

“God made the Ka’ba the Sacred House for the arising of the Muslim people...”

“Discuss the issues relating to Muslims at the hajj.” —Imam Khomeini

Imam Khomeini, the Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, delivered the following speech to the religious clergymen who are heads of the caravans undertaking the blessed pilgrimage this year.

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

You are going to the blessed hajj in a year when the world situation and the situation in the region is as you see it. The world is ensnared by the big powers and the deprived of the world are afflicted by these satanic powers. The regional situation, because of the interference of the big powers, is also as you bear witness to it.

You are going to the blessed hajj in a year which is the threshold of the year when as a result of the disgraceful defeat of Saddam, our residential areas are aggressed against and recently you saw what they did to Andimeshk. I offer my condolences to the people of Iran and the beloved inhabitants of struggling Andimeshk. I hope that God the Most High will recognize their martyrs as the martyrs of the beginning of Islam and may He grant patience to their families.

You are going to the blessed hajj in a year when the big powers in the region are occupied with corruption and destruction. On the one hand, the USSR in Afghanistan and wherever else it can extend its hand to destroy the Afghan nation. Praise belongs to God that the people of Afghanistan have withstood and struggled against this power. And on the other hand, the USA, who is the head of the criminals, interferes in all of the oppressed nations, and in particular, Islamic nations. It has extended its hand throughout the world and nations who should be independent, are placed under its oppression. Unfortunately, these regimes have accepted the oppression.

The philosophy of the hajj, one

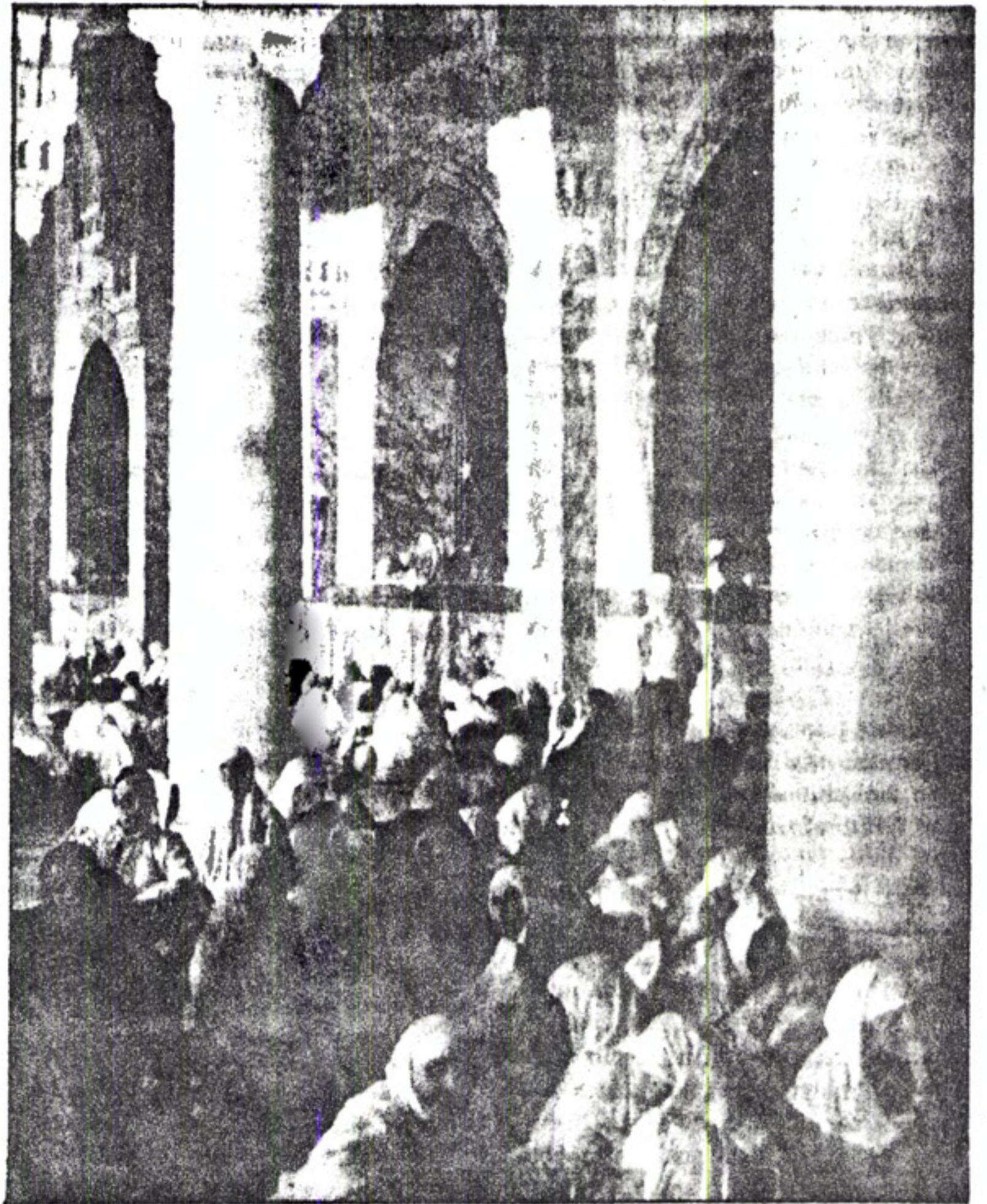


of the major philosophies of the hajj, is in its political dimension. The hands of the criminals, from all sides, are out to destroy this dimension. Unfortunately, their extensive propaganda has influenced Muslims so that many Muslims have come to believe that the hajj is simply a type of dry, religious worship and one which should not pay attention to the issues which confront Muslims.

From the day that the hajj was born, its political dimension has not been less extensive than its devotional dimension. The political dimension, in addition to its politics, is in and of itself a form of devotion.

All people, whether they are lay people or clergy, from all of the various countries who are there, must each year review the problems of Muslims, must understand the state of Muslims. What is their relationship with their regime? What is the relationship of their regime with the other satanic forces? What is the relationship between one nation to another? How do Muslim clergy who live in various Muslim countries relate to the hajj? These are affairs which must be seen to and the hajj is for this, to discuss the problems of Muslims over the last year and then try to solve the problems. Those royal court Muslim clergy, in and outside of the region, who say that politics must be kept out of the hajj are condemning the gnostics of Islam and the Imams of God. They do not know that this hajj was for this very issue, for the arising of the people. It was so that Muslims could come to understand the problems of other Muslims and make efforts to try to solve them. It was so that brotherhood would develop among the Muslims. Unfortunately the propaganda of the enemies of Islam is so extensive in all Islamic affairs that they have made the Muslims themselves believe that they should not interfere in political affairs. Many of the Muslim clergy have come to believe that Muslim clergy should not interfere in political affairs. They have come to believe that clergymen must speak about religious issues and religious issues which are not political.

The political issues of Islam are several times greater than the devotional issues because the political issues are also devotional issues so they are more. The Islamic books of jurisprudence are filled with political issues, social issues and then an un-



Sisters in the Masjid al-haram.

knowing group thinks that Islam is like other religions which have deviated – and they were not this way at the beginning but became so at the hands of these very colonialists – and it is because of this that clergymen have to just sit, perform two cycles of the ritual prayer, return to their home, sleep and then awaken in time for the next ritual prayer. This is all propaganda which throughout the ages, from the time when Islam was born and gained power, at the hands of the Umayyid and Abbascid caliphates and then at the hands of the reactionaries and then at the hands of the big powers, this issue has been prevented so that Islam becomes isolated and they succeeded in isolating it. An Islam which does not concern itself with the pains and

sufferings of the people and that Islam which does not concern itself with who is ruling, that Islam is isolated.

Islam was isolated in the mosques. They isolated Islam in the name of Islam in the four walls of a mosque, a static mosque. The Masjid al-Haram and mosques at the time of the Holy Prophet of Islam were the centers of wars, centers of politics and centers for the discussion of socio-political affairs. It was not that in the mosque of the Prophet, peace and the mercy of God be upon him and his descendants, be only for devotional issues like fasting. Its political issues were greater. Whenever they wanted to send people to war and mobilize the people for the wars, they began from the mosques.

Unfortunately in the endeavours

to make Islam be better understood after a time from the beginning of Islam, until our time, the mosque had become a place where Islam itself was condemned. To condemn Islam does not mean that someone came and said, "I condemn Islam." To condemn Islam is to trample upon that which Islam wants. Islam wants people to consciously, actively concern themselves with the problems faced by Muslims.

The hajj is one of those rituals whose political dimension is far greater than its devotional aspects. You gentlemen who will, God Willing, go on the hajj, must pay attention to this issue and this colonialist thought which has even been placed in the minds of many of the clergymen of Islamic lands must be isolated out. In your gatherings and social dealings say to them that Islam is not what we have had to date: "Go on the hajj and make a few turns around God's blessed House, etc. and have nothing to do with the arrogance ruling the people of the world and what Muslims are doing. Be indifferent. Condemn those who want to speak about the issues relating to Muslims."

The harm caused to Islam by these court clergy is worse than the harm caused by the USA because they isolate Islam in an Islamic form and it cannot do so in this form. It instigated them. When Muslims go on the hajj, it must be a living hajj, a crushing hajj, a hajj which condemns this criminal USSR and that criminal USA. This kind of a hajj is a hajj which is acceptable. If we go on the hajj and not take the issues of the Muslims into consideration, rather, in opposition to the issues of Muslims, we continuously cover up the crimes, not let Muslims speak of the crimes being made against Muslims and the crimes which the big powers are committing against Muslims, that is not a hajj. This is a meaningless form. That hajj which God the Most High

wants and that hajj which Islam wants of us is that when you go on the hajj you awaken Muslims, unite together. Make them understand why it is that more than 1 billion Muslims should be pressurized by two powers of several million. All of the difficulties is because of this that Muslims have been caused to deviate from the way Islam provided.

Even if they hold a gathering (like the one recently held by Christian clergymen) they were not prepared to condemn the USSR for its actions in Afghanistan. They were not prepared to say that this was not right. It has reached this point where the Christian clergymen present at that meeting were not prepared to ask, "What about Afghanistan?" They were afraid. To this point we had thought that Christian clergymen were American. It now becomes clear that they are both American and Russian.

Muslim clergymen who follow their line are not far less either. Those who condemn Muslims who speak against Zionism or America are not less than those Christian clergy who say nothing should be said, those clergymen who support America. They also support America.

Muslims must be awakened. These 1 billion Muslims must be awakened and do away with these two powers and other powers who are busy in corrupting the region.

Is it not a disgrace for Islamic countries, for Islamic regimes that Israel comes and does what it wants with the Palestinians, commits those crimes in Lebanon and 1 billion Muslims sit back and watch? What are they afraid of? Why should they be so impotent?

The life line of the East and the West is in their hands. Oil is the life line of these countries. If they stop the flow of oil for 10 days, they will collapse. While this life line is in the hands of so-called Islamic regimes, they still offer it to them and beg

them to take it. Is this not a tragedy for Muslims? Give everything we have to the foreigners and remain in sincerity and accept an obligation from them? When Muslims do not attend to divine issues, to Quranic issues, not pay sufficient attention to Islamic issues, trample upon Islam's invitation to unity, they have to become such that they give all they have and then beg them to accept.

Should we not awaken? Should they not learn a lesson from Iran? Today all of the big countries of the world, from the USSR who is continuously supporting Iraq, from the USA which is the same and from France which is a center of corruption and a place that claims to support freedom, all of the world is supporting Saddam.

If Muslims join, they will defeat them. As the whole world saw Iran stepped on them, all the world knows that the USSR and the USA and other powers were struck down with the blessings of Islam and this Islamic nation will never open the doors to those countries again....

I hope that this blessed journey you are to undertake will allow you to awaken Muslims of the world. Ask the court clergy why they want to serve America or Zionists. Find yourself in Islam, from the House of God. Join around the flag of Islam. Join around the House of God and form a covenant that your gathering will not oppose Islam but will relate to all issues of Islam.

With the Will of God you will curtail the hands of the superpowers and this great Islamic Congress will attain the results which Islam provides. Pray for Islam and Muslims. Pray that Muslims and their leaders awaken and turn their attention to Islamic issues and pray for this country which has given everything it has for Islam.

Peace and the blessings of God be upon you.

"When Muslims go on the hajj, it must be a living hajj, a crushing hajj,

which condemns this criminal USSR and that criminal USA." —Imam Khomeini