whom he

fought; and all of these battles were in fact fought against people who were oppressive and cruel.

Therefore, the logic which argues that Islam or indeed other religions are opiates, is an argument forwarded by those foreigners who want to appropriate your wealth, those who want to distance us from the Quran so that we would be devoid of a backing support. If a support such as the power of the Quran were not behind us we would become ideologically divided, each person holding a different opinion. Their propaganda would be effective in misleading our youth and this would mean that they (those in power) would be free to get on with whatever it is they want to do.

When we take a look at those who propagated religion, like the Prophet himself, like Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), peace be upon him, like the caliphs who succeeded the Prophet—or rather those pseudo-caliphs who succeeded the Prophet whilst it was still a question of becoming caliph and not sultan—and later, like the *ulama* of Islam, we see on examining history that the wars engaged in were always between these aforesaid people and the tyrants. The former were never seen to sit back in silence. However, when they fought they did so according to their strength and power which at that time was in fact very little. There were reasons for this of course, reasons which involved certain shortcomings on their part.

Within my own lifetime, during the period that I myself have been witness to events, I have seen this same sector of society fight against Rida Shah. When the latter came and staged a coup, wreaking the havoc he did, and committing those acts of oppression and those injustices against all classes of society, no powerful force stood up to confront him except for that of the clergy. And thus many uprisings ensued, all of which I can call to mind. Yes, there have been many uprisings, uprisings such as those initiated by the *ulama* in Isfahan, when the latter all assembled in Qum along with the *ulama* from other cities¹; or again, like the uprising which sprang from

¹ In 1927 (1306 AHS) Rida Khan called for conscription to become compulsory and he gave orders that the clergy be indirectly prevented from carrying out certain of their duties and from interfering in affairs of State. This command constituted a declaration of war against the *ulama* and the clergy and hence the people of Iran, especially the *ulama* and the people of Isfahan, protested bitterly to the government. Ayatullah Haj Aqa Nurullah Isfahani, a militant clergyman of that time, set out for Qum along with about one hundred *ulama* and religious combatants and a group of ordinary citizens all from the city of Isfahan. On entering Qum, he issued a letter of invitation to the entire *ulama*, clergymen and religious combatants of Iran; and as well as inviting them to Qum he urged them to issue a warning to Rida Khan's government and to take action so as to check those measures already taken by Rida Khan. A number of the clergy from different cities accepted this invitation, came to Qum, and arranged

Khorasan when all of the *ulama* of that province who had risen up were arrested and taken to prison¹, *ulama* such as the late Aqa Sayyid Yunus², the late Aqa Zadeh³ and others like them. During the uprising which arose in

a gathering of over seven hundred people. These clergymen came to be known as “the migrant *ulama*.” Following this “migration,” a general closure was announced in several cities including Shiraz and the holy city of Mashhad. Telegrams were cabled to the government from both the people and the clergy in support of the demands made by the council of *ulama* in Qum, and the spread of popular demonstrations and augmentation of protests made by the *ulama* caused Rida Shah to become alarmed. Thus, on the latter’s orders, the Prime Minister (Mukhbir al-Saltana) and the Minister of the Royal Court (Teymurtash), accompanied by the Friday prayer leader and Zahir al-Islam set out for Qum where they met and held talks with Ayatullah Nurullah Isfahani and the city’s elected council of *ulama*. Eventually, a compromise was reached over the following points:

The practice of compulsory conscription was to be reassessed.

Five *ulama* were to superintend legislation in the Majlis.

In each of the country’s provinces someone was to be appointed as guardian of the religious laws.

Pre-emptive action was to be taken against the perpetration of sinful acts.

Registry offices were to conduct their affairs according to Islamic laws.

However, Haj Aqa Nurullah, who had agreed to the migrant *ulama* returning to Isfahan on condition that the above points were legally legislated, died under mysterious circumstances on the eve of December 25 (Dey 4). Since he had been the one who had until then conducted affairs, after his death the body of migrant *ulama* broke up.

¹ After the enforcement of Rida Khan’s decree requiring everyone to wear uniform dress and the Islamic veils of women to be removed, the *ulama* in Khorasan rose in revolt. In order to suppress the uprising, Rida Khan ordered his agents to attack the protesters who had gathered at the mosque of Gauhar Shad in the city of Mashhad. A great number of innocent people were massacred in this incident and about one hundred clergymen and other influential people were arrested. Some of the great *ulama* of the time, such as Aqa Sayyid Yunus Ardebili and Aqa Zadeh were taken to Tehran to stand trial. See *Nihzat-i Ruhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 2, p. 165.

² Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Yunus Ardebili (1876-1959 AD) was one of the famous Shi’i *maraji*. He left his place of birth (Ardebil) for Zanjan to study *fiqh* and *usul* under Akhund Mullah Qurban Ali Zanjani, and rational sciences (*ulum al-maqul*) under Akhund Mullah Sabz Ali Hakim. In 1892, he travelled to Najaf where he attended the theological centre studying under instructors such as: Fadl Sharbiyani, Akhund Khorasani, Aqa Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Yazdi and Shaykh al-Shari’ah Isfahani. He later moved to Karbala to study with Mirza Shirazi the second, eventually returning to Ardebil in 1916. In 1923, at the time of the struggle against Rida Khan, Sayyid Yunus went to Mashhad. Following events at the Gauhar Shad mosque, he was arrested and sent to Ardebil. In 1938, he once again returned to Mashhad where he began teaching. He died there not long after his return. His body is buried in the Dar al-Saadat at the shrine of Imam Rida. He is famous for authoring such books as: *Dowra-yi Kamil-i Fiqh* and *Risalat dar Qaida al-Zarar*. Refer to the *Encyclopaedia of Shi’ism* and *Tarikh-i Bist Saleh-yi Iran*.

³ Mirza Muhammad (Aqa Zadeh) Najafi Khorasani (1877-1938 AD) the son of Akhund Khorasani began his studies with his father and received the authorisation for becoming a *mujtahid* from him. In 1907, he left Najaf for Khorasan in Iran and took up residence in

Azerbaijan, the distinguished *ulama* of that province, such as the late Mirza Sadiq Aqa, the late Angaji and others, were arrested and sent into exile¹. Yes, there have been many uprisings. Again, with the uprising initiated by the late Mr. Qummi when he went to Tehran only to be refused true support from the people, this too resulted in Mr. Qummi's arrest and exile².

ulama such as these have risen up in revolt on many occasions and history shows that it wasn't a case of them urging the people to remain calm and to say nothing in the face of oppression, to hold their tongues in the face of those tyrants. It has been propaganda which has brought us to the present stage where even now such false accusations are made. That is to say that those who have been misled still say these things even now, and are thus in fact aiding this regime of oppression.

Mashhad where he taught *usul* and *fiqh* for a while. He was a staunch supporter of the constitutional movement and with the rise to power of Rida Khan and the establishment of his despotic rule, he continued struggling against oppression and called upon the people to rise up against the first Pahlavi monarch. After the barbaric events at Gauhar Shad mosque in Mashhad, Khorasani was arrested and sentenced to death. However, measures taken by those at the Najaf theological school forced Rida Khan's regime to commute his sentence. Consequently, he was held in prison for a while and upon his release he was expelled from Mashhad and forced to move to Tehran. There his home was kept under constant surveillance. It is believed that he died at the hands of one Doctor Ahmadi who killed him while treating him for an illness. His body was laid to rest at the shrine of 'Abdul 'Azim. Some of his most notable works are: *Kitab al-Qada*; *Al-Shahadah* and *Mabhath al-Fazz*. Refer to *Tarikh-i Bist Saleh-yi Iran*, vol. 6, p. 252.

¹ One of the freedom movements during the despotic reign of Rida Khan was that of the *ulama* of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan. This movement was led by Mirza Sadiq Aqa and Angaji, two of the great religious jurists (*fuqaha*) and *maraji* of the people of Azerbaijan. In order to suppress the movement, Rida Khan sent these two theologians first to Kurdistan and then to Qum. Angaji was able to return to Tabriz after a while, but Sadiq Aqa remained in exile in Qum until the end of his life.

² Whilst Rida Khan was in power, the news concerning a change in people's dress gave rise to a hue and cry in Mashhad where the *maraji* became deeply involved in disturbances and acts of protest. Ayatullahs Haj Aqa Husayn Qummi and Sayyid Yunus Ardibil, Aqa Zadeh and another group of *ulama* and theology lecturers of Qum, all rose up in protest, each in his own particular way. Ayatullah Qummi decided to set out alone for Tehran to discuss with the Shah the possibility of lifting restrictions in the hope of being able to change the latter's mind on the issue of uniform dress. Having travelled as far as the city of Rey, Ayatullah Qummi temporarily broke his journey and the house in which he then stayed was immediately surrounded by government troops. Measures were then taken to prevent anyone from entering or leaving the ayatullah's place of residence, including those who had travelled from Tehran to meet with the latter. Ayatullah Qummi was subsequently exiled to Iraq (i.e. to 'Atabat-i Aliyat—the holy shrines in Baghdad, Karbala and Najaf). A brief description of the biography of Ayatullah Haj Aqa Husayn Qummi, this devout clergyman, this distinguished and militant *marja*, can be found in the journal: *Nur-i 'Ilm*, second issue, number 1, pp. 76-95.

Those who make certain noises about these issues are either themselves allied to and serve the regime, or they have been deceived by the regime's agents. The same applies to those who chant these so-called communist or Marxist slogans, for they are a group of youngsters who have been fooled by these very slogans. These youngsters have not made any enquiries as to what those who have called on them to support communism or to support Marxism are actually like. They haven't looked into the lives of these people to see what kind of people they actually were. Stalin for example, whose life we all witnessed in the recent past and who was a contemporary of mine and of some of you, just what kind of a person was he? What kind of a person was he that made these youngsters want to follow him?

When World War Two broke out soldiers from the Russian army came to Iran. They were to be found in that part of Iran which stretches from more or less the other side of Tehran to Khorasan and that area, and they had captured the areas which were formerly occupied by Britain as well as those which were formerly occupied by America, each of these countries having had a presence in Iran and each having claimed a part of the country for itself. And we all saw this for ourselves; I personally witnessed this. During that momentous period a certain event occurred which itself came to be equally famous. This event involved the Allies' visit to Iran, that is, when the leaders of the Allied countries, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, came to Iran.

When Stalin came to Iran—Stalin, the person whom these gentlemen insist was a Communist, was in favour of the popular masses, behaved fairly with the people and so on, the person whom they used to call “qardash,”¹ the person who was a comrade and so on—they even had to bring along a milch cow for him, so that this gentleman wouldn't have to drink the milk of an Iranian cow! When this man, he who sat in the Kremlin and whose comrades comprised those members of the armed forces as well as the popular masses, when he came to Iran during the period of global warfare to hold negotiations, it was a well-known fact that he took a special kind of cow along with him for its milk, for God forbid that he should have no milk of his own and should therefore have to drink the milk from an Iranian cow! This was the kind of aristocratic life he led.

And on another occasion I personally remember coming across some Russian soldiers as we were travelling from Tehran to Mashhad by bus, and how these soldiers believed that we and Stalin were each other's brothers and that we all had things in common! These soldiers used to come up to us and

¹ A Turkish term meaning brother.

beg for cigarettes or some other thing! Once they had been given a cigarette, they became so pleased that they would whistle as they walked away! Yet when he (Stalin) came to Iran, he came by aeroplane travelling in such grand style and surrounded by such a great entourage and so on; a milch cow also being brought along so that this gentleman could drink its milk!

Yes indeed, they are leading the people on. Lenin¹, whose praises they sing so loudly, initially made a name for himself by destroying his own countrymen and opposing those who held a religious faith. He opposed the religious scholars of that time, the religious scholars in his own country. Some kind of love affair was involved which the latter had declared to be forbidden leading Lenin to become outraged. It is said that at that time Lenin had proposed the need to make a calculated assessment to ascertain both the income and expenditure of those in the country. He is said to have argued that we are of course to hold on to those individuals whose annual income and expenditure are found to balance or whose income is found to exceed their expenditure since they earn enough to meet their own living costs and we too stand to benefit in some way! But as for he whose expenditure is not less than his income, he who earns less than he spends, this person must be cast into the sea! This is the kind of person that this philanthropist was! He whose praises they now sing so loudly, is someone who argues that the poor who are unable to work, that person who has now reached old age, who has become infirm, who, because of some impairment, is unable to earn enough to cover his own living costs, is someone who is no longer of any use; he is to be tossed into the sea so that others may live a better life! And even then, note that he is to be tossed into the sea to preclude the need for a ground burial and so on!

Yes, they are deceiving our youth, and their words are mere propaganda, words which bear no truth. This is what their form of government and their leaders are like. But we too have a form of government which we shall make known to all—that form of government which we now seek. The form of government which we seek is epitomised by that of the Holy Prophet who himself was someone who once governed.

I now want to take a look at such leaders, to consider what former leaders (in Islam) were like, to consider the way in which they behaved. One of these leaders was Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), and another, ‘Umar. Let us ask

¹ Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (1870-1924 (1249-1303 AHS)), known as Lenin, was the founder and leader of the Communist Party and the person who brought the modern-day Russian government into being.

ourselves whether today's leaders are even like 'Umar was'¹. And then let us ask the same about Hadrat Amir. Whoever has written about how the Holy Prophet himself actually lived, has told of how he in fact led a life more simple than that led by the ordinary people in Medina at the time. The Prophet lived in a home built from mud; he lived in a mud-built room within the mosque. He used to ride a donkey and would seat a passenger behind himself. He would discuss religious issues with his passenger during their journey and would give him instruction and guidance. Now just name one governor, one chief of police, one village headman who is like this, who behaves towards the people as did the Prophet, for it is related that when the latter used to go to the mosque—which is where governmental administrative affairs were conducted—and he used to sit and talk with the people there, anyone who did not know the Prophet and entered the building would not be able to distinguish who was the ruler and who were the ruled, who was the Prophet and who was not. He did not lead anything like an aristocratic life. Yet in spite of the simple life he led personally, at the same time he took care of the indigent and the weak so much that it defies description.

And then there was Hadrat Amir, someone who was sultan—indeed it is impertinent of me to refer to him as 'sultan'—someone who was the caliph of many countries, just one of these countries being Iran, another one being the Hijaz, another Jordan and another Egypt. Yes, this is how vast his dominion was at that time. Let us now take a look at his life to see whether it was he with such a great dominion who caringly looked after the people, or these other leaders that they (the communists) speak of. Just look back in history and make a comparison of the lives that they lived. According to written accounts Hadrat Amir owned a pelisse made from sheepskin on which he and his wife would sleep at night. During the day he would use this sheepskin on which to scatter grass for his camels to eat. This is the kind of life which was led by Hadrat Amir! He probably never once ate a wholesome piece of bread in his life. So you can tell what kind of diet he had. According to written accounts, the Hadrat's diet was such that he would seal the lid of the container in which barley bread was kept in order to ensure that no one would open it up and add something to the bread inside—some kind of fat or whatever which his children, say Zaynab, may want to add as a kindness to their father. Yes, the Hadrat would seal the lid so that the bread could not be tampered with. This was the kind of food eaten by Hadrat Amir, peace be upon him.

¹ With regard to the life-style of the second caliph and details of his personal life, refer to: *Murawwij al-Zahab*, Mas'udi.

On the eve of Hadrat Amir's death, the night on which he was struck a blow, he is said to have been a guest in the home of Umm Kulthum (the Hadrat's daughter), and on being brought salt and milk by his daughter with which to break his fast, to have asked the latter when she had ever before seen him eating two kinds of food on the same occasion. When the Hadrat then told his daughter to take one of the two foods away and the latter was about to remove the salt, the Hadrat is said to have implored her to take away the milk instead. He then took two morsels of bread and salt and ate them. This is the kind of behaviour we are looking for from the rulers of our government; this is what Islamic government is like; this is what a true Islamic ruler is like; and what was said previously is what the communist and Marxist rulers are like.

One must consider carefully to discover how one has been cheated. One must ask oneself: what was all this deception for? what was all that propaganda for? You must question the real reason for their wanting to turn you away from Islam and wanting to alienate you from Islamic government. The real reason for this is that one gentleman wants our country's gas and another our country's oil. But the fact of the matter is that certain people already own this oil and gas and they may well begin to shout out in protest and cause an outcry.

Islam says that no power has the right to impose its will upon the Muslims, yet these (powers) want to impose everything upon them. They want to bring someone by the name of Muhammad-Rida, and to install him here to fulfil a mission, a "Mission for my Country!" They want to commission this person to give whatever is of worth in this country to them. But since there is a possibility of the *akhund* voicing protest against this, they silence him. They say that *akhunds* are parasites! That all the *akhunds* are parasites!¹ Yet the life led in the madrasa chambers by this *akhund* who is now supposedly living a parasitic existence, consists of nothing but a few books, a short-napped and coarse carpet, and other such things. Those who say that these *akhunds* are parasites are in fact the ones who own this and

¹ The Shah was not warmly received by the people when he arrived in Qum on January 24, 1963 (Bahman 4, 1341 AHS). In the insulting speech made by him on that same day he said: "... The clergy think that life means acquiring something or coming by some money unjustly by being inactive and slothful etc.; and that it means eating food and ... but the time of parasitism is over." Following his speech, agents in disguise, who had entered the city claiming to be monarchists of Qum, started demonstrating and began to shout slogans: "Parasitism is over ... the good life is at an end." Refer to the *Kayhan* and *Ittilaat* newspapers of January 24 and 25, 1963 (Bahman 4 and 5, 1341 AHS); *Nihzat-i Ruhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 220-221; and *Inqilab-i Islami va Risheha-yi An*, pp. 451-452.

that. They say that these *akhunds* are lazy! But is it the *akhunds* who are lazy—those who have never relaxed their efforts in the struggle over the past seventy years, those who see a job through to the end in order to protect their own nation and their own faith—or those people who generally just don't give a damn? The latter say that they (the *akhunds*) are lazy! The aim of all this propaganda is to discredit the *akhund* before the nation, to strip the nation of this potent force. It aims to wrest the power of Islam, a power which exceeds all others, and to tear away the power held by the promoters of Islam. Once these two powerful forces (i.e. Islam and the clergy) have been removed then Muhammad-Rida will be free to do whatever he pleases, in his own good time, with no one there to question his actions.

By the same token, when Rida Shah came and committed all of those outrageous acts, again it was an *akhund* by the name of Mudarris, may God rest his soul, that stood before him in the Majlis and voiced protest. No one else did this other than Mudarris and a few of his supporters. Nowhere else in the entire country did any other opposition force stand up to confront Rida Shah. Mudarris was a man who wore a turban, he was a mullah, a virtuous man, and dressed in a particular kind of shirt, a particular kind of abba and canvas trousers—trousers which were humorously called “canvas trousers” in the poetry which used to be recited as a tribute to him at that time—he stood up before Rida Shah and said “No!”

When Russia issued an ultimatum to Iran—an ultimatum which concerned some affair or other the details of which have now escaped my memory¹—having mobilised its troops until they had reached a certain area in

¹ In May 1911, the Iranian government recruited sixteen American financial experts—headed by Morgan Shuster—to reorganise the tax administration in the country. The Russians were strongly opposed to the presence of the Shuster mission in Iran and in October of the same year they threatened to occupy northern Iran if Shuster, who was seen to be treading on Russia's toes, were not brought to heel. In November the Russians introduced fresh troops into the country and made further demands that: the Shuster mission be dismissed; the appointment of other foreigners be made subject to British and Russian consent and an indemnity be paid to the expeditionary force which had occupied Enzeli and Rasht near the northern Iranian border! They threatened to occupy Tehran without further ado unless these demands were met within forty-eight hours. The ultimatum was discussed in a meeting of the Second National Assembly on December 1, 1911 and was met with strong opposition from Ayatullah Mudarris in particular, whose brave stance in the face of the threatening ultimatum encouraged other members of the Assembly to oppose it (see footnote 17 of Speech 16 in volume one of this anthology). Three hundred women marched into the public galleries with pistols hidden under their long veils, and threatened to shoot any deputy willing to submit to the Russian ultimatum. Angry demonstrators attacked the city trams that were partly owned by the Russians, and a huge crowd, described by one eyewitness as the “largest up to that point in

Iran, the ultimatum in question was then taken to the Majlis for the deliberation of the deputies there. Indeed, it was a case of the Russian army having entered Iran, of it intending to advance even further, and of an ultimatum having been issued by the Russians which threatened that if such and such an action wasn't taken then Iran would pay the price. Hence, to quote accounts given by the Russians themselves, all of the Majlis deputies were seated in silence believing that they were unable to do anything about the situation—indeed, what could they have done—when a *sayyid*, a man wearing a turban, a certain mullah, is said to have ascended the speaker's rostrum, his hands trembling from age and infirmity, and to have said: "It may be the will of God that our liberty and sovereignty shall be taken away from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands! No, we reject these demands." And so the ultimatum was rejected and the Russians didn't do a damn thing about it. According to the Russians themselves, other deputies found courage and also cast a negative vote, thus refusing to succumb to Russian threats. As for the Russians, they did absolutely nothing about it. They merely want to scare us.

And even though you are still under the impression that ... nevertheless, it was only the other day that they sent yet another telegram to mark October 26 (the Shah's birthday). Only a few days ago did these parasitical, oil-devouring state leaders send telegrams to congratulate the Shah on the occasion of his birthday, telegrams in which they expressed their firm support for him! And this especially applies to Carter who in expressing his support pulled out all the stops saying: "We are firmly behind you" and so on¹. Whilst

Iranian history," gathered outside the parliament building shouting, "Independence or Death." However, Premier Samsam al-Saltana, along with the regent (of Ahmad Shah who was still a minor), the Cabinet and Yeprem Khan with his fighters from the Caucasus, decided to accept the ultimatum to avoid a Russian occupation of the capital. As the Prime Minister accepted the Russian demands and as the regent accused the deputies of acting unconstitutionally, Yeprem Khan barred shut the doors of Parliament and the Second National Assembly was dissolved. See Ervan Abrahamian *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, pp. 108-110 and *Tarikh-i Bist Saleh-yi Iran*.

¹ Carter's telegram had read: "His Imperial Majesty, Muhammad-Rida Pahlavi, ShahanShah Aryamehr, Rosalynn and I extend our warmest congratulations on the occasion of His Highness' birthday. As in the past, so too in recent months we have strongly borne Iran in mind, and I have no doubt that the recent unrest has constantly been on His Majesty's mind too. However, at the same time I am well aware of the fact that His Majesty is capable of seeing his reform programme through to the end with a sense of pride and satisfaction—a programme which he has pursued over the past thirty-seven years in order to develop his country. The present difficulties will eventually be brushed away and the Iranian nation, guided by the progressive political programme which has been set in motion by His Majesty, will be transformed into a powerful nation."!

only a few days earlier, the British Foreign Minister had also accurately described the situation! He had said something to the effect that the Shah was the protector of their interests that they had certain interests in our country, and so they had to give him (the Shah) their support!

No, we will not allow you to give your support. The nation is no longer fooled by these words. Even now, despite the things they (the foreign powers) say, don't be under the impression that if the people were to stand up in revolt, if they were to make firm their ranks and dismiss all of the threats made against them, then they (the foreigners) would bring in their troops from abroad. This is not the case; it is all talk, all lame verse. Indeed, today's world would not allow anyone to take such action against a nation which is talking sense, a nation which is speaking the truth, which is saying: "We don't want you to take away our assets, we don't want you to take away our resources, we want to enjoy national independence, we want to be free. You yourselves have spoken of this in the Declaration of Human Rights; hence, we want to act in accordance with this Declaration. We want to be free; we want national independence; we want freedom."

Our children are also shouting this message; our old men too, they are saying the same thing. You cannot fight such a nation with the bayonet. A martial law government can no longer stand in the way of this nation, nor can a non-military government. It is just not possible. Neither can Carter stand in its way, nor can those in the Kremlin. It simply cannot be done. They go on saying these things because by saying them they hope to frighten the living daylights out of you, but the fact remains that they never follow their words up by coming and creating an onslaught. Each of these foreign powers has certain interests, certain international interests and so on which means that country daren't make a move for fear of the other and vice versa. These countries are each afraid of the other. But this being the case, they nevertheless now say these things so as to frighten us.

At that time an *akhund*¹ stood up and said "no," but the people were not behind him, they were not yet ready. Propaganda against the clergy has been such that at one time no one would even give an *akhund* a lift in their car, I swear it. The late Hajj Shaykh 'Abbas Tehrani², may God rest his soul, once

¹ The late Mudarris.

² The late Haj Shaykh 'Abbas Tehrani was amongst those clergymen who have a leaning towards hermeneutics and gnosticism; and in the year prior to the events of 1961-63 (1340-42 AHS) he had associated with Imam Khomeini. On several occasions the latter made fond mention of Haj Shaykh 'Abbas Tehrani in his literary works. Imam Khomeini's students remember Shaykh 'Abbas Tehrani for having initiated the weekly meetings in Hujjatiya

said that whilst in Arak he had wanted to take a taxicab, and that the taxi driver had said: "There are two kinds of people that we do not allow on board our buses: one is the *akhund*, and the other, the prostitute." This is how things were for the *akhund* at one time, that is to say, this is what the situation brought about by the regime was like. They (the regime) alienated the people from the *akhunds*, and Rida Khan went ahead and did as he pleased. As for the gentlemen (clergymen) in question, they rose up in revolt, some of them that is. They weren't able to succeed however because the people had been duped and did not therefore give them their support and the *akhunds* had no army of their own with which to fight.

Likewise, today there is a constant bombardment of propaganda; propaganda is unrelentingly churned out. "So-and-so lives in a country mansion" they say! "That is where he lives and the young people go to visit him there" they say! (Imam laughs). This is our country mansion in which we don't even have a room for the gentlemen to sit in. Instead they have to remain standing like this!¹ (Imam laughs). It is nothing but propaganda. And this is how they hope to alienate the people from religion. But today Iran no longer heeds their words, the words they speak are now redundant. The people have seen the light; they are now aware of these tricks. They no longer listen to what they say.

This person (the Shah) must go; there are no two ways about it. If you would like Iran to be put right then know that this is not possible whilst Muhammad-Rida and this evil Pahlavi dynasty remain. He must leave in order for Iran to be put right. And following this, if the country is to be straightened out, the hands of America, Britain and Russia, these three

Madrassa in Qum at which the *Nutbeh* prayer used to be read, a prayer which indeed is still read but now in memory of this great man.

¹ For details of what Imam's place of residence was like in Paris see footnote 1 of Speech 48. When Imam was setting out for Tehran from Paris, he sent a message which stated that his proposed place of residence in Iran was to be located to the south of Tupkhaneh Square (today's Imam Khomeini Square) and not in the northern part of the city. Before receiving this message Imam's close associates had intended to find a home for him in the aforementioned area due to the favourable weather there, but now 'Alavi Madrasa, situated at Baharestan Square in Iran Street, was chosen to be his place of residence instead. In 1979 (1358 AHS), after Imam was found to suffer from a cardiac condition, he was taken from Qum to the heart hospital in Tehran. Subsequently, for a limited period, Imam stayed in a residence located in (the favourable area of) Darband Street. However, he was not prepared to remain in that area of the city any longer and so took up residence in Jamaran village, in the home of a clergyman. Following Imam's demise visitors and journalists from all over the world would always express their amazement at the simplicity of the life he had led and the modesty of the place in which he had resided.

superpowers, must be severed from Iran and Iran must enjoy national independence. God willing, this is in effect what we hope to achieve (the audience cries “God willing”).

Now let us ask: What is the duty of those of you who are sitting here? What is the duty of us all? Our brothers in Iran are presently fulfilling their duty. What I mean to say is that even now as we sit here, have no doubt that some kind of disturbance or other is taking place in Qum or elsewhere. Wherever one goes in Iran, be it Tehran, Zanzan or elsewhere, something or other is happening; some movement or other is under way; screams are being heard; beatings are taking place; murder and plunder are being committed. Those in Iran are now caught up in these affairs, whereas here, you and I are unfortunately not confronted by the same events. Each one of you however is able to propagate the cause, here, abroad. Whoever has some connection with the schools and universities, go and talk to ten of the foreigners there. Tell them: the situation in Iran is like this; this is what they (the regime) are doing there; this is how these state leaders are oppressing us; this is the way in which the Shah is committing acts of tyranny; this is how they are killing the people; the people’s rights are these; this is what they are demanding; the people are not barbaric or uncivilised.

This man (the Shah) is saying: “The people in our country do not yet deserve the freedom we have given to them!” He says that they do not deserve freedom! Whilst Carter says so much freedom has been given to the people that the latter have begun to shout out in objection! All of this killing and plunder then is due to an excess of freedom according to Carter’s logic, a logic which he expresses so unequivocally. Really, this kind of mentality is beyond me! I don’t understand the kind of person he is! One of the newspapers—either *Ittilaat* or *Kayhan*—quoted him as having said that the Shah has granted a fast freedom to the people and that this is what has caused all of these conflicts! This “fast freedom” has caused the people to cry out: “O freedom! O freedom!” And in so doing they supposedly mean to say: “We don’t want freedom! We don’t want freedom!” Or so Carter maintains! This is the light in which they are interpreting things.

This scoundrel (the Shah)—even the other scoundrel (Carter) is better than this one—says that these people of ours do not deserve freedom, that freedom ought not be granted to them! He says that they should not be given freedom since if they become free they won’t want him! This is what he’s saying (laughter of the audience), he’s saying that as soon as the people were told “you are free”, they began to say “death to the Shah.” As for the other scoundrel (Carter), he says that they (the regime) gave the people so much

freedom that they are shouting out in protest! So one says one thing whilst the other says quite the opposite. This is what we are having to contend with.

We who are seated here and who are in contact with each other, and those of you who are in touch with those European or American friends of yours, are to speak out about these things. You are to tell people about the pain and suffering of Iran and its people. Tell them about how they are killing these small children, about how they are killing these seven- or eight-year-old children.

A member of the audience: Are we to solve this matter or is it the job of others?

Imam: Please pay attention. No, we shall solve the matter ourselves, we just need some help.

We want to mend the image portrayed of us abroad which presents us as barbarian people. Something was written quoting a journalist—who was European, maybe British—as saying that: “I was just leaving the ‘Id al-Fitr gathering towards which people were advancing in a most orderly fashion and where slogans were being chanted, a gathering which was nonetheless peaceful, no skirmishes taking place at all, when an American, on seeing that I was foreign, stopped his car. I got in the car and he said: “Just look at those barbarians.” To which I retorted: “You say they are barbarians? Where in the world do you know of that a crowd of half a million that one million people have set out and walked with such poise and order? These people are merely demanding their legitimate rights; does that make them barbarians?” Yes, those abroad have portrayed the people in Iran as barbarians; and a barbarian is not to be set free; a barbarian belongs in a zoo, and his cage door is to be securely locked!

This is the picture they are painting of you and in order to erase this image from the minds of the foreigners you must tell them our side of the story. You must tell them how the Iranian people see things; tell them that this is how we see it, so that the minds of the foreigners may be cleared of this image. Once this image has been erased then a wave of support will appear here also and these foreign governments may, to a certain extent, take note of the public opinion in their countries. This is why we must take this step (to tell those abroad the truth of the situation), and not because we want these foreigners to come and solve our problems for us. We must solve our own problems. But you must nevertheless erase this image that they are creating of the Iranian people—an image which shows them to be barbarian and incapable of handling freedom, or which presents them as a nation which is crying out in protest at being given too much freedom—and you must

explain the situation with which the Iranian people are faced, explain why they are crying out in protest and exactly what it is that they are seeking.

The nation's eight-year-olds are crying out: "Freedom, independence, Islamic government." Its old men are also now demanding this as are its mullahs, its preachers, its intellectuals, those in the bazaar, those in the high schools—they all want to be free. They were in a wretched state; for fifty years they were repressed; they now want to be independent. For many years, for more than fifty years, they were in fetters; they now want to break free from these fetters.

We must propagate the Iranian cause here abroad. That is, we must tell the people of this country, we must tell whichever of them we associate with about the problems facing Iran. We must tell them these things in order to destroy the image they have of the Iranian people which depicts them as a bunch of savages setting fire to the bank! And if at some time arson is committed we must explain that this has probably been the work of the regime's agents. We must erase this image which tells people: these are nothing but a bunch of savages! If they set these people free there's no telling what they'll do! Thus, we must tell them: no, this is not the case. These poor souls are crying out for freedom; and they are sacrificing the lives of their children so as to prevent the possibility of a return to the fetters and yokes laid upon them by the foreigners.

May the Lord protect you all. May you be successful and may you cause Islam to grow stronger (the audience cries: Amen). We pray that this nation which is now in such difficulties will achieve victory, and God willing, so it shall (the audience cries: *Allahu Akbar* (God is the Greater)).

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-Two

Date: October 31, 1978 (AD) / Aban 9, 1357 (AHS) /Dhu al-Qadah 28, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: To unite against the Shah's regime is a rational decree and a religious duty and to be disunited is a betrayal of Islam and the nation

Occasion: The appearance of conflicting views amongst groups and parties both inside and outside Iran

Those present: A group of Iranians and students residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Rida Pahlavi, the Shah's Crown Prince, is now staying in Washington and is a guest of Jimmy Carter (the US President) and his family. According to press reports, during a meeting with the Crown Prince Carter had said that he hoped the violent anti-regime demonstrations and the strikes being held in the oil-rich areas of Iran would come to an end as soon as possible, and he had declared: "Our friendship and alliance with Iran is one of the important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends. We wish the Shah our best and hope the present disturbances can soon be resolved. We are thankful for his move toward democracy, and we know that it is opposed by some who do not like democratic principles. But his progressive administration is very valuable, I think, to the entire Western world." (!)

Ali Amini, a long-standing American sympathiser in Iran, despite his awareness of Imam Khomeini's refusal to be won over, still lives in the hope that American support will ensure that the Shah remains as monarch, and he still has visions of once more becoming the Prime Minister. He believes that: "Forming a coalition government in which persons trusted by the people have a presence, is the only solution."

The interview given to reporters by Karim Sanjabi, the National Front leader, subsequent to his having met with Imam in Paris, indicates that the National Front has set its sights on challenging the regime via the electoral process!

As the month of January (Bahman 1357 AHS) draws close, so too the Islamic uprising increases in intensity. Meanwhile, those political groups and parties which, because of Imam's firm stance, now consider the Shah's departure and a change in the regime to be a certainty, begin to wonder how they can capitalise on the present situation, each group seeking gain for its own political camp. The current topic of conversation discussed within both

vocational and organisational political circles and societies revolves around the following prominent issues: the revival of those organisations whose leaders had been released from prison due to the popular uprising; the formation of splinter and coalition groups; setting a high value on struggles engaged in by themselves in the past; and relating the emergence of the uprising to one's own outfit. Leftist groups each in turn and each according to its own outlook and the extent to which it depends upon China, Russia, Europe or America, has now announced its presence on the political scene; and each group accuses the other of co-operating with the regime and of sympathising with the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. The Freedom Movement stresses certain acts of betrayal committed by some members of the most recently-established National Front, and expresses the higher expectations it now has from this recently-formed movement; whilst the nationalists on the other hand, have returned to the political arena using those events which occurred at the time of Musaddiq as arguments to justify their stance.

Differences of opinion are not only to be found within Iran but abroad too where the supporters of each group now act in the interests of their own political outfit. Serious differences have also now appeared amongst the members of the Confederation of Students' Islamic Associations Abroad, the majority of these members having adopted the path of Imam Khomeini, whereas a number of the confederation's executive members, due to their leanings towards either the Freedom Movement or the National Front, have voiced the opinions of their own party—opinions which conflict with those of Imam over central and fundamental issues. Those in the West, aided by liberalist sympathisers within Iran, are now making every effort to disband the revolution's leadership and to push people like Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shari'atmadari into the political limelight¹.

In accordance with Imam Khomeini's directives, street demonstrations and strikes intensify daily. In spite of the aforementioned state of affairs, Imam cleverly retains his role as the Leader of the Revolution, and firmly stands by his formerly-declared objectives, those being: the overthrow of the Shah and the monarchical regime; the severance of American influence in Iran; and the establishment of an Islamic government.

¹ Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution many documents have been published with regard to the above-mentioned person's long-standing relationship with SAVAK and the payments made to him by the CIA who hoped to thereby benefit from this person's services. Refer to the books: *Shariatmadari dar Dadgah-i Tarikh*; *Nihzat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 2; and *Documents Discovered from the US Espionage Den*.

America and other Western countries, having awoken to reality and having gradually lost all hope in the schemes designed by the Shah's regime—schemes involving a change in policies and leading government figures for example, or involving an escalation in the killing of people—now pin all their hopes on the telling weapon of sowing differences and discord, and on their ability to put the various parties and their numerous political perspectives to good use.

The lengthy speech delivered by Imam Khomeini on October 31, 1978 (Aban 9, 1357 AHS), is devoted to the most pressing need of the time, that being to urge all opposition forces to unite and to avoid discord. By employing metaphor, Imam discusses examples of the amazing outcome resulting from the harmonious order which is to be found amongst elements and phenomena both in the natural world and in human society. He then sorrowfully states: "The reason one billion people lie captive to a superpower of say two hundred or one hundred and fifty million people, is that this one hundred and fifty million people have united to achieve one goal, whereas the one billion Muslim people are not only disunited, they even oppose one another."

Later in his speech, Imam argues that the hands of America, Russia and the West in general are the prime cause of numerous fronts and parties being formed, and that since the time of the Constitutional Revolution it has been they who have been behind the confrontations in Iran between the Turks and the Persians, the Kurds and the non-Kurds, and the Baluchis and whoever. Then, by pointing to the benefits reaped by the Shah's regime, the aggravation of differences over the matter concerning the book *Shahid-i Javid*, and the murder of Mr. Shamsabadi in Najafabad, and by relating these issues to similar such issues which occurred during the recent holy months of Muharram and Ramadan, Imam alerts the people to be on their guard and says: "The younger generation must wake up, it must awaken to these devilish conspiracies... it would be a betrayal of the nation were this momentum which has appeared in Iran to come to naught because of these differences amongst us... We are all to cry out in unison... we are all to say: No! No to Muhammad Rida Shah! No to the Pahlavi dynasty! No to London! No to America! No to Russia! We are to say yes to Islam, to the Muslims, to ourselves... should you now succeed in maintaining this unity and in making further headway, then you will have found deliverance."

Having delivered this lengthy and unifying message, Imam woefully but humbly states: "O Lord! I told them—I told the gentlemen (of the clergy) all I know; I told the people of Iran all I know... For differences to exist amongst

us, whether outside the country or within it, is self-destructive, it is suicidal. For differences to exist between the intellectual sector of society and the non-intellectual sector, or within the universities themselves between this and that group, is at this moment in time, tantamount to self-destruction; it is an act of suicide; it means the country's undoing; it means betraying the country; it means betraying Islam."

Speech Number Fifty-Two

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Different doctrinal beliefs and ideological leanings can be found to exist between these groups that are now around. (Imam addresses a member of the audience and says: Please be seated). I myself more or less sensed that there were differences when I came here (to Paris)¹. A group of people who share the same aim and who want to see this aim through to the end, people who want to prepare the ground for this aim to be realised, who want to win the day, can be likened—both the individuals within this group and the group as a whole—to drops of water, to streams, floods and seas.

If you take a look at individual raindrops you will see that each one, when in isolation from other raindrops, is not even capable of wetting a leaf; one raindrop is even insufficient to make a leaf wet. Even if you were to consider millions of such drops, drops which existed in isolation from each other, which were not linked together in any way, they still would not be able to achieve anything worthwhile. Whilst each raindrop remains isolated from the rest it can achieve nothing. Now it may well be that a number of raindrops join together whilst others remain unconnected. For example, imagine that raindrops have fallen somewhere and that a certain number of these drops have joined together whereas the other drops have either not come together or they have indeed joined together but remain unconnected to the former group of inter-connected drops. Here, one group of drops forms one stream or canal whilst the other group forms another. Of course if these drops did not join together in the first place then they would remain as the individual drops they initially were. But having come together, this stream which will have been formed will be capable of achieving something yes, but it will not be anything of great significance.

This link which will have been established between these drops of rain and which will have given rise to the formation of a stream, could possibly serve to irrigate a piece of land for example which could then be cultivated, but even so, there will be a limit to what this formation of raindrops can achieve. And the same goes for the other stream which will have been

¹ Refer to the introduction to this speech (52).

formed. As for any drops which may have remained separate from the rest, they will be able to achieve nothing at all.

Were these streams to join each other however, and give rise to a flood of water or a river, then the power at their command would increase. Initially, before forming a flood of water they would have been individual raindrops whose capability was that possessed by a raindrop, and hence they would have been neither able to wet a leaf nor make it stir. On joining together however, and thus giving rise to the formation of a stream, these drops would become a powerful force by virtue of this very interconnection. That is to say that minor forces would have come together, those without power would have come together and as a result a unitary force would have come into being, a force which would be commensurable to the number of drops it comprises, or even on occasion a force which would exceed the sum of its contents.

But even so this would be a limited force, a force which is sufficient to irrigate a piece of land, or, were it to find momentum, a force which is sufficient to create a flowing stream, to set a piece of straw in motion. However, were these streams, these canals formed from individual raindrops, to combine and thus form a flood of water, they would increase in power whereby this newly-formed flood would become a raging flood, a flood which may well uproot certain trees, a flood which because of its raging nature may destroy certain structures. Moreover, were all these floods of water, these rivers to combine thus forming a sea of water, then the powerful force which would come about as a result would be so great that merely one wave of this sea would be enough to wreck ships.

Indeed, the same principle applies to this human society of ours. If each person were to be regarded in isolation, then even if there were one hundred million individual persons, even if there were a society one hundred million strong in which each person was an isolated individual, no one having anything to do with anyone else, this society would be able to achieve nothing. Each person's capability would be confined to the individual level and because there would be no link between these people they would be unable to achieve anything. They are like those drops of water which could not cause a leaf to stir. One individual person possesses a certain power, a certain capability, but his power is far, far too limited to achieve anything of crucial importance; he cannot achieve anything.

Even if we were to suppose that a certain group of people somewhere came to share the same ideas as this one individual person, and that they joined him in trying to achieve the same aim, when the rest of the people in society either do not share the same ideas as them or worse still hold ideas

which are quite the opposite, when the rest of the people are not of the same opinion as this group, then there is only so much that the latter can accomplish for it has a limited capability. Yes indeed, it can accomplish minor achievements due to this newly-found strength it has acquired from the bond which has developed between its members, and especially if there is nothing there to act as a hindrance, then yes it is able to achieve something. But should another group of people disagree with the course of action adopted by this group, should they want to adopt another line of action, they would then present an obstacle and this newly-developed obstruction would mean that any action taken by the former group would be undermined. That is, neither would the former group reach its goal nor would the latter group. If the latter group of people should want to succeed in achieving its objective then it is not to get in the way of things. Should you want to go from here to somewhere outside the city for example, you will only be able to do so if there is nothing obstructing your path; but if you are faced with some obstacle or other, by some kind of flood, if some kind of mountain is there to cause you a problem, then you will not be able to leave the city.

Let's now imagine that this group which we have conjured up has been formed from a limited number of people and that these people have co-operated with each other to reach a certain goal and they want to take certain action to this end, if another group of people were not confronting them and causing them problems then they would be able to take some kind of action and even achieve some minor success as a result. But if another group of people were to appear, and were to stand in the way of the first group, neither group would get anywhere. Just imagine a group of people a hundred, two hundred strong, two hundred people who have united to form a group, but two hundred people who all hold different views and follow different lines of action, people who are a hindrance to one another—the case not only being that they have nothing to do with each other but that they hinder each other too—then the potential strength of this two-hundred-strong group of people would be undermined by these ever-arising obstructions. That is to say, this group would become a lame duck; no one would achieve his goal; everyone would fail to realise his objectives.

When can the objectives of a group of people be realised? When the people in that group are united, when the Muslim people say, people who number something like eight hundred million or maybe by now one billion¹

¹ The estimated Muslim population at the time of this speech was 800 million people. The exact number of Muslims in the world has never been ascertained, whilst any statistics issued in this regard are far from accurate, an official census on the Muslim population in certain

become united. The reason why these one billion people can be seen to lie under the domination of others—there not now being any part of this one-billion-strong community, this community whose members are all Muslims, which is not under the influence of the superpowers—the reason one billion people lie captive to a superpower of say two hundred or one hundred and fifty million people is that this one hundred and fifty million people have united to achieve one goal, whereas the one billion Muslim people are not only disunited, they even oppose one another.

When you take a look at Iran, when you consider Iran and her neighbouring countries, you see that these countries are not in fact her neighbours. This is what has become of the Islamic countries. But this state of affairs has not arisen out of the blue. It is not a case of these Islamic countries—countries which disagree amongst themselves, which stubbornly disagree with one another and on occasion go to war with each other—just happening to have turned out this way. Indeed no, it is the intrigues weaved by the superpowers which cause these countries to jump at each other's throats and to be disunited so that this one-billion-strong force will not become an obstacle and gain universal predominance.

But what must these superpowers do to achieve this? They must separate these countries from one another; these countries, countries which are like different rivers but rivers which do not converge, must be separated from one another: this country must follow one policy, that country must follow another policy; the other country must follow yet another policy, and so on. Each country is to have a policy of its own and is to be in conflict with the other countries; there is to be quarrelling and fighting. And this state of affairs has arisen because of the acts of betrayal committed by the leaders of these countries, of these Islamic countries, or because of their blindness and ignorance whereby they have failed to reach any mutual understanding or to combine like the waves of the sea in order to smash whatever confronts them.

countries not having yet been conducted. Furthermore, in certain other countries the people are not in a position to reveal their religious faith, whilst in some places census-takers try to make the number of Muslims there appear smaller than it actually is for political or religious reasons. In Europe and America only the details of one's sex, age and occupation are sought in censuses taken, a person's religion not being accounted for at all. Therefore, one cannot say with certainty exactly how many Muslims there are in countries such as these. Again, in countries such as America and India, Muslim converts are unaccounted for in statistics gathered. Nevertheless, an approximate estimate of the world's Muslim population is held to be about one billion people, this being a figure which has undoubtedly risen dramatically during the past decade.

Indeed, you can see for yourselves how in Palestine¹ a certain number of Zionists, a limited number of Jews² have behaved in such a way with so many Arab countries, countries whose population exceeds 100 million, that some of the latter have surrendered to them whilst others, although wanting to take action, can't actually do anything about the situation. How many years is it now since Israel went and usurped this land which belongs to the Palestinians, yet throughout all this time this vast Arab population and all of these Arab countries haven't been able to rid themselves of this problem in Palestine. They say that America is supporting her (Israel) and they can therefore do nothing. But this is not so, it is you (the Arabs) who are feckless! Yes, they are feckless. It is not a case of America preventing them from taking action. If this one-hundred-million-strong Arab population were to join forces, then even America wouldn't be able to stand in their way and neither would the European countries. No country would be able to stand in their way. But the fact is that they are not united.

Yes indeed, what the foreign powers do is to ensure that these Arab nations are prevented from joining forces. If at any time they suspect that these Arab governments plan to unite, what they do is to act so as to foil these plans. Hence, for example, they take the Egyptian President to America

¹ Palestine is a small and extremely important territory which, like a bridge, acts as the connection between the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe, and which (from a geographical point of view) is lodged at the heart of the Arab world. It is a territory 20,700 square kilometres in area and is situated in south-west Asia. In the past, it was known as Canaan but its name was then changed to Palestine. Before the advent of Islam, Palestine was attacked on numerous occasions by various clans, however, after the advent of Islam it became a part of the Islamic realm. Following the decline of the Ottoman empire, Palestine was occupied by Britain and in 1920 was mandated to Britain by the League of Nations. In the same year, due to pressure from Britain and America, the League of Nations officially recognised Palestine as the chosen home of the Jews. The settlement of Jews there had in fact begun some time before this but henceforth it increased considerably. In 1948 (1326 AHS), the United Nations declared a resolution that Palestine was to be partitioned into two independent states: a Palestinian state and a Jewish state. A year later, the British withdrew their troops from this territory and armed Zionist Jews then attacked the Palestinian state killing many Palestinians there and rendering some homeless. The freeing of Palestine, the first *qibla* of the Muslims, is something which all Muslims seek to achieve.

² In 1920, twenty-six years before the Jewish state was established, Palestine had a population of 747,000 people of which 663,000 were Arabs (590,000 Muslim Arabs and 73,000 Christian Arabs) and 84,000 were Jews. In 1948, the year in which the United Nations Organisation decided to divide Palestine between the Jews and the Palestinians as part of a British and American plot, the Jewish population in this territory reached approximately 700,000 (following the arrival of Jewish immigrants)—this figure including all Jewish residents in Palestine, both women and children, young men and old, some of whom were Zionist Jews.

where they sign a treaty with him or whatever.¹ They thus lead him along a path which is not open to others, whilst they lead another Arab leader along a different path which, again, is not open to anyone else. It is because of our lack of understanding and our inability as Muslims to do something that we are all under foreign domination and that America, Russia and other countries like them are taking away whatever is of worth in the East. It is because even in those places where they have combined together, these drops of water have not in fact united.

You can see for yourselves that this is the case; but now let us turn to that which we intended to look at which is the case of Iran. When Iran is now claimed to have a population of thirty-odd million people, and these thirty-five million people live thirty-five million individual lives,² then they are only able to act on an individual basis and can only achieve that which can be achieved by a single person. They cannot act as a social group because there is no unifying link between them.

Now supposing that these people join together and form some kind of social group, others may then cause disagreements over the very idea of them having formed such a group and may try to prevent their continued existence. Different camps would then be set up. Don't be mistaken in thinking that these parties that you now see in Iran—remember we are now discussing the case in Iran—that these parties which more than likely initially appeared on the scene subsequent to the Constitutional Revolution³, came together as different groups and then formed various parties just by chance, for indeed this has come about as the result of a devilish conspiracy. In order to prevent the people of Iran from uniting, the powerful nations have set up one party calling it such-and-such, and another party, calling it something else. This party is hostile to that and that party is hostile to this. They have implanted

¹ Anwar Sadat, the former President of Egypt, made two visits to America: the first was in April 1977 (Farvardin 1356 AHS), to hold talks with Carter; and the second was in September 1978 (Shahrivar 1357 AHS), when he met with Begin, the then Israeli Prime Minister, at Camp David and when the treaty known as the Camp David Agreement was signed by both men.

² The quoted figure of 35 million refers to Iran's population prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The latest census, conducted in 1986 (1365 AHS), put Iran's population at 49,445,010 people.

³ Such as the Tudeh Party, the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, the Party of Justice etc. These parties had turned Iran into an arena in which to promote their own policies. For information on those parties which were active prior to the Revolution refer to: *Documents Discovered from the US Espionage Den*, Nos. 20-22, under the heading "Political Parties in Iran," published by the Muslim Students Following the Line of Imam.

different parties into the womb of this society; they have caused different parties to be formed. Moreover, it is not a situation where these various parties and fronts get on with their own business and have nothing to do with the other parties and fronts. No indeed, they in fact oppose each other; they are against one another.

One of the ways in which the West can use us, and in which America and Russia can benefit from our resources and wealth, is precisely by doing this; by sowing discord via various means into the very heart of a society, a society which ought to be able to stand on its own two feet and achieve some kind of progress. They engineer disputes between different camps: the conflict between the Turks and the Persians; the conflict between the Kurds and the non-Kurds; the conflict say between the Baluchis and whoever, are all examples of disputes engineered by them. They are the architects of such disputes. In a country where everyone should be united, they lead each person towards a different path. That is to say, these plots of theirs take the people in different directions. And it is by means of these very differences, differences which lie at the heart of the society itself, that they prevent this society from developing.

The superpowers take full advantage of the situation, and the people busy themselves with internal conflicts. The former come and take the people's oil away and take the people's gas away, plundering whatever they have, and no one says a thing about it because there is no consensus in the society; people hold divergent and diverse views. Therefore, this range of differences are differences which they implant into the heart of our society, differences which have not appeared by mere chance but which are in fact part of a deliberate scheme to sow discord.

Another issue concerns their planning some divisive scheme before the arrival of the holy months of Ramadan and Muharram, the two months when the Muslims come together—Ramadan being a month of social activity, a time when the people become preoccupied with the social gatherings which are held in the mosques; and Muharram also being a month of social activity in Iran, a month in which even those in our own government co-operate with the people, yes, even the members of our own government. When these two annual occasions next come around test the validity of my words for yourselves and see whether they (the regime) do in fact come up with some divisive scheme or not before these periods arrive.

We actually saw over the past two or three years—and the repercussions of this incident are still in evidence—what a great commotion they caused to

arise over the book *Shahid-e Javid*!¹ There was discord between all groups: between the orators, the preachers, the merchants and so on. A tug of war ensued. People wasted the entire months of Ramadan and Muharram as well as days which lay outside these periods (debating this issue); their energies were dissipated and “His Imperial Majesty” was free to appropriate the nation’s wealth at his leisure, whilst at the same time strengthening his rule over the people!

The gentlemen of the clergy all know by heart what is written in the book *Shahid-e Javid* and where it is written; they know what the book is and is not trying to say! They argued and differed over these issues, everyone’s efforts and harangues, speeches that should have been addressed with a view to destroying this dam which serves to obstruct Islam, to check the spread of Islam and to check the country’s development, this dam which is personified in the figure of Muhammad-Rida, were instead used to dispute issues concerning the book *Shahid-e Javid*! For several years these gentlemen wasted their energies. And even to this day the traces remaining from this affair can still be seen.

Following this yet another matter was sparked off. The late Shamsabadi, may he rest in peace, was killed thus giving rise to yet another song and

¹ *Shahid-e Javid* (The Eternal Martyr) is a book written by Salihi Najafabadi about Imam Husayn’s uprising. In this book, the author has argued that initially Imam Husayn had risen up in revolt in order to establish a government and to make reforms in society, but that later, because of the situation in Kufah the Imam had decided against continuing with the uprising and had intended to return to Mecca. However, the author continues to argue that since Yazid’s troops had prevented Imam from returning to Mecca the latter was forced to engage in battle with them and that it was at this point in time that he prepared himself for martyrdom. In the author’s opinion, at the outset of his journey Imam Husayn was optimistic about establishing a government and believed that he would be supported by the people in Kufah. Shi’i *ulama* who have conducted research in this regard however, hold that the Imam knew of the horrendous events which were to happen, prior to his having set out for Kufah, but that he nonetheless went to Karbala in order to fulfil his duty to God and to honour the pledge he had made to Him. For a long period it was issues relating to this book that were the subject of argument and discussion in religious circles rather than matters relating to the struggle against the regime in Iran. Meanwhile, in the thick of the revolution, the said author decided to publish another book which discussed the tradition of Kasa. However, Ayatullah Sayyid Hasan Taheri, a lecturer at the theological centre in Qum, was appointed from amongst Imam Khomeini’s close associates to pass on information to the latter concerning this book so as to prevent another contentious affair from arising during the height of the struggle. Having passed on information to Imam via Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini, Ayatullah Taheri then conveyed a message to the said author from Imam which said that he was to refrain from publishing this book and as a result publication was postponed until a later time.

dance. Again for another year the people were kept in suspense as to who did and who did not kill Mr. Shamsabadi. People even argued over an issue as obscure as this.¹ But this didn't come about by chance. Don't imagine that it just so happened that someone was killed and someone else did whatever, for this is not the case. These matters all form part of a deliberate plan, a plan which has been carefully thought out. Whenever you are about to come together as a social group and those in authority fear the outcome of such a social gathering, the latter come up with something of the nature already discussed; and once this particular affair has become somewhat outworn, they again come up with something else.

Ali Shariati.² Just look how much of our energies and the energy of Islam they managed to exhaust over the controversy surrounding this man's works. Look how they succeeded in directing everyone's attention towards each other, and how they succeeded in sapping everyone's energies, all with a view to sowing discord amongst the preachers and orators. All hell was let loose; and disputes were held concerning the role of the preacher and the role of those in the universities and colleges.

These differences of opinion still persist today and it is these very differences which have allowed your real enemies to sleep soundly and to praise the Lord that the people have lashed out at each other and are fighting amongst themselves!

The younger generation must wake up. It must awaken to these devilish conspiracies that they devise. In Europe right now, there are several thousands of you. If these several thousands of people were to fight for the

¹ SAVAK had received instructions from the Shah to spread false reports about Imam in order to make the people wary of him. In 1976 (1355 AHS), when Ayatullah Shamsabadi was killed by a group led by Sayyid Mahdi Hashemi, SAVAK blamed this death on someone who they claimed was a terrorist and a follower of Ayatullah Khomeini (see the *Ittilaat* newspaper for May 15, 1976 (Ordibehesht 25, 1355 AHS)). Similarly, in the *Kayhan* newspaper of May 15, 1976, it was announced that Ayatullah Shamsabadi's murder had been committed by someone who approved of the book *Shahid-e Javid* and who was a supporter of Khomeini. Following this, some of those who had been deluded by the regime's propaganda created a public outcry.

² Dr. Ali Shariati was someone who was very active in Husayniyeh Irshad (an institution of religious learning in Tehran) from 1971-1976 (1350-1355 AHS), and whose speeches and books were widely published. Certain *ulama* and clergymen objected to the views and beliefs held by this man. The younger members of the society who thought highly of this person could not tolerate opposition to his views, hence much controversy and debate arose with regard to Shariati's opinions, and certain people in supporting the latter, either knowingly or unknowingly became engaged in a campaign against the clergy. Moreover, a number of clergymen, again either knowingly or unknowingly, aggravated the situation in various ways during their sermons. Meanwhile, SAVAK benefited to the full from this embroilment.

same goal, that is, if those of you who are in France, others of you who are in Germany, and others who are in America, were to set out with one aim in mind, if you were to operate efficiently, if you were well organised, then should you wish to devise a plan of action you would be capable of achieving great things. Regretfully however, this is not the way things now are. Differences still exist. So-and-so has formed one group, and so-and-so has formed another, and these groups are in conflict with each other. *X* comes and accuses *y* of something or other and *y* comes and accuses *x* of something or other.

This is the way things are in Iran. But now that Iran has pulled itself together somewhat, and now that conflict over this ultimate aim is either slight or nonexistent amongst the popular masses in Iran—those amongst whom discord is to be expected either being in the minority or having now put their own house in order—it is not the time for us to sit down and argue amongst ourselves over these trivial matters. For you to do this would be like sitting down together and discussing what such-and-such a story is about; it would be like sitting down somewhere and relating stories to each other whilst an earthquake is taking place in some city or other which is about to destroy homes and kill everyone.

Now that the Muslims in Iran have all joined forces and are standing up to the various powers that be, now that they are standing up to the Shah and those powers which support him, it would be tantamount to treason against Islam for us to sow discord amongst ourselves and for us to differ with each other. It would be a betrayal of the nation were this momentum which has appeared in Iran to come to naught because of these differences amongst us. Should this momentum which has appeared in Iran come to naught—a momentum which is unprecedented in history and not only in Iranian history, for you won't find any other time when a child so small has cried out for the same thing as an old man, when everyone was so united in their demands—God forbid, but should this uprising, this historically unprecedented movement which has now appeared in Iran stagnate, having achieved nothing, then you will remain under foreign domination for evermore; you will remain servile to foreigners for evermore; they will put an end to you and your progeny once and for all.

They have now realised that these people command a certain power. The people in Iran hold some kind of power. It is a kind of power which cannot be destroyed by the military; martial law cannot stop that which has already been started. A certain powerful force now exists in Iran which has truly frightened the superpowers and has baffled them as to what they should do next, what

devilry they should get up to next to curb this force. Right now they are busy researching, investigating and planning ways to harness this power, ways to quash this uprising which has now appeared, an uprising which is driving forward like a raging flood and which is foiling their plans. They are considering which plan they should put into action to quash this uprising, to arrest this movement.

God forbid, but should this movement fail to accomplish its aims and should it die away, then Iran, Islam and the Muslims will live under European and American rule for evermore. If this is the case, although in truth there is no 'if' about it, but if indeed we do believe this to be the case or suspect that it may well be so, then religious law and reason dictate that we must all be united in our demands. A situation where there are differences between us and where each person follows a different path is unacceptable. We are all to cry out in unison. We are all to say: No! No to Muhammad-Rida Shah! No to the Pahlavi dynasty! No to London! No to America! No to Russia! We are to say yes to Islam, to the Muslims, to ourselves. Should you manage to accomplish this, should you now succeed in maintaining this unity and in making further headway, then you will have found deliverance. But should you fail to find deliverance now, then I swear you will remain in a state of wretchedness for evermore.

O Lord! I told them—I told the gentlemen (of the clergy) all I know; I told the people of Iran all I know. Thus I am not to blame. The matter in hand is not one to be taken lightly. It concerns a nation which throughout history has suffered under the rule of kings. Throughout a two-thousand-five-hundred-year history it has been under the rule of kings, kings who have brought it nothing but suffering and misery. Even those supposedly just rulers were also evil; even that 'Anushirvan the Just' was an evil ruler in Iran; even that Shah 'Abbas who is now said to "dwell in Paradise" was a perverse ruler like the rest¹—he was someone who blinded his own son. Yes, throughout history this nation has lived under the rule and oppression of these evil kings.

¹ Shah 'Abbas, known as "the one who dwells in Paradise," was one of the despotic kings whose cruelty and hardheartedness has been chronicled in part of volume two of the book: *Zendegani-yi Shah 'Abbas-i Awwal* (author: Nasrullah Falsafi). Page 123 of this book reads: "Shah 'Abbas employed special executioners to kill, torture or punish criminals and offenders. These selected executioners, all of whom were selected from amongst men who were thickset, tall and of an unpleasant character, numbered up to five hundred men ... Practices ordinarily carried out by these heavily-built men included decapitation, the gouging of eyes, kicking a person to death, and the severance of ears, noses and tongues ... Shah 'Abbas commissioned Shaykh Ahmad Aqa-yi Mirghazab to go to Gilan in order to capture offenders there with the help of a number of local governors, but because a month later this search had still led

Two or three hundred years ago, when the foreigners found their way into Iran they conducted certain investigations and a thorough inspection of the situation there. They studied the mentality of the people there; they studied the land there; and they travelled to our desert regions by camel to conduct research, to see what was and what was not to be found there! Just take a look at historical accounts—at a time when there were no buses or the suchlike, these foreigners travelled by camel, they covered the entire desert regions of Iran, regions with neither water nor vegetation, mounted on camels. They studied these regions and examined the mentality of all those who live in Iran including the members of its tribes. Their investigation included everyone from the Baluchis to the Kurds to the Lurs, so that they could discover how to keep these people in a backward state. The foreigners convinced these people that they were never to revolt, and from that time onwards we have remained under the domination of America and Europe.

Initially, we were under the domination of the European countries, of Britain and so on, and now America has entered the scene—America, a country which is worse than the others. Russia and America—each has attacked the country from different sides! Indeed, if they want to take away our resources, to destroy whatever we possess, to capitalise on the situation and to keep us in a wretched state of backwardness, what should they in fact do? Having conducted investigations they have reached the conclusion that they must cause the people to be divided. They have many plans in store, numerous plans, and if their plans are to succeed they must firstly create division amongst the Muslims—Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and so on must all be separated from one another and each must be at war with the other. This is one way, one means of preventing these people from getting their act together and from uniting with each other to confront the superpowers.

nowhere, there being no sign of any outlaws, Shah ‘Abbas became furious with the people of Gilan and sent an order to Mirghazab for them all to be slaughtered. In this regard, the author of *Tarikh-i Naqavatul Asar* writes: ‘Cruelty under the rule of Shah ‘Abbas had become such that women deliberately miscarried their pregnancies from fear of this man. The stomachs of some of those women who had not deliberately miscarried were cut open, babies then being removed from the womb and suspended at the end of bayonets.’ Again, on page 130 of the same book the author writes: ‘Another form of persecution which Shah ‘Abbas would order to be carried out entailed boring through the feet of a convicted criminal, inserting a rope through the hole thus produced and then suspending the said criminal from a tree so that his shoulders scraped the ground. If the king then decided that this person was to die, the latter was left to hang in this position until he starved to death, or alternatively, again whilst in this position, his stomach was extracted and torn to pieces.’”

They have endeavoured, through various means, to do something within every country to ensure that the different forces there do not unite, as they have in today's Iran. At the time of Rida Shah, they humiliated the *akhund* so much that the latter was unable to leave his home, not for fear of the government, but for fear of the people! This is the extent to which they had influenced the people. The people used to say: "These *akhunds* are all affiliated to the Royal Court!" Whilst that member of the Royal Court (Rida Shah) was in fact busy behaving with such hostility towards the *akhunds*, the people believed and argued that they (the clergy) were affiliated to the Royal Court! This 'Royal Court' was killing our *akhunds*, our mullahs, it would imprison them and kill them, yet at the same time the people believed that they were all affiliated to the Royal Court! They had brainwashed the people into thinking that any mullah who stood up to confront the powers that be had to be ruined before the people of his own nation, that he was to be segregated from the people, for once they had done this he would no longer pose a threat for he would have lost any power he might have had. They had convinced the people that the *akhund* was not someone fit for leadership, or someone who could engage in active opposition whilst enjoying the support of the people. He was an *akhund*; and the *akhund* must be driven to the wall.

Moreover, they weren't satisfied with ruining the *akhund* alone, but rather they claimed that Islam is an opiate, that religion as a whole is an opiate! They call this religion an opiate—this religion which serves to encourage all kinds of social action, this Quran whose verses with regard to battle are so explicit, whose verses with regard to social action are so explicit—they call this an opiate! That is to say they claim that this religion aims to put the poor people to sleep so that the holders of power may continue to devour. This Quran which has come to wage battle against those with power is said to have been produced by the powerful to enable them to fleece the poor and needy!! Although the wars engaged in by that Most Noble of Messengers (the Prophet Muhammad) and by other Muslim personages were fought against these holders of power, the people have nevertheless been made to believe that it was in fact the latter who brought the Prophet to power! But these are all stratagems devised to make you disunited and to alienate you from the Quran.

The Quran is a dam, it is a barrier in their path, it is something which, had it been adhered to—and at one time indeed it was adhered to—the Muslims would not have found themselves in such a wretched state. But we abandoned the Quran, we did not follow the teachings of this 'dam' and as a result we reached this present state where we are being struck on the head by them

(those in power) from all directions. No matter where one may step out of line, an official has been placed there to beat him into silence.

This Muhammad-Rida Shah himself has said: "The Allies thought it fitting that I should remain!" And only the day before yesterday, the British Foreign Minister said: "He (the Shah) is on our side. Indeed, he is protecting our interests, so how could we not give him our support!" We are fully aware of the fact that he is protecting both your and America's interests! This is precisely what the nation is shouting about, it is protesting about his having come ... in order to 'serve his country'! He has a "mission" for his country! He has been given a mission by America and by Britain, a mission to behave thus with the people; to keep Iran in a state of backwardness; to destroy the education in Iran; to destroy Iran's clergy; to push Islam into the background; to change the Islamic calendar.

You were under the impression that what this demon had done was of no grave importance! Yet taking all of the crimes he has committed into account, from the very first to the last, nothing compares to his crime of changing the calendar of Islam, so could this crime that he committed be said to be of little significance? Yes, they all joined hands together in order to smash these barriers which stood before them.

Now that the people of Iran have risen up and are crying out in unison saying: "Down with this monarchy," for differences to exist between us, whether outside the country or within it, is self-destructive, it is suicidal. For differences to exist between the intellectual sector of society and the non-intellectual sector, or within the universities themselves between this and that group, is at this moment in time, tantamount to self-destruction; it is an act of suicide; it means the country's undoing; it means betraying the country; it means betraying Islam. Over what do you disagree? Why do you, people who have come abroad and who are busily engaged with your work, why do you differ amongst yourselves? Come together; hold social gatherings together; follow one path; all cry out in unison, all of you, until your protest movement becomes transformed into a flood and until this destructive flood eradicates this dynasty's set-up and the set-up of those who drain our assets dry with the help of this royal family.

May the Lord keep you all safe from harm and may He grant us all His forgiveness (the audience cries: Amen).

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-Three

Date: November 1, 1978 (AD) / Aban 10, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Qadah 29, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The inevitable fall of the imperial regime in the light of the ever-increasing political awareness of the people

Occasion: The halt in the export of oil from Iran due to the nationwide oil-workers' strikes

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The visionary guidance of Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) and the people's persistence in their struggle eventually leads to the release on October 30 (Aban 8) of Ayatullah Taliqani and Ayatullah Muntaziri from prison, both of whom had endured physical and psychological torture for years. Concerning his relationship with Imam, Ayatullah Taliqani, in the first interview to be given by him following his release, told a *Kayhan* reporter: "I have closely associated with him (Imam) since the time when I was a religious student. His views and ideas and his impeccable past record are apparent and obvious to everyone. From the very beginning Imam Khomeini has been and still is an outstanding person of exceptional piety." Similarly, following his release from prison, Ayatullah Muntaziri, having gone to Qum, says during an interview: "I am indebted to the people of Iran for my release¹..."

The release of political prisoners came about at a time when production at Abadan's oil refinery had reached a standstill due to the nationwide strikes by oil-company workers, and when crude oil production had been halted. Circumstances such as these mean that Sharif Imami's government now has a crisis on its hands and is powerless to do anything about it. In attempting to find a solution to the crisis the Prime Minister attends the National Consultative Assembly, analyses the current political situation, describes the condition of the country's economy, and says: "The oil strike will inevitably leave its mark and this act of sabotage by the people has put the government in an awkward position."

An Associated Press report reads: "The recurrent scenes of political unrest and nationwide strikes, especially within the oil company and the

¹ The *Ittilaat* newspaper, October 31, 1978 (Aban 9, 1357 AHS).

Abadan oil refinery, have paralysed Sharif Imami's government. During the past week, thousands of political activists staged protest marches through the streets of Hamadan, Gorgan and Khorramabad, leaving at least eleven people killed or wounded in Gorgan and resulting in the injury of a number of police officers and soldiers. The employees of about fifty government organisations in Iran are either out on full-strike or are engaged in a go-slow or work-to-rule, whilst about one million workers are demanding a wage increase, the release of political prisoners and the lifting of martial law." In quoting informed Iranian sources, the said news agency states: "Those in the Iranian military have made certain arrangements to get rid of the non-military government so that should attempts to put an end to the prevailing disturbances fail, then the military will immediately seize power. This report however has not been confirmed by senior official figures."

In the present speech (53), Imam Khomeini describes the amazing effect which the Islamic Revolution has had in boosting the morale of the Iranian people by citing examples of the courage displayed by the nation. He then compares the people's present state of mind to that in the past by pointing to the continuing demonstrations and strikes across the country, and in particular the strike staged by workers in the oil company and elsewhere in the petroleum industry. Furthermore, he again proclaims the people's spiritual development and increased political and religious fervour as one of the crowning achievements of the uprising and as a phenomenon unprecedented in the history of struggles engaged in by the Iranian nation.

Imam's remarks are in fact a response to the beguiling statements made by those at the theological centres who are now trying to draw a veil over their past co-operation with the regime and their silence in the face of the Shah's crimes by raising questions such as: "Who will answer for the bloodshed?"; "What have we gained from the revolution?"; "Is it at all possible to fight against cannons and tanks with fists alone?"

Speech Number Fifty-Three

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... I don't believe that you will find a situation like that in Iran existing in any other country ... whether from the point of view of the people there or with regard to the Shah and his government there. I don't believe that anything similar to either of these two: either the people in Iran or the Shah and his regime in Iran can be found to exist anywhere else. As for the people, this popular uprising and this momentum which has now reached such a stage, has never before occurred throughout history other than over the past so many years when a nation has become so self-motivated.

If at any time in the past the people may have wanted to close down a city's bazaar, this may well have been an impossibility. Let's say in Qum for example, a city which has a thriving bazaar, even if the *ulama* of that city were to have told the people there to close down the bazaar, in all likelihood the people would not have done so. This is likely to have been the case. And then things reached the stage where ... whenever an incident would occur and the regime would act impertinently towards the *ulama*, the people would then close their shops down, but they would do so without relish, reluctantly, their hearts would not be in it. Now however, the situation has become such that the people close down the bazaar at the slightest request or with the slightest excuse; and not only in Qum but in all cities. Across the entire country the situation has become one where Iran's bazaar, including the bazaar in Tehran, which is said to be a political institution, is now in a closed or semi-closed state. This is what Iran, especially its bazaar, and especially the bazaar merchants, have turned out to be like; and these people who at one time found a one-day closing burdensome, now find it burdensome to be told to open up their shops. They have now on occasion complained about the fact that someone or other has for example said that the people are to go about their normal business. The people would become annoyed at this. Or were it to be suggested for example that the closure had gone on for long enough, even if they were about to reopen their businesses, on hearing this suggestion, the people would again shut up shop. The people now act of their own accord. And this revolution has boosted the people's morale and strengthened their spirits so much so that it has reached the stage where they now become upset and angry at being told to go about their usual everyday business.

Furthermore, if at any time someone's nose was made to bleed, if someone was delivered a blow, this was seen as a disaster ... for someone to be killed for example, was looked upon as a disaster. Now however, things have reached the stage where only last night I received a letter from a mother saying that four or five of her children had been killed and how proud she was of this fact, and it said that she and her family were now fully prepared to make any sacrifice. Today it has become quite normal for the loved-ones of a number of people in any given city to have been killed ... it has become something quite normal for the people. A tremendous impetus ... has developed and the fact that the people as a whole are engaged in struggle has now become an accepted fact of life in Iran; and this does not apply to just one or two cities in the country.

As for the newspapers, although they may not paint a complete picture—and that goes for the radio too which doesn't tell the whole story either of course—and even though we are only partly informed of the facts by these media reports or by the reports we receive from foreign radio stations, nevertheless, whenever you turn on the radio you hear of the strikes and killings in such-and-such a city, of the same having occurred in such-and-such a village, this situation now even having reached those villages which ... apparently it has been a village on the outskirts of Hamadan ... a village in which a number of people have been killed and where five thousand have taken strike action.

In the past taking political action such as this was never even thought of, no one ever spoke of going on strike. In the past people had no idea what the word 'strike' meant. Yet taking strike action has become something quite commonplace, strikes now being held by the people in all cities throughout Iran, and five thousand people having gone on strike in one village alone. I hear that strike action is now being taken by the people in all of the cities nationwide—strikes such as that held by the workers of the oil company, may God be with them. For some years now I have had it in my mind to say that these workers should be told to halt oil production so as to prevent others from taking our oil. But the point to note here is that ... is now an undisputed fact—strike action is now being taken in Iran, and be it in the schools, amongst the workers, amongst those in the aviation industry, or wherever, the fact is that everyone is now out on strike. Whereas before, even if anyone had mentioned taking strike action the people wouldn't have known what it was; now, they themselves go on strike of their own volition, without anyone having to urge them to do so.

The government however, was under the impression that it could make out that these strikes were being held because ... This is what they would say when strikes first began to be held. A certain group of people, I can't now remember exactly which one, sent me a message from Khorasan to say that what the government is saying about our strike action being in demand of a wage increase is a lie; we are on strike for political reasons. Likewise, the people are now declaring that these strikes in which they are engaged are being held to secure the release of political prisoners and to ensure that martial law is lifted and that these foreigners, who have set upon this nation and have ravaged this nation's wealth, leave our country.

These demands that the people are making are indeed of great significance! What exactly do they (the government) want from this nation? These figures of forty-five, fifty or sixty thousand tumans which are quoted as being the salaries paid to these Americans ... are enormously high figures. Now, going on strike has become something quite commonplace and normal, and so has being involved in bloody confrontations, and closing down the bazaars and thoroughfares, and staging demonstrations, and participating in acts of protest, and chanting "Death to" whatever, and expressing the loathing felt towards the tyrannical regime; all of these are now looked upon as being quite normal.

If, five years ago, a policeman entered any of these bazaars in Iran declaring that a certain flag was to be hung above the shops there—say it was Aban 4 (October 26, the Shah's birthday) for example, Aban being a month which is now known for its wretchedness (laughter of the audience)—yes, if a policeman entered the bazaar and told those there that they were to hang a certain flag above their shops, he met with no opposition whatsoever. No one ever imagined that a policeman could be challenged, a policeman ... (laughter of the audience). It never occurred to the people that it was in some way possible to defy a policeman. Everyone used to do as he was told.

One policeman would walk through the bazaar of Tehran, or Qum, or Shiraz, and would order those there to close their shops or whatever. He would order them to hang a flag above their shops, and so indeed they would hang a flag above their shops; or he would order them to festoon their shops with lights, and so they would decorate their shops with lights. Now however, the situation is one where the people no longer pay the slightest attention to martial law and to rule by the bayonet, or to rule by the Shah or any other form of rule! We have seen martial law being enforced in the past: in the past as soon as martial law was declared somewhere no one dared to show any opposition and everywhere became evacuated; no one even opposed a

policeman let alone martial law ... But as you can now see for yourselves martial law is in force in several cities in Iran yet none of the people there give heed to this form of rule. Instead they pour into the streets and shout out in protest. As for them (the regime), fear that the people may now stage a major attack has led them to relinquish their position somewhat, or rather, to relinquish their position considerably.

This is the situation in our country with regard to its people. One must compare what this nation was like prior to the present movement and what it is like now. The situation of thirty years ago must be compared to the situation now in order to realise the extent to which our nation has developed its political awareness, the extent to which it has developed its religious awareness, its political awareness. In the past the situation was such that no one gave themselves the right to interfere in any of the country's affairs, for (they asked themselves) what was it to do with us, the people? The country is embodied in the person (of the Shah)! Yes, this is what was commonly said: the country is embodied in the person (of the Shah), in he who is running the country! And he is at liberty to do as he pleases! The nation belongs to him; everyone belongs to him! So this being the case, he is at liberty to do as he pleases! Indeed, this was the logic of the people in general, except for some who were very few in number, those who, although not in a position to speak out, nevertheless did not accept this way of thinking. They did not accept this logic but were unable to say so. The bulk of the people held that there is the Shah ... there is his country, and there are his subjects! This was the accepted way of thinking!

You must all surely remember how twenty or thirty years ago the situation was such that the mass of our oppressed people were conditioned by these tyrants and dictators into accepting their habitually being struck on the head as something normal. When a nation has been trampled upon by these people (tyrants) for so many years, for two and a half thousand years, when it has lived under this vile flag for two and a half thousand years—monarchical rule being the vilest of the world's regimes, and its rulers the vilest of the world's people¹—then such a nation has become used to giving a free rein to its oppressive rulers to do as they please and it has become accustomed to not objecting in the least! Such a nation has become accustomed to believing that this is his (the Shah's) right! That this is his country! That these are his subjects!

¹ It is related in a tradition accounted to the Prophet of Islam that: "The most hated of all titles in the sight of God is "King of kings." Refer to *Sahih al-Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1688.

This was the accepted way of thinking at that time. Muhammad-Rida never dreamt that one day someone might ask: “Why did the Shah behave in this way?” What is the meaning of asking “why?” anyway? If this person happened to be the Prime Minister say, there was no way he would dare to ask “why?” In a certain gathering—some time during the thirteen or fourteen years that Prime Minister held office¹—the latter became annoyed when the Shah was addressed as the country’s number one man! He argued that to use the words ‘number one’ means that there is someone else in this country who is to be called ‘number two!’; and he asked: “Why did you use the words: the country’s number one man?! Indeed, is there anyone else in the country whereby the Shah may be referred to as the country’s number one man? ... There is no one else other than His Excellency. That is to say, the country does not have a number two man thus enabling him (the Shah) to be referred to as the country’s number one man!”

Yes, this is how things were! In this way they were conditioning the people and indeed the people were conditioned into believing that there was no distinction between God’s command and that of the Shah! That the Shah’s command was God’s command! That there was no difference between God’s command and that of the Shah! And they put a false construction on certain words, words which in essence bore the truth, such as: ‘The king is God’s shadow².’ Here they put a false construction on the word ‘shadow.’ Nobody’s shadow exists independently, its existence, its motion—if it has any—are dependent upon he whose shadow it is. The shadow of a person who is walking somewhere or who is in motion, does not move of its own free will. Its movement is subject to that of the person in question. That is to say, no matter how this person may move his hands, the hands of his shadow also move in the same way. If he walks then his shadow follows after him. If he sits down, so too does his shadow. The shadow cannot act of its own free

¹ The person in question is Amir ‘Abbas Hoveyda, the son of ‘Abdul Malik and the grandson of a well-known Bahai in Iran. He was educated in Beirut and in 1944 (1323 AHS) was appointed as a foreign diplomat in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1960 (1339 AHS) he became a member of the board of directors in the National Iranian Oil Company and in 1964 (1343 AHS) the Finance Minister in Mansur’s Cabinet. He succeeded Mansur as Prime Minister in 1965 (1344 AHS) and remained as such until the year 1977 (1356 AHS). In 1979 (1358 AHS) he was tried and executed. He is believed to have been a follower of the Bahai school. His grandfather, Mirza Rida Qannad, was one of the devout activists and supporters of ‘Abbas Effendi, a leading figure of the Bahai sect, and after fleeing Iran he went to ‘Akka in Occupied Palestine where he served ‘Abbas Effendi as his servant.

² The Most Noble Prophet (s) has been quoted as saying: “A just and modest king is God’s shadow and His spear on earth.” And again: “The king is the shadow of God on earth in whom the weak take refuge and from whose assistance the oppressed benefit.”

will, it does not enjoy an independent existence but rather owes its actions and its existence to the person to whom it belongs.

The words: ‘The king is God’s shadow’ have sealed the doom of all kings, for indeed these are not true kings! The person who allows himself to act of his own accord, to behave in a way which is not in accordance with the behaviour ordained by God, is not ‘the shadow of God;’ he is an independent agent; his actions are self-motivated. The Holy Prophet is ‘the shadow of God’ because he is not an independent agent; he himself is of no significance; he is the Divine Revelation; he is subordinate to divine revelation; he is subordinate to God’s command; he is subordinate to God’s admonition; his actions are inspired by Him; His inspiration prompts him to act. Whatever battle he engages in is in accordance with His divine revelation. He has no selfish desires or aspirations of his own which could prompt him to perform a certain deed.

Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), peace be upon him, is quoted as saying that when he was engaged in a fight to the death with ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd Wudd¹ and once he had defeated the latter having thrown him to the ground, ‘Amr ibn ‘Abd Wudd then insulted him by spitting at him. The Hadrat rose to his feet—accounts relate how he rose to his feet and departed from the scene, after which he is said to have returned and killed his opponent. The Hadrat was questioned about his actions. In reply he said that he had behaved in this way since at that particular moment in time the person in question had done something to (offend) him and he thus feared that some kind of personal feelings may interfere in any action he might have then taken. Action is to be divinely inspired. This is what is meant by ‘the shadow of God.’

Yet they purposely misconstrued these words of truth, these words which seal the doom of all kings, which seal the doom of all tyrants and of those in authority, and which make clear just what the believers and the Muslims are to do with kings, with the kings of tyranny. They fed people the idea that he (the Shah) is “the shadow of God” ... that “there is no distinction between God’s command and that of the Shah.” They committed these wrongdoings, these cruel and oppressive acts, and those acts of betrayal in such a manner that a nation became accustomed to them! Had these acts not been committed then perhaps the nation would have become accustomed to quite the opposite state of affairs!

¹ ‘Amr ibn. ‘Abdu Wadd ‘Ameri was a famous warrior of the Quraysh tribe. During the Battle of the Trench, whilst the Quraysh troops were on the other side of the trench, he leapt over the latter on horseback and approached the Prophet’s camp, requesting that someone be his opponent in battle. Ali (s) thus fought with this man and killed him.

But what happened to make things change? Now our people have reached the stage where their twelve-year-old children stand before a policeman in Qum and elsewhere and say “Death to the Shah!” This is the way things have turned out. Shouting “Death to the Shah” has now become something quite commonplace amongst the people of our nation! It has become commonplace! These are the first words to be uttered by the child who has recently learned how to talk! What glorious words they are (laughter from the audience).

So much for our people, for our nation from within which this dynamism has emerged and has gushed forth thanks to the movement upon which the people have embarked. No one can take the credit for this. No one has the right to do this. It is wrong for someone to say that this is his doing, that he is the one who has brought this about. No mortal is capable of transforming a nation in such a way. It is God who has done this. This is God’s doing. No power is capable, within the space of a year or so—it can now be said to have been a year and so many months, for things had gradually begun to change from some time back although nothing was yet visibly apparent—of bringing about this change and transformation which has been realised within our country and our nation, whereby the situation of the past hundreds of years has been changed meaning that two thousand and five hundred years have been trampled underfoot and wiped out.

This cannot be the doing of just anyone. It can in no way be said to have been the clergy’s doing. It cannot be said to have been the doing of the people from the bazaar. No indeed, this movement is God’s doing; it has gushed forth from within the nation itself in accordance with God’s will, and it therefore holds promise. This is something from God, something which augurs well.

The situation among the people of our nation has now become one quite opposite to that which prevailed in the past when the norm was for people to believe that they must act in a certain way; that they must revere the Shah and the policeman and civil officials and the like; that they must behave in such-and-such a way; that they must take the blows and say nothing; that they must pay those unfair taxes and say nothing; that they must accept foul abuse without protest. Now the time has come for change, for this kind of change which has been bestowed upon us by God’s command. And the fervour which has emerged from among the people themselves has reached the point where it has now become the norm to shout out “Death to this monarchy” of whatever; this has now become the norm!

Only a few days ago I received a letter which told of the small child of one of our own people saying such things. That is, it told of how this small child who had recently learned how to talk had actually spoken these words! Yes, this has become something quite commonplace now. Therefore, we are not to suppose that this service which the nation has so far rendered itself, this favour which the Divine Being of Absolute Truth has bestowed upon this nation, is the doing of some of those who in fact work for the regime and who repeatedly make suggestive noises saying things like: "Well, what happened; what did all this bloodshed achieve? What happened? What did this movement achieve? What happened?" Instead of asking these questions they ought to ask what things were like in the past! People such as these ought to look at the way things once were and the way they now are.

A nation which has known nothing other than suffering and distress and which has remained silent in the face of oppression, is now standing up to the oppressor like a lion, and is fighting against the bayonet with its bare fists! What more do they expect? The people of a nation have sacrificed their youngsters. These youngsters stand before tanks and cannons and are killed and then the people announce that they have given their children's lives in way of a sacrifice, and that if needs be they are prepared to do the same with the rest of their children! What else can be expected from these people? What could be better than this? What greater transformation could be wished for? What kind of spiritual development can exceed this, where a nation's state of mind has become transformed into another state within the space of one year, within the space of thirteen months, where a nation's state of mind has become so transformed?

So much for the people and their present state of mind, a state the likes of which cannot be found to have existed at any other time; a state whereby people everywhere in the country have closed down their businesses, including people in those places which have never before in history held even a one-day closing to this end, people in certain cities who have never before in their lives involved themselves in such affairs, anyone who actually did become thus involved having been called a political *akhund*! If someone were to stand up to the government with regard to one of the affairs which affected the lives of these people, if he confronted someone or other on such an issue, he would have been branded as someone involved in politics, as someone who must from thenceforth retire to his home for he was concerned with politics! This accepted logic of the people became something to be manipulated by the menacing propaganda which has been spread by the regime throughout history in order to accustom the people to this way of life

and to being hit, to having their resources taken away, and yet, in spite of everything, to giving the regime their support!

This is a ‘service’ which is unprecedented in history. It has been rendered to this nation, and this nation has now undergone a transformation. One must not ask what has been achieved! Plenty of things, plenty of things have been achieved. But even supposing that this was not the case, that from now on there was nothing more we could do and that having reached this stage they were to seize us and strangle us, nevertheless that which we have achieved to date will have been worthwhile. That is to say, those sacrifices that the people of Iran have made, and this ensuing transformation which has followed have been worth the loss of hundreds or thousands of lives; it has been worth making such sacrifices in order for a state of mind such as this to be brought about—an alert state of mind such as this whereby you now no longer believe that they can force you to behave in the way they used to; their harsh treatment of you is now a thing of the past; they can no longer send a policeman to you with orders to beat the people. This is now a thing of the past; it is all in the past.

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-Four

Date: November 2, 1978 (AD) / Aban 11, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 1, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The alteration of the meaning of those terms used in the vocabulary of the Shah and of the powers supporting him

Occasion: The clandestine talks held by the Shah with political dignitaries with a view to solving the deadlock

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

November 2, 1978 (Aban 11, 1357 AHS) saw the continuation of protest marches and demonstrations both in Tehran and other cities. Tehran University and its surrounding streets were teeming with crowds of people. In a message given to mark the release of Ayatullah Taliqani from prison, Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) again called on the nation to continue with the uprising and to stand fast against pressures exerted upon it by the regime.

On this same day Imam held three separate interviews: one with press correspondents and radio and television reporters from Austria; one with *The Guardian* newspaper; and a third with radio and television reporters from Luxembourg. In his interview with the British newspaper *The Guardian*, the Leader of the Revolution stressed: "I am certain that the Shah himself and his family's reign will not survive the present struggle."

That written by the reporter for *The Guardian* by way of a prelude to the questions posed by him to Imam serves as an example of the kind of analyses which abounded in the Western media at that time. It also demonstrates how the Western world had lost all faith in the possibility of various moderate fronts playing a decisive role, and shows how it had pinned all its hopes on something unpredictable happening in the future. Hence, the said reporter writes: "Opposition to the government embraces almost all social classes in Iranian society but those who oppose the government from within Iran lack leadership; only Ayatullah Khomeini enjoys a greater following than anyone else. This is someone who firmly refuses to hold any kind of talks with the government, and who, under the present circumstances, is not prepared to return to Iran. The National Front is one of the organisations which has been involved in anti-regime activities for some years now, but at present the situation is one where the leaders of this front do not enjoy a commanding

position and where social turmoil and popular demonstrations have left them bewildered. Many observers believe that either a long period of social chaos lies ahead or that the armed forces will stage a surprise coup. Very few are of the opinion that the current political unrest in Iran can easily be put down.”

The radio and television reporter from Austria asked why Imam had left Iraq, and in reply Imam said: “The Iraqi government, due to pressure from the Shah, had forbidden me from continuing with my political activities, activities for which I shoulder responsibility; and because of this, I left Iraq.” The said reporter asked: “Do you intend to go to Iran? Why have you not gone there?” To which Imam replied: “For the Shah’s crimes to be revealed worldwide, it is more opportune for me to be abroad.” In answer to another question posed during this interview, Imam Khomeini stated: “Because of the nation’s revolutionary uprising, the Shah will (eventually) leave and a democratic government and an Islamic Republic will be established. In this republic the people of the country will be governed by a National Assembly which will comprise the true delegates of the people. People’s rights, and especially the rights of the religious minorities, will be respected and observed. We neither treat anyone unfairly, nor do we submit to unfair treatment. At present the country is in a state of bankruptcy and everything has been destroyed. On establishing an Islamic Republic, a realistic programme which aims to truly rebuild the country will get under way.”

When the reporter from Luxembourg’s radio and television network asked Imam: “Will you agree to the Crown Prince succeeding his father as Head of State?” Imam replied: “No! This dynasty brings back truly bitter memories for the nation of Iran, and the Iranian people cannot tolerate rule by any one of its members.” Then the reporter continued: “The military have had no involvement in the demonstrations which have been held over the past few days. The Shah is backing down and has come to terms with the fact that he is to do a U-turn. He is ready to accept Karim Sanjabi... So, now that the Shah is prepared to compromise, are you also prepared to do the same? Are those in the opposition prepared to make some kind of compromise with the Shah?” In reply to this Imam said: “Demonstrations held in Tehran for Mr. Taliqani and those held in Qum for Mr. Muntaziri, were in fact demonstrations against the Shah in which the two said men were praised by the people for being the Shah’s opponents. In Iran the people laud any verse which is anti-Shah. The Shah won’t achieve anything by these desperate attempts or by making a bid for this and that. These efforts are now too late in the day and will serve him no use. He must leave. Compromise, no matter with whom or in what form, will not be accepted by us, for the nation will

not agree to it. We have firmly stated our position during talks held with these people (in the government). Whoever accepts our argument is with us, otherwise, he is not one of us.”

The doctors and employees at the Shahrivar 17 hospital in Mashhad had been on hunger strike for several days to protest against martial law officials having entered the hospital. The people of Mashhad prepared to stage a demonstration in support of this action but a number of them were injured and taken to hospital as government officials opened fire on those present.

On November 1, 1978 (Aban 10, 1357 AHS) Dr. Ali Amini went to see the Shah. Following this meeting, Dr. Amini told reporters: “... Why should we behave in such a manner which leaves no road open other than that leading to the enforcement of martial law and the use of weapons? Come, let’s be civilised!” Many observers interpreted these comments of Dr. Amini as some kind of threat and as evidence of the regime’s harsh treatment of the people.

On November 3 (Aban 12), two days after his meeting with the Shah, Ali Amini visited Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shari’atmadari in Qum. During this visit the latter was reported to have said: “What we want is the correct and full implementation of the constitutional law!” Whilst a day earlier, during an interview with a reporter from Pars News Agency, Mr. Shari’atmadari had expressed his full support for the constitutional law, and had stressed that basically he disagreed with any kind of social disorder(!), destructive behaviour, and killing(!), and he had continued by saying: “If they (the government) should do something to gratify the people somewhat and especially if they should do something to put an end to these killings and social unrest, then there is a possibility that the people may come to have faith in what they say. If they alter their policies, the situation will inevitably calm down.”

Despite such comments however, the movement continues in full swing throughout the country. Imam Khomeini, by making a continuous succession of speeches and revolutionary statements, not only manages to respond to the comments and declarations of support (for the Shah) made by official figures of Western governments, by America, and by the mass media, but he is also able to offset the plans of those parties and figures within the country which have been nurtured by imperialism—plans which aim to compromise.

An official report sent by the American embassy in Tehran to the US authorities suggests that the only way to save the situation in Iran is to opt for a military solution; to get the army to adopt a tough stance against the strikers, the teachers, those in the bazaar and the clergy; and to censor the

press. Thus, in one of its critical evaluations of the situation in Iran (November 2, 1978 (Aban 11, 1357 AHS)), the American embassy in Tehran writes: "This is a written account of issues believed by us to be of crucial importance, an account which bases its findings on events that have swept the country of Iran, and which also prescribes those decisions which the Shah is to make without delay... The Shah's efforts to pacify his opponents have failed... during consultations with Sullivan the Shah has himself stated this, i.e. the need to act swiftly in calming the unrest. However, it would seem that he is unable to decide what is to be done... Intelligence reports suggest that those political opponents and religious leaders with conservative leanings are attempting to gain greater ground by coming to a mutual agreement on the establishment of a government with more power, but with the Shah remaining on the throne as a constitutional monarch. That which acts to offset this, are the ideas held by Ayatullah Khomeini, an exile in Paris. This aged and experienced religious leader who has fought against the monarchy for some decades now, is determined that the Shah must go... In brief, a military solution is feasible, but would prove very costly to the interests of both America and Iran for some considerable time to come... Any military solution by necessity would also have to adopt a firm stance against street demonstrators; against teachers and pupils in the schools; against the religious leaders and their supporters in the bazaar; and against striking workers... press censorship is also something which could not be avoided."¹

In the present speech, Imam sets great value on the unique awareness of the revolutionary women and mothers in Iranian society, and he describes how the imperialist countries and the Shah's regime made use of certain alluring intellectual and social terms to their own advantage—terms such as 'freedom,' 'civilisation' and 'land reforms.' In response to the compromising statements made by those apparently national or religious figures, who, having exonerated the Shah and the monarchical system, are attempting to confine the aims of the struggle to the implementation of the constitutional law, Imam states: "... all of these crimes which have taken place in Iran within our lifetime, within the present period in history, all of these crimes have been committed on the Shah's orders... The terms 'monarchical regime'

¹ *Documents Published by the Ministry of Information*, Bahman 1366 (Jan/Feb, 1988), quoted from: *Taqwim-i Tarikh-i Inqilab-i Islami*, p. 191. It was following reports and commentaries like this that a military government was installed on November 6 (Aban 15), and that on November 10 (Aban 19) the spokesman for the American Foreign Ministry announced that the US government had agreed to send anti-riot equipment to Iran. This equipment included 25,000 tear-gas canisters, 200,000 batons, protective clothing, and other such items. *Ibid.* p. 182.

and ‘imperial regime’ are meaningless terms, they are intrinsically corrupt. This nation says that this regime must go... If we step down in any way from the position we have adopted, or if we proceed by taking things ‘step by step’—to quote certain gentlemen—this means... if we listen to those who make this argument and we agree with them on this point, then we will have signed the death warrant of Islam, the Muslims and the Islamic State.”

Speech Number Fifty-Four

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

One of the things with which we have to deal in this day and age are these words and terms whose meanings have been altered. There are many words and terms nowadays in Iran which have taken on a new meaning and for which a new dictionary needs to be referred to. For example, one of the terms which is now used is ‘open political climate,’ a term which appears regularly in the Shah’s vocabulary. Thus he speaks of having provided and brought about an ‘open political climate’ in Iran;¹ and again, the same thing is repeated by his masters, by Carter for example, who keeps on talking about the Shah having created an open political climate. Only yesterday, it appears that the Crown Prince, meaning the Shah’s son—yes, the Crown Prince, who of course is like himself (the Shah) in every respect—was taken to Carter who once more sang the Shah’s praises for his having given (the people) freedom!² This is again one of those words which in this day and age has lost

¹ Carter’s candidature for the American presidency and his so-called ‘human rights’ campaign, caused the Shah to panic. The latter believed that if a certain amount of freedom were to be given to the people in Iran, then the communists would take over! He had said: “Everybody interprets human rights in a different way, and there is no reason why our interpretation should conform to that of the Americans.” After Jimmy Carter was elected as President however, the Shah was forced to improve the stifling climate in the country and to create a so-called ‘open political climate.’ Thus, on December 29, 1976 (Dey 8, 1355 AHS), the ‘Fundamental Reforms Bill’ was presented to the Senate and on February 3 (Bahman 14), sixty-six political prisoners were released. On February 29 (Esfand 10), the Shah said in an interview: “The country’s political and administrative posts are open to all of the people.” On May 11, 1977 (Ordibehesht 21, 1356 AHS), officials from the world’s Red Cross went to Iran to visit political prisoners held by the Shah.

On the following day, Cyrus Vance and David Owen (the American and British Foreign Ministers) request that the Shah give more freedom to the people. The Shah agrees to this, and commissions the Rastakhiz Party to publicise the new political policy. He also orders SAVAK agents to make fewer public arrests whereby the said agents then kill (rather than arrest) those involved in the struggle against the regime, both in the streets and in the latter’s homes! This newly-hatched scheme however is ineffective, and thus we see both the Muslim students from Tehran University and the Muslim people nationwide, staging massive demonstrations on the day which commemorates the Khordad 15 (June 5) uprising of 1963 (1342 AHS). In an interview with French radio the Shah said: “Allowing various forms of political freedom has put the monarchy in danger.” The Shah’s final publicity stunt—that being the announcement

its original meaning for something else. An 'open political climate' in Iran means the suppression of everything! It means the censoring of the entire press and the prevention of any opinion being expressed! Man is free to express his opinion, yet an 'open political climate' means the prevention of any kind of opinion being expressed! Man has no say in his everyday life, in his own destiny! The press has no right to print one word which falls outside that which it is told to write!

Recently, I grant you, these newspapers have begun to say certain things to a degree, and that goes for the radio too. This public awareness and these clenched fists of our brothers in Iran have meant that they (the regime) can no longer behave as they would otherwise like to. But even having said that, there is still no freedom as such. Thus one can see how in all of these newspapers, and in all of these radio broadcasts and other media used for propaganda purposes, they still cannot make mention of that key factor. We all know, they all know, all of the newspapers and their proprietors know that this key factor—the key factor when it comes to the servants that is, and not when it comes to the servants' masters—is none other than the Shah! That is to say, all of these crimes which have taken place in Iran within our lifetime, within the present period in history, all of these crimes have been committed on the Shah's orders! There is no way that a soldier would kill someone without having been told to do so first; or that an officer would allow people to be killed without having been told to do so first; or that a minister or Prime Minister would have the authority to order for people to be killed, to order for people to be wounded, to give commands such as these without having been told to do so first. All of these crimes which have taken place and which continue to take place, have been and are now committed on the direct orders of the Shah; it is he who has ordered for the people to be struck down.

On Khordad 15 (June 5), as is now a well-known fact, he was personally in command and flew above the scene below in his private helicopter, giving out instructions. The order he gave was to strike in such a way as to ensure

of an 'open political climate'—did not pay off either, and it became clear to America that he was now in fact on the verge of being toppled from the throne.

² Rida Pahlavi, the Crown Prince of Iran at that time, was undergoing flight training at a US air base in Texas, and in October 1978 (Aban, 1357 AHS), on the occasion of his birthday, he was invited to meet with Carter, the US President. During this meeting, which was held for both political and publicity reasons, Carter stressed that the American government would back the Shah. He also expressed how pleased he was with the steps taken by the Shah towards establishing democracy, and he spoke of how vitally important Iran was to America.

that there would be no wounded in the hospitals any more, that is to strike to kill.¹

‘Freedom’ and ‘open political climate’ mean no one has the right to express an opinion! Like our press, which even now doesn’t have the right to express an opinion. Should our press and the media, which is used for propaganda purposes, media such as the radio, television and so on, become free one day, the truth of that which is now going on and that which has gone on in the past will then become apparent. Meaning, at present, neither I, nor yourselves, nor the majority of the people, know about what has really gone on. We only know of what is visibly apparent, of these streets in which dead bodies have been heaped together, and of these visible factors. People like us are only aware of this outer surface. As for that inner surface and those things which have happened to Iran in the past, and continue to happen now, those matters which remain veiled, we don’t yet have knowledge of these things. But there are those who indeed do know about these things and who have been deeply involved in them; and although evidence of all that has occurred in the past may not have survived to the present, nevertheless, most things have been recorded in the annals of history.

You can be sure that there are now books which have been written but which they (the authors) have not been able to print and publish. But the day that they become free in the true sense of the word, is the day that these books will come to light. That is the time when material published will truly be worth looking at. Our press is still now being censored and hence the name of the true criminal is not to be revealed in any of our newspapers—and indeed, it has not been revealed. And again, not one of the distinguished figures (in Iran) has yet been able to openly speak out on such a matter, a matter which involves exposing the true criminal, this person who is responsible for all the crimes which have been committed, this person known as Muhammad-Rida, the son of Rida. So far none of these figures have been able to come out with this fact, yet the people have. The people, including ten- and twelve-year-old children, are giving voice to this concern; people in the streets of Qum and Tehran, and in other cities, are giving voice to this concern, yet our so-called men of distinction are unable to do so!

¹ It is said that on Khordad 15 and 16, 1342 (June 5 and 6, 1963), the Shah had given his military commanders the permission to “shoot as they saw fit,” and he had stressed that soldiers were not to waste their bullets, nor were they to fire into the air, but instead they were ordered to target the upper part of the body when firing. Furthermore, it is also said that on Khordad 15 (June 5) the Shah actually flew above the city of Tehran in a helicopter, from where he personally took it upon himself to command the operation in progress.

These masses of people cannot be defeated. Not only are they prepared to lose a life, but rather to lose lives, or indeed, they even lose the lives of their young ones and then take pride in this fact. The mothers of today are one of a kind, I swear it. That is to say, history has never before witnessed mothers like these, save for those few who, their children having been killed, then came forward and rather than being upset, announced the sense of pride they felt. Some youngsters said to me that (the example of) these mothers caused them to remain fervent; that the reaction of these mothers who have lost a child keep them going and cause them to remain fervent, since it is they who give them courage; it is they who encourage them to carry on.

So there you have our 'open political climate!' That is to say, this term has been altered and has lost its true meaning. According to the logic of Mr. Carter and the Shah, it has now come to be understood as meaning all of those clamp-downs, clamp-downs which are enforced in the name of providing an 'open political climate!!'

Words now used in this way include terms such as 'great civilisation,' 'the gateway to a great civilisation!'¹ 'Great civilisation' is another of these terms whose true meaning has been lost; to their mind it means something else. This term, like certain others, crops up a lot in the Shah's choice vocabulary! And so too in the vocabulary used by Carter, his (the Shah's) grandfather! He (Carter) also uses a term similar to 'a great civilisation' in his choice of words, a term which, in the vocabulary of these people, means to trample on and crush all the signs of a nation's civilisation!

A nation's education is considered to be of pivotal importance in a great civilisation, for education is something which must be in tune with civilisation. But when you look at education in our country, you see that it is an inferior education which is dependent and unprogressive whereby they prevent our youngsters from advancing beyond a certain level, from taking one step higher than a certain level. This is not only the case in Iran, but it also applies to those youngsters of our country who have come abroad to

¹ In mid-August, 1978 (Mordad, 1357 AHS), the Shah said: "It is my hope that this new chapter we have recently begun in Iran, where as much freedom as the law permits is enjoyed by the people, has a good ending, and that it takes the country of Iran forward towards progress and greatness, and towards a great civilisation. The course of action to be followed to this end has been described in the book: *Towards the Great Civilisation*, and has been accepted by the Iranian Nation's Reconstruction Organisation. Those who would like to see the country advancing towards a great civilisation, know what is expected of them and how they are to cast their votes. And once the voting is over, they shall see just how great is the number of those who support the idea of taking Iran towards a great civilisation."(!) Quoted from *Ittilaat*, August 19, 1978 (Mordad 28, 1357 AHS).

study. Only yesterday, the day before or whenever, a number of these students, these fine youngsters, came to see me here in this room and said that they are currently studying in some country or other—I can't remember exactly which one now—but that they are not being taught anything. They said that they are only really students there by name; that since they have come abroad the instruction they receive is of a lower standard than that they received when in Iran! Yes, of a lower standard! And thus they argued that they were studying here abroad like this to no avail, and they asked my permission to go to Iran where they could at least do something useful, that is, where they could work alongside their brothers (in Islam) there.

In Iran in the past, the aim has been to bring about a dependent education, 'dependent' in the sense that we are to have an educational system, and we are to have universities purely so no one can say that we don't have such things. We are to have universities, colleges, teachers' colleges, all of these things which accompany and are in tune with the generally-perceived image of civilisation, but we are not to have that which truly constitutes civilisation, so that the external form resembles civilisation but is one which is hollow within!

From the very beginning when schools were first established in Iran—schools established with a view to helping the country to develop—this has been the way things were, except they weren't as bad as they now are. From the beginning their intention has been to prevent an educational system in the true sense of the word from materialising, for they knew that if a real educational system and if properly-educated people were to appear in Iran, then they would get in the way of things, they would cause a problem by getting in the way of their goals and interests, interests which lie in plundering the wealth of this nation. From the beginning they planned things so as to hinder the materialisation of an educational system which would be capable of developing our youth and of rearing a properly-educated youngster. And so now things have worked out as they wanted them to, whereby our educational system in fact bears no resemblance whatsoever to that which a true educational system should be like, and whereby they are wasting the lives of our youngsters.

That is, going to these colleges and universities is nothing but a waste of the lives of the teacher and the student. And the teachers know this; the students know this; everyone knows this; but still, that is the way things are. When we say that this page (in history) must be turned back, that all of these schemes which the foreigners have initiated in Iran via these evil agents of

theirs must be abandoned, it is because we see that everything we happen to point to is rotten to the core!

Even if we could only be said to have one genuine school and university, how come the wealthy in our country, how come ‘His Excellency’ himself¹, on becoming unwell, must either bring doctors into Iran from abroad, or must themselves be taken to another country, to London, to receive treatment?! How come no one ever comes from London to Tehran to be treated, or to any other country for that matter? It is we who have to leave here; these people have to leave Iran and go to London for treatment! The reason for this is that we don’t have any proper doctors. Yes, we have doctors, we have doctors who have a licence to practise, who have been awarded the appropriate certificates, doctors who have obtained all the necessary qualifications and who are called ‘professor,’ but they are doctors who are not in fact properly qualified. They are not in truth doctors, they only appear to be so.

Yet another of those words that has been changed is this word ‘professor.’ That is to say, they have used this word to mean something that it does not. Hence, when someone becomes ill they say there is nothing else for it but for him to go abroad, for him to go to London! The doctors also say that he must go to London—yes, even the doctors themselves say this! Even once those doctors who have gone to Iran to treat the patient actually arrive there, they say there is nothing else for it but for the latter to go abroad, that the patient must go to London for them to treat him!

This is the sorry state of our education, the sorry state of our universities, of our colleges. And they want us to be in such a sorry state too. Why should we have doctors? Our nation must remain in a certain state of need; it has to be in a state of dependence! They want our nation to be dependent upon these other governments and nations. And being dependent, means our education being dependent, as it is at present. This is borne out by asking: Why, when we once had an educational system of our own, why, when we now want to construct a dam, must we make a contract with an American company, or with whatever other foreign company? On what grounds must we do this? Why are the labourers all from Iran? The one who has to carry bricks and sand to and fro on his shoulders for a paltry sum, for a meagre reward, he who is to receive a small wage and must work from dawn till dusk, is taken from the Iranian workforce! The situation is the same in the oil company. It’s the same everywhere. This is in fact the whole idea, and this is how we have

¹ The Shah.

turned into a nation of third-class workers whilst at the same time having a ‘great civilisation!’

A great civilisation indeed! Essentially, in Iran this ‘great civilisation’ consists of a group of labourers, or, that is, of a group of people who appear to be labourers. It would seem to consist of an educational system and of stooges who are to transport oil for these masters of theirs, and to feed it to Mr. Carter and his friends! These stooges are to work for a paltry sum, for a meagre reward, as coolies, and they are to transport oil for them (their masters). And when they (the Iranian government) want to construct a dam, an expert has to come (from abroad); he has to give the instructions, and he has to say how the plans are to be drawn up. In return for drawing up the plans he receives several millions of dollars for each plan produced. After sitting down for a night or two and producing one draft, he then receives several millions of dollars! But what about us? You must do the hard labour! You and I, we must do the hard labour, we must carry the bricks! We are incapable of doing anything else. And why are we incapable? Because we haven’t received an education; we haven’t been able to construct our own dams ourselves.

Whatever one points to in this ‘great civilisation’ can be seen to exist in name, but not in substance. Many engineers, doctors and the like can be seen to exist in name, but what of their calibre? They lack substance! When we examine our military, we see that it abounds with names and titles! We have enough ‘lieutenant generals’ and ‘field marshals’ to fill a regiment! A humorist once used to say: “There are only two or three field marshals—or words to this effect—there are only two or three ‘field marshals’ in the whole of America, but in Iran there are rows of, there are hundreds of field marshals!” These titles all remain in force, but on closer inspection you find that ‘Field Marshal’ so-and-so is in fact no such thing!

These titles were already around before the time when those foreigners, the Allied Forces, attacked and entered Iran; these phoney titles such as ‘His Majesty’¹ were already around—of course, he (Rida Shah) was ‘His Majesty’ at that time, for this one (the Shah) was not yet born. He (Rida Shah) was then ‘His Imperial Majesty’, and all of his oppressive traits along with some additional ones were inherited by this one (the Shah)! Yes, because the latter is advancing towards civilisation his oppressive traits have been added to! Indeed, he has clipped everyone’s wings.

¹ Rida Khan.

They talk about the whole of Iran now having become so independent that everything has become whatever, that the soldiers have become this and the police have become that and so on and so forth! Because they used to beat the intellectuals and the *ulama* and take them to the police stations; because they used to insult them and have in the past oppressed the women so—only God knows the suffering we have been through in Iran¹; and because they have treated both men and children in the way they have, yes, because of all this, they had set the stage and their propaganda spoke of no other country being a match or whatever for our country any more! At that time, the humorists used to talk of ‘the first that didn’t have a second’: a phrase which referred to that matter concerning a war in which they (the Iranian government) wanted to engage to protect the country’s borders, when an initial declaration of war was made which was never followed up by a second declaration! The war in question only lasted for three hours! When Rida Shah asked one of his officers why it had only lasted for so long, he received the reply that it should have only taken a quarter of an hour!

We had nothing and they had everything. I myself saw how all of the soldiers just took to the streets. They abandoned their barracks and took to the streets, and this was because there weren’t in fact any true soldiers, there wasn’t in fact an army.² Do you really think that we now have an army of

¹ On December 2, 1935 (Azar 11, 1314 AHS), Mahmud Jam, who had been appointed by Rida Khan to form a Cabinet, was asked by the latter: “How can we get rid of this chadur (a full-length veil worn by women)? Ever since I went to Turkey and saw how the women there have discarded the black veil and the Islamic form of covering, I have come to despise any woman who wears the chadur. Indeed, the chadur is the enemy of progress and development. It has assumed the exact properties of a boil, in that it must be lanced with great care.” On January 7, 1936 (Dey 17, 1314 AHS), after having consulted with Jam, Rida Khan escorted his wife (Taj al-Muluk) and daughters (Shams and Ashraf) to a Teachers’ Training College ceremony, the latter having discarded their Islamic covering. Consequently, the wives of both ministers and certain figures of high national standing also attended this official function alongside their husbands, whilst lacking any form of Islamic covering. Once the occasion had drawn to a close, Rida Khan ordered Jam (the Prime Minister) to arrange for other such gatherings so that the women of Iran could get used to the new state of things in the country and could become accustomed to fraternisation between the sexes! Hence, from that time onwards, many such social functions were organised to this end, and government officials received strict orders to treat those women who appeared in public wearing Islamic dress with the utmost harshness.

² Those forces whose duty it was to silence the tribes, groups and clans, and to stop the occasional unrest in the military and amongst the leaders of various central government forces (all such operations being called for by the British), were later converted into a so-called national army which resembled the armies of Europe. The visible strength of this army was increased daily by the purchase of military equipment for the land, sea and air forces, and by sending members of the army to France and Italy for military training. But in reality this army

250,350,000 which truly serves us as an army should? The titles used in this so-called ‘army’ are the same as those used in all other countries, from the titles of its officers down to those of its lower-ranking members. Yes, the titles are the same, but on closer inspection one sees that these titles are in fact fake, they are without substance. Indeed, everything has changed, and you can see how the same goes for all other aspects of society.

They keep talking about the ‘economy!’ Well, of course, another issue of concern is the economy, but this man (indication is made to a member of the audience) is actually an economist and he is well informed in this area, so this being the case, should he really be living here (abroad)? Shouldn’t he really be serving his own country? They talk of our economy being this and that, and of us no longer being economically dependent and so on! So let’s now consider these ‘land reforms,’ the latter being yet another of the terms in question. ‘Reforms!’ We can see for ourselves how these have ruined our agriculture, destroying it and reducing it to nothing, whereby we are now lacking in every respect and have even approached Israel to supply us with fruit!¹ Whatever we need—wheat, barley, or whatever—is continually being supplied to us such that should they at any time cut off these supplies, this nation will have to go hungry! They say that the entire agricultural produce of Iran is only sufficient to meet her needs for a thirty- or thirty-three-day period! That they must bring the rest of the produce needed from abroad! A country which once exported produce, now has to be reduced to this. ‘Reforms!’ The word ‘reforms’ is in itself a good word, it is something really nice, yet here it has no true meaning.

was nothing but a big drum which was hollow within. On August 26, 1941 (Shahrivar 4, 1320 AHS), the day after the Allied forces had crossed over the Iranian border and had occupied the country, the supreme military headquarters issued what became its first and last declaration of war. In this declaration, it was claimed that the various military units of Iran were busy defending the country and that the people’s morale was very high and ... But this declaration did not contain the least information as to how these military units actually fared. In fact the majority of Iranian brigades and regiments had actually broken up before confronting the enemy. Army generals and senior officers had abandoned their units before having received the Shah’s order to halt their defence. Hungry and thirsty soldiers wandered in desolate areas and along the highways without any supplies, and many of them fell to the ground as they neared their death. Thus, we see how an army which had been allocated one third of the nation’s budget over a twenty-year period, and which had been provided with the equipment needed to cope on such a day as this, in fact fell to pieces on the very first day of the foreigners’ attack on Iran!

¹ Iran was a truly lucrative market for Israeli goods. Eggs, bananas, cucumbers, oranges and other citrus fruits used to be sent from Israel to Iran.

‘The White Revolution.’¹ The ‘White’ Revolution indeed! Here, the word ‘revolution’ is appropriate but it is actually a black revolution! It is a red revolution! All of these words are words which are very impressive and fine-sounding, they are words which have been carefully chosen; but what have they been used to refer to? When we look beneath the surface we find that these words lack substance, they are meaningless! They are words which were used to please us and to please the people at a time when the latter could not speak out and when they were unaware of what was going on.

This is no longer the case however. People are now aware that the words ‘land reforms’ are empty words, that they are in fact used to mean a market for America, for America’s satellites, and for America’s allies. We are a consumer market! They (the foreign powers) have a surfeit of wheat—so much so that because of its perishable nature they sometimes pour it into the sea. So, this being the case, what better than to start a programme of ‘land reforms!’ Once they have begun to implement ‘land reforms,’ then there is no longer any need for them to pour this wheat into the sea ... ‘land reforms’ have been made! Wheat will not be poured into the sea any more, it will be given to others in return for money!²

¹ In the book: *The White Revolution*, a book which carried the Shah’s name as its author but which was in fact written by someone else, we read: “The philosophy and spirit of this revolution (the Shah’s White Revolution) is based upon Iranian mentality and culture. And in bringing about this revolution two cardinal principles have been borne in mind, those being: spiritual belief and religion, and the protection of individual and social freedom. And again, attention has been paid to the overall principle which states that any signs of exploitation and any situation which only benefits the minority whilst being to the detriment of the majority, must be destroyed. It was in pursuit of these goals that land reforms had to be made and the roots of feudalism and serfdom had to be wiped out. The worker- employer relationship is to be founded on a new basis whereby the worker no longer feels exploited; the electoral law is to be reformed; the disgrace and affliction of illiteracy is to be wiped out nationwide; health care is to become available to all throughout the country; signs of the nation’s backwardness are to be destroyed; and the country’s resources and wealth are to be declared as national property rather than being privately owned. We are to advance in other areas of education, training, social welfare and industry, and are to bring about a state which is in tune with today’s civilised world, whilst acting upon the distinguishing feature of this White Revolution—that being the principle which calls for the pursuit of a democratic economy at the same time as maintaining political freedom.” More of these deceptively-attractive statements are to be found throughout the said book.

² According to a United Nations’ report, whilst millions of people were dying from malnutrition in poor countries, America decided to allow millions of hectares of its land to lie fallow in order to prevent a drop in prices. By destroying its wheat (i.e. pouring it into the sea), or by preventing its cultivation, America controls how much wheat is produced and the price at which it sells throughout the world.

They get oil from us and give us weapons! And just what is meant by weapons here? Giving us weapons means that America has to set up a military base to counter the Soviet Union for example! It has to set up military bases in Iran; it receives oil and sets up bases! This is one of the incredible achievements that America has accomplished—it takes away our oil and what does it give in return? In return it wants to set up a military base for itself in Iran! If this were not so, then would Iran need these billions of dollars worth of weapons that they provide her with?! Do we have anyone with the expertise needed to put these weapons into use?!¹ Even when you want to lay an asphalt surface you bring in a specialist from abroad for this task, so what do you expect to do with these weapons that they have made, weapons which are technically advanced and which need to be deployed by someone who is trained in these affairs? Yes, in Iran it is all empty talk. But surely you can't make cannons from mere words! True ability is needed to make these things, and this we don't have.

The 'cost' of these weapons that they have brought into the country is oil, yet they should in fact pay us in 'hard currency' for this oil, 'hard currency' thus being another of those words which has lost its true meaning. Instead of giving us 'hard currency' they bring weapons into Iran and establish a military base for themselves so that should they one day find themselves in difficulties, they will have a base here which they can use!

This is the state of affairs in Iran—a state in which the country has lost its agriculture on the one hand, and has lost, and continues to lose, its oil on the other, for indeed they are still taking it away, and they do so in the manner already described. Here, right here in this 'civilised' country, aeroplanes worth 350 million and 550 million dollars have been said to have been received in lieu of oil given! What on earth do we want with these aeroplanes? We only want to travel between Mashhad and Qum or Tehran, so why must they provide us with an aircraft worth 350 million dollars? I just can't imagine why! They are to take away our oil, and this aircraft is to be here in its stead. And it is the same everywhere.

¹ Prior to the Revolution, the Iranian army was unable to use those weapons bought from America unless it received the help of American specialists and advisers. This was due to inadequate training, both with regard to the quality and the amount of training given; a deficiency in introductory and foundation course training; and other issues of political concern. The extent of Iran's military dependency on America was so great that the Iranian army was incapable of managing its own affairs without the daily assistance of America, any kind of aviation or aircraft maintenance only being possible under American supervision and with the help of their technical expertise.

The situation in Iran is one in which truly impressive terms are used, terms such as ‘land reforms’—what a terrible shambles that has turned out to be—and again, terms such as the ‘Rastakhiz Party,’ the ‘popular Rastakhiz Party!!’ Again, from the very beginning, from the time when they first established this party, we spoke up about this matter. We have already said all that we could in this regard¹. But now we are talking about the popular nature of this party, and how these words were in fact words without meaning. Members of their (the regime’s) own outfit, people from intelligence (SAVAK) and the like, were forced to form this party. The people did not accept it; they did not give it their vote. As for those who did vote for it, it later became apparent that the whole thing had been forced upon them, because no sooner was the external pressure relaxed than one member withdrew from the party, and then another, and then another, until they had all abandoned it and returned to their own affairs. Unlike other parties which are recognised by the people, this party has now become a party which is not in any way recognised as such!

So much for this ‘popular party!!’ Yet you all saw for yourselves how much, how extensively, this man (the Shah) spoke about this ‘party!’ One of the things he said was that it was all well and good for those who joined this party—here we have another example of those ‘freedoms’ given to the people—but that whoever did not join it was to take his passport and leave, for he did not belong to this country! The only ones who belonged to this country were those who had joined this party, this so-called ‘popular’ party! It was called a ‘popular’ party, but what did this word mean here? It meant nothing. It was meaningless. Everyone realised that it was a popular party in name only.

¹ In response to a request made by a group of people for Imam to issue a religious decree (*fatwa*), the latter had a detailed statement published part of which read: “Since this party intends to oppose Islam and to go against that which is in the interests of the Muslim nation of Iran, the nation is forbidden to join the said party and to do so would be to encourage oppression and the extreme poverty suffered by the Muslims ... It is up to the *maraji* of Islam to prohibit membership of this party.” Four months after this party had been established, the American embassy wrote to Washington stating that there was a possibility of the Rastakhiz Party being converted into a hashed-up political organisation which would interfere in all aspects of people’s lives and which, at the same time, would be ineffective due to its invalid policies. See the book: *Az Zuhur ta Suqut*, vol. 1, pp. 231-250. A year later, the Shah’s supporters in the US embassy informed Washington that: “As an organisation, the Rastakhiz Party is unable to perform any important function.” When this party was dissolved, not a single person expressed his opposition to this move!

And so the story goes on. If we were to enlarge upon these terms now, it would take a long time, and I am no longer well enough to talk or to hold a discussion for such a lengthy period.

I pray that God may keep you; and may you all be soldiers for your country. Gentlemen, please take this matter seriously. The issues now facing Iran are serious ones, they are issues of vital importance. You who are abroad must take these issues seriously. What we are talking about is no joke. We are talking about Iran teetering on the brink whereby she is either to be annihilated, to be destroyed for ever, or she is to recapture her vitality and prove her own existence. We now lie at this fork in the road. There are only two paths for us to choose from: one leads to life, and one to death—death for evermore.

This cause for which our nation is now fighting demands that this monarchy be destroyed, that this form of rule be done away with, for it is corrupt. The terms ‘monarchical regime’ and ‘imperial regime’ are meaningless terms, they are intrinsically corrupt. This nation says that this regime must go. We say we want independence; we want to administer our own country by ourselves; we don’t want it to lie under the control of others. The country belongs to us, whether for better or for worse it is still ours and we don’t want others to interfere in our country’s affairs. If we step down in any way from the position we have adopted, or if we proceed by taking things ‘step by step’—to quote certain gentlemen—this means in the first instance agreeing to allow that gentleman (the Shah) to rule as sovereign rather than to govern, for this is the policy adhered to by the said gentlemen! Some argue that for now we are to say that he is to reign and not to govern! But what does this mean? It means that a person who, for almost thirty years personally, and along with his father for almost fifty years, has killed our youngsters, has violated our honour, and has allowed our country to be plundered, this person is now to reign as king! As King of kings! As Shahanshah! It means accepting this; accepting that he is now to reign as sovereign but not to govern as sovereign. If we listen to those who make this argument and we agree with them on this point, then we will have signed the death warrant of Islam, the Muslims and the Islamic State for evermore. And this will have been the greatest act of betrayal that we could ever commit against our own country, or that we have ever committed against Islam.

If we treat this matter lightly and remain content with what we have achieved so far, they will silence us once and for all. This time if this poisonous snake is allowed yet another chance, then it will poison Iran and the Iranian people such that they will never again be able to make a move.

Wake up gentlemen! Beware! Don't make the mistake of believing that we ought to proceed in stages, a step at a time, for this is a mistake. This argument is in error. Or again, don't listen to the argument which calls for a monarch who is to abide by the constitutional law and is to allow free elections to be held—these are the ideas which are injected by the Shah himself; he himself injects these ideas.

A constant interchange of visits is now going on in Iran! Visits have begun to be paid and repaid now in order to undermine the nation! The Shah has in fact held a private meeting with one person for two hours. Someone who had come here today to hold an interview told me this. He said that he had interviewed the Shah in private for two hours and that he now wants to interview other leading governmental figures.¹ As for these (members of the government), if they manage to thwart just one of our plans, they will then pulverise us so that never again will an Iranian experience a proper life, freedom or independence. Now that the nation's fists are raised, are clenched and are putting up a fight, there could be no act of betrayal worse than causing them to be lowered, causing these uplifted fists to drop down and extinguishing this fire which has now been kindled in Iran. Should this fire go out, there is no way that a second could be relit.

Listen gentlemen, we must pool all our resources together, all of them. That is to say, *a* has a duty to fulfil, and so does *b*, and so does *c*, and so do I—so do we all. The duty to be fulfilled is to propagate the cause here as much as possible. Tell those who don't already know, about the issues at stake. Their propaganda has served to introduce us as reactionary people, to introduce the *akhund* as a reactionist. This *akhund* says that we want what is

¹ Following the show of incompetence by Azhari's military government, the regime took steps to establish a coalition government which was to comprise members of opposing views. Thus, it contacted certain political figures such as Dr. Sadiqi, a member of the National Front. The latter agreed to accept the Premiership on condition that a Regency Council be set up without the Shah having to leave the country, but this proposition was not agreed to by the Shah. Prior to the establishment of the military government, the Shah had held a meeting with another leading figure of the National Front, Dr. Karim Sanjabi. On this occasion, the Shah proposed that Sanjabi form a national alliance government. After consulting with his colleagues in the National Front, Sanjabi went to Paris where he met with Imam Khomeini and asked for his opinion on the matter. Imam told him that he regarded this as a conciliatory move and one which was against the country's interests, and Sanjabi came to accept this view. After returning to Tehran, Sanjabi was arrested before he had chance to tell journalists of the outcome of his talks with Imam. In the end, the lot fell upon Shapur Bakhtiar, and following lengthy discussions with the latter, the Shah decided to appoint him to form a new government. The Shah also held several talks with Ali Amini, the details of which have been chronicled in the various introductions included in the present book.

rightly ours; we want freedom; we want independence. Is this being reactionary? Taking away that which belongs to us is not reactionary! Is it then a sign of civilisation? Does our wanting not to give what is ours away make us reactionaries? Are you, those who want to keep us in shackles and who want us to remain as captives for evermore, are you not reactionaries, whereas we who say we want to be free are?! If we abandon our own argument, our own objective, then we will have to bear the burden of this oppression and tyranny for ever.

Each person, each individual, now has a duty to perform; he has a sacred duty, a righteous duty, a moral duty to help these Iranians who are now putting up a fight and shouting out. Each person is to help as much as he can. Those in Iran are sacrificing their lives, sacrificing their young for our sakes and for the sake of Islam. They are making sacrifices for the sake of the nation, and we too are a part of that nation so we too must help—whoever is able to must help as much as he can. If you are able to give a press interview, then do so and tell them what you have to say. Or if you are able to talk to those friends that you have in the universities and elsewhere, then when you see a few of them are assembled together, stand and talk to them; tell them that: this is the state of affairs in Iran; they are doing this to Iran; this is how much they have oppressed these people. Tell them what it is we want; what this uproar is for.

Is it really because they have given us too much freedom that we are shouting out and asking: why do you allow us so much freedom?! Does this uproar stem from the fact that they have given us freedom too quickly and too rapidly, as Mr. Carter says when he argues that the reason these people are crying out is because His Majesty has given freedom too quickly?! When we shout the word ‘freedom’, are we saying that we have been given indigestion from too much freedom so don’t give us any more of it?! Is this what we are saying? Is this the problem? According to Mr. Carter it is!

Therefore, we all have a duty to fulfil. All of us must do everything in our power to rescue this Islamic country. Saving a nation is no laughing matter; it concerns the rescue of a nation. We must all join hands together in fraternity. God willing, you will succeed (the audience: “God willing”). May the Lord grant you all success (the audience: “Amen”).

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-Five

Date: November 3, 1978 (AD) / Aban 12, 1357 (AHS) / Dhu al- Hijjah 2, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The Shah's defeat in setting up the government of national reconciliation and in enforcing martial law

Occasion: Talks held between the nationalists and the Shah, and rumours with regard to a member of the former assuming the position of Premier

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) unmasks the demagoguery of Sharif Imami's government and the measures resorted to by the Shah's regime, and he asks the people not to be deceived by these tricks.

As mentioned earlier in this anthology, after becoming Prime Minister, Sharif Imami named his Cabinet 'the Cabinet of National Reconciliation;' he changed the Imperial calendar and once more reinstated the Islamic solar calendar (which was based on the Prophet's migration from Mecca to Medina); he made a thousand-and-one promises to the people; and in the Majlis, having won a vote of confidence, he promised to sever the hands of international plunderers from the public treasury, and stated a phrase for which he later became renowned, that being: "I am not the Sharif Imami of twenty days ago!"

Only a few days into his Premiership, innocent and defenceless people were slaughtered (by government troops) as martial law was declared in Tehran and eleven other major Iranian cities. Military officers, armed to the teeth, fired a hail of bullets into the tens of thousands of people who were demonstrating at Jaleh Square, people who were still unaware that martial law had been declared, and as a result thousands of demonstrators were killed or wounded. A similar situation arose in other cities, and the troops' anger towards those people who were demanding "freedom and independence" as they demonstrated and held protest marches, reached a peak. It could therefore now be said that not one of the promises made or harsh measures taken by the Shah and Sharif Imami's government actually achieved anything.

In the present speech, Imam warns of the regime's plans to extinguish the flames of the Revolution by resorting to new tricks. This all takes place at

a time when the martial law government is making daily announcements forbidding any “gathering of more than three people.” The people however, make a mockery of these announcements and ridicule the arrogant words of the martial law government by taking to the streets in their hundreds of thousands and staging marches during which they cry out: “Cannons, tanks and machine-guns no longer have any effect.”

It would seem that the United States has also by now reached the conclusion that the Shah’s regime is about to collapse. Renowned international correspondents reported: “Arduous negotiations on the amount of arms to be purchased by Iran from America have got under way between the two countries. The subject being discussed between an American delegation and high-ranking Iranian officials, concerns a reduction in the purchase of arms by Iran from America due to the acute financial difficulties facing the Shah’s regime and the pressure being brought to bear upon the latter by its opponents.”

Pentagon sources reveal that: “Since 1950 (1329 AHS), Iran has purchased 20 billion dollars worth of weapons from America, these purchases amounting to 5.8 billion dollars in 1976 (1355 AHS) alone—a figure which dropped to 2.6 billion dollars during the following year.”

In the present speech Imam Khomeini points to the martial law government’s impotence, and states: “... In all of these places where either martial or non-martial law is in force, that is to say, where either an ordinary or an atypical system of law is in force, demonstrations continue to be held in earnest. So this (the enforcement of martial law) has also failed...”

In his book: *Confessions of a General*, General ‘Abbas Qarabaghi refers to a meeting which took place in the Shah’s presence—a meeting which was attended by the Prime Minister, Cabinet ministers, and military commanders—so as to convey the country’s state of confusion and the perplexed state in which the senior members of the regime found themselves. Thus he says: “... General Oveissi said: ‘Most of these seditious acts and riots are the *akhund*’s doing and take place because of them ... Your Majesty, I request that you allow your devoted servant (i.e. Oveissi himself) to be provided with adequate funds. I shall resolve all of the country’s problems within 48 hours.’ General Azhari said: ‘I request that His Majesty appoint a member of the military, whomever he sees fit, to form a government which would establish a military system of rule. I, your devoted servant, am ready to serve under this government to the best of my ability so that it can put an end to these disturbances and this unrest and can restore calm and security to the country.’”

Qarabaghi concludes by expressing the following view: “Unfortunately, neither did a change in government come about, nor were martial law regulations implemented in time; and the days simply went by without any measures being taken. High-ranking army officials, military officers, and soldiers roamed through the streets of Tehran and other major cities without orders upon which to act, and watched the demonstrations and riots which were being staged by rioters and opponents of the regime, bearing both the direct and indirect insults which were fired at them by the latter as they did so.”¹

In this speech, Imam recounts the history of the numerous steps taken by the regime in its attempts to deal with the recent uprising of the people—steps which began with the changing of those who held major positions in the regime, and which resulted in the setting up of the ‘Government of National Reconciliation.’ In expanding upon the resignations of the regime’s leading military and party figures; the enforcement of martial law; and the failure of all solutions sought, Imam says: “Martial law also failed... they realised that the fist is more than a match for the tank; that the nation’s will preponderates over the cannon and machine-gun.”

Having firmly declared the Shah’s departure and the overthrow of Iran’s oppressive monarchical regime to be a certainty, Imam argues that talks held between pseudo-nationalist figures, and rumours of their acceding to the premiership are designs which are destined to fail from the outset and he states: “All of these are now things which our nation will not accept.”

¹ *Confessions of a General*, p. 38.

Speech Number Fifty-Five

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The Islamic movement of Iran has now reached its climax and is going through a period in which it is bearing fruit. The Shah is now resorting to a variety of measures as he has done in the past. One of the forms which these measures of his has taken has been to establish a government, a 'government of reconciliation!' And that was the government which, from the time it was formed until the present, has killed thousands of our youth, massacring them and plunging the whole of Iran into a state of mourning. They wanted to deceive the people by appearing to have become reconciled with them, and so the government announced its reconciliation with the people and also said that the calendar was to return to being what it legally was in the first place (that being the Islamic calendar). They gave the law of the Zoroastrians and the Rastakhiz Party a miss,¹ and later scaled down those arms deals that they had made² and either cancelled or cut back on the deals concerning atomic energy.³ These are all tricks which they are busy playing in order to silence

¹ In an interview given to mark Mordad 28 (August 19 coup), the Shah said: "When we said this party is one which is all-embracing, we meant that whoever wanted to could join it. Now, with this policy known as an open-door policy which affords people ultimate and absolute freedom, we no longer expect one hundred percent of the country to join this party. No indeed, there may be someone who for some reason or other may not want to join it; he may hold different ideas. This person, in accordance with the civilised laws of the developed world, will be able to, and indeed now is more or less able to, either say or write whatever he wishes."

² In a report entitled: "Major arms purchases temporarily cancelled," the *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 20, 1978 (Aban 27, 1357 AHS) read: "The reason these purchases have been cancelled is said to be due to the unrest and internal problems now facing Iran. As a result of these disturbances, the Shahanshah of Iran intends to decrease the amount of oil revenue currently used up by the country's military."

³ One of the steps which was to be taken by the government of national reconciliation (i.e. Sharif Imami's Cabinet), was the reassessment of major, multimillion-dollar contracts. One such contract involved the purchase of nuclear arms technology from the West. The *Kayhan* and *Ittilaat* newspapers reported on October 16 and 29, 1978 (Mehr 24 and Aban 7, 1357 AHS) that: "The Iranian government intends to pursue the establishment of atomic power plants 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Bushehr, but although the German company Kraftwerk Union has already been notified in writing of Iran's wish for it to construct four new nuclear power plants, nevertheless, negotiations to finalise agreements have, for the present, been postponed. Other matters which are expected to be reassessed because of the government's policy to cut back expenditure include negotiations concerning the purchase of eight nuclear power plants

this movement, to destroy this wave which has appeared in Iran and which is laying everything to waste like a raging flood, and to put out the fire in people's hearts. And initially they may well make certain compromises, and make it appear as though there are certain freedoms, as though there is "an open, free climate"—to quote them—but following this, as soon as this affair (the uprising) has died down and that burning passion which has now flared up in Iran has cooled down, then, once they have had chance to re-establish their footing and they feel sure that no such movement will again start up, they will make such an attack and will inflict such damages on whatever concerns the nation, that neither the clerical front, nor the political front, nor those from the university or the bazaar, will ever again be able to breathe!

The situation which has now arisen in Iran has wounded this venomous serpent. Those things of which he (the Shah) was always convinced in his own mind—ideas which told him: there is only I, and the rest of the nation are all my supporters; love of the Shah exists throughout Iran; everyone is under my command and no one dares or could possibly want to oppose me—all of these ideas have caved in. The veils screening these ivory towers, these fanciful ideas which they had impressed upon the people, ideas which bore no truth but which were nevertheless conveyed to the people in impressive, dressed-up terms—these veils were drawn back somewhat and these lofty ivory towers that they had erected fell to pieces one by one, many of the hopes and ambitions that they held being trampled upon. He (the Shah) is now a wounded viper who, given the chance, should the nation show any signs of weakness or of relaxing its efforts, will lift up its head and this time will inject its poison into all sectors of society—a poison for which they will no longer be able to seek a cure.

All of these measures to which he has resorted are acts of deceit; like his forming a 'government of reconciliation,' a reconciliation which they now recognise as something which would seem to be even worse than war between the nations! Those conciliatory measures they believed they had taken, appeared in the form of a crude martial law system, and again, in governing by martial law they suffered defeat. Martial law indeed! Now, it is just them and their public announcements which are left! They announce in public announcement number whatever, that no more than two people are to

from the company Westinghouse Electric." Towards the end of October, 1978 (the beginning of Aban, 1356 AHS), a delegation of economic advisers came to Tehran from Germany and deferred Iran's purchase of four nuclear plants for a period of one year. Following the arrest of the head of the Atomic Energy Organisation, an arrest made on the orders of Sharif Imami's government, talks over other agreements also came to a halt.

walk together in the streets. But on the contrary, in the very place where martial law is in force, 300,000, 500,000 people and sometimes more, march in the streets chanting slogans and saying whatever they please!

Yes, martial law also failed. And due to the failure of martial law and the confrontation between the fist and the tank, they realised that the fist is more than a match for the tank; that the nation's will preponderates over the cannon and the machine-gun.

And neither do they hold out any hope for a military coup d'état, although they do still give it some consideration. Yes, a military coup d'état!¹ That is in fact what we are now faced with, a military coup! For what is a military coup anyway? When a military coup takes place some military figure or other takes charge of affairs and, should he be a really callous person, he treats the people harshly, although sometimes he may not in fact be callous. So today martial law is in force throughout the whole of Iran. In some cities however, it is being officially enforced, whereas in others, it is being enforced unofficially. Now, throughout Iran, the definition of a military-governed country, and of depriving the people of everything, holds true.

Therefore, the first trick to which they resorted was to establish a government of reconciliation with all that it entailed, including making claim to its religious affiliations, for when this government was first installed he referred to himself as a clergyman, claiming that he was a clergyman's son, that he was someone whose mother and father came from a religious background and so on.² Then his government began to make those concessionary and deceitful moves, and that was when, from the moment this

¹ During the final months of the Shah's reign, one of the solutions to the popular demonstrations and the Islamic Revolution which was considered by the Shah's supporters and discussed in political circles was the staging of a military coup and the installation of military rule. However, the Shah's mistake lay in establishing a military government under General Azhari, and this mistake, combined with Imam's timely warning to the effect that: "A military coup d'état can do no more than can a military government," meant that this plan was never given the chance to be put into operation.

² In August/September of 1978 (Shahrivar, 1357 AHS), having accepted the premiership, Sharif Imami introduced himself as someone who was a descendant of the Prophet (i.e. a *sayyid*), who came from a background of clergymen, and who followed Mr. Shari'atmadari in religious matters! Parsons writes: "The Shah appointed the President of the Senate, Jafar Sharif Imami, a man who came from a religious family and who associated with members of the clergy, as Amuzegar's replacement." In truth however, he did not in fact associate with the clergy, and especially not with those religious leaders who opposed the regime. Basing its comments upon Sharif Imami's genealogy—a publication published by himself—the *Ittilaat* of August 27, 1978 (Shahrivar 5, 1357 AHS) wrote: "The Prime Minister of Iran is the child of a clergyman in every respect and is related to the descendants of Islam's great thinkers!!"

government was established, I impressed upon the people not to be taken in by this deceit for this government was in fact worse than that military-style government! This government posed a greater threat than the other one! With a military-style government, one knows that this government has been installed so as to use the bayonet when dealing with one, and so one obviously behaves with caution and so on. But when a government is installed through deceit with the intention of keeping the people in their place, this catches the people off their guard; and this is extremely dangerous.

Right from the beginning, right from when it was first announced that a government of reconciliation was to be established, I informed the people of the issues entailed in whatever way I possibly could. However, this government of reconciliation was defeated and martial law was enforced throughout Iran! It was enforced officially in twelve of Iran's major cities, but now this too has met with defeat. Martial law is still in force, but it is a defeated martial law. According to martial law regulations, no one is to come out at night—they put the initially-designated curfew back two hours, then, again brought it forward, announcing that the people were to do whatever two hours earlier than they had to do before—yet the people opened up their shops and whilst seated there, began to recite the Quran. The government was thus compelled to put the curfew back by the same number of hours that it had previously been brought forward.¹

Demonstrations also continue to be held on the same grand scale in all of those places where either martial law, or indeed another form of law, is in force—that is to say, those places where martial law is officially in force, or

¹ Following the announcement of martial law in twelve of the country's cities on September 8, 1978 (Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS) and the earthquake which occurred in Tabas on September 16, 1978 (Shahrivar 25, 1357 AHS), the situation in Iran seemed to calm down. Under the impression that martial law had brought about this state of calm, the regime gradually began to reduce the hours during which the public circulation of people was forbidden. In Announcement Number One, the Military Governor's Office for Greater Tehran, which had previously declared the hours of curfew to be between 9 pm and 5 am, now, on September 10, 1978 (Shahrivar 19, 1357 AHS), reduced this period by one hour, declaring curfew hours to be between 10 pm and 5 am. The following announcement reduced this period by yet another hour, declaring the hours of curfew to be from 11 pm until 5 am. The new regulations declared in this latest announcement, were also observed in other cities where martial law was in force. However, from the end of September 1978 (the beginning of Mehr, 1357 AHS), a time when the movement entered a new stage, the regime was compelled to increase the hours of curfew, Qum being the first city in which this new law was enforced. Hence, Announcement Number One, issued by the Governor's Office in the city of Greater Qum, declared the hours in which the public circulation of people was forbidden to have changed from between 11 pm and 5 am, to between 9 pm and 4:30 am.

where it is unofficially in force! Hence, this too has failed, and because of this, any plans to stage a military coup or to appoint a military figure as Prime Minister will also fail. Should they be stupid enough to establish military rule nationwide, that is, to appoint a military figure as Premier with a view to frightening the people, then let it be known that the people have shed their fear, they no longer heed threats such as these. Even small children have rendered the police powerless and have stood up in confrontation against them. The latter fight with bayonets, cannons and tanks, and the people, with fists, stones and these kinds of things. Thus, martial law, the government of reconciliation, and military coups, are all doomed to fail. These can no longer be considered as viable options. These moves are ones which will fail and indeed have failed to achieve their intended objectives; no matter how much they may want them to work, they will not.

Another measure resorted to, has been for them (the regime) to choose certain persons for the Premiership say, and thus to further their aims. This sometimes means them selecting someone with whom the people are somewhat familiar; and sometimes it means them selecting someone who has not featured predominantly in the government, either whilst these recent governments have been in power or during those periods when he (the Shah) has engaged in acts of oppression and cruelty. They themselves have realised that the nation will no longer accept those who have held a key post, headed a ministry, or have been a parliamentary delegate during this government's term in office. But they are making a mistake in trying to fool the people in this way. Sometimes a person's resignation from a ministerial post; sometimes from a parliamentary post; sometimes a person's withdrawal from the Rastakhiz Party¹—all of these are now tricks which this nation of ours no longer falls for.

It may well be that someone (in the government) has really and truly repented, but even disregarding those great sins which he has so far committed, those acts of betrayal which he has committed to date, it is likely that one act of betrayal is common amongst all other such acts, that being the parliamentary delegates' awareness of the fact that they are not the nation's

¹ On November 5, 1978 (Aban 14, 1357 AHS), the resignations of the Minister of Science (Abul-Fadl Qadi) and the Minister of Education (Manuchehr Ganji) were announced. Before this date, on November 4 (Aban 13), Ahmad Bani Ahmad, resigned his position as a Member of Parliament, and so too four days later, Manuchehr Azmun (Minister of State), Bahihri (Minister of Justice), and a number of parliamentary representatives, resigned as members of the Rastakhiz Party. See newspapers published between September and November, 1978 (Mehr and Aban, 1357 AHS).

true representatives! Indeed, this is not something known to the parliamentary delegates alone. Everyone knows that this Majlis does not belong to the people and that it is a Majlis which was established on the Shah's orders, at bayonet point—at first there was no need to use the bayonet or other coercive measures, but now there is, for initially it was established on his orders, and there again, not in fact his orders, but according to the instruction list which would come to him from the (foreign) embassies.

He himself admitted that not so long back they would present a list and the foreign embassies would determine who were to be parliamentary delegates¹. Now however, it is not like this! No indeed, now the situation is as I have explained and even worse still. All of these delegates without exception know, and indeed knew at the time they actually entered Parliament, that they are not the true representatives of the people and that this Majlis is a violation of the Constitution. But in spite of this they still entered the Majlis, all of them. Those who violated the Constitution and entered the Parliament whilst knowing that this is in contravention of the Constitution, committed an act of betrayal with the very first step they took into the Majlis.

Now even if we overlook the things they did in Parliament and disregard their changing the Islamic calendar—an act of such outrageous impudence towards the station of the Holy Prophet—even if we overlook this, the fact that all of these delegates voted for these things, and that these things came about because they gave them their unanimous approval, cannot be overlooked. It may well be that one of these delegates now asks for forgiveness and argues that when they brought this proposal to the Majlis, he didn't want to give it his vote but that he was afraid not to, or again, argues that he did not in fact cast his vote, but even so, you entered a Majlis which lay in contravention of the Constitution, as someone who has been given the authority to act on behalf of the nation, and this is treachery. Just stepping into the Parliament was itself a treacherous act. Therefore the nation does not accept these people who have at any time been a part of this government, this illegal government that is.

Yet another point to note is that in principle monarchical rule by the Pahlavi dynasty is a contravention of the constitutional law—yes, the very principle on which the monarchy is based. As anyone of my age or even a

¹ In the book *Mission for my Country*, we read: "During the Second World War, whilst Iran was under Allied occupation, the latter's officials would prepare a list of candidates chosen by themselves which they would then give to the Prime Minister of the day, insisting that the said candidates were definitely elected to the Majlis."

little younger remembers, when Rida Shah came and staged a coup no one was at all able to say anything in opposition to him. As for those who do not remember or have never heard of this, they can go and ask the more elderly men about it, although this affair is in fact something quite obvious and well-known to all. No one had the power needed to speak out against him, and if there were a few people who were strong enough to do this, these were the odd ones who could not make any impact, those who were unable to achieve anything.

The Constituent Assembly which they set up during Rida Shah's reign in order to alter the contents of the constitutional law, was an assembly which was opposed by the nation. It wasn't a case of the nation being unaware of what was going on; the nation was actually against it! However, the people didn't dare to express their opposition although no one actually went to cast their vote either. The people stayed put; they got on with their own affairs; they didn't dare to speak out.

The parliamentary representatives of the Constituent Assembly, an assembly of appointed delegates which was established in order to alter the contents of the Constitution, to overthrow the Qajar dynasty and install the Pahlavi dynasty, were not the people's representatives! Everyone knows this. Rida Khan knows this too; even now as he lies in his grave, he knows that these were not true representatives. His son also knows! As for these parliamentary representatives, unlike us, the popular masses, who remain little informed, they are now well aware of what is going on; and they all know that the underlying principles of the Pahlavi monarchy indeed lie counter to the law, counter to the constitutional law.

And if his (Rida Shah's) reign as monarch did not accord with the constitutional law, if the Pahlavi monarchy did not accord with the constitutional law, then neither does his son's monarchy, for the fact remains that when the latter's reign is a violation of the Constitution, so too is the appointment of parliamentary representatives. Even if the latter are appointed by the people, the Constitution states that the king must give the order for such an appointment to be made, and we do not have a king to give such an order. The people did not have a king. This king in fact never was. A king whose reign is a violation of the constitutional law is not a king.

These representatives are aware of the fact that this so-called dynasty of kings came to power unconstitutionally, and that consequently, whatever they (the representatives) do contravenes the constitutional law. I am talking in their own language. I am using their own logic as a premise for my argument, since they no doubt respect the constitutional law. Hence, by taking this

matter of the Constitution and that contained within it into account, I assert that we have never, from the outset, from the time of Rida Shah down to the present, had a true representative of the people! The people however, were unaware of this fact, or if they were aware, then they were not in a position to determine who was to represent them—there was just no chance of this.

Therefore, throughout their entire reign, both the monarchy was a violation of the Constitution and so were those who were in the Majlis. As for the Senate, half of its members were to be appointed by the Shah and the other half by the nation. But the nation were not sufficiently informed and we in fact had no shah to make such an appointment, for the Shah was not a legitimate king. Hence, those who were appointed to represent the people or to administer their affairs, have all represented or administered in contravention of the Constitution! All of them.

With regard to this other measure to which they resorted, which involved changing one key figure for another, and choosing someone whom they believed was not disadvantaged by having held a governmental post during their time in power—a move which involved turning to the universities for example, and choosing a university lecturer who had not held a governmental post whilst they have been in power—now let's say that this has been done, and the person in question now wants to enter Parliament, this again is a violation of the constitutional law, for who is in fact putting him there? Who appoints him to the Premiership? And what kind of Majlis sanctions his Premiership? Which Majlis does this?! The Majlis which is a violation of the Constitution, the monarchy which is a violation of the Constitution; and thus, this Premiership too is a violation of the Constitution.

God forgive me, but imagine if they were to go and bring the honest and trustworthy Archangel Gabriel down from the heavens to the earth, and that they were to incarnate him here, he who is so pure, clean and chaste, even if they were to do this, nevertheless, according to their own reasoning, the constitutional king would still have to appoint the Prime Minister and the Majlis representatives, and then the Majlis would have to sanction this appointment, but indeed, we don't have a constitutional king!¹

¹ From the time that the constitutional law was first formed, it had made provisions for the Shah to be vested with many powers, yet even so, in 1949 (1328 AHS) the constitutional law was altered such that the area of authority vested in the Shah was widened even more. Article 48 of the constitutional law of Iran, which had been accepted in 1906 (1285 AHS) as the basis of a constitutional system, had stated that Parliament could only be dissolved with the consent of its members. In 1949 (1328 AHS) however, this article was altered whereby the Shah was granted the authority to order for the dissolution of both Houses whenever he pleased. Again, according to the supplementary constitutional laws, monarchical rule could be legally

From the very first day the Constitution was not abided by. From day one of the constitutional law, this very law, which they all (supposedly) agree to, was not abided by. One of the articles stipulated in the constitutional law states that five *mujtahids* are to have a presence in the Majlis and are to supervise affairs to ensure that those laws passed therein do not contravene the religious law in any way. This is what this constitutional law of ours says; this is what the supplementary constitutional laws say. So in fact they deceived the people from the very moment that the Constitution was first composed.

They engaged in deception from the beginning—just like they want to now deceive the people by bringing a government of “reconciliation” to power. From the very moment that they first laid down the Constitution, these evil fiends who were wise to the situation, deceived those clergymen and devout believers who supported them. These fiends acted deceitfully; they accepted the supplementary constitutional laws and so on, but when the time came to act according to these laws, this they did not do. That is, they did not bring five *mujtahids* to the Majlis! Initially a meeting of sorts was held, but that was just for show, then that was it—nothing. Now its nearly fifty years, in fact more than fifty years, that the clergy have not been allowed into the Majlis whereby to supervise affairs, and this contravenes the constitutional law.

So supposing that Gabriel does actually descend to earth and that His Majesty now wants to go to the Parliament to appoint him and to give him his authorisation so as to receive the approval of both the lower and upper Houses, here, even the honest and trustworthy Archangel Gabriel would be violating the constitutional law, for this act is not legal. His office would be illegal. And therefore this measure resorted to would not come to anything.

transferred from one person or family to another person or family through the Constituent Assembly. However, in accordance with an amendment which was legislated on May 8, 1949 (Ordibehesht 18, 1328 AHS) and added to Article 48 (of the Constitution), the Constituent Assembly itself was in fact to be set up by favour of both parliamentary Houses and the Shah. Moreover, this amendment also stated that decisions reached by the Constituent Assembly are only legally valid when endorsed by the Shah. The rights which once belonged to the people and to both Houses of Parliament, were thus now granted to the Shah. In 1961 (1340 AHS) the Shah announced that he also had the right to legislate laws in absence of the Majlis! This claim which clearly contradicted every article contained in Iran’s constitutional law, was accepted as a “royal command” by the government of the day, and after this, the Shah actually governed for a period without a Majlis! Hence, it would be true to say that from 1955 (1334 AHS) onwards the Shah was able to rule with plenary authority, and that the difference between this autocratic king and the constitutional monarch was plain for all to see.

Apart from this, if we now ignore the legal side of things and disregard the perspective in which they (the government) look at the matter, how could these things possibly make the people have a change of heart? Are the people crying out in despair of the ministers, saying: "Just look what our minister is like?" The people are shouting: "We don't want the Shah," yet you (the Shah) want to appoint a new minister?! Is this how you answer the cry: "We don't want the Shah," by saying: "This is who your new minister is to be?!"

Indeed, why don't these foreigners who claim that this nation is demanding whatever, go and see for themselves just what the people really want? Let them go and see what the people in the bazaars are shouting; what those in the schools are shouting; what those in the universities are shouting; what those outside the universities are shouting; what those on the farms are shouting. Yes, let them go and see these people. Let them see just what these people are crying out all across Iran, just what it is that they want. If twenty-four hours should pass by without them having heard the said slogan chanted repeatedly by each person, then I shall take back what I have said, and shall simply go about my daily life. But they are sure to hear the people crying out that they don't want him (the Shah); they will hear them shouting: "Death to the Shah." Everyone is shouting this, from the small child who has recently learned to talk, to the old man, who, like myself, is now only able to speak very slowly. Indeed, everyone is shouting that they don't want him. When an entire nation doesn't want something—even though the Shah is supposedly there to serve the nation—when it doesn't want him, then there is no way that he can be forced upon the people. Yes, they did force him upon the people, but to no avail.

They may even resort to dismissing one minister and replacing him with another, with someone who may well be a very good person, or even with people who have all been chosen by other parliamentary members and ministers, people chosen from amongst university figures or people who are virtuous men of distinction—if they heed such considerations that is—but nevertheless, the point is that the people's demands do not concern the ministers whereby they can be made content by being told: "There you are, we have provided you with a minister who is of honourable character!"

The people are shouting that it is the imperial dynasty itself that they don't want! The underlying principles on which monarchical rule is based have been false and erroneous from the start. Now, even if we were to suppose that the entire nation is not in fact crying out against monarchical rule as such, still, no one can deny the fact that all of Iran is crying out that it does not want the Pahlavi dynasty. The Iranian people are saying: "We don't

want the Pahlavi dynasty,” and you say: “I have got rid of that minister and appointed another one!” But this reply does not answer the former statement. This reply cannot put an end to the matter, for this is not what the people are demanding. If the people were shouting: “Our minister is no good; our parliamentary delegate is no good,” then yes, they (the government) could change that minister for another, they could change that delegate for another, this would be feasible. But when this is not what the people are asking for, you are in fact doing something which does not accord with their demands; you are not doing that which the people are demanding of you, and therefore things cannot be put right.

Therefore, this measure resorted to will also end in defeat. Its defeat is a hundred percent guaranteed because it is a measure which has nothing at all to offer (the people). And no matter how they carry out this deception, it will get them nowhere: should they wish to take the military option, this they have already done and it has failed; and should they wish to replace military rule with another form of rule, there is no telling whether those in the military would accept such a situation any more, for having seen a cruel system like that of this good-for-nothing (the Shah) suffer defeat, and knowing that they cannot outdo him when it comes to being wicked, they realise that any new form of rule is also doomed to fail. Hence, neither martial law, nor a military coup d’etat, nor these tricks, such as establishing a government of reconciliation—none of these have paid off.

Now, they are taking another course of action, and that is to call the ‘*kolis*’ (gypsies) into play. God knows what a disgrace it is for a country when its government has a military force of which it is in despair, or which it is afraid to put into use, and when, in a country whose king, ministers and defence forces should, in principle, seek to establish law and order, they (the regime) turn to a group of hooligans for help! We hear of these *kolis* in Kerman. And in other places too, we hear of other mercenaries of theirs (the regime). They intend to remain in power under the protection of club-bearing *kolis*! That a person such as this (the Shah) should rule over us is for us a disgrace. That a person such as this should administer our affairs on our behalf, or that he should act as our representative, is for us a disgrace. Yet he (the Shah) is now continuing to survive as king under the protection of the club-bearing *koli*! However, this too is to no avail.

If the club is to be resorted to, then indeed, the people too have clubs! The people also took up the club in retaliation and got rid of them (the *kolis*). Of course, these hooligans were protected by the military, like the time before Khordad 15 (June 5), when they poured into the city of Qum and into

Faydiyah Madrasa and committed those acts of violence. On this occasion, the regime hired a group of their own people who stormed the religious school (Faydiyah) and carried out the said deed whilst enjoying police and military protection. And this is what they are doing now. They are engaging in acts of violence whilst under the protection of the armed forces , the military.

The ‘armed forces’ indeed! This is one of those terms of which I spoke earlier as having lost its true meaning, our armed forces now only being a semblance of the real thing! Our ‘armed’ forces have now become destructive forces. They pour into the provinces behind these hooligans. They have done this in several cities so far, pouring into the city and committing acts of violence there. But this too is a futile exercise; these measures resorted to are all to no avail.

As for the propaganda spread by the Americans, the British, and so on, this too has now run its course; it will no longer get them anywhere. Certain publications have reported America as saying that an underground Anglo-Russian network has in fact orchestrated these disturbances,¹ meaning that the British and the Russians have joined forces and have told me to say these things that I am now telling you, and so this I do! Or that they have told those in the bazaar to shout out in protest, and thus the latter shout out! Or that they have also told the mullah to shout in protest and have supposedly come and told you to shout these slogans that you now chant! It has been said in America that this is all the doing of an underground Anglo-Russian network, that these disturbances are being orchestrated by the British and the Russians.

It is highly likely that the British are involved in this brazen interference. Their usual policy is to cast a slur upon themselves in order to further their aims—to besmirch this movement by saying that it is an Anglo-Russian affair! But this will get them nowhere either, because now even our children know that whatever they say is false! Let them say whatever they want to say.

¹ The Shah was convinced that the uprising in Iran was not in fact a popular uprising! Instead he believed it to be a plan devised by others which the Iranian people then acted upon. He held that what was happening could not be the doing of the KGB alone and that there was no doubt of the CIA’s involvement in affairs! The Shah particularly had his suspicions about the British, saying that they held a grudge towards Iran following the nationalisation of Iranian oil. He believed that because the oil consortium had not conceded to the conditions proposed by the British for a renewal of the oil contract, the latter had incited the Iranian people against him. During a private discussion with Parviz Raji, the Iranian ambassador to Britain, the Shah had said: “There is no doubt that the KGB is behind many of these events that are taking place and it would seem that our friends in the West have also had a part to play in recent disturbances.”

Not only all of our youth and our elderly people but even our small children know that these things that they say are empty, deceitful words, and that their purpose is to silence this movement. The people know that these things are said in order to silence this movement that is now causing all of the various groups which are plundering us to tremble, and which, God willing, will bring them to ruin (the audience: God willing). They know that these things are said to extinguish this fire which has been lit in people's hearts. This is something of which the people are now aware. Therefore resorting to these tactics is to no avail.

The key to that which would indeed be expedient, lies in the hands of 'His Royal Highness' himself! No one else can provide the answer: the answer being for him to get up and leave! (laughter from the audience). He himself holds the key should he want calm to be restored! He ought to take his wife and children, leave this country and save himself, for I fear that the disturbance may get out of hand and that they (the regime) may even resort to killing small children, and we wouldn't like to see something like this happen, where even small children are exterminated. Yes, he himself holds the key—although of course the nation too has a part to play in this. I know what is best for him, and that is for him to quietly board some aeroplane or other at night (laughter from the audience) and to go to those villas which have been provided for him abroad at such great expense! If our people let him that is (laughter from the audience).

(A member of the audience: They won't let him; they feel obliged to stop him sir. They feel obliged to stop him; they won't let him leave.)

Imam: God willing, they will track him down even once he has gone there (the audience: God willing).

May God grant you success (the audience: Amen) May you make progress and succeed. You are the victors; that is to say, you are already victorious. There is no need for him to leave, you have (already) pulled him down from his throne; he is no longer on the throne. Now he constantly has to resort to different measures (to survive). I prefer not to discuss some of these measures to which he has resorted. I prefer not to talk about them but suffice it to say that he is constantly having to resort to new tactics. You have pulled him down from that lofty 'Aryan' rank; you have brought him down to an inferior level whereby he is now busy making a cat's paw of the *kolis*! This constitutes a victory for you. May the Lord grant you further victories and may you see this triumph through to the end, for this nation has always before been an oppressed nation, a nation which has until now struggled desperately under the heel of both foreigners and those within the country. May God

grant you and grant us all success in rescuing this nation (the audience: Amen).

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-Six

Date: November 4, 1978 (AD) / Aban 13, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 3, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The revolution has found its course and any schemes or measures resorted to by the regime to retain the monarchy are to no avail

Occasion: Dr. Ali Amini's return to the political arena in Iran in order to rescue the Shah

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Historical events are truly amazing and enlightening. In 1961 (1340 AHS), during the Premiership of Dr. Ali Amini—the faithful pawn of America—the Shah went to the United States and pledged to make certain undertakings in order to convince John F Kennedy, the President of the day, that the services of a pawn such as Asadullah 'Alam needed to be enlisted if the American referendum, i.e. the 'White Revolution,' was to be carried out. 'Alam therefore, was appointed as Premier.

Opposition shown by Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) and the clergy towards the District and Provincial Councils Bill led to a victory for the people. To all appearances, the uprising of Imam and the people against the Shah's White Revolution was quashed on Khordad 15 (June 5). America instructed the Shah to exile Imam, firstly to Turkey on November 4, 1964 (Aban 13, 1343 AHS), and then to Iraq, for the crime of having opposed the revival of the Capitulation Bill. Now, fifteen years to the month after this bill had first been passed, the Shah, at more of a loss than ever before, has appealed to Amini to help in finding a solution to the present unrest!!

In a secret report to the US State Department, William Sullivan, the American ambassador to Iran, writes: "Ali Amini, the former Prime Minister, cautiously suggested that I meet with him on the afternoon of November 16 (Aban 25) at the home of a mutual friend. Talks began with a discussion about the former reluctance by us both to meet due to the baseless rumours in Tehran which referred to Amini as 'America's marionette in a puppet show,' or which spoke of him being 'a CIA spy.' They (the opposition nationalist groups) asked the British ambassador and myself to act as mediators for them but... Amini said that he agreed to the idea and that he would try to act as the go-between... he intended to start with a small number of university-type

people and eventually to turn towards political figures within the National Front... He said that negotiations were to be held immediately and that they had to take place before the arrival of the month of Muharram. He believed that until that time, the ayatullahs with moderate leanings would be able to maintain calm in the society, but that if by then no compromise were to have been made between the moderates and the Shah, then Khomeini would be able to create unrest by using the tempestuous period of Muharram to his advantage.”¹

Earlier, following talks with the Shah, Amini had stated in an interview that he believed the solution to lie in the formation of a “coalition government,” and he had claimed that all problems would be resolved should he meet with Imam Khomeini and discuss the matter!

In the present speech (56), Imam responds to comments made by Amini in his most recent interview by saying: “Recently someone from among the Shah’s loyal devotees who has set his sights on the Premiership also gave an interview!!” Elsewhere in his speech, whilst referring to Amini’s visit to Qum² and to the meeting held there between the latter and Mr. Shari‘atmadari—a meeting which followed talks held between Amini and the Shah—Imam sates: “Now before anything else, we would like to ask this Mr. ‘Loyal Devotee of the Shah,’ or as others call him, Mr. ‘America-lover,’ a question. Now that you have been to Qum, now that you have travelled by car through the streets of Tehran to go to Qum, you have no doubt seen the demonstrations which are being held in Tehran... Indeed, you talk about having seen Qum, so since, thank the Lord, you have the ability to hear, and since thankfully you have all your wits about you, I would like to ask: ‘Did you not hear what they (the people) were saying—what they were asking for?’... The people, both children and adults, are shouting: ‘Freedom and independence;’ ‘Give us freedom and independence, not Pahlavi rule.’ This is what our nation is saying... This Mr. Premiership Prospector (!) says that those who have committed an injustice against this nation must be punished; so I ask this gentleman: ‘Who has committed an injustice against the nation?’”

In the interview given by Amini, the latter had tried to endorse comments made by the Shah which claimed that differences between Imam

¹ *Documents Discovered from the US Espionage Den*, vol. 25, p. 167, document no. 45.

² Dr. Amini tried to meet with Ayatullah Pasandida, the brother and religious representative of Imam. Whilst in Paris, Imam Khomeini learned of Amini’s visit to Qum and he immediately contacted Ayatullah Pasandida and forbid him to hold any such meeting or even to hold talks with any mediator. Thus, the meeting sought by Amini did not take place.

and the regime were personal differences, differences which stemmed from the fact that Imam had been imprisoned and exiled. In referring to this matter Imam says: "I have not experienced any suffering whereby this could be given as the reason for my opposing this person (the Shah). The nation's suffering is my suffering. When I picture the faces of those men whose children, whose sons have been killed, I am pained... Indeed, should a Muslim not feel pain for his own nation then he is not a Muslim... this is the cause of my pain, and not the fact that they detained me or took me to prison."

At the beginning of his speech, Imam responds to rumours recently circulated on a wide scale causing the people concern, rumours to the effect that: "A number of special agents have gone to Paris to assassinate Imam." He argues that these kinds of threats are childish and constitute tactics which are doomed to fail, and he stresses that the flames of the Revolution are too strong and the people's newly-developed awareness too great to be extinguished or to end in futility because of these conspiracies.

Despite the continuing flux of secret political moves, the various plots hatched, and the reshuffling and changing of key political figures, the flames of the revolution burn stronger each day. For the past few days, Tehran University has been witness to the protest marches and demonstrations of tens of thousands of students. Today, on November 4, 1978 (Aban 13, 1357 AHS), a massive crowd comprising university students and pupils from various high schools in Tehran has assembled, and demonstrations to mark this day—a day which commemorates Imam's exile to Turkey—and to protest against the political moves of America and its puppet regime in Iran, have been held on the lawns and pathways both within the campus of Tehran University and outside it.

A report given by a news correspondent at the scene of events reads as follows:

"From behind the university railings, students began to chant slogans in protest at shots fired by government agents. For a second time, these agents fired machine-guns at the demonstrators and it was at this moment that a group of students suddenly fell to the ground, crying out in pain. The said group of people, having suffered serious injuries, were rescued from the scene by friends.

From 1 pm onwards, the scene of the demonstration became more violent. At each moment, either bullets and tear-gas canisters were fired, or the resonant sound of gun shots could be heard. Streets surrounding the university including Shah Rida Street (today's Inqilab Street) were closed

off, government agents having been stationed there. The noxious tear-gas vapours which filled the air in the streets surrounding the university, prevented anyone, even the security forces themselves, from moving in the area. Having closed the university's southern entrance, students and pupils, who, from 2 pm onwards had assembled in ever-increasing numbers around the university's eastern entrance, resorted to setting tyres and wooden posts on fire so as to neutralize the tear-gas vapours. And to prevent troops from entering the area where the demonstrators had gathered, the latter hauled several cars into the middle of the road.

Streets surrounding the university, such as Shah Rida Street (Inqilab Street), 21 Azar Street (16 Azar Street), Farvardin Street, and Vesal-i Shirazi Street, were now blockaded by several groups from the military governor's armed forces. Military troops had been positioned around 24 Esfand Square (Inqilab Square) and had blocked the entrance to Shah Rida Street (Inqilab Street). A number of young people were running through the side-streets in the vicinity. Disciplinary and security forces were stationed along the route stretching from Takht-i Jamshid Street (Taliqani Street) to Kakh Square (Philistin Square), and columns of smoke emitted from the burning tyres in the middle of the street, rose up into the sky. Streets surrounding the university mirrored the appearance of a war-stricken city. Everywhere, shouts of: "Long live Khomeini," "Death to the Shah," and "O military brother of ours, why kill us, your brothers?" rang out.

At 4:30 pm, following a spate of heavy gunfire by government agents, the demonstration spilled over into the streets—as far as Fuziya Square (Imam Husayn Square) to the east, and Rah Ahan Square to the south. Placards read: 'Today, sixty-five lives were lost in the university;' ambulance sirens sounded incessantly; and a huge crowd had gathered in front of the hospitals situated near to the university.¹

The following day's newspapers published the personal details and the number of some of those who had been killed or taken to hospital with injuries; whilst at the same time, an official from the military governor's office in Tehran, announced that no one had been killed in the university demonstration! Moreover, thanks to the bold initiative of a group of employees at the television broadcasting centre, harrowing scenes of the sporadic fighting which had taken place at Tehran University were shown to the public on the eve of November 5 (Aban 14).

¹ The press archives of *Kayhan*'s editorial board.

Demonstrations continued to be held in the important areas of Tehran; shouts of “Death to the Shah” continued to be heard from all quarters; and Imam Khomeini had already voiced his opinion with regard to the necessary excommunication of those who negotiate and compromise with the regime. Yet despite this, Dr. Ali Amini told a correspondent for *Le Monde*: “In spite of the view aired by Ayatullah Khomeini, he is still prepared to go along with the formation of a National Assembly which complies with the conditions formerly stipulated by him.”

An examination of either the positive or negative role played by the various parties, groups and distinguished political and religious figures in Iran, and the bearing they had on the flow of events throughout 1977 and 1978 (1356 and 1357 AHS), lies beyond the scope of the introductory accounts and footnotes which are included in this anthology. It is the historians’ bounden duty to undertake this vital task of carefully examining and compiling documents which relate to the events which took place at this time. Here however, one point can be stressed, and that is that from January 9, 1978 (Dey 19, 1356 AHS), when Imam’s clerical following in Qum rose up in revolt, until February 11, 1978 (Bahman 22, 1356 AHS), the revolutionary clergy of Iran; the Religious Schools’ Society in Qum; Imam’s representatives in various cities; and the Clergy Society, both in Tehran and in the provinces, were throughout, the most reliable sources to have expounded upon and risen up in defence of Imam’s uncontested views on leadership.

The mosques were the fountain-head of the revolution; and the periods of religious significance (Ramadan, Muharram, ‘*Ashura*, Arbain etc.) were days on which unity was displayed and on which the people rose up in revolt. From among the political prisoners who had been released, the particular attention paid by the people towards distinguished clerical figures such as Ayatullah Taliqani and Ayatullah Muntaziri was undeniable. Meanwhile, certain factors arose which in part served to intensify the political crisis facing the regime—factors such as the appearance of several new political parties, and the renewed activities of already-established parties, activities which included the giving of statements, speeches and interviews by party leaders and political figures on the change in mind towards political objectives sought.¹ And these factors served to aggravate the situation despite

¹ On August 29 and 30, and September 3 of 1978 (Shahrivar 7, 8 and 12, 1357 AHS), the *Ittilaat* newspaper published the names of certain political groups and parties which had either renewed their political activities, or had announced their presence on the political scene for the first time. The list of names read as follows: the National Front (Mr. Habibi, Karim Sanjabi,

the fact that, throughout this period, America's greatest effort to rescue the Shah's regime was directed towards her attempts to forge secret links and to hold clandestine talks with the leaders of a number of these same political outfits.

Shapur Bakhtiar, Dariush Foruhar, Rida Shayan, Asadullah Mushiri); the Iranian Workers Party (Muzaffar Baqai); the Pan-Iran Party (Muhsin Pezeshkpur); the Iranians Party (Fadlullah Sadr); the Radical Movement of Iran (Muqaddam Maraghei); The Iranian Committee for the Defence of Freedom and Human Rights (Mahdi Bazargan, Karim Sanjabi, Hasan Nazih, Yadullah Sahabi, Lahiji and ...); the Lawyers Society (Hasan Nazih, Matin Daftari, Damghani, Pezeshkpur, Anvari and ...); the Iranian Group of Legal Experts; the Iranian Authors Society; the Constitutional Law Defence Group (Mahdi Pirasteh); the Iranian Democratic Party (Jawad Alamirdulu); the Democratic Freedom-Fighters Group; the Young Democrats; and the National Freedom-Fighters Front. The same newspaper also named certain individuals who, to quote the paper, were involved in independent political activities, as thus: Ali Asghar Haj Sayyid Jawadi; Allahyar Salih; Dr. Sadiqi; Mahdi Azar; and Ahmad Bani Ahmad (a representative in the Shah's Parliament who later announced the formation of the Unity for Freedom Group).

Speech Number Fifty-Six

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Our burdens are many and so too are the tactics which the Shah and his partisans resort to. The latter have in the past and even now still turn to various ways of suppressing the nation: they either resort to the use of force, employing the military, the security forces, the police and so on, means which experience has shown to be inadequate in calming the people, or they turn to the use of threats in the belief that threatening to assassinate someone¹ will have an effect and that our people are now reliant upon one person. This nation whose impetus now emerges from within and which is now acting on its own volition, cannot be motivated by any power to act in this way, whereby, as you can see, throughout a country of thirty-odd million people—from its villages to its large cities, its capital to its outlying cities, its remote villages—everyone is standing up with a unity of purpose and is loudly shouting with one voice “we don’t want this Pahlavi monarchy.”

Even if at one time there had been some external motivating force involved or whatever, some kind of plea for action, which led to the present situation, nevertheless, now this is not the case. Now, whether those who are believed to have been the motivating forces are present or whether they are assassinated and so are not here any more, it makes no difference, for this nation no longer seeks to rediscover a course which it has already found; the path it is to take is now evident. The effort needed to show the people which path they should take has already been made; the path they are to follow is now evident.

¹ The rumour concerning the money laid out by the Shah’s regime for Imam Khomeini’s assassination had become widespread. Whilst prayer gatherings were being held, or when Imam was delivering a speech, the adjoining street to Imam’s residence at Neauphle-le-Chateau was closed off by the French authorities. The latter monitored any movement in the area on a twenty-four-hour basis and opened any kind of package, subjecting it to careful inspection. Once these rumours had broken out, the number of security agents stationed in the vicinity was increased tenfold and these agents were replaced by more experienced and high-ranking forces. These agents had told Imam’s staff and family members: “The French government has been informed of an intended attempt on Imam’s life by a group of mercenaries (citizens of an Asian country) who have been paid 500 million dollars.” The abnormal state which now reigned across the city of Paris—in its suburbs, its airports, its key areas and in places which were frequented by students—was now quite discernible.

Our country and our people now act of their own accord. That is, when they observe a general shutdown, they no longer wait for so-and-so to tell them to do this, or for the head of the union or some clerical or political figure to tell them to do this; this is the furthest thing from their minds. Say they believe that today a shutdown should be observed, suddenly, across the whole of Iran, everywhere can be seen to be closed down. Shutdowns in large cities are observed due to the fact that the people there decide that today is the day for a shutdown. It no longer makes any difference whether someone is there or not to tell them to close down. These threats which suddenly cause the people to talk about so-and-so being assassinated say, are childish threats. The fire will not become extinguished once the assassination has been carried out. The fire may well become brighter, but even if not, it will certainly not go out.

This is yet another childish tactic to which they (the regime) sometimes resort. They used to do this in the past, and they have done it again now. They recently saw how the ‘government of reconciliation’ could not achieve its intended aims, and this was because from the start it was a government which intended to trick the people into being misled and which wanted to silence this movement, a government which made certain promises and took certain steps and so on, but all of which bore no relation to the people’s demands, for the people were demanding something else. Yet in answering their demands, the government announced: “We have closed down the casinos!” But a thousand different kinds of centres of corruption still remained open!

The main centre of corruption is the regime of Muhammad-Rida Khan, whose doorway to corruption still remains open! Corruption here, not being used in its literal sense but being used to mean something even worse. Here corruption is being used to mean a royal court of utter oppression, a royal court of utter betrayal, of utter crime! If you were to close the doors to this (royal court), the nation would calm down to a certain extent—only to a certain extent of course, not completely. But you say you have closed the casinos! Are we to suppose that the people are doing all of this shouting and yelling and are giving so many lives because the casinos are open?! Is this what the people want, for the casinos to be closed down?! Of course, this is indeed one of the things they want, but one must listen to the cries of the people in the streets to see what it is they actually want.

Once the true colours of the government of reconciliation were revealed and it became evident that ‘reconciliation’ in fact meant martial law; that it meant finding a way out; that it meant handing authority over to one of the unruly rebels, to the *kolis*, to one of the down-and-outs, for them to deal with

the people; that it meant clubs, beatings, repression, suffocation and so on—once all this became evident, they then adopted another tactic, although it was indeed evident to us from the start that this government was not what it claimed to be but that instead it aimed to fool the people so that it could silence this movement once and for all by whatever means necessary, an aim which they have failed to reach however, this ‘reconciliatory’ government having been in power for several months now and having fought the people to no avail.

In his addresses, the Shah has said many times: “Surely we need to have a country. Even supposing that I was whatever, nevertheless we still need to have our country. If I should leave, then there will be no country! Do you not want to have a country? If I am not here, then the country will be taken from you!! They will seize this country; they will annex it and treat it as their own! One part of it will be taken by the Soviet Union, another part by America, and another by Britain.” Yes, this is what he has said: “Surely we need to have a country.”

Recently, someone from among the Shah’s loyal devotees who has set his sights on the Premiership¹ also gave an interview in which he put the cause of Khomeini’s upset down to his having been through a lot and having suffered pain and so on! Of course these are the sort of things they always say! His argument is however, that others have also suffered, to a greater or lesser extent, but that they have let bygones be bygones (laughter from the audience). He says: “If so-and-so is a patriot—if he is that is, and indeed he

¹ A reference to Dr. Amini, an economic science graduate from Paris University. Amini had previously held several important posts. He had been the head of one of the government’s economic departments; the assistant director of the Opium Dispensing Unit; the assistant director of customs administration; the head of customs administration; the director general of the Finance Ministry; the under-secretary of the Ministry of Finance; a parliamentary representative during the 15th term of the Majlis; and the Minister of Finance in the Cabinets of Mansur al-Mulk and Musaddiq. Following the events of August 19 (the Mordad 28 coup), Amini voluntarily assumed responsibility for resolving the oil problem, and on October 21, 1954 (Mehr 29, 1333 AHS), concluded the infamous Amini-Page agreement with the oil consortium! For a certain period he was the Minister of Justice and then he became Iran’s ambassador to America. Eventually, because of invaluable services rendered to the oil consortium and to America—services in return for which he of course received exorbitant sums of money—in April / May of 1961 (Ordibehesht, 1340 AHS), following Sharif Imami’s resignation, Amini became the Premier, and he remained as such for a fourteen-month period. Dr. Amini was a key factor in enabling America to infiltrate Iran. After resigning as Premier, he went to Europe and was called back to Iran on several occasions during the closing stages of the Shah’s reign, in order to offer counsel to the Royal Court. Further details are to be found in the introduction to this speech (56).

certainly claims to be one—then although he argues that the monarchy must be abolished, he must lower his sights somewhat. He must relax his demands for the sake of the country, for it is said that our country is now in great danger due to its strategic location. It goes without saying that we need to have a country.”¹ This is just what the Shah had said—a parliamentary delegate also having said this in the Majlis—and now he (Amini) too is saying it. He says that we obviously want to keep our country and that even if someone has suffered some kind of imprisonment, exile, torture or hardship in the past, and that if he is a true patriot, then he is obliged to overlook this and to prevent us from forfeiting our country.² What a catastrophe! We are about to forfeit our country!

¹ After Sharif Imami’s Cabinet, Dr. Amini had hoped to head the new Cabinet. Throughout the months of September, October and November, 1978 (Mehr and Aban, 1957 AHS), he gave many interviews and held many discussions, and in one such interview, which appeared in the *Kayhan* newspaper of October 16, 1978 (Mehr 24, 1357 AHS), whilst discussing different issues with regard to Imam’s return to Iran, he said: “He (Imam) needs to be pacified, certain aspects need to be made clear to him and the conditions surrounding his return to Iran must also be set out, for he, and all of us, are people who have suffered due to the social situation in Iran, and we are all now pained by this situation.”!!

² This was said by those who were afraid to openly defend the Shah—those who, under the pretext of sensing danger from regions hostile to Iran and of defending the country’s territorial integrity, spoke of the urgent need to have a monarchy, and who supported their masters in a roundabout way. Imam’s call for justice, a call which resounded throughout the world, and his words of truth, words which had reached the ears of the people in Iran and in the outside world, words which had revealed the Iranian government’s corrupt nature and the acts of betrayal committed by the Shah, prevented anyone from praising the latter or from openly speaking out in his defence. In mid-December (the end of Azar), Senator Sayyid Asadullah Musawi, the elected parliamentary representative for Khuzistan, had said: “We must think of a way of rescuing Iran without returning to the issues of coercion and corruption which prevailed in the country’s past, and we must prevent the country from becoming disintegrated. We must bring about a world in which only Iranians decide what to do with Iran, and at the same time, we must ensure that Iran remains intact—that it enjoys independence and security.” (See *Ittilaat*, January 13, 1979 (Dey 10, 1357 AHS)) The Member of Parliament for Azerbaijan, said in the Senate: “The monarchical regime constitutes a fundamental principle of the constitutional law.” (See the *Ittilaat*, October 25, 1978 (Aban 3, 1357 AHS)) In addressing an audience comprised of various political parties, Ali Nazmi, the people’s representative for Ridaiyyah, stated: “We must stop this daubing and pay more attention to the realities facing Iran and to preserving her territorial integrity, since Iran cannot be saved merely by giving out slogans. Come, let’s do more than just shout slogans, let us look reality in the face and form a united front so that Iran may be saved.” (See *Ittilaat*, October 25, 1978) Senator Jalali Naini said: “People beware! We are concerned for Iran’s independence and rule. No honourable Iranian would want one inch of Iranian land to be taken from the country. We must all pay attention to our independence, our autonomy, and to the unity between us.” (See the *Ittilaat*, January 14, 1978 (Dey 11, 1356 AHS))

What he (Amini) is in fact saying is: "If I were to meet with him (Imam himself) then I would explain things to him, and were he to see that one of the nation's demands had been met, that some positive step had been taken, and were the people also to see this, then things would quieten down a little—the problem being however, that the people have not yet witnessed anything being done. This government which has been in power hasn't done anything (to meet the people's demands)." Essentially then what he is saying is that: "It is best if I—and here I am quoting him—step in to show that action is being taken! Let the people see that something is being done, let them taste some kind of freedom so that they calm down."

So this whole troubling affair is but another kind of tactical manoeuvre which has now been employed in the fight. He (Sharif Imami) took office on the pretext of forming a "government of reconciliation," and now this one (Amini) wants to do so on the pretext of "wanting to do what is best," on the pretext of being a patriot as he himself puts it, and wanting the best for his country. He has made sacrifices to ensure that the country is never forfeited at any time! And he has gone through a lot of trouble in order to come and hold talks with the Shah and then to go and visit certain people in Qum, although I'm not exactly sure whether these people actually consented to meet with him or not and it would seem that some of them did not.¹ Yes, he wanted to visit Qum and then take action to rescue the country! He (supposedly) wanted to rescue the country from the plan which Khomeini has designed and proposed—a plan which has jeopardised the country!

By meeting with the Shah and visiting Qum—where it is still uncertain whether he was received or not—he wanted to rescue the country! He has made sacrifices and forsaken everything to save this country!! He says that

¹ Here, the person in question is Ali Amini. A day after having met with the Shah, Amini visited Qum to discuss the country's affairs with the *maraji* there. However, whilst in Qum, he was only able to meet with Mr. Shariatmadari. During this meeting, Amini spoke of his talks with the Shah, and Mr. Shari'atmadari then remarked: "The Shii clergy do not wish to head a government, and the clergy's wish is the people's wish ... and that is for Islamic values to be observed in the country; for the constitutional law to be fully implemented; and for elections to be run fairly." In reply to a question posed by an *Ittilaat* journalist as to the outcome of his visit to Qum and his talks with Mr. Shariatmadari, Ali Amini states: "Actually, after hearing the reasonable and laudable comments he had made, and as an Iranian who is worried about the country's destiny and about the country's well-being and independence being in jeopardy, I felt it necessary to visit him in person. As always, I found Ayatullah Shariatmadari to be well aware of affairs." Similarly, Amini says: "I have great respect for Dr. Sanjabi and Mr. Bazargan, and there is no doubt that should it be necessary for the national and patriotic forces to form a coalition, then these two (men) deserve to be at the helm!" The *Ittilaat* newspaper, November 4, 1978 (Aban 13, 1357 AHS).

whilst he was visiting Qum, he saw the unrest there, the demonstrations there, and the shouts of protest which were sounded there. He says that he actually saw for himself what things were like and that these people will not calm down unless they see some kind of action being taken; unless some government takes over which can be seen to be doing something (to rectify the situation).

In essence, what he is saying is that he should be allowed to form a government which would then calm the unrest and grant some kind of freedom and so on. And it would probably close down the pubs and take other such steps, but “His Royal Highness” must remain—he must remain to prevent this country from ever falling into the hands of Russia or Britain!! It is the might of “His Royal Highness” that is now keeping Russia at bay and is keeping America at bay!! (Laughter from the audience). No one has the right to tamper with this might. And the people must be persuaded not to destroy this might and not to present a challenge to this power which is now preserving the country!

Now before anything else, we would like to ask this Mr. “Loyal Devotee of the Shah,” or, as others call him, Mr. “America-lover,” a question. Now that you have been to Qum, now that you have travelled by car through the streets of Tehran to go to Qum, you have no doubt seen the demonstrations which are being held in Tehran, not to mention those in the villages such as Hasanabad, Aliabad¹ and so on. Indeed, you talk about having seen Qum, so since, thank the Lord, you have the ability to hear, and since thankfully you have your wits about you, I would like to ask: “Did you not hear what they (the people) were saying, what they were asking for? These people who have taken their lives in their hands, who send their youngsters forward to fight, these mothers who send their young children out into the streets, children who are loudly crying out, did you not hear what they are saying so as to discover the cause of the nation’s pain and the remedy for this pain?” Unless one discovers the cause of pain, one cannot treat it.

The people are all saying: “We don’t want this Shah” and you say that you will make them content! You will make them content about the Shah remaining!! The people say: “We are discontent because this Shah has betrayed us; we don’t want him.” You however, are saying two things: one is that: “I have heard what the people have to say and they will obviously not rest until we meet their demands, or at least until we do something positive, do something to make this gentleman (the Shah) get on with his own life so

¹ Villages lining the route from Tehran to Qum.

that the people may calm down—to a certain extent that is, not entirely.” The other thing he is saying is: “Iran’s strategic location is such—as if we don’t know what her strategic location is like—that should these rebellions continue, Iran will be faced with great danger; but if we have the Shah, then there is no such danger!”

Hence, what he is saying is that this danger will not arise whilst the Shah is in power, but, God forbid (as Amini would say), should this Shah leave, then the country will fall into the hands of two powerful countries, and good Lord, what a catastrophe that would be! But we argue that which has handed this country over to these two powers is this very Shah! Surely, the task that these powers mean to carry out in Iran, doesn’t involve them coming and carrying away a certain amount of soil from Qum to the other side of the Russian frontier, and a certain amount of soil from Tehran to the other side of the American frontier! He (Amini) himself agrees that this is not the aim; the aim is for them (the two powers) to rule over our country. Indeed, is that not what they are now doing?!

Yes, Iran’s geographical location, being as it is, is a matter of concern to them, and more importantly, they are concerned about those things which are inside our country and which they are in need of; but are they not now in control of our nation’s wealth anyway?! Are they not now devouring our oil?! And yes, in return they are setting up a military base for themselves. They give us money for this oil, that is, they give us weapons with which to set up a military base for them here. Doesn’t the fact that they are taking our gas away mean that they predominate over us?! The wealth of this nation is slipping through its fingers. Doesn’t the fact that America has brought about ‘land reforms’ and the ‘White Revolution,’ mean that it rules over us?! Is this ‘White Revolution’ a revolution which belongs to the Shah and the nation?! He himself claims to be the nation!! The nation has no part to play in this ‘White Revolution;’ and as for the Shah, he doesn’t come into it either. It was an ‘American Revolution’ through and through! The whole idea of this ‘revolution’ was for the Americans to take away that degree of independence which this country enjoyed in relation to other countries, because of its thriving agriculture.

Indeed, does American predominance over us mean anything other than their gaining control over the assets we possess, the resources we possess, those things that we possess both beneath and above the ground, and their taking them away?! If an Islamic government should come about which adheres to those words of the Quran which state that a non-Muslim is not to exert control over a Muslim, would they (the foreign powers) then have the

upper hand?! In any case Iran's geographical location demands that an independent power which has the support of the nation, a regime which enjoys the people's support and which has the force of the people behind it, be established here, to ensure that neither that country encroaches upon that one, nor vice versa. The strategic location of our country demands the presence of some kind of power, and not some kind of parasite, to stand in the way of those other two (foreign) powers and to guarantee peace in this part of the world!

Our military and our army are now in a parasitic state. It is an army which is being run under American supervision and which is being managed in such a way as to serve American interests. Forty-five thousand, fifty thousand, some say up to sixty thousand American advisers and oil-devourers have played havoc with us and are now in our country. They have set up all of those bases here for themselves. Our country is under military occupation; our country is under American occupation.

This gentleman (Amini) says: "They (the Iranian people) will be at great peril!" But is there a peril greater than this?! Our agriculture has been completely destroyed; was this not beset with perils? You want to remove the danger facing the country now (at this late stage)?! You are the one who was in government when this whole affair first sprung up and when America imposed its will upon us! And I was the one who sent word to you that you were not to go ahead with this, that this would be the ruin of our agriculture. God bears witness to the fact that I sent word via his (Amini's) envoy, that he was not to go ahead with this. I told this envoy to tell him (Amini): "You (Amini) know this for yourself. You yourself are a landowner so you know that they cannot handle the country's agriculture. This country's agriculture will be ruined." It was you who ruined the country's agriculture for the sake of America! Yet now you want to put things right¹ by saying that they (the Americans) should never be allowed to gain the upper hand over us?!¹

¹ The Shah's regime made a devious attempt in its propaganda to introduce the popular and clerical uprising of 1963 (1342 AHS), led by Imam Khomeini, as an anti-land reforms movement, and as a movement which had come about because of the collaboration between the clergy and the landowners and feudalists. And this it did, in spite of the fact that Imam's uprising actually opposed the objectives pursued by America via the Shah's White Revolution. Imam was opposed to the regime's policies and the Shah's land reforms—policies and reforms which resulted in nothing but the monopolisation of the country's fertile land by the Shah's family and the destruction of Iranian agriculture. In fact, not only did Imam never object to true land reforms being made, or to dispossessing the large land monopolisers, he was actually an ardent opposer of the feudal system. In the speech delivered on December 11, 1978 (Azar 20, 1357 AHS), Imam Khomeini states: "Don't be mistaken in thinking that an Islamic

Are we now independent?! Is a powerful nation now standing up to everyone and keeping them at bay, and do we now have an independent, civilised country of free men and women?!² We want to be a powerful

government will come and say that this land which has now been taken from the bullies must be given back to them. It will sit each one of these bullies down in turn and will ask them to settle their accounts—yes, you landowners will have to pay tax to an Islamic government. For the past sixty, seventy, one hundred years, neither you, your fathers, nor your fathers' fathers, have paid anything. If we are to settle the accounts, in addition to this land of yours, we shall also take your jewellery from you as well as the money contained in your bank accounts, for you owe this to the government. Once property has become nationalised, that means it has become the property of the government of Islam."

¹ Here, Imam is addressing Ali Amini, who himself was from a well-known and long-established landed family in the north of Iran. His family had been renowned politicians who were related to the Qajar monarchs; and he himself was a prominent politician of the ruling regime in Iran. Following the coup of August 19, 1953 (Mordad 28, 1332 AHS), Amini became the Economy Minister in Zahedi's government, and whilst in this post, he concluded what became known as the 'Amini-Page' agreement with the world's oil companies consortium, an agreement which was clearly in contravention of the principles and regulations relating to the Oil Nationalisation Act. A letter written by his brother, Abulqasim Amini (who was a Minister of State prior to August 19, 1953, and who, in the time which elapsed between the abortive coup of August 16, and the successful coup of August 19, had said certain things against the Shah), revealed that with regard to the said agreement, Ali Amini had deposited at least five million dollars into his personal account from the initial instalments paid by the Americans to the de facto government! Once Zahedi's government was replaced by that of 'Ala', Ali Amini retired to his home, only to return to the political scene in 1961 (1340 AHS), which was the period when America was pressing for social and economic changes in Iran—changes which were brought about under the name of 'land reforms.' Receiving the full backing and assurance of America, Amini planned to bring about changes whilst also retaining the monarchical system in the country. During a trip to the US in 1962 (1341 AHS), the Shah, who feared Amini's power, managed to persuade Kennedy to allow him (the Shah) personally to be in charge of implementing the changes demanded by America. (Refer to: *Akharin Talashha dar Akharin Ruzha*, p. 57). Therefore, the 'land reforms' affair did not in fact come about in 1963 (1342 AHS) or appear with the emergence of the 'White Revolution,' but rather, it is an affair whose origins go back to a time prior to the year 1962 (1341 AHS).

² Following the events of June 5, 1963 (Khordad 15, 1342 AHS), the government prepared itself for the holding of parliamentary elections. For the oncoming term in office, the government intended to prevent the representatives of various groups from entering the Majlis, allowing a number of those involved in the 'land reforms' programme as well as certain workers' representatives (SAVAK members) to be sent there instead. To this end, a union council known as "Freewomen and Freemen" was set up, headed by Hasan Ali Mansur. This group, whose formation had been endorsed by America, and which declared its loyalty to the principles upon which the 'Shah-People Revolution' was based, brought new faces into the Majlis such as those of Hasan Ali Mansur, 'Abbas Rusta (a wealthy tailor from Tehran), Habibi (a famous wrestling champion in Iran), Majid Muhsini (a star of the cinema and radio), and 'Abbas Mirzai (the workers' representative at the Tobacco Company, and a member of SAVAK).

country whose power is based upon the support of its people, a country which receives its inspiration from the people. If an army is backed by the people, then there is nothing that either this or that power can do. They (the foreign powers) want to ensure that the situation is such that neither of these two powers can attack the other, but when there is an independent and powerful state involved, they cannot do this.

By way of these intrigues, you want to give these two powers the upper hand over us! You don't want to settle the country's problems, you want to give even more of this country away! We want to rescue this country from these two (foreign) powers. You want this country to remain under foreign control for evermore. And just how do you intend to achieve this? By maintaining that if "His Royal Highness" were to leave, then this country would fall into disarray!! By arguing that His Imperial Majesty must remain in order to keep these two powers at bay!! But my dear man, it is this very same Imperial Majesty who has allowed these powers to rule over us, as did his father!

This gentleman (Amini) makes out and believes that so-and-so has gone through a lot—and again, this is exactly what the Shah said—"so-and-so" meaning myself. He says that "so-and-so" has suffered in the past and whatever. When he (Amini) says: "He (Imam) holds a personal grudge against me; he wants to retaliate," these are the exact words that the Shah had used, his exact terms. So you (Amini) now in fact serve as 'His Majesty's' loudspeaker, in that just as he (the Shah) spoke of the need to have a country and said that if he were to leave then indeed there would be no country, so you too also say that if the Shah were to leave there would be no country. These words of yours are identical to those of the Shah. The latter says that our country's situation is such that if he were to leave then the two foreign powers would approach the country from either side. Yes, you are his loudspeaker! He (the Shah) says: "He holds a personal grudge against me; he (meaning myself) is now retaliating. I threw him into prison, I sent him into exile, and now he is retaliating." And he (Amini) is his loudspeaker, he is repeating his very words. I always thought that they (the foreign powers) tell the Shah what to say and he says it—and that is actually the case, his superiors dictate what he is to say—but it is now also apparent that he (Amini) in fact reads a dictation of what has been dictated (laughter of the audience).

It is with him (Amini) that I must set the record straight. I was never before a Prime Minister and I don't own a palace or any finery. I was the same person then that I am now that I have come here (to Paris). You yourself

have seen how there isn't even enough room to sit down comfortably in my house, and I wouldn't wish for any more than this. Even when I was detained and I entered that officers' club—initially, they took me to an officers' club—I noticed what a good place it was and how it had everything, things that my family have never even dreamt of! I told the guards who were present that this is better than my own home (laughter from the audience), and indeed it was; and then afterwards they took me elsewhere,¹ to a place similar to my own home but somewhat better!

When in prison, my imprisonment was not one during which something bad happened to me so causing me to have a difficult time, it wasn't as if the Shah and I had a punch-up or anything!! (Laughter from the audience). And as for those who were with me during my detention, those who were on guard there, they showed me kindness, they thought highly of me. After leaving that place, we then lived somewhere where there was a huge garden and a great mansion, somewhere that we had probably never before even dreamt of.² Then, when I returned to my own house, that once more became my home! And since I never used to go out and walk around as I do in the yard of this house in which I am now living, I can't say that I'm having a bad time now either! Furthermore, when they sent me to Turkey, personally speaking, it

¹ At 3 am on June 5, 1963 (Khordad 15, 1342 AHS), a group of people entered the city of Qum to arrest Imam Khomeini. After having arrested Imam, they set off for Tehran, where they arrived at 5 am, and took their prisoner straight to the officers' club. It was on that day that the tragedy of Khordad 15 occurred. That evening Imam was taken from the officers' club to Qasr garrison in a car which had been covered with a dark-coloured material.

² On August 2, 1963 (Mordad 11, 1342 AHS), following the pressure brought to bear by different sectors of society, and especially that exerted by the *maraji* and clergy, the regime was forced to release Imam Khomeini from his state of imprisonment and thus he was transferred, along with Ayatullahs Bahauddin Mahallati and Qummi, to a house situated in Davudiya in Tehran. This house belonged to Mr. Haj 'Abbas Nejati, the brother of Ayatullah Qummi who was allied to the regime, and it was located in an area which lay under the strict and constant surveillance of SAVAK agents. As soon as the people learned that Imam had been taken there they gathered around the said house and in the surrounding streets. Furthermore, security forces were positioned from one end of Shari'ati Street (formerly The Old Shemiran Road) to the other, and from this street to the place where Imam was residing. Several days later, SAVAK agents again transferred Imam, this time to a house in Qaytariyyah which belonged to a Mr. Rowghani. Here, Imam was forced to remain under house arrest and to live under the surveillance of SAVAK agents until he was eventually freed on April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS), after which he returned to Qum. Following the victory of the Islamic Revolution, documents were released which revealed the co-operative ties between Mr. Mahdi Rowghani (the son of the above-mentioned house holder) and the US embassy in Iran. Refer to the six-volume collection entitled: *Documents Discovered from the US Espionage Den*, pp. 145, 148, 149, 202 and 205.

was much better there for me than it had been in Iran. That is to say, I didn't suffer in any way there.¹ Then I went to Najaf which was our home. And now I have come here, to a place which is again better than my own home. There is a garden here and everything! Thus I have not experienced any hardship—speaking personally that is—for this to be given as the reason for my opposing this person (the Shah).

The nation's suffering is my suffering. When I picture the faces of those men whose children, whose sons have been killed, I am pained. Seeing the woman who strikes herself because of these things, and who cries: "Come and kill me; you who have killed my child come now and kill me," this causes me pain, not the fact that I have had a bad experience in the past, or that I am someone who has suffered in the past. No, on the contrary, I have had a very good time. That which pains me is the disaster which has befallen our nation. Indeed, should a Muslim not feel pain for his own nation, then he is not a Muslim. I cannot call the person who wishes to be like this a Muslim. We don't consider he who shakes hands with the hand of a murderer to be a true human being, and indeed, neither can he be a Muslim.

This is what pains me and not the fact that they detained me or took me to prison. I am pained for sure by the fact that they sawed off the *ulama's* legs!²

¹ As soon as Imam arrived in Turkey (November 4, 1964 (Aban 13, 1343 AHS)), he availed himself of two books: a one-volume work entitled *The Poems of Mowlawi*, and a *Teach-Yourself Turkish* book, after which he set about learning the Turkish language. Three days later, on his own request, he toured the main streets by bus and visited the major sight-seeing attractions, whilst accompanied by SAVAK agents and security officers of the Turkish government. Again three days later, and once more under tight security, he visited Ataturk Boulevard; the old, well-established areas in the city of Ankara; the mosques and museums in the history-rich city of Istanbul; and the graves of forty Turkish Muslim *ulama* who had been martyred on the orders of Ataturk (i.e. Kemal Ataturk, 1881-1938). In order to weaken Imam's resolve, SAVAK agents told him that he was to wear an overcoat and hat, and hence, Imam put on an overcoat but he in fact refused to wear a hat. On November 12, 1964 (Aban 21, 1343 AHS), eight days after being exiled to Turkey, SAVAK agents, concerned that Imam may talk to visiting journalists, took him to live in the south of Bursa—a city which lay 460 kilometres to the west of Ankara, near to the Sea of Marmara. Three months later, Imam was joined by his distinguished son, the late Haj Aqa Mustafa (may he rest in peace). Thinking that his son may have resorted to requesting the regime's permission to visit him, Imam asked him whether he had been compelled to come or whether he had come of his own free will, to which Aqa Mustafa replied that he had been taken there by force. According to Imam's son, the food brought for Imam to eat tasted extremely bad, but nonetheless, Imam never refused to eat it. During his eleven-month stay in Turkey, Imam wrote *Tahrir al-Wasilah*, a celebrated book in the field of jurisprudence. He was eventually exiled to Iraq on October 5, 1965 (Mehrer 13, 1344 AHS).

² An allusion to Ayatullah Shaykh Husayn Qhaffari AzarShahri, who was subjected to the most heinous forms of torture and who was martyred as a result.

That they burned them by immersing them in boiling oil! I am pained because our *ulama* have spent seven, eight, ten or fifteen years in prison. This gentleman's father (Imam points to a member of the audience) spent several years in prison. This is what pains me. These people have now however, been released from prison. Yes, "we freed the political prisoners!" Or as he (the Shah) puts it, "we granted them a pardon!" So is that now it? Now that the political prisoners, the prisoners who suffered ten years in prison—one honourable *Alim*¹ having been struck so hard on the face that it has affected his hearing—now that he has come out of prison, is he to come and thank the Shah, asking him to remain?! Believe me, this is an impossibility! This nation cannot be appeased by the things you say. Neither could the Prime Minister achieve anything, nor can he who awaits the Premiership!² There is nothing you can do. Neither the military, nor martial law, nor anything else, nothing will do the trick.

See what it is that the people want and give this to them. The people, both children and adults, are shouting: "Freedom and independence;" "Give us freedom and independence, not Pahlavi rule." This is what our nation is saying, what both its adults and children are saying. Everyone, both those who are abroad and those who are inside Iran, are saying this. If you meet their demands then the people will have no complaint against you and they will calm down. But you want to keep he who is the prime culprit in power.

They set Azerbaijan on fire and then put the blame on its police! This is what they did to console the people. This Mr. Premiership Prospector (!) says that those who have committed an injustice against this nation must be punished, so I ask this gentleman: Who has committed an injustice against the nation? Tell us who. Come now, sit down and tell us who. Have the police killed someone without leave to do so?! Do policemen kill people without being given the permission to do so?! Do the governors general give unauthorised commands?! Does the commander of the armed forces give orders without the Shah's permission?! These actions could never be taken without the Shah's permission. This could never happen within the armed forces. It is he who is the 'commander-in-chief'.³ Unless he gives the permission, no one is killed.

Punish this criminal and we will kiss your hand. Go ahead and punish him! According to the religious law, even if he hasn't actually killed anyone

¹ Ayatullah Muntazeri.

² A reference to Dr. Ali Amini.

³ A title which was used to refer to the Shah in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the entire armed forces.

he must still be sentenced to life imprisonment. The punishment for someone who orders for a person to be killed is life imprisonment; this is what the sacred laws of religion say. In an Islamic system of rule he must be imprisoned for life. However, it is said that he (the Shah) has actually committed murder with his own hands, and should this prove to be true then the punishment is just retaliation (*qisas*). We don't wish for all of the crimes which have been committed ... You are to punish the criminal who is the source of all the crimes, the criminal in whose name all of the people regard these crimes to have been perpetrated, and whom they consider responsible for all their misery. You are to punish this criminal for the people to calm down somewhat. And once you have done this, there is the matter of independence that you must also resolve, otherwise this nation will not rest.

These constitute stratagems which, from the beginning down to the present, have aimed at suppressing and silencing the various social classes in our country which form the driving force behind this Islamic movement. But crushing the movement by means of the military won't work; crushing it by enlisting the services of those from Kurdistan, from the Kurds or those from Lor or wherever, won't work; crushing it by acts of deceit and by establishing a 'government of reconciliation' won't work; and neither will the pretext that our country is now in danger! As for the pretext that our country is now in danger, if this is the case, then come on, rescue it from danger! You say the Shah must remain? He is the one responsible for all the danger now facing us. Are we then to allow him to remain so as to preclude all danger?!

Gentlemen, you must all be united; shake off these differences which exist among you both within and outside Iran; discard any non-Islamic slogan. All of you should chant one slogan, one Islamic slogan. According to what some clerical gentlemen have written, a phone call was received from Iran which said that certain students had announced that they had resolved their differences, it said that they had resolved any differences that existed among the students and that they were now all a united front. May God preserve them. All of you, everyone must form a united front. If you each go your own way, then believe me, you will be crushed beneath the boots of oppression, boots which are to be found both within and outside the country, for evermore. Future generations will call you to account. If you do not take advantage of this movement today, while it still exists, then you will for ever remain trampled underfoot both by those abroad and those within the country.

You must all help, meaning that all of you who are present here must discard any differences which exist among yourselves, and you can tell these news reporters, these journalists, these people in the universities, these

teachers, tell all of them about Iran. What is happening in Iran has been shown in a very bad light over here (abroad), and so now you must compensate for this and give them your side of the story. This is a service which you are able to do for this nation. You must brush all differences aside, unite with the Iranian people—those who are in Iran that is—whole-heartedly and unanimously, and tell people about Iran, about those things which the general public there are demanding. In the colleges and universities everyone is to shout out the same thing and to chant the same slogan, that being the slogan of unity in Islam. This is what can rescue you. Others cannot come to the rescue; indeed, they will eventually get you hung.

May God grant you all success and may you be triumphant.

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-Seven

Date: November 5, 1978 (AD) / Aban 14, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 4, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Islam, a life-bestowing religion for human societies

Occasion: The publication of an anti-Islamic article in one of the Russian newspapers

Those present: A group of students and Iranians resident abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The waves of the Islamic revolution in Iran undulated at a time when a bi-polarised world stood firmly under the influence of one of two ideologies, one of the West and one of the East, and when the capitalist and communist systems held sway over its most important political and social aspects. In those countries under the dominance of America, the leadership of opposition movements was to a great extent in the hands of leftist parties dependent on the socialist pole which itself enjoyed control in the political arena of many areas of the world. Political and social changes brought about in these countries in some cases stemmed from Western, especially American, plans and political intervention to carry out superficial reforms in an attempt to stave off popular unrest and preserve Western control. One of the outstanding and unique features of the Islamic Revolution in modern times is that it was founded and perpetuated completely independently of external forces and the latter played no role in determining its aims or methods of struggle. The best evidence for this claim is the unprecedented co-ordination of the two dominant powers of the East and West in their attitude towards the Islamic Revolution.

On June 5, 1963 (Khordad 15, 1342 AHS), the movement of Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) was crushed by a system dependent on America. The views of the Russians, the heads of the Eastern bloc countries and those of leftist parties, that were reflected through interviews and articles which appeared in newspapers such as *Pravda* at the time, supported the defeat of the movement and backed the steps taken by the Shah to crush it. They condemned the uprising of Khordad 15 as feudalistic in nature and as forming a barrier to the socially progressive steps taken by the Shah (i.e. the White Revolution). Despite the fact that the Islamic Revolution was decidedly anti-imperialistic in nature, the Khordad 15 movement received no support from either those countries of the world espousing the socialist

ideology nor from leftist groups. This of course proved to be one of its positive aspects.

In the years 1977 and 1978 (1356 and 1357 AHS), during a period when the Islamic movement had once again reached a climax, the co-operation between the main exponents of the two predominant ideologies of the world in their handling of the Islamic Revolution reached unprecedented heights. Based on confessions made by the former American ambassador to Iran and those of General Fardust—one of the Shah's pawns who was most instrumental in perpetuating his rule—as well as some of the regime's other lackeys, and also according to documents retrieved from the American espionage den in Tehran, the main architects of the views and crimes of the Shah's regime were the Americans, while other Western governments lent the Shah their support right up to the very last days of his rule despite world public opinion of the time calling for the contrary. Some examples of what was said by Western politicians in this regard can be found in the introductions to previous speeches. At the same time and shortly after the killings of September 8, 1978 (Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS), the Chinese communist leader Chairman Hua Kuo-feng reaffirmed his support for the Shah!

Through the exchange of complimentary messages and through meetings with Iranian officials, the politicians in the Kremlin also extended their support and expressed a desire to continue their relationship with the Shah up until the last days of his rule. The circulation of an article entitled: "Islam: the opium of society" is an example of the views of the Russians at a time when Islamic slogans had united the people of Iran in their call for the downfall of one of the most US-dependent regimes in the world. The aim of publishing such an article was to give America and other Western countries the green light and demonstrate that world communism not only gave countenance to the suppression of the recent Islamic movement, but also viewed Islam as fundamentally contradicting the basic principles of its ideology, and additionally to show that the Russian communists would support any effort to destroy all traces of a religious culture.

The stagnated mode of thought prevalent amongst Kremlin politicians in recent decades had created a wont in them to extrapolate from Lenin's theories and from dry theoretical Marxist ideas—which were formed under the special circumstances of the Russian October Revolution—and to use these extrapolations in all their political analyses of the different societies and conditions. This in turn caused them to make severe mistakes throughout their history and brought about repeated defeats for communism until today

when fortunately we have witnessed the final defeat of this irreligious ideology.

At a time when the whole of Iran had risen against the Shah, *Pravda*, the mouthpiece of the Russian Communist Party, carried articles and analyses on the 'reforms' carried out by the Shah, and while condemning the religious leadership in Iran stated: "There is no doubt that in the present struggle Ayatullah Khomeini cannot count on the slightest measure of support from Russia."¹

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini draws on Quranic verses and traditions from the Prophet's family (pbut), as well as the many historical accounts of the character of the Prophet and religious leaders, to respond to the aforementioned article and to prove that Islam is not the opium of the society but, on the contrary, is the most progressive school of thought which answers all the needs of the individual and society. Imam reminds his listeners that Islam is a religion which gave dynamism to the lifeless and uncivilised society of the Hijaz and one which, within a short period of time and supported by the poor of the land, extended the realms of its influence. He comments on the many wars which the Muslims embarked on against the powerful capitalists and the oppressors of the time and the defeat of the two mighty emperors of the Sassanian and Roman empires. Finally, he draws attention to the fact that at the height of their power, the true leaders of Islam behaved in the most humane and humble manner towards the people and lived a simple life no different from that of the most deprived in society, and that they demonstrated a manner the likes of which the so-called democratic world has not seen.

¹ *Ittिलात* newspaper, November 4, 1978 (Aban 13, 1357 AHS).

Speech Number Fifty-Seven

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Once again today certain articles have appeared in the Russian newspapers, and one in particular was translated for me which was entitled “Islam, the opium of society.” When we take a look at the governmental systems of the world, we see that there are systems such as the monarchical system or the republican system, and there is the system of the Islamic government. In studying the latter, we should look at the written text of Islam to see what the nature of Islam truly is. Is it an opiate? Did its message invite the people to indolence and lull them to sleep? One only needs to study the Quran, which is the written text of Islam and which holds precedence over all other documents in Islam, to find the answer. Those who read the foreign newspapers and listen to the foreign propaganda should not accept everything they are told without first making their own investigations into their claims and finding proof for them, for to do otherwise is to act contrary to human nature. It is not within man’s nature to simply accept anything he is told without first seeking proof for it.

Sometimes it is propagated—as it was in the newspaper yesterday—that “Islam is the opium of society,” and sometimes we hear that “religion is the opium of society.” This kind of propaganda is not new, it has a history, and it was started in order to distance this Muslim nation from the Quran and Islam. One should ask oneself what the basis for making such claims is. Why does a journalist on the other side of the world in Russia write that Islam or religion is the opium of society and what does he hope to achieve by writing such an article? The basis for this article lies in the fact that they (the imperialist countries) want to exploit you and your country, they want to colonise your country and take whatever (resources) it has. In order to do this they must first remove those things that they feel may form an obstacle to their plundering so that they can freely do whatever they want to. What constitutes a barrier or potential barrier to their plans, and what should they do about it? One of the barriers is Islam, Islam itself, or religion in general. They have carried out their studies, and it is on the basis of these studies that they have reached this conclusion and that they make their plans. They have studied the religion of Islam and have discovered that if the Muslims follow the teachings of the Quran closely, they will deliver a punch in the mouth to those people

who want to come and dominate them. The Quran says that God the Blessed and Exalted will never consent to the dominance of non-Muslims over Muslims. Such a thing should never happen, they should never gain the upper hand, there should be no way open for them to do this: “*And never will God grant to the unbelievers a way over the believers*¹.” The polytheists should find no way open to them to do this and the corrupt powers should find no way to hold sway over the Muslims.

They (the imperialists) have carried out their studies and have seen just what Islam’s stance is in this regard, what the Quran and the other Islamic texts say on this matter. They realise that were the Muslims to become aware of Islam’s stance, were they to adhere to the teachings of the Quran and Islam, then it would sound the death knell for them and their plundering and domination. So what must they do to ensure that they remain in control and are able to continue with their rapine? They must distance this nation from Islam. The same applies to other religions too.

This propaganda was not something that existed five hundred or one thousand years ago, it began when the Europeans penetrated the countries of the East and found them to be good prey. So they studied ways to devour this prey and it was from then that this kind of propaganda began. They used it first against other religions, but this was to prepare the ground for their attack on Islam, for the other religions were not so important to them. This propaganda was used as a precursor so they could go on to belittle Islam, to knock it from the position of great respect it enjoyed amongst Muslims and to distance them from it, so they could plant this idea in the Muslim mind that Islam is a religion which came to put the society to sleep so that the powerful people could devour the society! This is what they say, and with this they want to distance you from Islam. So when our youth read in a newspaper, a book or a journal that Islam is the opium of society, should they just accept it without question? Should they just read it and then say “yes, that’s right!?” To do so is to act against one’s Islamic and human nature. It is human nature to seek proof for any matter which is not evident; man does not accept something without first questioning it.

So we have to carry out our own investigations to see whether Islam, which is documented in the Quran and the books of *hadith*, is really as they say it is. Does the Quran opiate the society so that the tyrants can devour the people, so that the kings can devour the people and do whatever they want to do, impose whatever rule they want? Or is the Quran other than this? We do

¹ *Surah Nisa* (The Women), verse 141.

not have to conduct an in-depth study to find the answer, a cursory glance at the Quran is sufficient. It takes only a cursory glance to see how many times the Quran mentions battle and against whom it tells the Muslims to wage war. So many of the verses in the Quran are concerned with battle and its rules; so many of them encourage the Muslims to take up arms, even order them to do so. And with whom does the Quran tell the Muslims to do battle? The answer to this question is not difficult to find, it does not require learning and careful investigation: the Quran encourages the Muslims to join battle with the polytheists. In the Hijaz hostilities first began when the Holy Prophet was residing in Medina; he only had a few followers, but still they did all they could. Before that, when the Muslims were in Mecca, it was the time for laying plans and for development. There, the polytheists did not give them the opportunity to do anything. Those rich and powerful polytheists did not let the Prophet carry out his mission in Mecca. During the years that he was there, Mecca was like a prison for him—just as Iran today is like a prison for the people there. When he despaired of being able to achieve anything in Mecca, and he saw that he could carry out his mission better in Medina, he secretly established links with the people of that town, and they prepared for him to go there. So he migrated to Medina, and shortly after he had done so, the battles began. It was the Quran, which is the text of Islam, the source of Islam, that called upon him to do battle, many battles. With whom did he do battle?

They (the imperialists) say that Islam is the opium of the society, that Islam has come to rock the lower social classes, the poor, to sleep, so that the powerful elite can exploit them and consume their resources!! They even say that religion (in general) was created by the powerful elite for this very purpose, so that it would prevent the people from hindering them in their aims and so that the people would take everything lying down! So let us take a look at the many battles which took place in Islam at the time of the Most Noble Messenger—we will not concern ourselves here with the period after the Prophet, only the time of the Prophet himself when there was the text of Islam, that is, the Quran and the teachings that it brought for man, with no annotations, for it is this which they (the imperialists) say the powerful elite invented in order to colonise the weak and the poor and exploit their resources. Let us take a look at these battles to see whether they were battles in which the Holy Prophet collaborated with the powerful elite to attack the poor or whether he sided with the poor and attacked the powerful elite.

Whoever takes even a superficial look at events in the early history of Islam will see that the Prophet gathered around him a group of poor people

who were called the “companions of the *suffah*”¹ for they had no shelter except a ‘*suffah*.’ These people were so destitute that they lodged in the *suffah* of the Prophet’s mosque. They had nothing, they were poor. Historical accounts tell us how in some of the battles, the Prophet’s followers had only one date to share amongst themselves and from which to gain sustenance, each man could only taste the date and then he had to pass it onto the next to do the same. This was at the time of war! The Prophet’s followers comprised these poor, beggared people, and it was these destitute paupers who, while the Prophet was still alive and through the teachings of the Quran, later conquered the Hijaz. But initially they were so powerless that the Prophet could not stay in Mecca and had to flee for Medina in the middle of the night after he had established links with some of the Medinans. When he arrived in Medina, it was the poor, not the rich, with whom he aligned himself. Can one then say that the Prophet sided with the rich to silence the poor?!

All the battles that the Prophet fought were against the Arab polytheists, the oppressive and powerful polytheists. They were warriors, but the teachings of Islam had given the small number of the Prophet’s followers solace and had trained them in such a manner that on one occasion one of them killed a hundred of the enemy! This happened because of the teachings of Islam, for Islam trains man to fear no power, to be afraid of nothing. It trained the Muslim warriors such that one of them said (this was later in Islamic history after the time of the Prophet), that with only thirty men accompanying him he could defeat the sixty-thousand strong vanguard of the Roman army. Those with him argued that he could not perform such a feat with only thirty men. He agreed, and so the number including him on the surprise night attack was sixty. But even so, only sixty people went and with their swords forced sixty thousand Roman soldiers to retreat! And they were from the class of the poor!

However, to get back to the time of the Prophet. We must take a look to see whether the Quran, which is the text of Islam, and the Prophet, who was the bearer of the message of Islam—and at that time Islam had no annotations, there was just Islam, the text of Islam, Islam in its original form with no modifications—invited the people to align themselves with the

¹ A *suffah* is a covered place found before the doors of some Eastern houses or mosques and where one can rest. During his stay in Medina, the Prophet had a *suffah* built onto the Qaba mosque so that his needy friends and a number of the Muslims who had left their homes and possessions in Mecca to accompany him on his migration to Medina could lodge there. This group of people were called the “companions of the *suffah*.” After the pledge of brotherhood was taken between the Emigrants (Muhajirun) and the Supporters (Ansar), the latter shared their belongings with some of the companions of the *suffah*.

wealthy. Did Islam tell the people that if the wealthy, if those men of power, took what belonged to them, they were to say nothing, that God willing they would go to heaven so they were not to say a word!? Or was it the Quran which stirred these paupers—many of whom had no shelter or food and were obliged to sleep huddled next to one another in the *suffah* of the mosque and to share every morsel of food they could find, even one date, amongst themselves—to take the Hijaz and defeat the holders of power? Can such a religion then be described as the opium of society? Or is it the awakener of society? It is you who want to opiate the people with these words of yours! It is those who say that Islam is the opium of the society who themselves want to lull the Muslims to sleep; they want to distance the Muslims from Islam; they want the Muslims to sleep whilst they devour their wealth. The opium lies in these words, not in Islam. They are using the words “Islam is the opium of society” to deceive the people. That which they say is the opium, not that truth which, when revealed and with a following of a number of impoverished people, conquered the lands of the Hijaz and spread justice and equity to the boundaries of the Hijaz.

This was at the time of the Prophet himself. Later, during the first century of Islam or in the first thirty or thirty-five years of Islam when the Muslims became more powerful, they conquered two empires: the Roman and Persian empires. They conquered Persia and Rome.¹ Was this the result of an opiate? Did Islam come to encourage compromise with Kisra and to tell the people to obey him? Did Islam come to encourage the Roman people to compromise with the Roman emperor and to instruct them to obey him? Or did Islam vanquish two empires in order to spread justice throughout the world and stop the exploitation of the poor?

And now today, at such a point in time as this, that wretch writes in the newspaper that Islam is the opium of society!² Indolence and negligence may well have existed in the past,³ but now the people, our youth, have looked at the Quran and are now aware of its message. Unfortunately, some of them

¹ Rome was conquered in the nineteenth year after *hijra* (i.e. 641 AD), and Iran twenty-one years after *hijra* (643 AD). The conquest of Iran was described as “the victory of victories.”

² Meaning at a time when the Islamic Revolution, inspired by Islam, was at the forefront of the struggle with the Shah and America, the article entitled ‘Religion is the opium of society’ was published in a Russian newspaper.

³ This is a reference to the quietism adopted by some people, including some of the *ulama*, in the face of the painful events which have taken place in the past history of Islamic societies, and their eschewment of the struggle.

accept what they hear too readily,¹ someone says something and they are taken in by his words. But when a person hears something said about a system or about anything else, shouldn't that person investigate what has been said to see whether it is correct or not? Shouldn't one question the views of this idiot who writes that Islam is the opium of society to see whether they are correct or not?

So far we have spoken about Islam itself. Now let's take a look at those who followed the teachings of Islam when they were first revealed, that is, when there was only the Prophet and the text of Islam (the Quran), and those Muslims of later times when Islam was involved in wars, wars between these people from the lower social classes and the emperors. Islam gave such strength to this small group of followers, these few thousand Muslims that they went and conquered the Roman and Persian empires.² The soldiers of the Persian empire were very powerful in battle, they were well equipped, the saddles on their horses were made of gold, whereas the Muslims were barefooted and lacked armour, many of them walked to battle for only a few of them had a camel. They had swords and some of them had a horse, but they had perhaps only ten horses between them. So they did not have enough horses, camels or sufficient provisions, but Islam gave them strength. The teachings of the text of Islam and of he who executed those teachings gave them such strength that those people who yesterday had been nothing more than a handful of beggared people living an aimless existence today took their swords in hand and defeated the two world powers of the age: the Persian and Roman empires. They were a handful of poor, beggared Arabs who had only a few swords to share amongst ten or twenty thousand, they didn't all carry swords or wear coats of mail, they were ill equipped for battle but their spirit was strong—they weren't weak in spirit and heart like us—Islam had given them spiritual strength. So with a divinely-inspired strength, with the support of Islam and due to its call, these Muslims, although small in number, set off and conquered those two great empires. Less than thirty years after the advent of Islam, Iran and Rome had been defeated and the realms of Islam had been

¹ Here Imam is referring to those youth who are deceived by Marxist propaganda and who, without even reflecting on the life-giving laws of Islam, condemn religion as a retrogressive element.

² The number of soldiers in the Muslim army at the battle of Nihavand (642 AD) did not reach twelve thousand, while the Iranian army comprised one hundred and fifty thousand men. The war paraphernalia on each side was not comparable, the Muslim army had no weapons other than a few old swords and small spears, while the Iranians were armed to the teeth and had brought more than enough weapons along with themselves.

extended to Africa and even beyond to Spain. However, later the Muslims were to demonstrate incompetence, but that is another matter.

So if we study the text of Islam we see that Islam did not come to give the kings dominance over the poor or to give those with power authority over those who enjoyed no power. This was not the case. As for those who invited the people to Islam, such as the Prophet himself and after him the first caliphs, who were different from the others, and Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali), peace be upon him, what kind of people were they? How did they live? Were they the mullahs of the court? Was the Prophet himself a courtier, or did he do battle with the courts and defeat them? Was Hadrat Amir a courtier, or did he do battle with a power that also claimed to follow Islam, like Mu'awiyah?

The actions of Hadrat Amir, upon whom be peace, and the Lord of the Martyrs (Imam Husayn), peace be upon him, provide the reason and licence for battle between the Muslims and this corrupt regime today. The necessity for such action comes from their actions. They fought with two powerful people (Mu'awiyah and Yazid) who had taken control of Shamat¹ and who commanded armies there. Why did Imam Ali and Imam Husayn take up arms against Mu'awiyah and his son? They too were Muslims, so why did they go to battle with them? Now someone tell us, is this man who has published copies of the Quran a Muslim?² Our reason for carrying on the struggle to wipe out oppression and to sever the hands of the oppressors from the Islamic countries lies in the actions of Hadrat Amir, peace be upon him, and the Lord of the Martyrs, peace be upon him; and even if a few hundred thousand of us have to sacrifice our lives for this cause, then it is still worthwhile. Yazid succeeded Mu'awiyah, he was a powerful man and enjoyed all the trappings of a king. So on what basis did the Lord of the Martyrs confront the king of his time? Why did he confront Zillullah?³ "The king should not be touched,"

¹ Shamat meaning Syria which at the time of the Muslim conquests was composed of Syria, Lebanon and parts of Jordan and Palestine.

² In order to present himself in a pious light, the Shah occasionally made pilgrimages to Mecca and the shrines of the Imams and held discussions with religious figures. In addition, he organised religious mourning ceremonies in the name of the Court; arranged for the formation of a Religious Corps; increased the number of religious programmes aired on radio and television; and saw to the repair of holy shrines. Ordering the publication of the Aryamehr Quran was another act in his deceitful show of piety.

³ Zillullah meaning the shadow or representative of God and used as a royal title or epithet. Imam's remonstrance here is a sign of the injustice shown him by the theological schools, for at a time when under his leadership the whole nation had risen and the corrupt monarchical government was in its final days, he still had to answer to the doubts and criticisms of the pseudo-saints and those men of stagnant views who saw the Shah as Zillullah and asked Imam for legitimate proof for his struggle. In the light of this, one can imagine how painful Imam's

so why did he confront this king who recited the *shahadatain*¹ and claimed to be the successor of the Prophet? He did so because Yazid was a cheat,² he was someone who wanted to exploit the nation, he and his subordinates wanted to devour the nation's wealth. Has he or this man today (the Shah) devoured the most? One must work it out.

So these were the actions of some of the people who lived during the early years of Islam, and it was through them that Islam became powerful and spread to the extent that it did. The Prophet himself fought with the powerful elite, and those who came after him in the early period following his death fought with the powerful elite and the kings, as did Hadrat Amir after them. So was Islam the opium of society? Were these people the court mullahs?

Some of our youth say that they want a democratic country. Let us consider the Islamic government, the Islamic regime, in the early years of Islam's history when there was only Islam and the text of Islam, to see whether this was a democratic regime or whether it was a tyrannical or despotic regime. If you can find stories similar to those which history relates about this period—and there are many but we will speak about only one or two now—concerning one of the leading democratic countries, then you can say that the democratic system is better.

One story concerns the Messenger of God, peace be upon him and his descendants. Indeed there are many narratives like the one I am about to relate, but the one will suffice for the present. Another story is about Hadrat Amir, peace be upon him, and another concerns 'Umar. When 'Umar set off to enter Egypt—after the Muslim armies had conquered the country and Islam was a powerful force³—he did so with a camel which he and his slave took turns in riding; as one tired the other took his turn to walk. According to

situation was during the events of Khordad 15 (June 5, 1963) and in the early days of his struggle. Imam himself refers to this in a speech delivered to the students of the theological schools: "At the beginning of the Islamic struggle, if we said that the Shah was a traitor, we would immediately hear the retort that the Shah is a Shi'ah ... On Khordad 15 the confrontation was not only with the bullets of the Shah's guns and machine-guns, if it had been it would have been easy, rather, in addition to those, we had to face the bullets of deceit, pseudo-saintliness and stagnated views from within our own ranks. It was the bullets of censure and hypocrisy which rent the hearts and seared the souls (of the people) a thousand times more than gunpowder and lead did."

¹ The Muhammadan declaration of faith: "There is only one God and Muhammad is His messenger."

² Meaning that he was unworthy. Yazid was not the type of leader that Islam approves of.

³ In the nineteenth year after *hijra*, Egypt was conquered by the troops of the caliph 'Umar under the command of 'Amr ibn al-'As. The conquest of Egypt was a great victory for the Muslims and opened the way for the conquest of north Africa.

historical accounts, when they entered Egypt it was the turn of the slave to ride on the camel, so when the people of Egypt turned out to greet the caliph, they found him on foot guiding the camel on which his slave rode! This was how a caliph acted. We do not accept ‘Umar (as the rightful successor to the Prophet), but this action of his was Islamic. It was Islam which made him act this way, and even though we don’t accept ‘Umar, still his action was in keeping with Islamic teachings.

The Prophet also acted in a similar manner. He would ride on a donkey with someone seated behind him and would answer the questions put to him by his companion and instruct him. Can you relate a similar story about the leaders of any of these democracies? Can you name any democratic leader like ‘Umar who, even though his realms were several times larger than Iran or France, treated his slave in such a way, who had a camel, nothing more, and who lacked the loftiness and embellishment that usually accompanies power. Take any democratic leader and see how he enters a vanquished country. ‘Umar was entering a conquered land, yet his slave rode upon his camel—because it was his turn to do so—while he walked in front leading the camel. The noblemen of Egypt came to greet him, they all paid homage to him, yet this was the manner in which he entered their land, and it was the teachings of Islam which made him act in such a way.¹

When the Most Noble Prophet sat with a group of people speaking to them or passing judgement, the situation was such that it was not immediately clear for someone entering the room who was who, who the leader was and who his companions were. He would sit with his followers in a circle, and it was not clear which one of them was the Prophet. He didn’t even sit on a cushion, like the one you have brought for me to sit on². He sat on the floor just like everyone else, and ate his lunch seated on the ground. And what a lunch it was! Do you think that he enjoyed a magnificent spread? No. When Hadrat Amir, whose realm was several times larger than Iran, sat down to a meal, one dish lay before him containing oaten bread. The lid of the dish was

¹ The following words, as quoted in Philip K. Hitti’s book *The History of the Arabs* p. 163, sum up the Egyptian’s views of their Muslim conquerors: “We have witnessed a people to each and every one of whom death is preferable to life, and humility to prominence, and to none of whom this world has the least attraction. They sit not except on the ground, and eat naught but on their knees. Their leader is like unto one of them: the low cannot be distinguished from the high, nor the master from the slave. And when the time of prayer comes none of them absents himself, all wash their extremities and humbly observe their prayer.”

² Referring to the blanket which was laid down on the floor for Imam to sit on while he delivered his speeches at his residence in Neauphle-le-Chateau.

sealed to make sure that his daughter or son could not, out of pity for him, add some fat to the bread to make it a little softer for him. He would seal the lid so they could not touch the bread. This dry bread was the food of the emperor of a realm greater in size than Iran.

The next story is one that I have related on a number of occasions. The Messenger of God, peace be upon him and his descendants, went to the mosque and ascended the pulpit from where he spoke to the congregation. He told them that if any of them had suffered an injustice at his hands then they were to speak out. No one spoke out, but then an Arab (Sawada ibn Qays) stood up saying that he had a grievance. When the Prophet asked him what it was, he told him that upon his return from a battle (of Taif) the Prophet had struck him with his staff. The Prophet asked him where he had struck him and the man pointed to his shoulder. The Prophet then told him to come forward and return like for like. The man told the Prophet to bare his shoulder for his own shoulder had been bare when the Prophet had struck him. This the Prophet did and the man went forward and kissed his shoulder. All along the man had only wanted to kiss the Prophet. The point of this story being that a leader who enjoyed absolute authority over the Hijaz at the time, and over some other places as well, would ascend the pulpit and tell the people to come forward if he had committed an injustice against them and not one of them could even say that he had unjustly taken ten coins from them. Could you find such a thing happening in one of these democratic countries? Would a leader there ascend the pulpit and tell the people to speak out if they had a grievance against him? Would any leader do this? Which leader would allow someone to strike him because he had at one time struck that person? Which democratic leader, which just king or president, would act in such a way? Yet they say that it is Islam that is despotic while they describe other systems as being democratic! We say that your countries are not democratic, they are authoritarian but in different guises. Your presidents are autocrats in different guises. The attributes and technical terms used in their description are many, but they have no substance.

When Hadrat Amir, peace be upon him, was the caliph, his authority extended over an area a few times larger than Iran, it comprised the Hijaz, Egypt, Iraq, Iran and many other places, and he was the one who appointed the judges in these places. One day a Jew went to a judge with a complaint against Hadrat Amir claiming that the Hadrat had a coat of mail which belonged to him—I can't remember all the details at the moment so I'll just give you the gist of the story. The judge, whom Hadrat Amir had himself appointed, summoned the Hadrat to come before him! Hadrat Amir went and

sat before him and apparently even insisted that he be shown no preferential treatment, that judgement called for both men to be viewed as equals. So the two men sat before the judge, one a Jew and the other the ruler of a realm which comprised Iran, the Hijaz, Egypt and Iraq! The judge studied the case and found in favour of the Jew. Can you find a similar case in the history of monarchical or presidential rule? Hadrat Amir was the caliph, the Jew was his subject as was the judge. If you can, name a president, a monarch or any other leader who has acted in a similar way so that it can be said that an Islamic regime is inferior to all others.

We want an Islamic regime. We are calling for an Islamic government. We want a government which allows a judge to summon the ruler to court. Can anyone do this to “His Imperial Majesty?” Can anyone go to a judge and tell him that the Shah has plundered his wealth? Can one of these people from Mazandaran province go to a judge and complain that the Shah has robbed him of his wealth? Would a judge dare summon the Shah to court?! You all know what the circumstances were like in Iran a few years ago, but even today, when all the children are shouting “Death to the Shah,” would a judge dare summon “His Imperial Majesty” to court? What about the President of this country (France), could a judge summon him to court? And if he did, would the President attend the hearing and accept a ruling against him without question?

We are calling for an Islamic government, and they propagate that we want to create anarchy! Is it anarchy that we want? We want a government in Iran—if, God willing, the Muslims are successful—and in all the Islamic countries, which will not devour the wealth of the people, a government which will respect the law, which will bow to the law, which will accept whatever the law says. We don’t want a government under which the law applies to the ordinary people while the ones with power are made exempt from it. The powerful ones do not pay taxes; their lands have not been divided up, such things do not apply to them. Up until the day before yesterday, all of ‘Alam’s estates remained untouched by the land reforms, because at one time he had been the Minister of the Court and the Prime Minister.¹ This talk about carrying out land reforms meant nothing, the whole thing was just a game, the ‘White Revolution’ was just a game.

¹ In 1960 (1339 AHS), ‘Alam was appointed as the first head of the Pahlavi Foundation a position from which he profited greatly and amassed a large fortune. He was one of the few men who enjoyed the Shah’s complete confidence and was considered to be the Shah’s closest adviser throughout his tenure of office as Minister of Court and Prime Minister. He died in the summer of 1977 (1356 AHS) at the age of fifty-seven.

I am now tired, but I must tell you gentlemen that it was about three hundred years ago when propaganda aimed at distancing the Muslims from Islam and the clergy began. During the reign of Rida Shah Pahlavi, the taxicabs would not pick up clergymen. The late Aqa Shaykh ‘Abbas Tehrani, may God have mercy on him, said that once in Arak he hailed a taxi but the driver refused to allow him into his vehicle saying that there were two classes of people that the taxi drivers refused to pick up: clergymen and prostitutes. This was the attitude at the time of Rida Shah, and you all know what the situation of the clergymen has been throughout the reign of the present Shah. Such propaganda has come from abroad and is aimed at distancing you from the clergy and Islam so that the foreigners can take all your resources and no one will try to stop them.

I have neither the time nor the energy now to talk about that group of people, who, later in the history of Islam, rose up against the kings, to see who they were and whether they were Muslims or not. This man who has written that Islam is the opium of society should take a look at the uprising, at the movement which is a reality in Iran today, to see whether it is an Islamic movement or not. This Islamic movement has come about through the help and blessings of Islam and the Muslims, the true Muslims. It is the voice of Islam which has been raised and is delivering a punch in the mouth to Russia and America. Is then Islam the opium of society? You (the imperialists) are now saying that Islam is an opiate in order to dispirit the people so they will let you continue to devour their oil and gas! You yourselves know that it is not an opiate. You all know that it impels the people to action. Islam has taken the people towards progress, towards battle, towards fighting with the infidels and with you.

You are describing Islam as the opium of society at a time when Islam has caused thirty million Muslims in Iran to rise up against the holders of power, and when they are all calling for Islam. At such a time as this, this vile person¹ has written that Islam is the opium of society! Perhaps a few of our youth, who are unaware of the facts, will accept what he says unquestioningly. Wake up gentlemen! Wake up you young people! You must realise what their plans are; why they want to distance you from Islam; why they want to attract you to other ideologies. They are not doing this for your good, they are doing it because they want to devour you, but Islam will not let them do this, the clergymen of Islam will not let them do this.

May God grant you all success. May you be victorious.

¹ A Russian writer.

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-Eight

Date: November 6, 1978 (AD) / Aban 15, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 5, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Reconciliation with the Shah and compromise with the military government constitutes treason against Islam

Occasion: The Shah's show of remorse, his deceitful promises and the establishment of a military government

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

As the public uprising in Iran became more widespread and the government's attempt to crush it failed, Sharif Imami resigned his post as Prime Minister. His resignation came in the wake of a vicious attack by martial law agents on students and schoolchildren gathered in the grounds of Tehran University. In the attack, which took place on November 4, 1978 (Aban 13, 1357 AHS), many of the young students were martyred or injured. Scenes from the bloody attack were shown on television and newspapers carried detailed accounts of the incident and published pictures of the carnage on their front pages, provoking public outrage and prompting the resignation of the Minister of Higher Education and subsequently that of Sharif Imami. The latter's term in office lasted for only seventy days. His repeated promises fell on deaf ears and the implementation of martial law followed by the killings in Tehran and the provincial towns and cities made a mockery of his national reconciliation cabinet.

Every day throughout Sharif Imami's short tenure of office, strikes by office and factory workers increased and demonstrations by the people continued. With regard to the massive demonstrations which took place in Tehran on November 5, 1978 (Aban 14, 1357 AHS) and subsequent events, General Qarabaghi in his book writes: "Police reports indicated that rioting in the city began at midday. Molotov cocktails were used by the demonstrators and in different areas of the city buildings were set alight as martial law agents stood by and watched. His Imperial Majesty asked: 'What do you think should be done?' I replied: 'As I have said many times before, martial law regulations must be implemented on time and the instigators of the riots and the ring-leaders must be arrested, otherwise peace and security will not be established in the country.' To this the Shah said: 'Very well, we will decide what should be done.' When I left the Interior Ministry that evening at

9 pm, fires were still burning in many buildings. My driver negotiated the obstacles and fires, encountered in the streets on our way home, with great difficulty, at times being forced to drive over the flames... The telephone rang constantly as governors from the country's different provinces rang to tell me about the problems they were facing and to give me their requests... That night I experienced much uneasiness and anxiety. At about 5 am the following morning (November 6/Aban 15 AHS), General Oveissi, the martial-law administrator for Tehran, telephoned me... I asked him who the Prime Minister was, he replied that General Azhari had been given the post and added that all the heads of the armed forces were now also members of the government. He also insisted that I be at Niavaran palace at 8 am. At 7 am, General Azhari, the Chief of Staff, telephoned and said: 'On His Majesty's command, I have been commissioned to form a military government. I would like to request that in addition to being the Interior Minister, you also accept the very sensitive posts of Minister of Finance and Minister of the Economy.' Before I could reply he said: 'You must help.'

On November 6 (Aban 15 AHS) the Shah announced the new military government in a nationwide address. The text of the speech he delivered on this occasion stunned many foreign political observers because of its apologetic tone and its almost pathetic attempt to align the Shah with the revolution: "In the climate of liberalisation which began gradually two years ago, you arose against oppression and corruption. The revolution of the Iranian people cannot fail to have my support as the monarch of Iran and as an Iranian... The waves of strikes, most of which were quite justified, have lately changed in their nature and direction, causing the country's economy and the people's daily lives to be paralysed... I once again repeat my oath to the Iranian nation and undertake not to allow the past mistakes, unlawful acts, oppression and corruption to recur but to make up for them... I heard the revolutionary message of you people, the Iranian nation, I am the guardian of the constitutional monarchy, which is a God-given gift, a gift entrusted to the Shah by the people."

In this address, the Shah also appealed to the great clergymen and most learned *ulama*, the Iranian mothers and fathers, the youth of the country, society's political leaders, the workers, clerks and farmers, to strive for the preservation and restoration of the country's economy, while at the same time he emphasised: "Rest assured that along the path of the Iranian nation's

revolution against imperialism, oppression and corruption, I am beside you all the way and will be always!”¹

These words sounded ludicrous to their audience, coming as they did from a man who, following the massacres on Khordad 15 (June 5, 1963), and intoxicated by American support, levelled the most outrageous accusations against the people’s uprising and the most impudent abuse at the *maraji* and clergymen, calling them impure animals, and who, at the height of his suppressive rule in the ceremonies marking two thousand five hundred years of monarchy in Iran, addressed the empty grave of Cyrus saying: “Sleep on in peace forever, for we are awake and we remain to watch over your glorious heritage!”

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini gives his reaction to the Shah’s appointment of a military government, led by General Azhari, as well as to the Shah’s desperate attempt to align himself with the people. Imam explains that: “Once again the Shah has resorted to two means in an attempt to save himself: one is deceit and the other the bayonet.” Imam refers to the Shah’s deceptive address to the nation and gives a short history of his crimes before predicting the hopelessness of both his plan to set up a military government and his promises to make up for past mistakes, saying: “So, these do not constitute the way to solve the problem or cure the people’s pain. These are just contrivances. No words will be effective other than these and they are: this regime must go.”

In concluding his speech, Imam Khomeini categorically shuts the door on compromise saying: “In any case, the aim is this. If anyone thinks differently, he is a traitor to the nation, the country and Islam. If you give him a respite, then neither Islam nor your country will remain for you. Don’t give him time, squeeze this throat (of his) until it breathes no more.”

The Iranian nation accepted Imam’s message whole-heartedly and only three months after he had delivered this speech, the dictatorial Pahlavi regime was overthrown by Imam and the *ummah* and the last remnants of oppressive monarchical rule in Iran were swept away.

¹ *Confessions of a General*, p. 60.

Speech Number Fifty-Eight

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

Once again the Shah has resorted to two means in an attempt to save himself: one is deceit and the other the bayonet. The first means, deceit, was employed in his (recent) address when he swore an oath, when he promised the nation that he would not repeat past mistakes and would make up for them, and that henceforth he would act according to the letter of the constitutional law. In this address, he asked the people to cease in their opposition; he called on the great clergymen and the most learned *ulama* to guide the people and calm them and appealed to other classes of society, among them the workers, students and the youth, to stop their opposition and think about Iran!¹

His words provoke many questions, one, which requires investigation, is: Were his actions up until the present mistakes or deliberate acts? His violation of the law and the opposition which he has shown to Islam, the treason which he has perpetrated against the nation, and the crimes which he has committed, were these all mistakes as he claims? Take for example the oil that he has given to America; did he think that the Americans were one of the tribes of Iran, or that America was one of the Iranian cities so he was giving the oil to Iranians? These weapons he received in return for oil, which are of no use to us and were used to create bases for the Americans, did he think that these were foreign currency? Did he make a mistake?! Did he take these weapons under the mistaken impression that he was getting dollars?!

The crimes that he has committed in Iran up until now, the imprisonment he has ordered, the persecution and the torture he has carried out, the massacres he has perpetrated, were all of these mistakes? When he sent his

¹ On November 6, 1978 (Aban 15, 1357 AHS) following the failure of Sharif Imami's government, the Shah, in a nationwide address broadcast over the radio, announced the establishment of a military government led by General Azhari. In this address, he implored the people to respect the law and promised that he would not allow past mistakes to recur, that he would bring an end to corruption and would establish a popular and democratic government. In this address, he refrained from referring to himself as "we," as was his wont, and employed the pronoun "I" instead, as he explained to the people in an apologetic tone that in the interests of national security he had been obliged to install a military government.

commandos to the Faydiyah Madrasa where they burnt copies of the Quran, set alight the turbans of the theological students, broke their arms and legs and destroyed their chambers, did he think that he was attacking somewhere in Russia, so it was a mistake?! Did he think that the Faydiyah Madrasa was foreign territory?! Did he presume that the people he had imprisoned had been taken away to a garden somewhere and only now he realises that this was not the case and that they were taken away to a prison cell not a garden?! The members of the *ulama* and the political figures who were imprisoned and either killed or had their legs immersed in boiling oil or, as we are told, had their legs sawn off, was all this the result of a mistake?! Were these incidents just pure imagination? Now he promises that such mistakes will not be repeated, but didn't he make pledges and swear oaths at the beginning of his rule? Someone who wants to rule has to do this; he is making the same pledges now as he did at the beginning of his rule, pledges which he later broke. Are the pledges he is making now any different from the ones he made then? Are they pledges which can't be broken? He broke them then, but would he have us believe that now things have changed and they can't be broken? How has he made up for his mistakes? Indeed, can he make up for them? How can he make up for the ten or fifteen years, or more, that so many people lost in his prisons? How can he compensate for the torture, the suffering and the humiliation they endured during that time? Do his promises compensate for this? Can someone who has committed so many crimes now expect everything to be forgotten as soon as he makes new promises?!

Let us suppose that his promises are sincere, we will suppose this even though "it is obvious" that they are not. (When Rida Shah visited Najaf, he met with the late Firuzabadi in the holy shrine there and told him: "I am your follower sir," to which the late Firuzabadi replied: "It is obvious.") (The audience laughs). His promises today remind me of the book 'The Cat and Mouse'.¹ The Cat and Mouse is a useful book, an instructive book, which discusses the tricks kings and rulers play at the time when they enjoy power and when their power begins to wane. As the story goes, the cat one day threw down his prayer mat, performed his *namaz*, repented and asked for God's forgiveness vowing never to repeat his past actions. After a while the poor mice were taken in by his promises and began taking the cat gifts and the such like, until one day the cat pounced on five of them at once. Whereas previously the cat could only get one mouse at a time, now he got five at a time! Well, we know that your (addressing the Shah) repentance is the same

¹ This is a short story by 'Abid Zakani. It is said that 'Abid wrote the story as a critique of the ruler at the time.

as that of a wolf or a cat! The nation knows this so don't trouble yourself by continually repeating it! These most learned *ulama* that you are now calling upon to guide the people and calm them are those very same *ulama* whose words until recently you described as "black reaction."¹ Until recently these *ulama* were, according to you, "reactionaries," "black" reactionaries.

When I was in Qum, he delivered a speech in one of the Iranian cities in which he spoke about the *ulama* saying that one should avoid these reactionaries like impure animals!² These impure animals have now become the great clergymen and most learned *ulama*!³ If these great clergymen and most learned *ulama* give him time to breathe, by the second breath they would be the same impure animals once again! These mistakes, as he calls them, were all in fact intentional acts, these acts of treason were all intentional, and if this nation gives him a respite, then he will repeat these same "mistakes" again.

¹ The Shah refers to those clerics who struggled in opposition to the regime as the "black reaction." In the interviews, speeches and messages given by him from the year 1962 (1341 AHS) onwards, he names the "black reaction" and the "red reaction" as opposers of the "White Revolution." At the Farmer's Congress held in January 1962, he said: "There is no doubt that the 'black reaction' and the subversive 'red' forces will not desist in their attempt to check Iran's reforms. Indeed, they will make every effort to avert them ... " "Once again in a speech delivered in Qum a short while later, he insulted the *ulama* and most distinctly called the clergy "black reactionaries." Again, in the book *Inqilab-i Sefid (The White Revolution)*, with regard to the great uprising of Khordad 15 we read: "The shambles of Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) was the best illustration of the unholy union between the "black reaction" and the "red" subversive forces, which took place financed by a group of land owners whose interests were detrimentally affected by the laws of the land reforms"! Refer to *Dayiratul Maarif-e Tashayyu'*, pp. 566 & 567; *Musahibeha, Nutqha va Payamha-yi Muhammad-Rida Shah*, pp. 3087, 3089 and 3284; and *Farhang-i Siyasi*, p.5.

² On May 27, 1963 (Khordad 6, 1342 AHS), the Shah, in a speech delivered in Kerman, most unashamedly stated: "... But you must beware if certain persons approach you using such language with the intention of poisoning your minds in this way. Keep away from them and indeed do not allow them to get close to you, just as you would not allow an impure animal to do so ... " "In a speech particularly notable for its fearless words of reproach delivered at the Faydiyyah Madrasah in Qum on the afternoon of 'Ashura June 3, 1963 (Khordad 13, 1342 AHS), Imam in reply to the Shah's comments, said: "I hope to God that you did not have in mind the *ulama* when you said 'the black reactionaries are like an impure animal which the nation should shun,' because if you did, it would be difficult for us to tolerate you much longer, and you would find yourself in a predicament. You won't be able to go on living, the nation will not allow you to continue this way. Heed our advice and desist from such deeds!"

³ In a speech delivered on November 6, 1978 (Aban 15, 1357 AHS), the Shah said: "I herein request the grand *ayatullahs* and the most learned *ulama* who are the spiritual and religious leaders of the society and the guardians of Islam, in particular the Shii faith, to strive to save the only Shii country in the world through their counsel and calls for calm and order."

He is trying to trick the people; on the one hand he promises not to repeat past mistakes, and on the other he calls on the people to think about Iran! It is because we are thinking about Iran that we are speaking out now. It is because this nation realises that you are taking Iran away from them, because you have allowed the world powers to dominate us, and because you have exhausted our resources, that they have risen up and have embarked on this movement against you. It is precisely because we are thinking about Iran that we are opposing you and struggling against you, for you are the source of these “mistakes” as you call them but which as far as we are concerned are intentional acts. Our concerns about Islam, about a Muslim country and about the poor have forced us to oppose you in this way. “Come let us think about Iran!” We want to think about Iran, we are thinking about Iran; just because we are opposing you does not mean that we have stopped thinking about Iran!

This person will just not stop saying these things. What kind of a person is he? How does his mind work? Who does he think he is trying to fool? Who believes him when he says that if he were to no longer be around, then Iran too would cease to exist?! According to him as soon as he dies—and the day will come, God willing, soon (the audience laughs)—Iran too will cease to be! So it seems that we have lost Iran! According to him, after ten days, a few months or whatever, Iran will be destroyed because it was he who preserved Iran and when he is no longer around we too will cease to be!¹ (The audience laughs). He should cease to exist, not Iran!

So deceit is one of the means that he has resorted to; deceit, as demonstrated yesterday by his minister² when he said—and perhaps this was dictated to him by his masters—that mistakes had been made and when, among other things, he called on the youth to make their peace (with the regime). But the people paid no heed to his words, and the situation in the various parts of Iran, in Tehran and other places, is the same today as it was before.

The second means that the Shah has resorted to is the bayonet. He now turns to two means for protection, one is the bludgeon, the bludgeon of seditious mercenaries who have been given money to set upon the people with bludgeons; and the other is the bayonets of those people (the army) who are on the streets. Well, the bayonets are nothing new! The Iranian nation has been living under the shadow of the bayonet for a while now! For some time

¹ Referring to a well-known poem by Ferdowsi.

² General Azhari, the new Prime Minister of the military government. He called on the people for calm and co-operation while at the same time confessing that mistakes had been made in the past.

now he has had no recourse other than the use of bayonets and bludgeons. This is the man who until recently described the nation as a king-loving people—and given half the chance he would say the same thing again, indeed I am surprised that he is not doing so today (the audience laughs) ... (As the cries of “Death to the Pahlavi monarchy” were being raised in the city of Isfahan) the Shah in his speech called the inhabitants of Isfahan a king-loving people!! One of his aides or his agents said that if the truth be known, the Iranian people bear an intrinsic liking for the monarchy. This is his logic; he thinks that the people want the monarchical regime! What can the poor things do?! The people are now pouring into the streets and shouting out because they fear that, God forbid, the monarchical regime will be toppled!!

So he is seeking recourse in the bayonet and the bludgeon, and he has been doing so for a while now, but to no avail. Martial law was announced under which gatherings of more than two people were banned, but this did not stop the people and just after it was announced, seventy thousand, a hundred thousand, three hundred thousand people came together and set off from one place to another saying what they had to say! This martial law could not influence the people. Someone who is ready to give his life cannot be stopped by martial law. A man who gives his child and then says he is honoured to have done so, a woman who sacrifices her child and then turns around and says that she is proud to have performed such a service to Islam, cannot be stopped by bayonets. Does the bayonet do anything other than kill people? Well, these people are saying that they want to be killed! They cannot be stopped by bayonets.

The establishment of a national ‘reconciliation’ government first of all, and then now a military government¹ are foolish attempts to solve the

¹ As the plan for the formation of a national coalition government espousing the theme ‘the Shah should reign not rule’ failed, and was no longer considered as viable alternative, the military option was brought to the fore. On November 6, 1978 (Aban 15, 1357 AHS), after meetings with the British and American ambassadors to Iran at the time, the Shah appointed General Azhari to lead a military government. The aim in installing the military government was to frighten moderate political groups and deepen their differences with the more radical groups in the country, as well as to intimidate the people. The military authorities closed the offices of the *Kayhan*, *Ittilaat* and *Ayandegan* newspapers that same evening, provoking strike action by press offices throughout the country. After only a week of military rule, the revolution was again in full cry. Azhari issued the arrest warrant for Hoveyda and other former agents of the regime including: Manuchehr Azmun; Mansur Ruhani; Ghulamrida Nikpay; Dariush Homayun; Iraj Wahidi; General Nasiri; and Hujabr-i Yazdani, in an attempt to mollify the people. A short time after assuming office, Azhari, who was troubled by the Shah’s weakness and indecisiveness and was under a lot of pressure from the radical elements in the

situation. A military government! Has your government up until now been anything other than a military government? Yes, we can say that the head of the government was not a military man, he was a lawyer who became a politician, but the method of government was that of a military government for all of Iran was under martial law, in some parts it was official and in others unofficial! The people have had experience of a military government, it is nothing new to them, they are not going to be frightened by it, it is something quite normal for them! One should not think that a military government is the answer. America should not presume that by carrying out a military coup d'état and replacing this regime with a military one that the problem will be solved. Is it possible? Will it have an effect on the people? They are used to military governments. Yes, at one time it was something new to them, if a military man went into the bazaar and began doing whatever he pleased nobody would tell him to stop. If someone had two stars on his shoulder, it was disastrous! He would go wherever he wanted, do whatever he wanted and perpetrate whatever evil he wanted, and no one would stand up to him. Now, however, if the Shah himself enters the arena they will tear him limb from limb! Times have changed and the nation has changed. The people have undergone a transformation which has changed them, changed their nature. They are no longer afraid of martial law; the thought of a military government coming to power holds no fear for them because they have already experienced life under military rule, they have confronted the military and suffered blows and death at the hands of the military. When the regime wants to kill the people, it makes no difference whether it does so through martial law, a military government or a civilian government. The people are ready to be killed, so these moves do not offer the solution to the problem nor will they cure the people's pain.

An article appeared in a Russian newspaper, and has been corroborated by an American attache who is also one of the Shah's friends, stating that many different interpretations of the crisis are going around. One person says that these clergymen who are now opposing the Shah are doing so because the 'land reforms' were detrimental to them and endangered their interests! Another one says that so-and-so (Imam himself) harbours a personal grudge against the Shah! As I said yesterday, I have no personal grudge against the Shah, this is not the problem; and as for that which the Russian newspaper has written, that is incorrect too, for the clergy enjoy a much better life now than they did before the reforms were implemented! Whoever wishes can go

military, suffered a heart attack and was bed-ridden. In early January his military government collapsed. On fleeing the country Azhari took millions of dollars with him.

and see for himself. If they are talking about the conditions under which the clergy live, then their situation is one hundred percent better than at that time! They haven't lost anything, their influence remains as it was, as we are witnessing, otherwise why would he (the Shah) appeal to the great *maraji* and the most learned *ulama* to guide the people?! Suddenly he has a change of heart! In the early days (of his rule) when he replied to letters from the *maraji* he would write telling them to concentrate on guiding the populace,¹ meaning that they had no right to interfere in the affairs of the country! Someone should tell him that this is just what we have done (the audience laughs), the masses have now been guided and you were asleep while this was happening! Now that they have been guided in the right direction, you resort to telling the *ulama* to "think about Iran and protect me!"

These are just contrivances, they won't work! There is only one solution and that is for this regime to go, for America, Russia, Britain and all those who sit down to eat, free of charge, at the banquet of Iran, to remove their rapacious hands. We do not want to stop giving them oil so that they have to struggle and some of the nations suffer from the cold.² No, we wish to be in control of our own oil and sell as much as we want to sell. And sell it we will, for no matter what kind of regime comes to power in Iran it will want to sell

¹ In reply to objections voiced by the *maraji* to the proposed ratification of the Provincial and Town Councils Bill, the Shah sent a telegram to Qum. The text of that telegram is as follows: Sad Abad Palace—Qum—No. 305K.9T, Mehr 24, 1341 (October 16, 1962). His Eminence Hujjat al-Islam ... May God prolong your blessings, Qum. Receipt of Your Eminence's telegram is acknowledged. Sections of the law which is to be passed by the government are not new. We would like to remind you that we strive more than anyone in the way of preserving religious practices ... This telegram will be passed onto the government. We would also like to draw you Eminence's attention to the circumstances of the time and of history and also to conditions in other Islamic countries. We wish you all success in the dissemination of Islamic decrees and in guiding the views of the populace. Mehr 23, 1341 (October 15, 1962)—Shah.

² In an interview with Channel 2 of French TV, the Shah said: "If the system (of government) changes in Iran, then considering the state of dependence which exists between Europe and Iran with over seventy percent of Europe's energy requirements, ninety percent of Japan's oil requirements and fifty percent of America's needs being met by Iran, you (Westerners and Japanese) will die! August 22, 1978 (Mordad 31, 1357 AHS). The Secretary of State for Defence, Frederick Mulley, arrived in Tehran on March 24, 1978 (Farvardin 4, 1357 AHS) and after meeting with the Shah and Anthony Parsons, the British Ambassador to Iran at the time, said that in the near future different kinds of advanced missiles and tanks would be built in Iran! *Rastakhiz* March 29, 1978 (Farvardin 9, 1357 AHS). Mr. Mulley also added that since Iran played an important role in the region and most of Europe and America's oil imports came from the Persian Gulf, then the situation in Iran was of the utmost importance. *Rastakhiz* March 24, 1978 (Farvardin 4, 1357 AHS).

its oil, but not in the manner it was previously sold. We oppose the plundering of our oil, not its sale at its true price. We will sell our oil at its true price and get currency for it; we need the money, we need it to spend on the people. Our oil is being extracted now at a much greater rate than it should be and they (the Iranian government) do not get money in return for it, they get either scrap metal or buy aeroplanes at exorbitant prices! As for the small amount of money that they do receive in return for the oil, it is not spent on the nation; what does this poor nation have? Don't just look at the situation of a few wealthy merchants of the bazaar in Tehran or some of these landlords who live off their prey (the villagers), go take a look at the shanty towns and the villages. Go to Khuzistan and look at the situation in the villages there. God knows what a sorrowful state of affairs is to be found there. A river runs through Khuzistan, a large river, it is not a stream but a river on which boats sail, and the land there stretches for as far as the eye can see, yet it is devoid of agriculture. Once, about thirty years ago, when I was passing through Khuzistan on my way to the '*atabat*,¹ I stopped and pondered over the land there and thought that perhaps the soil was not suitable for farming, but when I took a closer look, I saw that it was very good soil and thus I realised that it was the hand of treason which did not allow the land to be cultivated. The water of that province is being wasted, as is the land! The people of Khuzistan have no doctor for their sick children, they have nothing. Sometimes one sees that ten villages, twenty villages even, do not have a clinic. Is this the great civilisation?! One clinic for twenty villages while other villages have to go without and the people there do not even know what a doctor is. In one of their (the regime's) own newspapers they wrote that there is so little water that when the people wake up in the morning they have to wash the trachoma-infected eyes of their children—a condition brought about by this corrupt regime—with urine so they can open their eyes! This is what was written in the newspaper. This is the kind of life our people have to endure because of this man's 'mistakes!!'

Up until now he has made mistakes but now he claims that they won't be repeated and Iran will become the great civilisation! But your mistakes do not number one or two or ten! Your premeditated acts do not amount to one or two or ten! These newspaper reporters continue to ask us why we are at odds with the Shah. Need they ask? Ask the people what this man has done to make them oppose him so. Listen to what these children and adults alike are

¹ The cities of Iraq where certain of the Imams are buried.

shouting. Do they disfavour him because they have a personal grudge against him? Do thirty million people have a personal grudge against him?!

He has perpetrated so much treachery and committed so many crimes in this country that there is no room for compromise. He has left no way open for someone to say that his mistakes are forgotten or that from now on, please God, he will not repeat them; this is impossible now. If a clergyman, a politician, a merchant from the bazaar or an academic were to try to tell the people: "The Shah has repented today so let's compromise with him, he has asked for God's forgiveness so give him your forgiveness," the people would regard him as a traitor! Why should we forgive him? Is what he has done worthy of our forgiveness? Should we forgive him for spilling the blood of our children and youth or for the fact that he has brought our country to rack and ruin? Why should we forgive him? What will he do from now on? He has plunged the families of this nation into a state of mourning. Now should we say: "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, let's forgive him and finish the matter?!" "Forgive me I made a mistake." What on earth does this mean? At whom are these words directed?

In any case, the aim is this, if anyone thinks differently he is a traitor to the nation, the country and Islam. If you give him a respite, then tomorrow neither Islam, country nor family will remain for you. Do not give him time, squeeze this throat (of his) until it breathes no more. May God grant you all success. May He lift the evil of these overlords from us for the overlords are worse than they (the regime) are.

Introduction to Speech Number Fifty-Nine

Date: November 7, 1978 (AD) / Aban 16, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 6, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The negligence of and mistakes made by the *ulama* and political figures throughout the Pahlavi rule

Occasion: The establishment of Azhari's military government and the plan of the regime's sympathisers for compromise

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The present speech was delivered three days after the bloody tragedy of November 4 (Aban 13 AHS) in which hundreds of school and university students were either martyred or injured as they demonstrated in the grounds of the university of Tehran, and one day after the formation of General Azhari's military cabinet. In this speech, Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) refers to the 'Shah's famous declaration of repentance' and while giving an account of the crimes of the Pahlavi dynasty, he describes the Shah's words as constituting a contrivance employed in an attempt to prolong his rule and avers: "... When a nation does not want something, then it will not be, and now the nation does not want him. It is not a political party or a faction or a group of people that are saying "no" now, but a nation, and when faced with a nation's "no," neither bayonets, tanks, guns nor the empty threats of Carter and the Kremlin are effective..."

In addition to delivering this speech, Imam Khomeini also issued a declaration as news of the formation of Azhari's military government was released. In this declaration, Imam referred to the bloody incident at the university thus: "I am grieved by the crimes perpetrated recently in the university against the youth of Islam. I thank the dear students who have made sacrifices for the cause of Islam and the sake of the country, students who have stood up to the Shah with clenched fists and have condemned him... Do not let this military ballyhoo unnerve you, as I know full well it will not. You courageous people have proved that these tanks, machine-guns and bayonets are rusty and cannot confront the iron will of the nation. Do not be deceived by this devilish cajolery and satanic declaration of repentance, as I know you will not be ..."

American officials expressed their approval of the Shah's installation of a military government led by General Azhari. Jill Shugar, spokesperson for

the American State Department said: "We support the Shah in this decision. When the Shah sought to form a military government, after it became clear to him that he could not install a coalition government... the decision to appoint Azhari, the Army Chief of Staff, was taken by the Shah himself with no insistence from Washington." Officials at the American State Department also announced that: "The Shah did not need Washington to tell him to bring in the military. Recent events left him with no choice."

In later years, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's National Security Adviser, referred to some of the problems of that time and wrote: "... On the following day, November 3 (Aban 13 AHS), from 9:05 to 9:11 a.m., with the President's authorization, I spoke directly with the Shah (by telephone)... I told the Shah that 'the United States supports you without any reservation whatsoever, completely and fully, in the present crisis. You have our complete support'... The conversation ended with the Shah telling me that he thought the situation was very bad and seemed to be deteriorating further. I asked him to let us know if there was anything else we could do. My purpose in calling the Shah was to make it clear to him that the President and the United States stood behind him and to encourage him to act forcefully before the situation got out of hand."¹

William Sullivan, the US ambassador to Iran at the time, on the events of November 5, 1978 (Aban 14, 1357 AHS) writes: "By late afternoon the city looked like a battleground. Buildings were still in flames, automobiles were burning in the streets, and piles of old tyres had been set afire, billowing huge clouds of black, acrid smoke wherever they were strewn... I received a telephone call from the Shah's office asking whether I could come and see him. I said I would be there as soon as I could pick my way through the rubble. Half an hour later Haikaz (Sullivan's driver) and the police major assured me the route was adequately clear to make a dash for the Niavaran palace, and we set out with the major in advance, Haikaz driving the armoured Chrysler, and a chase car behind us. It was nearly dusk in the city, and the eerie drive to the palace had a surrealistic quality... We were swept through the main gate without delay and drove up to the front door... I found the Shah strangely calm. He told me that he had just returned from a helicopter trip over the city shortly before dusk and that it looked like a wasteland. He said that hundreds of buildings were burning and that destruction seemed to be everywhere. He said he felt he had no choice but to establish a military government. He asked me whether I could quickly

¹ *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser, 1977-1981*, Zbigniew Brzezinski, p. 365.

ascertain whether Washington would support him in this move. I told him that I had already anticipated this request and had received Washington's assurance that he would be supported in this action by the President and the United States government. He seemed enormously relieved and ordered a whiskey for me. He then told me he had also asked the British ambassador to attend, suggesting that we await his arrival..."

In another part of his memoirs Sullivan writes: "All day long I had heard rumours that the burnings were an action by professional arson squads of SAVAK, who were using this means to provoke the Shah into a drastic reaction that would install a military government. I told the Shah I had heard these rumours and asked him whether he felt they were true. He looked at me tiredly, shrugged his shoulders, and said, 'Who knows? These days I am prepared to believe anything.'¹

Of the eleven cabinet ministers appointed by Azhari, only six were military, and even this number was whittled down in the following weeks. Even though hundreds of tanks, armoured vehicles and trucks filled with troops were sent onto the streets of the city in an attempt to threaten and intimidate the people, and, in the government's own words, bring an end to the crisis, the people continued with their demonstrations in most of the streets of Tehran, and shouts of "Death to the Shah" filled the air.

After hearing of the instalment of a military government, Imam Khomeini immediately announced his stance on the matter. His first reaction was given in an interview with CBS of America on Monday November 6, 1978 (Aban 15, 1357 AHS). Imam was asked: "What is the reaction of Your Eminence to the latest events (the change in government and the Shah's comments)?" Imam replied: "The change in government will not affect the Iranian people's movement. Governments, whether military or other, cannot solve the problem; they cannot crush the uprising which issues from the people." That same day, in an interview with Channel Two of German radio and television, Imam said: "The people will act towards this military government as they did towards the other military governments. These desperate changes in Iran are futile and will not help the Shah. The Shah must go, there is no other way."

¹ *Mission to Iran*, William Sullivan, pp. 177-179.

Speech Number Fifty-Nine

I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Throughout the rule of this dynasty, mistakes have been made which have been most regrettable. Some of them were made during the time of Rida Shah and others during the rule of this man (Muhammad-Rida). From the beginning when Rida Shah enacted his coup d'état on the command of the British, one of the mistakes which were made was that those who knew the facts and understood what was going on did not inform the people.

Rida Shah began his rule doing the same kind of things that his son does now. He devoted much attention to attending *rawdahs*.¹ He ordered groups of soldiers onto the streets at 'Ashura to beat their chests in mourning—I myself saw this—and in Tehran, he himself used to go from this *takiyah*² to that *takiyah* where *rawdahs* were being held. Wherever he went, the mourning ceremonies were well-attended.³ It is this type of chicanery that this man (Muhammad-Rida) is practising today. Rida Khan entered the scene with this weapon, and there were those then who knew exactly what was going on, but their mistake was that they failed to show his true face to the people. Later, when his hypocritical show was no longer necessary, he showed his true colours and closed down the *takiyahs* and banned all religious assemblies

¹ Ceremonies held in commemoration of the martyrdom of the Imams.

² *Takiyah*: A building used for commemorative assemblies during the month of Muharram.

³ Malik al Shu'ara Bahar, a leading Iranian poet, wrote: "It was the day of 'Ashura; a group of Cossack soldiers under the command of Rida Khan (he had not yet become Shah) arrived at the bazaar in a particularly organised and disciplined manner. Accompanying them were some horses and a few groups of musicians who were playing a dirge ... Sardar Sepah could be seen leading them, his head was bare and he was throwing hay over his head (as a sign of mourning). Similarly, on the evening of the tenth day of 'Ashura, groups of Cossacks arrived at the bazaar again and took part in the ceremony for Sham-i Ghariban. Sardar Sepah himself attended mourning ceremonies at the Friday Mosque and the Shaykh Abd al Husayn Mosque in Tehran where, at that time, some of the largest *rauza* ceremonies were held. He entered with a group of his men and walked around the gathering once, in an act which demonstrated the great importance with which he viewed the religious rites. Such demonstrations were to continue every year for the following two or three years until, that is, he became Prime Minister, after which he gradually prohibited chest beating, the holding of *rawdahs* and other religious assemblies and became the number one enemy of Islam." Refer to *Tarikh-i Mukhtasar Ahzab-i Siyasi*, vol. 1, pp. 183-184.

such that throughout the whole of Iran *rawdahs* and other religious ceremonies were no longer held. This action of his is something that you all know took place.

Another mistake made at that time by those who should have enlightened the people to the facts was that they did not lend their support to Mudarris. Mudarris was the only great man to stand up and oppose Rida Khan, and while some of those in the Parliament supported his stance, he met with obstinate opposition from others. At that time too, some faction or other could have lent him its support. Had this happened, in the light of the fact that Mudarris was a man endowed with many laudable qualities, being an enlightened individual, a powerful speaker and a brave man, he was the kind of man who could have uprooted the evil of this family there and then. But it did not happen.

More distressing than this, and it grieves me whenever I think about it, is the invasion of Iran by the Allies. At the time, Rida Shah praised himself so highly, boasting that Iran (under him) was a mighty country which no other country was powerful enough to attack! (His son's boasting now is just like that of his father before him; he is truly his father's son!) However, once it was clear that this was just empty talk, the first declaration was never followed up by a second!¹ It is said that when Rida Shah chastised one of his commanders as to why it took the Allies merely one or two hours to invade Iran, the reply was: "It should have taken only five minutes ... at least we lasted for two hours. They had everything while we had nothing!"²

All the means of suppression which were brought into being in the country were done so for the purpose of suppressing the power of the nation itself. During the Rida Shah era, powerful people existed in Iran, men who were ruthless but who were loyal to their country. Rida Shah clipped their wings on the orders of the foreigners and, through the agreements he made

¹ In an extraordinary meeting of the National Consultative Assembly on August 25, 1941 (Shahrivar 3, 1320 AHS), Mansur, Rida Shah's Prime Minister, announced the occupation of Iran by the aggressive Allied forces. Two days later he resigned in favour of Furughi. The first declaration of the armed forces following the occupation was issued on August 26 (Shahrivar 4) and in it the order not to offer any resistance was given. This was the army's first and last declaration on the matter.

² In his book *Mission for My Country*, the Shah acknowledges this shameful event in this way: "... After receiving the shock of a surprise attack, our troops realized that they were confronted with overwhelming superiority; indeed, in the north many of our soldiers had nothing more than drill rifles. Within three days the Prime Minister had resigned and his successor had ordered our forces to end hostilities; but by that time virtually all resistance had ceased."

with the latter, divested these powerful figures of all their power¹. In doing this, the foreigners too were acting in accordance with a plan, a plan which was to strip these powerful men in Iran of their power, to disarm them and thus preclude any display of power by them. So this is what Rida Shah did, he divested powerful men of their power and, as you all know, in the end he himself went in the manner that he did, being taken away by the British along with the country's crown jewels!

I was told by someone who himself had been told by an officer who had accompanied Rida Shah on his journey to the island of Mauritius,² how, upon being told by the British that he had to leave Iran, Rida Shah packed the crown jewels into his suitcases to take with him believing that they (the British) wanted to take him somewhere to live in a palace! During his journey to board the ship that was to take him into exile, he stopped at a bridge and sobbed in vain. The British put him on board a ship with all the jewels in his suitcases and once out at sea, a ship used for transporting animals came up alongside his ship and he was told to board it; on seeing that he had no alternative but to do as he was told, he boarded the other ship. When he asked about his suitcases, the British told him that they would bring them for him, but he went one way and his suitcases the other! God only knows whether the British still have them or not. And now today, this Shah is doing the same thing as his father did.

Yes, Rida Shah left, and when the armies of three countries invaded Iran and everything was exposed to danger, the people still rejoiced. It was as if they were celebrating the arrival of the Allies, but they were rejoicing because they had been told that the Allies had sent Rida Shah away! For they had experienced Rida Shah's oppressiveness, it was not something that he hid from them, so when the Allies arrived, even though they were the enemy, the people rejoiced for they believed they would act better than he had done. When a personage, a king, a holder of power does not enjoy the support of the nation, the people rejoice when he is removed from power and leaves the

¹ As a result of the views of Sir Percy Loraine, the British Minister in Tehran from 1921-26, the British decided to concentrate power in Iran in the hands of one man: Rida Khan. The latter played his role well and by virtue of the British policy the long-established Qajar dynasty was overthrown, and men whom Rida Khan did not trust or who might rival his power were either arrested, sent into exile or assassinated. Among those who had their wings clipped at this time were Shaykh Khaz'al, the most powerful of the Arab shaykhs in the south-western province of Khuzistan, and Solat al-Dowleh Qashqai, the head of the Bakhtiari tribe.

² The island of Mauritius situated about 850 km east of Madagascar which at the time was a British Crown colony. It became Rida Shah's place of exile.

country, proclaiming how fortunate it is that he has gone instead of rising up to ask why.

Truly, how fortunate it is that he has gone. But here, what is indubitably a source of regret and great sorrow, is that at that time, when the Allies came and Rida Shah left, not one voice was raised to say that the people didn't want his son (to succeed him) and thus stop the Allies from putting him on the throne. For indeed it was they who installed him in power. The Shah himself has admitted this, he wrote this in his book, although I have heard that it was later deleted. The sentence "the Allies thought it fitting that I assume power" was later expunged from his book. If only at that time someone, such as one of the country's leading figures, a member of the *ulama* or a group of people had spoken out to say: "We do not want this dynasty; we have had to endure much at their hands; what did the father do for us that should make us think the son is going to do any better?" This was one of the acts of negligence which took place in the history of Iran; had it not happened, the course of Iranian history could have been changed and we would not be sitting here speaking about it today, neither would I be here, nor you gentlemen, everybody would be going about his own business in his own country.

Political personalities, leading clerical figures and other classes of people in our country were grossly remiss in this regard, and thus this man was imposed on us and his rule subsequently strengthened. From that time until the present there have been further cases of negligence. Qawam as-Saltanah could have done something, but he was careless and weak-willed.¹ More

¹ Ahmad Qawam (1863-1955 AD/1252-1334 AHS) known as Dabir Hudur, Vazir Hudur and Qawam as-Saltanah in whose hand the command for the Constitution is written. During the reign of Muzaffar ad-Din Shah he was the special secretary and head of the king's office. At the time of Ahmad Shah he was the governor of Khorasan and later became Prime Minister. When Sardar Sepah (Rida Khan) assumed power, he was dismissed and forced to leave Iran. After August 1941 (Shahrivar 1320 AHS) Qawam resumed his political activities and became Prime Minister four times. However, due to the events of July 21, 1952 (Tir 30, 1331 AHS) he was again dismissed. Qawam is recognised in Iranian history as one of the famous political figures who aligned himself with British and American imperialism. The secret agreement which Qawam made with the American government in October 1947 stating: "the Iranian government cannot employ military advisers from any other country without America's permission," effectively put the Iranian army under the command of the American war department. This agreement, along with his government's granting of special concessions to America, especially with regard to oil, was an important factor in the spread of American policies in Iran.

important than Qawam al-Saltanah was Dr. Musaddiq.¹ He attained power, but he made mistakes. He wanted to serve his country, but he made mistakes, one of which was that at the time that he assumed power, he did not stamp out that man (Muhammad-Rida) and end matters. It was not a difficult thing at all for him to have done at that time, because control of the army lay in his hands, all the organs of power lay in his hands and the Shah himself had not acquired the powerful position that he was to acquire later. At that time, the Shah was weak and was at the mercy of Musaddiq, but the latter was remiss.

Another instance of negligence which occurred is to be found in the fact that Musaddiq dissolved the Parliament and ordered the deputies to resign one by one. When they did so, a legal way lay open for the Shah to reassert himself, because in the absence of a Parliament the Shah reserves the right to appoint a Prime Minister, and this he did! These were the mistakes that the Doctor made, and in their wake this man (the Shah) was once again returned to Iran. In the words of some, "Muhammad-Rida Shah left and Rida Shah returned." Some people told the Doctor that his actions had resulted in Muhammad-Rida Shah leaving—and at the time of his departure he was a man of straw completely at the mercy of Musaddiq—and Rida Shah returning. What they meant by this was that a man of ascendant power returned. They said how at that time they didn't realise that later on Muhammad-Rida would be a Rida Shah of a much more fiery temperament.

This was one of the mistakes that was made. Today, we are once again at a sensitive period in our history, and I'm afraid more mistakes might be

¹ Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq (1882-1962 AD/1261-1346 AHS) son of Mirza Heydayat was one of the famous politicians of Iran. He studied at the school of political science in Paris (1909-10) and obtained a doctorate in law from Neuchatel in Switzerland. In the year 1915 (1299 AHS), he became the governor of Fars province and in 1917 (1301 AHS), when Rida Khan was War Minister, he was appointed governor of Azerbaijan. During the period of the sixteenth National Assembly, Dr. Musaddiq created the National Front with the help of a few other political groups. After ratification of the law nationalising the Iranian oil industry, the Shah was forced to select him as Prime Minister. Dr. Musaddiq came to power with the support of the people and the religious leaders, especially Ayatullah Abul-Qasim Kashani. The policies that he adopted greatly curtailed the powers of the Shah. In June 1952 (Tir 1331 AHS), the Shah took advantage of an appropriate opportunity and dismissed Musaddiq. However, faced with public outrage, the Shah was forced to appoint him to form a cabinet. The differences which existed between Musaddiq, who believed that religion should be separate from politics, and Ayatullah Kashani, who felt that it was necessary to observe the fundamentals and laws of religion in the administration of society, gradually deepened, and with the coup d'état of August 19, 1953 (Mordad 28, 1332 AHS), Musaddiq's government collapsed. Following the coup, Musaddiq was arrested and condemned to three years in prison before being exiled to the village of Ahmadabad, situated between Tehran and Qazvin, to lead a lonely life until his death in March 1967 at the age of eighty-four.

made. Today, it is we who are duty-bound. We have witnessed many mistakes over the years, and I am afraid that this time too, the different classes of our society, our religious and political personalities and our intellectuals, may once again err in such a way that will bedevil us till the end of our lives and dash the hopes of another revolution ever taking place. You all know, and whoever is familiar with our history knows, that this movement we are witnessing in Iran today has no precedent in the country's history, if not in world history. It is a movement in which seven-year-old children call out in unison with seventy-year-old men: "We don't want him!" A movement in which soldiers take to the streets with bayonets, guns and tanks attacking and killing the people, yet still these people stand firm with fists clenched shouting: "We don't want him." I'm not sure whether world history has ever experienced a story like that of Iran's today, but most certainly the transition which is taking place in the country has no precedent in the history of Iran. I know, and any other discerning individual must surely know, that if this movement loses its momentum, it can never be retrieved. It is not a case of being able to turn this movement on and off like a light switch. This unprecedented movement has come about as a result of much hardship and because the hand of God the Blessed and Exalted is involved. Today, even with a military government in place and the cities of Iran occupied—for we must describe them as being occupied by the military—demonstrations are held, voices are raised from every corner and cries of "Death to the Shah" are heard once more. Such a thing has never happened before and there is no hope of it ever being repeated. I am afraid that we, you and others in our society might err and that this will result in the movement losing its momentum, not being brought to fruition and our country remaining for evermore captive and under the heel of foreigners.

Now they are expending every effort through every means at their disposal to retain him, either by using those who have entered the Parliament as so-called deputies or those outside the Parliament who support the Shah. These manoeuvres that you have witnessed lately in Parliament also form part of their efforts. All this talk of one group constituting the opposition and the other the supporters is all nonsense. All the opponents and the supporters agree on one thing, that the Shah must remain.¹

¹ In 1978 (1357 AHS), as the people's movement began to reach its zenith, the Shah's regime put on a new and unprecedented puppet-show in an attempt to deviate public opinion. From June 1970 (Khordad 1357 AHS), the marionettes: the representatives who had been ordered into the National Consultative Assembly and even the members of the Senate, were brought on stage and began to deliver fiery speeches, take part in feigned parliamentary debates, form

They go on about “free elections,”¹ what does this mean? It means that “His Most Exalted Majesty” will order the people to select their representatives, the regime will be formally retained and the referendum will be in the hands of the Shah. It means that the elections will be free, but free according to his command! This is what free elections mean! There must be a democratic regime and the Shah must reign not govern! This idea must be

political parties and majority and minority factions, and generally step up their activities with each passing day. The main objective behind all the speeches delivered at this time was to make the Shah appear blameless and draw attention to second and third class pawns. A glance at the front pages of the *Ittilaat* newspaper at this time shows the last futile efforts of the American embassy and the Iranian court in this regard: “Representatives of the Rastakhiz party said that because the government does not give bribes they have put a spoke in its wheel.” “Can one be a member of the Rastakhiz Party and then after the referendum become a Pan-Iranist?” “Twelve members of Parliament under the leadership of Bani Ahmad have threatened to leave the party.” “Pezeshkpour will soon embark on his party activities in the country.” “The party agreed with the formation of a new faction.” *Ittilaat* newspaper, June 22, 1978 AD / Tir 1, 1357 AHS. “The King of kings: The Parliament and the (Rastakhiz) party must create real democracy.” “The Pan-Iran party will be re-organised.” “The Rastakhiz party will not be shaken by the resignation of a few members of Parliament.” *Ittilaat* newspaper, June 26, 1978 AD/Tir 5, 1357 AHS. “The party has given permission for constructive criticism to all factions.” “Pezeshkpour’s reply to the government’s spokesman.” “Hushang Ansari becomes co-ordination head for the constructive wing.” *Ittilaat* newspaper, June 28, 1978 AD/Tir 7, 1357 AHS. “The opposition was taken unawares by the parliamentary majority faction’s manoeuvre.” “The meeting against Pezeshkpour in KhurramShahr and on the island of Minu.” “Bani Ahmad’s statement on the activities of the new political organisations.” *Ittilaat* newspaper, July 1, 1978 AD/Tir 10, 1357 AHS. “The collapse of the government and the premiership of Sharif Imami.” “Grand Ayatullah Shariatmadari’s representatives call for calm.” “Freedom for the legitimate parties in their activities, respect for the clergy and Islamic laws, the pursuit of those who encroach on the people’s wealth, punishment of those government agents responsible for recent events.” *Ittilaat* newspaper, August 27, 1978 AD / Shahrivar 5, 1357 AHS. “Bani Ahmad: We will not vote for the leadership of Mr. Riazi. Pezeshkpour: “We will vote against Sharif Imami’s government.” “The United Groups for Freedom is formed.” *Ittilaat* newspaper, September 2, 1978 AD/Shahrivar 11, 1357 AHS. “Vigorous attacks on the government by the opposition in the Parliament.” “Pezeshkpour: If the Minister of Justice does not apologise, I will confront the government about the matter.” *Ittilaat* newspaper, September 12, 1978 AD / Shahrivar 21, 1357 AHS.

¹ On September 1, 1978 (Shahrivar 10, 1357 AHS), Dr. Sanjabi, the head of the National Front, said: “If the situation changes completely and the Iranian nation is assured of the correctness of the referendum then the people will take part in the elections willingly and whole-heartedly for each group and political party must rely on the vote and the power of the masses of the people and must find its way into the decision-making organs and participate in the national government through a free and correct referendum.” *Ittilaat* newspaper August 28, 1978 AD / Shahrivar 6, 1357 AHS. It should be remembered that Sharif Imami’s government had named its cabinet the national reconciliation cabinet.

advanced both inside and outside the Parliament, everywhere it should be voiced that the Shah must reign not govern, and now they are praying to God that the people accept this proposal.

Indeed, this the Shah may do for the first two or three months, even perhaps for a year, but what about after that? Even if we assume (albeit a false assumption) that from now on he reigns and does not govern, that the revolution recognises him as ruler and he becomes a proper, correct person, nevertheless what about all these crimes that he has committed so far? Are they of no consequence? If your ordinary man in the street were to kill another human being and then say "I'm sorry, forgive me," would he be let off? Would the law set him free? Is it logical then to forgive this murderer? Should we now forgive someone who for the past twenty-five years has ruled the destiny of our country, who for these past twenty-five years or more has betrayed our country, has given its wealth away to others, is exhausting our oil reserves in this way and is giving our gas away, who has killed all these people and perpetrated all these massacres? In the massacre which took place on Khordad 15, fifteen thousand people were killed, and in those which have taken place recently even more have been killed. Now he's telling us that these were mistakes, that he erred; and he promises that it won't happen again!! Even if we presume that these mistakes will not be repeated, what about those that have been made up until now? You (addressing the Shah) threw political and religious figures into prison for ten, fifteen years or more. You persecuted them terribly and made them endure so much. But now that they have been released, and in such a weak state of health at that, now that a number of them have been released, is everything over and done with? You robbed a human being, thousands of human beings of ten years of their lives. Is this of no consequence? Should we now let this man reign? Should we tell him "Okay, Your Most Exalted Majesty, please, ascend your throne and reign over us?!" And should we all go to pay tribute to him at the king's reception! Should he now go and sit in an opulent palace somewhere and busy himself with the pursuit of pleasure for he is no longer required to govern? Have things come to this? Could a just person, could a Muslim accept such a thing? Could a Muslim, a morally-conscious person, a human being be expected to forgive a criminal who for twenty-odd years has ruled over this nation illegally, who for twenty-odd years has squandered the wealth of these people, has committed mass murder and allowed foreigners to dominate our country, as soon as he says: "Well, I made a mistake, forgive me"!?

Mistakes have been made which constitute criminal acts for which he should be sentenced in a court of law. Let us suppose that now he has indeed become a servant of God and a Muslim! What about his actions up to now? Would he be acquitted of them in a court of law anywhere in the world? Would a religious court acquit him? According to the laws of Islam or secular law is everything finished as soon as he, being the Shah, says sorry? Should we now let bygones be bygones and return to our everyday affairs? To compromise now, to even think of compromising with this man, to even think of permitting him to reign but not govern, or getting rid of him and allowing Farah to reign over us and free elections to take place later, is tantamount to treason against the nation of Islam, against this oppressed nation. Is the aged mother who yesterday sat and ate lunch with five members of her family but who this evening sits alone with her husband for her children have all been killed, is she of no consequence? He (the Shah) is sorry, so is all forgotten? Can a Muslim accept this? How will we answer those who watch a group of children on their way to school in the knowledge that their child who accompanied them yesterday is not with them today? What will we be able to say to this nation? Will we say that we have made a compromise with "His Most Exalted Majesty" so the blood of your children means nothing now, it is insignificant? Is this not treachery? How can anyone think of doing such a thing?! What kind of negligence, satanic negligence, is this? What kind of devilish insinuation is this that creeps into the minds of some telling them to let bygones be bygones that it is better to overlook what he has done?! "Everyone has suffered, but we have forgiven now you must forgive and forget!" Which crimes of his should we overlook?! Is it my place to overlook them? It is the right of the nation to say whether we should overlook these mistakes or not. Can this right be overlooked? It is the right of the nation, of Islam, of God. Is he worthy of pardon?

I am afraid that such a mistake may be made. The people should all join hands together and prevent such a blunder from being made. All sides are now resorting to various measures in an attempt to make you young people here and those in Iran kick up a fuss about this. At this sensitive period in time, now that the movement has reached the last stronghold, do not let this man win.

This is a danger which Iran now faces. If weakness is shown and a mistake made, or if the people are ruffled by the hue and cry Carter is creating by saying that the Shah preserves their interests, that they will not neglect their servant, that this servant must remain—although this is not the actual word Carter used it makes no difference for the substance of what he

said is that they could never find another servant like him—then this would constitute a grievous danger for Iran. You should not be frightened by these things.

A nation cannot be intimidated indefinitely. As we saw, they were not able to use the army to do this. He (the Shah) is very eager for the military to commit genocide, to kill one, two or three million people, but it won't happen; this is not how it works. Those overlords cannot do this either. Do not be mistaken in thinking that if you resist their plans then the Russian army will invade from one direction, the American army from another and the British from another. This is all a myth. When a nation does not want something, then it will not be. And now the nation does not want him. It is not a political party or faction or a group of people that are saying "no" now, but a nation, and when faced with a nation's "no" neither bayonets, tanks, guns nor the empty threats of Carter or the Kremlin are effective! They can write all they like in their newspapers and speak out as much as they like, but such a thing will not happen.

We ask God to grant the Iranians victory in the struggle for their rights (the audience replies with "Amen"). We ask Him to assist those in Iran who have risen up in pursuit of their rights ("Amen" from the audience). Each one of us, wherever we are, is duty-bound to help these Iranians to whatever extent we can (the audience replies with "God willing"). I don't know the exact number, but there must be many thousands of Iranians living abroad and if they can tell hundreds of thousands of foreigners what they know then it will neutralise the prevailing propaganda abroad now which speaks of the Iranians as a people who seek anarchy and who are not worthy of being given freedom! This is the nonsense trumpeted over the Shah's propaganda loudspeakers. You must nullify this. The Iranians are people who have stood up and are saying that they want their rights, they want to be free, they no longer want to be under the influence of American military advisers. This nation has progressed such that it no longer wants this situation to remain as it is, and God willing it will not.

Introduction to Speech Number Sixty

Date: November 8, 1978 (AD) / Aban 17, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The people of Iran cannot forget the fifty years of crimes committed by the Shah and his father

Occasion: The regime's widespread propaganda on the Shah's repentance and his apology to the nation

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Two days have passed since the formation of General Azhari's cabinet. Offices of the big newspapers in Tehran are surrounded by agents of the military government. A number of newspaper reporters have been arrested and agents have been positioned at the switchboards of the *Kayhan* and *Ittilaat* newspapers to inform callers ringing for news from the various parts of the country that: "The newspaper offices are closed!"

In most of the streets in Tehran, tanks, armoured vehicles and trucks full of armed troops can be seen. All the ministries as well as the television and radio stations are occupied by agents of the military government. Tension is running so high that if these agents see a group of people, even a group of only three people, and especially if these people are young, they attack them without any provocation inflicting blows and injuries. Regardless of this, young people come together in groups of twenty to thirty chanting the slogan "Death to the Shah." When pursued by the agents, they run from one alleyway to another and cries of "Death to the Shah" ring out in nearly all the alleyways, as does the indiscriminate gunfire of the agents. The doors of the houses in the streets and alleyways are open to the demonstrators.

In Kermanshah (Bakhtaran) and Amol, during a large public demonstration, about ten people are martyred and a large number are injured. In Zanjan, agents of the military government open fire on demonstrators. The number of those martyred and injured in this attack is not known.

General Azhari and his nine-man cabinet go to the rubber-stamp Parliament to obtain a vote of confidence! General Qarabaghi in his confessions writes: "General Azhari's tactics (in view of the formation of the military government) and the continuation of the uncertain methods of martial law in the country in practice have shown the people of Iran, the opposition and also the world that even the last important political steps of

His Imperial Majesty, that is the instalment of a military government made up of commanders of the armed forces under the premiership of the Chief of Staff, cannot halt the riots, strikes and disturbances of the opposition.”

As General Azhari promises in the National Consultative Assembly to do everything within his power to bring an end to the unrest and to use the might of the armed forces to break the strikes, nearly all the governmental departments and institutions remain closed as strike action continues and the demonstrations become more widespread day by day.

On November 7, 1978 (Aban 16, 1357 AHS), one day after the formation of the military cabinet, a correspondent for the Associated Press news agency asked Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace): “What is your opinion about the military government which the Shah has appointed?” Imam replied: “The instalment of a military government is the Shah’s new ploy to kill more people and force them to surrender, but this is not the solution for the Shah and it will create an even worse deadlock for him and his supporters.” The correspondent then asked the question: “Does the instalment of this government make the overthrow of the present government easier or harder?” Imam replied: “That which is certain is that it makes the overthrow of the regime more definite.”

The people, who did not have confidence in news coming from a radio and television under occupation, had no alternative but to turn to foreign news broadcasts for information. This short interview was broadcast by the BBC on the same night and the following day this sentence appeared on doors and walls in the streets and alleyways of Tehran: “Imam Khomeini: That which is certain is that the instalment of the military government makes the downfall and overthrow of the Shah more definite.”

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini comments on the regime’s repetitive defeats in its plans to establish a national reconciliation government and then a military government, and describes the Shah’s latest trick, that is his show of repentance and his apology to the people, as a means to deceive the people and thus repeat the bitter incidents of the Pahlavi rule. Referring to the theories of some politicians who believe that the Shah should reign but not rule, Imam warns: “This path is one which will cut the throat of the nation. This path is one which will lead to the destruction of our nation. This theory is one which will be the ruination of Iran.” Imam describes the Shah’s threats that if he goes Iran will be divided and will face occupation by American and Russian forces as stupid and childish, and remarks that such threats will have no effect on the determination of the nation. While emphasising the need to continue the movement until the

overthrow of the regime, he says: “If one person shows weakness in these events and speaks in a manner which implies co-operation with this man, then this constitutes a betrayal of the nation and of Islam.”

Imam Khomeini, in another part of his speech, addresses Iranian students living abroad and while pointing to the practical and political methods adopted by the holy Prophet of Islam (may the peace of God be upon him and his descendants) and Imam Ali (a) in their personal and public lives, he documents the characteristics of Islamic government and emphasises that Islam opposes corruption and its manifestations, not civilisation.

Speech Number Sixty

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

The gentlemen shout the slogan “We will kill your bloodthirsty enemy;”¹ he is not only my bloodthirsty enemy; this man and his father before him have been the bloodthirsty enemies of the nation for fifty years! He is the bloodthirsty enemy of the independence of our country. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our nation’s freedom. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our nation’s abundant resources. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our culture and education. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our economy. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of our armed forces. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of all classes of our society. He is the bloodthirsty enemy of Islam, of the *ulama* of Islam, of the children of Islam and of Iran.

Now that our nation is aware of this animosity, and this great Islamic movement has begun, he has resorted to various measures. Before this movement began, he turned to two means of recourse the most important of which consisted of what he said, the speeches he made and that which was written for him in books, such as *Mission for My Country* and others—which were written in his name by other people and published by him. By this means he propagated the notion that Iran had progressed because of him, because of “His Imperial Majesty the Aryamehr!” That America was no longer like our ‘grandfather’ whom we must obey! That the hands of foreigners had been severed from this land and the Soviet Union no longer had the nerve to lay a hand on us nor America the power to attack us! There is no end to this talk that he delivers in his speeches and whenever the opportunity presents itself! You have all seen in his books what he has said about things like the ‘great civilisation’ and the such like.

Another recourse he resorted to using was coercion. Before the advent of this movement, he used SAVAK, the army and the police to attack the people and their property. As this movement entered its first year and as day by day it spread further throughout the whole of Iran—God willing this movement

¹ Throughout the Islamic movement, the people of Iran shouted different slogans in support of Imam and in opposition to the regime, amongst them was the slogan: “Khomeini, Khomeini may God keep you, we will destroy your bloodthirsty enemy.” Imam is referring to this slogan here which was repeatedly chanted by the audience before Imam began his speech.

will be retained and will become more and more widespread until it achieves its objectives—he resorted to different measures and sought refuge in a number of shelters. At one time he sought the solution by bringing in a ‘reconciliation government’ which was supposed to act in accordance with the desires of the nation and meet the nation’s demands. He also did some childish things. So many centres of corruption exist in Iran and are supported by him and his regime, yet at the time (of the national reconciliation government) the authorities announced that they were closing down the casinos and changing the calendar. But this was just to deceive the people. Later, when the Shah saw that the people had not been taken in by this tactic and that they continued to shout out, when he realised that this manoeuvre had only served to enlighten the people and that they demonstrated against it, he resorted to imposing martial law! So while the government was a government of national reconciliation, martial law governed! And the killings and murders which you all know about ensued!

So first of all there was a reconciliation government and then when that failed the bayonet and a military government were brought in! Still our countrymen paid no attention to this. This spiritual change which has taken place in our society, a change which has embraced all areas of our country, has no precedent anywhere, not even in the history of Iran. One of the rules of martial law, or at least one of the announcements made, is that a gathering of more than two people is illegal. Even so, groups of two hundred thousand people, three hundred thousand people, half a million people, in the very city at the centre of martial law, come out onto the streets and set off shouting “Death to the Shah!”

The regime realised that nothing was being achieved by martial law, so, a few days ago, the carrot and stick treatment was brought into use: in one hand the Shah held a declaration of repentance, while in the other he gripped a bludgeon! I guessed that this repentance of his was just a ploy, and indeed it has proved to be so. In that tripartite meeting¹ with the Shah, it was planned that he should begin speaking like a man who had repented,² that he should make promises to the nation, admit that up until now mistakes had been made

¹ Sullivan, the former American ambassador to Iran, in his book *Mission to Iran* (p. 167) admits that in the last days of the Shah’s rule, he and Anthony Parsons, the British Ambassador to Iran at the time, would hold meetings with the Shah almost every other day.

² Towards the end of the movement, the uprising had engulfed the whole of the country, and whilst workers from different governmental departments joined the revolution, reports on the actions and reactions of the regime were sent to Imam by sympathisers of the revolution and even the particulars of political personalities who were due to go to meet Imam were sent for him beforehand.

but to pledge not to repeat these mistakes, and commit himself before the nation to refrain from repeating his past deeds and mistakes. Upon doing this, he then turned to the different sections of this society, to the clergy, the grand *maraji* ' and the most learned *ulama*—as he called them—requesting that they guide the people and pacify them saying that he has decided from now on to allow free elections to be held, to give the nation freedom, freedom in the fullest sense of the word, but first the clergy must pacify the people. Then he turned to the politicians and asked them to help prevent the people from doing anything like this again and told them that he would give freedom, he would allow free elections and set up a legitimate Parliament and he would not repeat deeds done in the past or mistakes made. Then he turned to the youth telling them that they were part of this nation, and to the fathers and mothers of the youth telling them not to allow their children to come out into the streets and do such things.¹ He addressed all sections of the society and confessed before the nation; and as I have been told the radio mentioned this in all of its programmes and the declaration of repentance was read out.

Thus he has admitted that what he has done until now was a mistake, he has confessed that he is guilty of a crime! He has conceded before the nation that he has up until now deprived the nation of freedom. Now he says he wants to cease making such mistakes, that he has realised that his actions were mistakes and he doesn't want them to be repeated. He is admitting that the Parliament has not been a national Parliament but a Parliament of the bayonet! He is saying now that in this too he made a mistake but from now on the elections will be free! He is admitting that he ordered the killings, beatings and the plundering to be carried out by his agents from SAVAK and other agencies, and he is now saying that this was a mistake which he will not repeat in the future! He is admitting that he ordered these imprisonments and sent members of the *ulama*, politicians and others to prison for ten, fifteen years or more, and now he is saying that this was a mistake that shouldn't have happened, but well it just did! He says it won't be repeated, that he won't do such things again. He expects you (the people) to extend a brotherly

¹ In a speech delivered on November 6, 1978 (Aban 15, 1357 AHS), the Shah said: "I ask of you, society's political leaders, to refrain from your ideological differences and, bearing in mind the exceptional, sensitive and historical circumstances of our country, I ask that you use your powers to save the homeland... I ask you Iranian mothers and fathers, who like me are worried about the future of Iran and your children, to prevent, through your counsel, zeal and sentiment from leading them to participate in the disturbances and riots and to stop them from harming themselves and their country ... I ask you young people in whose hands the future of Iran lies not to drag our homeland into flames and bloodshed and not to bring harm on yourselves today and Iran tomorrow."

hand and for him to remain king and you the subjects! He expects you to settle down so he can have a trouble-free rule, so he can do whatever his heart desires; meanwhile he promises, he pledges and guarantees that he won't do such things again! This is the hand in which he held the 'declaration of repentance.' This was the plan, for him to come before the nation and say these things. Following this, the Prime Minister repeated his words¹ and both he and the Shah called on the nation, on all the classes of people who had risen up, to come together with them and think about Iran, to stop doing these things and all join together and think about Iran! This is the hand of repentance that he held out, the hand in which he held the declaration of repentance.

At the same time, he held up his other hand and the killings began in earnest. At the present time in Iran the regime is busy killing the people. We heard just this morning from Qum that the city has never before been in such a state. The person who telephoned here said that Qum had never before witnessed such an uprising as that which is taking place there today, that never before had the city witnessed such scenes of depravity, with fires burning and guns blazing. I do not have information at the moment as to exactly what is happening in other places, but I know that the situation is the same. It is said that Zanzan is witnessing the same scenes as Qum and that the situation there is serious too.

So in one hand he holds his declaration of repentance saying: "God forgive me! I repent, I admit that I was wrong," while in the other he holds a sword which he uses to strike the people. In view of this can the people really believe that he has repented? Perhaps some uninformed people would believe this if martial law were not still in place and instead of the military government a national government—as he sees it—were in power. But those who have studied the mentality of this man, who have seen what kind of a person he has been over the past twenty-odd years or more, who have seen him dress up in a different guise and present another image, one minute appearing to be a devout worshipper and the next grabbing five at a time,² realise what is happening and don't believe a word he says. If he had merely presented the people with his apologies and his declaration of repentance,

¹ On November 5, 1978 (Aban 14, 1357 AHS), the prime minister of the military government, General Azhari, delivered a speech to a gathering of representatives from the National Assembly and the Senate in which he said that if the Imperial armed forces met with defeat, the country would face the grave danger of division!

² Referring to a story by 'Ubayd Zakani entitled 'The Cat and the Mouse' about a cat that for years caught only one mouse at a time, but then when his greed increased he pretended to become a believer and a Muslim and snared five mice at a time.

then possibly some of them, those who don't look too deeply into matters, would have believed him. But he didn't do this; he used both the carrot and the stick at once! This is sheer ignorance. Either that, or those who are instructing him have a score to settle with him and want to get rid of him, but they want to do it in an oblique manner, they want to indirectly make the people realise just what his repentance really means. They want them to see that along with his show of remorse, his pleas to the nation to forgive his shortcomings, his pledges and his guarantees, he carries a gun beneath his aba! Should the nation believe such a person? Which nation, which fool would ever believe him? Who could be taken in by what he is saying? Even those who know nothing about him could they be expected to take his words to be true when he is repenting and killing at the same time? Does anyone consider it possible that the army could kill people without the Shah having ordered it? Could the army open fire on the people without first receiving direct orders from the Shah to do so?!

In their meeting, their impaired way of thinking led them to the conclusion that in order to solve the current problem they had to keep His Imperial Majesty free from blame, that he had to say he had repented and the army was acting on its own! They want to make it appear that the army is committing these atrocities not the Shah! But they have gone about it in such a way that it is clear what the true story is! It is obvious that this is just a face-saving policy. At the same time one cannot help but think that those who arranged this realised that hypocrisy, martial law and the bayonet were not leading anywhere, so they came up with this plan to make the people understand that he is not sincere when he says he has repented, or he will allow free elections and will create a proper, independent and free country. At this very moment as he calls on God for forgiveness and claims to have repented, his machine-guns have, on his command, opened fire at the people! At this very moment, with the ink on his declaration of repentance not yet dry, Qum and Zanzan have been set aflame. The same is most certainly happening in other towns in the country and we will probably hear news of it later on in the day.

These plans of theirs will come to nothing; these people can no longer be fooled. They (the superpowers and the regime) will have to come up with something else. If this is a plan of the superpowers, then they are indeed stupid! And if it was thought up by the regime, well, idiots can be found amongst those in the regime too; but there are also smart people amongst them. If the plan was conceived by the idiots amongst them then that explains its absurdity, but if it was conceived by those who understand a thing or two,

then it was done so against him. It seems they are on the side of the people too! They want to awaken the people to the fact that this man's repentance is attack, not death! It is said that the repentance of a wolf is for the wolf to die, but that of the Shah is for him to attack! Under such circumstances, how can the deadlock which exists now be brought to an end? How can a nation that has risen up and seeks its rights, a nation in which all social classes have awakened and have a correct understanding of the situation, a nation to whom the treachery has become clear and who witnesses the crimes every day, now allow someone from amongst the people, one of the people's leaders, someone from the clerical establishment or a politician, a merchant of the bazaar or someone from the universities to act as a go-between telling the people to accept that this man has repented, that he is asking their forgiveness so forgive him?!

As I have said before, even if we assume that this man has repented and that from now on he will strive to introduce democracy and provide independence for our country, and even if, according to an impossible assumption, he were to carry out nothing but good deeds from now on, what about the things he has done up until now? Should we just forget about them, about all the crimes that he has committed? A person who has left thousands of families without fathers, who has left thousands of mothers and fathers childless, now comes before the nation saying: "I'm sorry, forgive me!" And should the people just accept this? How would the person who did accept it justify his action before these mothers and fathers? If we accept that the Shah 'reigns' but does not rule—even if we were to presume that this were not a trick on the Shah's part, which it most certainly is—what answer would we have to give the people? What would we say to the old woman whose children have all been killed and whose home is now bereft of her offspring? Should we say that "His Imperial Majesty" will now remain "His Imperial Majesty," but will only reign?! Should we tell the people to go and pay tribute to His Imperial Majesty and pray for his well-being?! Should we tell them that everything he has done until the present, the ten years of the lives of the *ulama'* of Islam, the politicians of Iran, the merchants of the bazaar and the academics and students of the universities that he has wasted in his prisons is of no consequence now that they are free? By freeing them can he give them back the years of their lives that they have lost?! Isn't it the case that these wasted lives have been lost and cannot be returned? Youths have grown old in these jails of his. When I compare the state of young people whose acquaintance I made and with whom I shook hands before they were sent to jail with how they are now, it is like comparing a strong athletic man

with an old man! Is everything finished then? Are all these things that he has done of no consequence now?! The beards of these men were black before their imprisonment, now they are white; these men were in a good state of health, now they are afflicted with ill health and need medical treatment. Even if we suppose that he is sincere in his repentance, what about the crimes that he has committed until now? Are these no longer of any consequence? Have they all been pardoned? Should the nation forgive him for these?

He and his ministers order us to “come, think about Iran.” Well, in actual fact we are thinking about Iran. We have been thinking about Iran now for a few years, this Iranian nation is thinking about Iran and that is why it has embarked on this movement. The people realise that they are losing Iran, that they have lost Iran. They want to save Iran. They are thinking about Iran and are presently trying to save it. Are we expected now to open up the way once more for the Shah to plunder Iran further and make Iran even more dependent on the superpowers, to show that we are thinking about Iran?! Should we think about Iran (in a way that he wants us to) and allow him to betray Iran?

He thinks that the Iranians have not reached the stage where they can be given freedom! In his view, the Iranians have to be spurred on by suppressive measures and the military and have to be under the heel of foreign and domestic forces! He says that the Iranians have still not reached the stage whereat he can give them freedom. This is his logic. And that wretch (Carter) says that it is because the people have been given so much freedom that this hullabaloo has started. Carter says that the regime has given a “fast” freedom and that is why the people have raised their voices! These are his words. How should we deal with such people? What else can we do with them other than squeeze their sordid throats until we are rid of them? Do we have any other alternative? Is there room for compromise? Is the solution for the Shah to remain in Iran? This would mean the death of the nation. This is a solution which would destroy our nation. This is a theory which would be the ruination of Iran or worse. All his deeds up until now have been corrupt, and now he wants a respite in order to get ready for further attacks! God knows that if the people of Iran give him a respite he will deliver them a blow from which they will not be able to recover. I have spoken of this previously, you must not give him the chance to strike you further. You have been reeling from his blows for one year now, and matters will only get worse.

These statements that he is making now—if they are indeed his words—are childish: “Let’s think about Iran! If I go, Iran will be destroyed! If I go, Iran will be divided! Russia will move in from one direction and America from the other! It is because of my might that they do not move in now!” As

if they haven't already done so (the audience laughs). Our army is being run by American advisers; bases which have been built in a number of places in the country have been done so by the Americans; they are devouring our oil, while the Russians devour our gas. Are we then free and independent? He himself said that a list used to be sent from the American and other embassies citing those whom they wished to see made parliamentary delegates, and there was no alternative but to obey! Then he claimed that this was only the case at one time, that is at the time of his father, the father whom he praised so highly.¹ The Shah admits that it did happen in his father's time, but he claims that he does not allow such things to happen now! That they are not even on friendly terms now either! These statements are hollow, they are not truthful statements.

Today, there is only one duty for the Iranians, and that is to staunchly support and sustain this movement and to strike at this regime in any way they can until it is destroyed. If we show weakness, we will have betrayed this nation, Islam and the Quran, because this person is against everything we have, he is the bloodthirsty enemy of everything of ours! If someone shows weakness, is remiss or speaks a word of compromise with this man then he is a traitor to the nation and a traitor to Islam and should be shunned. The duty of all you, all of you who are abroad, is to assist the Iranian nation, to unite with the Iranian people.

Now I would like to turn to a matter brought to my attention by a group of gentlemen² who visited me here from Germany and who felt that what they were doing there was of no benefit to Iran, that indeed it presented a danger for Iran—only a few days before their arrival another group came to see me and said exactly the same thing. These gentlemen explained that by the time our oil reserves are exhausted, atomic energy will be of no use to us either. It will not take the place of oil because it will last no longer than oil. This is

¹ In a speech given on January 26, 1964 (Bahman 6, 1342 AHS) the Shah said: "From the meritorious and gifted rays of my great father, Iran took rapid steps along the road of progress and development thus becoming the object of the world's attention. Unfortunately however, we have not had the opportunity to take advantage of the efforts of that reformist leader and events arising from the war have rendered the services and progressive steps of that great man futile!" In his book *Mission for my Country*, the Shah writes of his father: "He laid a firm foundation for my later work ... It was my father who led us Persians into the new age ... He possessed a most amazing personality ... He could be one of the pleasantest men in the world ... My father was a kind man and tender-hearted ... In his religious convictions my father was simple and without affectation ... It is amazing how easily he could grasp the essentials of any problem ... He always seemed to know of the latest industrial, military and economic advances in the world ... He was never angry."!!!

² Those students who were studying atomic energy.

what those gentlemen told me, and they should know, they are the ones with the information. They said that in their work at the institute¹ they are only permitted to go to a certain point beyond which they are not allowed to develop their scientific studies, so they are neither achieving any scientific results nor are they doing a service to their country, rather they say their work is detrimental to Iran. If this is how they feel then they should no longer go to this institute. They should do something else. You have to decide what your duty is. If you discern that this is all a ploy to prevent you, the youth (of Iran), from developing your strengths and capabilities, then you should turn your attention to something else. Our universities are just like this, indeed everywhere in Iran the story is the same, they (the foreigners) do not want you to progress, they want to keep you at a certain stage of backwardness so that you will not resist their rule. They keep you at a certain level, bring in experts from abroad and expend our nation's strength on carrying out the orders of the foreign experts, in other words the Iranians labour while the foreigners act like lords (the audience expresses agreement), the Iranians labour for a pittance while the foreign consultants sit smoking pipes and drawing up plans against the nation of Iran and receive God knows how much every month for doing so.

Indeed, this was the plan from the start, these plans to keep the nation in a state of backwardness and dissociate the nation from its religion have existed since the time of Rida Shah. They (the foreigners) know that which will oppose their plans, that which will stimulate individuals and society is the holy Quran and those who submit to its teachings. So from the time of Rida Shah, Islam and the servants of Islam have been suppressed. During the Rida Shah era, no one ascended the pulpit to give a sermon, for sermons were banned and not even one was delivered throughout the whole of Iran; during the months of Muharram and Ramadan no religious ceremonies took place at all throughout the whole of the country! Any *akhund* who ventured out of his home was arrested and taken to the police station where the police would rip up his aba and his clothes and then tell him to get out. As one was released another was arrested. Such crimes this man (Rida Khan) committed against Islam and the Muslims. Then this one (Muhammad-Rida) inherited his father's throne and you are all witnessing what he is doing, of course you can see only what is apparent, none of us know what is going on behind the scenes, and those who do are afraid to speak out about it, perhaps later they will do so, and his crimes are many in number.

¹ The company which sold nuclear reactors to Iran.

At present we cannot begin to imagine what they have done to this nation, to Islam, to the Muslim people, the nation and to our resources. We have two kinds of resources; all nations have two possible kinds of resources and Iran had them both: one comprised the minerals which lay beneath the ground, and the other was the youth—for they are indeed one of the nation's resources—but both of them have either already been or are presently being destroyed. With regard to the natural resources, in accordance with the plan the country's oil and its gas are being given away to foreigners and the country's pasturelands, which according to the regime have been 'nationalised,' have in fact been given away to foreigners too, along with the forests—I have documented evidence of this but the document is not with me at the moment, it is in Najaf. Our agriculture has been totally destroyed. In thirty years' time, if the situation continues as it is, our oil reserves will have finished! If they continue to give our oil away to foreigners so liberally, then in thirty years' time it will be finished, and then the nation will have neither oil nor agriculture. If this man remains (in power), in thirty years' time Iran will be a nation of beggars! At the present time half the nation is made up of beggars, but if the situation is allowed to continue then in thirty years' time beggars will comprise the whole of the nation. If you give this man a reprieve, he will destroy all of your material and spiritual resources.

So much for our resources which lie under and above the ground; now what about our youth who comprise one of our greatest assets? They are not allowed to be educated properly; their intellectual development is not permitted. The foreigners want to keep our youth at a certain level whereby they can do nothing only labour for them, even those Iranians who study abroad are not given a proper education. They will not allow an opposition force to spring from the ranks of the youth, they will not allow our youth to develop intellectually for fear that if they do they will stand up to them and not allow them to plunder us so.

But now, praise be to God, this idol has been smashed and this barrier removed. Our nation has risen up and has recorded its bravery and its vigilance in history. The nation has proved that neither imperial trickery nor the imperial club can stop them! Neither martial law nor a military prime minister can stop the nation. Even today, with martial law and a military government in place, the movement in Iran continues, and the cries of "Death to the Shah" continue to ring out.

This nation cannot be deceived any longer. Carter's statements that America will co-operate with him (the Shah); that America cannot afford to lose such a servant as he; that he (Carter) will do whatever he has to do to

preserve American interests in Iran, no longer frighten the Iranian people. That wretch from Britain also said that they could not sit back while someone who is preserving their interests is in trouble. Well, the reason for our shouting is precisely because this man was put on the throne to secure the interests of Britain, America and the Soviet Union. He is a traitor! He is opposed to everything our nation has, so by law he is no longer king. He was not legally so from the very beginning. These Pahlavis have ruled illegally from the very inception of their dynasty. From that time on, Parliament has been created at bayonet point. We have never had a national assembly, the Parliament which established Rida Khan's rule was a parliament created at bayonet point. I can tell you about this because I myself witnessed events just as many others of my age did. An illegal monarchy, an illegal Parliament and an illegal government is now governing us, and now this man has the nerve to say that he intends to allow free elections! Elections are illegal as long as he is on the throne! His rule is illegal so what talk is this of elections? What do free elections mean in this context? Elections should be held in conformance with the law, and according to the law the Shah must give the order for elections to be held; but he is not the Shah! He is a bandit! A bandit who sits on the throne illegally!

Gentlemen, do not give him a reprieve. We all are duty bound and if we are negligent, we will all be traitors. (*Salawat* from the audience). I hope that you young people will raise one call and will support this movement with unity of purpose and action, shunning all differences, for this movement is of benefit to your country, it is of benefit to you. This propaganda which is being disseminated on this issue is coming from the Shah. These views that Islam is no longer able to administer a country; that it belongs to fourteen centuries ago;¹ that an Islamic system would mean a second dictatorship;¹ that

¹ Imam deals with such remarks and doubts in the book *The Governance of the Faqih*. In reply to a question put to him by a reporter from an Italian newspaper as to how Islam could provide a modern system of government, Imam said that because Islam lays great importance on reasoning and reflection it can succeed in doing so with the right actions and outcomes of this reasoning. A reporter from Luxembourg television and radio, in an interview with Imam, posed the question: "Isn't it true that Islam opposes modernisation and wishes to see a return to a former state; and wouldn't the Shah's progressive reforms and programmes in Iran, such as freedom for women, meet with Islamic opposition?" To this Imam replied that Islam did not oppose the manifestations of civilisation, rather it opposed that which upset the people's peace of mind and rejected modesty and the fostering of noble qualities. Islam itself he said "has given women freedom and honours their rights, it has not deprived them of freedom." A reporter from French television also asked Imam how Islam, with its immutable laws, could guarantee social progress and if he could give an example of an ideal Islamic government. In reply Imam said that the laws which are immutable are the fundamental laws of Islam but

Islam cannot meet the needs of modern-day man; that Islam invites reaction, come from the Shah and are all outmoded views. Perhaps ten or twenty years ago someone could have got away with saying such things, but today these ideas are outworn. Just look at what the very same man who spoke of the two unholy matters of the black and red reaction is doing to the country! Now he comes forward, holds out his hand and asks the great *maraji*¹ and the most learned clergymen to help him continue with his crimes and carry out more! (The audience laughs). Such is his present situation These statements are old hat now.

Islam is that which within the space of half a century had conquered all those lands in order to make the people true human beings. The victory of Islam is not like that of a king or of Nadir Shah.² No, that is not the way of an

many of the Islamic laws are modifiable and can provide for a sound political policy. He went on to say that the kind of country desired by the Iranians was one which was Islamic in every sense and that an Islamic government did not exist anywhere in the modern world, although an example could be found in the past (in the early years of Islam).

¹ Shapur Bakhtiyar, the Shah's last Prime Minister who described himself as a militant and a practising Muslim, said: "We should not swap this dictatorship (the government of Muhammad-Rida Shah) for another (an Islamic government)." On January 24, 1978 (Bahman 4, 1357 AHS), the *Ittilaat* newspaper in Paris propagated the view that Islam was "the second dictatorship," a view which led to a barrage of questions on the issue from reporters. A correspondent from the British *Express* newspaper asked Imam: "Do you think that from the point of view of freedom, your form of government would be any different from the present one? Is the system that you have in mind not really a form of 'religious despotism'?" In reply Imam said that the Iranian people wanted an Islamic republic and that in Islam man was free, but he did not enjoy that kind of freedom which was detrimental to the people and the country or which brought about corruption. The BBC correspondent asked: "Non-Muslims view an Islamic society as a cruel society, one in which even petty crimes carry harsh penalties, such as the amputation of the hand of someone accused of stealing, as practised in countries like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, and Islamic laws are said to be barbaric. What is your opinion about this?" Imam replied: "Those who think badly of Islam have not understood Islam. An Islamic government does not exist at the present time; one did exist in the early days of Islam, and, for example, during the rule of Ali ibn Abi Talib, upon whom be peace, the people lived in complete safety. It is these present governments which frighten the people, which provide no security and which kill the people group by group." A reporter from the French press asked: "Some of the Islamic regimes which exist today are more despotic than the monarchical regimes, what is your opinion about this?" Imam said: "Those despotic regimes are not Islamic regimes so you cannot make a comparison between the Islamic kingdom and an Islamic republic. Despotism cannot be reconciled with an Islamic regime."

² Referring to Nadir Shah's conquest of India. History relates how Nadir Shah attacked India with his large army defeating the king of that country, Muhammad Shah, and bringing India under his control, and then how in a change of heart, he reinstated Muhammad Shah on his throne! Nadir Shah acquired great wealth from this conquest in the form of booty which included precious jewels. It is written that he put all the jewels into his treasury and used some

Islamic government, an Islamic government seeks to create true human beings. You must look at the leaders of Islam themselves, such as the Most Noble Messenger, who was the head of Islam, and the Commander of the Faithful, who was leader after him. You must look at their form of rule. Was it a dictatorship? When the Prophet was seated with others, one could not distinguish the master from the servant or the Prophet from the disciple. The Prophet used to sit in this manner with the people discussing matters with them, with a people who were indigent and some of whom had been slaves. Indeed, the life of the Prophet was that of a poor man, the money in the treasury belonged to the people and nothing was ever misappropriated. Towards the end of his life when he stood before the people and told them that if any one of them had suffered an injustice at his hands or could claim that he had unlawfully taken even the smallest amount of money off anyone to come forward and seek redress, not one person was found who could say that he had suffered an injustice or had been spoken to badly, not one could say that, God forbid, the Prophet had betrayed or deceived the people. One man did stand up and said that the Prophet had once struck him upon his bare shoulder, but when the Prophet told him to come forward and return like for like, the man approached the Prophet and kissed his shoulder saying he had lied so that he could kiss the Prophet. Can you find a leader who acts in this manner in any of the world systems? We would like such a leader, of course we will never be able to find one, but we are searching for one who will at least act according to some of the precepts of this leader (the Prophet), someone who will not betray this nation, who will not devour the wealth of the nation, who will not take this nation's money and build villas for himself, his children and relatives in America and other countries!

When the Prophet departed this world, he had nothing.¹ As for the second leader (Hadrat Ali), whose realms extended throughout the East and nearly reached Europe in the West, he had only a pelisse on which he and his wife, Fatimah Zahra, upon whom be peace, slept at night and which he used during the day to feed grass to his camel. This was the court and throne of His Excellency the Sultan! He worked just like other labourers did, but not for himself, rather for pious purposes. On the very day that the people swore their

to decorate his throne and crown while the people of Iran continued to live in abject poverty deriving no benefit from the conquest. After his death, this great wealth was squandered and the Iranian people were left with nothing but regret.

¹ The Most Noble Messenger on his death bed asked 'Ayesha to give all his property, which amounted to a few dinars, to the poor. When 'A'isha complied with his wish, the Prophet said: "Now I have peace of mind and can go to meet God with a clear conscience."

allegiance to him, he took his spade and pick-axe in hand and went to finish a job he was doing. He was digging a well, digging it with his own hands. And to whom were congratulations to be extended when water sprung forth? He said that congratulations were to be given to those who would inherit this and asked that he be brought a pen and paper so that there and then he could dedicate the well to pious purposes. This is how he lived, and as for the food he ate, this was nothing more than a few morsels of oaten bread. We are looking for such a leader. But we will not find one like Imam Ali, he himself told his people that they did not have his fortitude, but even though that was the case, they must still have piety.¹

We are looking for a virtuous leader, one who possesses political virtue at least, one who will not devour the wealth of this nation, who will not throw the wealth of this nation away. We are calling for an Islamic government, a government which acts a little like our leaders (the Prophet and Imam Ali) did. In what way has an Islamic government ever been dictatorial that these men are so afraid of it?! What dictatorship? An Islamic government is a government of law. Under an Islamic government, if the first person of the country commits an offence, Islam calls for his removal. If he acts tyrannically, if he slaps someone across the face unjustly, Islam will dismiss him, he will no longer be worthy to rule. Is this the manner of a dictatorship? This is the manner of a government based on law, the law of God. If someone has a complaint against the leader of the country, the first person of state, he can go to the judge who may then compel the leader to come before him. The leader must comply; indeed this actually happened to Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali). This is the kind of government we want, a government of law, a government based on the progressive laws of Islam.

They are trying to frighten you away from an Islamic government. They say that if an Islamic government were set up, women would be locked up in rooms. This is not so, in the early history of Islam, women went to battle! They stayed with the armies throughout the years of battle and tended to the soldier's wounds. Some say that an Islamic government would oppose the manifestations of civilisation; but if you (the Shah) were to produce one cinema in which the people were taught moral values through the films shown there, you would not find one person who would oppose it. An Islamic

¹ Imam Ali in a letter to Uthman ibn Hunayf, his governor in Basra, told him: "Now look to your Imam and leader (meaning himself). In this world he has satisfied himself with two old, torn and coarse garments and two pieces of bread. I know that to adopt such a hard way of life is beyond you, but a at least try to be pious. Try to follow me and be my companion in virtue, piety and simple living." *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 45.

government is opposed to centres of corruption, not civilisation. Is this civilisation which has filled a country with centres of corruption? Should a country have no libraries but be filled with centres of corruption? An Islamic government is opposed to such things, it does not oppose progress. In one of the speeches the Shah gave while I was in Qum, the wretch said that the *akhunds* proclaim that they do not want this civilisation! They want to ride around on donkeys! What can one do with such a person? After years of describing the mullahs as unclean animals that the people should shun and likening them to worms which wallow in the filth and dirt,¹ he now turns to the clerical establishment calling on the “great *maraji*” and the “most learned *ulama*” for help. Well, they (the *ulama*) know that he is lying! (The audience laughs). It is possible that he is slightly deranged.

May god protect you and may you be successful. Unite, for gentlemen if you are divided you will not achieve anything. You cannot progress by working individually, you must be united. The hand of god is with the group. (*Salawat* from the audience).

¹ Referring to the shameless statements made by the Shah on March 14, 1963 (Isfand 23, 1341 AHS) at Dezful air base in which he spoke of those clergymen opposed to his American-inspired plans in an impudent manner. On this day he said: “Our great national revolution is going ahead at full speed, but once again we see or hear that some people like frozen snakes have come alive once more and because they wallow in their own slime it is as if these poor things think that it is time to crawl around in the filth once more. If these vile creatures, along with their reactionary sympathizers, do not wake up from the sleep of ignorance then in whatever attire they may appear the fist of justice will strike them over their heads like a bolt of lightening and may bring their shameful and dirty life to an end.”! Taken from a book of the Shah’s speeches, vol. 4.

Introduction to Speech Number Sixty-One

Date: November 8, 1978 (AD) / Aban 17, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 7, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The advocates of human rights support the crimes of the Shah's regime

Occasion: The expression of support by the White House spokesperson for the instalment of a military government

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) discusses the call of America and other Western governments for the "necessity to observe human rights." In rejecting this call as mendacious, Imam emphasises: "... All this talk about human rights and this Declaration of Human Rights is just a way for them to devour these weak governments and justify their action. Do not think that the Declaration of Human Rights is a reality..."

In another part of his speech, Imam points to the support expressed by Carter and the White House spokesperson for the establishment of a military government saying: "... Does Carter not know what he is saying? Does the White House spokesperson speak without understanding? Do they lack knowledge of the situation and thus speak in this manner?"

Imam Khomeini's harsh criticism was spurred by the fact that a few days after the establishment of Azhari's military government, Brzezinski, the American National Security Adviser, announced that the Shah's actions were supported by Carter and the American government, and Brzezinski's group in America had gladly welcomed the news of Azhari's premiership. Brzezinski writes: "The news that the Shah had finally opted for a military government greatly relieved me. I saw in this a welcome sign that the Shah had finally faced up to the crisis and was prepared to assert effective leadership. With a large army at his command, I felt that he could prevail if a head-on confrontation developed and that he could use the military not only to establish order but to initiate a comprehensive clean-up of existing corruption."¹

¹ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Power and Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Adviser, 1977-1981*, p. 366

On the day that Azhari's cabinet was formed, in a press conference in which British, French and German reporters took part, Imam Khomeini was asked: "To co-operate, the Shah has resorted to the establishment of a military government and has appointed General Azhari to head it. For his part, the General has promised that completely free and fair elections will be held in future. The Shah has also turned to the Ayatullahs and other leading clergymen for their help to restore calm in Iran. What is your reaction to this?" In reply Imam said: "The means to which the Shah has resorted, deceit on the one hand as shown in his speech in which he appealed to the clergymen and other people in the country for help, and his actions on the other in setting up a military government to crush the nation, to kill and plunder, will in no way affect our destiny and the movement. As for the promise of free elections, this is just imaginary and elections whether free or otherwise are illegal because neither is the Shah a legitimate ruler nor is his government legitimate. So it is not a question of whether elections are held freely or otherwise; the nation will never give him its consent."

During the last days of his rule, the Shah increasingly pinned his hopes on the support he hoped to receive from America and Britain for he realised that Azhari's military cabinet would not be able to do anything to improve his regime's standing. William Sullivan, the last American ambassador to Iran during the Shah's rule, in his book *Mission to Iran* in the section dealing with the Shah's decision to set up a military government describes how he and the British ambassador were called upon to go to see the Shah at Niavaran palace and writes:

"It was nearly another hour before the British ambassador arrived, and during that period the Shah rehearsed once again his familiar arguments about the options open to him. In the middle of this he received a telephone call from the shahbanou. Although my understanding of Farsi was less than adequate, I could make out that he was telling her of his intention to install a military government and answering some of the reservations she was expressing about such a decision. It was a gentle, patient sort of conversation with nothing peremptory in its tone. He informed her at the end that the United States government had agreed with the wisdom of this course of action. Once this conversation was concluded, he picked up the phone and called General Azhari, the chief of staff, asking him to come to the palace as soon as he could get there.

"After the arrival of the British ambassador, the Shah offered elaborate apologies for the destruction of the British chancery and asked him to assure his government that it would be rebuilt at Iranian expense. He then proceeded

to lay out his decision to install a military government and asked whether the British government had expressed any views on the subject. Ambassador Parsons indicated he had no instructions and probably would be unable to seek them immediately, because his communications equipment had been destroyed in the chancery fire. The Shah did not press the matter further except to say he would install the government that evening and announce it in the morning.

“On the way out of the palace, we met Azhari in the waiting room below. We confirmed his assumption as to why he had been summoned and wished him sincere good luck as he assumed his new duties. Azhari, who was anything but a power-hungry general, looked dejected as he climbed the stairs to see the Shah and receive his new assignment.”¹

Imam’s important declaration issued on November 7, 1978 (Aban 16, 1357 AHS) and beginning with the statement: “I am greatly sorrowed by the crime which took place recently in the university against the children of Islam;” and containing sentences such as “the Shah has turned our universities into the slaughter houses of our youth” had just reached Tehran. It was reproduced in great numbers and copies were posted on walls and doors, especially in the streets surrounding Tehran University. Despite martial law being in effect, in some areas soldiers stood alongside young men and women reading Imam’s declaration!

That evening, from 8 pm onwards, the cries of “Death to the Pahlavi regime” and “We are followers of the Quran and do not want a monarchy,” along with the sound of aimless gunfire into the air, filled the streets and alleyways.

¹ William H. Sullivan, *Mission to Iran*, pp. 179-180.

Speech Number Sixty-One

*I seek refuge in God from the accursed Satan
In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

It was written in one of the newspapers that as soon as a military government is brought to power in Iran, America will support it.¹ When such an action turned out to be against America's stance in defence of human rights, the White House spokesperson created the excuse that the measure enjoyed America's backing because the instalment of a military government was necessary for the establishment of democracy in Iran, that it was the forerunner to the democracy needed to settle the people and restore order, and it was for this reason it had been installed. Moreover, it was argued that this was just a temporary measure, and later, when order was assured, a proper government would be brought in.

All this talk about human rights and this Declaration of Human Rights is just a way for them (the superpowers) to devour these weak governments and justify their action. Do not suppose that the Declaration of Human Rights is a reality. Do these superpowers show even the slightest respect for human rights? We can judge from the actions of these signatories to the Declaration of Human Rights as to just how far they have acted in accordance with the principles of human rights. We can see in the case of Iran alone to what extent these signatories: America, Britain, Russia and Iran—for she too has signed it—have observed the basic principles of human rights. Freedom of expression, free elections, freedom of the press, radio and television, and freedom to propagate, these are basic human rights. Does America not know that we have neither the freedom to propagate nor a free press? At present all press offices in Iran are closed because the military government has reintroduced censorship control and has arrested many different people. It is said that six hundred celebrated figures have been arrested so far.² Does America not know that the press in Iran was never free in the true sense of the

¹ Following the instalment of a military government, Jill Shugar, the spokesperson at the American State Department, said: "We support the Shah in his decision."

² On the first day of Azhari's military government, a number of newspaper editors and journalists were arrested, leading to strike action by the press. Press offices remained closed until January 7 (Dey 17 AHS), that is ten days after the formation of a government led by Bakhtiyar, and none of the reputable newspapers and magazines was published in Iran.

word? Even in those few days that they apparently allowed a partial freedom,¹ not one of the newspapers could write a word about the Shah himself who is the head of the thieves. Not one single word was written about him in any newspaper in Iran, the *Ittilaat* and *Kayhan* included. Whatever criticism appeared was levelled at the government and the agents; all blame was apportioned among the agents, the government and the military, whereas the main culprit is the Shah. If the press is free, then they should say who is perpetrating these crimes, and upon whose command these crimes are being committed.

The Shah has been constantly engaged in such crimes now for more than fifteen years. Throughout the period that we have had a constitution in Iran, very rarely did we have a national election. Throughout the rule of Rida Shah and this Shah, we never had a freely-elected government or Parliament; Parliament was always formed at bayonet point. One of the people's basic rights is that they are free to choose their parliamentary representatives, for it is these representatives who will determine the country's destiny and will oversee the administration of all state affairs. If the Parliament is a legitimate one, then the country will be orderly and sound. However, if the Parliament is illegitimate, it will destroy the country, as it has done. Does America not know this? Does Russia not know this? Does Britain not know that in Iran neither the parliamentary representatives nor the press are free? Nothing in the country is free; everything is subjected to censorship and control, for bayonets are created by bayonets. All the parliaments have been created by the bayonet and under coercion from the Shah. Don't the Americans know this? Or are they aware of what is going on in Iran? They have ambassadors in Iran who send them information, they have agents there, the country is in their hands, they know what is going on. They know what our nation wants, but they are afraid that if the nation prevails then they will no longer be able to encroach upon the rights of the people.

¹ Sharif Imami was installed as Prime Minister on August 27, 1978 (Shahrivar 5, 1357 AHS). In an attempt to restore calm, he set about making what he saw to be reforms. These included: the lifting of press censorship; allowing parliamentary debates to be broadcast live over the radio; removing restrictions on the activities of political groups, and other similar steps. During this period, several political groups entered the arena including groups affiliated to the former 'National Front' and the social democrats. Government-controlled newspapers began writing critical articles and even some opportunistic parliamentary representatives used the occasion to express their supposedly heartfelt opposition. However, none of these critics went so far as to directly attack the Shah himself. These few days of apparent freedom ended on November 6 when Sharif Imami was replaced by General Ghulam Rida Azhari and a military government was set up.

Those who shouted out in defence of human rights at one time are now supporting martial law and a military government; and although this conflicts with their stance on human rights, for martial law deprives a nation of all its freedoms, nevertheless Carter and the American government continue to help and support the Shah. They are now trying to justify this support by claiming that this poor man is going through a lot of trouble to make the people free and the country prosperous, but that the people themselves do not want to be free and do not want their country to prosper, that the Iranian nation does not allow this Shah to give them freedom! Carter claims that the people lack good sense, that they are a group of savages who do not have the wits to see that freedom is good for them. He says that this disorder in Iran has come about because the Shah wants to give the people freedom, thus America is extending him its support so that the Shah can restore order in Iran and can, with peace of mind, grant the freedom he wants to grant.

However, the people won't let this happen. Does Carter not know what he is saying? Does the White House spokesperson speak without understanding? Do they lack knowledge of the situation and thus they speak in this manner? Or does their knowledge of the situation lead them to speak in this way and they do so through clear-sightedness and because they are aware of what is really happening.

The Declaration of Human Rights is a tool used by them to rob the people on the plausible pretext of doing something good. But this is just another face-saving tactic. The Declaration of Human Rights is no different from the Shah's bestowal of freedom on the people or his provision of a free and open political climate! They are nothing more than idle talk.

In this world such talk stems from people who do not have strong ideological foundations. Such people lack foundation, or rather their principles are based on nothing other than material values. Such talk is irrelevant. A state can claim that it protects human rights when its government is based on divine religious tenets and it sees itself as answerable to a great power. Those who do not consider themselves answerable to a great power, who do not believe in a great power, who have no regard for a higher power or who do not believe that a real accounting and recompense will take place, then no matter how much they claim to be (true) humanitarians who want to protect the rights of men, their claims will always be simply claims, they will have no reality. As long as that most fundamental detail, which is belief in God, is missing, as long as there is no fear of Him nor of a reckoning on the Day of Judgement, then confusion and disorder will reign amongst man and mankind will be dragged towards corruption and ruin.

It is human nature to do wrong. If left to its own devices, human nature is naturally aggressive. That which brings the human being onto the path, that which establishes control and determines man's path, is religion; it is belief in a beginning and a resurrection which can prevent man, even when alone with no one else to see, from straying. We do not believe all this talk that high rank and humanitarianism make a person care about humanity. It was the humanitarians who went to Iran even after the killings on Black Friday. It was that humanitarian who rules over a billion people and claims to be both humanitarian and communist who went to Iran, flew over the bodies of the dead in a helicopter and (then) shook the Shah's hand and congratulated him. These are the humanitarians for you!

Do the superpowers, Britain, America and Russia, who have signed the Declaration of Human Rights and have laid the foundations for other similar projects, not know what is currently taking place in Iran? Do these humanitarians not know what is happening to the thirty million people in Iran? Do they not understand what is going on? No? Are they not informed of the reality? Is the truth that the Shah wants to give the people freedom and they are opposed to this? Is this the situation? Is this what Carter has understood the situation to be? Or has he come to this understanding through some supernatural means? Did this just come into his mind? No, Satan instructed him to say such things. This is the work of the Devil. They (Carter and others like him) are the Devil incarnate, they are *taghuts*.

So long as spiritual values are not respected, mankind will not be bettered. Such things as the amelioration of mankind and the protection of human rights will not be achieved unless they are attempted from a spiritual basis. We can see how those rulers who came to power and relied on God treated man, and how those who did not rely on God and had nothing to do with spiritual affairs behaved towards the rest of mankind. We can see how one who ruled over a vast region would get up at night and go to the doors of houses to examine the state of the poor and weak and attend to their needs. This ruler once said that he was afraid lest somewhere in his realm, in Yemen or somewhere, someone went hungry while he ate his fill, and for this reason he kept himself hungry. It was belief in God, a belief in the unseen that made him act this way, for otherwise he was human just like everybody else. It was belief in the unseen that made this man such that when a soldier of Mu'awiyah's army robbed a *dhimmi*¹ woman, a Jew or a Christian, of her

¹ The word *dhimmi* means a non-Muslim citizen of a Muslim state whose rights and obligations are contractually determined. They have to pay the *jizyah* tax in exchange for the protection they receive and in lieu of the taxes, such as *zakat*, that only Muslims pay.

anklet, he became so distraught that he said: "If a person were to die in circumstances such as mine, no one would reproach him."¹

Such a man can be said to care about humanity, because he has belief, he believes in a world after this world, he knows that life does not simply revolve around eating and food, it does not only involve an animalistic life, he knows there is something else. Those who believe in spiritual principles can be relied on; man can place his destiny in their hands; man can make such people his representative, his minister or his president.

Our call today is that this is what we want to do. Our destiny has for the past two thousand five hundred years been in the hands of black imperial rule. Until recently this man was saying that the Iranian people liked the monarchy, that they were Shah-worshippers, yet throughout the history of monarchical rule in Iran these Shahs and Shah-worshippers—as he calls them—have been at each other's throats. Battles and disputes between them have marked this period. Even those kings who were reputed to be good, whose name '*Janat Makan*'² would evoke respect whenever mentioned, were evil. Shah 'Abbas is one of them; he blinded his own son for the sake of his realm and his position. Anushirvan the Just is another; he was one of the worst tyrants, and his oppressive acts have been recorded in history. God knows how Iran has suffered under these monarchs. You yourselves are currently witnessing the actions of this Shah, this justice-seeking Shah, this Shah who wants to create a just society and claims to protect Islam! A short time ago in a speech he claimed that he wanted to propagate Islam and implement the constitutional law. Up until a couple of days ago he was a liar, and he is no different today. He is lying to the people and I know that they realise this. A short while ago these Shah-loving people of Isfahan set alight anything associated with the government and the Shah! Yet at the same time he was speaking about his friends who are the Shah-loving people of Isfahan, the Shah-loving people of Tehran, Yazd and Kerman and claimed that everywhere was the same. Was it this love of the Shah that a few days ago led the people to tear down that statue and break it into pieces, each person taking a piece as a souvenir?³ Are these the Shah-lovers? Does he (the Shah) not

¹ Referring to the attack of Sufyan ibn 'Awf on the city of Anbar that took place at the time of Imam Ali's rule. One of the soldiers stopped two women, one a Muslim and the other a *dhimmi* and robbed them of their anklets, bracelets and earrings.

² Meaning literally 'resting in paradise' a mode of speaking of deceased princes.

³ On November 4, 1978 (Aban 13, 1357 AHS), demonstrators under siege and under fire at Tehran University brought down a statue of the Shah for the first time during the revolution and broke it into pieces. The scene was filmed and shown on Iranian television.

know what state Iran is in and where the sympathies of the Iranian people lie? It is amazing. He is amazing. He installs a military government which tomorrow will set alight this city and that village and kill the people, yet still he stands before the people and comes out with such things as: "I give you a pledge, I promise, I guarantee that I will not repeat my past actions!" What kind of madness is this? A philosopher or a physician should be brought to explain this. This brain should be inspected to see what kind it is that makes him speak such words. What kind of behaviour is this? This kind of behaviour needs to be examined, a normal person would not act this way. This is abnormal behaviour. It is a miracle of nature! (The audience laughs). Yes, he has said this and it is truly extraordinary. (The audience laughs).

Be that as it may, he takes advantage of everything, but most of all he has taken advantage of the apathy shown by the nation up until recently. However, now that apathy has been transformed to ardour and he doesn't know what to do about it. According to the translated account of events that I read, the supporters of America who were in Japan¹ are once again talking about the oil problem. They fear that without (Iranian) oil, European industries and factories would cease to function. This was said in Japan to get the Japanese to join them in opposition. However, the truth of the matter is that we want to sell our oil to anyone who will give us money for it, not to those who will set up bases for themselves in return. It is amazing that some people are allowed to take our oil and set up bases for themselves in Iran in exchange. Do not think that those who give us weapons do so because we need them. These weapons they give us are those that they want to have in Iran to use to establish their bases there against the Russians for example. Even though this is the case, he (the Shah) does not say anything, so he himself agrees with this. When they want to do something they use the excuse that they are doing it to pay for the oil they have taken! The oil money does not go into the pockets of the nation, no, it goes into the building of bases in Iran for the Americans. This is how they are robbing this nation of its wealth. We want this to stop. We are not going to cease selling our oil, we are not going to keep it. We want to sell it to whichever government is willing to give us the best price for it. The oil is ours, we are the sellers and they are the buyers. We want to have the choice, we do not want the choice to lie in their (the Americans') hands, we do not want it to be them who say how much we can extract, what price we can sell it for and what we receive in return for it.

¹ Referring to the conference of the heads of five industrialised countries which in that year was held in Japan.

They take our oil and the money they pay for it goes back into their pockets through the bases they have built for themselves in Iran. We want this to stop.

The first right of a human being to which he is entitled, one which is recognised by all countries of the world, is freedom. We want to acquire this. The people of this nation have taken to the streets empty-handed, they shout out and give their youth and are trampled under foot and under tank. The women and men of this nation face the tanks shouting in unison: "Freedom, Independence and an Islamic government." We want a legitimate government, one that will respect the law. We oppose a government which shows disregard for all human rights and all international laws and which acts in whatever manner it wishes towards the people. We want a government like that during the first age of Islam, one which will govern no other way except in accordance with the law, in accordance with a law which is just and right, a law whose aim is to develop man and better him. We are facing these problems now, and as we sit here the troubles continue in Iran. But along with the suffering there is hope. We hope that, God willing, for all their might we will sever the hands of the superpowers which grasp our resources. (The audience replies with God willing). May God protect you all and grant you success.

Introduction to Speech Number Sixty-Two

Date: November 9, 1978 (AD) / Aban 18, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: Islam is the only religion which can answer all of man's needs

Occasion: A visit by a group of French boys and girls interested in Imam and Islam

Those present: A group of young French boys and girls

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

General Azhari's military cabinet had grasped the reins of power, but only in the days immediately following its inception did the unremitting manoeuvres of tanks and armoured vehicles, the widespread presence of armed officers and soldiers, and the constant coming and going of trucks laden with troops go any way towards curtailing the spread of demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of Tehran's populace. Sporadic clashes between demonstrators and agents in the central and southern areas of the city continued and nationwide strikes persisted. A strike by workers at the power plants plunged Tehran into darkness for some hours daily.

Newspaper offices were occupied by military agents, and only two or three publications, which were confined to publishing the communiqués of the military command, went to press. The people awaited the arrival of a message or taped speech from Imam in Paris. As soon as one was received, it was quickly reproduced and circulated. Imam's interviews too were, in various lengths, broadcast by different radio stations. With the arrival in Tehran of Imam's message beginning with the words: "My dear ones! Do not fear this military hullabaloo, as I know full well you will not! You courageous people have proved that these tanks, guns and bayonets are rusty and cannot confront the iron will of the nation. Do not be deceived by this devilish cajolery and satanic declaration of repentance, as I know you will not be," and after its reproduction and distribution to the provinces, the people's morale found new strengths. Demonstrations and rallies began again and in the streets and alleyways of Tehran and the provincial cities clashes broke out on an even larger scale than before.

On this day, November 9, 1978 (Aban 18, 1357 AHS), hundreds of thousands of demonstrators gathered at Bihisht-i Zahra in remembrance of students martyred earlier on November 5 (Aban 13) in the grounds of Tehran University and the surrounding area. Slogans such as: "I will kill the one who

has slain my brother;” “oh treacherous Shah you have killed the youth of the country;” “death to the Shah;” and “death to this Pahlavi dynasty;” rang out throughout the cemetery and could be heard for a distance of many kilometres. During this commemoration, a clergyman read out sections of Imam’s most recent message: “Although I know full well that whatever happens, the tricks of the Shah, his verbal appeasements and his very real acts of intimidation will have no effect on the serried ranks of our great nation, I feel it necessary to remind you, my dear people that: The aims (of the movement) are those which I have mentioned in speeches and declarations, that is: (a) the overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchy and the sinister imperial regime and (b) the establishment of an Islamic republic government based on the laws of Islam and supported by the vote of the people.” These aims announced by Imam in this message were confirmed by those listening with cries of: “That is so, that is so.”

Tehran was facing an important period in its history. Twilight saw a continuation of demonstrations and skirmishes between the young demonstrators and agents of the military government in most of the alleyways throughout the southern and central parts of the city. The people opened their doors to the demonstrators and signs were fixed at the entrance to blind alleys to guide the people. The walls throughout the city were covered with the slogans “Death to the Shah” and “Greetings Khomeini” which military agents would paint over during the night, the next day however these were replaced with the slogan: “Infamy will not disappear with paint.”

After the formation of Azhari’s cabinet, Imam Khomeini gave numerous interviews in which he announced the nation’s disregard for the military government and the defeat of the Shah’s last military mobilisation.¹ In addition, on November 9 (Aban 18), a joint declaration was issued by the *maraji* in Qum concerning the take-over of the military government. In parts of this we read: “This government is not only unacceptable to the clergy and the noble, justice-seeking nation, but is also completely condemned and rejected by them.”

¹ Between November 6 and 9 (Aban 15 and 18), Imam Khomeini gave interviews to the following: the American CBS television station; a Greek newspaper; the *Al Mustaghhal* magazine; Channel Two of German radio and television (November 6); British, French and German reporters; reporters from Associated Press; *Der Spiegel* magazine; a Dutch newspaper; the *Financial Times* (November 7); the British weekly the *Sunday Telegraph*; Channel Three of German ARD television; United Press news agency; Japanese radio and television (November 8); reporters from Brazil, Britain, Thailand, Japan, America and other countries; an Amsterdam weekly; and Dutch radio and television (November 9).

In the present speech, which he delivered to a group of French nationals, Imam points to Islam's comprehensive dimensions and the justice-seeking nature of Islamic government, and expresses hope that with the defeat of deviated ideologies all of mankind would come together under the banner of Islam.

It is worth noting that Imam's audience on this occasion was a group of young French boys and girls interested in Islam. This group requested the interpreters there to translate the following French text for Imam and to read it out for him in Farsi before he delivered his speech: "With this bouquet of flowers which we present to you, we express our joy at your presence in France which has made us more interested in Islam. Moreover, in view of the special circumstances that we have seen here, we would like to visit Iran as a group and witness at first hand the special relationship between man and God that Islam proposes."

Speech Number Sixty-Two

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I hope that an Islamic government will be established in Iran and that its virtues will be made known to man, so that he will come to understand just what kind of religion Islam is; what the relationship between a government and a nation should be; in what manner justice is administered, and what kind of differences exist between the living standards of the first person of the country and those of a peasant. If the people were to come to understand some of the virtues of Islam, then it is possible that they would embrace Islam.

The first person of an Islamic government, who is the caliph of the Muslims and can be said to be a ruler of the Muslims, lives a more humble life than a third class citizen does, and his standard of living is the same as that of a poor person. The social justice and other rights which Islam brings into effect to the benefit of all social classes are without precedent amongst mankind. An Islamic government is not like other systems of government such as a monarchical or republican system. The ruler of an Islamic state takes his example from he who used to go and sit with the people in a small mosque in Medina. Those men in whose hands the destiny of the country lay would gather in the mosque too, just like the other classes of people, and this gathering was such that were a stranger to walk in on it, he would not be able to distinguish the leader of the country or the man of high office from the poor man. For the ruler would dress as the poor did and would feast as they did. The execution of justice in an Islamic system is such that were someone from the lowest class in the land to lodge a complaint with a court of law against the first person of the country, that is against the ruler or the governor, the judge would summon the ruler to stand before him and he in turn would have to comply; if the judge's decision went against the ruler, he would still have to abide by that decision.

Unfortunately, the virtues of Islam have remained hidden to man, even to the Muslims themselves, and the oppressors and oil-devourers have not allowed Islam, as it truly is, to be revealed to the people. Were true Islam to be put into practice, then there is hope that the whole of mankind would come

out¹ under the banner of Islam, and all other ideologies would be defeated. Unfortunately, they have not allowed the people to come to know Islam. Sometimes they have described Islam as reactionary, sometimes as barbaric and sometimes they have said that it is something which belongs to one thousand and so many hundreds of years ago and cannot be used to administer a country today. But all this is just propaganda. Proofs exist in the Islamic scripture showing that what the propagandists of other countries have said about Islam is untrue.

We want to bring Islam, or its government at least, into effect in such a way that it bears some resemblance to Islam, so that you will see the true meaning of democracy and mankind will discover how greatly different Islam's democracy is from that more well-known conventional brand of democracy that the leaders of republics and (constitutional) monarchies claim to practise.

The divine laws are not something that can be explained, even briefly, in this one session, however, I will try to give you just an overview of them. The laws of Islam are laws designed for people, for each individual in the human race. They govern the relationship each person has with God, with the Prophet of Islam and with the government, the relationship he should have with other people and with those who are not of his nation. All relationships which can possibly exist between two people or between human societies are covered in Islam and rules have been given for them. Many of these rules pertain to the relationship between man and God, to that dimension of man's being which, according to the Christian religion of today, Hadrat Jesus, upon whom be peace, introduced to man. According to today's beliefs, Christianity concerns itself only with our relationship with God, the Creator. In Islam there are many rules pertaining to this relationship, but in addition, there are rules for other relationships concerning man. There are rules to ensure man's well being even before he is born, to ensure that a sound, healthy, refined individual comes into the world. Islamic law contains provisions relating to the preliminaries of marriage, the choice of spouse, and the form in which a marriage should be contracted, there are laws for when intimate relations take place between a man and his wife, for when a child is conceived and when it is being suckled. There are rules for the child for the time it is being reared by its mother and when it is being trained by its first teachers. Islam has rules for all of these things, and laws to train man. Moreover, Islam is not like Christianity which has no rules for government and the administration of a

¹ Rise up.

country—and if it once had these rules they have not reached the Christians. Islam has a form of government like other governments do, it has institutions which are based wholly on justice. The relationship between the government and the various citizens of the state; the relationship of the citizens with the state; the relations between the government and the religious minorities; the relations of the Muslims with people of a religious minority; the relation of the government with other governments; the relation of the Islamic society with other societies; Islam has laws governing all of these.

I cannot explain all the Islamic laws for you in this one session, not even briefly, if however, God grants you His favour and you embrace Islam, then whichever one of you is interested will gradually learn about these for yourselves, God willing.

Introduction to Speech Number Sixty-Three

Date: November 9, 1978 (AD) / Aban 18, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 8, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The real culprit is the Shah

Occasion: The arrest of a number of the Shah's criminal accomplices and the release of political prisoners

Those present: A group of students and Iranians living abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The formation of Sharif Imami's national reconciliation government and the imposition of martial law in eleven main Iranian cities leading to the events of Bloody Friday had proved ineffectual in quelling the fervour of revolt. Thus, in accordance with a plan proposed by the American National Security Council and influenced by the views of National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and the congressional group defending "aggressive and suppressive measures," the Shah set up a military cabinet and appointed General Azhari to lead it as prime minister.

The night before the formation of the military cabinet, the Shah appeared on television, and while confessing to his mistakes and those of his regime, he made his famous statement: "I have heard the revolutionary message of you people, the Iranian nation," and pledged that he would make up for things he had done in the past.

Despite its aggressive actions, which included an attack on the offices of the country's leading newspapers forcing their closure, Azhari's cabinet was seen as being nothing more than a paper tiger, or as the Shah himself put it "a lion without a mane and tail." In the midst of the upheaval, the Shah pinned all his hopes on support from America. On Carter's authorisation, Brzezinski assured the Shah that he had the US's full and complete support "without any reservation whatsoever" in the present crisis. When the Shah told Brzezinski that the situation was deteriorating day by day, he received the reply: "We will do whatever we can to help, you must be sure of America's unequivocal and complete support and bring in a military cabinet as quickly as possible."¹

One of the steps Azhari's government took in an attempt to deceive the people was the arrest and detention of a number of generals and ministers of the former governments. Concerning this Qarabaghi in his confessions

¹ *Confessions of a General*, p. 83.

writes: “General Azhari made use of article five of the regulations governing military government and arrested a number of political and military personalities, among these were: Amir ‘Abbas Hoveyda, the former prime minister; Manuchehr Azmun, former advisory minister in charge of administrative affairs; Dariush Humayun, former minister of information and tourism; Mansur Ruhani, former minister of agriculture; General Nasiri, former head of SAVAK; Manuchehr Nikpay, former mayor of Tehran; Lieutenant General Sadri, former head of the town and city police; ‘Abdul‘azim Valian, former governor-general of Khurasan province; Shaykh al-Islam Zadeh, former minister of health; Nili Aram, former deputy minister of health; and Fereidun Mahdawi, former minister of trade. According to a report in the *Ittilaat* newspaper, Lieutenant General Ali Muhammad Khadami, the former director of Iran’s national airline, committed suicide when military agents arrived at his house to arrest him.”¹

In the present speech, Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) refers to these desperate acts and says: “Now they have set off down another road, namely arresting those who until a short time ago were the Shah’s accomplices in crime—some of whom had aided and abetted him for twelve or thirteen years in every crime he committed—on charges of treason and criminal offence. They have arrested one accomplice to protect the other.”

In his speech, Imam emphasises the fact that those arrested were “the Shah’s accomplices in crime.” One of them was Amir ‘Abbas Hoveyda, a man who for thirteen years from January 27, 1965 (Bahman 7, 1343 AHS), after the revolutionary execution of Hasan Ali Mansur, served as the Shah’s prime minister. According to SAVAK documents, Hoveyda was one of the key elements in the formation of the Freemasons in Iran, and was a member of the “Tehran,” “Mawlawi,” “Lite” and “Kouroush” lodges, as well as the “Great Lodge of Iran.” Freemasons such as Nasir Yeganeh, Jawad Mansur, Hasan Zahidi, Manuchehr Partow, Majid Rahnama, Fathullah Setudeh, Mehrdad Pahlbod, Iraj Wahidi and Hushang Ansari, who were all official members of lodges connected to institutions of world freemasonry and international Zionism, played a prominent role in Hoveyda’s cabinet.² So it was not without reason that during Hoveyda’s premiership, Iran was one of Israel’s allies.

In one of SAVAK’s reports, the following is found concerning the secret of Hoveyda’s success: “Whether in the party or in a parliamentary faction, Hoveyda never expresses his own positive or negative opinion, it is clear to

¹ *Ibid.* p. 57.

² *Ibid.* p. 392.

everyone that the Shah is personally controlling the affairs of state and the presence or absence of Mr. Hoveyda does not affect the change of programme.”¹

At one time, the Shah used to praise Hoveyda as a trustworthy prime minister who worked twenty hours a day! Yet today, in an attempt to deliver himself from the anger of the people and quench the flames of revolt, he sends Hoveyda to prison. Addressing the Shah, Imam Khomeini says: “You brought these thieves to power,” and with these words he upset the regime’s plan to divert public attention away from the personage of the Shah and to focus the guilt for the crimes on others. The regime’s predicament at this time can be understood from the words of Azhari, Qarabaghi writes: “... During the conversation, General Azhari stated: ‘General Oveissi was here yesterday and told me that he was the most hated man in the country.’ Azhari added that during the meeting General Oveissi began to cry and stated that he wanted to leave the country!”² General Oveissi later fled Iran by military plane on the orders of the Shah.³

In another part of his speech, Imam Khomeini points to the release of political prisoners. Years ago, at the height of his power, the Shah had stated in an interview with foreign reporters that: “In our country, we do not have even one political prisoner, those in the prisons are a number of sedition-mongers, some of whom receive their orders from abroad and who want to disrupt the country, and some of them are separatists.”⁴ However, confessions acquired in later years in Islamic revolutionary courts from SAVAK heads show that most of these prisoners remained in prison for years on unfounded charges and despite being subjected to medieval forms of torture, they remained firm in their Islamic stance.

Neither the Shah nor the governments of Sharif Imami or Azhari set the political prisoners free, the main reason behind their release can be found in Ayatullah Taleghani’s reply to Imam Khomeini’s congratulatory message: “I myself and all prisoners owe our freedom first of all to the kindness of dear God, and we believe that according to His almighty will oppressors will be abased and the oppressed and poor will rule supreme. Secondly, we are

¹ *Ibid.* p. 377.

² *Ibid.* p. 76.

³ News of the flight from Iran of General Oveissi, the man who as military governor of Tehran ordered the killing of tens of thousands of the Muslim people of the country, was printed in the newspapers after the strike by the press came to an end on January 8, 1979 (Dey 18, 1357 AHS).

⁴ *Interview with History*, Oriana Falachi, the interview with Muhammad Rida Shah.

indebted to the sacrifices made and blood shed by these long-suffering and oppressed Muslim people of Iran who, under your guidance as a *marja* and leader with faith, determination and worthiness, have created pride and honour for the nation with their holy war and by the spilling of their blood in the torture chambers and battlefields or in the streets and alleyways.”¹

On this day (November 9 / Aban 18) in 1978, dozens of people were killed in demonstrations in Isfahan, Najaf Abad, Kermanshah and Babul. In Tehran, thousands of people gathered at Bihisht-i Zahra for seventh-day commemorations for those martyred on November 5 (Aban 13 [Students Day]).² In a message issued on this day, Imam asked the *ulama* of Islam to form committees and with the help of public support and religious funds to assist those who were suffering economically from the effects of the long strikes so that the action could continue until the overthrow of the Shah’s regime.

In his speech of November 9 (Aban 18), after responding to the age-old propaganda of the imperialists against Islam’s progressive laws, Imam Khomeini turned to the matter of the continuation of the movement and stressed: “Anyone who speaks a word in support of compromise with this man is committing treason against Islam, the Muslims and the country. Take care not to do such a thing, and keep watch over others so that they don’t do this either. If at one time someone were to speak a word of compromise, deliver him a blow in the mouth so that he will not make such a mistake again.”

¹ *Nihdat-i Ruhaniyun-i Iran*, p. 277.

² Reports covering the period from November 6, 1978 (Aban 15, 1357 AHS) to January 6, 1979 (Dey 16, 1357 AHS) - the period when press offices were closed down by the military government and workers were on strike - which appear in the introductions to Imam’s speeches in this volume are taken from the archives of the *Kayhan* and *Ittilaat* newspapers and the Pars news agency, as well as books which cover the events of the movement.

Speech Number Sixty-Three

*I seek refuge iIn God from tThe accursed Satan
In the Name Of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

The arrest of a number of his accomplices in crime is just another one of the desperate measures the Shah has adopted.¹ They have realised that martial law and this military government that they have established are not having the desired effect, so now they have set off down another road, namely arresting those who until yesterday were the Shah's accomplices in crime—some of whom had aided and abetted him for twelve or thirteen years in every crime he committed—on charges of treason and criminal offence. They have arrested one accomplice to protect the other! They think that now that these accomplices have been arrested, public opinion has been satisfied and the people will let the Shah remain! For what else could the people want from him? On the one hand he has apologised for his mistakes and has pledged not to make such mistakes again! And on the other he has released many of the political prisoners: those clergymen, politicians and others. In addition, he has arrested a number of former government officials who have committed offences and is going to put them on trial! So why is the Iranian nation being so stubborn? He will remain "His Imperial Majesty"! Where could they find a better shah than this one who arrests thieves, frees political prisoners and promises to be a devout worshipper and Muslim from now on?! What more do the people want from the Shah that they continue to strike all over Iran? What are these strikes for now? Why are the strikes still persisting? Why are the firms, the airlines and the national bus company still on strike? Why are the doctors and all the others on strike?

Let's take a closer look at the arrest of these men to see if they have added to or diminished the crime. It was you (addressing the Shah) who

¹ Referring to the arrests by Azhari's military government on November 7, 1978 (Aban 16, 1357 AHS) of former government officials including Amir 'Abbas Hoveyda, the Shah's former prime minister; Manuchehr Azmun; Mansur Ruhani; Ghulamriza Nikpay; Dariush Hodayun; Iraj Vahdi; and General Nasiri. The former British Ambassador to Iran, Anthony Parsons, remarked at the time that he felt the Shah would never put Hoveyda on trial for to do so would be to put the regime on trial. And in his book *The Pride and the Fall* (p. 100), Parsons says of Hoveyda: "To arrest him would be to arrest the Shah, to try Hoveyda would be to try the Shah, and to condemn Hoveyda would be to condemn the Shah." The BBC on November 8 (Aban 17 AHS) reported that Hoveyda had been made a scapegoat.

formed the governments and approved of them all. These criminals that you have now had arrested were all once members of your government! They were your accomplices in crime! Are you now calling them criminals? You are the one who brought these criminals to power! Are you calling them thieves now? You are the one who brought these thieves to power! You brought these criminals and traitors into your governments and worked with them in plundering this country and tormenting this nation!

If two or ten people work together and perpetrate a crime or commit treason, then later one of them, who is more powerful than the rest, turns the others over to a court of law, is his own crime forgiven because his accomplices have been arrested? Or does this act actually constitute acknowledgement of his own treason because he brought these men to power? Some of these men have been in the government for twelve years or more, and do you (addressing the Shah) mean to tell us now that you were not aware of what they were doing for these twelve years, that you have only recently found out about it? Are you saying that you were not aware until a few months ago of the activities of this man who was once your prime minister and adviser, and was involved in the running of affairs doing everything under your supervision and on your command? That you have only found out in these past few months? If someone betrayed and pillaged this country for twelve or thirteen years and you did not know about it, then you are not fit to hold this post—if indeed it can be called a post! You are unworthy of this position!

The fact of the matter is that you were aware of what was going on just as you are today. You were two accomplices in crime! But you were the key partner and he was the small fry. Now if the key partner arrests his subordinate and throws him into jail, does this mean that the crime is forgotten? Well, you have arrested the small fry, now the nation wants the kingpin. The nation wants to punish you for the same reasons that you have had these accomplices of yours arrested. The people want to see you arrested.

What the regime and its supporters are doing now is seeking a way to save him, but this is not a sensible way, this is not the way out! All this talk and all of these deceits are brought about because they think they have a chance, be it only one in a thousand, to trick the people, the ordinary people that is. However, we see that the people will not be fooled.

His accomplices in crime have been arrested and his speech is repeated again and again,¹ the people have heard it and we have heard it too along with that of the military prime minister, we have seen the bayonets and the attacks on the people. The regime's agents broke down the doors of a hospital and burst in killing the people there.² The people of Qum were attacked and three people killed in a public bath by gas.³ In Hamadan and everywhere the situation is the same, yet still the people continue to shout out, the strikes continue, the revolt continues, it cannot be stopped. A nation which has been trampled by these criminals for more than fifty years has now opened its eyes and sees that it must defeat them by force, by bringing pressure to bear and by creating tumult, by demonstrations, strikes and the suchlike. The people know that if they are in the slightest way remiss, the situation will return to how it was fifty years ago and they will not be able to create such a movement, such an uprising, as this again, not even in another fifty years' time. The nation knows this. It knows that if this movement is not carried through to its final stage and does not continue until this man is overthrown, then the situation will return to being as bad as it was at the time of Rida Shah, or even worse. And this time if this man regains his power, then neither children nor the elderly will be spared, all his opponents, which means the whole of the nation, will be crushed, none will be spared.

Do not believe all this talk about social justice! Every so many days he would ascend the rostrum and rant on about social justice, an open political climate, free elections, a great civilisation, the gates of a great civilisation and

¹ Referring to the Shah's address in which he confessed to his past "mistakes," as he called them, and expressed his remorse. This address was repeatedly broadcast on the television and radio.

² In November 1979 (Aban 1357 AHS), agents of the regime killed or injured a number of patients and staff at the 17th Shahrivar Hospital in Mashhad. In response, the doctors and workers of the hospital went on hunger strike and on November 2, 1979 (Aban 11, 1357 AHS) the people of Mashhad held a large demonstration in support of their action. Also on November 5, 1979 (Aban 14, 1357 AHS), agents confronted a large group of Tehran University students who were demonstrating outside the former Pahlavi hospital, as they waited for the bodies of those killed in the events of November 4 (Aban 13) to be handed over to them for burial, and clashed with a number of the demonstrators.

³ During the period of martial law in Qum, nearly two thousand people took to the streets of this city in a peaceful demonstration to express their opposition to Azhari's military government and their support for Imam. Agents from the police and military charged with stopping the demonstration and dispersing the people at first followed the demonstrators, but then suddenly at a certain place they opened fire at them. The people ran towards a public bath house which was nearby and a large number of them took refuge inside. The agents shot canisters of poison gas into the building and a number of demonstrators inside were killed. The exact number of those killed in this incident is not known.

other such myths, a hundred of which mean nothing now to the Iranian people. He would say these things one after the other, and he is still doing it. Whenever he speaks, it is about such things! The only thing that differs is the audience. Sometimes he speaks to the bazaar merchants. When he went to Qum, just before the events of Khordad 15, they say that he was so confused that instead of going in the direction of the shrine, he set off down a side street! They had to go and tell him: "Sir, this way please." (The audience laughs). They had to guide him to the shrine, and when he arrived there and took up his position to speak, he was shaking. Still he abused the people. He abused the devout merchants of Qum calling them the "bearded ones" and other such things. He spoke about the *ulama* in an even worse manner, calling them impure animals.

Now however, he comes before the nation, repents once again and claims to be sincere when he says to all the sections of society that he has made mistakes which he will not repeat! Well if, as he claims, his past actions were mistakes then why is he killing again now? If he accepts that he made a mistake, is there a more serious mistake than murder? Is there a mistake as grave as that of killing the women and the youth of this nation? He has acknowledged his mistakes, and he says that these won't be repeated, so why is he doing just that? How can the people be expected to believe that he won't make such mistakes again when he is presently killing the people. Is it at all possible for the military to kill someone without first receiving the Shah's permission to do so? Are they killing the people for anyone else's sake other than his? As long as he gives the command and the military feel obliged to obey and dare not do otherwise, the killings will continue. No one will kill the people and perpetrate such vile deeds if he does not order it. It is on his direct command that they are made to kill the people and do other things, on the direct command of this same man who says he made a mistake and asks for the Iranian people's forgiveness; this same man who promises and guarantees not to do such things again.

You (addressing the Shah) have given promises and guarantees before. At the beginning of your satanic rule you gave the same promises, you went to the Parliament and swore your oaths and then you went on to commit these mistakes, as you call them. So what is so different this time? At least at that time you gave the people a grace period, you waited until two or three months after you had made your promises before you broke them. Today however, you perpetrate these vile deeds, these crimes, at the same time as you admit to your past mistakes and promise not to repeat them. So how can the people be expected to accept your repentance? If we suppose that, God forbid, an *Alim*

were to tell the people to settle down now, how could the people be expected to listen to him? They would say that he was making a mistake, or that he was a naive and gullible person who did not realise what kind of man the Shah really is, that is if they were being polite about it, otherwise they would say he was a court-affiliated *Alim*! The nation cannot be thought of as being unaware, a nation which has stood up, is shouting out and is seeking its constitutional rights cannot be put to sleep by these things now.

From one direction we are faced with multifarious propaganda. Propagandists both in Iran and abroad are using the issue of religious minorities in Iran to create the distorted view that were an Islamic government established in Iran, then all minority religions would be swept away. Do you (addressing the Shah) treat religious minorities better or does Islam? You are trampling both the minority religions and the majority religion underfoot and are destroying them! You have eliminated all human rights in Iran. You have allowed neither Muslims nor non-Muslims to be free. In Islam however, the religious minorities are shown respect, they are free. Yet we are repeatedly asked the same question: "If an Islamic government were established (in Iran), how would it treat the religious minorities?" They ask this question because they are constantly instilled with the idea that in the event of an Islamic government being set up in Iran, all the Jews or all the Christians or Zoroastrians would be murdered. At what period in Islamic history did an Islamic country during peacetime—I am not speaking of a country at war here—massacre its religious minorities or murder people from minority religions. Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali) wanted to die of shame when a Jewish woman, a *dhimmi*, who was living under the shelter of Islam, had her anklet stolen while he was ruler. He said: "If a person were to die in circumstances such as mine, it would be worth it." Is then Islam or an Islamic government going to do the things they say it will do to those of religious minorities? This is all propaganda created by the Shah and his supporters and trumpeted over their loudspeakers to tarnish the image of Islam and Islamic government and sully the reputation of the Muslim clergy—at least in the eyes of those non-Muslims and non-religious people outside Iran.

They promote the idea that they (the clergymen) want to have a reactionary government, a reactionary Islamic government. This man himself portrays Islam as being reactionary. On the one hand he invokes "the true religion of Islam" and on the other he says that those who preach Islam to the people are reactionaries! They are reactionary in that they have gone back one thousand four hundred years! They propagate something which belongs to one thousand four hundred years ago. The fact that he himself is reviving

something which belongs to two thousand five hundred years ago is irrelevant! He is not considered to be a reactionary, only those who are promoting progressive laws from one thousand four hundred years ago, those who say that this man should be delivered a blow in the mouth for depriving the people of freedom, for establishing foreign rule in Iran and placing the people under the rule of the superpowers, are considered to be the reactionaries! While those who are stealing the wealth of the people through force and suppression, those who have deprived the people of freedom, they are seen to be the civilised ones who open the gates of freedom!

They say they are afraid that Islam will take power and keep the women behind closed doors, that it will lock the doors of their homes so they can't come out. Such talk and such myths come from abroad and God forbid that some of our own youth should be taken in by these. In the earliest age of Islam, women participated in the wars. They were there on the battlefields tending to the wounds of the injured, and many were killed there! Who has told you that women will be locked up?! They are free like men. Who says the religious minorities will be maltreated? One of their worries is that these casinos will be closed down. This will happen, the doors to the centres of corruption will be closed. An Islamic government will not allow these cabaret clubs, which have dragged our youth into corruption, to remain open. It is of no concern that these intellectuals, these modernists, support these centres of corruption, an Islamic government will close them down. An Islamic government will change cinema as it is at present, these cinemas today are dragging our youth towards corruption and lewdness, it should not be this way, a cinema should be instructive, it should be morally edifying.

Islam opposes corruption; it is against the corruption of the youth and of Muslims. It is against robbery, it opposes the plundering of the treasury. Islam does not oppose civilisation, it opposes this barbarism, it opposes this corruption that the regime has instigated, it opposes the use of the people's money in the setting up of casinos on that island somewhere. These things will be stopped. If an Islamic government comes to power it will sweep away these effecters of corruption, it will not allow our youth to be corrupted, it will not permit our system of education to be kept in a state of backwardness so that our youth do not develop. Some of these youth who have come abroad to study have told me that (even here) they are not allowed to develop their scientific studies beyond a certain level. Of course Islam opposes this.

Islam wants men and women to develop. Islam freed women from those circumstances which existed for them during the age of ignorance of pre-Islamic times. Islam did not serve men to the extent that it did women. You

cannot imagine what circumstances were like for women during pre-Islamic times and to what degree their situation improved with the advent of Islam. Today, women are being treated worse than they were during the age of ignorance. At that time, they were regarded as unimportant and today the Shah says that women should be playthings, dolls! Such talk insults the dignity of women. He is mistaken in his beliefs about women. Islam does not want women to be treated as dolls, Islam wants women to have a say in all affairs just as man does, however unlike the Shah, it does not want women to make up, enter society and mingle with men. Islam wants to stop all this. It wants women to preserve their dignity and respect, it wants to give them pride, it wants to stop them from being treated as a mere object. They want to sell women from this man to that man. Islam is against this. Can Islam be said to be against women? Islam did a service for women which has no precedent in history. Islam raised women up out of that slough and gave her back her pride. Is then Islam against women?

This is all propaganda. They want to separate you from Islam, drive you away from the clergy and steal your wealth. They want to prevent you from progressing in the field of education, they want to rob you of your subterranean wealth and keep you in captivity for ever. Today, if the nation does not join hands together and free itself from this captivity, whatever the cost, then the nation will remain captive forever.

Anyone who speaks a word in support of compromise with this man is committing treason against Islam, the Muslims and the country. Take care not to do such a thing, and keep watch over others so that they don't do this either. If at one time someone were to speak a word of compromise, deliver him a blow in the mouth so that he will not make such a mistake again.

May God protect you all. May you be successful and may you be of service to your country and Islam. God willing.

Introduction to Speech Number Sixty-Four

Date: November 11, 1978 (AD) / Aban 20, 1357 (AHS) / Dhul-Hijjah 10, 1398 (AH)

Place: Neauphle-le-Chateau, Paris, France

Theme: The politico-religious dimensions of Islam

Occasion: The eve of the Feast of Sacrifice ('Id al-Qurban) and the progress of the nation's popular uprising

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Imam Khomeini (may God grant him peace) delivered the present speech when Tehran and most cities across the country were scenes of the people's widespread demonstrations and rallies. In this speech, Imam Khomeini, after stressing the illegitimacy of the monarchical system, gives an account of the various manifestations of the socio-political aspects of Islam citing the Friday and congregational prayers, the Hajj ceremonies as well as other religious feasts as exemplifications of the exquisite combination of politics and religion in Islam.

On the day of the Feast of Sacrifice, the people of Tehran were getting ready to hold the congregational prayers when suddenly the forces of Tehran's military command appeared on the scene with fresh reinforcements, this time more violently. The number of tanks, armoured vehicles and trucks full of troops added up. General Azhari had appeared on television the night before, reiterating the same words he had said before. The morning of the same day, news from Qum had it that the mercenaries of the military command had attacked the ranks of the congregation's participants and had fired tear gas canisters to disperse the crowd and prevent the holding of the prayers. When news of the incident spread all over Tehran, all the city streets became scenes of scattered demonstrations initiated by groups of 50 to 100 people. There were enough trucks and tanks to disperse the people and prevent them from converging into bigger crowds. In the book *Lahzaha-yi Inqilab* (Moments of the Revolution), hundreds of typical reports on the people's skirmishes and their clashes with the military government's troops have been cited and a typical account of these daily incidents runs as follows: "... Kakh intersection, near the Information Ministry, was crammed with soldiers. There were about 70 to 80 of us. The sound of gunfire came from everywhere. We were shouting slogans and marching on... suddenly we heard somebody's groan coming from the base of a wall, at the foot of a tree.

We saw a young man felled by a bullet roll into a canal. We rushed towards him and picked him up, blood was gushing forth from a bullet wound in his chest. Resounding cries of *La ilaha ilallah* (There is no deity but Allah) rose into the air, and while we held him up, our hands became stained with blood. We returned to Saba Street. The wounded man was still breathing and like a red rose engulfed in the roaring waves of a flood and whirlpool, he was swirling while on our hands. Each one of us was saying something. A woman stretched her hand and tried to touch the body even with just her fingertips; suddenly she screamed and said, 'He's alive! He's alive!'... She dashed into an alley saying that her car was there. Rushing towards her car which was parked at a bus stop farther up Pahlavi (*Wali-ye 'Asr*) Avenue, she gave her car keys to a young man who carried the body... The sound of gunfire filled the air as soldiers rushed into the streets and alleys... The woman asked which hospital the victim had been taken to. I was completely dazed... All of a sudden, the woman ran and said, 'The car has come back!' The young man (who had taken the wounded man) stood by the car and was in tears while he gave back the keys to the woman. He said, 'We took him to the hospital but he became a martyr on the way. I came late because I washed your bloodstained car...' Everybody started weeping including the woman. Then we moved on, about eighty of us. Along with the woman and other women, we cried out loud, 'Say death to the Shah!, Say death to the Shah!' Suddenly a barrage of gunfire started. Each one of us ran aimlessly for cover. I got to Pahlavi Avenue where the sound of gunfire filled the air. I saw an old man standing on the pavement. I told him to sit down because of the danger, but he stood undeterred. Suddenly, I saw him fall. When the firing subsided, I, and a few others, dashed towards him. A bullet had hit him in the cheek and he was bleeding, drops of blood fell onto the pavement. Powerless, the old man struggled, his limbs twitching. A car arrived, we put the man in it and gathered around the blood on the ground."¹

From November 6, 1978 (Aban 15, 1357 AHS), the day Azhari's government assumed power, the country's official newspapers had been on strike and news regarding demonstrations and incidents in provincial towns was speedily published and disseminated by youths all over the city of Tehran:

- Six people were killed and 100 others injured in yesterday's demonstrations and skirmishes in Jahrom. One of those killed was

¹ *Lahzha-yi Inqilab* (Moments of the Revolution), pp. 41-43.

Muhammad Asadi, an eight-month-old infant who was hit by a bullet while in his mother's arms.

- In Baft and Jiroft in Kerman (province), a group of so-called government supporters attacked and set fire to the homes of teachers and prayer leaders who opposed the Shah's government in both cities.

- The deputy chief of Kerman's police force was assassinated while leaving his home with his bodyguard.

- The deputy chief of Rafsanjan's police was machine-gunned by some unknown men in one of Rafsanjan's streets. Also, an official of Kerman police was seriously wounded when his booby-trapped car exploded.

- In Isfahan, hundreds of thousands of people converged on Chahar Bagh Sadr School. After a few hours, one person was killed and a few others injured in the clashes that ensued between military forces and the people in this gathering.

- In a big rally in Isfahan, four people died of bullet wounds.

- Following a series of demonstrations and disturbances in the town of Jahrom, the military commander was replaced for the second time. Jahrom's first military commander, General Ahmad Nadvar, along with the chief of police of the same city, had previously been assassinated by a military conscript.

- In Hamadan, military troops opened fire on demonstrators killing four people.

- From November 6 (Aban 15 AHS) and ten days onwards, 17 people were killed and 80 others wounded in demonstrations in Sanandaj.

- In Galikesh, seven people were killed and scores of others wounded.¹

- On November 11, 1978 (Aban 20, 1357 AHS), employees of the Arts and Culture Ministry joined hands with the strikers.

During these days, Paris and Tehran swarmed with reporters making these cities the most sensational news-making spots in the world. One of Imam Khomeini's ingenious initiatives was to make known that the only time he would meet with leaders of political parties was when they supported the nation's uncompromising stance which called for the destruction of the monarchical rule, the condemnation of any kind of compromise and the establishment of an Islamic system. Reuters news agency reported the day before (November 10 [Aban 19 AHS]): "Today, the U.S. State Department announced that after the establishment of martial law in Tehran, America has approved the sale of anti-riot accoutrements to Iran... this year Iran's

¹ News dispatches taken from *Kayhan* archives.

approved purchases included 25,000 tear gas canisters, 200,000 police batons, a number of battle gear uniforms and other similar provisions.”³

Looking back at their August 19, 1953 (Mordad 28) experience, America was striving to take hold of the reins of the situation so it could install a pseudo-nationalistic rule by maintaining a regency council. On November 5, 1978 (Aban 14, 1357 AHS), Doctor Karim Sanjabi went to see Imam Khomeini in Paris with a letter in which the National Front had declared their acceptance of the three lines of policy determined by Imam. It was agreed previously that the contents of the letter would be formally announced in an interview to be held in Tehran. However, the interview did not take place and instead, Dr. Sanjabi, along with Dariush Foruhar, was detained; the detention was only short-lived. Major General Muqaddam took Mr. Sanjabi to the Shah and they started negotiations but all to no avail. In spite of all the schemes by political parties, the Muslim nation’s devotion to Imam’s line remained unswerving.

³ *Taqwim-e Tarikh-e Inqilab-i Islami-ye Iran* (Historical Calendar of the Islamic Revolution of Iran), p. 182, as reported by Reuters news agency.

Speech Number Sixty-Four

*I seek refuge iIn God from tThe accursed Satan
In the Name Of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful*

I apologise to the gentlemen present here for the inconvenience caused by the lack of space. May God protect you all. Today is a day of feasting, and in Iran people wanted to offer prayers on this occasion, however, the army obstructed the participants in the performance of this religious ritual. In Qum, they dispersed the people with tear gas so that they could not hold the prayers. In some places, they have sown chaos and acted with savagery. Well, this is the last bolt the Shah has in his quiver. They have treated the people all over Iran with absolute savagery and want to persist in having their evil way. Military government with a military prime minister who is ignorant of God Almighty—all this is useless. All this hauling and tugging is futile. The Shah has lost ground with the people. Rida Shah's rule was also illegitimate from the very beginning, and even if it had been a legitimate one, it was based on an (anti-God) rebellion. Through their cries everywhere, the people have rendered it invalid. Now, the Shah is a rebel who is plundering the Treasury through his ungodly rule and is massacring the people.

These occasions in Islam like *'Id al-Fitr*, *'Id Ad-Duha* or *Qurban*, the *Hajj* ritual, the Friday and other congregational prayers that are held night and day, have religious as well as political and social aspects; that is, their devotional thread is woven into their political fibres; they are adjoint. The religion of Islam is not only a religion of devotion or a duty a servant has towards his Blessed and Exalted God; it is not only a spiritual duty; neither is it merely a religion of politics, rather, it is devotional as well as political. Its politics is combined with its acts of worship. That is, its devotional aspect has a political facet, too. These very gatherings on feasts for prayers, from which Muslims should derive a lot of benefits, are a form of worship, but ones which have a political aspect too.

For instance, in the early days of Islam, mosques were not the lowly places that they were later to become due to some devious elements. Mosques were places from which armies would march out to fight unbelievers and oppressors, and where sermons would be delivered and people would be called upon to fight when a straying, aggressive individual had rebelled against the Muslims, plundering their property and bullying them. From these

mosques, people would march towards enemy camps. In these same mosques, agreements would be concluded.

In sermons delivered at Friday prayers, the destiny of the country should be discussed; political issues in the country should find expression and social issues be made current; the problems of Muslims and their differences should be discussed and solved. Crimes like those of Muhammad-Rida Khan should be mentioned and criticised and ways to eradicate these criminals should also be aired at Friday prayers. The Friday prayer is (a form of) worship, but worship that is blended with politics; politics that is blended with worship as the religion of Christ had once been—not this religion that Christians now believe in—I do not believe that the religion of Jesus, upon whom be peace, is the same religion as that which is being practised nowadays. True Christianity is not a religion that does not concern itself with people's lives or politics. It is not merely a case of going to (church), ringing the bells after which a little prayer is uttered and that is it, one then resumes one's daily activities. I do not believe that such a religion was ever the religion of Christ. Christianity has been deflected. The Jewish religion, as well as the religion of the Nazarene (Christ), has digressed and has been distorted.

But the religion of Islam, whose scripture is the Quran, has been fully preserved. Not a word of it has been changed making it absolutely invulnerable. The glorious Quran was revealed to shape the human being and all his human dimensions. It is a book that contains everything that man needs and endows him with everything he has: spirituality and materiality, exteriority and quiddity. It came to satisfy whatever needs he has and guide him in matters relevant to him such as his relationship with his Almighty and Blessed Creator, the concepts of the Unity of God, the Divine attributes, the Day of Judgement, socio-political issues and the question of war against the unbelievers.

The Quran is replete with verses making it incumbent upon the people and the Prophet to fight aggressors and oppressors. When the illustrious Quran was revealed, it brought with it dynamism to the Arabs of that time who were a disunited people and who wasted their time by incessantly engaging in inter-tribal conflicts. They led a barbaric life and never bothered about political affairs. However, within less than half a century, within about thirty years, these very same small groups of nomads, who initially gathered around the Most Noble Messenger who had built up and enlightened them, conquered two empires which had nearly the whole world under their domination, namely the Persian and the Roman empires. Because it (the Quran) brought them such dynamism, these Arabs found their way out of the

Arabian peninsula and headed towards Iran and occupied it. They marched into Rome and conquered it and then towards Europe and conquered it! These conquests, however, should not be likened to those made by Napoleon when he invaded a country. Islamic conquests were made to perfect human beings, make them monotheistic and just and enlighten them on certain issues. They were not for territorial expansionism. They were aimed at making human beings upright, at civilising the savage—those who would engage in a life of savagery. And within 50 years, the glorious Quran transformed a belligerent community, who had been continually at war and savagely killing each other, into a just people who would treat each other equitably like a civilised nation and even better than that!

Islam, unlike other religions which are now manifest to us, is a religion that rectifies all aspects of a human being's life with respect to his intellect, morals and moral edification. It is concerned not only with his physical appearance and outward behaviour, but also with all affairs that are expedient to him. It follows then that an Islamic government cannot be similar to other governments which are concerned only with man's social and political affairs and are indifferent to what a person does at home. Such governments are not concerned with whatever misconduct an individual commits inside his house; (non-Islamic) governments do not care if he gambles in his home and does all sorts of vicious acts because this is not a concern of theirs. They interfere only when he turns offensive and disturbs the peace and order in the society.

Islam cares for you and your family in the privacy of your own home. It is concerned with how you socialise with your neighbours and fellow citizens and establish relationships with them. Islam concerns itself with your relationship with your fellow believers too, as well as with those who do not share your religion. All these have rules to follow in Islam. That is, in Islam, a government is not one that is merely concerned with political affairs. One facet of Islam deals with government and governmental and political affairs, and another deals with man's spiritual development which concerns man himself alone: What should he be in terms of beliefs, ethics and social behaviour? What must a man be? In these respects, Islam encompasses every aspect of human life, whereas other governments and societies are impassive towards the same. That is, no government will ever approach an individual and reprimand him for engaging in whatever (immoral) activities at home. It is no concern of such a government whatever misdeed takes place in an individual's home. Islam, however, is concerned with the individual even if he is alone at home; that is, it tells him what he is supposed to do, how to behave and what ethics and intellectual perceptions he should adopt. It tells

him how a father should treat his children, how a child should behave towards his father, a mother to her child, a child to his mother, a brother to a brother, how families should behave among themselves or a family towards another. All of these have rules to follow in Islam which takes everything into consideration.

In Islam, no country is inferior to another. It is not limited to a country, say, Iran or Iraq. The whole world is under its supervision because it is aimed at building up human beings. It attributes no special relationship to any group of people, the East or West, North or South, or considers one group below or above another. It does not discriminate against any class of people anywhere. It is a divine religion, in the same way that the Blessed and Almighty God is the God of all, not the God of just the Easterners and Muslims or the Westerners and the Christians or Jews. He is the God of all and He provides sustenance for all. That is to say, He is the Creator.

Islam is a religion that belongs to all. It was revealed to build up a human being in a way that it proposes; to mould him into an equitable man in such a way that one human being cannot commit one grain or pinhead of injustice against another; that a human being cannot be unjust to his own child or to his wife, or a wife to a husband, or two brothers to one another or these to their friends. Islam wants to mould man into a just being in the fullest sense of the word “human being,” one whose intellect is humane, whose essence and appearance are human and one who respects human behaviour and conduct. Islam wants to materialise these goals.

One branch of Islam consists of its system of government and governmental issues are included in its canonical rituals as well. Take the Hajj ritual as an example. The Supreme God Almighty has called upon the people to perform the Hajj in which there are stations. However, the Muslims have failed to exhaustively make use of this ritual as they should. The Hajj is a general assembly of all Muslim communities. This is a call to all kinds of Muslim groups whether from the near East or the far West, wherever they may be—north or south or anywhere in whatever country—people have been invited, not only the Muslims. Everyone must become a Muslim and go (to Mecca), that is, those who can afford to do the pilgrimage and have the means to reach Mecca are called upon to go there once a year.

The aim of this ritual is actually to bring about a general assembly there. If Muslims realise its value, they can seek the solution to their problems and difficulties in this gathering. For instance, if Iranian Muslims go there and inform others of their problems and predicaments, it becomes incumbent upon the other Muslims to sympathise with them. Once they learn of what

Iran wants, what it does, what its government does to the people, they should disseminate these issues in their country when they return. Similarly, if these people have seen anything wrong with their governments or people and have discussed their problems there in Mecca, they (Iranian Muslims) should also sympathise with them.

Islam is a religion in which a gathering is both political and an act of worship. A person might think that congregational prayers are merely a form of devotion whereat people gather and pray together. At such congregations, political issues must also be discussed. The person who ascends the pulpit once a week, leads the congregational prayers and preaches, must also bring up the political problems of the Muslims and talk about them in addition to other things, like the anomalies they observe in their governments; they must guide the people in both matters of worldly affairs as well as their origin (God) and destination (the afterlife) and all the things they need in life.

Now, in Iran, the situation is such that the government is preventing people from performing acts of worship with bayonets. Today, they did not allow this divine act to be performed in Qum. The same iniquity is being committed in other places. We have not received all the news yet. But in many other places killings have occurred and the people have been answered with bayonets. In reply to those shouting: "Hey, Mister, do not give away our oil and natural resources to others! We want freedom, we have been strangled so much in these fifty years of suppression, we want independence!" and those who protested against their handing over the whole country to others, they came up with a military government with a military prime minister and cabinet. He (the Shah) wants to keep himself installed by resorting to the military. On the one hand, he unleashes his club-wielders to batter the people, and on the other, he sets up a military government! On one side, he says there must be order, and on the other, he sows chaos! He orders his club-wielders to grab their maces and storm into the cities and set them ablaze and what not!

This condition of our country, the Shah's rule and this life now are indications of the abominable last days of this vicious man. We are duty bound to help the Muslims in Iran. At least we can help through propagation, by making individuals you meet here understand. For instance, these Europeans you meet, make them understand the facts. It is not true, as the Shah claims, that the people of Iran, may I say, are savages and that the Shah wants to subdue them but they cannot be subdued! You should tell the people that the Iranian people are a nation which wants to be rescued from this

oppressor; they want to be free; they want to be independent; they want to lead a humane life and this man will not let them.

May God protect you all and may you be successful.