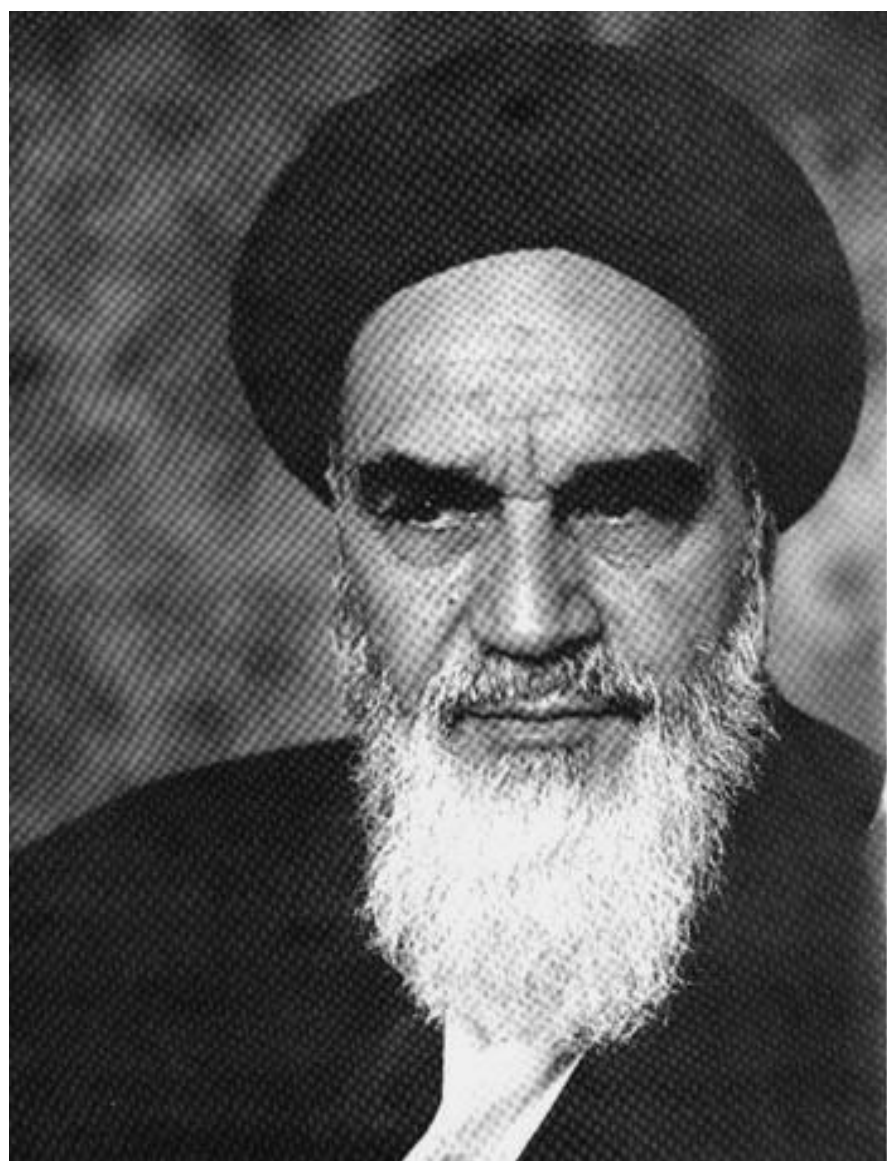




*In the Name of Allah,
the Compassionate, the Merciful*



KAWTHAR

Volume One

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)*



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کتاب کوثر جلد ۱ 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
اِ	i
اُ	u

Persian Letters

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

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Introduction

Introduction

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O

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
To thee have We granted the fount (of abundance)¹*

Culture, civilisation and positive elements in the social life of the human being are indebted more than anything to the sacrifice of those wise men who, with their lofty ideas, call mankind towards equity, justice and freedom, towards happiness and eternity and a truth which is greater than the palpable and the phenomena of the material world. These men can themselves be placed into two groups: those who simply show the way and guard a school of thought through cultural and ideological struggle or establish an ideological system and a philosophical base; and those who, in addition to initiating cultural movements and changes, personally enter the arena to change the status quo and set in place the desired system. The latter are ready to sacrifice their lives in the struggle to realise their aims.

Great men, who have proved the truth of their way and their ideas in practice - and of course it is they who have caused the most perpetual and profound social changes - have created true cultures and civilisations and

¹ Surah 108, Verse 1, *Kawthar*. *Kawthar*: the heavenly Fountain of unbounded grace and knowledge, mercy and goodness, truth and wisdom, spiritual power and insight, which was granted to the Holy Prophet, the man of God, and in some degree or other, to all men and women who are sincere devotees of God. That Fountain quenches the highest spiritual thirst of man; it confers overflowing benefits of all kinds.

have affected, to a great extent, the individual and social life of the human being. Undoubtedly, the most resplendent scenes of mankind's history have been brought about because of their struggles. At the head of this caravan of light are found the great prophets and the godly people. The phenomena of the Islamic Revolution and Imam Khomeini's movement can only be understood when looked at in the context of this journey and from this perspective. Indeed, had the movements of the prophets, and other uprisings which have taken place to ensure the continuation of their path, not occurred, could the life of the human being under the governance of autocrats and pleasure-worshippers and the egotism of the irreligious human being find any other representation than a fetid swamp brimming with oppression and injustice? Alone, Imam Khomeini grasped the torch of guidance of the Islamic nation [*ummah*], and no one would have believed that its lustrous rays would one day reach the farthest corners of the world and illumine the path of combatants and fighters in the East and West.

Retelling past historical events of nations and revolutions is not beneficial simply because it elucidates the facts and blocks the way of distortion, but also understanding the past is an inevitable necessity for ensuring the continuation of the path for future generations. From the time that the destiny of Islam fell into the hands of unfit leaders, and the enemies of God's religion dispersed the nation [*ummah*] of the prophet of unity with the weapon of discrimination and the vast dominions of Islam were divided and placed into the hands of corrupt governments, until the time that the present age thrilled at the call of the Islamic revolution, reform-seeking revolutions have continued to occur in Islamic countries. However, each of these movements, for various reasons including a lack of sufficient facilities and unpropitious conditions and in many cases because of the absence of a self-purified, decisive and strong leader, were stopped at their inception or midway, or treason forced them onto a deviated path. Of course, the result of these continuous struggles and noble uprisings has been such that the slogans and ideas of Islam have been kept alive despite the dreadful events which have taken place in the life of the Islamic nation throughout history.

The genesis of the scientific renaissance in Europe (a major part of which is indebted to the transfer to the region of Muslim experience, science and expertise, a fact which just, Western historians have also acknowledged in their books), followed by a period of industrial progress, inventions and successive discoveries, effected the imposition of the political power of the West, as a bitter reality, on the third world and Islamic countries and created a distance between them which increased day by day in favour of the West.

Expansionism and hegemony, two elements inherent in the neo-colonialist culture of the West, along with progressive development, brought about or increased the West's dominance on vast areas of the Muslim world. Formerly, many Islamic countries appeared in the group of European colonies, however with the rise of America as another hegemonical and aggressive power, the problems of the Islamic world increased. The two World Wars also left their mark, and they prepared the ground for further Western domination. The movements and personalities dependent on the West were singled out from amongst other elements with weak principles that enjoyed high positions and power in the Islamic countries and were, through numerous deceits, given the reins of power.

Under such circumstances, Islam, which as the last and most complete of the divine religions and the product of all the struggles of the prophets and which through the devotion of the Prophet Muhammad (upon whom be peace) and his companions had in the early days of its existence and in a short space of time crossed the borders of the Sasanian and Byzantine empires, was now displaced, abused and alienated from the social life of the Muslims. Stripped of all its life-giving properties by the hegemonical powers, by the propaganda of the enemies and the distortion of those *akhunds* dependent on the corrupt regimes, Islam was degraded to the confines of worship and personal practice.

The rise of Communism, with its deceiving and apparently revolutionary slogans, raised futile hopes, initially in the hearts of many Europeans and then in the hearts of Asians and Africans. However, not only did it have a positive effect on the painful situation of the Islamic societies, it also caused the appearance of another imperious power. The endless struggle of the communists with religion, the formation of leftist parties dependent on the Communist bloc in many Islamic countries, and in some cases the formation of puppet Communist states, opened new chapters in the painful, problematic history of the Muslims.

The discovery of vast sources of oil in the Persian Gulf region and many other areas of the Islamic world became a basis and powerful motive for further encroachment and increased supremacy by the universally predominant powers before becoming a ray of hope for the improvement of the dreadful conditions of the Islamic world. The new political divisions and the polarisation of the world into two spheres after the Second World War broadened the assault of the East and West against Muslim lands and increased their avaricious desire for supremacy there. The fire of local battles was inflamed. The holy land, the land of the Muslims' first *qiblah*, was given

to the Zionists, and the usurpatory government of Israel was set in place like a dagger in the heart of the Islamic countries. The relative vigilance of Muslims and their rage at the occupation of Quds was severely suppressed in its infancy, and the idea of Muslim unity against the new enemies was forgotten as nationalist sentiment and slogans were promoted by the enemies. Although some of the nationalists, such as Jamal Abdul Nasser, worked for the people and succeeded in taking some positive steps at certain stages of history, on the whole, the nationalist movement was merely a means, propagated by both East and West, to obstruct the realisation of true Muslim unity and to control and confine the anger of the Muslims arising from their potentially explosive situation to a specific area. Not only did Pan-Arabism, Pan-Turkism, Pan-Iranism and other such inclinations never act as a powerful leverage against aggressive Western culture, but they always worked as a means for increasing the internal differences and diverting Muslim attention from the real enemies. In reality, nationalism was a tool in the hands of those powers which sought to dominate.

Iran has played its role as one of the sensitive regions of the Islamic world during different periods of Islamic history. From the first centuries of Islam, it has been recognised as being one of the centres of defence of Abi Abdullah's [Imam Husayn (upon whom be peace)] uprising against the Umayyads. However, in recent times, its situation has been no better than that of other Islamic countries. At the time of the Qajars, and because of their treason, important areas of Iran were ceded to others. The constitutional movement, which, led by the *ulama* and *fuqaha* of the day, stirred hope in the hearts of the people, was suppressed. Under pressure from the governments, and because of the treason of irreligious intellectuals, leadership was taken away from the *ulama*, the path of the movement was diverted and, consequently, the dominance of the corrupt kings was strengthened.

Iran's strategic importance; its access to the warm waters of the Persian Gulf; the fertility and vastness of the land; the varying climate; the population of the country; the discovery of great oil resources and underground mines and Iran's common border with Tsarist Russia, first of all, and then later with the Soviet Union, were some of the factors which drew the covetous eyes of the new powers to this region. However, the deep religious belief and sentiments of the Iranian people were always the chief obstacle in the path of the hegemonical powers.

According to historical documents and the confessions of leaders of the Pahlavi regime, Riḍa Khan's coup d'état on February 21, 1921, (Esfand 2,

1299 AHS) was organised by the British. The result was the enforcement of one of the most dictatorial forms of government on the people of Iran. The dictated, public policy of Riḍa Khan was to copy Atatürk in the area of secularism and westernisation. The decree prohibiting religious ceremonies and enforcing the removal of the *hijab* of women [forcing the women to remove their veils] was formally issued and implemented and stood as a symbol of westernisation and the dependence of the new government. The dispersed uprisings of the believers and *ulama* in Mashhad and Isfahan and other regions of Iran were severely suppressed; the murder of the people in the Gawhar Shad mosque in Mashhad on July 12, 1935 (Tir 21, 1314 AHS) serves as an example.

Contemporary with the victory of the Allies in the Second World War - during the course of which some regions of northern and southern Iran were occupied by the aggressor powers - the famous conference of the allied heads of state (Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt) took place in Tehran. The new policies of the hegemonical powers called for a change in the methods of governing and the familiarisation of the puppet regimes with the new methods and developments in the world. Just as the Allies had brought Riḍa Khan to the throne, so too they now deposed him and banished him from Iran. Muhammad Riḍa Pahlavi, who, according to the confessions of his closest aide (General Fardust), was closely supervised, guarded and trained by the British government from his youth, was put in power and another chapter of pain and tyranny was added to the history of the Iranian nation.

It was under these circumstances that the superior powers in the war promoted a wave of xenomania, for the West, under the heading of intellectualism, and for the East, under the heading of revolution, in the third world and Islamic countries, including Iran. The common factor in both movements was the severe opposition to religion and religious slogans and manifestations. Unfortunately, the extensive propaganda campaign by the enemies to erase politics from religion and alienate religious categories from politics was greatly successful in subconsciously influencing the views of the people and even the opinions of those in the theological centres themselves. The role of the clergymen was confined to conducting formal religious ceremonies and delivering edifying sermons and lectures while attacks against them by the government were widespread and an atmosphere rife with deviated political and ideological thoughts prevailed. The sentiments of the vulnerable youth were driven towards deviating and politically-dependent ideas of parties, such as the Tudeh Party, and of godless people like Kasravi.

Imam Khomeini was born on September 24, 1902 (Mehr 2, 1231 AHS) into a family of learning, struggle and migration. His early days were marked by the strife between his honourable father and the khans and regional leaders which eventually ended in his father's martyrdom. Imam's childhood years and youth coincided with a period of social and political crisis in Iran. His sensitive spirit, imbued with a desire to fight oppression and the existing conditions of the time, motivated him, even at that time, to familiarise himself with political problems and the pains and troubles which afflicted his nation. A man of exceptional ability, Imam Khomeini soon finished the various courses of Islamic sciences he had embarked upon. In addition to Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and Islamic principles [*usul*], he also studied philosophy and gnosticism [*irfan*] at the highest level with the great teachers of that time. After Ayatullah Ha'iri moved to Qum, and the subsequent formation there of a centre for religious study, Imam Khomeini, with the greatest of pleasure, also went and settled there.

As was mentioned before, during this time a wave of hostility towards Islam was promoted in Islamic countries by Britain and other imperialist governments. In Iran, the agents of Riḍa Khan's government, in collusion with the irreligious, so-called intellectuals, pushed the ideas of Bahaism and Wahhabism to the fore. At a time when an atmosphere of intense fear prevailed over the religious establishment, and its policy was one of silence in the face of government atrocities, Imam Khomeini, in his first reaction, wrote the book *Kashf al-Asrar* in 1943 (1322 AHS) (two years after Riḍa Khan's expulsion). In this book, Imam refutes the accusations of the anti-religious enemies and in numerous passages overtly attacks the Pahlavi rule for its crimes. A short time later, in a trenchant political proclamation which began with Sura 34, Verse 46 of the Quran: "**Say, I do admonish you on one point: that ye do stand up for God**" he exhorted all the *ulama* of Islam and the Iranian nation to rise up against the existing state of affairs.

The atmosphere of fear prevalent in the society, the torpor existing in the theological centre and the disputes over politics which took place there were obstacles in the way of any basic steps. The only solution was to regain the unity of the clergy, awaken the religious students and strengthen the position of the theological centres and of the *ulama*, as the trusted leaders of the people, a position which had been severely damaged by the policies of Riḍa Khan. After the death of Ayatullah Ha'iri, Imam Khomeini was active in promoting the candidacy of His Holiness Grand Ayatullah Burujirdi for the position of supreme religious authority.

The Second World War prepared the grounds for US domination in the regions under European control and the transfer of political power. At the time, the European countries were immersed in the economic problems and crises which resulted from the war and were engaged in repairing the vast destruction. The American leaders, who were not directly affected by the destruction of the war, imposed their economical system on the world and began to expand their fiendish domination over other countries. The British government, which saw Iran as a country where it had traditionally held sway, had no choice but to relinquish its role to America. At this time, two main concerns, namely: domination over oil-rich regions and acquiring geographically strategic bases against the Russians, formed the focus of America's political and economic actions and from both points of view Iran was the centre of attention.

Meanwhile, after the struggles of the late Mudarris, which ended in an act of tyranny with his martyrdom, the clergy were pushed out of the political scene of Iran. In the period between the referendum for the Sixteenth National Consultative Assembly in 1950 (1329 AHS) and 1953 (1332 AHS), an opportunity presented itself for the reappearance of the clergy on the political scene. The *Fida'iyān-i Islam* killed the Prime Minister of that time, General Razmara, who severely opposed the movement for the nationalisation of the country's oil. The assistance and support given by Ayatullah Kashani to the minority group in the Parliament, under the leadership of Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq, led to the approval of the bill nationalising the oil industry. Demonstrations by the people on July 21, 1951 (Tir 30, 1331 AHS) brought about the dismissal of Qavam ul-Saltana and the reappointment of Dr. Musaddiq as Prime Minister. The Shah was forced to leave Iran, but the leadership of the clergy was not desired by the members of the National Front. Their opposition set Musaddiq against Ayatullah Kashani. The differences between these two leaders of the movement and the treacherous actions, both overt and covert, of the communist Tudeh Party prepared the grounds for the implementation of US plans. Consequently, with the coup d'état of August 19, 1953 (Mordad 28, 1332 AHS), the dictator returned to Iran.

What comes to light from Imam Khomeini's communications and conversations with Ayatullah Kashani at that time, along with Imam's later speeches and messages, is that Imam was not altogether happy with the aims of the movement, and, more importantly, with some of the personalities of the movement. Two years after the coup d'état, the members of the *Fida'iyān-i Islam* group were arrested; Navab Safavi and his companions

were tried in a military court and hanged at dawn on January 17, 1956 (Dey 27, 1334 AHS).

With the appointment of General Zahidi, the American puppet, as Prime Minister, a period of treason and plunder of the vast resources of Iran was ushered in once again, this time with an even greater urgency than before. From 1953-1963 (1332-1342 AHS) alone, the amount of oil plundered by the European and American companies was more than the amount of extracted oil pillaged by Britain over the previous fifty years.

The Iranian economy, agriculture and culture was subject to direct incursions by America and the West, and in a short time Iran was transformed into a military base for preserving American interests in the sensitive region of the Middle East. The responsibility for training the armed forces and the key positions therein were handed over to American military advisers. Economic, military and political agreements for the protection of the illegitimate interests of America were ratified one after the other by the coup d'etat regime.

The circumscribed reappearance of the National Front and a few other political groups in the political arena during the years 1960-1963 (1339-1342 AHS) was not constructive and it actually resulted in the break up of this organisation. The religious wing of the National Front separated itself in 1961 (1340 AHS) and formed the Liberation Movement of Iran.

White House tacticians, in order to stave off popular unrest and Communist influence, added the task of carrying out meretricious reforms to the programmes of their puppet regimes. In Iran too, the Shah, under pressure from the Americans, gave the premiership to Dr. Ali Amini. The new political climate conceived by America was to be realised through a series of superficial reforms, at the head of which was to be the land reform programme.

The position of the theological centre in Qum, which had been strengthened by the struggles of Grand Ayatullah Ha'iri and the powerful presence of Grand Ayatullah Burujirdi and enlightened personalities such as Imam Khomeini, was seen as being a potential obstacle in the way of the American reforms. The Iranian regime, in its analysis of the situation upon the death of Ayatullah Burujirdi and the subsequent divisions over the candidate for position of supreme religious leader, believed that an opportunity for the speedy implementation of the reform programme had presented itself. The Shah, in a trip to America, won approval from the White House for his plans to change the cabinet and appoint Asadullah Alam as Prime Minister. In January 1962 (Dey, 1340 AHS), the land reform bill was

approved. In addition to the manifold support given by America, the Russian state-controlled media also praised the Shah's actions.

In October 1962 (Mehr 1341 AHS), the Provincial and District Councils Bill was also approved. Essentially, the motive behind the bill was the eradication of Islam. With its approval, the Islamic stipulations concerning voters and candidates for election were dropped, and the pledge of allegiance was changed from "swearing on the Holy Quran", to "swearing on the Holy Book". The main goal of the regime was to assess conditions and prepare the grounds for the implementation of the following and most important stage of the so-called White Revolution.

Imam vigorously opposed this bill and invited the *maraji*, the theological centres and the people to rise up in protest. Following Imam's warnings to the government in the form of telegrams to the Prime Minister and his speeches and proclamations, and the support given by the *maraji* as well as the widespread demonstrations of the people in Qum, Tehran and other cities, Alam's government informed the *maraji* of Qum that the bill had been rescinded. Imam Khomeini reacted with vigilance and announced that the annulment of the bill had to be officially and openly announced by the government. The regime was eventually forced to submit. This was the Iranian nation's first political victory under the leadership of Imam Khomeini after the coup d'etat of August 19, 1953 (Mordad 28, 1331 AHS). Following this event, the Shah's regime increased its widespread propaganda campaign against the clergy. America persisted in implementing its new policies. The main tenets of the so-called White Revolution were codified and implemented following a fraudulent referendum held on January 26, 1963 (Bahman 6, 1341 AHS).

Imam Khomeini, aware of the consequences of an intensification of American dominance and worried about the future position of the theological centres, decided to adopt a policy of resistance and all-out opposition to the new policies of the Shah's regime. Through his forceful messages and speeches, at a time when suppression had cast its shadow over every facet of Iranian life and an atmosphere of silence prevailed, he rekindled the flame of revolutionary zeal in the hearts of the people. In one of his speeches, delivered on February 20, 1963 (Esfand 1, 1341 AHS) after the mendacious referendum, Imam said:

"Do not be afraid of these rusty, old bayonets. These bayonets will soon be broken. The regime cannot oppose the wishes of a great nation with bayonets and sooner or later it will be defeated."

The young religious students of the theological schools and the believers prepared themselves to rise up in the way of Imam. On March 22, 1963 (Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS), the day of the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam Ja'far Sadiq (upon whom be peace), in a precipitous and barbaric move the regime attacked the Faydiyyah Madrasa in Qum. Imam in a message following this attack explicitly announced his uncompromising position:

“I have now prepared my heart for the bayonets of your agents; but I am not prepared to take your bullying and to be submissive in the face of your tyranny. God willing, I will explain God’s laws on any occasion I see fit and as long as I have a pen in my hand I will divulge actions taken which go against the interests of this country.”

In another message on the occasion of the fortieth day of this disaster, Imam explains the connection between the Iranian Islamic revolution and the interests of the Islamic world:

“I declare to the heads of the Islamic countries, whether Arab or non-Arab: The *ulama* of Islam, the religious leaders, the Iranian nation, together with its noble army, are the brothers of the Islamic countries and share their interests. They abhor and are disgusted at the treaty with Israel, the enemy of Islam and Iran. I say this quite clearly; if they wish, let the agents of Israel come put an end to my life.”

The news of Imam’s revolt spread across Iran, and the atmosphere in Qum, Tehran and many other cities was tense. The afternoon of *Ashura* (June 3, 1963 AD, Khordad 13, 1342 AHS) arrived. Imam Khomeini, in a harsh speech, revealed the secret relations, the friendship and the agreements existing between the Shah and Israel. On the evening of June 4 (Khordad 14), Imam’s home was surrounded by commandos. By the following morning, the leader of the uprising had been arrested and taken to Tehran.

The great event of Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963), which in reality marked the peak of popular support for Imam Khomeini’s movement, occurred. The shouts of “Either Death or Khomeini” rang out throughout Qum, Tehran and other cities of Iran.

The American reforms, according to the plans of the White House, had to be implemented in the different areas of the world - and especially in Iran which had the role of island of stability in a convulsive Middle East - in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity; thus the name White Revolution was given to the Shah’s reform plans. However, the uprising of the people on Khordad 15 spoilt all the regime’s schemes. It was a bloody and widespread confrontation, and for the first time in the recent history of Iran an uprising

had occurred which was one hundred percent Islamic and which under the leadership of the religious establishment was aimed at the overthrow of the monarchy. After the killings of Khordad 15, a wave of arrests and expulsions took place all over the country. One after the other the friends of Imam were sent to prison or into exile. Chivalrous people such as Tayyib and Haj Riḍayi, who were in the front line of the people's demonstrations in the south of Tehran on Khordad 15, were executed, and the movement was apparently crushed and controlled.

In prison under interrogation Imam announced openly that he did not accept the ruling body and the imperial judiciary as being righteous and legal. He refused to respond to their repeated interrogations. The pressure of public opinion and the protests of the *ulama* and people from different areas within the country and outside it eventually forced the regime to free Imam from confinement¹ on April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) and transfer him to Qum. The widespread celebrations which took place in Qum showed the determination of the religious students and the people in continuing their support for Imam. The Shah's regime assumed that with the merciless killings on Khordad 15 and the arrest of the effective elements of the movement, Imam Khomeini would abandon the movement and keep silent. On the contrary, immediately upon his release, and on the occasion of the issuance of a decree condemning Ayatullah Taleghani and Mehdi Bazargan to imprisonment, Imam issued a statement in which he warned against the illegitimate actions of the ruling body, the danger of recognising Israel and of Israeli dominance in the country's affairs. Furthermore, in two speeches² he announced his determination to continue the movement and said:

“Even if they wish to hang Khomeini, he will not compromise. Do not be mistaken, even if Khomeini comes to an understanding with you, the nation of Islam will not compromise with you. Do not be mistaken, we are in the same fortress as we were. We oppose all anti-Islamic decrees. We oppose all coercion.”

The Shah, in response to a congratulatory message from the American President after the fraudulent referendum said: “We can be assured of the

¹ After his arrest, Imam was sent to Tehran and was imprisoned in the Officers' Club on June 5 (Khordad 15). On the evening of the same day, he was transferred to a prison in the Qasr barracks and on June 25, 1963 (Tir 4, 1342 AHS) he was taken to a cell in Eshrat Abad barracks. On August 2, 1963 (Mordad 11, 1342 AHS) he was transferred to a house belonging to SAVAK in the Dawudiyyah district of Tehran. A few days after that he was transferred to another house in the Qaytariyyah district of Tehran where he was held until April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) surrounded by the security agents of the regime.

² April 10, 1964 (Farvardin 21, 1343 AHS) and May 15, 1964 (Ordibehesht 25, 1343 AHS).

good will of our American friends in the implementation of our economic and social plans.” The implementation of the new plans was not possible without the direct presence of the American military advisers. However, the Khordad 15 movement and the continuation of Imam’s struggle presented a hazy future for the regime’s reforms. America decided to revive the medieval Capitulation Bill in order to safeguard the lives of its citizens and preserve its interests in Iran. According to this bill, American political and military advisers would receive judicial immunity and in reality any unlawful and immoral act on their part would be permitted and could not be protested against. The Capitulation Bill, which had already been approved by the cabinet of Asadullah Alam in October 1963 (Mehr 1342), was once again taken by the government of Hasan Ali Mansur to Parliament in October 1964 (Mehr 1343) and approved. This bill was, in fact, an open and formal step towards the destruction and sale of the judicial and political independence of the country.

As soon as Imam Khomeini was informed of this treachery, he began a widespread struggle against the bill. He sent messengers to different areas of Iran to inform the people of his decision to deliver a speech on October 26, 1964 (Aban 4, 1343 AHS) revealing the regime’s plans. A frightened Shah sent a representative to Qum, but Imam refused to accept him. Eventually, the representative succeeded in meeting with Imam’s eldest son, the martyr Hajj Mustafa, to whom he delivered a message from the regime: “America is in such a powerful position that any attack on it would be more dangerous than attacking the first person of the country. In these times, if Ayatullah Khomeini wishes to deliver a speech, he should be very careful not to cross swords with the American government, for to do so would be very dangerous and would effect a very sharp and strong reaction from them.”

In spite of the regime’s serious threat, Imam delivered his famous speech against the Capitulation Bill on the day he had planned to do so. In his speech, he attacked the regime’s open, anti-Islamic violation of Iranian sovereignty and independence, and in a warning to the *ulama, maraji*, theological centres, army and nation of Iran openly exclaimed:

“Let the American President know that in the eyes of the Iranian nation, he is the most repulsive member of the human race today.....All our troubles today are caused by America.”

In addition to this speech, Imam Khomeini also issued a harsh declaration denouncing the bill. A new wave of objection and opposition swept over Iran. The Shah’s regime saw the solution to lie in the expulsion of Imam.

At dawn on November 4, 1964 (Aban 13, 1343 AHS), Imam's house was once again surrounded by hundreds of commandos and paratroopers. Imam was arrested and taken straight to Mehrabad Airport in Tehran and from there, according to agreements made by the regime, he was sent first to Istanbul and then into exile in Bursa, a city in the west of Turkey. There, under the observation of the security forces of the two countries, he was forbidden from carrying out any form of social or political activity.

On January 21, 1965 (Bahman 1, 1343 AHS), Muhammad Bukhara'i and his friends - members of the United Islamic Groups who were supporters and followers of Imam - punished Hasan Ali Mansur for his treason. All of the group members were arrested; four of them were executed and the rest were imprisoned for long periods of time.

By distancing Imam from the centre of revolution and through the widespread arrests of his followers, the movement of Khordad 15 was controlled. By means of the Pahlavi regime, America carried out its desired changes in the different industrial, economic and cultural fields of the country and in the Iranian army.

Continual pressure from the people and *ulama* was brought to bear on the Shah's regime to permit Imam to leave Turkey for a more favourable place of exile, Najaf, one of the Shii shrine cities of Iraq. As a result of this pressure and the difficulties encountered by the Turkish government in containing and controlling Imam's activities, bearing in mind the similarity between the political climate prevailing in Turkey and that in Iran, consent was given on October 5, 1965 (Mehr 13, 1344 AHS) and Imam proceeded to Najaf. In agreeing to this move, the Shah's regime believed it would free itself from popular pressure. However, more important was the assumption on the part of the regime that the apathy and muteness which had gripped the theological centre in Najaf would form a natural and important obstacle to Imam's activities.

In the past, the theological centre in Najaf had nurtured such outstanding and combatant personalities as the late Mirza Shirazi (upon whom be peace) and had been a fortress defending Islam against the enemies' attacks. However, at the time of Imam's exile there the dynamism had stagnated and an air of apathy and muteness prevailed. The idea of the separation of religion from politics, which came about through the influence of latter-day colonialist propaganda and the policies of the Baathist regime in Iraq, had cast a noticeable shadow over this centre.

It was difficult and distressing for such a combatant personality as Imam, who was so involved with the many problems of the Islamic world, to be

present there under such conditions and to have to endure them. Despite having the honour of being close to the holy sites and being able to make a pilgrimage to them, Imam Khomeini himself has many times spoken acrimoniously about the conditions of the Najaf theological centre in his literary works.

On entering the centre in Najaf, Imam met with much discouragement, opposition and jealousy, not from enemies, but from ignorant friends and fellow-believers with fossilised ideas who felt that the life-giving Islamic laws had to be confined to a few juristic categories of worship and business transactions. This state of affairs was to continue in various forms until his migration to Paris. Moreover, Imam's open political activities were severely hindered by the control exercised by the Iranian and Iraqi security agents. In spite of these difficult conditions, Imam's charisma, learnedness and awareness meant that his classes came to be regarded as being of the highest calibre in Najaf in a very short space of time.

Despite the difficulties he had to face and in addition to his engagement in the teaching of courses in advanced studies of *fiqh* and the theoretical bases of Islamic rule entitled "*wilayat-i Faqih*", Imam Khomeini assiduously monitored the political affairs of Iran and the world of Islam whilst in Najaf and he maintained contact in various ways with the revolutionary Iranians, political prisoners and the families of the tragedy of Khordad 15.

Once Imam had become settled in Iraq, a group of Iran's revolutionary clergy successfully made the journey to Najaf, whilst others, disregarding self interests and having obtained Imam's approval, remained in Iran in order to establish relations between Imam and the movement within the country and to safeguard all that had been achieved from the Khordad 15 uprising. Imam's presence in Iraq presented the opportunity for a more direct and improved relationship between himself and both the devout Muslims and the Muslim students abroad than had prevailed in the past; and this very factor played a significant role in propagating Imam's ideas and the objectives of the struggle throughout the world. With regard to the Arab-Israeli wars and the violations perpetrated by the Zionist regime, Imam Khomeini put a great deal of effort into supporting the Palestinian Muslims' uprising and backing other frontier countries. Numerous meetings were held with the heads of rebel Palestinian organisations; certain envoys were sent to Lebanon; and an important historic religious decree was issued by Imam in which he declared it a religious duty to give full military, economic and moral support to the Palestinian uprising and to rebellions in those countries subjected to invasion.

This was the first time that such attempts were made on such a grand scale by one of the world's outstanding Shii *maraji*.

In spite of the stifling social climate within the country, communication of the movement's goals to the younger generation and people in general was maintained both by Imam's children and friends in the religious learning centres and universities and by the efforts of the general public and their mass-reproduction of Imam's messages, books and treatises. Of course many of these people willingly accepted exile, incarceration, severe tortures and martyrdom. The martyrdom of Ayatullahs Sa'idi and Ghaffari, who died under the torture of the Shah's agents, are cases in point. On different occasions Imam's messages and speeches from Najaf were the only means of carrying the Iranian nation's cries of protest to the ears of the rest of the world; whilst they also preserved the spirit of the revolution in people's hearts. Examples of such occasions can be seen during the affair concerning the formation of the Shah's Rastakhiz Party; during the period when the treaties of mutual cooperation between the Shah and the Zionist regime were being drawn up; and during the inauspicious crowning ceremonies of two-and-a-half millennia of monarchical rule and the Shiraz Art Festivals : the latter events taking place by the Shah's exaction of hundreds of millions of dollars from the oppressed people of Iran to cover expenses incurred, which in fact strengthened America's position in Iran and in the region as a whole.

Almost every year on the anniversary of Khordad 15 young revolutionary students from the religious learning centres would commemorate the event of that day, the most striking of these occasions being the religious students' 1975 three-day uprising in Faydiyyah Madrasa. Once more the cries of "Down with Pahlavi rule" and "Long live Khomeini" were resumed in Qum for a three-day period, as were the repressive tactics and precautionary measures of the regime. The uprising ended with special anti-riot squads storming Faydiyyah from the roof and main entrance; about five hundred of the religious students were arrested and yet again Faydiyyah Madrasa was closed down for a length of time. It was in fact Imam's messages and speeches alone which bravely defended this course of action taken by the religious students.

Meanwhile, after the quelling of the uprising and the exiling of the movement's leadership, America swiftly resumed the execution of its "reformatory" plans in Iran. Indeed, the period extending from 1961 until 1978 (1340 until 1357 AHS) saw the destruction of traditional agriculture. A country which at one time had enjoyed a surfeit in the production of many foodstuffs and agricultural and dairy produce, now became heavily

dependent upon foreign markets for people's basic needs; that is everything from wheat and rice to other produce. The Shah's regime, because of its tactless extraction of oil and the resultant oil revenue which had risen considerably due to the energy crisis, increased the number of assembly plants in various areas of industry; plants which are typically characterised among other things by a great dependence upon international companies. Consumption, especially of Western products reached an all-time high. The encouragement of a Western mentality and the effacement of Islam was the prime mission of the country's press, media and other broadcasting services. Zoroastrianism, Bahatism and Freemasonry were officially and openly propagandised. The designated origin of Iran's national history (the Iranian calendar) was changed from the migration of the Prophet (pbuh) to the monarchial reign of the Achaemenian kings. The worst possible form of despotism had been imposed upon people. There was no sign of military autonomy to be seen and the Shah and a few of his corrupt agents were in absolute command. Universities, having been drawn towards immorality, had become an arena for the ideas of xenomaniacs and Freemasons. The Shah's infernal SAVAK dictated matters of politics, national security and social order to various governmental branches. This period in Iran's history had truly been one of the darkest periods of rule by self-conceited sovereigns in this land. Over eighty percent of the national income and assets lay at the disposal of a few capitalists who were allied to the Shah's regime, of whom a considerable number were Bahai. A vast expanse of fertile ground and land which lay around primary dams had officially been handed over to a small number of the Shah's entourage and family members; and the regime's internal conflicts mainly revolved around the acquisition of wealth and the increased plunder of the public treasury.

All of this eventually led to the acute and ever-increasing poverty of the majority of people in Iran, the ghastly sight of which could be seen in different spheres of people's lives throughout the country, and even in large areas of Tehran. Under such circumstances, when the population of many regions in Iran and even that of large cities was deprived of clean drinking water, private planes regularly brought in European clothes and food as well as flowers and embellishments for the Shah's ceremonial programmes and for his cortege. Freedom in the true sense of the word had been sacrificed for the Shah's egocentricity and his false pride. A lack of space for the retention of a massive number of political prisoners posed a major problem for SAVAK. Severe torture would begin from the first hour of arrest and it would be administered in a manner so savage that a great number of people

actually lost their lives in this way. Indeed, it became notorious worldwide. The overt censorship of publishing and press activities was overwhelming. According to available documents and the disturbing confessions of the most intimate of the Shah's assistants, at that time the regime's foreign policy and its main domestic programmes were both devised and executed by the ambassadors of America and other Western countries. The extent of America's interference with Iran's destiny can be understood from the bitter event which occurred on the eve of February 11, 1978 (Bahman 22, 1357), when a large number of America's military and security advisers, dressed in military garb, secretly backed and directed the quelling of the uprising from the headquarters of Iran's armed forces.¹

During the period extending from Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) until Dey 11, 1356 (January 1, 1977), the course of struggle experienced numerous difficulties and fluctuations. Subsequent to Imam's exile, significant elements of the movement and in particular the revolutionary clergy were detained or sent to prison. The regime's publicity efforts, aimed at erasing the effects of the uprising, were becoming more intense.

The National Front at this time was extremely tied up with its internal and organisational problems. In effect, its solidarity had been upset, whilst the slogans and objectives of the wholly-religious uprising of Khordad 15 did not in fact tally with its political stand. Furthermore, the Tudeh Party, which, prior to the Mordad 28 (August 19) coup had made a brief appearance on the Iranian political scene whilst enjoying the backing of foreign governments, was not now engaged in any significant activity in the country following the coup d'etat and the blow suffered by the party's military wing in the years between 1954 and 1978 (1333 and 1357 AHS). Once captured, a number of the party's leading figures became members of SAVAK and assumed some of the key posts of the Shah's regime. From 1961 until 1963 (1340 until 1342 AHS) the analysis of the Shah's reforms made by those party leaders who were resident outside Iran, was in total accord with the opinions expressed by Radio Moscow and *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party's state newspaper. The latter supported the reforms regarding them as prerequisites in the transitional stage of the historical development of Iran's economy; and in agreement with the Shah and Western governments it too condemned the Khordad 15 uprising, labelling it as a reactionary move which was hostile towards modernising reforms.

¹ For further information refer to the article entitled "Khat-i Nijat" in the magazine *Hudur*, No. 3, 1991, (publisher of this work).

Certain factors had caused a number of the youngsters and intellectuals of Iran to be attracted to the athiest thoughts of Marx and in some cases to Maoism. These included a lack of strong religious political leadership prior to 1961 (1340 AHS); the instructive programmes of the Left and Tudeh Parties; the birth and development of Marxist movements in both Central and Latin America and elsewhere; and the espionage pursuits of Eastern governments. Following these betrayals and compromises and the successive defeats of the Tudeh Party, a group of leftists turned to armed struggle and created organisations such as *Chirikha-ye Fada'i-ye Khalq* (Organisation of the Iranian People's Fada'iyān Guerillas). Although their activities did on occasion wound the Shah's regime, nevertheless, several factors explain the ineffectiveness of the measures adopted by the leftists in Iran : the organisation's thoughts and ideology were incompatible with Iranian national culture; they ignored social and cultural factors at play in the country; they chose unsuitable methods and policies tried out in other parts of the world which are totally unlike Iran; they were wholly dependent on the financial and propagatory support rendered to them by Eastern governments; and they misused means and energies which could have been employed in aid of the nation's struggles.

The placing of most of the members of leftist forces at the top of the list of anti-revolutionary elements after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the obvious opposition of these forces to the most popular regime of its time, were the result of these very ideological deviations, gross historical mistakes and heavy dependency upon foreign powers. Internal turmoil and perpetual divarication are yet other characteristics typical of leftist organisations in Iran, which again are the consequences of misconceived ideas and a mistaken analysis of Iran's social conditions.

In 1961 (1340 AHS) a group of religious intellectuals branched out from the National Front and established the Freedom Movement (*Nihzat-i Azadi*) in an attempt to confront the deviations of the leftists and to attract religious youngsters. The Freedom Movement's religious outlook and its relationship and cooperation with figures such as Ayatullah Taleghani, left the Shah's regime no choice but to take serious steps to curb their activities. The persistent arrest of certain heads of the Movement from the time the organisation was set up until the year 1978 (1357 AHS), can be cited as an example of such steps. The Movement's major activities were confined to certain university gatherings and intellectual assemblies both within and without the country. As with other political organisations of that time however, there were various factors which prevented the Freedom Movement

from playing a significant and determining role in the leadership of the struggle and from representing a wide range of Iranian people. The following issues may be considered examples of such factors: obstinacy with regard to the National Front's point of view; assessing Iran's political situation on the basis of analyses made at the time of the National Oil Movement; the restriction of issues relating to the struggle to the level of internal difficulties; disregard for the connection between Iran's problems and those of the Islamic world; inadvertence towards the firmness of the clergy's leadership in both the Khordad 15 and subsequent uprisings; adoption of moderate and Fabian politics; approval of some of the dignatories of the monarchical system; and above all else the infiltration of those elements whose links with America and the West became disclosed in documentary evidence after the occupation of America's "spy den" in Iran.

The restricted political and propagatory activities of the Freedom Movement and the lack of applicability of its declared policies, forced a number of the youth and intellectuals connected with the Movement to take up armed struggle and thus in 1965 (1344 AHS) the Organisation of People's Fighters (*Sazman-i Mujahidin-i Khalq*) was founded. The knowledge of Islam held by the founders of this organisation was truly superficial, and its setup, its pamphlets of ideology and indoctrination and its proposed strategy for struggle were taken directly from typical leftist organisations. The organisation's books, manuals and manifestoes and the kind of methods employed by its members were a combination of the thoughts and methods of Marxism and Maoism and, on the face of it, of Islamic issues; and they were basically formed from nationalistic tendencies. This organisation could have capitalised from the existing vacuum and benefited both from the experiences of other organisations and from the adoption of a more dynamic policy in its opposition; whilst, disguised as an apparently Islamic organisation, it could have attracted considerably more youngsters and university scholars compared to other parties and groups. However, extreme ideological confusion and the complexity and wide variation of the thoughts it combined, resulted in a great number of the organisation's key members formally adopting the path of apostasy subsequent to the arrest and execution of the organisation's founders. During a bloody purging, those elements which insisted upon the religious aspect of the organisation were eliminated; a declaration of the change in the organisation's ideological views was issued; communism was openly adhered to; and the worst of the leftist organisations such as Paykar were brought into being and developed. Following their arrest, some of the organisation's members escaped

execution by writing several letters of recantation and expressing remorse. When, thanks to the renewed popular struggle in 1977 and 1978 (1356 and 1357 AHS), they were released from prison, they gave consideration to the reorganisation of the dispersed group; and the people of Iran are well-acquainted with the *Munafiqin*'s¹ black record after the triumph of the Revolution. Its black pages document explosions and indiscriminate terrorism; pleas to America and the West for asylum; mercenary activities for Saddam throughout the war; and acts of espionage for alien foreign powers.

At this juncture I must point out that Imam Khomeini, with his amazing powers of perception, was the only one to have been fully aware from the beginning of the meaningless slogans and ideological deviation of this Organisation. Many of Imam's close associates and distinguished clerical figures requested that he gave his approval for and support to this organisation at that time, but Imam persistently refused; and even the lengthy discussions held between himself and the organisation's envoys to Najaf could not change the firm stance Imam adopted towards them. Following the decomposition of the setup of these hybrid organisations and the divulgence to the public of their deviated path, certain revolutionary groups were formed from 1972 (1351 AHS) onwards comprising those who believed in Imam's line. The most notable of these were the seven groups which later formed a coalition and created the Fighters of the Islamic Revolution (*Sazman-i Mujahidin-i Inqilab-i Islami*). The formation and activities of these groups were in accordance with the people's struggle and strongly supported the popular demonstrations and strikes of 1977 and 1978 (1356 and 1357).

Fada'iyān-i Islam (Devotees of Islam), founded in 1944 (1323 AHS) through the efforts of the revolutionary cleric Martyr Sayyid Mujtaba Navvab-i Safavi, was the most well-established of those religious parties and organisations believing in armed struggle, which held a deep-rooted faith in both Islam and the role of the clergy whilst housing no sympathy towards any other schools of thought. The measures taken by them at the beginning of the Shah's rule and during the period in which they enjoyed the support of the revolutionary sage Ayatullah Kashani, offered a ray of hope for the religious forces in comparison to the activities of other satellite parties such as the Tudeh Party. In addition to its continued political pursuits, among the militant activities of the *Fada'iyān-i Islam* were the killing of Abdul Husayn Hajir and Marshal Razmara (the Shah's Prime Minister); as well as several

¹ *Munafiqin* - a Quranic term meaning hypocrites. This word, assonant with the word "mujahidin", was adopted by the Iranian people to refer to the members of the *Sazman-i Mujahidin-i Khalq* whose actions and beliefs they saw as hypocritical with regard to Islam.

assassination attempts against the Shah, certain members of the royal family and Husayn Ala (all of which failed). Subsequent to the event of Khordad 15, 1342 *Hayatha-yi Mu'talafa-yi Islami* (The Councils of the Islamic Revolution) was set up according to the directions of Imam Khomeini which enjoyed both his support and his leadership. The founders of the Council comprised certain members and partisans of *Fada'iyān-i Islam* and a number of devout Muslim bazaar merchants and members of Tehran's religious societies, who were in contact with and shared the ideas of distinguished figures such as Martyr Murtaḍa Mutahhari and Martyr Dr. Bihishti. This group played a significant role in the reproduction and distribution of Imam's books and declarations; in holding ceremonies and actively participating in demonstrations and marches held in support of the Khordad 15 uprising; and in continuing the movement following Imam's exile. The revolutionary execution of Hasan Ali Mansur (January 21, 1965 (Bahman 1, 1343 AHS)) was organised and enacted by the military wing of this group.

Measures taken by Imam Khomeini and his presence as the movement's leader during the period of the clergy's revolt in opposition to both the Provincial and District Councils Bill and the Shah's referendum (which culminated in the Khordad 15 uprising), led to the winning of the co-operation and sympathy of the *maraji* of that time in Iran. The outcome of meetings and discussions held by Imam with the *maraji* were usually made public in the form of collectively or individually issued written statements. The young religious students and Imam's revolutionary students lent their support to the movement, but there were many well-known figures and bigots in the religious teaching centres who were unable to truly grasp the struggle and who therefore made manifest their discontent in various forms. These included a wide range of people, from those who were opposed to philosophy and gnosticism and the formalists who saw politics as something beneath the dignity of the clergy, to those Hujjati and wilayati associations which, each in different ways, questioned the aims of struggle both in public and private gatherings. To these we must add those clerics who overtly or covertly had ties with the Shah's regime and those passivists who regarded Imam's movement as a cause of disruption to their comfortable positions, confining the affairs of the *maraji* to hand-kissing, writing disquisitions and receiving religious payments.

Imam Khomeini, renowned for his patience and tolerance, had the following to say in a message about the problems experienced by the movement under the prevailing circumstances in the religious learning centre:

“The more influential of the crusading clergy have truly been wounded. Don’t be mistaken in thinking that it is our rivals alone who have accused us of collaborating with the opposition and have cast aspersions of infidelity, for this is not at all the case. Those wounds inflicted, whether deliberately or not, by foreign agents¹ among the clergy, were and still are many times deeper than those inflicted by our rivals. At the outset of the Islamic struggle if one wished to say “The Shah is a traitor”, one would immediately hear the retort “The Shah is Shia”. A group of backward formalists regarded everything as forbidden by religious law and no one had the power to stand up to them. The anguish your old father (Imam himself) has suffered from this fossilized group has never before been suffered by him from the pressures and adversities brought about by others... Learning a foreign language was seen as blasphemous; and philosophy and gnosticism were considered sinful and polytheistic. In Faydiyyah Madrasa my infant son, the late Mustafa, drank water from a jug; they then washed the jug. This they did because I taught philosophy!!²... On Khordad 15, 1342 we were not only confronted by the rifle- and gun-fire of the Shah, if it had been solely this then the confrontation would have been eased, but in addition were the bullets of deceit, formalism, and petrification fired from within our own camp; the bullets of sarcasm and hypocrisy which tore apart and burned one’s heart and soul a thousand times more than could gunpowder and lead... The genuine clergy truly cried blood in solitude and captivity.”

Notwithstanding all of these difficulties, Imam’s forceful presence at the scene of the events of 1961 and 1964 (1340 and 1343 AHS) which took place in the theological centre of Qum, overshadowed the hindrances of the opposition. Imam’s banishment however, saw the emergence of a period of oppression and lengthy exile for his friends and associates in the religious

¹ The word translated here as “foreign agents” - *va-bastaha* (dependents) - does not imply that the individuals in question have formally enrolled themselves in the service of foreign powers. Rather, they are connected to those powers through their attitudes and way of thought, which tend to facilitate foreign domination.

² The relationship between teaching philosophy and washing the jug lies in the belief in *nejasat* (unclean substances) and *mutaharat* (purifying agents). Because Imam taught philosophy he was regarded by some as a *kafir* or athiest thereby rendering him *najis* (unclean). It is believed that when an unclean object comes into contact with another object, whereby either or both objects are wet, then both objects are rendered unclean. The unclean object may then only become clean again through a purifying agent such as water, which is to be applied to the object in a ritually-approved manner.

learning centres and of growth and development for rival organisations. The pressures exerted by the Shah's regime and its heavy suppression of the movement had brought about a situation whereby the majority of the clergy believed it best to remain silent!! This was true to the extent that until 1977 (1356 AHS), when the movement attained new heights, no overt campaign, message or speech indicative of the continuation of the movement's aims was to be seen or heard other than the declarations of Imam and his associates; or if they were witnessed then they were very few and inconsequential.

The Hujjatiyah Association expanded its organisation by playing on the sympathies of the general public and in particular those of the youth towards Islamic thoughts (which in fact was one of the products of the harvest reaped from Khordad 15). The Association's secret meetings and the methods it employed to attract members held a certain appeal whereby the religious forces would join it. Its activities, whether by intention or not, suited SAVAK down to the ground, the vibrant energies of the youth and the educated which could have carried some of the weight of the struggle, being spent on learning about the shortcomings of the absurd Bahai laws and how to campaign against these principles. The leaders of this Association never came to realise or accept that their activities constituted a struggle against the effect (and not the cause) and that they were in fact a diversion from the line of their movement, since Bahaism (born of American politics) was at that time a wholly political tool at the disposal of the Shah's regime and not a true movement founded on ideas and thoughts. The danger posed by the Bahais sprung from the fact that the elements of this group were organised as links in the chain of an Israeli-devised world plan and that they were installed by the Shah in the country's pivotal positions as spies and safeguards of Israeli and American interests. The real struggle against these people entailed politics and rationale; something which was not to be found in any of the Hujjatiyah Association's programmes. It is no wonder that the affairs of this Association remained untouched by SAVAK's aggression from the day of the Association's conception until the triumph of the Islamic Revolution.

Article Nine of the Hujjatiyah Association's Constitution reads: "The Association will in no way become involved in political affairs". Accordingly, one of the conditions for membership was the submission of a written oath swearing non-interference in politics. In one of SAVAK's documents which carries the signature of the head of the Third Division, we read: "The chairman of the Association has requested SAVAK's assistance in order for the Islamic Propagation (an affiliation of the Hujjatiyah

Association) to hold an informed and philosophical confrontation in the capital with Bahaism... “In another document signed by the head of the Information Section of the Anti-Riot Joint Committee it is written: “According to information given by Hajj Shaykh Mahmud Zakirzada (Tavalayi), known as Halabi, one of the co-ordinators of this meeting (of the Hujjatiyah Association) is assisting the Twenty-First Division of the country’s State Security and Intelligence Organisation (SAVAK) in Tehran. It is best to question the aforesaid man with regard to the meeting which was held, prior to the others being summoned.¹

When in 1978 (1357 AHS) Imam declared celebrations of Shaban 3 and 5 forbidden by religious law² in protest to the crimes of the Shah’s regime, the Hujjatiyah Association entered the arena in all earnest to end the protest. According to their reasoning, ideological decadence, inappropriate and negative analyses with regard to the awaited Saviour and circumstances surrounding the appearance of *Hadrat* Mahdi (may God hasten his renewed manifestation), had reached the stage where any kind of endeavour or political struggle to establish national sovereignty of the Righteous was condemned since it would cause a delay in the appearance of the Imam of the Age. Thus it goes without saying that in the light of such logic, submission to oppression would have been encouraged whereas the Khordad 15 uprising and Imam’s awakening cries would have been condemned.

Another front which enjoyed the support of SAVAK and confronted Imam Khomeini’s movement in the religious teaching institution was that which supported the ideas and activities of Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Shariatmadari and those institutions to which he was linked. Certain honorable *ulama* had been aware of his true colours from the time when he had gone alone to welcome the Shah despite the *ulama* of Tabriz having declared such conduct categorically forbidden; and there he had lauded and offered prayers for this *taghut* (Shah) in the latter’s presence.

However, after the demise of Ayatullah Burujirdi, Mr. Shariatmadari paved the way for his accession to the rank of *marjaiyyat* by taking advantage of the prevailing state of both the religious teaching centre and society as a whole and by exhibiting apparent accord with the uprisings of 1961 and 1962 (1340 and 1341 AHS); but in truth, it was with the help of certain parties such as himself that those in power successfully calmed the

¹ Refer to the photocopy of the documents of SAVAK in the booklet entitled *Mahiyat-i Zed-i Inqilabi-yi Anjaman-i Hujjatiyyah ra Beshenasim*, document no. 2, p. 69 and document no. 3, p. 70 (by the publisher of the present work).

² Refer to Imam Khomeini’s declaration of July 4, 1978 (Tir 13, 1357 AHS).

situation, when, following Imam's exile, people prepared themselves for revolt. An example of the preventive measures taken by him during that period can be found in a report dated 7/6/1963 (17/3/1342 AHS) which was made by the head of SAVAK in Qum and which details Mr. Shariatmadari's telephone conversations and letters of reply. It reads: "Yesterday afternoon, the above-named person holds a telephone conversation with Tabriz... Shariatmadari states: I must advise you on two issues: a- Call on the people to be calm and to in no way hold demonstrations... In Qum, whenever people have demonstrated they have always been confronted by the military; but bullets cannot be fought against with lives alone! Hence rallying and demonstrating must be prevented; b- Do your best to ensure that they don't insult or show disrespect towards His Imperial Majesty... I am truly annoyed with Khomeini... I told Khomeini not to behave in this manner with the Shah and not to oppose the government or its policies; but he didn't listen and look where it got him. Meanwhile, prepare a favourable petition for me as well."¹

During Imam's absence and exile Mr. Shariatmadari found the circumstances opportune and on 9/10/1965 (17/7/1344 AHS), before the first year of Imam's exile had reached an end, he set up an organisation named *Dar ul-Tabligh* (House of Propagation) with a view to forming a circle to counter Imam's line and the religious teaching centre's revolutionary group in Qum. The founding of *Dar ul-Tabligh* had in fact been propounded since 1962 (1341 AHS), but Imam's presence and opposition had prevented it from being officially active. The nature of *Dar ul-Tabligh's* activities can easily be determined from a report of 31/5/1964 (10/3/1343 AHS) which was made by the head of SAVAK in Qum to his superiors: "At present it is not possible to persuade the writers of *Maktab-i Islam* to write in the aforementioned magazine about the issue in question... It is likely that a similar magazine will be launched in the future named *Dar ul-Tabligh*, the direct influencing of which will be possible. Mr. Shariatmadari has begun constructing the madrasa to which this magazine is affiliated. Signed: Badi'i, Head of The State Security and Intelligence Organisation (SAVAK) of Qum".²

The regime capitalised from Mr. Shariatmadari's position which was constantly used as a propellant to exert pressure upon the loyal forces of Imam Khomeini's movement. The continual harassment of Imam's followers by Mr. Shariatmadari's supporters both in Qum and various other regions in Iran and their troublesome activities throughout the period of Imam's exile,

¹ See a copy of the documents of SAVAK in *Shariatmadari Dar Dadgah-i Tarikh*, pp. 56 & 72.

² *Ibid.*

accounted for numerous occurrences, a discussion of which is beyond the scope of this introduction. Such instances include coagency and co-operation with the regime's scheme concerning the Education Ministry's orchestration of formal examinations for the theological students; the establishment of direct governmental influence over the religious teaching institute; and the sending of religious student conscripts to military service in order to be able to distinguish the revolutionary forces.

Throughout the years 1977 and 1978 (1356 and 1357 AHS), at the height of the Revolution's progression, Mr. Shariatmadari in his interviews and communiqués always adopted a stance different to that of Imam's resolute position. The following cases in point could be mentioned: his commitment to the previous Constitutional Law; his acceptance of monarchism; his opposition to the idea of establishing an Islamic government; his approval of a monarchical council subsequent to the Shah's escape; and his condemnation of the government rather than the Shah and America, as the prime cause of crimes committed. His involvement in the trouble surrounding the *Khalq-i Musalman* Party and the attempted coup against the Islamic Republic are further matters which the Iranian nation has witnessed from his televised confessions.

Another active force which, both in the theological centres and in the society at large, sidetracked the struggle from its main objective i.e. the toppling of the monarchy, towards divisive issues was that of the wilayatis. These also, like the other groups, constituted an incongruous collage. The corrupt pseudo-clerical elements which served the regime were the real disruptive influences, who, with some excuse or other, would create a problem within the religious communities on a daily basis; and who, by taking advantage of people's sentiments and the true love felt towards *wilayat*¹, drew public attention towards divergent issues and a confrontation with distinguished exegetes such as Martyr Mutahhari. The lectures and activities held by a group of clerical and university intellectuals in Husayniyyah-yi Irshad² (from 1967-1971 (1346-1350 AHS) and thereafter) had drawn the attention of a great number of university students and graduates towards a reassessment of Islamic interpretations and discussions and had introduced Islam to the country's younger generation on a grand scale, as a dynamic, forceful school of thought. The shortfalls present in Dr. Shariati's works, his harsh attacks against the clergy and his innovative ideas in the exegesis of religious and revolutionary topics, which occasionally were

¹ *Wilayat* - Islamic jurisprudential guardianship.

² An institution of religious learning in Tehran.

combined with erroneous opinions, had become a target of attack for the so-called wilayati force. The rostrums from where this group preached and delivered speeches had turned into a platform for making charges and malicious accusations of irreligiousness and Wahabism against this and that person. Furthermore, opposition to and defence of certain arguments found in Martyr Jawid's book, at times spurred fierce divisive debates at the theological centres; and in the thick of these brawls it was the Shah's regime which was the prime beneficiary. The latter tried to mar the face of the struggle and its supporters by aggravating differences and backing the opposition (of Imam's movement). Moreover, the devious measures and fanaticism of a number of the apparently revolutionary elements in the theological centres added fuel to the flames of the prevailing situation, thus verifying the regime's vicious propaganda. The murder of Ayatullah Shamsabadi in Isfahan and other similar occurrences, are illustrations of how SAVAK capitalised from such occasions.

What has so far been said is but a small fraction of a host of problems and obstacles which arose in the period stretching from the Khordad 15 uprising until the years 1977 and 1978 (1956 and 1957 AHS), when the Revolution was rekindled in the resumption of Imam's struggle. On the one hand Imam Khomeini bore the pain of being away from his homeland, his crime having been to have cried out against America; and on the other hand he bore both the storm of events which had been inflicted upon Iran and the waves of malicious accusations and hindrances from religious pretenders and from the clergy in the theological centre in Najaf. Nevertheless, in spite of these sorrowful and wretched conditions, Imam had to guide the storm-beaten ship of the Revolution through the countless narrow straits of events. In truth, the most difficult and critical period of the Islamic Revolution was during these years, every moment of which was full of incident and every instant of which was a storm intent on leading the ship of Imam's Revolution astray and extinguishing the torch that on Khordad 15, 1342 had been relit after thirteen centuries.

Mention must be made here of the great men who devoutly and resolutely revolved like moths both around Imam in Najaf and around the torch of his Revolution in Iran; and who eventually were consumed. They willingly endured accusations. Whilst at the pulpit or delivering sermons they spoke of Imam Khomeini and advocated his path. During the long dark stifling nights of the Shah's period of oppression, they safeguarded the Star of Freedom. On many occasions they braved the treacherous routes to Qum and Najaf by horse or on foot and passed on Imam's messages, speeches and

treatises from hand to hand and from heart to heart with the minimum of facilities to aid them. They stood up against the usurpers and conspirators in the theological centres. They willingly bore the bullets of affliction, imprisonment, torture, exile and displacement. They preserved martyrdom with their pure blood at a time when it had to a large extent lost its colour. This they did in order to bear witness to the Truth which was proudly proclaimed later by their Imam:

“For centuries now the clergy of Islam has been the staff of the deprived... In each and every period of history they (the clergy) have suffered affliction and hardship in order to defend the sacredness of their religion and nation; and as well as enduring all kinds of captivity, exile, imprisonment, intimidation, harassment, and sarcasm, they have bequeathed martyrs of great worth to the Holy Lord of Truth... In every divine and popular movement and revolution the *ulama* of Islam have always been the first to decorate their foreheads with the blood of martyrdom.”¹

Indeed, how can one regard as equal or even attempt to compare the value of the sacrifices made by these beloved martyrs and vanguards of the struggle, with the new comradeship of those who have recently joined the ranks of the Revolution?

When Jimmy Carter of the Democratic Party was elected President of the United States in 1976, the human rights issue was on the top of his agenda. His main goal was to cover America’s crimes throughout the world and to try to erase the memory of its criminal deeds in Japan, Vietnam, Korea and Palestine. In addition, the human rights issue was also used as a leverage for bringing pressure on America’s Eastern competitor, the now defunct Soviet Union. The enactment of this policy did not, however, bring about a change in the US government’s expansionist plans, its inhumanity towards other countries of the world or its oppressive behaviour inside the country itself. The increase in world public opinion and awareness along with the new global circumstances brought with them a repugnance for the old despotic systems which were supported by the American government.

In Iran, the Shah’s regime strengthened and stabilised its power by suppressing the opposition and eradicating the groups which fuelled the armed struggle. After Britain left the region, it became Iran’s responsibility to police the Persian Gulf, this being absolutely imperative for US exploitation in that part of the world. Iran was to protect American and

¹ A manifesto published by the clergy (Imam’s message to the theological centres).

Western interests in this strategic region neighbouring the Soviet Union, and it became known as a prototype of a Third World, Western-supported government.

The continuation of the absolute power of SAVAK and the despotic policies of the Shah were inconsistent with Carter's new plan for the propagation of human rights. For this reason, changes in the socio-political governing methods were put on the Shah's agenda by the Americans, but a change in the essential elements of imperial rule was not envisaged. An open political atmosphere was propagated at a time when the previous plans of America and the White Revolution had not achieved anything. The dissatisfaction of the impoverished nation increased as the great gulf between the classes of Iranian society widened daily, and the gates of the great civilisation proved to be no more than a mirage. The first step in the plan was to discharge Amir Abbas Hoveyda from his post as Prime Minister, after fourteen years in office, and replace him with a Western technocrat, Jamshid Amuzegar.

Imam's perceptiveness and his ability to make timely use of the opportunities which presented themselves showed his great awareness of global conditions and especially of those in Iran, even though he had been away from his nation for many years. On November 23, 1977 (Azar 2, 1358 AHS), Ayatullah Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini was mysteriously martyred in Najaf. According to Imam's friends and even many of his enemies at the theological centre, Mustafa was to be Imam's successor in his movement. Despite the heavy blow which this incident inflicted on the uprising, Imam Khomeini dealt with his death in a surprisingly patient manner accepting it as one of God's hidden blessings. Huge ceremonies were held in memory of Imam's son in several cities throughout Iran. Taking advantage of these large gatherings, revolutionary speakers spoke out on the regime's crimes and on the aims of the Khordad 15 uprising. Once again the name of Imam Khomeini was on everyone's lips.

In an attempt to wreak revenge, the regime published an article entitled "Iran and the Red and Black Imperialism" under the pseudonym of Rashidi Mutlaq in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of January 7, 1978 (Dey 17, 1358 AHS), the anniversary of the day that Riḍa Shah proclaimed the law forbidding women to wear the Islamic veil (*hijab*). This article abused the revolutionary clergy and Imam. Another reason the regime published this article was to assess the conditions after the implementation of the new political policy, the American's so-called human rights policy. Imam's followers at the theological centre responded. The following day classes at the theological

schools were suspended and a large crowd of people and religious students of Qum marched through the streets in protest at the publication of the article. They even went to the homes of the *maraji* and the lecturers of the Qum theological centre to seek their support. That evening the shouts of the crowd from the Azam mosque with slogans such as “Long live Khomeini” and “Death to the Pahlavi regime” shook the city of Qum reviving the memory of Khordad 15 (June 5, 1963). On the morning of January 9 (Dey 19), the demonstrations continued and grew even larger than the day before. That afternoon the police began firing into the crowd and blood was shed. The skirmishes between police and demonstrators lasted into the night with several people being martyred and many more injured. This move was the spark which began the explosion which occurred a year later on February 12, 1979 (Bahman 22, 1357), whereby through the strenuous efforts of the Iranian people and Imam’s perceptiveness, the selfish Pahlavi government was overthrown.

Funeral ceremonies which, according to custom, took place on the third and seventh day in honour of the martyrs of January 9th (Dey 19), and especially the gatherings which took place on the fortieth day commemorating the deaths, occurred consecutively one after another in Tabriz, Yazd, Isfahan, Shiraz, Jahrom, Ahwaz, Tehran and many other cities throughout Iran serving to fuel the uprising. On every occasion Imam’s inspirational and dynamic messages were sent from Najaf through many different channels; they reached Iran quickly and were widely distributed by the clergy and revolutionary youth, propelling the revolution ahead.

New Year celebrations and ceremonies for the 15th of Shaban in the year 1978 were cancelled by Imam, instead the people revolted and held protest marches against the regime. Imam sent an eight-point message in Ramadan of that same year in which he stated that it was a religious duty to reveal the Shah’s crimes from the pulpits everywhere during this holy month. This action served to spread the revolution to all regions of Iran, even the villages.

The revolt of the people of Isfahan in the month of Ramadan forced Amuzegar’s government to announce a state of martial law in several cities of this state in spite of the open political policy. Martial law was however largely ignored by the populace and demonstrations were not confined to the centres of the regions nor were they restricted to specific hours.

Several hundred individuals died when a fire started by SAVAK agents consumed the Rex Cinema in Abadan. Amuzegar’s cabinet was dissolved and in an attempt to control the situation, the regime set up the so-called “national reconciliation” government with Senator Ja’far Sharif Imami at its

head. In his televised speech, Imami referred to himself as a follower of Mr. Shariatmadari and a supporter of the clergy. In order to pacify the opposition and in accordance with orders from the American Embassy, he announced the abolishment of the imperial calendar and the return to the Islamic *hijra* calendar. But Imam Khomeini held his stance and called on the people to continue their revolt until the downfall of the imperial government and the establishment of an Islamic government.

The Id al-Fitr prayer gathering held on September 4, 1978 was led by Martyr Mofateh in Qaytariya, Tehran, and the prayer gatherings held in several other cities were a show of the people's support for Imam's plans and of their opposition to the Shah. Two days later the national reconciliation government was forced to impose martial law in Tehran and twelve other major cities throughout Iran. In spite of the stationing of tanks and trucks of armed soldiers, the people continued their demonstrations. Shouts of "Death to the Shah" could be heard at all hours of the day and night. The Shah wreaked vengeance through Sharif Imami's government, and hundreds of people were murdered in Tehran's Shohada Square on September 8, 1978 (Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS).

Imam Khomeini decisively and without hesitation promised victory. He condemned any kind of talk which did not call for the downfall of the Shah's regime and he warned the people continuously against any such ideas. At this time, the uprising was rapidly spreading and its leadership focused on Imam alone.

Meanwhile, the American Embassy in Tehran held meetings with the opposition National Front and the names of people such as Sanjabi and Seddiqi were on everyone's lips. Mr. Shariatmadari entered the scene through the help of the *Nihdat-i Azadi* (the Freedom Movement) and propaganda by nationalists, and sent messages or gave interviews daily, stating that he would participate in the leadership of the revolution.

Because of the nation's uprising in the year 1978 (1356 AHS), several political prisoners were released at intervals. Several leaders of political groups were freed and once again began re-organising their dismembered groups. Initially these groups did not support the uprising, and even criticised it for being wholly Islamic in its tendencies and for being led by the clergy and Imam, thus they played no major role in it. The massive and widespread demonstrations on the occasion of Id al-Fitr and September 8 (Shahrivar 17), however, forced them to join the movement in order to reap some advantages. The fervour of political meetings, the claims to the leadership of the struggle and the appearance of placards bearing party propaganda

increased throughout the uprising, but the slogans of the people, the organisation of the demonstrations, which came from the mosques, and the leadership of the clergy who joined in the front lines of the marches, showed the deep infiltration of Imam's messages and the people's acceptance of his leadership.

Strikes gradually reached governmental offices. Strikes by the oil workers were financially a great blow to the regime because of its dependence on oil revenues. The workers of the telecommunications company soon followed suit in response to Imam's messages, as did the employees of banks, the press and other companies and governmental centres.

The Iraqi government had no control whatsoever over Imam Khomeini. During a series of visits to Imam in the autumn of 1978 (1357 AHS), Sa'dune Shaker, Iraq's security chief, used threats in an attempt to stop Imam's activities. In a speech Imam mentions one of these visits and states: **"...he officially told me that due to an agreement with the Shah's government, he could not tolerate my activities here... I must not write anything, say anything, nor prepare and send cassette tapes because this violates their agreements. I told him that this was my religious duty and that he should carry out whatever duties he had¹."**

In a SAVAK report concerning the results of a visit to Baghdad on October 2, 1978 (Mehr 10, 1357 AHS) by a group of SAVAK agents to meet with Iraqi security heads it is written: "Discussions were held with Sa'dune Shaker lasting for three and a half hours during which the following noteworthy remarks were made: he (Sa'dune Shaker) held discussions with Khomeini and is of the opinion that the latter is determined in his plans and under no condition will desist from pursuing his aims. Khomeini, in reply to Shaker's warning for him to stop his political activities stated:

"I am political and religious, and I shall never compromise or yield in my political views²".

Due to pressures from the Iraqi regime, Imam Khomeini decided to make his historical migration. It was to prove to be a migration which would bring his long, rough journey of opposition to an end, a migration which mysteriously entered Imam's mind and resulted in the voice of a just, Shii

¹ Imam's speech in a meeting with the government council, *Kayhan* November 3, 1979 (Aban 12, 1358 AHS).

² SAVAK documents found in Imam's files. See *Hudur* magazine no.3 special issue published on February 11, 1991 (Bahman 22, 1370 AHS).

marja' being heard in the heart of Europe and throughout the Western world. On the reasons behind this decision Imam Khomeini states:

“...We intended to go first to Kuwait and then Syria...we had no plans to go to Paris. Perhaps we had no say in the matter and it was God’s wish that was bound to be carried out¹.”

Whatever, according to existing documents and the confessions of an airforce commander in Kermanshah, as soon as SAVAK was informed of Imam’s impending departure from Najaf, they made plans to kidnap him if he entered Iran and send him to an unspecified destination. Moqaddem, the head of SAVAK, sent an order to the chief of staff of the armed forces which read: “...Regarding the possibility that the above-mentioned (Ruhullah Khomeini) may enter the country through one of the borders by air or land, in the event, he and his companions must be brought as quickly as possible to central headquarters by military plane or helicopter. Please communicate this order to officers of the military bases, airbases and border city patrols so that they can give the necessary co-operation to the intelligence and local security agencies².”

After the unsuccessful discussions held between Iraq’s security chief and Imam, his house in Najaf was guarded by Baathist forces. Imam would not retreat from his position so the unanimous decision of the Baath Party of Iraq was to deport Imam. However, Imam Khomeini decided to leave Iraq for Kuwait. On arriving at the Kuwaiti border and after hours of delay, the Kuwaiti government did not give him permission to enter. Imam and those with him were then forced to return to Basra. The next choice was Syria, although it was not known whether permission to enter would be granted or whether, once there, he would be permitted to continue with his political activities. A short stop-over in France would give Imam a chance to speak to the Muslims in Europe and to prepare for travel on to another country. I suggested going to France and after much consideration and debate over several other countries, Imam announced his decision to go to Paris. Finally, on the morning of October 5, 1978 (Mehr 13, 1357 AHS), Imam, myself and several followers left Baghdad for Paris³. Some writers have not accurately reported the facts and have tried to imply that Imam’s migration to France

¹ Imam’s speech to the government council, *Kayhan*, October 4, 1979 (Mehr 12, 1358 AHS).

² SAVAK documents found in Imam’s files. See *Hudur* magazine no. 3 special issue published on February 11, 1991 (Bahman 22, 1370 AHS).

³ For more information on Imam’s trip to the Kuwaiti border, his return to Basra and Baghdad and then his journey to Paris and the events which occurred during this important, historical trip, refer to *Hudur* magazine no. 3, 1991 (1370 AHS).

was influenced by some group or individual, this is not true. The truth is what is stated here, just as Imam stated at the end of his will:

“Some claim to have influenced my decision to go to Paris, this is untrue. After returning from Kuwait, I held discussions with Ahmad and chose Paris because it was possible that the Islamic countries would not allow me to enter. They were influenced by the Shah, but this was not the case with Paris.”

As Imam entered Paris, representatives from the Elysee palace met him and handed him an official message from the French government prohibiting him from any kind of political activity. Imam replied in the same decisive tone he had used with the Iraqi authorities and said:

“I thought that here was different from Iraq. I will speak out wherever I am. I will travel from airport to airport and city to city in order to let the world know that all the oppressors of the world have joined hands together to stop the people of the world from hearing the voice of our oppressed nation. But I will make the voice of the brave people of Iran reach the ears of the world. I will tell the world what is happening in Iran.”

French moves to prevent Imam from continuing in his activities there provoked a strong reaction. The President of France, Giscard d’Estaing, and other French officials were inundated with telegrams and letters from religious and political circles and personalities, from students and *ulama* both inside and outside the country demanding that the Leader of the Revolution be allowed to pursue his activities. Imam’s popularity and public pressure caused the French authorities to adopt a less restrictive attitude, although they never officially announced this more liberal stance.

Imam Khomeini worked long hours at his residence in Neauphle-le-Chateau, a suburb of Paris. He guided the process of revolution step by step through the speeches he repeatedly delivered to students and other visitors, through his many interviews and the numerous directives he issued on the situation in Iran. At this time, Iran made the headlines in news reports across the world.

Meanwhile, inside the country itself, the national reconciliation government led by Sharif Imami - one of Britain’s most experienced pawns and a grand master of the Freemasons - could do nothing to help the Shah’s regime in the face of Imam’s decisive stance and the popular support he commanded. During his short term in office, the bloody massacre of September 8 (Shahrivar 17) was carried out, as was the disaster at the Friday Mosque in Kerman, martial law was imposed and widespread killings took

place in many cities throughout the country. National strikes peaked. Imam Khomeini, in a statement issued on the occasion of the September 8 (Shahrivar 17) disaster stated:

“Oh, if only Khomeini could have been with you by your side at the warfront and could have died for the sake of God the Exalted. Oh people of Iran! Be assured that sooner or later victory will be yours.”

As the schools and universities began their autumn terms, the educational and cultural centres went on strike adding to the regime’s crisis. On the anniversary of Imam’s deportation on November 4, 1978 (Aban 13, 1357 AHS), widespread demonstrations were held in and around the University of Tehran. The shouts of “Death to the Shah” and “Death to America” by tens of thousands of school children and university students revealed that Imam’s speech against the Capitulation Bill fourteen years ago had now borne fruit. At the time of the noon prayer, the demonstrations became the scene of much bloodshed as agents of the national reconciliation government attacked the crowds. The following day, Sharif Imami’s government was dismissed and a military government officially installed. General Azhari, better known as the “Tehran Butcher” because of the ruthless killings perpetrated during the month of Muharram, was put in charge of forming a cabinet. Following the fall of Sharif Imami’s government, Imam Khomeini in a message thanked the people of Iran and announced:

“My dear countrymen, have patience for the final victory is near and God is with the patient.”

The month of Muharram 1978 (1357 AHS) arrived. The people of Iran once again displayed their love for the Lord of the Martyrs, a love which had been preserved and passed down through the centuries from heart to heart. On the first evening of the month of Muharram at 9:00 p.m. at the suggestion of Imam’s fellow clergymen, people throughout Iran went onto their rooftops and shouted “Allahu Akbar” (God is Great) and “Death to the Shah” as police officers shot rounds of ammunition aimlessly into the air. The people then took to the streets in demonstrations and many were killed and wounded. Imam in a message on the occasion said:

“A nation which rises up out of awareness and vigilance and recognises its movement as being religious and divine, laughs at these rusty weapons. This great nation are the followers of the greatest man in history, who, with only a few followers, brought about the great *Ashura* movement which buried the Umayyad dynasty forever in the graveyard of history. By the will of God the Exalted, this dear nation and followers

of Imam Husayn (pbuh) will bury this wicked Pahlavi dynasty likewise and raise the banner of Islam not only in our country but throughout the world.”

In this same message, whilst encouraging the strikes and demonstrations to continue until the downfall of the regime, Imam Khomeini also requested the soldiers to abandon the army barracks. Soon, throngs of soldiers began leaving their barracks thus delivering yet another deadly blow against the regime’s most strategic stronghold. The revolt spread even to the Shah’s special guards, several officers of the guard stationed at Lavizan Military Base being killed on the anniversary of *Ashura* by revolutionary soldiers. Following Imam Khomeini’s messages on the days of *Tasua* and *Ashura*, a great demonstration organized by Ayatullah Talaqani and the Tehran Society of Revolutionary Clergy was held in Tehran which was reported to have had three to four million participants. This demonstration was in fact an unofficial referendum held by the people in support of Imam and in opposition to the Shah. There was no other way for Azhari to demonstrate the government’s authority in the country other than by using tanks and machine guns. Nearly all key government departments and the industrial, trade and cultural sectors of the country were on strike. Demonstrations and clashes between police and citizens continued day and night.

The employees of the Central Bank then published accounts for the months of September and October, 1978 (Mehr and Shahrivar, 1357 AHS), announcing that over 130 billion rials in foreign exchange had been taken out of the country by people connected to the regime. News of this kind caused a rush on the bank, which in effect paralysed the regime’s economy. The military government had previously announced that striking workers would not receive their salaries, so Imam then ordered that committees be formed to offer support to those on strike. In a demonstration held in Mashhad several hundred people were injured or killed. The Shah’s televised plea of innocence and public apology were rejected by the nation. At this point in time, according to his closest aides, the Shah began to completely lose control and humbly sought help from the American and British ambassadors, whilst at the same time the military government was aching from the defeat it had suffered. Once again there was talk of a replacement being found from within the National Front for Azhari. In an interview Imam denounced anyone who negotiated with the Shah and stated that whoever accepted that the Shah’s government was the responsible party in all of this was a traitor and would be opposed.

Finally, after secret negotiations in Guadeloupe between the heads of three European countries (France, Britain and Germany) and the President of the United States, it was decided that Shahpour Bakhtiyar was the West's last hope. When General Huyser came to Iran, covert activities peaked and on January 3, 1978 (Dey 13, 1357 AHS), America, believing it could repeat the Mordad 28 coup d'etat, appointed a minister from Musaddiq's government who was an active member of the National Front, namely Bakhtiyar, as Chancellor. Thirteen days later the Shah fled the country as was previously arranged. The Speaker for the White House and the British Foreign Minister then officially requested the Iranian military to support Bakhtiyar, and General Huyser became responsible for organizing the military forces in Iran.¹ Imam Khomeini ignored the renewed warnings of the French government. After the Shah had fled, the Regency Council, which was of no significance other than the fact that it bore a name and had actually held one meeting, ostensibly came to be in charge of the Shah's duties. The stance adopted by Imam however, soon caused this Council to be dissolved and its head to resign.²

In a declaration containing ten articles which was given on the occasion of Arbain Husayni (the fortieth mourning day of Imam Husayn's martyrdom), Imam emphasises the importance of forming a revolutionary council in Iran and subsequent demonstrations to commemorate Arba'een are in fact more widespread than those held forty days earlier. In the above-mentioned message, Imam Khomeini states:

“The Shah has gone and the sovereign regime has collapsed. The thieves have fled and have transferred that money which belongs to the people, abroad. This brave nation will settle its account with them at the first opportunity...God willing, I shall join you in Iran very soon. Warn those representatives of Muhammad Riḍa Shah who have unlawfully occupied the Parliament to leave this national house...those in the Regency Council who form a part of the whole illegal set-up, are again warned to hand in their resignations.”

It is worth noting here that the establishment of the Regency Council was supported by the National Front, the Liberals and those who favored Fabian policies. Many of these people tried in vain to change Imam's opinion with

¹ French press *Future Generations*, January 4, 1979 (Dey 14, 1357 AHS).

² Jalal Tehrani, president of the Regency Council, went to Paris to visit Imam Khomeini even though Imam had previously announced that he would not see him unless he resigned from his post first.

regard to the Council but Imam's unshaken firmness and keen insight were far too great to be affected by such proposals and arguments.

The people's uprising was finally nearing the glorious days of victory. The news of Imam's return to his homeland enraptured the hearts of millions of men and women. Crowds of people flooded into Tehran from various cities to welcome Imam home.

Bakhtiyar ordered the airports to close down. Thus, throngs of people demonstrated in the streets from Inqilab Street to Azadi Square shouting that if Imam was prevented from returning they would resort to armed combat. The revolutionary clergy and lecturers from the theological centres gathered at Tehran University Mosque and were soon joined by many different groups and distinguished figures. The government was then forced to back down, and the command to close the airports was withdrawn.

Eventually, following many years of struggle, the aeroplane carrying the leader of the most authentic and far-reaching revolution ever - a revolution against which both the East and the West had risen up in opposition - finally landed at Mehrabad Airport in Tehran at 9:30 am on February 12, 1979 (Bahman 12, 1357 AHS), thus ending the nation's fifteen-year-long state of expectation.

In what was reported as one of the greatest welcoming ceremonies of all time, Imam made a short speech at the airport and then continued on to Bihisht-i Zahra cemetery. The car in which Imam was seated moved slowly through the crowds that filled the road from the airport to the cemetery. But the throng of people waiting at the cemetery was such that Imam had to be flown into the grounds by helicopter. Once there, Imam made a trenchant, historic speech which will never fade from the memory of the people of Iran.

Ten days had not yet passed since Imam's arrival when the final victory came to pass. During these ten days, named the "Ten Days of Dawn", masses of Imam's admirers came from all over the country to see him at the Alavi and Refah School (where Imam was staying) and to swear their allegiance and support. The swearing of allegiance to Imam of military officials on February 8th (Bahman 19) was outstanding and signified the sure downfall of the Shah's government, but American military and political advisers meanwhile, were busy drawing up their final devious and deadly plans.

At the airforce base, which was formally the centre of American might and power, the religious and revolutionary forces there now joined the uprising. By the evening of February 21 martial law is declared. According to accounts given by those leading figures who were arrested by the Shah's regime - accounts which are verified by certain documents - a decision is

now reached by the regime to quash the uprising by performing a bloody massacre. Thus, tanks and armed vehicles now take to the streets. However, a crucial move made by Imam succeeds in foiling any final plans made by America and its puppet government in Iran. Hence, the following message given by Imam reaches the people forthwith:

“Today’s announcement of martial law is a deceitful trick which contravenes religious law, and the people are to ignore it.”

Within a short time, crowds of men and women build barricades in the alleyways, high streets, and strategic areas of Tehran with thousands of sandbags and other such things. Battle commences and less than twenty-four hours later the regime’s strongholds fall one after another until finally “The Voice of the Revolution” (radio) announces the ultimate victory of the Khordad 15 uprising as having been achieved by Imam and the nation, and it declares the fall of the *taghut* to the world.

The numerous and devastating events which took place between the morning of February 22, 1979 (Bahman 22, 1357 AHS) and June 3, 1989 (Khordad 13, 1368 AHS) are too involved and numerous to recount in this introduction: events in which America played a pivotal role enjoying the unanimous support of Western governments and often of the Soviet Union, and enjoying assistance from numerous left- and right-wing groups within Iran which had joined in the fight against the Islamic Revolution. These events include the formation of armed groups within the country; the clashes and disturbances in Gunbad and Kurdistan; the sinister activities of the *Khalq-i Musalman* Party; the treachery of Bani Sadr and the Liberals; the merciless killing of Dr. Bihishti and 72 of Imams closest followers; the martyrdom of Bahunar, Rajayi and those killed whilst leading congregational prayers (*Shuhada-yi Mihrab*); the terrorist activities of the *Munafiqin*; the imposed eight-year war backed fully throughout by countries in both the East and the West; the bombardment of cities, oil installations and places of great economic importance; the economic and political boycott and arms embargo imposed upon Iran by many of the allies of America and the West; the intended coup d’etats; and the wave of Western propaganda directed against the newly established regime in Iran. However, a summary of each of these events will be found in the following introductions to Imam’s speeches.

For the present, suffice it to say that anyone of these incidents or any of the events and changes which were taking place at that time around the world, could have altered the course of the revolution and may have eventually destroyed it. By God’s grace however and because of Imam’s keen perception and the loyalty and awareness of the Iranian nation, all plots

were foiled, and in 1989 (1368 AHS), when the nation bid its last farewell to its leader, having endured many hardships over the previous eleven years, the crowd present was in fact several times greater than that which welcomed Imam to Iran; the people's love and devotion was greater; their determination to continue in the path of Imam was stronger; and despise all the plots and events, their morale and the state of the revolution were stronger than ever before.¹

The present work, entitled *Kawthar*, is a collection of the speeches of a great man, who, through his faith in God and Islam and in the role of the people, embarked upon a long struggle which he led with great resolution throughout each of its many stages, making the necessary sacrifices as the need arose. The slogan: "Martyrdom and the victory of blood over the sword!" defeated all modern weapons and arms. While the world and all the united enemies of religion looked on in utter disbelief, Imam Khomeini established an independent and Islamic government; he brought dignity to Islam and the Muslims; he exposed the followers of the American "Islam", and brought about a revolution and a revival deep in the hearts of millions of Muslims who were tired of oppressors; he dispensed with those beliefs and formalities which were based upon misunderstandings and instead revealed them in their true identity; he revived the "Deliverance from the Pagans" ritual which is performed during the Abrahamic Hajj ceremony; he practised the policy of "neither East, nor West" believing this to be the only means of survival for the Third World, and he made this policy a basic premise of the Islamic Republic, teaching others to do the same; he denounced America as the great enemy of mankind and the great Satan of this century; he called upon the nations to rise up in opposition to the Pharaoh of our time and shattered the dominant power of America; he demonstrated the lesson of steadfastness and perseverance in the face of the superpowers' tyranny; he revived the abandoned issues of defence and crusade in the path of God's religion (*jihad*) throughout the Islamic lands of Iran, Palestine, Afghanistan, Saudia Arabia and Algeria; at a time when materialism was the predominant school of thought, he displayed spirituality, proving the existence of virtue and gnosticism and of realities which lie beyond materialist explanations; he issued the religious decree calling for Salman Rushdie's death as a result of the contempt shown by the latter for all things held sacred by Islam, and he

¹ The crowd which gathered to mourn Imam's death numbered nearly ten million, although some biased news agencies likened the number of mourners to that which welcomed his arrival on February 12, 1978 (Bahman 12, 1357 AHS), which amounted to approximately five to six million.

stood his ground in the face of all American and Western threats; he announced to the world the downfall of Marxism before anyone else had even considered it possible; he instilled self-confidence and a desire to return to an Islamic identity into Muslim societies and especially the younger generation; he named the battle between poverty and wealth “the holy war of the virtuous and the oppressed”, valuing one hair of the head of a nomad more than he valued all of those who live in palaces. His aim was always to defend the oppressed and wipe out deprivation and his ambition was to free Palestine from the clutches of the Zionists. He believed that *Wilayat-i Faqih* was the most righteous way to govern a society and the only way to establish true justice.

Because of Imam Khomeini’s teachings and endeavours, the present upsurge and growing expansion of pure, unadulterated Islam - or “Islamic fundamentalism”, as the enemies term it - is now something seriously discussed as an undeniable fact in political and cultural circles worldwide. Without doubt, the future culture and civilisation of Islam is indebted to Imam’s leadership and the sacrifices made by the Iranian nation of his time more than anything else.

Every page of his writings and speeches is a reminder of his prolonged suffering and his determined struggle against various obstacles and deviated thoughts. *Kawthar* is not the product of a writer’s thoughts documented in some calm, tranquil surroundings, but rather, it is a collection of actual events and occurrences which took place in the midst of dreadful traumas and crises throughout the history of the Islamic Revolution. It is a collection of things both spoken and written by the Leader of the Revolution, and thus in truth constitutes a book of guidance for those who continue to follow in his path. It is the historical documentation of the many-faceted Islamic Revolution, a revolution which has been the most popular mass uprising in recent times.

I extend my thanks to the officials and employees of the various divisions of this organisation who have made painstaking efforts in putting together this collection. I would also like to thank Mr. Hamid Ansari who worked very hard in writing the introductions and footnotes included in this work. It is our hope that the rest of Imam’s works, his speeches, messages, interviews and letters, will also be compiled and published in this same manner.

Even though throughout the compilation of *Kawthar* the names of people, places and dates have been carefully checked for accuracy, nevertheless, errors may well have been made. We therefore ask the historians and

researchers, and indeed any reader of this book, to notify us of any mistakes they may find therein in order to assist this organisation in making the necessary corrections for future publications.

O God, help us to remain steadfast in the line of Imam's principles and goals which have been attested to by the blood of tens of thousands of martyrs. May the great nation of Iran - that has never wavered, taking all the bitter with the sweet - witness the fruits borne by its uprising, the daily advancement of Islam, and the fulfilment of Imam's lofty goals.

Ahmad Khomeini

Introduction to Speech Number One

Date: November 11, 1962 (AD) / Aban 20, 1341 (AHS) / Jumadi ath-Thani 13, 1382 (AH)

Place: Azam Mosque, Qum, Iran

Theme: Protests against the government's silence during disturbances caused by the proposed Provincial and District Councils Bill

Occasion: A reply to the people's request as to what course of action they should take in regard to the Provincial and District Councils Bill

Those Present: Businessmen and shopkeepers of Qum, religious students and a number of visitors to the holy shrine of *Hadrat Masumah*

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The year 1962 (1341 AHS) will be remembered as a new chapter in the history of Islam and in the religious struggle of the people of Iran. During this year the religious leaders, particularly Imam Khomeini (pbuh), strongly protested against the ways in which the imperial regime governed. Several incidents occurred which led to direct confrontations between the religious leaders and the regime. In the meantime, Imam Khomeini, continued and intensified the religious struggle, often perplexing and disgracing the Shah and often leaving him no alternative but to make rash decisions.

A year earlier Ayatullah Burujirdi (may his soul be blessed), the great Shii *marja*, had passed away and the Shah and his statesmen had believed that his death would cause the Iranian clergy to become weakened and would lead to the fall of the religious city of Qum as a major centre of struggle against the regime.¹ During the same year, yet another well-known former opponent of the Shah's regime, Ayatullah Kashani, also passed away.

Dr. Ali Amini, in a sham to appease the public, outwardly appeared to be against government corruption and resigned his post as Prime Minister² by

¹ Ayatullah Burujirdi who was not happy with the aims and policies of the Shah's regime, and who disagreed with the Shah's American-inspired reforms, refused to change his stance in spite of the fact that government officials and special representatives of the Shah had visited him on several occasions. In answer to one of these representatives he said that there were more important reforms to be made. When Ayatullah Burujirdi passed away the regime believed that one of the obstacles in the path of the proposed American reforms had now been removed. See the historical quarterly: *Yad*, Third Year, Winter 1987, p.51.

² The appointments of Sharif Imami as Prime Minister (October 1960 to April 1961 (Shahrivar 1339 - Ordibehesht 1340 AHS)) was a result of the open opposition of that time between Russia and the West on one side and Britain and America on the other, for the security of their

agreement of the Shah and the President of the United States of America, John F. Kennedy. Amir Assadollah Alam, closest and most faithful pawn of the Shah, was then given the post.¹

On January 9, 1962 (Dey 19, 1340 AHS), an American land reform bill was ratified and implemented and despite the tension which existed between America and Russia at that time, it was praised by the Russian press.²

Another programme of the Shah was a scheme by the name of the Provincial and District Councils Election Bill. This bill was announced by the national press on October 8, 1962 (Mehr 16, 1341 AHS), and the headlines read: "Women Given the Right to Vote"³. On the face of it this bill was not in contradiction with Islam, but the regime planned to cover up its true intentions which were to eliminate the qualification which stipulated that

respective interests in Iran. As a result of pressure from London and Moscow and through the political activities of agents connected to Britain in the Shah's court, Sharif Imami took control of affairs. During his premiership British infiltration increased considerably, Russia was granted certain concessions and negotiations between Tehran and Moscow got underway. America's reaction to this state of affairs and the pressure it thereby exerted upon Iran forced the Shah to dismiss Sharif Imami and replace him with Ali Amini. During Amini's premiership (April 1961 to June 1962 (Ordibehesht 1340 - Tir 1341 AHS)) the Iranian Parliament was closed; a loan was received from America; for the sake of appearances a few military officials and the chief advisor to Sharif Imami were arrested; relations between Russia and Iran became strained; and American infiltration increased in the country. Refer to *Siyohaft Sal*, pp.41-44.

¹ After President Kennedy's message delivered on May 25, 1961 (Khordad 4, 1340 AHS) to the American Congress, underlining the statement: "... no amount of weapons or troops can offer security to a regime that cannot or will not reform economically and socially ...", Dr. Ali Amini, an American pawn entered the scene with his phony social reform campaign and his promise to fight corruption. He announced total national bankruptcy thus opening the way for huge foreign loans with high interest rates and creating possibilities for American investment in many areas. See *Iran va Tarikh*, pp.124 and 176.

² Later the followers of Socialism went even further, whereby on June 8th, 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 government's 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 / Khordad 20, 1342 AHS)

³ *Kayhan*, October 8, 1962 (Mehr 16, 1341 AHS).

candidates and voters were to be Muslim, and to replace the policy of taking oaths on the Holy Quran with another which stipulated swearing in on a Holy Book'. In addition to this assault on Islam, the regime also planned to officially approve pseudo-religious activities instigated by the imperialists. Any objections to their scheme were labelled as opposition to the legal rights and freedom of women. When the newspapers carrying this report reached Qum, the *maraji* and high-ranking religious leaders such as Imam Khomeini held a meeting that same evening in the home of the late Ayatullah Ha'iri¹ to hold discussions and exchange views. As a result of this meeting the religious leaders sent telegrams to the Shah but the tone of that sent by Imam Khomeini was indeed the most aggressive.² The Shah passed on the responsibility of replying to these telegrams to the Prime Minister and the government. Subsequently, further telegrams were sent to Mr. Alam on November 20, 1962 (Mehr 28, 1341 AHS) and Imam and the other religious authorities awaited a reply from the government.

While Alam's government was in disarray due to the reaction of the public and the religious leaders both inside and outside of the country,³ on the morning of November 11 (Aban 20) of the same year, a group of businessmen and shopkeepers of Qum went unannounced to see Imam Khomeini during his class in the Azam Mosque. After having listened to one of these visitors speak, Imam delivered an important speech which has since

¹ Ayatullah Shaykh Murtada Ha'iri was the eldest son of Ayatullah al-Azami Haj Shaykh Abdulkarim Ha'iri.

² These telegrams were sent individually from Imam Khomeini and the honourable Ayatullahs Golpayegani, Najafi-Mar'ashi, and Shariatmadari, and jointly from the honourable Zanjani, Damad, Amoli, and Ha'iri. The tone of Imam's telegram was respectful in comparison to the telegrams sent by the other *maraji*' and *ulama* (in which abusive names were addressed to the Shah). In one part of his telegram Imam wrote: "... it is printed in the newspapers that in the elections for the Provincial and District Councils, the government has not made Islamic qualifications a prerequisite for candidates and voters. This is of great concern to the religious authorities. The well-being of this country lies in the preservation of the religious laws of Islam and the continued tranquility of hearts. Therefore, it is requested that you order for those issues which contravene the official religion of this country to be excluded from government and party policies." It is worth noting that the Shah answered Imam's telegram some days after answering those sent by the other *maraji*'. See *Nihdat-i Rūāniyūn-i Iran*, vol.3, p.31.

³ During the State and Provincial Councils dispute, in addition to the telegrams mentioned in the previous footnote, Ayatullah Khu'i, Ayatullah Hakim and the honourable Ayatullahs Morteza Ha'iri, Amoli, Damad, and Zanjani also sent telegrams to Ayatullah Bihbihani, who reflected their protests in his telegram to the Shah. Likewise, in support of the religious leaders' uprising, signed statements made by the *ulama* and clergymen of Tehran, the community of preachers in Tehran, the clergy of Shemiran, Tehran guilds and Tehran bazaar merchants were also published. *Ibid.*, pp.49-52.

been compiled from witnesses' reports and historians' accounts. Unfortunately, only a small part of his speech has been reconstructed.

The meetings held by Imam Khomeini and the other *maraji* in the home of the late Ayatullah Ha'iri, and the subsequent issuance of declarations and telegrams to the Shah, were measures which combined to bring about important repercussions which eventually compelled the regime to stand down from its initial stance.

Imam recommended that the telegrams be reproduced and distributed to the people, and his own telegram to the Shah was widely circulated. The merchants, shopkeepers, businessmen, *ulama* and other people from all walks of life, who, under such conditions, were brave enough to issue these declarations and send telegrams or to deliver revelatory speeches from their pulpits, placed the government in a critical state.

After this problem had been passed down from the Shah to Alam,¹ the *maraji* in Qum sent a telegram to the latter in his capacity as Prime Minister.² However, Alam did not respond for several weeks, so on November 6, 1962 (Aban 15, 1341 AHS) Imam sent another telegram, this time to the Shah, in which he accused Mr. Alam of not observing constitutional and congressional laws, and of disregarding the advice of the *ulama*.³

On October 20, 1962 (Mehr 28, 1341 AHS), in the first telegram to be sent by Imam to the Prime Minister, the former warned: "This long recess of the Parliament proves that the government is considering procedures which are against divine laws and clearly contradict fundamental laws... the esteemed *ulama* of Iran, the major centres of Shii learning that exercise great authority, and other Muslims in various social positions will not remain silent".

Likewise, in his next telegram sent on November 6, 1962 (Aban 15, 1341 AHS), Imam wrote: "Mr. Asadullah Alam, the previous telegram shows

¹ Messrs Ayatullah Golpayegani, Najafi, Shariatmadari, and Imam Khomeini were informed of this matter being passed on to Alam via a telegram from the Shah numbered 305K 90T and dated October 16, 1962 (Mehr 28, 1341 AHS). *Nihdat-i Rūhaniyun-i Iran*, vol.3, p.36.

² The telegrams dated October 20, 1962 (Mehr 28, 1341 AHS) were from Imam Khomeini, Ayatullah Najafi Mar'ashi and Mr. Shariatmadari, and the telegram dated October 21, 1962 (Mehr 29, 1341 AHS) was from Ayatullah Golpayegani.

³ One part of the second telegram to be sent by Imam to the Shah reads: "... even though I reprimanded Mr. Assadullah Alam because of this innovation he wishes to introduce to Islam, and although I made him aware of the evil of this deed, he has neither obeyed God's laws nor the laws of the Constitution, nor has he heeded the advice of the *ulama* ... the Muslim people expect Mr. Alam to abide by the Constitution and to apologise for his impudence to the Holy Quran. If he fails to do this I shall have to resort to sending another open letter to His Imperial Majesty and to bringing other matters up".

that you are not accustomed to following the advice of the *ulama* of Islam who are indeed the beloved mentors of the people... If you suppose that by your unlawful bill which indeed opposes the constitutional law, those constitutional laws which guarantee the independence of the people and the nation will be weakened and the way for the treacherous enemies of Islam and Iran will be opened, you are seriously mistaken”.

The stance adopted and efforts made by Imam Khomeini and the other *maraji* and *ulama*, along with the response of the masses, made the regime surrender to the extent that on November 12, 1962 (Aban 21, 1341 AHS), the Prime Minister, in a newspaper interview, agreed that the stipulation concerning the Muslim faith of the voters and candidates in elections and also the swearing in on the Holy Quran were to be retained. The issue of women’s enfranchisement meanwhile, was referred to the Parliament for a decision.

Following these events, a question arose among the people and even the *maraji* as to whether Imam Khomeini would be satisfied with the statements made by Alam in his telegram and press interviews and whether he would allow the matter concerning the Provincial and District Councils Election Bill to rest. Imam however, being a broad-minded and vigilant clergyman, carefully considered the strategies used by the Shah and his stooges against Islam, and patiently monitored the situation to see what would happen next.

Highlights from Speech Number One

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... Those who are now making note of what I have to say, better tell those in the government not to play with the people's feelings and sentiments any more than they have already. The *ulama* of Islam are not going to give up the fight. If they think that by postponing and delaying things they can quieten the situation,¹ they are mistaken. There is no way that this matter will be allowed to rest, for it is a matter of grave importance. We are talking about Islam being in danger. The *ulama* of Islam cannot remain silent...

This problem does not only concern the *ulama* of Iran, but rather the Iraqi *ulama*,² the Egyptian *ulama* and the *ulama* in Yemen, and other Islamic places around the world are all with us on this.

If the day should come when, with your help, we decide to take action against the government, then the number of those who will be actively involved will far outnumber those gathered here. On that day, the crowd of people will be so huge that it will have to gather outside the city of Qum, for there will be insufficient space here. But having said that, we expect the

1 During the month of Mehr 1341 AHS (September/October 1962), the government of Asadullah Alam presented a new bill concerning the Provincial and District Councils which was seen by the *maraji*' of Qum as being against Islam and the Constitution. In this bill, the government removed Islam as a prerequisite for candidates and voters and instead of swearing on the Holy Quran, any Holy Book' was to be acceptable. These changes were made in spite of the fact that according to Article 9 of the Provincial and District Councils Constitution, the prerequisite conditions for a prospective candidate were to be the same as those for parliamentary candidates; and again, according to Article 12 of the National Consultative Assembly's electoral law, candidates were to be followers of the true Islam (except for those of minority religions: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Jews), while according to Article 11 of the Constitution, parliamentary representatives were to swear on the Holy Quran. Alam's government, by passing this bill, opened the way for the effacement of Islam, for the spread of Western culture, and for non-Muslims to be given a role in ruling the destiny and interests of the Muslim people of Iran.

2 The response of the Iraqi *ulama* toward the attack on the sanctity of the Quran, Islam and Muslim countries has made history in recent decades. Most of these *ulama* are now present in the theological center in Najaf. Details of the role played by the theological center of Najaf and the struggles engaged in by the theologians in this Shiah center during Iraq's occupation by British colonialists, are to be found in the footnotes of other speeches within this anthology, as are details of the *ulama*'s opposition to the anti-Islamic measures taken by the Qajar and Pahlavi kings.

government to bear the possible consequences of their actions in mind and not to delay any further in reaching a decision. As for you, the people, you must continue to be patient for a few more days.”¹

¹ *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 3, p. 87.

Introduction to Speech Number Two

Date: November 23, 1962 (AD) / Azar 2, 1341 (AHS) Jumadi ath-Thani 25, 1382 (AH)

Place: Imam Khomeini's home, Qum, Iran

Theme: The need for the people's continued resistance to the government throughout the Provincial and District Councils disturbance

Occasion: Imam's reply to questions from businessmen and religious groups from Tehran

Those present: Three groups of businessmen from Tehran, a number of religious students, and the people of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

During the quarrel concerning the Provincial and District Councils affair, Imam Khomeini (pbuh) directly confronted the matter and showed total opposition to it. Whilst fully aware of the schemes and plots of the Shah and those around him, Imam never overlooked the importance of the people's unity and co-operation to the continuation of the struggle. And after God, he acknowledged the people as the next greatest source of support.

Imam's telegram to the Shah and Alam was one of the most fiery encounters a prominent religious leader had ever had with the Shah and the members of the Iranian government. However, Imam did not consider this single measure to be enough and in an important meeting held on October 8, 1962 (Mehr 16, 1341 AHS) in the home of the late honourable Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Abdul Karim Ha'iri - a meeting which lasted most of the night and which was held in the presence of Ayatullahs Ha'iri, Golpayegani and Shariatmadari - he suggested that the telegrams sent by the religious authorities and the *ulama* to those in the government be published and made available to the people so that the public would become aware of the religious leaders' opinion concerning the bill in question.

Imam's suggestion, as always, acknowledged that the participation and support of the people was vital and he stressed to those present at the meeting that without the vigorous participation of the people in the struggle, progress could not be made.¹

¹ Informing the people of the details was disapproved of at first by the *ulama* because it was felt that this might anger the government and provoke an unfavourable response, but Imam Khomeini (pbuh) persisted, and his suggestion to print and distribute the telegrams concerning the bill was finally accepted. *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-ilmam Khomeini* vol. 1, p. 150.

At first, the Shah thought that via threats and intimidation he could stop the swift movement of the religious leaders and especially could check the moves made by Imam Khomeini. Thus Asadullah Alam, acting on the orders of the Shah, warned in a radio address: "We have given the police strict orders to quash any subversion." These threats filled the people with anger. After a month and a half of silence concerning objections raised by the religious leaders and the people, on November 13, 1962, Alam sent a telegram addressed to the distinguished Ayatullahs Najafi and Golpayegani and Mr. Shariatmadari, but refrained from sending a telegram to Imam Khomeini. This was the first move or stance taken by the regime in opposition to Imam. Some of the prominent religious figures felt that Alam's telegram was satisfactory and considered the Provincial and District Councils issue resolved. But Imam stressed that every word of the telegram was full of deceit and falsehoods and that a bill which had been discussed and legislated by the government and which had then been published in the newspapers would not become unofficial merely by Mr. Alam's appeasing words. In addition to this, the matter was to be sent to the Senate and the Lower House to be finalised, even though these two houses were not in session and would be out indefinitely.

Before Imam had revealed his position regarding Alam's telegram and press interview, high-ranking clergymen had stated that rumour had it that the government had accepted the *ulamas* point of view and that the issue was now closed. The people had rejoiced on hearing this and had gathered in the home of the *maraji* to congratulate them. Imam Khomeini then joined those who had gathered in his home and spoke to them describing in detail the ominous plans of the regime against the people and asking the latter not to be fooled by the deceitful government, but to continue the struggle. Thus, having heard Imam's speech, the people then took down the flags and lights which had been put up to celebrate the victory, and instead they prepared for the next fight.²

On Friday, November 23, 1962 (Azar 2, 1341 AHS), ten days after the press interview and Alam's telegram, the members of three different unions in Tehran along with a group of religious students and the people of Qum, all visited the homes of the *maraji*, including that of Imam Khomeini, to announce their complete support and readiness to continue the struggle. At

² *Ibid.*

this gathering Imam made a speech of which unfortunately only a few lines are available.³

The firm stance adopted by Imam in the said speech revealed the Shah's regime's conspiracy and motivated the masses in an unprecedented way. The Shah and his government realised that Imam Khomeini was an individual who had fully understood matters and who was not affected by threats, intimidation and conspiracies. The uncompromising stance of the theological centres and the people in opposition to the Provincial and District Councils Bill gave Imam Khomeini, as a religious leader, the opportunity to disclose the undercover relationship between the Shah and Israel, and to reveal Zionist interference in Muslim affairs. For the first time in the history of the Iranian people's struggle the issue of opposition to Israel was raised. Perhaps it was thereafter that the Shah and those around him became more shaken up than they ever thought possible, so much so that they were compelled to back down. This retreat and others like it was probably instigated at the suggestion of the same people who had prescribed the abolishment of Islam to the Shah's regime. However, these people soon came to realise that Imam's speeches could not be confined or limited to the Provincial and District Councils Bill.

The bazaar in Qum was closed during this time and planned to remain closed until the issue was resolved. Isfahan, Shiraz, Tabriz, Khurramabad and other major cities were brimming with anger. A deluge of letters and telegrams in support of the position of the *maraji* continued to flood in and meanwhile political parties and religious groups published notices⁴.

Reports from SAVAK (the Iranian intelligence agency) worried the Shah and Alam. The government, which did all it could to quell this flare-up and to seek a fundamental solution, didn't know which method to resort to in order to ensure that the greatness and dignity of the Shah would not be

³ At that time tape recorders were not widely used and because the meeting was unexpected, it was not recorded.

⁴ Following the measures taken by Imam Khomeini and the *maraji*' of Qum, letters and telegrams were sent reflecting the people's protest to the Prime Minister at the request of several organisations and religious groups including *Kanun-i Nashr*, *Haqayiq-i Islami*, *Anjuman-i Bani Fatima* etc. Ayatullah Milani, Hujjat al-Islam Hasan Qummi, Ayatullah Khu'i of Najaf, and Ayatullah Araki of Qum also sent telegrams to the Shah. The flood of declarations and telegrams continued from the *ulama*, religious speakers, religious groups, and businessmen throughout the country. All of the names of the signatories are listed in the book *Nihdat-i Ruaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 123-147, including the contents of the letters and declarations of the *ulama* from Bihbihan, Burujird, Mazandaran, Tabriz, Azerbaijan, Dezful, Khurramabad, Zanjan, Fars Province, Qazvin, Kashan, Lorestan, Hamadan, Rasht, Yazd, and Tehran. The declaration made by *Nihzat-i Azadi-yi Iran* is also printed therein.

detracted from... and meanwhile Imam Khomeini continued to announce: “I declare danger! The Holy Quran and Islam are being threatened!”

A Highlight from Speech Number Two

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“... be even more persistent and steadfast than before in what you do; we too are steadfast. This danger to our religion is intolerable. Muslims are therefore to stand firm in every way until this issue is resolved.”

Introduction to Speech Number Three

Date: November 30, 1962 (AD) / Azar 9, 1341 (AHS) / Rajab 2, 1382 (AH)

Place: Imam Khomeini's home, Qum, Iran

Theme: Insufficient action by the government to annul the Provincial and District Councils Bill

Occasion: When the annulment of the bill was not published in the press

Those Present: Businessmen and groups of people from Tehran, religious students and the people of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Imam Khomeini's (pbuh) expressed opposition to the policies of Muhammad Riḍa Shah's regime went much further than objecting to the Provincial and District Councils Bill. The method of his opposition and protest showed that Imam was preparing the people for a long struggle with the Pahlavi regime, one that would continue on into the future. Even though some of the *ulama* considered the issue of the bill closed after Asadullah Alam's press interview and telegram, Imam was not convinced. For this reason, in answer to the questions of some businessmen and union members, Imam gave a detailed speech stating that the bill which had been approved by the Cabinet could not be revoked by a private telegram but that its revocation must be officially announced by the Prime Minister to the press¹.

When the people of Qum became aware of Imam's position, which was that the end of the incident depended on an announcement to the national press of the abolition of the bill, they became agitated. Meanwhile, the telegrams from Imam Khomeini and the *maraji* of Qum to the Shah and Alam were published in their tens of thousands, despite heavy censorship, and were distributed to all the provinces, cities and even villages. Copies also reached foreign reporters and were sent to their press headquarters.²

In letters and messages also despatched by messenger to Tehran and other cities, Imam requested the public and the clergy to continue with their opposition and asked them not to assume the issue closed until news of the bill's abolition was officially announced by the press.

The people of the country had three different matters to consider and the contradictory nature of news being circulated left them bewildered.

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihdat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 177.

² *Nihdat-i Ruaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 3, p. 117.

Asadullah Alam's telegram stated that the bill had been revoked; some of the clergy believed that this telegram brought an end to the disturbance and even published declarations to this effect³; and Imam Khomeini continued to insist on the official announcement of the bill's annulment in the newspapers.

For this reason, a mass of people from Tehran and other cities went to Qum on Friday, November 30, 1962 (Azar 9, 1341 AHS), to discover the position and opinions of the *ulama*. By 2 pm Imam Khomeini's home and yard were crammed with people. The crowd revealed their sentiments by repeatedly reciting salutations to the prophet Muhammad and his descendants (salawat). After a few minutes, Imam Khomeini stood in front of the crowd. In the speech he then gave, Imam expressed his gratitude to the people for their loyalty, steadfastness and sacrifices, and whilst praising them for defending Islamic principles and Quranic laws, he voiced his opinions concerning the government's telegram.

After Imam had candidly expressed his views, many of the Muslim businessmen spoke up in support of the Islamic *ulama* and Imam Khomeini and warned the Iranian regime that: "If the *ulamas* demands are not met and their recommendations are not implemented word for word, the people of Iran will set fire to the regime's set-up and the ashes will be thrown out of Iran and sent to America."⁴

The situation in Tehran deteriorated daily and people's criticism of the government's behaviour increased. From the evening of November 21 (Aban 30), the Ark Mosque witnessed Mr. Falsafi's revealing speeches which aroused emotions. These emotions reached their peak on one of these evenings, when Imam's position was announced: "If the cancellation of the bill is not published by the government, the *ulama* of Islam... will continue their struggle."⁵

Meanwhile, a torrent of telegrams and letters were received by the *maraji* in Qum, and religious speakers spoke out against the conspiracies of the regime. The government, who by this time felt seriously endangered (and who knew of the decision of the *ulama* of Tehran and the proposed gathering in the Sayyid Azizullah Mosque on November 29), sent a telegram stating that the bill was to be void as from 1:15 am on November 29 (Azar 8, 1341 AHS). This telegram was addressed to two of the *ulama* of Tehran (the

³ The honourable Ayatullah Najafi Marashi had prepared a congratulatory telegram, the printing of which was deterred by Imam's message.

⁴ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-ilmam Khomeini*, vol.1, p.191.

⁵ *Ibid*, vol.1, p.191.

honorable Messrs Bihbahani and Khansari) and was signed by Mr. Emad Torbati from the Prime Minister's office.

Later that morning a declaration signed by four of the *ulama* of Tehran was posted onto the doors and walls of the bazaar, announcing that a meeting would be held on Thursday, November 29, at Sayyid Azizullah Mosque by the *ulama* and the people of Tehran. Police officers at the scene tried to disperse the crowd and stop the people from reading the said announcement. The people however, became fully aware of the proposed gathering and in no time the mosque became crowded with people. At this point, one of the prominent government officials requested Mr. Falsafi to come to the mosque. After thanking the people for their participation, resistance, and steadfastness and for their support of the *maraji*, the latter announced that the Cabinet had convened and had indeed cancelled the bill. The news then reached Qum. Also on Saturday November 30, 1962 (Azar 10, 1341 AHS), in a press interview, Asadullah Alam officially announced the cancellation of the bill and newspaper headlines read: "Cabinet decrees that the bill which was passed on November 6, 1962 will not be enforced."⁶ And with this, the matter ended.

Imam Khomeini addressed a statement to the people in appreciation of their loyalty, sacrifice and steadfastness towards Islam and the clergy. He urged all social classes to stand united, ready and alert, so that should a traitorous hand reach out towards Islam and the interests of the country, it would be severed. In this way, he once again warned the people of Iran that the conflict with the government did not just concern a bill and that the bill's abolition did not resolve everything. On the contrary, Imam argued that the roots of this problem were deep-seated and that a new round of popular opposition under the leadership of the clergy, rather than reaching an end, had only just begun.

⁶ *Kayhan* newspaper, November 30, 1962 (Azar 7, 1341 AHS).

Speech Number Three

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... Although the contents of the telegram that was sent to the *ulama* of Qum seem to be convincing, nevertheless, until the bill's annulment is officially announced in the national newspapers in clear terms, we cannot regard this telegram as being of any significance; and we shall let the government know that if it does not announce the news of the bill's annulment in the press, then we will regard this telegraphed message as non-existent and our struggle will continue...¹

¹ The excerpt of Imam Khomeini's statements is quoted from the book, *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 190. As it is mentioned in the book, the Imam had delivered a long speech that day, a part of which (a summary perhaps) was recorded in the police report.

Introduction to Speech Number Four

Date: December 2, 1962 (AD), Azar 11, 1341 (AHS), Rajab 4, 1382 (AH)

Place: Azam Mosque, Qum, Iran

Theme: 1-The deplorable socio-political conditions of Iran
2-The services and struggle of the Shii clergy

Occasion: The commencement of lessons at the Qum theological centre after the conclusion of the Provincial and District Council disturbances

Those present: The *ulama*, instructors and students of religious sciences and several residents of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Imam Khomeini's (pbuh) severe warnings and his dynamic speeches, even after Asadullah Alam's telegram and the latter's press interview, forced the Shah and his government to retreat and brought about the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill. After this news was publicised, the issue was outwardly regarded as being over, and the regime used this opportunity to draw the attention of the masses away from the clergy, especially Imam. But Imam Khomeini had known from the initial stages of the opposition to the bill that the regime would be forced to retreat in the face of the demands of the *ulama* and the people, and that the motive which had been created for continuing the uprising would disappear. Thus, in order to continue the struggle, he suggested in a meeting with the *ulama* that Alam be dismissed from his post as Prime Minister for the offence of showing disrespect to the Holy Quran, and he requested the *ulama* to concentrate opposition on the unlawful closing of the Senate and the Parliament. Unfortunately, this suggestion was not accepted by those who were associated with Imam in those days and on December 2, 1962 (Azar 11, 1341 AHS) Imam issued a statement in which he expressed his appreciation for the people's self-sacrifices¹.

On Monday December 3, 1962 (Azar 12, 1341 AHS), after forty days of intense struggle with the Shah's regime, Imam Khomeini once again commenced his classes. During one, at which a group of *ulama*, instructors and students of religious sciences and a group of people from Qum were present, Imam delivered a revealing speech bringing up several important

¹ Ayatullah Golpayegani, Ayatullah Najafi Marashi and Mr. Shariatmadari in separate messages thanked the people for their support. *Nihadat-i Rūhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 3, p. 159.

issues, and whilst indicating the reasons why Imam Ali (pbuh) initially cooperated with the caliphs and then opposed the caliphate of Muawiya, he stressed: “The infallible Imams revolted even with small numbers of supporters until they were killed in order to establish God’s ordinances. Whenever one of the Imams saw that revolt was not appropriate, he stayed at home and propagated Islam instead.”

In the present speech, Imam refers to two important events: the cancellation of the tobacco concession brought about by the religious decree [*fatwa*] of Mirza Shirazi, and the struggle of the Iraqi people led by Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi (Mirza II). He then turns to the gathering at the Sayyid Azizullah Mosque in Tehran held in opposition to the ratification of the bill, and states: “...if, God forbid, any disrespect had been aimed at the *ulama* of Tehran¹, I would have made a grave decision, but around midnight the government realised that they couldn’t withstand the power of the people. That same night the government took a document from the great *ulama* of Tehran so that the problem would be solved.”

In reply to objections voiced by the clergy and Imam Khomeini over the participation of women in the elections of the Provincial and District Councils, Alam’s government claimed that such a thing was not unprecedented and that the participation of women in the town councils had already been legislated². Even though Imam Khomeini had discussed this question before with the businessmen and tradesmen of Qum, he again addressed the issue, this time more firmly, stating: “The laws governing the Provincial and District Councils cannot be compared with those for the town councils, which are said to be “similar,” and to make such a comparison is erroneous. However, in both cases, being male and Muslim has been included and stipulated in the text of the law.”

In his speech, Imam accuses the Shah and Alam’s government of violating the constitutional law - which was used as a prop by the regime at that time - and he draws the attention of his associates to the constitutional

¹ By the *ulama* of Tehran Imam Khomeini means Ayatullah Khansari. During the encounters which occurred between the police and the people in areas around the mosque it was rumoured that Ayatullah Khansari had been hit by one of the policemen. This news greatly distressed and upset Imam.

² In Asadullah Alam’s telegram sent on November 13, 1962 (Aban 22, 1341 AHS) to the *maraji*, it is stated: “Concerning the silence on the matter of the non-participation of women in the Provincial and District Councils, which has been the cause of complaints, I recall that the aforesaid laws are similar to the election laws for the town councils which were passed seven years ago and to which no objections were raised.” *Nihdat-i Rūhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 3, p. 106.

law which, according to the second article of the amendment, stipulates that if any bill ratified by the Parliament were not confirmed by five Islamic jurists and members of the *ulama*, it would not be endorsed. At the same time he emphasises the comprehensiveness of Islamic laws. He also points to the necessity of the people's presence at every stage of the struggle; the importance of the role of the clergy; the incident on January 7 (Dey 17) when by a royal decree women were forced to remove their Islamic covering; the tragedy at the Gawhar Shad Mosque and the malicious propaganda in the press against the clergy. In addition he refers to cultural and health issues, stating: "...the progress of a nation lies with its universities and this is what has become of them! For over a hundred years we have had universities and yet when a king wants to have his tonsils out we must bring a doctor here from another country. Foreigners must build the Karaj Dam. Foreigners must come even to build a road. International obligations demand this."

The Shah's regime accused the clergy of regression and claimed that the *ulama* and the clergy were opposed to the progress of the country¹. Imam Khomeini rigorously refutes these accusations in his speech.

Imam's statement made on December 3, 1962 (Azar 12, 1341 AHS), possessed diverse dimensions. Very few up until that time had the courage to oppose plans proposed by the Shah. Imam Khomeini, however, with his forceful statements and revealing telegrams and proclamations, broke this old habit for the first time. Meanwhile, after Alam's government was forced to retreat and annul the bill, many of the people who at that time claimed to be Imam's companions, either by keeping silent or by sending telegrams thanking the Shah for the bill's abrogation, tried in some way to conciliate the Shah and Alam's government, but Imam Khomeini successfully revealed his angry stance in this speech. With this the people realised that a *marja'* in addition to writing religious treatises and providing moral guidance for the people also had the mission to lead the society to rise up and struggle against oppressive governments. They realised that Islam is not separate from politics and that Islam without politics, in principle, is not Islam. Imam Khomeini's speeches and proclamations also proved to be effective in

¹ In reply to a telegram of opposition from the *maraji'* of Qum concerning the Provincial and District Councils Bill, the Shah, in a letter sent on October 15, 1962 (Mehr 23, 1341 AHS) from the Sa'd Abad palace to Qum, expressed his disregard for the role of the *maraji'-i taqlid* and referring to them as Hujjat al-Islams wrote: "We would like to remind you that we strive more than anyone to preserve religious practices... We would also like to draw your 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." *Nihdat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 151.

creating a type of unity and co-operation amongst the clergy in affairs which were ordinarily undertaken individually. This was apparent later during the dispute concerning the Shah's "White Revolution".

The people of Iran saw the true face of Imam Khomeini after he had voiced his opinions and delivered speeches, and they became familiar with his special form of opposition. It was this recognition which caused the Muslim people of Iran of every class to answer Imam's call, even throughout the years that he spent outside the country, and lay the foundations of a movement which was eventually victorious on February 11, 1979 (Bahman 22, 1357 AHS).

Speech Number Four

... meanwhile this was a necessary reminder that all governments should heed. From the advent of Islam, Muslims have been the guardians of the true religion of Islam even when they lost their rights for the sake of protecting the religion. Hadrat Amir al-Mu'minin, the Commander of the Faithful (*a*), co-operated with the caliphs because they outwardly followed the religious precepts, and chaos did not prevail until Muawiyah came to power and he deviated from the path and customs of the caliphs and transformed the caliphate into a monarchy. Under such circumstances, Imam Ali had no choice but to rise up against him, for according to the rules of religion and logic, he could not tolerate Muawiyah to remain in that post for a single day. Those of his advisers who out of ignorance advised Imam Ali to wait until his rule became stronger and then depose Muawiyah did not know that had he waited, he would have met with objections from the Muslims and after strengthening his position, he would not have been able to dismiss Muawiyah.¹

Nowadays, there may be some uninformed people who believe it would have been better if Imam Ali had made his position stronger and then deposed Muawiyah, but they are mistaken. Thus, when Imam Ali realized that a cruel government was coming to power, revolt was a divine duty and he carried it out.

In this way, too, the infallible Imams revolted; even if they were few in number, they would fight to death in order to carry out their religious duties. Whenever one of the Imams saw that revolt was not appropriate, he stayed at home and propagated Islam instead. This was the way from the beginning of Islam.

The *ulama* and leaders of Islam have always advised the people to maintain their composure. It was not so long ago that Mirza the Great, the late Haj Mirza Muhammad Hasan Shirazi² lived. He was a great intellectual

¹ Muawiyah opposed the expulsion order. Mughayyar ibn Shubah and Ibn Abbas (Imam Ali's cousin) did not agree with Muawiyah's expulsion and recommended that Imam Ali be lenient and condescending for two years until the people of Syria swore allegiance to him, and then take action against him. But Imam Ali would not accept that Muawiyah rule over the lives and wealth of the Muslim people for even a short period of time.

² Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Hassan Shirazi (1812-1894), better known as Mirza Shirazi the Great I, was the most learned *marja* of his era and was one of the highest ranking *ulama*. He

thinker who lived in Samarra¹ and although he advocated quietism and reconciliation, when he realized that Islam was in danger and the cruel king at that time wanted to wipe out Islam by using foreign companies, this old man sitting in a small city with only three hundred of *tullab* [seminarians] around him was forced to admonish the despotic king. His writings have been preserved. That king did not listen and with offensive and impolite statements he defied the lofty position of this great scholar until the latter was forced to say a word so that independence could be restored.

After realizing that Iraq was exposed to danger, the late Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Shirazi² spoke out in support of the Arabs and changed matters. If he had not done so, Iraq would have been destroyed. All Muslim states are indebted to this group of men (the clergymen); it is they who, up until now, have guarded their independence. They are one of the resources of the Islamic countries, and it is through their counsel that arrogant people are silenced. By the same token, when the clergymen see that Islam is in danger they strive as much as possible and if they feel that by making issues public knowledge, by giving speeches and sending messages the danger can be averted, so be it, but if not they have no choice but to rise up and take action.

issued the famous order for the tobacco boycott. Early in his life he left Shiraz and went to study with the *ulama* in Isfahan; from there he went to Iraq (to the *atabat*, i.e. the major centers of Shiah learning in Iraq: the holy shrines in Karbala, Najaf and Kazimayn). There he studied under Shaykh Murtada Ansari, before he himself began to teach. During the period that he was *marja' at-taqlid* in 1891, the Qajar Shah, Nasiruddin, signed a contract with an English company granting it a fifty-year monopoly over the distribution and exportation of tobacco. As concern over the concession swept through the country, Ayatullah Shirazi issued a *fatwa* stating that the use of tobacco in whatever form was forbidden [*haram*] and was tantamount to declaring war with Imam of the Time (the Twelfth Imam) in order to curtail the spread of British influence in the country. Consequently, Nasiruddin Shah was faced with no alternative but to annul the concession.

¹ The city of Samarra' is of interest to Muslims and is a famous place of Shiah pilgrimage. This city is located in Iraq, 120 km north of Baghdad and lies on the east bank of the Tigris River. Several times the ancient city of Samarra' has been destroyed and rebuilt. It is the burial site of Imam Ali an-Naqi (*a*), the tenth Imam, and Imam Hasan al-askari (*a*), the eleventh Imam. There is also a famous basement there which is said to be the place where the twelfth Imam, Imam al-Mahdi (may God expedite his glorious advent) went into occultation. The ancient name of this city was "*Surra man raa*," which means "Whoever sees it shall be gladdened".

² Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad-Taqi Shirazi (d 1921), better known as Mirza Mujahid II, was one of the great Shiah *marja'* and one of the students of Mirza Shirazi the Great. He was a leading force (after Ayatullah Sayyid Kazim Ṭabataba'i) in the resistance by the Shiah *ulama* opposed to the imposition of British rule on Iraq at the end of the First World War. His requisition reads as follows: "It is the religious duty of the Iraqi people to demand their rights."

The clergymen wish to see harmony and unity exist among all Muslims; however, they can only maintain their silence insofar as national independence is not endangered by things that even the government may be unaware of or may not understand. These duties are determined by religion, it is not that the *ulama* say something of their own accord; this kind of uprising is that which is stipulated by religion and the Holy Quran.

On the evening before the people were to go to the Sayyid Azizullah Mosque to pray for the awakening of the government,¹ I was informed that the state was planning to resist. Under such circumstances, I realized that the *ulama* had another duty. I made the final decision while praying² and beseeching the Almighty God and I told no one, but God was gracious towards the Shah, the state and the nation. If, God forbid, any disrespect had been aimed at the *ulama* of Tehran, I would have made a grave decision, but around midnight, the administration realized that it could not withstand the power of the people, and that same night it took a document from the great *ulama* of Tehran so that the problem would be resolved.³ The following

¹ The numerous telegrams sent from the *ulama* to Alam's government requesting the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill and the government's refusal to reply, forced the clergy of Tehran to seek assistance from Almighty God and in order to remind the people of important matters they decided to hold a gathering at the Sayyid Azizullah Mosque on Thursday morning, November 29, 1962 [Azar 8, 1341 AHS]. This information was disseminated among the people by way of leaflets. The great elderly clergymen Ayatullah Behbahani and Ayatullah Tonekabuni decided to remain in the Sayyid Azizullah Mosque until the Provincial and District Councils Bill was annulled. This news caused public uproar, and the pious people, who could not bear to see their *marja'* and religious leaders inconvenienced and dissatisfied in this way, decided to join them in the mosque to express their opposition to the government. The Sayyid Azizullah Mosque is one of the major mosques in Tehran and was an Islamic revolutionary base during the time of the resurgence and is located within Tehran's main bazaar.

² Praying and weeping.

³ As the Provincial and District Councils disturbances continued and the *ulama* of Tehran issued an invitation to the people to join them in a protest gathering at the Sayyid Azizullah Mosque on November 29, 1962 [Azar 8, 1341 AHS], Alam's government felt increasingly threatened. That same night it held a meeting during which the Provincial and District Councils Bill was rescinded and notification was sent to the *ulama* of Tehran. Also, in order to prevent the prayer gathering of the next day, the government decided to send Imad Turbati, the Prime Minister's representative, in the middle of the night to the homes of the respected clergymen Behbahani, Khwansari, Amoli, Tonekabuni, to obtain their signatures at the bottom of a document declaring the cancellation of the aforementioned gathering. At 5 am this document was distributed in the Tehran Bazaar and the surrounding streets. It stated: "The Prime Minister has announced that the bill concerning the election for Provincial and District Councils which was ratified by the government will not be implemented. Therefore, thanks to

morning a telegram also arrived in Qum while I was at Mr. Shariatmadari's home.¹ The telegram was a good sign, but there was fear of deceit until news of the annulment of the Provincial and District Councils Bill was published in the newspapers after several communications between here and Tehran.² However, they are not finished speaking yet.

Concerning these municipality laws that, he claims, have been accepted by the *ulama*, they have not been accepted, they have been objected to. Furthermore, the laws governing the Provincial and District Councils cannot be compared with those for the municipalities, which are said to be "similar", and to make such a comparison is erroneous.³ However, in both cases, being male and Muslim has been included and stipulated in the text of the law. In addition to this, we are the ones to compel them to uphold what they themselves are committed to.⁴ Not that the constitutional law is complete and

all the Muslims' efforts, the gathering on Thursday, Rajab 1, [November 29] which was supposed to be held in the Sayyid Azizullah Mosque is no longer necessary."

¹ The telegram containing the news of the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill was sent to Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari and the great Ayatullahs Golpaygani and Najafi-Marashi in Qum from the Prime Minister's palace. Refraining from sending a telegram to Imam Khomeini was evidence of the regime's anger regarding his stance.

² Even though the government had promised to publish news of the bill's annulment in the newspapers, it considered it sufficient merely to send telegrams to the great *maraji'* and *ulama*. This greatly angered the Imam and the other clergymen. Thus, by sending a letter and special messenger to Tehran and other cities, Imam requested that the clergy continue in their opposition until news of the annulment be published in the newspapers. This action forced the Prime Minister to announce the abolition of the bill during an interview on December 1, 1962 [Azar 10, 1341 AHS]. After this, the newspaper headlines read: "The government has revoked the bill dated October 6, 1962 [Mehr 14, 1341 AHS]."

³ After the clergy and the people had waited one month for an answer regarding the government's opinion, on Monday, October 14, 1962 [Mehr 22, 1341 AHS] the Prime Minister in a telegram to Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari and the Grand Ayatullahs Najafi-Marashi and Golpaygani stated: "...concerning the government's silence on the issue of the non-participation of women in the Provincial and District Councils, I must remind the worthy gentlemen that the conditions concerning this bill are the same as those which apply to the elections for the town councils' bill which was ratified seven years ago and to which no opposition has ever been raised." Imam Khomeini in reply to questions put to him by the merchants and businessmen of Qum regarding his views on the Prime Minister's interview dated December 12, 1962 [Azar 21, 1341 AHS] rejected Alam's claims concerning the similarity of the bill with the town council bill. His statements in this regard were later published as his declaration in reply to the Prime Minister. See *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 112-115.

⁴ This phrase is contained in the irrevocable law and is one of the major rules of religious jurisprudence, according to which in legal and juristic issues the people are expected to comply with the precepts of their religion and the laws which they themselves have chosen. Imam's intention here is to draw attention to the contradictory nature of the Provincial and

final in our opinion, but if the *ulama* refer to the law it is because of the second article of the amendment to the Constitution which invalidates the legality of any law which opposes the Holy Quran.¹ For we do not concern ourselves with these laws,² we are concerned only with the Islamic laws. The *ulama* of Islam are interested in the laws of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet and Imams, anything that agrees with the Quran we will humbly submit to and anything which is incompatible with the religion and violates the Islamic laws, be that the constitutional law or even international laws, we will oppose.³

Praise be to God the matter is now over; Mr. Asadullah Alam was warned that this matter must be ended and thanks to God it has ended. We are grateful that (praise be to God) it ended without a battle or war, without a drop of blood being shed. Such a matter, which could have ended in a great national uprising and could have moved nomads, ended with not even one

District Councils Bill with the constitutional law which the government is bound to. By referring to the aforesaid rule, he emphasized that his words did not constitute a recognition of the legitimacy of the constitutional or any other law, for that came from the law's compliance with the laws of the religion. For further information concerning irrevocable laws see *Wasa'il ash-Shiah*, vol. 15, *Kitab at-Talaq, Abwab Muqaddamat wa Shara'itah*, chap. 30.

¹ The second amendment to the constitutional law declared that: "The Holy National Consultative Assembly, which has been established through the assistance and favor of the twelfth Imam (may God expedite his glorious advent), should not at any time allow any of its articles of laws to contradict the rules of Islam or the laws of *Hadrat Khayr al-Anam* [the Best of Beings] (i.e., Prophet Muhammad (s)). It is obvious that the responsibility for determining which laws are at variance with the laws of Islam is and has been with the most learned *ulama*, (may God prolong their beneficial existence). Therefore, it is officially decided that in any period of time a group of not less than five Islamic jurists [*mujtahids*] and *fuqaha* who are aware of current events will be selected to do this. Thus, the most learned *ulama* and *maraji' at-taqlid* will introduce twenty names from amongst the *ulama*, who are qualified, to the National Consultative Assembly. Five or more will be chosen by unanimous vote or by drawing lots, and will be recognized as members so that all the articles proposed to the Majlis are carefully analyzed and negotiated, and every article which is at variance with the holy laws of Islam is rescinded. The vote of this group of *ulama* must be obeyed and followed, and this article is irrevocable until Imam Mahdi's appearance."

² Meaning that we will not accept any law except Islamic law, the laws of the Constitution which follow religious law are accepted by us.

³ The Shah and Alam's government wanted to pass the Provincial and District Councils Bill and violate Islam and the Constitution in the name of progress and using the excuse of the prevailing circumstances and their international obligations. The Shah in answer to a telegram sent by the *maraji'* announced these changes to be trivial and to have arisen from the current situation. In one of his speeches, Alam, while condemning any revolt, implicitly described the current activities of the *ulama* as being reactionary measures and added that the wheels of time could not be turned back and the government would not change its mind concerning the reform programs.

person being slapped! During small, local uprisings and wars which involve thousands of people often a few are killed, and several are wounded, it is not possible that during an uprising of twenty million not even one person's nose bleeds! The state does not realize who prevented chaos or battle from occurring. They should come and see what has been written in the letters we have received and what has been said by the people who came to talk to us.¹ They came to us with tears in their eyes, "Give us an order, a word from you that our souls will have everlasting life and see what happens." We told them that we did not ask that of them. But if a single word had been issued, there would have been an explosion. Who put out this fire? Why does the state not want to believe this? Why is it trying with all its might to destroy this great force (the clergy) which is the support of the independence of the country? God knows I am filled with sorrow. It is the clergy who have adapted to this situation and are serving the independence of this country. Why does the government not understand what it has done to our education? Why does it not rely on the clergy? Why does the world become devastated,² with the death of one scholar but when the government fails, the people celebrate?³ The government should be such that if it suffers a failure the people mourn and rise up to protect it.

It cannot attract support itself, maybe it could if the people saw that it wanted what was best for Muslims; if the people saw that the government protected the interests of the Muslims, they would buy bonds and sell their homes and use the money for the good of the Muslims. Why is the press allowed to say such things?⁴ Why are they so discourteous and unjust? If the

¹ The high-ranking *ulama* of the theology centers inside the country, clergymen, scholars, preachers, merchants, tradesmen and religious groups supported the actions of the *maraji*' of Qum for the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill in successive letters, telegrams and papers which contained thousands of signatures. They regularly expressed to the Shah and the government, and especially the *maraji*', the aversion and apprehension of the local citizens concerning the bill, and requested the abolition of the bill.

² It refers to the funeral and burial ceremony of the great Shiah Authority, Ayatullah Burujerdi the death of whom millions of Shiah Muslims throughout the world mourned.

³ It refers to the defeat of Alam's government by the clergy over the Provincial and District Councils Bill. After its annulment, people in many cities put up lights and celebrated the victory of Islam and the clergy. Some of the poets even composed poems to mark the occasion. To see the role of the leadership of Imam Khomeini at that time refer to the poem on page 205 in the book *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1. Also see *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 185-193.

⁴ The Imam's criticism is aimed at the freedom allowed the press at that time to speak about the clergy and sacred things in an insolent manner.

clergymen were to go,¹ the country would have no backbone. Why is the press free to say whatever it wants (against the clergy)?² Why the events of January 7 (Dey 17) are freely celebrated?³ These things create hatred. Do not make the country's king hated. We advise you not to turn January 7 into a day of celebration.⁴ We believe this to be a heinous act. Protect this country. The events of January 7 do not signify progress. The progress of a nation lies with its universities and look at what you have done to them.

For over a hundred years, we have had universities and yet when a king wants to have a tonsillectomy we must bring a doctor here from another country. Foreigners must build the Karaj Dam.⁵ Foreigners must come even

¹ The government-controlled press wrote: "If the *ulama* are against the progress and advancement which His Highness proclaims, then they can leave the country."

² The Pahlavi regime used propaganda and false rumor in its fight against the clergy in the Provincial and District Councils Bill disturbances in order to make the clergy and the *maraji*'s non-reactionary struggle look despicable and portray the clergy's uprising as being instigated by the feudal landowners and capitalists, and in this way turn the peasants against the clergy. The magazine *Khusheh* wrote: "One of the great landowners living abroad has sent large sums of money from Europe as *sahm-e imam* money to be put at the disposal of the clergy so that they can take action on behalf of the landowners."

³ After the Constitutional Revolution from the middle of 1927, some circles close to Rida Khan began talking about the forced removal of the women's Islamic veil [*kashf-e hijab*] and by the New Year of 1928 [1307 AHS], Rida Khan's wife and daughters appeared in public without the Islamic covering. The law calling for the removal of *hijab* was implemented after Rida Khan's return from Turkey (in 1934) on January 7, 1935 [Dey 17, 1341 AHS]. On this day, Rida Khan, accompanied by his wife and two daughters, attended the opening ceremonies for a college along with his ministers and their wives who had removed their Islamic covering. At this ceremony, Rida Khan addressed the women saying: "We have broken the prison bars! Now the freed prisoners can make beautiful homes instead of cages." See *Hijab wa Kashf-e Hijab dar Iran, Khatirat-e Taj as-Saltanah*.

⁴ Following the regime's defeat in the Provincial and District Councils Bill disturbances, the government tried to distract public attention from this disgrace by making plans to commemorate January 7 [Dey 17 AHS] and turn it into a day of national celebration employing women of doubtful propriety and women with connections to imperialist circles who planned a parade, celebrations and demonstrations. When Imam became aware of the decision, he sent a message to government officials stating that if the government decided to carry out its demonstration on January 7, the *ulama* would announce a national day of mourning in commemoration of the disaster at the Gawhar Shad Mosque and would request the public to stop work and participate in a street demonstration to express their hatred of those who caused that bloody disaster. This message was so effective that the regime changed its plans.

⁵ The Karaj Dam was built on the Karaj River, seventeen kilometers from Karaj, sixty-three kilometers from Tehran, in December 1958 [Azar 1337 AHS]. Initial construction work began in 1952 [1331 AHS], then in 1956 [1335 AHS] the International Engineering Company [Harza] was assigned to the project. After the foreign consulting engineers accepted Harza's proposals, the dam's building contract was ratified by the Planning Organization.

to build a road. Do international obligations demand this? If you have doctors and engineers you have education. If you say you have education, you have wealth, you have students, and you have doctors and engineers, so why do you hire them from outside the country? Why do you pay foreigners a hundred thousand tumans a month?! Answer this! If you have no answer, then pity this country! For a hundred years it has had universities but it has no doctors, no engineers.

This is what the clergymen have to say. The clergy are not against the economic development of this country, they have been slandered. For five hundred years, the clergymen have administered and protected the entire world.¹ One only needs to look at history. Even though the caliphs themselves were oppressors, they governed the world through an Islamic system. Does Islam not have a way for development? Which economic matter did the *ulama* oppose? You wanted to build dams; did they stand in your way? You wanted to import industries, did they stop you? We said, “Do not destroy the steel plant”. Do you think that we do not know what you have done to the Karaj Steel Plant?² The *ulama* are not against independence; the creed of the *ulama* is independence and religion demands that we call for it. But we have no means at our disposal; we do not govern the newspapers, and they have introduced the *ulama* in an unfavorable light.

Twenty odd years have passed since the scandalous forced removal of the Islamic veil [*kashf-e hijab*] took place.³ Check and see what you have done. You have put women into the offices, and every office they have been put into has become paralyzed. For the moment, this is not a common practice, the *ulama* say, “Do not let it become so; do not spread it to the provinces”. If women are put into an organization, it will upset conditions there. Do you want women to provide your independence?⁴ Those that you

¹ It means the period of Islam’s power to the 4th and 5th centuries after *hijrah* (i.e., 11th and 12th centuries CE).

² Rida Khan, who dreamt of attaining power similar to that of Hitler’s Germany, ordered the construction of a steel mill by the German company Krupp. The Krupp Co. chose the Karaj River as a suitable area to build the factory because it was near the Alborz mines. Most of the equipment and tools needed to build the factory were brought in from Germany at great expense and taken to the Karaj area. But after Iran was occupied by the Allied Forces, not only did the Germans stop working and sending the remainder of the equipment but it is said that they made the Iranian government destroy the equipment they had already sent. In this way, great sums of money paid by the oppressed people of Iran were completely wasted.

³ Twenty-seven years had passed since the issuance of the decree for the removal of the Islamic covering [*kashf-e hijab*] up until the time of this speech.

⁴ The Shah’s emphasis on the presence of women in the offices was merely to cloak imperialist Western policies, spread corruption, narcotize the youth and promote Western

follow are exploring space while you fool around with (the rights of) your women. Do not present your *ulama* unfavorably to the world. This is a shameful act on your part. These are the problems, this is the advice, but what good is it? Those who should hear it are not here, and even if there were someone here who could make the government understand that which pains our hearts, he would not do so.

But you the clergymen, your responsibility, at any post which you might hold is to guard Islam's reputation. If even one of your people acts dishonorably, the *ulama* in general will be seen in an unfavorable light. Just because others speak unfavorably, do not present yourselves in a bad light.

Our involvement in these events has brought about some sweet experiences and some bitter ones. We have just mentioned the sweet ones, which were the sentiments of the people, may God grant them predominance and victory. The bitter ones came from the actions of a few people, may God forgive them.¹ It is God's will that the life and independence of the nation lies in your hands. Whatever happens is either for or against you. If events go against you, do not let this defeat you psychologically. An outward defeat is not important, what is important is a psychological defeat. If a person is defeated spiritually, he is as good as dead. For you that have support from God, you that are the clergy, you that your hearts are otherworldly, there is no defeat in this world; this world is nothing, whosoever is connected to God, he shall never suffer defeat. Defeat belongs to those whose aspirations are worldly. When one's aspirations are of this world, one shall be defeated. If one's aspirations are the unseen and the mysteries behind it, there is no failure. Failure is for the desperate, it belongs to those who trust the Devil and to those whose hearts have been filled with love for the wealth of this world. If you are defeated in some way, your hearts should be strong, stand firm until the last person. Do not believe that if so-and-so fails, it is finished. No! You are a monotheist. You are a Muslim. You are connected to God and

culture. The status of women was lowered during the time of Rida Khan and his son, first by British and then American schemes which isolated Muslim women from social activities.

¹ After the abolition of the Provincial and District Councils Bill, some of the *ulama* considered the struggle over and in a telegram to the Shah, thanked him for repealing the bill. However, the Imam was convinced that the struggle must continue until news of the bill's annulment was printed in the newspapers. This difference of opinion resulted in contradictory rumors and news which confused many people. The people went to Qum to clarify their obligations and the Imam gave the government the ultimatum that it must announce the annulment of the bill in the national newspapers.

God cannot be defeated. “So lose not heart nor fall into despair, for ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith.”¹

If you win, do not lose your heads, be strong. You should neither be filled with fear nor be too daring. It is not right now to shout obscenities at the administration. You are above saying that which is unbecoming your position. From today, we are setting about our business. Over the two months since this event occurred, we have not been able to work properly, there were nights when I slept for only two hours. From now on, we should occupy ourselves with studying which is greater than any other means of worship, if the heart is pure. Once again if we see a foreign devil focusing on our nation, we will act in the same way, the state will be the same and the nation will be the same.

Such a gathering which is costly for others can be arranged by us with a single word. The people realize that we are their friends, and they are fond of their friends. The clergymen are the fathers of the people, and they are fond of their children. In the middle of the night, an old man² announces, “Let us gather and pray and Tehran moves!” Another old man here writes, “We want to have a prayer gathering and see what happens!” Why? Because the people perceive that the *ulama* have their best interests at heart, the *ulama* are righteous people; they are not corrupt. We would like the state to be like this also. We would like it when a day of national mourning is announced, everyone mourns, and they do not oppose it. And just as the hearts of the people are attentive to the clergymen and gather at their bidding, we would like them to be like this also with the government.

From Shahr-e Rey, they wrote, “We are five thousand people clad in shrouds.” From Japalaq,³ “We are one hundred thousand individuals awaiting your orders.” From Lorestan, they wrote, “We are tribes ready with our shrouds.” The people are awakened. Can a nation which is awakened be backward? Get rid of your weapons and then in Tehran, for example, announce that you will hold a gathering in the east, and we will announce one in the west; announce a gathering in Qum and we will announce one twelve kilometers from there in Khak Faraj;⁴ you hold one close by and we will hold one far away. Go to Khuzestan, anywhere, and do the same so that you will see just how important this support is for you. I advise the king of

¹ *Surah Al-i Imran* 3:139.

² It refers to the elderly clergymen such as Ayatullah Tonakabuni and Ayatullah Behbahani who were over ninety years of age.

³ Japalaq is an area in Isfahan.

⁴ Khak Faraj: one of Qum local areas.

this nation not to lose this force. Two events occurred; one was the death of Ayatullah Burujerdi¹ and the other was the death of one of their people; and we all saw what happened. They say the *akhunds* are nothing. How can they say this?! You say that you do not have anything to do with the *akhunds*,² well the *akhunds* have something to say to you! Religious counsel is compulsory; to abandon it might even be a capital sin. It is the duty of the *ulama* to counsel everyone throughout the nation, from the Shah down.

This is the way to the people's hearts; the Muslim people's hearts will be won over through Islam. We understand what makes their hearts beat, the hearts of the Muslim people must be attracted by means of Islam for "without doubt in the remembrance of God, do hearts find satisfaction".³ All hearts are in God's hands. The converter of all hearts is God. Focus your attention on God so that the hearts of the people will focus on you. The people of learning do this; you (the statesmen) must also be like this. We are not saying, "Wear a turban;" rather, we say, "Come to understand that which the clergymen have understood."

We say the government should govern the people well so that they would understand that the government has their best interests at heart. But if the people see that is not how it really is, they will begin to ask, "When will this government be destroyed?" O government, O wretched ones! The conquest of a country is nothing—and fortunately you have not achieved this—what is important is the conquest of hearts. If you want to, then do it. If not, do not do so. It is up to you.⁴

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

¹ Ayatullah Haj Aqa Husayn Ṭabataba'i better known as Ayatullah Burujerdi [1873-1961] the leader of the theological center of Qum (after Ayatullah Ha'iri), founder of the A'zam Mosque of Qum, and highest ranking Shiah *marja' at-taqlid* (since September 1941 [Shahrivar 1320 AHS]) during the reign of Muhammad Rida Shah. After his preliminary studies in Burujerd, he went to Isfahan and taught religious jurisprudence and philosophy there for eight years. He then studied for another eight years with Akhund Muhammad Kazim Khorasani in Najaf. He returned to Iran and began teaching logic and doctrinal scriptures in Burujerd. In 1944 [1323 AHS], he was invited to Qum by Imam and the other *ulama*. The defeat of the constitutional movement and events such as the execution of Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri, as well as the troubles arising from unsuccessful political actions taken against Rida Khan, led Ayatullah Burujerdi to avoid involvement in political matters wherever possible, out of fear that such involvement would prove to be detrimental to the Muslims. For this reason, he was sometimes the object of criticism. In order to take advantage of the reputation of this great man, Muhammad Rida would visit him frequently and in a show of piety for the people would announce his readiness to disseminate Islam.

² One of the Shah's statements.

³ *Surah ar-Ra'd* 13:28.

⁴ This was said in admonition.

Introduction to Speech Number Five

Date: January 1963 (AD) / end of Dey 1341 (AHS) / Shaban 1382 (AH)

Place: Qum, Iran

Theme: A warning with regard to the consequences of the Shah's proposed referendum and the need for the awareness and resistance of the *ulama* and the people

Occasion: The regime's announcement of the enforced White Revolution referendum

Those Present: Ayatullah Ruhullah Kamalvand, the high-ranking Ayatullahs and a group of the *ulama* of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

After the regime's defeat over the Provincial and District Councils Bill, Imam sought an opportunity to maintain the people's active involvement in the struggle. Meanwhile, Alam's government, which had suffered a severe setback during this recent clerical uprising, tried to distract the people by other issues such as the so-called national' celebrations and ceremonies, whilst bringing closer the enforcement of the Shah's destructive American reform plan.

Bearing in mind the regime's cunning in stipulating the role and the rights of women in the Provincial and District Councils Bill, it was suggested to Alam by the Shah that January 7 (Dey 17) - the day when women's Islamic covering was banned by Riḍa Shah - could be used as an occasion on which his government could retrieve its credibility and once more his authority could be exhibited to the people and the clergy. Thus it was decided that a carnival should be held on that day, which female government employees and schoolgirls would be forced to attend and where women would engage in dance and exhibit themselves. When Imam heard of the regime's decision, he gave a speech which opposed the government stating that if January 7 was commemorated by holding celebrations, he would ask the *ulama* to announce a national day of mourning to commemorate the disaster at the Gawhar Shad Mosque in Mashhad, in which hundreds of innocent people were martyred and injured because of their opposition to Riḍa Khan's decree calling for the removal of women's Islamic dress (*Kashf Hijab*). Hence, bearing in mind his recent defeat over the Provincial and District Councils Bill, the Shah felt it wiser to cancel the proposed celebrations, and this therefore constituted yet another victory for Imam and the people.

Throughout the clergy's opposition to the Provincial and District Councils Bill and during the months which followed, the regime embarked upon a propaganda campaign which involved the printing of abusive articles (which sowed seeds of discord) in the national press, articles which showed unrestrained insolence toward the clergy. Via its comprehensive propaganda machinery, the regime attempted to present the Shah as a fundamental reformer and the clergy as opposed to progress and social development.

Due to his unique wisdom and insight Imam found a way to turn whatever the regime did to the advantage of the Islamic movement. Once again he requested the *maraji* and high-ranking clergy to respond to the regime's press attack and to check the covert plot. In addition to this, Imam sent for Hajj Falsafi a renowned preacher, and asked him to give an ultimatum to the government in his speeches stating that if they did not stop these measures the clergy would rise up once again and speak out. In carrying out this mission, Hajj Falsafi strongly criticised the regime in an address given at the Azam Mosque in Qum. In one part of his speech he said: "... Recently, obscure murmurings have come from certain national newspapers and publications which have been against Islam and the clergy... The *ulama* and the high-ranking *maraji* have officially asked me to give the government final warning that if they don't stop the poisonous propaganda in the press and... the clergy will be forced to renew their opposition of a month or so ago, and will expose the treacherous acts which have prevailed and which continue to prevail ..."¹

The stance adopted by Imam and the ultimatum given by the *ulama* served to arouse the people's feelings and terrify the regime. The Shah impulsively sent the deputy Prime Minister to Qum to solve the misunderstanding and the latter, while apologising to the *maraji*, tried to convince them that the government would never again insult the clergy.

On January 9, 1963 (Dey 19, 1341 AHS), thirty-nine days after the Provincial and District Councils Bill had been rescinded, the Shah announced his reform programme, the "Six Points of the White Revolution", and put it to a referendum. After his trip to America (and his visit with President John F. Kennedy) he had promised to remove Ali Amini from his position as Prime Minister and to enforce the American policies himself. In spite of what he stated on January 9, 1963, the so-called White Revolution was actually part of the imperialist policy known as "Alliance for Progress", which the White House had planned to put into action in undeveloped countries such as

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 213.

Iran² and which was considered to be a great barrier to the influence of Communism. America believed that the workers and farmers constituted a great force which, given the right opportunity, could create a movement similar to that in China, Cuba, Vietnam etc., and by implementing reforms such as land reforms, and allowing workers to have a share in the profits, it was hoped that such a movement could be prevented.

As soon as the referendum was announced, the domestic and foreign press joined together, as previously planned, in support of the Shah and announced: "The nation will respond positively to the Shah's call by casting an overwhelming majority vote of approval in the national referendum."³ The united propaganda efforts of national and international organisations was such that it caused not only the Shah's supporters, but also opposition parties, groups and politicians, as well as those who had for years claimed to be the pioneers of the movement, to react in an uncharacteristic way... Hence, after having held a number of meetings they announced their position as such: "Reform, yes; Dictatorship, no!". This slogan covered the doors and walls of Tehran and was even posted at the entrance to the University of Tehran and it meant that the educated sector of society and the intellectuals, former crusaders and opponents of the regime, would actually vote in favour of the Shah's Six Tenets.⁴

Imam Khomeini was the only person who, due to his unique insight, could see that the aim of the Shah's referendum plan was to strengthen America's control in Iran and to reduce the pressure exerted upon the regime by the people. Therefore, discussions were once again held between the

² The Americans' analysis of conditions in Iran and their belief in the necessity for a series of changes had for some time been reflected in the American press. Thus publications like the influential *US News and World Report*, in its July issue of 1959, wrote with regard to the situation in Iran: "In the oil-producing country of Iran, signs of unrest are beginning to appear. If a riot begins in Iran, America will be deeply involved ... the general public are not satisfied with the ruling system ... in such a situation, the U.S. will strongly support the Shah both militarily and economically as the need arises. Public discontent has brought about this grave state of affairs which could well prove to be very unpleasant for both the Shah and the United States."

³ *Ittilaat* newspaper, January 10, 1962 (Dey 20, 1341 AHS), quoted from the Associated Press news agency and other Western news agencies.

⁴ This slogan was suggested by certain nationalist politicians, and mainly by those in the Tudeh Party. This party wrote an article for the magazine *Mardom*, entitled: "The Bloody Week of Khurdad" which stated that: "... There is no doubt that reactionary elements, in trying to take advantage of the religious sentiments of certain people during this period of mourning, have incited a group of backward bigots to commit foolish and inhuman acts which are injurious to progress, and have even distributed slogans during demonstrations, which are against land reforms and against women's freedom ..."

clergy and the *ulama* concerning the Shah's "Six Points" in order to expose what the Shah's intentions were. Some of the high-ranking clergy however, were not able to make a firm decision because they were unaware of certain underlying issues and were not used to being involved in political opposition. As a result, Imam's discussion with them remained inconclusive. Nevertheless, these meetings continued until it was eventually decided that the Shah's representative should come to Qum to explain the goals and motives of the White Revolution to the *maraji* and the clergy, and that the Shah and government officials should subsequently be informed of the stand taken by the *ulama* of Qum. Hence, this came to pass, and the Shah sent his Chief Minister of the Court, Mr. Behbudi, to Qum to negotiate with Imam and the other *maraji*. However, the outcome of this visit proved to be unfavourable and the issues relating to the proposed policy of the Shah remained unexplained and vague.⁵

Imam decided to ask one of the influential clergymen to negotiate directly with the Shah. Thus, the late Ayatullah Haj Aqa Ruhullah Kamalvand, who had formerly been a first-rate lecturer in *fiqh*, dogmatic theology and philosophy at the theological centre in Qum, and who held much influence in his native city of Khurramabad, went to the Royal Court and began to hold talks with the Shah. Instead of shedding light on those issues which needed to be clarified, the Shah strongly criticised the clergy's course of action and said: "The Iranian clergy should learn from the Sunni clergy about how to love the King, for indeed the latter pray for their sovereign King each time they complete their performance of a religious duty." To this Ayatullah Kamalvand replied: "They (the Sunni clergy) are official representatives of their governments, but throughout the past millennium, the Shii *ulama* have never, and indeed will never, become such government agents. Therefore we have to be seen in a different light from the Sunni *ulama*." He then added: "No allowances have been made in the Constitution for this referendum. Indeed, you prosecuted the government of Mussadiq for waiting to hold a referendum which contravened the constitutional law, so how can you now go ahead with such a thing?" The Shah answered: "We're not proposing a referendum, but rather we want to hold a national poll";⁶ and he subsequently insisted on carrying out the referendum.

⁵ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihdat-i Iman Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 223.

⁶ *Nihdat-i Rūāniyūn-i Iran* vol. 3, p. 201. Following this statement, the press also changed the word referendum to 'national poll'.

After Ayatullah Kamalvand's visit with the Shah, Imam Khomeini arranged for a meeting to be held by the prominent *maraji* and clergy of Qum, to hear of the visit's outcome and to reach some kind of final decision on the matter. During this historic meeting two different points of view were aired: those who could still taste the sweetness of victory following the Councils Bill affair were in favour of fiercely opposing the Shah's American reform; whilst the other group, comprising those of moderate tendencies, believed that the Shah, supported by foreign powers, would put up a fight with his heavily-armed military, and that the people and the clergy would get nowhere faced by such opposition, for they had absolutely no weapons with which to fight, i.e. their bare hands would be ineffective against their weapons!

After hearing the views of both groups, Imam Khomeini made a speech, the entire contents of which have never been procured, only certain sections having been recorded in historical works. In this address, in order to determine a final course of action, Imam firstly analysed the sensitive nature of the situation they now faced and commented on the views that had been aired, and then he proclaimed: "Gentlemen, you must be aware of how grim the future looks and how heavy our responsibility has become as a result of the recent turn of events... that with which we are now confronted and against which we are directing our grievances and opposition, is the Shah himself, someone who now finds his life hanging in the balance. . . the threat which the public now faces is too great to ignore. . . the nation of Islam is on the verge of destruction...the only thing we can do, is to inform the people and make them aware of the situation. If we do this, then you will see what a formidable, irrepressible force we will become - a force against which cannons and tanks will be no adversary!"

Following Imam's comments, it was decided that each of the *maraji* and the high-ranking clergymen should speak out against the regime by issuing a statement expressing their opposition to the referendum. The first of these statements was issued by Imam on the morning of Tuesday, January 22 (Bahman 2, 1341 AHS), in answer to certain religious groups from Tehran who had sought his opinions concerning the referendum. In this statement Imam said: "Just who exactly is authorised to hold a referendum remains unclear... it seems that this referendum which has been forced upon the people is to pave the way for the destruction of anything to do with religion... the *ulama* of Islam, on sensing any kind of danger to Islam and the Quran,

are obliged to make the people fully aware of the situation...”¹ Following Imam’s statement the other *maraji* also issued statements and sent official complaints to the authorities making the religious responsibilities of the *maraji* clear to them.²

The distribution of Imam’s statement in Tehran, Qum and other cities created a great stir. All over Tehran people stopped work and poured into the streets shouting slogans in opposition to the referendum. They marched towards Ayatullah Khansari’s house and invited him to join the demonstration and publically announce his opposition to the referendum. Ayatullah Khansari responded to the people’s call and marched at the head of the crowd. A clamouring crowd consisting of all classes - the clergy, merchants, university students, workers, etc. - marched from Barfrush-ha Square and Buzarjumejri Street (today’s Khordad 15 Street) towards Cyrus Junction which was where the protesters assembled. The crowd, chanting: “***Surely we are victorious with an actual victory from You.***” (a verse of the holy Quran); “The fake referendum is against Islam”; and “***Assistance from God and victory is near***” (a verse of the holy Quran), finally reached Ayatullah Bihbahani’s house at Cyrus Junction. Haj Falsafi who was at the house of Ayatullah Bihbahani, firmly announced the opposition of the *ulama* and the people towards the so-called referendum in a hard-line speech. After the speech, the people, chanting the slogan: “Iran is a suppressed country; death to suppression”, started to march in the streets and a large gathering was planned for that afternoon in opposition to the referendum at the Sayyid Azizullah Mosque by invitation of Ayatullah Khansari and Ayatullah Bihbahani.

As a huge crowd made its way towards the Tehran bazaar severe clashes broke out between the people and military and disciplinary forces, fighting taking place along the route which ran from the university to the bazaar. At the bazaar, Sayyid Azizullah Mosque was surrounded by armed forces. Those who were approaching the mosque with Ayatullah Khansari³ became the subject of the soldiers’ attacks, many receiving injuries or being arrested, whilst Ayatullah Khansari himself was also assaulted and threatened by the regime’s agents, thus being compelled to return home. Because of pressure

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihdat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 230.

² *Nihdat-i Ruaniiyun-i Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 207-210.

³ It is said that certain firebrands in following the Shah’s instructions, tried to make Ayatullah Khansari believe that he had been deserted by the people and that they had run away and left him alone under dire conditions. Unfortunately their insinuations achieved the desired effect and he thenceforth isolated himself, refraining from participating in further demonstrations.

exerted by the chief-of-police of Tehran, Ayatullah Bihbahani was also unable to leave his home, and instead issued an announcement to the people in the mosque suggesting that they remained calm. Popular protests continued throughout that day (January 22) and the next, university students commanding a particularly active vote in the demonstrations held on January 23 (Bahman 3).

On the afternoon of this day, hundreds of Tehran clergymen gathered in Ayatullah Gharavi's house, but this gathering was discovered by the regime's forces and was disrupted, all the clergymen being beaten, thrown onto trucks, and taken to prison. The arrest and imprisonment of clergymen on such a grand scale had not been witnessed since the fall of Rida Khan in 1941 (1320 AHS).¹ But it was precisely when the Shah's regime used all its infernal power to intimidate the clergymen, to isolate Imam, and to oust the people from the arena of the struggle, that Imam Khomeini rose up yet again in the true spirit of a leader, from the climate of intimidation, suppression and fear, and issued a statement on two consecutive occasions to break the repressive climate which prevailed at that time.²

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p.237.

² See the introduction to Speech 6.

Speech Number Five

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Gentlemen, you must be aware of how grim the future looks and how heavy our responsibility has become as a result of the recent turn of events. The events which are now occurring threaten the very basis of Islam with destruction. A calculated conspiracy has been organized against Islam, the nation of Islam and the independence of Iran. You are to realize that this event cannot be compared to the former disturbance (concerning the Provincial and District Councils Bill) nor can we respond to it in the same way.

On the face of things that disturbance concerned the government; it was the government to which we directed our opposition; and it was the government which was seen as having been defeated. But the defeat or even the fall of a government in a system of rule is not something of great importance. It is not something which would destroy the basis of a regime. Indeed, on occasion a regime purposely resorts to overthrowing the government in order to consolidate and secure the regime's position. In this case, however, that with which we are now confronted and against which we are directing our grievances and opposition is the Shah himself—someone who now finds his life hanging in the balance; and as he himself stated, to succumb on this occasion would mean his downfall and ruin. Therefore, he has no choice but to succeed in implementing this proposed policy no matter what it takes. Not only will he not surrender and do away with his plans, but he will fight against any opposition with all of his might and with the utmost fierceness. Hence, we must not expect the system to surrender as it did last time. Moreover, it is a bounden duty for us to fight in opposition since the danger which now threatens the people cannot be ignored or taken lightly.

In order to delude and mislead the nation, the government has set an elaborate trap, and has engaged in a series of deceptive, misleading moves. If we fail to awaken and inform the masses before they fall into the colonial trap, which has been set for them, the nation of Islam will find itself on the verge of destruction. It will be deceived and led astray and if that happens not only will the *ulama* and the clergymen of Islam also inevitably follow a deviated path, which, God forbid, will lead to their extirpation, but they will be answerable before God Almighty as to why, having seen the trap, they did

not warn the blind and thus prevent them from falling into it. If only we could make the people aware of the Shah's schemes and conspiracies and keep them from being deceived and influenced by this deceptive plan of his, then without doubt, we would overpower him and make him face defeat. When we do not wish to engage in a war with tanks and cannons—which he reckons we are incapable of doing anyway—and when fists are no match for what he has to fight with, then what are we to do? The best thing we can do is to make the people aware of what is happening; and should we succeed in this, then the formidable force we represent will become apparent. We shall constitute a force which is indestructible even when confronted by tanks and cannons. In the meantime, as I said earlier, a difficult and dangerous path lies before us. Those who believe that they have a duty to fight, must consider the consequences and see to what extent they are able to endure the hardships and difficulties that they are likely to be subject to along this chosen path and...

Introduction to Speech Number Six

Date: January 23, 1963 (AD) / Bahman 3, 1341 (AHS) / Shaban 26, 1382 (AH)

Place: The home of one of the *maraji*, Qum, Iran

Theme: The need for the Shah to apologise to the clergy after the removal of Alam from the premiership

Occasion: The bloody incidents which occurred on January 22 and 23 (Bahman 2 and 3) in Tehran and Qum, and the Shah's visit to Qum

Those Present: High-ranking clergy, and the *maraji* of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The incidents which occurred on January 22 and 23, 1963, in Tehran were repercussions of the rejection of the referendum by Imam and the other *maraji* and the crushing of peaceful demonstrations held by the people. A wave of arrests of both clergymen and members of the public, and the besieging of the homes of Ayatollahs Bihbahani and Khansari led to a new round of disturbances.¹

Imam Khomeini issued this historic declaration at the end of January (in the early days of Bahman) after these sorrowful incidents had occurred. In taking this daring action he strongly opposed the regime which had mistakenly believed that by suppressing the people and arresting the clergy, it had scared everyone and had secured the situation. The declaration began: "Beware O Muslims! Islam is in danger of blasphemy", and in it, Imam revealed the regime's blasphemous nature and wrote: "They trade us like slaves in the Middle Ages. I swear to Almighty God I don't want this life. Imam Ali had once said, Life with oppression is deplorable; death is a blessing.' Indeed, I wish the police would come and arrest me so that I would be relieved of my responsibilities. The only crime of the *ulama* of Islam and other Muslims is that they defend the Holy Quran, Islam's dignity and the nation's independence and they oppose imperialism." Meanwhile, declarations were issued by other leading *maraji* in the holy cities of Qum and Najaf, and by the Tehran Clergy Society and Muslim students from the University of Tehran. In these declarations the non-Islamic, inhuman actions of the regime during the demonstrations were condemned, and it was stressed that the referendum was unlawful and wrong.

¹ See the introduction to Speech 5.

Tehran was now occupied by tanks and military forces. The University of Tehran was surrounded by security police commanded by Lieutenant Hakimi, the head of security for the university. During the bloody encounters which took place at the university many students were injured and laboratory equipment was destroyed.

In Qum, merchants and shop owners stopped work after the publication of Imam's declaration, resulting in a shutdown throughout the city. On the same day, the people and merchants started to march towards the homes of the *maraji* in order to find out what course of action they should take. At his home, Imam Khomeini encouraged the people to stand firm against the regime and requested them to stay at home on the day of the referendum. Also on the same day, a group of residents from the downtown area of Qum started out towards the city's centre intending to visit the holy shrine of *Hadrat* Masumah (sister of Imam Riḍa). As they marched, each held a Quran and chanted, "We follow the Quran, we do not want the referendum!" By the time they had reached Astana Square, the streets surrounding the holy shrine were full of people. At this point, a group of hired thugs who had been sent by SAVAK confronted the crowd and bearing pictures of their monarch they shouted: "Long live the Shah." The crowd then attacked them and tore up their pictures. Police protecting the thugs also charged the crowd and the crowd fought back.

Colonel Riḍai, a police officer of Qum who was leading the assault, fell into the hands of the people and was seriously injured. The demonstrators set a police car on fire and the police were forced to escape from the scene. The people of Qum along with the religious students and clergymen pursued them shouting, "Islam will prevail, dictatorship is doomed!"; "Death to this law-breaking government!"; and "Death to the Shah!"

Moments later, truckloads of soldiers stationed at the Manzarieh army base of Qum arrived to assist the police and attacked the people from all sides. The soldiers shattered the doors and windows of the Faydiyyah Madrasa as they passed, the latter being crowded with people who had sought shelter there, and they then went on to the bazaar of Qum. As they shouted "Long live the Shah!", they plundered and pillaged the people's property. A police car which was patrolling the area announced over a loudspeaker that any shopkeeper who wanted to save his shop should come out immediately, open his doors and post the imperial flag above the shop entrance.

Indeed, the people bravely confronted the regime on that day, although the army had injured many of them and had heavily damaged their property.

The regime however, explained its savage suppression in this way: "... the farmers of Qum attacked the religious students and the clergy requested that order be re-established and hence the government quickly responded."¹

Imam Khomeini in his enlightening declaration of January 23rd (Bahman 3), severely condemned the attack of the regime's forces. Part of the declaration stated: "... this is what is meant by government support of religion, and this is what is meant by free elections and a free electorate. We shall let the public be the judges of what actually took place in the religious city of Qum, in the vicinity of the holy shrine and in the city's theological centre".

Following the unrest on January 23, the city of Qum resembled a war-stricken city. The streets, the homes of the *maraji* and the *ulama*, and the theological centre, were all heavily guarded by the army and the police, and road blocks were set up on the roads leading into Qum. The police detained those clergymen who were leaving the city to propagate the month of Ramadan and arrested them, so that news of the oppression inside Qum would not reach the other cities. They were unaware that Imam had already sent special messengers to the people all over Iran.

On the afternoon of January 23, the day before the Shah's arrival in Qum, the high-ranking clergy and the *maraji* held a meeting with Imam to discuss recent events. The governor of Qum was sent by the regime to attend this meeting. After being admitted, he repeatedly told those there of the regime's regret over what had happened and suggested that in order to resolve their problems and misunderstandings the clergy should hold a meeting with the Shah. He emphasised that if they agreed to a meeting with the Shah then their social demands would be met. However, before opinions were aired and possible discord could arise amongst the clergy, Imam nipped this new conspiracy of the regime in the bud by replying to the governor of Qum in no uncertain terms. Unfortunately, exactly what was said by Imam remains unknown except for a few brief comments which have subsequently been documented in historical works. Nevertheless, the reply in question in which Imam refused a meeting with the Shah unless certain conditions were met, was so explicit and unequivocal that it left no room for debate or disagreement. Nor did those present at the meeting become disunited by taking different sides on the issue.

Everyone accepted that Imam Khomeini not only ruled the hearts of the people but was also indisputably the leader of the prominent members of the

¹ *Ittilaat*, January 24, 1963 (Bahman 4, 1341 AHS).

theological centre and the clergy. One after the other the leaders of the clergy spoke out in support of Imam's stance and warned of the grave consequences of the regime's acts of violence, and eventually the governor of Qum left the meeting in disgrace.

Imam advised the people to stay at home; he prohibited participation in the referendum; he broke the *ulamas* tradition of holding a welcoming prayer ceremony for the Shah when he entered their city; and he refused all proposals to compromise with the regime. His revolutionary position thus left the Shah and his regime in a truly difficult situation.

With very little time left before the Shah's arrival, it was decided that the court-affiliated clergy should be used to rescue the situation. Thus, the latter entered the city of Qum and went towards the homes of several prominent clergymen in order to persuade them to cease their opposition and to participate in the welcoming ceremony for the Shah. Some of the unsuspecting clergy were influenced by these people and announced that they would meet with the Shah if Imam Khomeini agreed to the meeting and that therefore they would be wiser to concentrate their efforts of persuasion on Imam Khomeini. However, extensive efforts made on that evening were unsuccessful and Imam thus defeated the regime's plot and averted disunity. Although further endeavours were made to persuade a few clergymen and *maraji* to agree to a meeting with the Shah without the presence of Imam, no one in fact gave in to this scheme.

Speech Number Six

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

...in the light of yesterday's violent attack by government agents on the honorable *ulama* and people of Tehran and the disrespect shown towards the holy status held by the clergy in that city, and again, due to the government agents' inhuman treatment of the respected citizen and the clergy society of the city and their violation of the sanctity of this holy domain, there remains no room for agreement or for striking up any friendly relationship with the present state. In no way could a meeting be arranged with the Shah unless, in order to compensate for the affront against the holy sanctity of the clergy, he were to remove Mr. Alam from office for having been the prime culprit in all this, and he were to put an end to these arrests and other such actions taken by the police, thereby paving the way for possible talks and negotiations.¹

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 254.

Introduction to Speech Number Seven

Date: February 26, 1963 (AD) / Esfand 7, 1341 (AHS)/ Shawwal 1, 1382 (AH)

Place: The home of Imam Khomeini, Qum, Iran

Theme: The importance of opposition to the illegal referendum and the imposed White Revolution

Occasion: The arrival of Id al-Fitr

Those Present: Religious students, clergy, citizens of Qum and pilgrims visiting the holy shrine of *Hadrat* Masumah (pbuh)

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

By the time the Shah had arrived in Qum on January 24, 1963 (Bahman 4, 1341 AHS) the city had been transformed into a military base. As soon as he arrived he inquired after the *ulama* and was greatly annoyed when he was informed that none of the high-ranking clergy had come to greet him. He was so angry that he did not enter the holy shrine but turned around in the middle of the courtyard and left.

The bazaar and shops of the city were closed and when the Shah spoke in Qum he severely attacked the merchants and clergy and referred to the Islamic *ulamas* movement as “black reaction.” The Shah’s statements were played up by the newspapers giving the press a chance to widely propagate the holding of the referendum. However, in spite of the extensive propaganda, polling stations were virtually empty on January 26th (Bahman 6), but the following day the newspapers wrote: “520,000 people have voted yes’ in Tehran” and “there were only 843 no’ votes cast in Tehran.” On January 27, 1963 (Bahman 7, 1341 AHS), the newspapers stated that according to official sources, “5,600,000 Iranians voted for the reforms and 4,150 opposed them!”

When the White House saw that the Shah was successfully implementing the reform programme that it had insisted upon, officials there were well pleased. The American President, John F. Kennedy, congratulated the Shah on his triumph. In addition, Britain’s ambassador to Iran visited with Asadullah Alam to express the Queen of England’s satisfaction with the Shah’s victory in the referendum. Also the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), although apparently against U.S. intervention in Iran, surprisingly shifted its ground in this regard and praised the Shah and his programmes. Radio Moscow referred to opponents of the Shah’s programmes as “Western agents” and “reactionaries”.

The *New York Times*, America's capitalist newspaper, at this time wrote: "Now in order for Iran to put its plans into action it will need more help from America and even though objections concerning American foreign intervention increase daily, these new conditions in Iran have facilitated American assistance to the country."

Monday, January 28, 1963 (Bahman 8, 1341 AHS), was the first day of the holy month of Ramadan. A few days before this, Imam Khomeini spoke with the *ulama* and clergy and suggested that in order to make clear the position of the *ulama* of Islam with regard to the Shah's regime, all prayer ceremonies, sermons and speeches throughout the country during the month of Ramadan be suspended. He also proposed that the Islamic world be informed of this strike by proclamations and in this way the *ulama* of the Islamic countries be invited to co-operate with the Iranian *ulama* and join the strike. The clerical dignitaries agreed to Imam's suggestions and requested that the *ulama* of several cities refrain from holding congregational prayers. The mosques in Tehran, Qum, Isfahan, Shiraz and most other cities had closed by the time the month of Ramadan arrived. Feeling threatened by this, the Shah's regime sought to solve the issue by spreading a rumour that the government planned to use all local mosques to house abandoned and homeless children and as dormitories for soldiers¹. In addition, security agents of the regime visited some of the clergy with schemes and plans to get them to stop their strike action. The conspiracy was effective and activities began once again at the mosques thus neutralising the plan which would have seriously damaged the regime.

On the auspicious occasion of Id al-Fitr, a group of people from Tehran and other cities came to Qum as they did every year, and to show their support for the clergy's movement they visited the homes of various *maraji* and *ulama*. On this day, a multitude of people gathered around Imam Khomeini's home and he gave a short speech and once again performed his mission for Islam and society.

Imam delivered this speech as the regime widely circulated the news of its victory and the government-controlled press spoke of the participation of millions of people in the referendum. His statements once again gave inspiration to the nation, rekindled the flame of the uprising and gave the strength to the clergy and people to continue the struggle against the regime. In this way, Imam Khomeini's opposition to the Shah's regime continued on an increasingly extensive scale.

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. I, p. 286

Speech Number Seven

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... Respected gentlemen, whatever your position, make a determined stand against the illegal and sacrilegious activities of this government. Do not let these rusty bayonets frighten you, they will soon be broken. This government cannot oppose the demands of a great nation with bayonets, and sooner or later it will be defeated¹. Even now it is defeated and hopeless, the uncivilised acts that you have witnessed were enacted out of hopelessness.

We did not wish the regime to be brought to this level of disgrace. Why must the king of a nation be so detached from the people that when he makes a suggestion the people ignore him or respond negatively². A king must behave in such a manner that when he makes a suggestion or a request the people agree to it whole-heartedly, not rise up against it.

The Shah's referendum enjoyed the support of no more than 2,000 people in the whole country³. We did not want the leaders of this country to

¹ It is necessary to note that twice in 1963 (1341 AHS), over a three-month period, Imam Khomeini confidently promised that God would assist the Islamic movement and lead it to victory over the Shah's oppressive regime. The first time was in a speech dated December 2, 1962 (Azar 11, 1341 AHS) delivered at the A`zam Mosque in Qum and addressed to the religious students and clergy who were present at the classes held after the disturbances over the Provincial and District Councils Bill had ended. Then a second time he stated in a speech: "These bayonets will soon be broken."

² The boycott of the referendum for the Shah's "White Revolution" provoked a wave of hatred and anger towards the regime throughout the country. Tradesmen in the bazaar closed down their shops, and the people obeyed a request by the clergy to stay at home; conditions in most cities, especially Tehran, Qum, Mashhad, Yazd, Kashan, Najaf-Abad, Kazerun and Rafsanjan were abnormal. The only people who voted were the uninformed people, government employees who were forced to the voting booths, and the agents and officers of the regime. The people's disregard forced the regime to fill the voting boxes with forged "yes" ballots. For more information see *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, from p. 267 onwards.

³ The press announced that the Shah's "proposed principles" were approved by 5,600,000 votes, as compared to 4,150 votes against. The Shah reinforced this by repeating 5,600,000 votes in favour at every interview or speech that he made! See his speech dated May 27, 1963 (Khordad 6, 1342 AHS) made in Kerman; his speech dated June 9, 1963 (Khordad 19, 1342 AHS) given to the college students going to America; his speech dated February 12, 1964 (Bahman 23, 1342 AHS) at Dezful airport; his speech dated April 2, 1964 (Farvardin 13, 1343 AHS) made for the farmers of Birjand, and the other speeches he made for press reporters.

ever become so disgraced. This should serve as a lesson to make them awaken and change their policy. Instead of breaking the law and sending the *ulama* and other respected citizens to prison¹, instead of bullying and using bayonets, they should accept the wishes of the people and realise that they cannot silence the people or make them surrender with bayonets, nor can they use coercion to prevent the clergy from performing the duties with which Islam has charged them. Even though they stopped Mr. Islami from speaking out from the pulpit in Tehran², they saw how he spoke out from the pulpit in Bandar Pahlavi and revealed the truth there. And if they had stopped him from speaking there, he would have continued elsewhere, have no doubt about that. Wherever he could, he would get his message across to the people. Even though they have prevented many *ulama* and preachers from speaking out by putting them in prison, the remaining clergy who have not been arrested will speak out and will make the people aware of what is happening. Do you honestly believe that you can silence the clergy³?

¹ After declarations and religious decrees {*fatwas*} were published by the *maraji'* and *ulama* concerning the boycott of the referendum for the "White Revolution," the homes of two of Tehran's influential clergymen: the great Ayatullahs Bihbihani and Khansari were surrounded. The clergy of Tehran gathered at the home of Hujjat al-Islam Hajj Shaykh Muhammad Gharavi Kashani's home to decide what to do about this. Upon being informed of this gathering, the regime's agents attacked the home of Mr. Kashani and arrested a large number of well-known clergymen from Tehran. They were then taken to Qazil Qala prison in an extremely humiliating manner. Other clergymen and pious people in Qum, Mashhad and other cities were also arrested and thrown into prison in the same manner.

² Hajj Shaykh `Abbas Ali Islami, a renowned preacher and clergyman, was prohibited from speaking out from the pulpit during this time. He travelled secretly to the north of Iran and enlightened congregations from the pulpit in Bandar Anzali during Ramadan 1963. Sometime later he was expelled from Anzali, but he didn't cease with his activities rather he travelled throughout Iran undercover and spoke out in different Iranian cities.

³ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 289.

Introduction to Speech Number Eight

Date: March 20, 1963 (AD) / Esfand 29, 1341 (AHS) / Shawwal 23, 1382 (AH)

Place: Azam Mosque, Qum, Iran

Theme: Being prepared for self-sacrifice in the path of Islam and for struggle against the *taghut*

Occasion: Threats made by the Shah and the decision to storm the theological centre

Those present: Imam's students and followers

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The first speech of Imam Khomeini (may he receive God's mercy) following the referendum was at a time when the regime's propaganda campaign concerning the Shah's "six points" (of his reform programme) persisted on a grand scale. In accurately assessing the situation Imam intended to formulate certain plans to keep the flames of revolution alight. In order to achieve this objective he urged the clerical dignitaries of Qum to hold regular weekly meetings and to make the resolutions necessary for a direct confrontation with the regime's anti-Islamic programmes; and in accordance with Imam's suggestion these meetings were indeed subsequently held on a weekly basis. Whilst the clergy were taking these measures however, the Shah and the government sought to charge their programmes with error.

At one of these sessions, Imam managed to win the consent of the high-ranking clergy to issue a declaration which was to serve both as a response to the claims made by the regime and as a disclosure of the government's motives regarding women's participation in general elections. Imam himself wrote the text of this declaration which was known as "the declaration of nine signatures", since he had secured the signatures of nine of the *maraji* and high-ranking clergy of Qum and he had done so via unusual means seldom witnessed before¹. In this declaration, a response which covered various legal and religious issues was given to those allegations made by the regime; and in the concluding remarks it was stressed that "The government... with disregard for the laws of Islam, the Constitution and the

¹ The signatories of the above-mentioned declaration were the eminent Ayatullahs: Imam Khomeini, Murtaḍa Husayni Langarudi, Sayyid Ahmad Husayni Zanjani, Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i, Sayyid Muhammad Musawi Golpayegani, Murtaḍa Ha'iri, Hashemi Amoli and Mr. Kazim Shariatmadari. *Sahifa-yi Imam*, vol. 1 p. 29.

electoral manifesto, has set its hand to certain deeds, the consequences of which are grave and alarming for Islam and Muslims... “ The release of this declaration brought about an increased sense of awareness in people and at the same time it generated extreme panic within the Shah’s secret intelligence service. This led the latter to retaliate in various ways such as printing certain articles in the state-controlled press in order to counteract the effects of the declaration. As for the Shah, he also reacted strongly in confronting the clergy’s crushingly effective declaration and in one of his speeches (delivered on March 14, 1963 (Esfand 24, 1341 AHS) at the Wahdati Military Base in Dezful) he unashamedly stated: “... If they (the clergy) do not awaken from their slumber then irrespective of their apparel, the arm of the law will be pounded against their heads like a thunderbolt in such a way that... “.

However, Imam Khomeini was not the person to let such awesome threats affect him. Instead, aware of the fact that the Shah dreaded popular vigilance and perceptiveness above all else, Imam forced him to adopt an increasingly defensive stance by delivering his enlightening speeches.

During the last few days of the year 1341 (AHS), when the city of Qum was in an atypical state, lying at the threshold of the New Year, the regime came up with two stratagems by way of a solution. On the one hand it set about terrorising people by sending military trucks to the city of Qum and having them perform manoeuvres there; and on the other hand it made the high-ranking clergy and in particular Imam personally, the victims of false accusations by circulating forged night notices. Unlike in the past however, people had become more alert and had acquired greater courage.

A’zam Mosque in Qum was crowded with people. Imam Khomeini was also present. Everyone was awaiting Imam’s speech. Imam, with accustomed equanimity, opened his address with these words from the Holy Quran:

(As for) those who say: Our Lord is Allah, then continue in the right way, the angels descend upon them, saying: Fear not, nor be grieved, and receive good news of the garden which you were promised. (Sura 41, verse 30)

Unfortunately, the entire text of Imam’s trenchant speech which excited the crowd on that day is not available and that which is quoted is in fact only a part of that fiery and forewarning address¹. The pronouncements made by Imam during the final days of that year, with New Year’s Day just ahead, left a deep impression on the society; each of his sentences being a lesson of

¹ In those days tape recorders were not very common. No tape recording of the speech has so far been procured.

Introduction to Speech Number 8

struggle and resistance. With a keen and unique insight, Imam predicted future occurrences and prepared the Muslim people to stand firm in the face of those bitter events which were to arise in the days to come. Indeed, it is as if he could accurately foresee both the bloody events that were to take place on Khordad 15 of the following year, and other subsequent incidents.

Speech Number Eight

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*(As for) those who say: Our Lord is Allah, then continue in the right way, the angels descend upon them, saying: Fear not, nor be grieved, and receive good news of the garden which you were promised.*¹

Our Lord is not America! Our Lord is not Britain, our Lord is not Israel, our Lord is God. Hence, why should we be afraid? Why should we grieve? They are not worthy of our fear. With what do they threaten us?

Why should we be frightened by their threats? This year I shall be sixty-three-years old. The Holy Prophet was sixty-three-years old when he passed away (the audience weeps). Hadrat Ali ibn Abi Talib was sixty-three-years old when he was martyred (the audience weeps). Why should we fear them? We are followers of the Holy Prophet; we are followers of *Hadrat* Ali, the Commander of the Faithful (pbuh); we are followers of *Hadrat* Husayn, the father of Abdullah. Why be afraid? Prepare yourselves for imprisonment; prepare yourselves for military service; prepare yourselves for blows and insults; prepare yourselves to endure the hardships which await you in your defence of Islam and independence. Brace yourselves for incarceration, for being sent into exile, for being drafted into the army, for having your turbans removed, for...²

¹ Sura *Ha Mim* (Abbreviated Letters), verse 30.

² *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihdat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 310. Some of the phrases quoted here have been extracted from interviews conducted with trustworthy people who were among the audience and who were thus present at the scene.

Introduction to Speech Number Nine

Date: March 22, 1963 (AD) / Farvardin 2, 1342 (AHS) / Shawwal 25, 1382 (AH)

Place: The home of Imam Khomeini (pbuh)

Theme: The need to endure hardship and to be patient and steadfast in the face of intimidation

Occasion: The attack on Faydiyyah Madrasa by agents of the regime

Those present: A group of religious students, clergy and people of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

By looking at the last speech delivered by Imam Khomeini during the final days of the year 1341 (AHS), one would indeed believe that Imam was able to foresee the future and that he was aware of the impending conspiracies of the Shah and his regime. Perhaps it was for this reason that in this stunning revolutionary speech he called upon the clergy to stand firm in the event of “being killed”, “being imprisoned”, “being drafted for military service”, or “undergoing hardships”.

The Iranian New Year’s Day of 1342 (AHS) was drawing near and Imam saw this as an opportunity to disclose the Shah’s sinister plans. Hence, at a meeting held with the *ulama* of Qum during the final week of that year, Imam proposed that the clergy of Qum and other cities, as well as those of the theological centres, declare the New Year’s festival as a time of mourning. This proposition was agreed to by other *maraji* and high-ranking clergy, who subsequently notified the *ulama* of other cities.

Imam in a message addressing the *ulama* stated: “The present regime wants to set about totally effacing the ordinances of Islam and will spare no effort to achieve this goal. As a consequence, certain matters will ensue that will endanger Islam itself. I therefore regard the New Year celebration as an occasion for mourning and for offering condolences to the Imam of the Age (may God hasten his renewed manifestation); and I shall hereby remain at home and notify people of the impending dangers.” Similarly, in a poignant message published under the heading “No New Year Celebrations This Year for the Clergy”, Imam warned: “The oppressive system intends... drafting eighteen- year-old girls for military service and taking them away to army barracks, which in fact means taking young chaste girls at gun point to prostitution centres... I hereby declare this New Year celebration as a period of mourning for the Muslim community... and God-willing, should I remain alive, I shall fulfil the next obligation demanded of me.”

The declarations made by Imam Khomeini in this regard¹ seized both the Shah and the regime with alarm and forced them to react in such a way that the Shah personally set about denying some of the issues raised in Imam's statement. In a speech given in Mashhad on April 1, 1963 (Farvardin 12, 1342 AHS), not only did he deny the conscripting of eighteen- and nineteen-year-old girls for military service, but he claimed this to be a spurious affair and at the same time he threatened: "It is the duty of the judicial and military officers to prosecute and punish the fabricators of these lies."²

The action taken by Imam Khomeini and other high-ranking clergy and the popular support which they enjoyed served to reveal the true face of the regime. As was the annual custom at the actual time of arrival of the New Year, a large number of people from Qum as well as pilgrims from other cities had gathered at the holy shrine of *Hadrat* Masumah (pbuh) and the adjoining Azam and Balasar Mosques. As the holy shrine's lights were switched off and on to commemorate the turning of the year, thousands of anti-regime leaflets along with the latest statements made by Imam Khomeini and other *maraji* were distributed within a few minutes of darkness by the students of Islamic sciences at the theological institution of Qum. People quickly began to collect these publications which they read with particular fervour and concern³. This unforgettable step taken by the young religious students was indeed unprecedented and consequently those SAVAK agents who had been positioned at all the strategic points of the city of Qum, and especially those in different areas of the holy shrine, were truly taken by surprise.

At dawn on March 22, 1963 (Shawwal 25, 1382 (AH)), the anniversary of the martyrdom of *Hadrat* Imam Jafar as-Sadiq (pbuh), dozens of buses suddenly entered the city of Qum. No one was aware of what was actually happening. Several hours later, military trucks carrying armed soldiers who were equipped with heavy machine guns also entered Qum and began to perform manoeuvres in the city's streets.

Meanwhile at Imam Khomeini's home, the mourning ceremony was in progress. A great number of visitors to Qum were participating in this programme. The clerical orator was delivering a sermon about the virtues of

¹ Two statements were issued on this subject, one on March 1, 1963 (Esfand 11, 1341 AHS) and the other a short while later, the latter of which in fact shook Iran. Refer to *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, pp. 315-316.

² The Tehran evening newspaper, April 1, 1963 (Farvardin 12, 1342 AHS).

³ An example of these publications has been presented in *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p.331.

Hadrat Sadiq (pbuh) and the latter's radical confrontations with the Umayyad and Abbasid governments. Then, as he began to address the issues of the day, his words were rudely interrupted by the repeated utterance of ill-timed salutations (*salawat*) made by the agents of SAVAK and as a result the meeting was on the verge of being disrupted. However, this conspiracy had been carried out in such a way that everyone knew its main aim had been to disrupt the programme. As soon as Imam was informed of these interruptions he attended the gathering and positioned himself in a place where he could be seen by nearly all those present.

On witnessing the situation, Imam summoned one of the clergy present at the gathering¹ and told him to loudly warn the disrupters on his behalf that: "If they once more exhibit such pernicious and indecent conduct with the intention of causing a disturbance to the orderliness and composure of the meeting and of preventing the people from hearing what the speakers have to say, then I shall approach the holy shrine of **Hadrat** Masumah (pbuh) without delay and from beside the holy tomb of that **Hadrat** I shall personally utter those words which the people should hear." Indeed, this threat was effective and the programme continued.²

In the afternoon of that same day, another mourning ceremony was in progress at the Faydiyyah Madrasa. Military trucks which had been dispatched from Tehran took up position across from the madrasa at Astana Square. The suspicious behaviour of some of those present at the meeting, who were undoubtedly assigned by SAVAK, gave rise to a disturbance of the gathering and an arrest of the speaker's address. At that moment a group of insurgents suddenly attacked the people, injuring a number of them.³ Following this event, dozens of people (of whom the identity of only three was ever determined⁴) were martyred and injured in a savage attack on the

¹ Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Sadiq Khalkhali.

² In this regard, the revered son of Imam, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini recounts the following:

"Imam told me: 'I knew that with this warning the regime's security agents would be uncertain as to whether they should agitate the meeting according to former instructions, or await new instructions from their headquarters. Whilst this uncertainty was being resolved and a subsequent course of action determined, the eulogy and speech programmes would in fact reach their end and the SAVAK agents would fail in their execution of the formerly-devised plan.'"

³ Under the command of Colonel Mowlavi, who was at that time the deputy-head of SAVAK in Tehran and who was eventually killed in a helicopter crash in 1971 (about the same time as the shameful celebrations of two-and-a-half millennia of monarchical rule). At the time of his death he was chief of the Inter-City Highway Patrol.

⁴ The martyr Sayyid Yunes Roodbari and two tradesmen from Qum.

Faydiyyah Madrasa which was carried out by both expeditionary and police forces.

Ayatollah Golpayegani, who was responsible for having organised this ceremony (which was held to commemorate the anniversary of Imam as-Sadiq's martyrdom) and who himself was present at the gathering, was escorted by his companions to a side-chamber in the Faydiyyah Madrasa, where he witnessed with great sorrow the beatings and injuries inflicted upon the people and the groans and screams which ensued. When news of this attack by the regime's agents reached Imam Khomeini, he joined the terrified people who had assembled in the men's apartment of his home. Some of those present attempted to close the door of Imam's home, but Imam was annoyed by this move and in opposition to the efforts of a party who particularly insisted upon the door being closed, he said: "I must go to Faydiyyah to see what is happening to my religious students." Due to the pleas of his companions however, he in fact refrained from doing so. One of the clergy present in Imam's home at that time writes in his memoirs: "One of the religious students said to Imam: Please permit them to close the front door lest they should attack the house"; but Imam refused him permission. Then Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Lavasani, a friend of Imam who was sitting beside him remarked: It is not a bad idea, allow them to close the door, it is dangerous.' Imam said: I said no. If you continue to insist then I shall leave my home and go out into the streets. The religious students have been struck by the canes which are meant to strike me, yet now you expect me to close the door of my home? What are you saying!' Then after performing the necessary ablution, he led the religious students in a congregational prayer which was performed in the middle of the yard. Once the prayer was finished, he delivered a short but very interesting speech for those present. One of the things that I can remember him saying is: They are finished; they have dug their own graves. They have ravaged the Faydiyyah Madrasa, murdering and wounding the theological students. Indeed, they have caused their own destruction and have disgraced themselves. Why, do they really imagine that they can possibly take on the Faydiyyah Madrasa of Imam as-Sadiq (pbuh)?"

Again a day later, on March 23 (Farvardin 3), Faydiyyah Madrasa was subjected to yet another assault by a number of people who were shouting the slogan Long live the Shah'. Once more as a result of this event another group of people were massacred. A similar episode to that experienced by the Faydiyyah Madrasa in Qum was also encountered by the Talibiya Madrasa in Tabriz. This incident led to fighting between SAVAK agents and the

religious students during which a member of the police force was killed. Following this event hundreds of commandos subjected the aforementioned madrasa to a barbaric attack in which both firearms and side arms were employed.

The speech delivered by Imam on March 22, 1963 in the aftermath of the assault on Faydiyyah was addressed to a large crowd of people who were present at his home. It was delivered at a time when many people, even many high-ranking clerical figures, considered the clergy defeated and the movement's future over. Although under such circumstances Imam's well-being was in jeopardy, not only did he not show the least sign of discomposure, but rather whilst delivering his speech he congratulated everyone on the imminent victory of the movement and the defeat of the Shah's regime.

Imam's firm stance allayed people's fear and panic and made them ever more prepared to continue the struggle. Even further threats and intimidation delivered by the regime and SAVAK in no way affected Imam's determined spirit; so much so that he had no misgivings about ordering for those wounded in the Faydiyyah incident to be taken to hospital for treatment.

During the final hours of that eventful day, Imam Khomeini expressed his gratitude to those people and clerics who, like moths around a candle-flame, had gathered in their leader's home; and he also praised their steadfastness and perseverance in the face of difficulties¹.

¹ It had been strongly rumoured in Qum that following the attack on Faydiyyah, Imam's home would also be stormed. Thus a number of people and clerics gathered there and adamantly refused to leave. As soon as Imam was informed, he personally thanked those present but called on both the people and the religious students to return to their homes. Only two people were not prepared to leave and addressing Imam they said: "You yourself stated that my home is also the house of the religious students; and we have no intention of leaving our own home." The two people in question were Mr. Khalkhali and the martyr Mahdi Araqi both of whom in fact slept behind the door of Imam's room from dusk until dawn.

Speech Number Nine

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... Do not be upset and worried; do not become anxious; Distance yourselves from fear and panic. You are the followers of those leaders who were both patient and steadfast in the face of certain calamities and hardships which were so severe that what we face today is nothing in comparison. Our great leaders have survived such events as those which occurred on the day of *Ashura* and the eve of Muharram 11, and they have borne these tragedies in the path of God's religion. Now then, what do you have to say? What are you afraid of? Why are you worried? It is wrong for one who claims to follow Hadrat Amir (a) and Imam Husayn (a) to surrender because of the kind of ignominious shameful deeds perpetrated by the ruling regime. This regime has caused its own disgrace and derision by committing such as outrage, and it has clearly revealed its Genghis Khan-like identity. Indeed, by becoming associated with this catastrophe, the tyrannical system has ensured its own defeat and destruction. We are the ones who have triumphed. We asked God to reveal the true identity of this regime and for it to disgrace itself; and indeed it did.

The prominent figures of Islam were killed in their endeavor to safeguard both Islam and the ordinances of the Holy Quran. They went to prison and sacrificed their lives so that Islam could be preserved until the present day and be passed on to us. Today, it is our duty to readily endure any kind of hardship in our confrontation with the dangers threatening Islam and the Muslims. Only in this way will we be able to sever the hand of those who betray Islam and to frustrate their designs and ambitions...

Introduction to Speech Number Ten

Time: March 23, 1963 (AD) / Farvardin 3, 1342 (AHS) / Shawwal 26, 1382 (AH)

Place: The home of Imam Khomeini (pbuh), Qum, Iran

Theme: The need for people to visit Faydiyyah Madrasa and the hospitals in Qum

Occasion: Using the Faydiyyah event to unmask the regime

Those present: A group of religious students, clergy and people of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The regime's objective in assaulting Faydiyyah Madrasa was to arouse fear and terror amongst the people and clergy. Following this crime, SAVAK agents used every opportunity to broadcast the news of an imminent commando raid on Imam's home in the hope that by so doing they might both persuade Imam to be silent and make people afraid and despondent. These tricks however, could not weaken the resolve of Imam Khomeini, who in fact regarded the assault on Faydiyyah as a blow to the regime and who asserted:

“We prayed to God that this system would reveal its true identity and disgrace itself.”¹

Every effort was made by the Shah's regime to portray the assault on Faydiyyah Madrasa as a minor and insignificant event despite the widespread repercussions it had amongst various groups of people. Meanwhile, the regime appointed hired men to execute street manoeuvres and generate a feeling of insecurity and terror in order to create a situation whereby people would make the clergy desist and remain silent. To a certain extent the execution of this plan did have favourable results for the regime; but Imam Khomeini, unafraid of the threats, continued to incite the masses as he had done previously.

On March 23, 1963 (Farvardin 3, 1342 AHS), the day after the Faydiyyah tragedy, a mass of people headed for Imam's residence having heard of the intention of SAVAK agents to carry out an attack there. This was happening at a time when the newspapers were filled with fallacious reports² and when Asadullah Alam was attempting to calm the tense situation with his delusive speeches.¹

¹ Refer to speech number 9.

² An example of such reports can be found in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of March 26, 1963 (Farvardin 6, 1342 AHS), which reads: “... Reports from Tabriz show that on the first day of

The men's apartment of Imam's home had become crowded with people who increased in number by the second. Imam gave a brief speech to those present exhorting them to continue the struggle. Unfortunately, the words Imam spoke on that day were not recorded but the keynote of the address was the need for people to visit Faydiyyah Madrasa to witness the results of the atrocities committed there by both the agents of SAVAK and the military and disciplinary forces.

Imam's proposal that people should visit Faydiyyah Madrasa was welcomed by various sectors of society and news and reports of the event spread over the entire country. Large supplies of medicines and other needs were taken to hospitals; and people, in response to Imam Khomeini's call, visited those wounded in the incident and gave donations of blood.

Furthermore, the funeral ceremony of the martyred clergyman Sayyid Yunus Rudbari took place with exceptional grandeur. Thus, the attack on Faydiyyah Madrasa was not only ineffective in promoting the regime's goals but rather it in fact laid the ground for an intensification of the clerical and popular uprising; an uprising which broke out following the Provincial and District Councils affair and reached a head with the people's nation-wide opposition to the Shah's referendum.

the new year, notices published in opposition to the enfranchisement of women were posted on the walls of certain streets and thoroughfares by a number of religious students. This matter was disturbing both to intellectuals and women ... During this incident two pedestrians were killed and others wounded ... Reports from Qum indicate that on March 22 (Farvardin 2) one person was killed and a number injured during a confrontation in Faydiyyah Madrasa and at the central office of Qum's theological centre ... A certain amount of unrest has arisen and stone throwing has begun to take place. Meanwhile, one of the participant farmers has died from the blow he received from a stone."

¹ Subsequent to the Faydiyyah tragedy, Amir Asadullah Alam said in a press interview: "A dispute arose between those clerics who oppose economic reform and the farmers who had gone to Qum on a pilgrimage; as a result one farmer was killed.

One of the Highlights of Speech Number Ten

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

... People must visit Faydiyyah Madrasah to see for themselves the inhuman crimes perpetrated by the ruling system; and they must also call at hospitals and pay visits to the clergy who have been wounded in order to realize what the ruling system has done to the religious community!

Introduction to Speech Number Eleven

Date: May 2, 1963 (AD) / Ordibehesht 12, 1342 (AHS) / Dhu'l-Hijjah 8, 1382 (AH)¹

Place: Azam Mosque, Qum, Iran

Theme: Assessment of the nation's uprising and both the sweet and bitter events of 1962 and the beginning of 1963 (1341 and 1342 AHS)

Occasion: Commencement of lessons at the theological institution following the fortieth-day commemoration for the martyrs of Faydiyyah Madrasa

Those present: A group of religious students, clergy and people of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The call of Imam Khomeini (pbuh) for people to visit Faydiyyah Madrasa and witness at first hand the results of the crimes perpetrated by agents of the Shah's regime had a profound effect upon people's morale whilst also being a cause of alarm to SAVAK. Meanwhile, surgeons in Qum's hospitals, who, in accordance with Imam's suggestion were treating those wounded in the Faydiyyah incident, became the indirect targets of threats made by SAVAK agents. None of these measures caused the people to waver however, and the number of people who visited those wounded in the incident rose daily.

Other steps taken by SAVAK's agents included the washing of doors, walls and chambers in Faydiyyah Madrasa to erase all traces of their crimes and the gathering of any religious books, copies of the Holy Quran and scattered half-burned pages which were found inside the residential chambers. Furthermore, the madrasa was surrounded by SAVAK agents in order to prevent anyone from entering.

Torrents of telegrams condemning the assault on Faydiyyah were sent to Imam Khomeini himself both from religious associations and from different social groups.² In his reply to the telegram sent by Tehran's *ulama* and

¹ In *Sahifeh-yi Imam*, vol. 1, p. 8, the present speech has been mistakenly dated March 30, 1962 (Farvardin 10, 1341 AHS).

² The honourable Ayatullah Khu'i, Ayatullah Shahrudi, Ayatullah Hakim, the religious students of the Ayatullah Burujirdi Madrasa in Najaf, the Tehran Clergymen Society, the clergy of Fars, the Kerman Preachers Society, the clergy of Kermanshah and the *ulama* of both Hamadan and Yazd all voiced objection to the regime's crime by issuing a statement and sending a telegram to Imam in which they offered their condolences for this occurrence. Similarly, the regime's assault on the Faydiyyah Madrasa was condemned in separate declarations made by Ayatullah Najafi Marashi, Mr. Shariatmadari, the clergy from Qum's

clergy, Imam likened the attack which was carried out on the religious centre by commandos and plain-clothes governmental disciplinary forces to the Mongol invasion. He believed the difference between the two invasions to be that the Mongols attacked a foreign country, whereas the Shah's forces made an assault upon their own Muslim nation and upon defenceless clerics and religious students; and moreover, they did so on the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam Sadiq (pbuh). In this crushing statement which was issued on March 29, 1963 (Farvardin 9, 1342 AHS), Imam stated that plunder, affronting Islam, infringing upon the rights of Muslims, violating the centres of learning and dealing blows to the body of Islam all amounted to loyalty to the Shah and he also interpellated the Prime Minister (Asadullah Alam) on the nation's behalf. Towards the end of the statement Imam reaffirmed: "I have now prepared my heart for the bayonets of your agents,... God willing, I shall use every opportunity to declare God's injunctions and as long as I have pen in hand I will expose those actions which run contrary to the country's interests."

In his statement Imam said that *taqiyyah*¹ was forbidden under the existing circumstances and in pronouncing this historic Islamic decree he stressed that it was the duty of everyone, and in particular the clergy, to speak out and make disclosures. He thus indicated his refusal to remain silent in the face of acts of terrorism and intimidation carried out by the regime.

In a show of sympathy and support for the theological centre of Qum, the clergy of Tehran, Qum, Mashhad, Isfahan, Shiraz and other cities went on strike from March 26 until April 1, 1963 (Farvardin 6-12, 1342 AHS); and they neither attended mosques nor held congregational prayers.

Once the news of this strike had broken, the bazaars of Tehran and various other cities closed down for three days, as did the shops in many of the streets of south Tehran; whilst the people of Mashhad on hearing of the Faydiyyah disaster engaged in strikes and demonstrations and set ablaze the arches of triumph and the decorations which had been prepared to welcome the Shah. As a result, the Shah's visit to Mashhad was postponed although the regime's propaganda network actually blamed this postponement on the bad weather!²

theological institution, the Tehran Clergymen Society, the academic members of staff of the Vusta Madrasa in Najaf and a group of lecturers and *ulama* from the theological centre in Najaf. *Nihdat-i Ruaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 284-315.

¹ *Taqiya*: prudential dissimulation of one's true beliefs under conditions of acute danger; a practice based on the Quran, 3:28.

² *Ittilaat*, March 31, 1963 (Farvardin 11, 1342 AHS).

The explanations offered and interviews given by certain agents of the regime such as the regime's Minister of State¹ were to no avail. All of their plans were foiled by Imam Khomeini's effective measures and announcements. Imam was not even prepared to receive the Shah's envoy, who had hoped to deliver a message to him on behalf of His Imperial Majesty, stating that: "In fact it is precisely because you desire an audience with me on the Shah's behalf that I may be excused for not receiving you!"

It was on April 3, 1963 (Farvardin 14, 1342 AHS) that a telegram from the late Ayatullah Hakim reached Imam Khomeini and the high-ranking clergy of Qum calling on them to migrate to Najaf. During a gathering with the prominent clergy of Qum, Imam Khomeini announced that this mass migration from Iran would achieve nothing but to create a vacuum for the regime to fill and leave the people wandering and leaderless. Once aware of the contents of the telegram, many *ulama* and high-ranking clergy of Tehran and other cities, expressed their deep concern about Imam's migration to the noble city of Najaf. Similarly, the bazaar sector of Tehran decided it would stage a national strike should such a step be taken.

Eventually, in reply to the late Ayatullah Hakim's telegram, Imam sent a cable dated April 12, 1963 (Farvardin 23, 1342 AHS) in which he stated: "For the present, by remaining in this blazing fire and exhibiting endurance towards the deadly perils, we are defending the rights of Islam and Muslims, the sacredness of the Quran and the independence of this Islamic country; and as long as the religious centres are safeguarded we shall do our best to call for calm..."²

Imam's decision to remain at the theological centre and to continue in his resistance was announced at a time when, in the wake of recent events (the regime's assault on the Faydiyyah Madrasa), an extensive wave of hostile propaganda was being circulated in the mass media, which opposed the

¹ Jihangir Tafadduli, the regime's Minister of State in charge of publications and broadcasting, said in an interview: "Yesterday in Qum, Mashhad, Tehran and other cities not even one demonstration took place in favour of the opposition ... On people's request, several loudspeakers were installed in the city of Qum for the transmission of Iranian radio programmes; and since this idea was well received further loudspeakers were also later installed"; (*Ittilaat*, March 31, 1963). In another interview he also maintained: "The majority of Iranian learned religious students as well as those truly respectable Iranian *ulama* in Iraq support the Iranian nation's revolution (the Shah's "White Revolution"); *Ittilaat*, April 4, 1963.

² Once aware of Ayatullah Hakim's cable, the regime warned the religious authorities that no one had the right to reply to it. Imam however, issued a reply to the telegram, regardless of the regime's threat.

clergy and in particular Imam Khomeini himself. The Shah, feeling assured by the backing of America and other Western powers, boasted of reform in a most conceited manner and subjected Imam's movement to the most insolent of accusations.¹

As Imam Khomeini had anticipated, on April 21, 1963 (Ordibehesht 1, 1342 AHS) the Shah's regime ordered for the clergy of Qum to be drafted for military service. The exemption cards of a group of clergy, which had been issued by the Ministry of Culture, were torn up by agents of the regime, and a great number of these clergy were then arrested and sent to do military service. In a message sent by envoy to Bagh-i Shah garrison and addressed to Hujjat al-Islam Hashemi Rafsanjani and other religious student conscripts, Imam called on the latter to resist and he asked that they not only educate the troops and raise their level of thinking but also make every effort to acquire military training, whilst not allowing themselves to waver or weaken. As a result, during their time in the military the clergy spoke for the soldiers several times a week as directed by Imam. Faced with this unexpected practice, the regime responded by divesting the clergy of any kind of opportunity to hold informative programmes.

Imam's declaration of May 2, 1963 (Ordibehesht 12, 1342 AHS) which commemorated the fortieth day after the Faydiyyah tragedy, was the first of its kind. In this declaration, which struck the regime a severe blow, the Shah himself was the direct target of attack: "Government officials attribute all these violations of the law to the Shah. If this attribution is justified, we must recite funeral prayers for Islam, Iran and legality. But if it is not and they

¹ Although the lengthy addresses given by the Shah at Birjand in April 1963 bore the most indecent terminology with relation to the opposition, nevertheless this itself was an indication of the extent of the regime's fury with Imam Khomeini's opposition to the Shah's American reforms, as well as a demonstration of the degree of alarm felt by the regime towards the clerical insurrection. In one part of his (the Shah's) speech he said: "Waves emanating from these measures (land reforms) will inevitably travel great distances where they will resound and be heard ...Of course one must not be surprised by the fact that amongst such a large population, a few hundred people say, will not understand the issues; a group which is totally incapable of thought and understanding, whose minds function differently. These people are known as fascists, although there are also other names for them. Nature does not allow their old worn-out minds to think or understand more than this! ... The great wheels of progress (!!) have begun to turn and the effect of any obstacle standing in the way of such progressive development will be less than that of an ant before a several-thousand horsepower locomotive!! ... These measures taken by us, that is, our purging the society of this garbage and eradicating underground activities, is the greatest safeguard of religion and especially of the holy religion of Islam!!" The *Khurasan* newspaper, April 4, 1963 (Farvardin 15, 1342 AHS).

falsely attribute all these crimes, violations of the law and inhuman acts to the Shah, then why does he not defend himself so that people may know what stance they are to adopt towards the government and so that they may identify the criminals in order for a condign punishment to be inflicted upon them at the appropriate time?!"

The regime had not yet recovered from this blow when, once again, it shook with apprehension due to the holding of a fortieth-day memorial service for the Faydiyyah disaster which was held according to Imam's instructions at the Azam Mosque in Qum, despite repeated threats from SAVAK. During this ceremony scuffles broke out on several occasions between the regime's agents and the people; and elsewhere a meeting which was to be sponsored by Ayatullah Hakim in the Ark Mosque in Tehran was prevented from being held.

Once the various fortieth-day mourning ceremonies had been held, Imam Khomeini began to deliver his lectures again at the theological centre¹. It was at the beginning of his first lecture that Imam gave his famous and striking speech in which, as well as referring to the prevalent repressive social climate and the imprisonment and exile of combatants, he also dealt with the birth of a history of Pahlavi opposition to the clergy and disclosed the latent objectives entailed in the regime's "women's freedom" affair. Imam Khomeini named the Shah himself as the principal agent involved in the assault on the Faydiyyah Madrasa, whilst later in his speech, he warned against both the infiltration of Zionist-backed agents (i.e. Bahai) in governmental organisations and the relationship of the Shah's regime with Israel. In this regard he stated:

"... Are you indeed a Jew? And our country, is that Jewish too?... Woe to this country and the regime in power. Woe unto us and to the rest of the world. Woe to the mute *ulama* and to the silent cities of Najaf, and Qum . . . Do not choose to remain silent since to do so today is to support the tyrannical system."

This revolutionary speech of Imam Khomeini's was rapidly reproduced and distributed nation-wide.

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini* vol. 1, p. 419.

Speech Number Eleven

O Lord, save us from vain discourse and lies (the audience cries “Amen”). O Lord, illuminate our hearts with the light of Islam and spirituality (the audience cries “Amen”). Grant a listening ear to the university heads of Muslim governments; to the Presidents of Muslim governments; to the representatives of Muslim governments; to the ministers of Muslim governments; to the prime ministers of Muslim governments; and to the managers and workers of Muslim governments. O Lord, grant them...

I have to say that in one sense this was an extremely bad year for the clergy, yet in another it was a good year. It was bad because Iran, instead of being presented to the world as a just country which enjoys a good and honest judiciary and which has judicial courts, a judicial tribunal and an administration of justice, or as a country whose economy is healthy and whose agriculture is thriving, or again as a country which is known for its equity and integrity—instead of these, she has been introduced to the world as a center of corruption and even worse still. Were we to say that the present resembles the time of the Mongols, it would be wrong to insult the Mongols so. They were a people who perhaps believed it acceptable to spill our blood which they regarded as heathen.¹ They entered the country (Iran) as a part of their crusade to seize foreign states and even then it was a country which didn't hold the same beliefs as they did. The crimes they then went on to commit here are well-known.² Those³ here today however, claim to be Muslims. They claim to have a faith and to be Shia; and while making these assertions time passes by and they continue to live their everyday lives unchallenged. Theirs are the deeds that one would expect to see from the

¹ Mahduruddam: someone whose murder is regarded as permissible.

² Genghis Khan, the Mogol commander, in the year 1197 invaded Iran's inhabited cities of that time while shouting the slogan, “I am the torment of God.” He firstly slayed the inhabitants of densely populated cities such as Marv, Bukhara, Neyshabur, Rey, Qum, Azerbaijan, and Khiva, and then killed all else that lived. He set fire to the trees and demolished any signs of civilization such as libraries, schools, mosques, ancient building, houses, gardens, and shops. He then cultivated the remaining land and grew crops there. See Iran va Jahan az Mughul ta Qajariha.

³ The Shah and his agents.

Mongols, or from Genghis Khan. They storm the centers of learning;¹ they spill the blood of sixteen- and seventeen-year-old youngsters;² they destroy the centers of learning; they affront the *ulama* and vilify their honor; they imprison, persecute, wound, kill and commit atrocities, yet at the same time they deliver speeches, feign Islamism³ and Shiism and pretend to have realized greatness.⁴ The Mongols (at least) never professed to be Shiah. They were our enemies, having entered our country by invasion. These here, however, committed crimes and still continue to commit crimes while at the same time they avouch friendship and profess to be Shiah or even a station higher still.

That which I would like to say is not a recent matter relating to the past few months only, but rather it is one which has a long history, having first developed several years ago. If not forty-odd years, then it was at least twenty years ago that it was decided that Qum must be wiped out. It was during the lifetime of the late Ayatullah Burujerdi (may he rest in paradise) that they in fact decided to do away with both the Ayatullah as a religious authority and Qum as a religious center.⁵ They believe Qum is against their

¹ A reference to the regime's assault on Faydiyyah Madrasah on the afternoon of March 22, 1963 (Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS); the attack on the same madrasah on March 23 of that same year; and other similar raids on Islamic centers such as the Talibiyah Madrasah in Tabriz.

² A reference to the young religious students of Faydiyyah Madrasah.

³ The Shah on January 16, 1963 (Dey 26, 1341 AHS), at the National Congress of Iranian Farmers said: "No one can claim to be nearer to the Imams or to God than I with regard to performing deeds, since I have done all I possibly could. I have ordered for the repair and maintenance of all those shrines in need of such attention. Every night before I sleep I talk to my God in prayer. I believe that what I am now doing for the country is favored by God and the Imams more than any other possible deed...!"

⁴ In the year 1962 (1341 AHS) the Shah, in a speech addressing the Iranian Muslim farmers, stated: "I must have been six or seven years old when I became ill with typhoid and my condition was critical. Most of the doctors who were treating me had lost all hope. One night I dreamt that I was sitting before (Imam) Ali (a) on whose lap lay a sword. On the other side of the room there was a jug and he told me: Drink from this jug and you will be cured tomorrow'. That very same night my fever cleared and I gradually recovered. My other experience occurred maybe six months or a year later as I was walking down a steep pebble-stoned alleyway with my nanny. I suddenly saw a holy-looking man approaching me from around whose head a halo of light seemed to emanate. I asked my nanny: Did you also see the Imam of the Age?' She said: No, I never saw anyone'; but I had seen him. A child aged six or seven years old doesn't normally invent such things and especially not in a lonely alleyway accompanied by a nanny." The Shah in the book entitled Mission for My Country, pp. 66-72, claims to have met the Imam of the Age (may God expedite his advent) and Hadrat Abu'l-Fadl, the brother and standard-bearer of Imam Husayn at Karbala'.

⁵ Following the uprising of the Isfahan *ulama* and the tragedy at the Gauhar Sha Mosque, the theological center of Qum benefiting from such religious scholars as Ayatullah al-'Uzma

interests. Qum is the center of truth. Satan's followers believe that their aims are opposed by the followers of truth. Hence, at the time of the late Ayatullah Burujerdi, the latter was seen by some in a certain light; but this is not the place to elaborate upon this. It was at this time that foreigners were also against the continued existence of Qum, because without it they would be free to do as they wished without anyone objecting, criticizing or protesting.

Therefore, it is safe to say that if not forty-odd years ago then at least twenty years ago, from the time of the late Ayatullah Burujerdi this intention was harbored by them; yet they realized that trouble would arise if they took action whilst he was alive. Once he had ascended to the abode of the blessed, they immediately began to attack this religious center of Qum under the pretext of respecting another religious center, in Najaf. This they did, not because they felt any affection for that center since these people feel no affection for any religious center, and again, not because they were fond of Najaf, but rather these attacks were made because they wanted Qum not to exist. Qum was a thorn in their flesh; being close to them (in geographical proximity) it was able to quickly discover their corrupt dealings. Hence, they were against Qum, but because they couldn't openly say "no" to Qum, they instead said "yes" to Najaf and "yes" to Mashhad. At first they imagined that nothing important ever really happened in Qum,¹ but then they realized that certain things indeed were happening; certain things were seen, said and heard. Thus, they came to realize that things weren't as they initially believed them to be. Thenceforth they made plans to destroy the clergy and then to destroy Islam and afterwards to realize the interests of Israel and her agents.

Burujerdi and Ayatullah al-'Uzma Ha'iri became the largest Shiah center of its kind and brought honor and repute to other such centers in Iran. Muhammad Rida at the onset of his reign tried to forge a closer relationship with Ayatullah Burujerdi in order to benefit from the influence he held, but he was often deterred and discouraged by His Eminence. After the eminent scholar's demise, the Shah, who regarded the rank of marja'iyah as an obstruction to imperialist rule, took steps to prevent the reestablishment of this office in Qum and hence made every effort to transfer the clergy to the noble city of Najaf. It was for this reason that he sent a telegram expressing his condolences on the demise of Ayatullah Burujerdi to Ayatullah Hakim, the great marja' in Najaf. The Iranian clergy considered this an act of disrespect to the maraji' of Qum, the aim of which was to weaken the position of the clergy there. On another occasion, following the discovery of oil in Qum, the prospect of transferring the theological center of Qum to the holy city of Mashhad was discussed. Due to the high salt density of the soil in Qum, however, the government decided not to go ahead with the oil-drilling project and consequently the subject of the transference of the theological center was also buried. See *Inqilab-e Islami va Risheha-ye An*, pp. 484-485.

¹ This remark of the Imam's refers to a comment made by the Shah: "There doesn't seem to be anyone in Qum who can bear the responsibility of the office of marja'iyah."

This was the case from the beginning but it was concealed, their plans not being publicized. To a certain extent they had in fact informed the public of their intentions, but they spoke of their infidel program in very mild, diluted terms. Following the demise of Ayatullah Burujerdi, they initially devised an evil scheme which involved Iran as a whole. From what I was told, they wanted people to promise to send telegrams to other theological centers¹ and especially to one other city in particular, not because they were actually fond of that center but because they weren't fond of this one. However, the people disregarded them. Subsequently other schemes were devised and there was in fact a change in government.² Who knows, perhaps the proposals were presented to these governments and were dismissed by them because they found such indecency to be beyond even them. Perhaps they were indeed virtuous, learned intellectuals who could not bring themselves to oppose all of the centers of learning. However, the conclusion eventually reached was that the government should be an ignorant, unlearned one; one which does not realize or appreciate the value of learning and one whose members have not received education above that offered in the fifth grade—even then having acquired their qualification certificates fraudulently.³ These members of the government are not to know the meaning of learning nor of religiousness and honesty. They are not to know of the preservative role played by the clergy in this country. They are not to be aware of what is happening. They are to be dictated to as if blind and are

¹ Subsequent to the demise of Ayatullah Burujerdi, the Shah's regime tried to persuade the Iranian people to forward their messages of condolence to Ayatullah Hakim in Najaf rather than to the maraji' of Qum. This it did with the intention of weakening the position of the theological centers of Iran and strengthening that of the *ulama* in Najaf.

² Within the period stretching from the beginning of the Shah's reign until the time when Alam was appointed as Prime Minister, twenty-five different governments actually took office! These prime ministers, whose terms of office in some cases lasted no longer than a week, are as follows: Muhammad Ali Furuqi (Zaka' al-Mulk), 1941 (1320 AHS); Ali Sohayli, 1941-42; Ahmad Qavam (Qava as-Saltanah), 1942; Ali Sohayli, 1942-43; Muhammad Sa'id, 1943-44; Murtada Qulibayyat (Saham as-Saltanah), 1944-45; Ibrahim Hakimi (Hakim al-Mulk), 1945; Sayyid Muhsin Sadr al-Ashraf, 1945; Ibrahim Hakimi, 1945; Ahmad Qavam, 1945-47; Ibrahim Hakimi, 1947-48; Abdul-Husayn Hajir, 1948-50; Husayn Ala, 1950-51; Muhammad Musaddiq (Musaddiq as-Saltanah), 1951-52; Ahmad Qavam, 1952; Muhammad Musaddiq, 1952-53; Fadlullah Zahedi, 1953-55; Husayn Ala, 1955-57; Manuchehr Iqbal, 1957-60; Ja'far Sharif Imami, 1960-61; Ali Amini, 1961-62; Amir Asadullah Alam, 1962-onward. See Az Sayyid Dīya ta Bakhtiyar.

³ It has been reported that Asadullah Alam, the head of the government at that time, had only actually received a few years education, eventually "graduating" from a school in Karaj! Of course he later succeeded in obtaining his National Diploma in Agriculture from the Karaj Education Authority, but he did so by fraudulent means. See Az Sayyid Dīya ta Bakhtiyar.

not to really understand what is being said; and they are to be given orders, but must act without being fully aware of what they are doing.

We saw that the target of this illiterate and dishonorable government from the very onset of its involvement was Islam. In the press they wrote in bold print that ladies have been given the right to participate in elections.¹ In fact this was part of an evil plan to distract the public's attention away from the main issue; that being the elimination of Islam and the Quran. For this reason, as soon as they became aware of the situation, people banded together and the *ulama* formed a united front in order for appropriate steps to be taken. Initially our attention too had been drawn to the issue of the female vote, but on closer inspection we realized it was not just a matter concerning women for this was only a minor concern (by comparison). The real issue was about opposition to Islam.² Thus it was not necessary for either the voter or the candidate to be Muslim; nor was belief in the Quran a prerequisite—what was the Qur'an needed for anyway?! However, when dealt a slap in the face from the Muslim nation they changed their tune, maintaining that by “Holy Book” they had meant the Quran; and according to our religious law we of course had no choice but to accept their assertion. Once again however, as soon as they saw a group of ignorant people gathered around them shouting “long live this” and “long live that” they resumed their fiendish campaign, restating all that which they had previously revoked. They yet again espoused full and identical rights of the sexes which in fact is to deny several of the most unequivocal and imperative Quranic injunctions. Afterwards, they again saw that this was the cause of certain resentment, objection and difficulties and so once more they denied the issue; it was

¹ On October 8, 1962 (Mehr 16, 1341 AHS), at the beginning of Asadullah Alam's term of office, a report headed “Women's Right to Vote” appeared in bold print in the press. The right for women to vote was legislated by the Provincial and District Councils. The regime used the women's voting issue as a cover behind which to pursue its other ambitions. The Imam on several occasions during that period emphatically proclaimed that not even men enjoyed the right to vote let alone women. It is clear that his objection to this issue in fact constituted opposition to the regime's sinister objectives, because since the triumph of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, women actually do enjoy the right to vote, as do men, and they also may be elected to the Majlis.

² When the announcement of the Provincial and District Councils Bill appeared in the Tehran evening press, it was noted that the word “Islam” had been omitted from the conditions pertaining to the voter and candidate, and that the oath sworn had been sworn on the “Holy Book” rather than on the “Holy Quran”. On reading this announcement Imam Khomeini immediately called for a meeting with the high-ranking *ulama* of Qum to discuss this matter. Ayatullah Murtada Ha'iri, Ayatullah Golpaygani and Mr. Shariatmadari participated in this meeting. See Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1, pp. 148-149.

disclaimed by the minister in one place and by the commanding official in another.¹

In the press it was quite explicitly reported that women's conscription was in the process of being legislated. Nevertheless, when they saw that the matter gave rise to opprobrium and that the people and even the regime's henchmen were truly perturbed, again they said that it was a lie.² Indeed, they wanted to open a lawsuit because of it—a most foolish, ludicrous intention.³

This was a bad year because Islam and the Quran too came under increasing attack. They ravaged the centers of learning mistakenly believing that they are destructible; they beat and broke the limbs and necks of our children and loved ones, killing some⁴ by flinging them from the roof.¹ If the

¹ Imam Khomeini, in his New Year declaration of 1963 (1342 AHS) entitled "The Clergy of Islam Does Not Hold New Year Celebrations This Year", objected very strongly to the legislation calling for the compulsory conscription of eighteen-year-old girls for military service. As a result of this objection, despite the fact that this news had already been published and that speeches and interviews had already been given on the radio, the Shah and his government were forced to deny what they had formerly said. In fact the Shah denied the validity of the news reports on two different occasions before the end of that month. In an interview he gave, Jahangir Tafadduli, Minister of State in charge of publications and broadcasting, described the news concerning women's conscription as totally unfounded. Refer to the speeches delivered by the Shah on April 1, 1963 (Farvardin 12, 1342 AHS) in Mashhad and April 2, 1963 in Birjand; also refer to the 11,056th issue of the *Ittilaat* newspaper dated March 31, 1963 (Farvardin 11, 1342 AHS).

² Tehran evening press, April 1, 1963 (Farvardin 12 1342 AHS), the Shah: "...A publisher has recently reported that they are trying to conscript eighteen-year-old girls for military service—how ridiculous! We are in no way short of military personnel. Such falsities are a sign of the weakness of those who are responsible for fabricating this news. Our girls must continue their education and pursue their female responsibilities. We have enough people to safeguard the security of this land."

³ The publication of Imam Khomeini's declaration and the determined stance taken by him in opposition to the conscription of young girls left the Shah with no alternative but to request that the judiciary make the necessary enquiries and prosecute those responsible for circulating such news. In turn, the judicial system filed a lawsuit against the movement's leadership and proceeded to arrange for its arrest, although this never actually amounted to anything. It is worth mentioning that the official, who actually delivered the summons to the Imam's house, entered the building with tearful eyes saying: "They have ordered me to obtain the Imam's signature for this letter and I feel that as a follower of the Imam I must apologize for this." He left the house, however, without having obtained a signature. (Quoted from the memoirs of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini).

⁴ For further information regarding the bloody tragedy of Faydiyyah Madrasah, see Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1. pp. 337-370; Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 3, pp. 260-358; *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini*, pp. 205-211.

perpetrators of these crimes were peasants as you claim, then why were members of the armed forces helping them?² This was something plain for all to see. A hundred thousand people from the streets and from within the courtyard and *madrrasah* clearly witnessed the police force's direct support of the peasants. If, as you claim, it really was the peasants who did all this, then why did the police attempt to intimidate those in the hospitals where our injured had been taken, saying: "How dare you have taken His Majesty's enemies to hospital? We will make you pay for this. They must be discharged at once"? If it was the peasants who were to blame then where does His Majesty come into all this? If, however, it was in fact paratroopers and those who work for him (the Shah) and are a part of his regime who committed the assault, then was it his doing? Did he give the command for this action or did it take place without his knowledge and without his having given the order? If he was aware of the affair, then inform us so we know where we stand with him; so we may know if we are confronting one person or more than one. If it is more than one person, then tell us so that we may realize that these paratroopers came of their own volition without any reason whatsoever; or maybe the security forces³ sent them, or the police force, or

¹ During the incident at the Faydiyyah Madrasah a blind theological student who had been hiding in a residential chamber was thrown down from the balcony to the yard by the Shah's commandos; while another religious student aged fifteen or sixteen years old was flung from the rooftop.

² On March 22, 1963 (Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS), the Shah's regime dispatched officers dressed as peasants to the Faydiyyah Madrasah in order to quash the Islamic movement. The hair of the members of the armed forces, however, was styled like that of German soldiers, which gave away their true identity! These undercover servicemen continually recited *salawah* 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! See *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 3, p. 265; and see the *Ittilaat* newspaper of March 26, 1963 (Farvardin 6, 1342 AHS).

³ 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 struggles 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 predetermined court verdict, the accused would be convicted and taken to horrendous prisons. The cruelty and

perhaps the Prime Minister gave the orders, or a certain minister or commanding official. Come on; tell us who is responsible for these crimes. Why do they deny it? Whoever is approached for an answer lays the blame on someone else. Whoever we voice objections to denies involvement and implicates another. The police force accuses the security forces and vice versa; and both of them claim that it was His Majesty who ordered for the attack to be made. Is it really true that His Majesty gave instructions for such a thing? Does His Majesty oppose the religion of Islam? Is His Majesty truly hostile to the Quran as their claims would suggest? If this is so, then what were those things you said before in favor of Islam? What were those revelations and miracles of which you spoke? If His Majesty is not hostile then why doesn't he prevent such savagery? Why doesn't he chastise these policemen, organizations and prime ministers? He who is in supreme command enjoys absolute authority to do as he will. He should scourge those who firstly commit misdeeds and act against religion and Islam, and then lay the blame on him. He should exonerate himself. How can the sultan of Islam be opposed to Islam? Surely this is not feasible. Then if he does not oppose Islam let him show it; let him show his regret and sorrow that a reprobate¹ has gone and demolished the Faydiyyah Madrasah.

I myself have not yet seen the graves of our dear youngsters, but I intend to do so once this session² is over. I shall go and recite a chapter of the Quran (*Surah al-Fatihah*) for the repose of the souls of those they killed (the audience weeps); and I shall publicly demonstrate my grief for them. We are not even allowed to hold a mourning ceremony for them (the audience weeps); but why is this so, if, as you say, it was the peasants who committed

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 subjected its captives to beatings and electric shocks. It employed 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. For further information refer to Ayandegan newspaper April 7, 1979 (Farvardin 18, 1358 AHS); *Inqilab-e Islami va Risheha-ye an* [The Islamic Revolution and Its Roots], p. 491; *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 379.

¹ Colonel Mawlawi, the deputy-director of SAVAK in Tehran and the commander-in-chief of the Faydiyyah operation, was later killed in an air crash.

² The Imam in referring to the "session" actually means his lesson.

this atrocity (the audience weeps)? Why do you disrupt the mourning ceremonies held in Tehran (the audience weeps)?¹

Yes, indeed, it was a bad year because the rulers of the day were disgraced and the tyrannical system shamed; and this is not what we wanted. We don't want our country to be introduced abroad as a country ruled by evil elements; this is not what we wanted. We would like everyone in our country without exception to behave and live in such a way as to be a source of pride and honor; to proudly boast such scholars as Amir Kabir.² In fact, in the past it was the *ulama* such as Ali ibn Yaghtin³ and at times even the Immaculate Imams,⁴ who were the ministers and advisers to the Muslim rulers.¹

¹ A mourning ceremony was arranged by Ayatullah al-'Uzma Hakim on May 11, 1963 (Ordibehesht 21, 1342 AHS) at Ark Mosque in Tehran in commemoration of those who had been martyred at Faydiyyah. SAVAK prevented the holding of this ceremony and police surrounded the building allowing no one to enter the mosque. People became angered and fighting broke out with the police. See Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 3, p. 358.

² Mirza Taqikhan Farahani (1803-1848) was referred to as Amir Nizam and Atabak A'zam, later becoming famous as Amir Kabir. During his youth he served Nasiruddin Mirza. After the death of Muhammad Shah Qajar he took the successor to the throne from Tabriz to Tehran and arranged for his coronation, after which he served him as his prime minister. At a time when Iran was in a deteriorating state due to the incompetence of the Qajar administration, Amir Kabir took effective measures to implement reforms for its development. This he managed to achieve despite the close presence of influential enemies. He succeeded in many areas such as in suppressing rebellions and in particular those of the Bahais; and in strengthening national security; in reforming the system of taxation; in combating bribery; in reorganizing both the national budget and the civil and military administrations; in establishing the Dar al-Funun School; and in developing science, industry, agriculture and health care. These were but some of the reforms achieved by this most competent of ministers. Eventually, both the conspiracy of those servants of imperialism within the country and the repeated slanderous statements uttered by Nasiruddin Shah's mother, led the Shah to issue the order for his dismissal, exile and eventual murder. Sharh-e Hal-e Rijal, vol. 1, p. 209.

³ Ali ibn Yaghtin and his father were particularly close to the Bani Abbas caliphs (Saffa, Mahdi and Mansur) and hence could take effective measures for strengthening the Shiah position. Following his father's death, the influence of Ali ibn Yaghtin in no way diminished and he was appointed as a minister by Harun ar-Rashid. He succeeded in promoting the affairs of the Shiah by holding secret meetings with the seventh Imam (Musa Kazim (a)), during which he received guidance and enlightenment. On several occasions he requested permission from the Imam to resign from the Abbasid government, but this permission was not granted since his resignation was not considered to be in the interests of the Shiah.

⁴ Umar, the second caliph, often called on Hadrat Ali (a) for important consultations and he had said many times that had it not been for Ali he would have perished. The Immaculate Imams (a) were always highly respected and their advice was often sought by the Abbasid caliphate, so much so that the caliph appointed Imam Rida (the eighth Imam (a)) as his successor to the throne and in fact gave his own daughter's hand (Umm al-Fadl) in marriage to Hadrat Jawad (the ninth Imam (a)) from whose great knowledge and insight he benefited immensely. During the caliphates of Mu'tasim, Mutawakkil, Muntasir, Musta'in and Al-

Mu'taz, Imam Hadi (the tenth Imam (a)) enjoyed the support and following of many important and influential members of the government. Imam Hasan al-askari (the eleventh Imam (a)) was particularly honored by the Abbasid caliph Muhtadi and his standing was higher than that of all other dignitaries of the Quraysh, including even that of the ministers and army commanders. Of course the prime reason for the respect paid to these Immaculate Imams by the caliphs (which was often superficial only) was because the latter were well aware of the spiritual influence held by the Imams among the people. See *Da'irat al-Maarif-e Tashayyu'*, pp. 364-373.

¹ Abu Ali Muskuwiyah, the outstanding eleventh century Islamic philosopher and physician has several works of philosophy and ethics to his credit. He was the special intimate friend and confidant of Amir Azidud-Dawlah Daylami and also held the office of chancellor to the Muslim treasury. In the tenth century Abu Ali Sina was the personal consultant to Nuh ibn Mansur Samani, a minister of Shams ad-Dawlah Daylami and the doctor and consultant of Sultan Alaad-Dawlah. Khwajah Nizam al-Mulk at-Tusi, the great thinker and intellectual of the eleventh century and the founder of Nizamiyyah (Madrasah) in Baghdad, Isfahan and Neyshabur, was the minister to Alp Arslan and Malik Shah Saljuqi. Khwajah Nasiruddin at-Tusi, the illustrious thinker and intellectual of the thirteenth century and the founder of Maraghah observatory, has many books to his credit in various scientific fields, while also having been a consultant for Hulagu Il-Khan. In addition, one could name Allamah Hilli, Muhaqqiq Karaki, Allamah Majlisi and many other prominent *ulama*. Imam Khomeini, in reply to the question, "Why do the *ulama* cooperate with the systems of tyrannical kings?" writes in his book, *Kashf al-Asrar*: "We believe that it is not only permissible but on occasion essential that we involve ourselves in the affairs of dictatorial regimes, in order to prevent corruption and alleviate the people's suffering."

But who are the advisers now? Israel! Our counselors are Jews! In the *Dunya* newspaper they themselves acknowledged the donation of five hundred dollars to each of two thousand Bahais¹ (the wretch² hadn't better deny this since it was actually in the press); that's five hundred dollars from the wealth of this Muslim nation—in addition to offering a one-thousand-and-twenty tumans discount on each of their air fares. And what was this for? It was for their journey to London to participate in an anti-Islamic meeting. They were thus afforded the highest respect. On the contrary, our pilgrims have to bear the most severe hardships and sometimes even have to offer bribes just to obtain permission³ for their journey; and even then only a few are actually successful. What intimidation they are subjected to on the outward journey and how many difficulties they have to face during their return journey! Moreover, whilst there at Minah and Mecca, they have to tolerate the objections and protests of a contemptible official who demands the

¹ In the year 1840, a man named Ali Muhammad Bab introduced himself as the people's leader and as the intercessor between the people and the Imam of the Age. He then claimed to be the awaited savior (Mahdi) and promised that in the near future a prophet would arise from among the followers of Bab who would introduce a new religion. Under the instruction of Nasiruddin Shah and Amir Kabir, many of the followers of Bab were arrested and executed, while the rest were exiled to Iraq. The Bab himself was also killed (1850). Two brothers from among his devotees later professed to be his successors, but differences broke out between the two. Those who followed the first brother became known as Babis (Sobh Azal) and those who followed the second brother became known as Bahais (Baha'ullah). A serious conflict arose between the two groups and as a result many lives were lost from both sides. The Ottoman State sent them all into exile in Adarna (Asia Minor) where fighting between the two sides continued. This left the Ottoman State no alternative but to send the Bahais to Akka (occupied Palestine) and the other group to Cyprus. The later activities of the Bahais in Akka attracted the following of most of the Babis and especially those who were Iranian. According to the Bahai belief marriage to any woman (mother, sister, niece, cousin) was considered permissible other than to the step-mother. The Russians played a particularly significant role in the formation of this religion. The British, however, propagated Bahaism throughout the Muslim countries and especially in Iran. Therefore, Bahaism from its conception until the present has managed to serve the "superpowers" under the guise of a religious belief, whereas it in fact constitutes a political party. The United States of America and Zionist Israel are currently strong supporters of this school. The Bahais held particularly high positions during the reign of Muhammad Rida and despite the clergy's conflict with this party, the Shah always benefited from his relationship with them. Their most prominent members were always present in the Royal Court and were active in political decision-making, operating in favor of world Zionism. See Bahaigari, pp. 181-238, and Az Sayyid Āya ta Bakhtiyar, p.530. For further information regarding the role and influence of the Bahais in the Pahlavi regime read the disturbing statements made by the Shah's closest associate Husayn Fardust, in the book: *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 372.

² The Shah.

³ Passport.

apprehension of someone for truthfully stating that Islam is threatened by the Jews. My God man, are you indeed a Jew? And our country, is that Jewish too?

Woe to this country and to the regime in power! Woe unto us and to the rest of the world! Woe to those mute *ulama* and to the silent cities of Najaf, Qum, Tehran and Mashhad. This deadly silence will cause our country and our honor and dignity to be trampled beneath the boots of the Israelis by means of these very Bahais. Then woe to us; woe to this Islam; woe to these Muslims. O you *ulama*, do not remain silent; don't claim to be following in the Shaykh's path (may he rest in paradise).¹ I swear by God that if the Shaykh² was now among us he too would adopt this stance.³

Silence! Do not choose to remain silent since to do so today is to support the tyrannical system. I was informed that Thabit Pasa⁴ was given a discount

¹ Here, reference is made to Shaykh Abd al-Karim Ha'iri Yazdi, the founder of the theological center in Qum. He held moderate political views and refrained from interfering in politics. The late Ayatullah Burujerdi (may he receive God's mercy) adopted a very similar stance. The Imam here is trying to make the clergy aware of the fact that such a stance ought not be adopted under the prevailing circumstances. See Kashf al-Asrar (Imam Khomeini) and Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini.

² Ayatullah al-'Uzma Haj Shaykh Abdul-Karim Ha'iri Yazdi (1856-1935): considered to be one of the most outstanding maraji' of the Shiah. Initially he began his studies in Yazd and then in the holy cities of Baghdad, Karbala' and Najaf (Atabat Aliyat). Studying alongside such eminent scholars as Sayyid Muhammad Faysharaki, Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi, Mirza-ye Bozurg Shirazi and Akhund Khorasani, he achieved the noble rank of ijthad and successfully initiated religious classes in Karbala'. In 1912 he traveled to Arak and brought high repute to the theological center there. In 1920 he visited the holy city of Qum with the intention of making a pilgrimage. While there, local *ulama* insisted on his remaining in order to establish a religious learning center. Many distinguished jurisprudents have received training and education from his classes, they include Ayatullah al-'Uzma Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Sayyid Ahmad Khwansari, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Sayyid Sadruddin Sadr, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Shaykh Muhammad Ali Araki and Ayatullah al-'Uzma Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpaygani. Among his students was the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Imam Khomeini. His Eminence Ayatullah Ha'iri was able to retain his extremely modest way of life even when he was recognized as the marja' at-taqlid and much has been related with regard to his moral and ethical virtues. The grave of this magnanimous and honorable scholar is situated by the holy shrine of Hadrat Ma'sumah (r) in Qum.

³ Here, The Imam means that if the late Haj Shaykh Abdul-Karim Ha'iri were alive, his duty would be to struggle against the government in power.

⁴ Thabit Pasa, a renowned capitalist of Iran, was a follower of a misled sect of Bahaism. He was among those who played a major role in the administration of both political and economic institutes during the Shah's reign. Like many relatives of the Pahlavi family such as Farmanfarma'yan, Khiyamin, Rida'i and Akhawan, Thabit Pasa held shares in most banks, firms and companies, whilst being seen as one of the main shareholders of foreign investment

in a deal made between himself and the Oil Company, in which he made a profit of twenty-five million tumans; or in truth it was those who were sent to the anti-Islamic meeting in London who actually profited. That is the current state of our oil industry, our foreign currency, our national airline and our ministers; and that is how things are for all of us. Then are we still to say nothing?! Ought we really remain silent and not complain? They destroy our homes, yet we are not to make a murmur?!

That good-for-nothing sends the chief of police, the head of that rotten institution,¹ to the homes of the *ulama*² to threaten that if they, the *ulama*, should so much as breathe a word about certain matters,³ then the police have been ordered by His Majesty to ransack their homes, assault their families and to kill the *ulama* themselves. Unfortunately on that day when they came to my home I turned them away. I now wish I had allowed them to enter so that I could have punched them in the mouth. This is what we have to tolerate from His Imperial Majesty; that is of course if what they say is true. If they are lying however, then let him state that this is the case. Let him declare that the governors of Qum⁴ have told lies so that I can give those governors what for! Let him tell us that the chief of police has told lies, so that I can send some religious students to teach him a lesson. The problem is of course that he makes no such claim.

There again, this year was a good year because the clergy let the world know of its value and significance. It made the world realize that it is the clergy alone which speaks out against and confronts both oppression and the

in Iran. The Anglo-Iranian Bank and the banks of Iran and the Middle-East, Iranian industry, Iranian mines and industrial development as well as commercial enterprises such as Pepsi Cola, Volks-Wagon, Mashhad Cement, Plasco Kar, General Tyres and Rubber, Iran Farwag, Siycup and France Payk were but some of the areas in which this Zionist agent was active. See *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Iran*, pp. 263-267.

¹ Here reference is made to Colonel Partow, the chief of police in Qum and Colonel Badi', the head of SAVAK in Qum, both of whom went to the homes of the maraji' (March, 1963) under the Shah's instructions.

² A reference to Mr. Shariatmadari. The Shah's envoy, achieving nothing by going to the home of the Imam, then visits Mr. Shariatmadari's place of residence.

³ Reference here is made to Ayatullah al-'Uzma Hakim, who had sent a telegram to the entire *ulama* of Iran inviting them to immigrate to the holy cities of Baghdad, Karbala' and Najaf. Once informed of this telegram, the Shah sends both the chief of police and the head of SAVAK to Imam's home, where they are not received. These envoys then go to the home of Mr. Shariatmadari to deliver the Shah's ultimatum. In this message, the Shah had said that the migration of *ulama* to Najaf would only be acceptable on condition that no political activities would be undertaken; otherwise the *ulama* would encounter severe reprisals from the government.

⁴ The chief of police (Colonel Partow) and the head of SAVAK (Colonel Badi').

oppressor and injustice and the unjust. It is the clergy and the theological centers which take the beatings, cry out, sacrifice their lives and make protests. They destroy the clergy's Faydiyyah Madrasah but the clergy continue relentlessly. The clergy say what they believe must be said regardless of what happens to them. The clergy have made the entire world aware of their existence. Therefore, it could be said that this year was a bad year since Iran became an object of ridicule throughout the world because of the regime in power; or again, it could be said to have been a good year because the propriety of the clergy was proven to the world. The clergy let the world know that we (too) are human; we are spiritual leaders. We don't just concern ourselves with preaching and praying, but we also make our voices heard. We serve to admonish and advise you, the people.

I gave the Shah some advice; I sent someone to see him.¹ In the days before the referendum I sent messages to him via Behbudi² and Pakravan³ advising him not to hold a referendum nor to attempt to alter the law⁴ since it was not in his interests to do so. I warned him that if today Arsanjani⁵ can

¹ Once the intention to hold a referendum on the "White Revolution" was announced, the Imam, in a meeting with high-ranking *ulama* and maraji' of Qum, comprehensively elaborated upon the real objectives of the Shah and America with regard to the "six points" of the "revolution". Subsequently, the Imam along with other maraji', asked the government to send a representative to Qum to hold negotiations on the "six points" and in turn convey the opinion of the clergy to the government. The envoy sent by the government was in fact a person named Behbudi with whom negotiations turned out to be unproductive. Following this, the Leader of the Revolution, having received approval from other maraji', called on Ayatullah Ruhullah Kamavand, the influential religious scholar of Lorestan and revered teacher of the theological center in Qum, to go to the Shah to deter him from opposing Islam and to inform him of the views of the *ulama* in Qum with regard to the state of the country. However, neither the Imam's warning nor the meeting held between the late Kamalvand and the Shah were to any avail, other than to provide an opportunity to voice objection to the referendum and to point out its illegality due to the fact that it was not accounted for in the constitutional law. See *Inqilab-e Islami va Rishheha-ye an*, pp. 448-449.

² See the previous note.

³ During the terms of office of Dr. Ali Amini and Alam, Hasan Pakravan served as an army commander-in-chief, the deputy Prime Minister and the head of SAVAK. As a close friend and confidante of the Shah, he negotiated with Imam on the Shah's behalf on several occasions during the early days of the Revolution.

⁴ The constitutional law and its amendments. According to the articles of this law, the safeguarding of the religion of Islam and Shi'ism as well as the clergy's continual supervision of the legislative procedure have been emphatically stipulated.

⁵ Sayyid Hasan Arsanjani (1922-1969), a law graduate who made great financial profits from the "land reform" program. He held several positions including publisher of the Dariya newspaper, Member of Parliament during the Majlis' fifteenth assembly, political deputy of Qavam as-Saltanah and Agricultural Minister in the cabinets of both Ali Amini and Alam.

bring a group of peasants and make them do as he tells them so that they cry “long live so and so”, then tomorrow another group can be brought to cry “death to so and so”!¹ So again I advised him not to go ahead with this since it was not in his interests. However, he didn't listen and we all saw what happened. They didn't even manage to win two thousand votes; and those they did obtain were obtained by force. It is common knowledge that the bazaars of Tehran and Qum closed down in order to avoid having to vote and that in other cities too the turnout was extremely poor. They couldn't even attract two thousand votes without the need for force.

We didn't want you to suffer such humiliation in this way; neither did we wish for the nation's repudiation of you. We wanted you to be the kind of person who, when he cries out to his nation, receives a wholehearted response from all of the people. This is how we would like our Shah to be. We would also like our minister to be a person in whose opinions the entire nation had confidence, rather than one who insists that six million votes were cast² whereas I guarantee you they failed to amount to even a few thousand—the ballot boxes having been filled by the regime itself. Perhaps the Shah didn't actually hear the truth of the matter. Maybe he was told that an “overwhelming majority” vote of six million had been achieved. Since the Shah doesn't tell lies then this must be the case, otherwise why should he make claim to an “overwhelming majority” throughout the entire country of Iran? What about the bazaars of Tehran? Aren't they a part of the country? The streets of Tehran, the city of Qum, other provinces, the clergy, are these not all parts of Iran? Where is this Iran that you refer to? Where did all those votes that you lay claim to actually come from?

¹ On January 9, 1963 (Dey 19, 1341 AHS) Arsanjani, the Minister of Agriculture, assembled in a park gymnasium several thousands of those peasants who had ostensibly been given land through the land reform program. A number of high-ranking governmental officials, army commanders, officials of the Royal Court and both Iranian and foreign journalists were present at this assembly. As the peasants were busy cheering and applauding, the Shah, who was surrounded by security officers, entered the gathering to announce the “six points” of his “White Revolution”. See the newspapers of January 9 and 10, 1963 (Dey 19 and 20, 1341 AHS).

² The Shah in all of his speeches and interviews most unashamedly insisted that the number of votes cast in the referendum of January 1963 (Bahman 1341 AHS) was in the “millions”. In Kerman on May 27, 1963 (Khordad 6, 1342 AHS) he made claim to 5,600,000 votes; on June 9, 1963 (Khordad 19, 1342 AHS), whilst addressing students who were about to go to America, he cited six million votes; and on July 27, 1963 (Mordad 7, 1342 AHS), in an article which appeared in the American journal *Life*, he maintained that ninety-five percent of the population took part in the referendum. See the *Kayhan* and *Ittilaat* newspapers of the aforementioned dates.

It was unfortunate that such events should have occurred this year. Yet it was fortunate that you, the respected clergy, by confronting oppression gave new life to Islam. Had you not shown resistance, God knows that by now they would have fully executed all of their evil schemes. It was your resistance which caused them to deny their former intentions, whereby they said: “Of course divorce is a man's prerogative, when did we ever say otherwise?”¹ Whilst one voice from the “People’s Party”² can be heard advocating full and equal rights, another voice from the other Party asks: “When did we say that divorce is a woman’s prerogative?” Hence, on one occasion they espouse equality in all spheres of life, but on another they advocate something quite different. Again they speak in similar terms with regard to inheritance and women’s conscription, advocating one thing one minute and denying it the next. As for women’s conscription, we read about it in your (the Shah’s) very own newspapers which write whatever the security forces dictate to them.

The editor-in-chief of *Kayhan*³ is said to have remarked that the paper’s journalists now have no problems to contend with, because in the past they

¹ By adopting the blanket phrase “full and equal rights” the ground was laid for the elimination of Islam and the propagation of Western culture. The granting of women’s divorce rights was initially denied by the Shah, his Prime Minister and other officials. However, several years later during Hoveyda’s premiership a law was ratified in Parliament entitled “The Family Protection Law” according to which women were permitted to divorce their husbands on the approval of the law courts. The authority of the judges of these courts was not recognized by Islamic law according to which a husband is able to endorse a women’s right to divorce on condition that this stipulation has been included in the marriage vows. Needless to say, this legal ruling which is currently in operation in the Islamic Republic of Iran bears no relation whatsoever to the aforementioned “Family Protection Law” which was approved by the Shah’s Parliament.

² In the year 1960 (1339 AHS), a time of international political upheaval, the Shah was compelled to reconsider his style of government and his domestic policies. He therefore called on his Prime Minister, Dr. Iqbal and his Royal Court adviser Alam to form two political parties called “The National Party” (Hizb-e Milliyyun) and “The People’s Party” (Hizb-e Mardom) both of which were to give the appearance of being mutual rivals. In 1974, however, when the “National Resurgence Party” (Hizb-e Rastakhiz) was founded by the Shah himself, the two aforementioned parties were abolished. See *I’tirafat-e-Shah-e Makhlu’*, p. 66.

³ *Kayhan*, the socio-political newspaper, which was launched in 1942 (1321 AHS) in Tehran with the publication of a twelve-page edition of the paper. Its proprietor was Mustafa Misbahzadeh and its editor-in-chief from its birth until 1974 (1353 AHS) was Mahdi Semsar. For information concerning Misbahzadeh’s thirst for power, his dedication to the Pahlavi regime and the biography of a man who, for years propagated the plans, aims and ambitions of the Shah’s regime through one of the largest publishing institutes, see *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, pp. 131-133.

were the ones who did the writing and certain persons¹ would make “comments” of approval or disapproval, but now these persons actually do the writing themselves, thus easing the task of the journalist. Here, however, I feel an objection must be voiced asking this person where his self-respect is if he allows others to dictate to him whilst he merely writes. Why should our press be so abject?

So why don't you (the *ulama*) speak out and say what they are actually doing?² Now that Islam is threatened by Judaism and the Jewish Party, which in fact constitutes the Bahai Party, it is time for all of the *ulama* of Islam to speak with one voice; and for the orators, speakers and religious students to jointly declare unequivocally that they don't want Judaism to determine the destiny of their country; nor do they want their country to align itself with the Jews in opposition to an Islamic alliance.³ Whilst elsewhere the Muslims are uniting, those here are making pacts with Judaism! What state of affairs is this? If you must be a lackey to others, then why must you be such a dedicated one?! I shall end here so that I can go to the Faydiyyah Madrasah to recite a *surah* of the Quran (*Surah al-Fatihah*) for the repose of the souls of those who died in the assault. May God grant you good health both now and in the future (the audience cries “Amen”) and may He grant victory to Islam (the audience cries “Amen”).

¹ The press board of censors.

² The Imam is addressing those clergymen who chose to remain silent, arguing that struggle would result in nothing but torture and imprisonment.

³ In this treaty the countries of Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan had united against Zionism; whereas the Shah, under America's instructions, gave direct support to Israel and was thereby an ally of Zionism. He indirectly lent support to certain treaties which served the interests of American policies; and not only did he not represent the slightest threat to Israel, but on the contrary he served to safeguard the territory of the Zionist regime.

Introduction to Speech Number Twelve

Date: The afternoon of June 3, 1963 (AD) / Khordad 13, 1342 (AHS) / Muharram 10, 1383 (AH)

Place: Faydiyyah Madrasa, Qum , Iran

Theme: The Shah and Israel; the root of people's suffering in Iran

Occasion: The arrival of *Ashura*

Those present: A large gathering of religious students, clergy, people of Qum and pilgrims of the Holy Shrine

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The shots fired at Imam Khomeini (pbuh) by the Shah were each in turn missing their target, and the regime, left with no choice, planned and executed fresh conspiracies daily. The latest of these was to file a case at the Public Prosecutor's Office and to serve Imam with a court summons!¹ Once more however, the regime in no way profited from this step. Similarly, the presence of a person in Qum known as an "Egyptian diplomat" and his audience with Imam failed to mar Imam's reputation for awareness and vigilance. This person who was almost certainly a spy for the regime, introduced himself as "the representative of Egypt's leader, Colonel Jamal Abdul Nasir" and informed Imam of Nasser's willingness to help the Iranian people's movement. In response Imam said: "... Tell him on my behalf that if he feels obliged to help, then he can assist us in the struggle against Israel's presence in Iran. It would be helpful to use the propaganda apparatus at his disposal to convey and transmit our speeches, declarations and views to the world; other than this nothing is expected from him." Thus, this plan of the regime was also ineffectual and failed to bring about a means of filing a case against Imam.²

The Shah, in absolute dire straits, resorted to threats and intimidation. In a speech given by him at Hotel Vanak on May 16, 1963 (Ordibehesht 26, 1342 AHS) during the opening ceremony for the Third Annual Congress of Three Hundred and Fifty-Four International Lines in Iran, he announced: "... If, regretfully , it is necessary for us to say that our great revolution will sadly welter in the blood of some innocent people, those being government agents, as well as in the blood of a group of ill-fated and misguided persons, then so

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlii az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 423.

² *Ibid.* p. 424.

be it. This is something which will take place and nothing can be done about it!”¹

It is interesting to note that the Shah, in his New Year’s message had said:

“... Unlike many other countries in the world, during the past year we were able, by God’s grace, to peacefully but firmly quash an upheaval of such great and grave proportions; and we did so without any bloodshed or unrest and without sacrificing our essential rights and freedoms!!”²

The month of Muharram was drawing near and the regime had no doubt that during this month those religious orators who followed Imam Khomeini’s line, would speak about the crimes of the monarchical regime. In trying to prevent what they considered to be an inevitability, SAVAK summoned a group of preachers and via threats and intimidation reminded them to bear three matters in mind during their speeches:

1. Not to speak out against His Imperial Majesty (!) personally;
2. Not to speak of Israel or anything relating to her;
3. Not to state that Islam and the Quran are endangered, nor to call the system anti-Islamic.

When Imam Khomeini heard of this news, he issued a statement (on the eve of the month of Muharram, June 1963 (1342 AHS)) addressed to religious speakers and preachers and religious bodies, in which he gave the following warning:

“... Not only are these pledges legally worthless and may be breached without consequence, but those responsible for obtaining the pledges are criminals and deserve prosecution... maintaining silence during these days (of Muharram) is tantamount to corroborating with the tyrannical system and assisting the enemies of Islam.”

With the issuance of this statement, a fresh enthusiasm was generated among the preachers and clergy which inspired them to disclose the regime’s crimes at every available opportunity in both cities and villages. At this stage in the conflict the Shah was forced to take a defensive stance. In an address delivered on May 24, 1963 (Khordad 3, 1342 AHS) to a gathering of the Tehran United Bus Company’s employees, the Shah, as a last recourse, had not only recalled a dream he claimed to have had (a claim to have seen the Imam of the Age during his childhood) but had also called his opponents “enemies of the Shii people and state”. Again in another address given in

¹ The *Ittilaat* newspaper, May 17, 1963 (Ordibehesht 28, 1342 AHS).

² The *Khurasan* newspaper, March 27, 1963 (Farvardin 7, 1342 AHS)

Kerman on May 27 (Khordad 6) of that same year, he had openly insulted the religious establishment.

As a result of the guidance offered by Imam and the teachings of the clergy, the people of Tehran and other cities in addition to organising mourning processions, began to shout pungent revolutionary slogans thereby truly frightening the Shah and his regime. The biggest gathering which was held across from the Marble Palace, ended with a confrontation between the demonstrators and government officials.

Anti-Shah, pro-Imam Khomeini religious marches and the chanting of inflammatory revolutionary slogans were increasing daily both in Tehran and other cities. The measures taken by the regime's officers and SAVAK agents were not only futile but in fact added to the people's revolutionary passion and fervour.

The occasion of *Ashura* arrived. The news that Imam himself was to make a speech at the time of *Ashura* had been spread well in advance in Qum, Tehran and other cities. The effect that this news had meant that the Shah's espionage service had to improve its act; thus for example it passed the word around that "the government has instructed the army to be on alert so that whilst the *ulama* are speaking in Faydiyyah Madrasa it can go on the rampage there as it did at Gawhar Shad mosque." On hearing this, some tried to dissuade Imam from making his *Ashura* speech in Faydiyyah Madrasa. In reply Imam merely said: "I have made my final decision and I cannot reverse it simply because of these flying rumours and threats from the regime."

At dawn on the day of *Ashura*, whilst thousands of people who had gathered at Imam Khomeini's home were engaged in conducting mourning ceremonies for the Lord of the Martyrs (*Hadrat* Imam Husayn (pbuh)), an official of SAVAK managed to reach Imam and having introduced himself he said: "I am commissioned by His Imperial Majesty to notify you that if you wish to speak in Faydiyyah Madrasa today we shall flood the madrasa with commandos and shall create a storm there." Imam without hesitation quite placidly replied: "We too shall order our commandos to teach His Imperial Majesty's envoys a lesson!"¹

Likewise, the telephone conversation held between Imam and Mr. Shariatmadari in which the latter had said: "Thousands of armed commandos outside Qum are fully-equipped and ready to attack Faydiyyah Madrasa", in no way weakened Imam's resolve.

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 451.

At 4 pm on the day of *Ashura* 1963 (1342 AHS), Imam Khomeini set out for Faydiyyah Madrasa. Thousands of people from Qum and elsewhere had formed a circle around him and Qum shook with their shouts of “Khomeini, Khomeini.” Imam got into a convertible which awaited him outside his home and after entering the Madrasa he took his place high upon the pulpit amidst an outburst of emotion from the tens of thousands of people who had gathered there; and he then began his stirring, epic address.

In his fiery speech Imam Khomeini linked the occasion of *Ashura* to a comparison between the Pahlavi reign and that of the families of Bani Umayyad and Yazid; and he rejoined the Shah’s insults and accusations by pointing to the austere and modest way of life of the *ulama* and the latter’s struggles throughout history. Addressing the Shah, Imam reminded him of Riḍa Khan’s fate which resulted from the latter’s sympathy towards Israel and Zionist agents in Iran and he warned the Shah that should opposition to Islam and the nation persist then he would throw him out of the country.

Following Imam Khomeini’s stunning, historic speech, those preachers and orators who were invited to speak at mourning gatherings severely criticised the government’s action from their pulpits, and strongly condemned the regime’s agents for their assault on Faydiyyah Madrasa on the anniversary of Imam Sadiq’s (pbuh) demise. Faced by this great wave of propaganda the regime retaliated by arresting more than fifty of the clerical preachers and speakers.

Despite the arrest of revolutionary clergy and the creation of an ambience of fear and terror, a magnificent demonstration was held on the eve of 11 Muharram by the students of Tehran University. Organised by the late Ayatullah Taleqani, it set off from Hidayat Mosque in Istambul Street (today’s Jumhuri), went on to the bazaar and from there continued to Shah Square (Qiyam Square). The very fact that students turned up at Hajj Abulfazl Madrasa and that they participated in the mourning ceremony which had been arranged by the clergy there, demonstrated their support of Imam Khomeini and also made evident their detestation and loathing of the Shah’s regime.

On Muharram 11 at Shah Mosque (Imam Mosque), a grand gathering was arranged during which slogans such as “Khomeini the destroyer of idols...” and “Khomeini, you are the son of Imam Husayn” echoed throughout the mosque. The demonstrators then started to march, passing through Nasser Khusrow Street and entering Ferdowsi Street where they convened in front of the British Embassy, their spokesmen exposing the Shah’s regime with their crushing, forceful speeches.

After much deliberation, the Shah's regime, now caught in a true dilemma, decided that the solution lay in the arrest and detention of Imam Khomeini himself; and this sinister plan was thus executed in the following manner: It was Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) and the hands of the clock read three minutes past midnight. Military trucks were positioned on the outskirts of the city of Qum. At such an early hour, the streets of Qum were teeming with hundreds of armed commandos and soldiers. Eye-witnesses who were in Qum at that time said: "It was no more than a hundred metres from the beginning of the alley to the front door of Imam Khomeini's home and yet an armed commando had set up a stronghold on every corner. Within a short space of time dozens of commandos and paratroopers invaded Imam's house from various directions".

During the days leading up to Muharram, a huge gathering of clergymen and people of Qum assembled each day at Imam's home, both because of recent events and because of their love for Imam. Due to the crowded conditions which resulted from these gatherings, Imam's family had been taken to the home of Martyr Ayatullah Haj Mustafa Khomeini which faced Imam's home (situated in the Yakhchal Qazi district of Qum); Imam himself joining them there at night to rest.

That night the regime's expeditionary officers stormed Imam's home and finding him absent, set about beating and wounding some of his supporters who usually spent the night there. On discovering Imam's whereabouts, the officers then invaded the adjacent house, breaking down the front door. Imam Khomeini, who as usual had risen to perform the midnight prayer, became aware of the officers' assault and could hear the groans of the people. From within the yard he cried: "This is I, Ruhullah Khomeini; you are not to be concerned with anyone else." He then dressed, came out of the house and yet again shouted to the officers: "This is I, Ruhullah Khomeini; why do you beat these helpless people?" Just then, from on top of the roof, Ayatullah Haj Mustafa screamed out with all his might: "O people! They have abducted Khomeini", after which he rushed down to the alleyway. By this time Imam Khomeini had been surrounded by officers and was bundled into a Volks Waggon¹ car which was actually in motion. As women screamed after the car, Imam's son rushed forward and requested that he too be taken with Imam. The vehicle halted; Imam sternly bid his son to turn

¹ A Mercedes saloon had been provided for Imam's speedy removal following his arrest but due to the extreme narrowness of the alleyways which led to Imam's home, there was no alternative but to use a Volks Waggon with which to transport him from his home to the high street.

back. Then the car carrying the flag-bearer of freedom raced onto the main street and stopped in front of Fatemi Hospital where Imam was transferred to another vehicle.¹

Imam was taken to Tehran on that same night. Initially he was taken to the Officers' Club and later from there was transferred to Qasr garrison where he was detained for nineteen days until June 25 (Tir 4), when he was moved to Ishratabad garrison; and having spent twenty-four hours in a solitary cell, he was eventually locked-up in a room.

Following the news of Imam Khomeini's arrest, which rapidly swept throughout the country, the people took part in a massive demonstration which, it could be said, paved the way for the event of Khordad 15. The biggest demonstration which took place in the city of Qum led to the martyrdom of the movement's vanguards and opened up a new chapter in the Islamic struggle. In Tehran also, people poured into the streets; most of the shops there closed and university lectures were cancelled. In an attempt to bring the Islamic movement into disrepute, the regime, via its agents, attacked several libraries setting them ablaze and harassed and assaulted those combatant women and girls who, alongside the men, fought against the regime. This was done in such a way as to give the impression that religious groups had perpetrated such acts, but the alert Muslim people never gave credence to such a sham.

When the people of Varamin and its surrounding villages set out on the journey to Tehran, the most shocking event of those days took place i.e. the mass murder of shroud-wearing Varamin people. When confronted by a large number of Varamin people at Baqirabad Bridge, army officers asked them to return to their home towns, but the people, furious at the arrest of their religious leader, ignored the officers' warnings. These truly devoted Muslims were then slaughtered by the heavy artillery gunfire of the officers, who then drove over their corpses with tanks and armoured cars, making it impossible for most of them to be identified by their families.

The announcement and enforcement of martial law on Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) and the appointment of General Nasiri as the commander-in-chief, both proved to be unproductive moves. The day after martial law was

¹ Subsequent to these events Imam Khomeini told his son (Hujjat al-Islam wal Muslimin Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini): "As I was being transferred to another vehicle I saw that nearly one thousand officers had taken position from one end of the street to the other as far as Fatemi cross-roads and I said with a smile: 'You have brought all of these just to arrest one person?' At that time no one replied, but on the way from Qum to Tehran my personal escort said: 'People love you and we expected that after your arrest they would find out about it and confront the officers, which is the reason why such a force had been called up.'"

announced thousands of people in Tehran poured into the streets and continued to demonstrate, chanting the slogans “Long live Khomeini”, “Death to the Muslim-killer Shah” and “Death to the blood-thirsty dictator”. When the command to suppress the people was issued by the Shah, several being martyred daily as a result, so too the regime’s propaganda machinery and the state-controlled press made attempts to distort the truth by fabricating news. An example of this was the printing of a report which discussed “the call of Ayatullah Milani and Ayatullah Tabataba’i Qummi for calm”. Another of their deceitful stunts was to report the arrival at Mehrabad Airport of a person from Lebanon named Abdul Qais Jowjow. This person was supposedly arrested with a sum equivalent to one million tumans on his person which, it was claimed, had been sent from Jamal Abdul Nasser for the clerical dignitaries of Iran. Again this was but another fallacious report.

Yet another of the main and determining events which took place at the time of Imam Khomeini’s detention was the convergence on Tehran of the *maraji* and top-ranking *ulama* of Qum and other cities¹. This group officially requested that the Shah’s regime unconditionally release Imam. Many of them introduced themselves to the police and exclaimed: “Either free Imam Khomeini or imprison us as well”, following which they were all arrested and sent to prison.

Another event which occurred at that time was the meeting in prison of the late Ayatullah Khansari with Imam Khomeini which took place subsequent to Ayatullah Kamalvand’s visit and his negotiations with the Shah². It was after this meeting that the people were informed of the well-being of their leader for which they praised Almighty God.

Finally, the Shah and his domestic and foreign advisers, who found none of their tricks to be effective, decided, under the pressure of public opinion, to grant a limited amount of freedom to Imam Khomeini. On Friday August 2, 1963 (Mordad 12, 1342 AHS), following a meeting at Ishratbad garrison in which negotiations were held between Imam and Pakravan, the army

¹ The names of forty-five of the migrant *ulama* have been cited in *Nihdat-i Rūnīyūn-i Iran*, vol. 4, p. 132.

² The regime, with deceitful intent, had consented to these meetings due to the fact that following Imam’s arrest it had been rumoured that he had been executed and this would have led to an uprising even greater than that of Khordad 15. Hujjat al-Islam wal Muslimin Hajj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini recounts: “Imam said to me: ‘Mr. Khansari was brought to me for a few moments only, so that other than expressing greetings there was no time to talk to each other.’ This meeting lasted no longer than a minute.” Thus, by arranging these meetings the regime on the one hand managed to deny the rumours and calm the situation and on the other hand it showed that it had respected the ulamas request (the request to see Imam).

commander and director of SAVAK, the latter ordered for the release of both Imam and Ayatullah Qummi. He then had them both transferred to a house in Davudiya which belonged to SAVAK.

On hearing of Imam's release, various groups of people hastened to see their leader in spite of the many restraints imposed by the regime; and the migrant *ulama*, having arranged a meeting at which Imam was present, deliberated on how the struggle should be continued.

After staying at Davudiya for a few days, Imam was taken to a house in Qaytariya where he remained under strict house arrest until April 7, 1964 (Tir 18, 1343 AHS). This was the day on which the Shah, whose intention it was to portray any former disagreements as resolved, sent the people's beloved leader to Qum accompanied by a bodyguard. Therefore, in effect this stage in the movement concluded with the triumph of Imam Khomeini and a great step forward had been taken along the vicissitudinous path of the revolution.

Numerous incidents and occurrences, both bitter and sweet, took place from the time of Imam's arrest (June 5, 1963 (Khordad 15, 1342 AHS)) until his release (April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS))¹; but it is beyond the scope of this book to include mention of all these events. However, dedicated historians are to take it upon themselves to gather details of the contemporaneous events for the purpose of informing future generations of what actually happened at that time.

¹ Refer to *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihdat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1; *Nihdat-i Ruaniiyun-i Iran*, Vols. 3 & 4; the bloody uprising of Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) as documented in reports; the journal *Huzur*, nos. 1-4; the newspapers of *Kayhan and Ittilaat* dated June 5, 1963 - April 7, 1964 (Khordad 15, 1342 -Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS); and also the range of documents, journals and books which have been written about the history of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

Speech Number Twelve

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

It is now the afternoon of *Ashura*'... Sometimes when I reflect upon the events of *Ashura*', a question occurs to me: If the Bani Umayyah and the regime of Yazid ibn Muawiyah were at war with Husayn, then why did they commit such savage and inhuman crimes against defenceless women and innocent children on the day of *Ashura*'? What were the women and infants guilty of? It seems to me that their concern was far more basic; they did not wish the Bani Hashim to exist; the Bani Umayyah were hostile toward the Bani Hashim as a whole and their goal was to root out this goodly tree [*shajarah at-tayyibah*].¹ The same idea prevailed in Iran. What business did they have with our sixteen- and seventeen-year-old youngsters? What had the Sayyid aged no more than sixteen or seventeen years done against the Shah?² What had he done to upset the government? What had he done to upset the tyrannical regime? One is led to conclude that it is toward underlying principles that they are hostile rather than children. They do not wish these principles to exist, nor do they wish any of us to exist; the young and the old alike.

Israel does not wish there to be any learned men in this country. Israel does not wish the Quran to exist in this country. Israel does not wish the *ulama* to exist in this country. Israel does not wish to see Islamic precepts in this country. It was Israel that assaulted the *madrasah*³ by means of its sinister agents. It is assaulting us too and you, the nation; it wishes to seize your economy, to destroy your trade and agriculture and to appropriate your wealth leaving this country without. Anything which proves to be a barrier, or blocks its path is to be removed by means of its agents. The Quran is

¹ *Shajarah at-tayyibah* is taken from verse 24 of Surah Ibrahim: "Have you not considered how Allah sets forth a parable of a good word (being) like a good tree, whose root is firm and whose branches are in heaven?"

In an exposition of this verse it is quoted from Imam as-Sadiq (*a*): "This is an example given by God for the Ahl al-Bayt of his Prophet," meaning the family of the Prophet and their followers are the embodiment of *shajarah at-tayyibah*.

² It refers to the late Sayyid Yunus Rudbari, one the martyrs of the Faydiyyah tragedy.

³ It refers to the Faydiyyah Madrasah in Qum and Talibiyah Madrasah in Tabriz which were simultaneously subjected to the savage attacks of the Shah's agents.

blocking its path; it must be removed. The religious establishment is blocking its path, it too must be removed; Faydiyyah is blocking its path, it must be destroyed. The religious students might later prove to be barriers; they must be flung from the roof and their arms and necks broken. We are affronted by our very own government, which assists Israel in achieving its objectives by obeying her command.

You respectful people of Qum! On the day that mendacious, that scandalous referendum took place—that referendum which only a few thousand were in favor of and which was carried out contrary to the interests of the Iranian nation—you witnessed how certain persons were let loose onto the streets of Qum, and in this center of religious learning which stands beside the shrine of Fatimah Masumah (*a*); and how thugs and ruffians were picked up and driven around the streets in cars, yelling, “Your sponging days are over! Your days of good living are at an end!” You look around; take note of the condition in which Faydiyyah Madrasah finds itself; take a look at the residential chambers. Those who spend the best and most active part of their lives in these small chambers, their monthly allowance not exceeding between 40-100 tumans—are they parasites? How about those who have one account containing 1000 million tumans, while thousands of millions more are elsewhere in other accounts—are they not parasites?! Is it we (the *ulama*) who are parasites—people like the late Haj Shaykh Abdul-Karim whose sons possessed nothing, not even food to eat on the night of his death (the audience weeps intensely), or the late Burujerdi who was six hundred thousand tumans in debt at the time of his demise—was he a parasite?! Yet those who have filled banks all around the world, who have erected great towering palaces, who refuse to leave this nation alone and who continue in their endeavors to fill their own pockets and those of Israel with profits taken from the remainder of the national resources—they are not parasites?! It is for the world and the nation to judge who is parasitic.

Let me give you some advice Sir, Mr. Shah! Your Majesty! My advice to you is to abstain from such acts; you are being deluded. I would not like to see everyone rejoice if your departure was arranged. I will tell you a story that will be familiar to those aged thirty or forty years or more. Three foreign countries once attacked and then occupied Iran: the Soviet Union, Britain and America. The property of the people was exposed to danger and their honor was imperiled; but God knows how elated the people were when they saw that Pahlavi¹ had gone. I do not want you to end up this way. Stop acting

¹ Rida Shah.

thus. It is not my wish that the same happens to you. Do not annoy the people so. Do not oppose the clergymen so. If what they say is true and you indeed oppose them, then it is wrong of you to think this way. If they hand you formerly-prepared material and then tell you to read it, give it some thought first. Why do you speak without first thinking? The *ulama* and the religious scholars of Islam, are they really defiled animals?! Does the nation see them in this light?! If they truly are defiled animals then why do people kiss their hands? Is it the hand of a defiled animal they kiss? And why do they regard the very water they drink as blessed? Is this the treatment afforded a defiled animal?! (The audience weeps intensely) Sir, are we really defiled animals? I hope to God that this is not what you mean. God forbid that you were referring to the *ulama* when you said, “The black reaction¹ is like a defiled animal which is to be avoided by the people,” because if this is so then our task is made more difficult and so is yours. You will not be able to live. The nation will not allow you to live. Do not continue in this way; heed my advice. You are now forty-three years old; enough is enough. Do not listen to what others tell you. Think a little; ponder about where all this is leading you. Learn at least something from your father’s fate. Do not continue in this way. Listen to what I have to say; listen to what the *ulama* have to say; listen to what the religious scholars have to say—it is they who seek the welfare of the country and the nation. Are we reactionaries? Is the doctrine of Islam reactionary; and a “black reaction” at that? Is it you then who turned the “black” revolution into a “white” one?! Did you create a White Revolution? Which White Revolution did you make sir? Why do you try to deceive the people so? I swear by God, Israel is of no use to you, it is the Quran which can be of help to you.

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) onward, he names the “black reaction” and the “red reaction” as opposites 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 clergymen “black reactionaries”. Again, in the book *Inqilab-e Sefid (The White Revolution)*, with regard to the great uprising of Khordad 15 we read: “The shambles of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS (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”! See *Dayiratul-Muarif-e Tashayyu’*, pp. 566-567; *Musahibeha, Nutqha va Payamha-ye Muhammad Rida Shah*, pp. 3087, 3089, 3284; *Farhang-e Siyasi*, p. 5.

I was informed today that a number of preachers were taken to the offices of SAVAK and were told that they could speak about anything they chose other than three subjects: they were not to say anything bad about the Shah; not to attack Israel; and not to say that Islam is endangered. The problem is that if we don't concern ourselves with these three subjects then what else is there to talk about? All of our difficulties without exception stem from these three issues. Sir, they themselves say this; it is not I who says it. Whoever you ask tells you that it was the Shah who ordered for such action to be taken; the Shah ordered for Faydiyyah Madrasah to be destroyed; the Shah ordered for those people to be killed... That man¹—I will mention his name at the appropriate time when he has been duly punished (an outburst of emotion from the audience)—who came to Faydiyyah Madrasah, whistled to signal for the commandos to gather, and shouted, "What are you waiting for? Plunder the entire residential chambers and destroy whatever is there." He gave the order to attack and they attacked; but when he is asked, "Why did you do such a thing?" he replies, "I was acting on His Majesty's orders."

Are these (religious students) His Majesty's enemies? Is Israel His Majesty's friend? Israel will cause the country's collapse. Via its agents, Israel will cause the dissolution of the monarchy.

Beware, for one thing is certain—if you take a look at the Bahai almanac of two or three years ago, you will read, Abdul-Baha² advocates equal rights for men and women"; and this is the line that has been adopted by them. Then the ignorant Mr. Shah also steps forward and talks of equal rights for men and women! You poor wretch, they have purposely set you up so that they can say that you are a Bahai, and so that I in turn can denounce you as an unbeliever and you are finally got rid of. Do not continue in this way, you fool; do not do it. Conscriptio for women is what Abdul-Baha advocates. The almanac in question is available, so why not read it. Has the Shah not seen this?! If not then those who have seen it and have set this poor wretch up to say these things are to be rebuked. I swear by God that I have heard that the security police have plans to ensure that the people see the Shah in a bad light, so that he can be expelled; and it may be for this reason that some of these matters are in fact kept from him. There are many such matters,

¹ Colonel Mawlawi (deputy-director of SAVAK).

² Abbas Effendi, the celebrated "Abdul Baha" (1844-1921), son of Mirza Husayn Ali (Baha'ullah) became the leader of the Bahais after his father. He was amongst the British government's active spies who actually worked for the British in Palestine. The services rendered by Abbas Effendi to the British government made him worthy of a knighthood and the title of "Sir". Abdul-Baha published Ta'lim-e Bahaiyyat [The Teachings of Bahaism] in which he addressed the issue of full and equal rights of the sexes.

more than you can possibly imagine. Both our country and our religion are in jeopardy. You repeatedly tell the *ulama* not to mention that our religion is endangered; but if we do not say this, does that mean that our religion is in fact not in danger? If we do not mention what the Shah is like, does that mean he is really not like that? Indeed, you must do something to change this situation. You are being blamed for everything. You helpless creature, you do not realize that on the day when a true outburst occurs, not one of these so-called friends of yours will want to know you. They are all friends of the dollar. They hold no belief or moral principles and they have no sense of loyalty.

We feel particularly emotional at present, not because of the fact that today is *Ashura* (although to a certain extent that is the case) but because of what is in store for this nation; because of that which is about to take place. That is the real cause of our extreme sorrow; we are truly apprehensive. What exactly is the relationship between the Shah and Israel anyway, which causes the secret service to tell us neither to speak of Israel nor of the Shah—what is the connection between the two? Can it be that the Shah is an Israeli? Does the secret service believe him to be Jewish? Surely this cannot be so; he professes to be a Muslim. He who claims to be a Muslim, according to the laws of Islam, is thereby a Muslim. The connection between us and Israel...perhaps this concerns some kind of confidential matter. Maybe there is truth in what they say about certain organizations wanting to destroy the Shah. Do you not consider it a probability? If so then resolve the matter in some way. Somehow inform this man of these issues; it may cause him to wake up and become somewhat aware of the situation. However, they have ensured that he is under constant surveillance and they might therefore prevent such words of advice from reaching him. We are full of regret and sorrow. We truly regret the state in which Iran finds itself. We regret the state of our ruined country, of this cabinet and of those running our government. Kindly ask Mr. Shirazi to come and recite a prayer. I feel truly tired.

Introduction to Speech Number Thirteen

Date: April 10, 1964 (AD) / Farvardin 21, 1343 (AHS) / Dhu al- Qa'dah 26, 1383 (AH)

Place: Imam Khomeini's home, Qum, Iran

Theme: Disclosure of the regime's plots and the false claim concerning the clergy's support for the "White Revolution"

Occasion: Imam's return to Qum following his release from imprisonment and detention

Those present: A group of Tehran University students, religious students and people of Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Iran witnessed numerous events during the ten-month period which elapsed from June 5, 1963 until 10 pm on April 7, 1964 (Khordad 15, 1342 - Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) - June 5, 1963 having been the day when Imam Khomeini was ruthlessly abducted in the middle of the night and taken to prison by the Shah's agents for having spoken the truth and for having defended Islam and the Muslim people of Iran. The Shah's regime enjoyed a comprehensive propaganda network and spent millions of tumans both outside the country via Iranian embassies abroad to procure pages of the foreign press and internally to censor newspapers and journals at home; but despite all this, it failed to overcome the determination of the Muslim people in Iran.

The arrest and torture of the *ulama*, clergy and other groups in society was to no avail. Therefore, executions such as those of Tayyib Hajj Riḍayi and Hajj Isma'il Riḍayi, two well-known figures from the south of Tehran, in no way weakened the resolve and determination of the devotees and supporters of the revolutionary leader and... eventually, without prior notification, Imam Khomeini, the true linchpin of the struggle, returned to Qum having endured ten months of confinement and detention under the most unpleasant circumstances.¹

¹ Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini recounts: "The night on which Imam Khomeini was transferred from solitary confinement, in order to dispirit him, the regime's agents tortured the person in the neighbouring cell causing the latter to scream out loudly. Hence, Imam made a pledge with God so that they would cease their torturing of this person. Later Imam told me: That night was one of the worst nights of my life'."

Eye-witnesses say that a group of students, who even at that late hour, were busy studying on the pavement in front of Fatimiya Hospital, on seeing Imam broke the night's silence by rushing towards him shouting "Recite salutations for the well-being of *Hadrat* Ayatullah Khomeini".¹ Minutes later, a flood of people surged towards Imam's home; amongst them *ulama*, high-ranking clergymen and lecturers from the theological centre, all of whom hastened to see Imam.

The next day a mass of people from both Tehran and other cities set off on the journey to Qum, where they were later able to meet with the leader of the movement. The religious city of Qum was illuminated to welcome Imam and hundreds of banners could be seen carrying welcoming and congratulatory messages both for Imam's release and for his return to the city. On the second day of Imam's release, he was visited by the Interior Minister who expressed how extremely fond both he and the Prime Minister were of Imam, thus attempting to make it appear as though the past had been forgotten.

The regime mistakenly believed that by arresting the Leader of the Revolution, brutally suppressing the Khordad 15 uprising and arresting and exiling Imam's close associates, it had put an end to the struggle. Hence, it had certain articles printed in the press² in its endeavour to show that friction no longer existed between the clergy and the regime. Aware of the purport of these articles, Imam Khomeini took immediate steps to deny them. Thus, by his delivery of a moving and revelatory address in the presence of a group of revolutionary students who had arrived in Qum on April 10, 1964 (Farvardin

¹ It is interesting that when Imam was released from the garrisoned house in Qaytariya in Tehran and was then put into a car for the return journey to Qum, Colonel Moulavi (the deputy-director of SAVAK in Tehran) insisted on sitting beside him in order to give the appearance that all their differences had been settled. Imam however, due to his exceptional shrewdness, did not permit this; and disregarding Moulavi's request, he placed a samavar beside him which he had taken along on the journey.

² The variable stance adopted by the press in lending its support to the regime's Machiavellian policies can easily be detected by reviewing press news reports and articles of that time. Only a short time before, the clergy had been referred to as the "black reaction", whilst the heroes of the Khordad 15 uprising had been called agents of the "black and red reaction". In fact the change of government which took place and the substituting of Hasan Ali Mansur for Asadullah Alam (March 8, 1963), were measures taken to change public opinion in this regard. The *Ittilaat* newspaper of April 5, 1964 (Farvardin 16, 1343 AHS) quotes Mansur as saying: "...The religion of Islam is one of the most progressive and outstanding of the world's religions. The status of the clergy means a lot to us. It is my duty to convey the Shahanshah's (King of kings) favour and good will towards the clerical dignitaries."

21, 1343 AHS) to visit with him, Imam succeeded in foiling the deceitful plans of the regime.

In this speech, Imam once more emphasises his revolutionary and resolute stance and warns those people and intellectuals who supported the movement to constantly bear their goal in mind and not to waste their energy and efforts on anything else which would result in the main struggle being hindered. Another of the important points to note in this speech concerns Israel which Imam attacks terming it a “cancerous tumour” which has been embedded in the heart of the Islamic Middle East by the imperialist powers and which, he insists, has to be combated. Elsewhere in his address, Imam points out the Shah’s extravagant spending habits whilst noting the people’s suffering and the dreadful conditions endured by the deprived masses. He calls on the people to be patient in the face of calamities and he assures them of eventual victory, although this assurance was in fact given at a time when many clerics and other Muslim fighters were still held in the Shah’s dungeons where they were subjected to the most savage of tortures.

In response to the press articles concerning the (alleged) compromise reached between the religious establishment and government officials, Imam Khomeini makes reference to the Khordad 15 tragedy and avows: “ Even if they threaten to hang Khomeini he will not compromise”.

The Shah was under the impression that with the release of Imam Khomeini all of his nightmares were over. Pakravan, the army commander, had suggested to the Shah that Imam’s tone of voice during negotiations could be taken as an indication of the attenuation of Imam’s future activities¹; and the Shah believed that this was how things would actually turn out. Things did not turn out that way however, and Imam’s latest speech proved the Shah’s assumption wrong. In fact the regime, in spite of employing trained specialists from both home and abroad, could never come to understand the true character of Imam Khomeini. The Shah and his regime were oblivious of the lofty objectives sought by Imam in his struggle and they were unaware that after thirty years of living in Qum even those closest to Imam were unable to penetrate his more sublime thoughts.

¹ This mistaken assumption of the Shah is evident in the official announcement of Imam’s release which was printed in the press. The *Khurasan* newspaper, printed in Mashhad on May 7, 1964 (Farvardin 17, 1343 AHS), reported the news of Ayatullah Khomeini’s return to Qum in bold print on the cover page by quoting the Shah during his audience with those pseudo-clergy who had gone to welcome him at the shrine of Imam Riza (pbuh). Refer to *Barrasi va Tahlii az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p.638, for information on the meeting between Pakravan (the head of SAVAK) and Imam.

The head of the Shah's espionage service, Pakravan, ought to have figured out that as far as Imam Khomeini was concerned it was the Shah, his monarchical regime and his attachment to foreigners which were to blame for the entire misfortunes and the underdevelopment of both the Iranian country and the nation as a whole¹. Moreover, since Imam's goal was sacred, not only did he not fear threats, intimidation, imprisonment or torture, but as he explained in his reply of April 12, 1963 (Farvardin 23, 1342 AHS) to the late Ayatullah Hakim's telegram, he regarded both defeat and victory to lie in the noble saying of "Ahdalhusniyayn"². In this, the latest of his epic speeches, Imam assures the people of the establishment of an Islamic government and he further states: "On that day, I considered it better not to answer him; but today I say: political science actually originates from Islam."

¹ The author of the book *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini* describes the futile efforts of Pakravan, the director of SAVAK, with regard to a proposed meeting between Imam and the Shah and to this end he writes: "Mr. Rowqani (the owner of the house in Qulhak, Tehran, which had been chosen by SAVAK for the detention of Imam Khomeini following his release from prison) suggested to Imam: 'If you hold a meeting with him (the Shah) the dispute might be resolved, this black ominous cloud which has darkened the sky of both parties might go away and the requests of the clergy might be met.' In reply the great leader said: 'The regime's desire for me to meet with the Shah is not to solve differences and correct affairs, but rather, it fully realises that people now have such a low opinion of the Shah that even if he were to touch the sea with his finger, that sea would be regarded as defiled. Therefore, they are eager for me to meet with the Shah so that like him, I too will be seen as lowly and defiled.'"

² "Ahdalhusniyayn" - meaning one of two blessings. Imam favoured both victory and defeat, regarding them both as successes and blessings when attained in the path of God.

Speech Number Thirteen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Do not be disheartened by the incarceration of Mr. Taleqani¹ and the engineer.² We will not succeed without the occurrence of such incidents. The

¹ Ayatullah Sayyid Mahmud Taleqani (1910-79/1289-1358 AHS) after having acquired education in Islamic sciences at the madrasahs of Radawiyah and Faydiyyah in Qum, went to Tehran in the year 1938 (1317 AHS) to preach and lecture in Islamic teachings. In 1939 he was arrested and imprisoned, charged with opposing the Pahlavi regime. From 1948 (1327 AHS) onward, his classes were held at Hidayat Mosque in Tehran which was the central gathering place for religious intellectuals and the religious members of the National Front [Jebheh-ye Milli], who later established themselves as the Liberation Movement (Nahdat-e Azadi). In the years 1951 and 1952 (1330 and 1331 AHS) he traveled to Jordan and Egypt. He participated in the struggle for the nationalization of the oil industry and was arrested following the coup d'état of Mordad 28 (August 19) accused of hiding Nawwab Safavi, the founder and leader of the Fida'iyan-e Islam [Devotees of Islam] in his home. The late Taleqani was repeatedly imprisoned because of his activities and this was the case yet again in 1964 (1343 AHS) due to his support of Imam Khomeini's movement, his release being granted in the year 1967 (1346 AHS). In 1971 (1350 AHS) he was exiled to Zabol and then to Baft (a town in the province of Kerman); and in 1975 (1354 AHS), having been betrayed by one of the Munafiqin (MKO) he was arrested and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. On November 9, 1978 (Aban 18, 1357 AHS) he was freed along with Ayatullah Muntaziri and a group of other political prisoners. Following the victory of the Islamic Revolution he was appointed as head of the Revolutionary Council and selected as a member of the Assembly of Experts; and following the Imam's request he led the first congregational Friday prayer which was held at Tehran University. Among the many literary legacies of the late Ayatullah Taleqani are expositions of the Quran and books concerning Islamic teachings and socio-political issues.

² Here, the Imam is referring to engineer Mahdi Bazargan. Mr. Bazargan (b. 1907/1286 AHS) held official positions during Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq's government at the Tehran Water Board and the National Oil Company, while also holding posts in education as an academic member of staff and as head of the Faculty of Engineering at Tehran University. He had played a significant role in founding the Liberation Movement of Iran and had spent many years in the regime's prisons. At the height of the Islamic uprising in the year 1978 (1357 AHS), he was sent by the Leader of the Revolution along with others to attend to the affairs concerning the National Oil Company workers' strike. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the chairmanship of the provisional government was consigned to him; and the day after the occupation of the American Embassy (the Den of Espionage) by the Muslim students following the Imam's line, he resigned from his post as Prime Minister. Later, however, he became the Member of Parliament for Tehran during the first session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

ultimate goal which must be borne in mind at all times is more important than the release of a group of people. The objective is Islam; it is the country's independence; it is the proscription of Israel's agents; it is the unification of Muslim countries. The entire country's economy now lies in Israel's hands; that is to say it has been seized by Israeli agents. Hence, most of the major factories and enterprises are run by them: the television, the Arj factory, Pepsi Cola, etc.¹

The two passenger planes scheduled to commute *haji* pilgrims to Mecca belonged to Israel! Saudi Arabia objected to them and they inevitably stopped doing it. Today, even eggs are imported from Israel.² Make firm your ranks. These are the agents of imperialism and imperialism must be uprooted.

Gentlemen, do your utmost to raise the banner of Islam in the universities, to promote religion, to build mosques, to perform prayers in congregation and to let the act of prayer be seen by others. Religious unity is of the essence. It is religious unity that makes this society so great and firm; if you like Iran to be independent, then be united in religion.

The regime came to realize that it could no longer bear such opprobrium.³ It sensed the resentment felt toward it by the Muslim countries and was subjected to pressures from all quarters of the Islamic and non-Islamic world.⁴ Thus, in acknowledging the hopelessness of the situation, it

¹ The Thabit Pasa and Elqaniyan families were among those mediators of world Zionism who resided in Iran. They engaged in certain joint ventures with the Pahlavi family and with both indigenous and foreign capitalist networks. Elqaniyan was the owner of Iran Leyland Motor Company, Iran Goodrich, the factories of Pars and America, the SRS Company and dozens of other factories, companies and mother companies. See *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Islam*, pp. 264-267.

² During the Shah's "land reform" program the country's agriculture and dairy farming were gradually ruined and what remained of the oil revenue was spent on the purchase of wheat from America, oranges from South Africa, chickens from Holland, eggs from Israel and other needs from various other countries. The cost of eggs imported from Israel in the years 1976, 77 and 78 (1355-1358 AHS) amounted to two hundred and twelve million, two hundred and fifty-four million and one thousand and twenty-two million rials, respectively; figures that had been continually on the rise. See Iran: *Taswir-e Amari-ye Bazargani-ye Khariji*, p. 264.

³ It refers to the quarantine and detention of Imam Khomeini.

⁴ Maraji', clergy, politicians, bazaar merchants, students, and other sectors of society had persistently requested that the Shah and the government grant Imam Khomeini's release from prison. Likewise, prominent religious figures from countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Kuwait as well as those from several other countries had pressed the Iranian government for the Imam's release, certain personages such as Shaykh Muhammad Shaltut, the distinguished Egyptian thinker and clergyman, making great efforts and actually taking action to secure the Imam's freedom. See *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, pp. 516-555.

decided that I was to be brought here during the night,¹ “to ensure my safe arrival,” as they put it. They repeatedly said that they must offer me protection and that they feared people might harm me!! Having suffered so many public scandals, they realized there was nothing more they could do. They did not enjoy the favor of any nation or foreign government; and when they saw that the period of *haji* and the month of Muharram were approaching, during which time nothing was predictable, they chose to release me. However, shortly after, they decided to turn public opinion against me, believing that via the press they could make me despised and could create a rift between the people and the clergymen.

A few days have now passed since my release but I have not in fact had the opportunity to read a newspaper. In prison, however, I was entitled to leisure-time and so I used to read; or so it was, until I was handed the *Ittilaat* newspaper dated Tuesday, April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS). I am upset with the *ulama* for not having given this paper to me sooner. In the editorial of this abject newspaper, under the heading “Holy Alliance”, it was asserted that a compromise had been reached with the clergymen; furthermore, the clergymen are in favor of the White Revolution’ of the Shah and the nation. Which Revolution? Which nation? Does this revolution really have anything to do with the clergymen and the people?!

¹ Having undergone ten months detention, the Imam eventually entered his home in Qum at 10 pm on Tuesday, April 7 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS). He did so under the watchful eye of the regime’s officers who were concerned to ensure that no one yet found out about his release. Later that night, cars and taxis repeatedly beeped their horns and by doing so informed everyone of the affair. Once informed, people immediately advanced toward the Imam’s home and they, along with the theological center in Qum and people of Tehran and other cities, held celebrations for his homecoming which in fact lasted for several days, people actually traveling from all quarters of the country to Qum to visit their leader.

² The editorial of the *Ittilaat* newspaper dated April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) carried an article entitled “Holy Alliance” in which was written:

“...It was the Shah himself who personally engineered the “six -point program” on the basis of which a new society was to be formed according to modern ideas and traditional cultures. This program in fact deserved to be carried by twenty million votes, for it was for everyone; for people from all walks of life. Everyone has a part to play in this national endeavor, no matter what sector of society they are from, or what class they belong to. How fortunate it is that the clerical community has also now joined forces with the people in executing the programs of the Shah-People Revolution, for indeed this revolution has been founded on the most worthy ambitions of the early leaders of Islam. It is also fortunate that the present government is fully aware of the public’s support, and it spares no effort in achieving “national unity for the national program” and in attaining the mutual understanding of different sections of society.”

Those of you who are in the universities,¹ let the clergymen's opposition to this "revolution" be known to everyone. Unfortunately, we do not possess the media necessary for such publicity. They have taken everything from us. They have taken the television and radio from us. The television lies in the hands of that fraud² and the radio is in the hands of the regime itself; and as for the press, that too is corrupt. Whatever they write or say immediately travels to the most remote of places; and knowing no better, people think that they speak for the clergymen, too. Let it be known, the clergymen do not favor such scandalous deeds, and as far as the *Ittilaat* newspaper is concerned, if it does not make amends for its misdeeds, then it will have to contend with the tough counteractive measures taken by us.

(A member of the audience: "Boycott it!")

The Imam: "No, this is not the time. There is a right time for everything.")

Even if they threaten to hang Khomeini, he will not compromise. Reforms cannot be made at gun point; nor will the country be reformed by writing "Khomeini, the traitor" on the walls of Tehran!³ Now do you see that you were wrong? Do you realize that you made a grave mistake? Submit to the doctrines of Islam. We will help you in this; but if by releasing me you have other ideas in mind, if you actually want to have a riot on your hands, then so be it—go ahead.

When I was brought from Qaytariyyah prison, the newspaper of August 4, 1963 (Mordad 13, 1342 AHS) wrote something to the effect that the clergymen will not interfere in politics.⁴ I will now tell you the truth of the

¹ It is to be noted that the present speech was delivered at the Imam's home in Qum, in the presence of a group of Tehran University students, among others.

² Thabit Pasal, the renowned Bahai capitalist who was also responsible for the television's executive affairs at the time of the Shah.

³ After the event of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS (June 5, 1963) the Shah ordered for certain insulting remarks against the Imam to be written on the walls. However, when confronted by the people's anger he was forced to order for their erasure! Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1, p. 565; also certain instructions given by the SAVAK in this regard can be found in the file compiled on the Imam at the offices of the SAVAK.

⁴ The article, "Religion and Politics" printed in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of August 4, 1963 (Mordad 13, 1342 AHS) reads:

"...Some believe that the government is out to weaken the position of the clergy and they have thus based their judgments accordingly; but this is not the case. The Shah himself holds a special respect for the clergy. He worships Almighty God and is proud of the fact...it is the clergy who have exchanged their true mission to guide and lead the people with the sordid world of politics. That is to say, instead of offering people leadership and guidance they become involved in matters well below their station and dignity...one hundred and fifty years ago in certain countries it was rightly realized that religion and politics should be separated

matter. A person who will remain anonymous once said, "Take it from me, politics involves nothing but lying, deceiving, cheating, misleading: in brief, politics means chicanery! And you should leave that to us!"¹ Because the time was not right I did not want to argue with him, so I merely commented, "From the very beginning, we played no part in the kind of politics of which you speak."

Today, however, because the time has come, I say, "this is not Islam". I swear by God that Islam is politics in its entirety but it has been misrepresented. Political science originates from Islam. I am not one of those mullahs who merely sit with rosary beads in hand. I am not the Pope to perform certain ceremonies on Sundays only, spending the rest of my time imagining that I am a sultan and not concerning myself with any other affairs.² This is where the key to Islamic independence lies. This country

and hence His Imperial Majesty, the King of kings, the sole Shiah Muslim ruler in the world, warned the clergy to dissociate themselves from those clergymen who are involved in non-religious activities. Therefore, it is essential that the eminent ulama and fuqaha, and in particular their eminencies Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Qummi and Ayatullah Mahallati, who have now agreed to compromise, accept this point and ensure that others accept it for the sake of glorifying the standing of both the clergy and Islam."¹

¹ Pakravan, the commander of the army and head of SAVAK, during an audience with the Imam on August 2, 1963 (Mordad 11, 1342 AHS) at Isfahabad garrison said: "...I took great pains to obtain a document confirming the relationship between a great marja' and a foreign country; and to this end I even sent an Arab person to see you but I didn't find the least evidence of a relationship between your great eminence and foreign agents... Your eminence is about to be released, but before this I have to tell you that politics means cheating and deceiving; politics means lies, hypocrisy and trickery. In brief, politics means chicanery. These matters are our concern and the leaders of the clergy must not soil themselves with these things; they must in no way indulge in politics." The Imam in response to the latter part of Pakravan's comments said: "From the very beginning we played no part in the kind of politics of which you speak." See Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini, vol. 1, p. 575.

² Another part of the article, "Religion and Politics" printed in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of August 4, 1963 (Mordad 13, 1342 AHS), reads: "...The truth of the matter is that His Imperial Majesty has realized that the foundations of religion have become weak in this country. The mosque and the pulpit have both been forgotten and in comparison to other Muslim nations, the Muslim nation of Iran is in a (spiritually) distressed condition. The Shah has realized that part of this moral and spiritual backwardness and depression is due to the fact that some individuals among the clergy have sacrificed their true mission of leading and guiding the people for politics and the sordidness which accompanies it... Thus, to rescue both the country and the nation from this group, he has adopted an approach to achieve that which the churches actually achieved one hundred and fifty years ago and that is to separate the Church from politics. As a result of this measure, no Christian now slights the fundamental precepts of his religion. They all attend church and perform their prayers and they listen with enthusiasm to the preachers' sermons and act accordingly..."

must be rescued from these difficulties. They do not want this country to be reformed. The foreigners do not want this country to flourish. Even water has not been provided for this nation! The water used by us in Qum would not even be given to animals in Europe!¹ If they are truly in earnest, then they ought to provide jobs for the unemployed. After twenty years of studying, this young man wants a job.² When he graduates in the near future, he will be left wandering aimlessly. If he is not provided with a means of living, then he will not be able to retain his religious beliefs. Do you really believe that the thief that climbs walls at night in spite of the dangers entailed, or the woman who sells her honor, is really blameworthy? No, it is a low standard of living which gives rise to all of these crimes and vices of which one reads in both the morning and evening press.

While I was in prison, they informed me that the temperature in Hamedan had reached thirty-three degrees below zero.³ Then they brought the news that two thousand people had lost their lives due to the cold. I was unable to do anything under the circumstances. What could I have done? This was the state of affairs in Hamedan, but in Tehran and other cities too further lives were also lost. In spite of all this, however, what action did the government take? Under such dreadful circumstances they had flowers flown in from Holland with which they could receive their masters from abroad. How they squander the money of this poor nation! To hire the airplane in question actually cost these country three hundred thousand tumans!⁴ For God's sake, make amends for your misdeeds; observe the laws of Islam.

¹ Among the serious problems faced by the people of Qum was the severe shortage of water, the high salt content of the water, the unhygienic state of water held in reservoirs and the ill health which ensued from that very situation. Although this city is densely populated, is significant from both a geographical and a religious point of view and caters for many visiting pilgrims, it nevertheless lacked a current drinking-water supply.

² Indication is made to a student.

³ The winter of 1963 (1342 AHS) in Iran was extremely severe and many lives were lost due to the acute poverty and hardship faced by the people as well as road obstructions resulting from bad weather conditions and the neglectfulness of the regime's functionaries. At the same time, however, the governmental officials and their coworkers in these districts were in fact supplied with their needs by helicopter. See the press reports of winter 1963.

⁴ The splendid ceremonies of jubilation and festivity were meant to beguile and divert the Iranian people. The year 1966 (1345 AHS) witnesses the commemorative ceremony of a quarter of a century of Muhammad Rida's reign; in 1967 the royal coronation ceremony was held; and four years later we saw the celebration of two-and-a-half millennia of monarchical rule as well as other festivities. Great expense was afforded for each of these affairs, but the actual figures involved were never published. Moreover, these celebrations were in addition to the routine galas and parties of the Royal Court. A major item of expense in these celebrations was having the most expensive flowers flown in from Holland. In his description of the two-

While in captivity, I read something about the state of hygiene and the material conditions endured by those living in southern Iran. I was surprised at how they had allowed such a thing to be written. After having made investigations about the living conditions of people living in the south, a reporter had written that in the rural areas in southern Iran there was absolutely no evidence of health care; there was no current water, and in one village the majority of people were actually blind.¹ In short, they were deprived of all basic facilities and the very bare necessities of life. At the ECAFE² conference, however, where delegates of world states had

thousand-five-hundred-year festivities, Pierre Blanchet, the French author, writes in his book entitled, *Iran: La Revolution Au Nom De Dieu*: "...Private Boeing airplanes made daily deliveries of fresh flowers from Holland."

¹ With regard to the health and material conditions of Iranian villages at the time of the Shah-People Revolution, a report by one of the head supervisors of the organization established for the program of the Shah's regime reads: "In the villages, the father, mother, daughters, sons, grandfather, grandmother, groom, and bridegroom, all live together in one small room. The centre of this room is reserved for the cattle whose filth and putrid stench permeates everyday village life... facilities include: a few dirty, torn quilts which have never seen soap and water, a metal kettle and teapot, a few tumblers and a copper saucepan... Food at the best of times is merely bread with milk, yoghurt or even watered-down yoghurt... boiled millet and sometimes cooked turnips... In most of the villages things like doctors, medicine, shops, and bathing facilities just do not exist. The villagers' income is extremely low...and the best part of this is handed out to brokers, intermediators and pre-emptors. As a result, the village population comprises a wretched group of ailing and backward people who have neither food nor clothes." For the details of this report refer to *Iran va Tarikh*, pp. 179-182; also refer to the *Ittilaat* newspaper of July 19, 1967 (Tir 28, 1346 AHS) ("Five Years after the White Revolution") in which an open letter to the Shah can be found that was written by a group of villagers from northern Iran describing their way of life.

² ECAFE is the United Nations' acronym for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. This commission was set up by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization in the year 1947. Its function was to bring about integration between the governments of Asia and the Far East in order to raise the level of their economic activities and to step up relations both between the countries of this region and between these countries and the rest of the world. The members of this commission are from the Far East and Asian member-countries of the United Nations. Other regional commissions of the UN include the economic commissions of Europe, Latin America and Africa. In the twenty-fifth edition of the journal *Pasdar-e Islam*, a close associate of the Imam is quoted as saying: "Colonel Pakravan (commander of the army), who at that time was the head of SAVAK in Tehran, would visit the Imam from time to time while he was in Qaytariyyah. One evening, Pakravan's visit to the Imam coincided with the time when the ECAFE economic conference was in progress in Tehran. I distinctly remember the Imam's words to Pakravan on that evening and I hereby relate them to the reader. The Imam stated: These economic delegates who have gathered here from all over the world, without exception spoke of the economic difficulties suffered by their home countries. The Iranian representative, however, who was the Minister of Economic Affairs (Dr. Alikhani) had said: Thanks to His Majesty (!) all of our economic problems have

assembled to find a solution to the global economic situation—if they should ever wish to implement it—as participating members from countries both large and small discussed their economic problems, the Iranian body of delegates declared that our economic situation was wholly favorable and was without drawbacks! Is the economic situation in Britain bad and that of Iran good?! Is the state of India’s economy after making such great progress bad, while that of Iran is good?! Likewise, is Japan’s economy in an unhealthy state whereas the economy of Iran is healthy?!

Those lords seated in their palaces speak of “the progressive nation”; does a “progressive nation” die of starvation?! Ali (a) the emir of Islam, used to eat barley bread, but now they spend 500,000 or 1,000,000 tumans, if not more,¹ for the receptions arranged in honor of their masters; and all they ever talk about is the “development” program! They maintain that our country is on a par with advanced countries, but how can the admission of a few women to Parliament cause a country to be developed?² You will not put the country right by implementing Israel’s policies.

Islam calls for man to abide by certain rules and regulations during his life. These apply to all stages of man’s life; that is from the day he is born until the day he is buried. It is not a question of opposing a particular person. At the end of the previous government’s term of office, I was approached by someone in prison who criticized the said government claiming that the new

been solved!’ The Imam then asked Pakravan, what exactly had been solved and continued by saying: Which part of the country’s economy is healthy? Where is this healthy economy of ours? What do we have that can be called an economy?”

¹ In 1963 (1342 AHS), after twenty-two years of monarchical rule, at a time when the Shah could see that his ambitions were being fulfilled, many world leaders were invited to Iran to experience the stately banquets of Iran’s Royal Court. These leaders included figures such as Heinrich Luebke, the West German President; De Gaulle, the President of France; and Leonid Brezhnev the Soviet Union’s Head of State. Whenever any of these guests visited Iran the world’s press, radio and television were filled with reports, pictures and accounts of after-dinner speeches which were invariably given in recognition of the progress achieved by Iran and the leading role played by the Shah. In addition to the world’s leaders, American consultants and experts in various fields also traveled to Tehran on a regular basis, and whilst receiving and entertaining them, the Shah made efforts to change his administrative systems to their liking. *Az Sayyid Diya ta Bakhtiyar*, p. 485.

² According to the precept “Reforming the Electoral Law”—one of the underlying principles of the Shah’s “White Revolution”—both the right to vote and the right to be elected to the Majlis had been given to women. In the first election to follow the “White Revolution” a number of women from the Royal Court and upper-classes entered the Majlis as parliamentary representatives. These included: Shawkat Jahanbani, Farukhrow Parsa (the wife of General Shirinsokhan), Hajar Tarbiyyat, Mehrangiz Dawlatshahi, and several others. *Az Zuhur ta Suqut*, publications of the Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam, p. 130.

government (by contrast) had some progressive policies.¹ I told him that we the clergymen have no personal grievance with anyone and that we are concerned with the deeds of individuals. This poor nation needs to be rescued. Yesterday I held an audience here with the families of those martyred on Khordad 15. I was most disturbed by the fact that I was not informed of the event of Khordad 15 until I came out of prison. Unlike the first time that the *madrasah* was attacked, when I was in fact informed of the affair on the afternoon of that very same day. The slaughter which took place on Khordad 15 was worse than the behavior exhibited by a military force toward a foreign nation. At least they would not have killed the women and children. Today is no time to celebrate.² As long as the nation lives, it will mourn the events of Khordad 15. A government official once said in a speech that Khordad 15 was a disgrace to the Iranian nation; I wish to complete this statement: Khordad 15 was a disgrace to the nation because weapons were procured with the money of this nation and it was with these very same weapons that they killed the people!

¹ After Alam's dismissal, Dr. Sadr the Interior Minister of the former's replacement Hasan Ali Mansur, visited the Imam at Qaytariyyah. At this meeting, as well as announcing the Imam's imminent release, Dr. Sadr, in order to please the Imam, strongly criticized Alam's government, blaming it for the periods of the Imam's detention and incarceration; whereas he spoke highly of Mansur and described the new government as completely different to the previous one. In reply the Imam offered him a few words of advice and added: "We were neither the enemy of that government nor have we signed a contract of fraternity with this one. If you behave as the government before you did, then we will oppose you also."

² On Tuesday evening, April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) Imam Khomeini entered the city of Qum after a lengthy period of detention and imprisonment. His return was celebrated in such a way that some historians have reported it as being beyond description. People from the capital city and elsewhere hastened towards Qum to meet the Imam, and both the Khan and Faydiyyah madrasahs held non-stop celebrations for three days and three nights. These historic festivities culminated in the reading of a ten-point declaration in the presence of the Imam and *ulama* from the theological center. Matters stressed in this declaration included the making of necessary changes in the theological centers; the implementation of both the Islamic and constitutional laws; the abrogation of the Provincial and District Councils Bill; the annulment of both the upper- and lower-Majlis; the release of all political prisoners; the elimination of corruption; and the arrest of the regime's anti-Islamic campaigns. Programs similar to this were also held in other cities of Iran. For further information refer to Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 4, p. 274 onward.

Introduction to Speech Number Fourteen

Date: April 15, 1964 (AD) / Farvardin 26, 1343 (AHS) / Dhu al- Hijjah 2, 1383 (AH)

Place: Azam Mosque, Qum, Iran

Theme: Paying tribute to the martyrs of Khordad 15 and exposing the Shah's crimes

Occasion: Neutralisation of the regime's propaganda against the Islamic movement and the revolutionary clergy

Those present: *ulama*, clergymen, merchants, students and people from other sectors of society

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

During those sombre days of Imam Khomeini's imprisonment and house arrest (June 5, 1963 - April 7, 1964 (Khordad 14, 1342 - Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS)) the regime spared no expense in utilising the abundant and sophisticated means of propaganda at its disposal to bring the name of the clergy into disrepute and to label them as "reactionists". On the very day of Imam's release from captivity, April 7, 1964, the *Ittilaat* newspaper ran an article which spoke of "the concurrence of the clergy with the programme of the Shah's White Revolution". The motive behind this article was to give the impression that the clergy's opposition to the Shah's programme had ceased and to lower the people's opinion of the clergy as a whole and the great leader in particular. But the Iranian people, ever vigilant, did not swallow this poison and in fact they received Imam on his return from prison with impassioned and indescribable elation and excitement.

Although at that time the idle-talk of the regime went largely unresponded to, nevertheless Imam Khomeini, feeling a great sense of responsibility, could not remain indifferent towards such harmful and deceitful propaganda. He therefore delivered his epic speech of April 15, 1964 before an audience which included thousands of *ulama*, clergymen, merchants, students and various other groups of people. In this speech, he called on everyone to continue in the path of those martyred on Khordad 15 of the previous year, and he clarified and examined both the needs of the people and the atrocious behaviour of the Shah's regime, whilst also disclosing the regime's phoney publicity campaigns.

In a direct attack against the Shah who had previously said in one of his shameless speeches: "We condemn traditionalism and reactionary ideas,"¹

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 668

Imam stated: “This man doesn’t desist in uttering these absurdities and he still relates Islamic thinking to traditionalism and reactionism.”

Elsewhere in this epic address, Imam responded to the false allegations which had been made by the government of the day, and he rejected the claim made by the *Ittilaat* regarding the clergy’s approval of the so-called White Revolution. He maintained that the Islamic movement and struggle of the Muslim people had reached the stage where it was no longer dependent upon any particular individual, but rather it was an everlasting movement which would charge ahead until it eventually achieved victory. The Leader of the Revolution also disclosed the regime’s scheme to establish an “Islamic university”, which in fact was a dangerous plan directed against Islam and the *ulama*. With this disclosure however, Imam succeeded in nipping the conspiracy in the bud.

The central issue addressed in the speech however, concerned the great need for unity among the clergy. Imam Khomeini urged the entire clergy to act in unison, and to guard against individual action and digression; to this end he stated: “Today I kiss the hands of the *maraji*.” Indeed it was unprecedented in Shii history for a *marja*’ of such calibre, who was so adored and respected by the people, to behave with such humility for the sake of Islam, the Islamic society and the movement.

The clandestine relationship between the Shah and Israel, the disclosure of which the regime feared greatly, was yet another important and sensitive issue highlighted by Imam in his speech. With regard to this relationship, a key agent of the Shah’s regime writes in his memoirs as follows: “These ties had strengthened to such an extent that Muhammad Riḍa (Shah) gave several of Iran’s overseas military bases in the Arab regions to Israel who came to have an intelligence service in Iran which, after that of the superpowers, was the most active in the country. Since Israel relied upon Muhammad Riḍa as its only ally in the region, the instruction and training which it gave to the personnel of SAVAK was first-class. Muhammad Riḍa however, did not dare to reveal his close ties with Israel or make them official, because of the deep-held Islamic beliefs and sentiments of the Iranian people and the sensitivity of people in the Arab region towards Israel; besides which, America and Britain thought it unwise to make such a disclosure anyway.”¹

The matter concerning Israel and the need to struggle against Zionism constituted another major topic in Imam’s speech which awakened Iran’s

¹ *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, Husayn Fardust, vol. 1, p. 551.

Muslims more than ever before to the close ties which existed between Iran and the usurpatory Zionist government.

This momentous and invigorating speech of Imam Khomeini which generated fresh passion and fervour among the people was swiftly translated and sent to different parts of the world. Everywhere, there was talk of his farsightedness, his guidance and his profound all-embracing speeches. Once again, subsequent to the quelling of the Khordad 15 uprising, Islamic and national forces were prepared and ready for the impending struggle against the regime, whilst the unrelenting and organised struggle against Israel and the global danger which Zionism posed for the country's economy and its other affairs became the issue of the day and the subject of serious discussions.

The Shah's regime, sensing danger from the unyielding attacks of Imam Khomeini, tried its hand at a new tactic. It endeavoured to aggravate the nationalistic tendencies of the Iranian people in order to divert their attention from the dangers posed by Israel and her agents. To this end, it concocted a story about the Arab threat to Iran in the person of Jamal Abdul Nasser, who, it suggested, was conspiring to occupy the Khuzistan region of Iran.¹

¹ The Shah's newly-appointed Prime Minister, Hasan Ali Mansur delivered a speech in the Majlis on April 21, 1964 (Ordibehesht 1, 1343 AHS), in which he defended the so-called "revolution" of the Shah. He stated: "If someone or some sector or group, due to their selfishness, greed and rotten traditionalist thinking, were to say or do something that contradicts the principles which have been endorsed by the Iranian nation, irrespective of their sect or group, it is not the government they would have to answer to but rather the nation itself would hit back!! . . . Machiavelism, traditionalism and reaction have been buried for good in this country and will never be resurrected." Then, referring to the political unrest incited by foreign agents and governments and the latter's thirst for Iranian territory, he added: "We all acknowledge one base, one authority, one flag and one mainstay and that is His Imperial Majesty, the Shahanshah himself." (Parliamentary Proceedings of the National Consultative Assembly, Twenty-First Session, p. 21.) The *Kayhan* and *Ittilaat* newspapers of April 25, 1964 (Ordibehesht 5, 1343 AHS) quoted *Kuwait News* concerning statements which had been made by Jamal `Abdul Nasser with regard to Khuzestan. These newspapers, whilst adopting an abusive tone towards `Abdul Nasser and other Arab governments and whilst restating and boasting the glory enjoyed by the Achaemenian and Sassanid kings, made no mention whatsoever of the strong ties between the Pahlavi regime and Israel. See the newspapers of April 21-30, 1964 (Ordibehesht 1-10, 1343 AHS).

Speech Number Fourteen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
“I take refuge in God from the accursed Satan
We belong to God and to Him we shall return.”

(The audience weeps bitterly) I have never felt so weak and incapable in speech before; I feel quite incompetent today. I am unable to express the sadness I feel for the general state of Islam and in particular for the state of Iran, as well as for the events which took place during the course of this ill-fated year¹ such as the storming of the centers of learning and the affair of Khordad 15. It was only when my imprisonment turned into detention that the outside news reached me and I became aware of what had occurred on Khordad 15.

God knows how devastated I was on learning of this incident (the audience weeps bitterly). Now that I have returned from my detention in Qaytariyyeh, I see young children without fathers (the audience weeps), mothers who have lost their children, women who have lost their brothers and people with missing limbs (the weeping continues). Much despondency prevails. Indeed, this is the imprint of their “civilization” and our “reaction”. It is a pity our voice does not reach the outside world. It is a pity that the sound of weeping of these bereaved mothers does not reach the outside world (the audience weeps intensely).

They introduce us as traditionalists, as reactionaries; they regard the *ulama* of Islam as “black reaction”. Those heavily-subsidized foreign

¹ Among the major events of that year were: the assault made by the Shah’s agents on the Faydiyyah and Hujjatiyyah madrasahs and the killing and wounding there of a large number of clerics and religious students; the conscripting of academic students and students of religious learning centers to military service; the detention of Imam Khomeini; the holding of mass demonstrations and protests against the detention of the Imam and the quelling of demonstrations held in Qum, Tehran, Shiraz, etc.; the incarceration of Ayatullah Qummi in Mashhad and also Ayatullah Baha’uddin Mahallati, the latter’s brother and son, the son of Ayatullah Dastghayb and others in Shiraz, all of whom were sent to Tehran as was Ayatullah Sayyid Abdul-Husayn when he too was arrested ten days later; the journey made by distinguished Ayatullahs and clergy to the capital city in protest against the detention of the movement’s leader and the confinement of university lecturers and a great number of clergy from all over the country; and in addition to all of these events was the regime’s increasing cooperation and collaboration with Israel.

newspapers which have set out to ruin us,¹ introduce us abroad as anti-reformists, as those opposed to modernization.² *Akhunds* are presented as those who travel on donkeys and who argue that they don't want electricity nor do they need airplanes. It is said that they want to return to the Dark Ages, that they are reactionaries. In fact it is this dark period brought about by you (the Shah) in this country to which the *akhunds* are opposed. Is this traditionalism? The virtuous *ulama* oppose these beatings and murders, and

¹ 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 materials such as the Shah's own book or the *Muarrifi-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 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 US State Secretary. Following his departure from Iran in November 1978 [Aban 1357 AHS], Siyamak 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].

² *Time* magazine, June 14, 1963 [Khordad 24, 1342 AHS] reads: "...For three days during the past week, Tehran became a battleground. People were screaming, machine guns were rapping and... How ironic that this was a fight against development'... Powerful opposition to him (the Shah) includes the corrupt leaders as a whole, big landowners and the mullahs who believe that his program...entails non-Muslim involvement." *United Press International* writes: "...Demonstrations have taken place due to incitement by religious figures: those who are opposed to the Shah's reforms since their interests have been damaged by them." *Moscow radio*, on the eve of June 6: "The reactionary elements in Iran who are unhappy with the land reforms...held a demonstration today in the streets of Tehran, Qum and Mashhad. Certain religious leaders were the directors and main instigators of this unrest."

this autocracy, dictatorship and despotism. Do you call this traditionalism? It was the *ulama* of Islam who, at the dawn of Constitutionalism,¹ fought against the evils of despotism and procured freedom for the nation. They ordained laws which were in the interest of Islam and benefited the nation and which enhanced the country's independence, for they were Islamic laws. They ordained these laws with the blood that they sacrificed, the burdens that they bore and the trials that they endured. Are these *akhunds* reactionaries?

Today also, the clergy is rising up in revolt; it is embarking upon a movement and in following the clergy the nation too is rising up in revolt. Now, the Islamic nations are awakened, they are engaged in revolution. The clergy wants the laws of Islam to be implemented. Is this reactionary?!² Inviting others to abide by the holy laws of Islam, these divine laws for which we undergo so much hardship and bear so many insults; is this in fact reaction? Is God, the Blessed and Exalted, a reactionary?! The virtuous (archangel) Gabriel, the mediator of divine revelation, is he a reactionary?! Is the Holy Prophet a reactionary?! Are the exemplary Imams reactionaries?! From the advent of Islam it has been the sole function of the *ulama*, those who themselves possess nothing, to convey the laws of Islam—the divinely-revealed laws—to the people. Is it reactionary to convey these holy laws?

If you truly believe in the precepts of Islam then this is what you should believe in: Islam has afforded man freedom and made him the master of his possessions, his family and his own self. In fact Islam demands man's freedom and self-determination. In Islam man is free to choose where he lives, what he eats and drinks and how he conducts his everyday life, as long as the holy laws are not breached. It is the law of Islam which affords one, whose home has been attacked, the right to kill the attacker. This is the extent to which Islam values freedom. So can Islam be described as black reaction'? The *ulama* do not speak for themselves, but merely quote God's Prophet, who in turn quotes the Almighty Lord. Thus, if we are reactionaries then the Holy Prophet must be a reactionary too. If you regard us, who merely repeat the words of God and His Prophet, as traditionalists—as that foolish man

¹ Here, reference is made to the militant *ulama* such as the martyr Ayatullah Haj Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri, Ayatullah Sayyid Abdullah Behbahani, Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba'i, Ayatullah Mirza Muhammad Hasan Ashtiyani, Shaykh Muhammad Khiyabani, and Sayyid Jamaluddin Isfahani.

² In a speech given a few days prior to this address, the Shah had said: "We condemn traditionalism and reactionary thinking"; and similarly, he later wrote in the book *The White Revolution*: "The unrest of Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) which was financed by a group of landlords who had been hit by the Land Reform Bill was the best illustration of the unholy alliance which exists between two camps: the black reaction and the red destructive force."

persistently insists on calling us—then you consider the Holy Prophet a traditionalist too! The Devil takes this civilized’ thinking!

If however, you have faith in Islam and its laws—Islam which is the source of all freedom, dignity, glory, self-determination, and independence—and if we are the followers of Islam, then you have to accept that these are the precepts of Islam. In what way can they be said to be reactionary? Exactly what is it about the precepts of Islam that these gentlemen regard as black reaction? Why not come and discuss this issue with us? It really isn’t right for you¹ to make speeches here and there saying, “We condemn traditionalism” and so on and to persist in your swaggering. Why not come forward and say that you believe what the Prophet has said to constitute black reaction, so that we may examine the validity of your claim and may prove that to the contrary it is not reaction?

We say: “Don’t be the slave of others.” We want you to be honorable and dignified. We suggest sir, that as a Muslim government and as the so-called ruling body of the Muslims, you should be reverent, noble and great. You are to safeguard independence and to be your own master. At whichever meeting you attend you request more financial assistance.² Don’t degrade yourself for the sake of begging for a few dollars. These are in fact the things that we oppose. If this is reaction then yes we are reactionaries; and if that is what being civilized is, then you are undoubtedly civilized. If you believe in the laws of Islam then they are as we have explained and you are fully aware of them. And if you say you prefer to rely on the constitutional law instead, then that too has given the right of freedom to people, be it with regard to their abode, their occupation, their wealth or their souls; and it in fact prohibits coercion. It isn’t that you don’t accept the constitutional law because you do; although even then some time ago you murmured something about it being fifty-years-old and so on. What nonsense! How can a constitution which argues for the freedom of the people and the press be criticized for being fifty-years-old? All we are saying is that you should act according to the law. Let us take a good look at the constitutional law; you send your representative and we shall send ours. O you, who lay claim to being law-abiding, democratic, reformist and progressive, let us examine the

¹ A reference to the Shah.

² Kennedy had given the Shah his word that Iran would receive both loans and foreign capital investment in return for the implementation of “reforms”. By the word “dollar” the Imam means the American financial aid for which the Shah used to appeal. The New York Times with reference to the Shah’s referendum and implementation of reforms writes: “Iran has discovered more suitable terms for the receipt of American aid.”

constitutional law. You'll see that if you act according to this law then we won't say anything more. Abide by the Supplementary Constitutional Laws which were achieved through the *ulama* sacrificing lives and delivering nations from captivity. The constitutional law grants freedom of the press; but are you prepared to free it? Is it we, the ones who say allow the constitutional law to be implemented, grant the press freedom and permit the press to enjoy freedom of expression, who is the reactionary? The press may well be corrupt, but in spite of all their malice, they still would prefer not to poison people's minds to the extent to which you force them.

Now you, gentlemen and people of Iran, you must have seen the editorial of the *Ittilaat* on Tuesday April 7 [Farvardin 18]. You read about the plans they had intended to carry out and the one which they now have in mind.¹ They saw that whatever move they made backfired. They used force, intimidation and threats; they brought about the episode of Khordad 15; they destroyed the Faydiyyah and Talibiyyah *madrasahs*;² they affronted the *ulama*; they banished, deported, imprisoned, and much more. Not only did things go wrong, but they went so very wrong that even he³ came to know about them. Indeed everyone knew about them. Moreover, objections raised by the outside world put the regime in a very embarrassing position.⁴ The events of Khordad 15 had truly disgraced the government. We hadn't wished

¹ The leading article of the *Ittilaat* newspaper on April 7, 1964 [Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS] reads: "How fortunate it is that the clerical community has also now joined forces with the people in executing the programs of the Shah-People Revolution."

² Early in the year 1963 [1342 AHS], at the time of the Faydiyyah incident, the Talibiyyah Madrasah was also attacked. A number of SAVAK agents and police officials in Tabriz proceeded toward this madrasah with the intention of tearing down Imam Khomeini's declaration which had been posted upon the wall there. However, on arrival they encountered the resistance and protests of the religious students. A violent scuffle broke out between the latter and the officials during which one police officer was killed. In the meantime, further officials surged towards the madrasah and employing both fire- and side-arms they destroyed whatever they came across. They beat and swore at the theological students and clergy, towards whom they fired, killing some and injuring others.

³ The Shah.

⁴ The tragedy of Khordad 15, 1342 AHS [June 5, 1963] was so great that news of it spread beyond the Iranian borders, the millions of dollars of money spent annually by the Shah on self-publicity failing to keep this horrifying news veiled. On June 6 and 7, 1963 the newspaper Al-Ahram took to describing the tragedy; an article entitled "The Great Deceit" was carried by the weekly The Arab Observer on June 17, 1963; on July 10, 1963 Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut, the head of Al-Azhar University in Egypt issued a statement with regard to this event; and "The Lebanese Islamic Scientific Society", the youth of Kuwait, Iranian Muslim students in Germany and other groups responded and voiced their objection by issuing statements, wiring telegraphs and sending open letters to both Muslim and international leaders.

for them to be so disgraced, but the shame brought about by the events of that day was so deep that it irrevocably stained this country. This affair will be recorded in history. Even some members of the regime have themselves admitted what a disgrace Khoradad 15 was and I too say this. But they failed to say why, so I will now do so: it was a disgrace because they had actually purchased the machine guns, tanks and bullets that they fired at the poor Iranian people with the wealth of this very same nation. They trampled this poor nation underfoot. Could anything be more disgraceful than this? Tell us exactly what these poor victims had done to deserve this? What could they possibly have done?

We only gave you a piece of advice; surely it didn't warrant such a reaction. Our argument is quite logical. We merely say that we have laws and that they should be implemented. Is it that you don't recognize the constitutional law? If so, then get your governmental employee¹ to go to the Majlis and announce that this is the case so that you can then return to primitive times if that's what you really want. Are we, the ones who ask for the implementation of the constitutional law, reactionaries, or you, who imprison people and order for their exile? Your prison cells are packed with prisoners, with people of distinction, religious people, *ulama*, professors; and places such as Bandar Abbas are full of exiles whose only crime was to have said, "We don't want to be slaves; we don't want to be the captives of imperialism."

What they said of us lately? Are you reactionaries as we say that you have to abide by the Constitution? Lay down the Constitution and let all of us abide by it; you accepted it. We say, observe the religion (religious precepts); you say that the Holy Prophet is a reactionary (we seek refuge in God). You do not speak literally; it means so. You do acknowledge the Constitution, yet at that time they used to utter that it is fifty-years old, so on and so forth. It is a constitution that has more than the affair of fifty years ago—a constitution that stipulates that the nations should be free; that the people of Iran should be free; that press should be free; that no one has the right to hinder others to write.

You no doubt read in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of Tuesday April 18 (Farvardin 29): "What welcome news it is that the clerical dignitaries have reached an agreement with the government concerning the Shah-People Revolution"—of course the same was written in other papers but this particular newspaper has a wider readership. Following this, some people

¹ Reference here is made to the head of the government of the day (Hasan-Ali Mansur).

who went to Tehran to voice objection requested that this clergyman be identified,¹ saying: “Is the person in question Khomeini? Please tell us so that we might execrate him; or is it perhaps another *alim* of Islam? Come now, indicate who it is!” Some of our high-ranking *ulama* are with us here today, may God preserve them (the audience cries “Amen”). Others are to be found in Tehran, Mashhad, Najaf and in other Muslim lands. May God praise them all (the audience cries Amen). Now then, these *ulama* of whom you speak, do they exist out in space? Well if not, why do you not name those who have secretly made a deal with you? Name them if you dare. Tell us, was it Khomeini who made concessions while in prison? He had no right whatsoever to do something so contrary to Islam. How can Khomeini compromise with the cause of oppression? It would be damned wrong of him to do so. Could he do other than to preserve the dignity of Islam while he was in prison?—which is in fact what he did. Could Khomeini and others like him possibly bring themselves to say something which was to the detriment of Islam: this Islam for which the Holy Prophet and the Immaculate Imams (*a*) labored so hard and for which the *ulama* have exerted so much effort? Indeed if Khomeini actually did do such a thing, then he would be cast out from the society.

They have hatched a plot which is to introduce the *ulama* of Islam to the people as like them. They are ostracized by the society, and they like us also to be ostracized. The society does not accept them, and they like it (the society) also to say that it does not accept us. Through this sinister plot they like us to be hated by the society... What a calamity! Could I tell the corruptions of this country to this Majlis, its two, four chambers? Today, I am not also feeling well. Last night I slept only a little. Nevertheless, well, a general issue must be stated. Don't we have any right to defend ourselves?

¹ Following the publication of the article, “Holy Alliance for a Holy Cause” (*Ittihad-e Muqaddas beh Khatir-e Hadaf-e Muqaddas*) in the Ittilaat newspaper of April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343 AHS) covering the alleged unity between the Shah and the clergy over the “White Revolution”, Imam Khomeini sends Hujjat al-Islam Fadlullah Mahallati to the newspaper's office to ask who these “clergy” are. The editor-in-chief of Ittilaat states that the article was sent to the newspaper from high-ranking government officials and that they had no choice but to publish it. The Imam demands that the editor-in-chief refutes the report in question in his paper and that he follows up and acts upon his own decision with the utmost strength and firmness. Eventually the government is forced to send a representative to Qum to visit the Imam and apologize to him; and as well as asking forgiveness the representative was to give assurances that henceforth the publication of lies and defamatory statements pertaining to the clergy would be prevented.

These same people visited the editor-in-chief of the *Ittilaat*¹ and asked him: “Who actually told you of this matter concerning the alleged concessions made by a clergyman? Let us know who this treacherous² spy is who has accepted your terms and has compromised against the interests of Islam.” Initially the poor wretch said in embarrassment that he hadn’t been there at the time. Then, after giving a detailed account to absolve himself from the matter, an account which is far too lengthy to recount here today, he added: “This is the article which I had prepared for that day.” He then showed it to those present and continued: “But some officials brought several attached sheets to me and told me that I must print those instead. It was an order; what could I do?” I will tell him what he can do. If the editor-in-chief of *Ittilaat* is someone who truly regrets such obtrusions, then luckily, being financially comfortable and not in need as such, he can quit journalism and become a minister. Fortunately, it is the done thing here (the audience laughs); so you too become a minister or a Member of Parliament or something. Of course you won’t get the people’s vote, but you can still be appointed to the office. It’s not necessary for people to favor this appointment, since they have no mandatory rights anyway. No, there’s no doubt that they will appoint you as a Member of Parliament, or they will nominate you as a senator.³ So if you genuinely deplore these obtrusions, then why not quit journalism and find a better occupation? It must also be said however, that I actually sent a message to this editor-in-chief telling him to repudiate the article in question and from what I was told last night, he had said that he could no longer show his face to the nation or the clergy and that he would come up with an article which would refute the former one. Now, is it we who are reactionary or you?

You are mistaken to lay such a lie at our door as if we are deceased. Indeed, praise be to God, we have a large number of *ulama*. We have both distinguished and pre-eminent *maraji*; we have many great philosophers and scholars of the religious sciences in theological centers and throughout the land. They will not just sit by while someone writes such a great lie in one of the popular newspapers stating, “Thank goodness they have compromised”. However, even if we scream and cry out, they will ensure that our voices are

¹ Abbas Masudi, the proprietor and editor-in-chief of *Ittilaat*.

² In the text reference is made to “ruhani-ye sazmani” meaning the pseudo-clergy agents of SAVAK.

³ The “Senate” (or Upper House) was the second Majlis of the late regime which was established according to Articles 43 and 45 of the constitutional law and comprised sixty members (senators): thirty members appointed by the Shah and thirty members popularly elected.

not heard. Now you,¹ the one who either yesterday or last night declared that you will curb traditionalism, are not your censoring of and obtruding upon the press in itself a form of traditionalism? And don't claim that we are falsely accusing you because we have evidence of your actions. This is no lie. The very article which you ordered to be printed and which you later refused to allow to be refuted, now lies in the editor-in-chief's office of the *Ittilaat* newspaper.

All we are asking is that you abide by the constitutional law. If you have a faith then act according to its ordinances; and if you regard religion as reaction then at least act according to the constitutional law instead. Allow freedom of the pen. This poor editor-in-chief was truly in a wretched state. I sent word to him that I am not one of those who make empty demands. No indeed, I follow my demands up. God forbid, but if I ever feel that I have to say something to defend the interests of Islam, then I shall surely say it and follow it through without fear. I swear by God that I have never experienced fear (an outburst of emotion from the crowd). Even on that day when they were taking me away, it was they who were frightened, whereby I comforted them by telling them not to be afraid (the audience laughs).

Don't you see that if we fear while striving for the goals of Islam then we in fact have no faith. These are the goals for which the prophets made unrelenting efforts and for which great men of Islam gave their lives. In striving for these goals the noble *ulama* of Islam have been set on fire; they have lost their lives, been imprisoned and exiled and have served long sentences. Hence, if we fear for ourselves more than we are concerned about the interests of Islam then we cannot be said to have faith. Would anyone with faith be afraid to leave this world? In fact if we really believe in the afterlife then we should pray to be killed in the path of God and so join the martyrs. One who has no faith in the afterlife should fear, not us. We have been assured a good place (in the next life) by our Lord, the Exalted, the Merciful, as long as we live according to His religion; and we hope and believe that this is in fact what we are doing. Of what should we be afraid? Why should we fear you? The most you could possibly do would be to execute us, in which case our life of ease would then commence. We would leave all these iniquities behind us; we would be relieved of all the pains and anguish of this life. Our beloved master (Imam Ali) has said: "I swear by God that Abu Talib's son (Imam Ali himself) is as fond of death as a

¹ The Shah.

suckling baby is fond of its mother's breast."¹ Of course we cannot make such a claim, but nevertheless we are his followers. To fear death is to have no faith in the hereafter.

Are we, who say the press must be free, traditionalists, while those who use force to demand that certain things be reported are progressivists? Unfortunately, however, whereas our voice doesn't go beyond these four walls, their voice reaches as far as America as well as the other countries from whence they obtain their dollars. They spend the wealth of this nation on the foreign press—a press which writes articles disparaging our clergy, Islam, our nation, and everything we have. I used to read these stories when I was in captivity. What a blunder they made in releasing me. They certainly made a grave mistake. In fact I told them while I was there that if they intended to continue with their scheming then it was best for them that I remained imprisoned, for my release would only create further unrest. Now I am telling them again, we are not reactionaries in the sense that you mean. Islam does not disapprove of the fruits of civilization and neither do we.

Islam would like nothing more than for you to be in command over all of the world powers for after all it was Islam that drew its sword and conquered half or even more than half of the globe. Can this Islam be called reactionary? Islam once governed all of these countries that you are now governed by.² The sheer fact that those countries which implemented the commandments of Islam (of course this only applies to one or two Muslim governments, the rest never having really implemented Islamic precepts) considered themselves to be carrying the banner of Islam and to be identified with it; and the very fact that they implemented Islamic principles, even if only in appearance, meant that they were able to achieve such power and might that an army of a mere twenty-odd thousand Arabs succeeded in trampling such a vast country as Iran underfoot. This it did in order to make human beings out of its inhabitants and to bring civilization to the country, which indeed it succeeded in doing. The lofty thoughts held by the *ulama* and *maraji* in our country are all due to the light of Islam. They all come from Islam. The rotten and traditionalistic minds of this regime however, are the cause of the nation's servitude to all; offering this country lock, stock and

¹ Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 9.

² At the onset of Islam's period of expansion, the Muslim armies captured Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Iran, Tripoli, Cyprus, and Punjab; and subsequently they went on to take Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Portugal, south-west Europe (the Iberian Peninsula), south-east France, and Athens. Refer to *Faraz va Nashib-e Tamaddun-e Islami dar Espanya*, p.6; and *Inqilab-e Islami va Difa'i Muqaddas*, p. 274.

barrel to foreigners and thus giving the country's entire wealth to others. This is true reaction. Shame on it!

The Prime Minister sent someone to me yesterday who said: "We ask for your forgiveness, there has been a mistake. Please do your best to ensure no further unrest breaks out and we shall do as you ask," thereby uttering the usual rhetoric. In reply I said: "The *Ittilaat* newspaper maintains that it is not to blame for the article, but that it is in fact your fault; and you claim that you regret your past behavior. Therefore, you must promise that such things won't reoccur, because if they do then the consequences will be far worse next time. Don't persist in calling us reactionaries, for if you do we have no choice but to expand on the issue in order to determine who the real reactionaries are, the dear *ulama* of Islam who ask that you don't oppress the people so, or yourselves."

We were deeply distressed by the winter just passed, when lethally cold weather struck Isfahan, Hamedan, Tehran, Qum and elsewhere; but did you show any consideration or make any arrangements for those poor victims in this our "developed" society? I was told that in Hamedan more than two thousand people died due to cold weather which reached forty-three degrees below zero. O you who have caused our country to "develop", did you do anything for these people? We are not against development, in fact we truly want you to be modern, but please do something for these poor wretches. Must they suffer both from the pain of starvation and the pain of humiliation? Must they both walk barefoot and be struck on the head too? All we say is don't do this. Is it reactionary to say don't suppress people so; don't beat or insult them so; or to ask that you act according to either Islamic law or the constitutional law? You, however, the agents of despotism, who use force, intimidation, banditry and whatever other practices you choose against these people; you who violate the constitutional law and totally disregard Islamic ordinances, are you the progressivists?

It's preposterous I know, but they have decided to establish an Islamic university.¹ Apparently they have allocated a budget of a few million tumans for this purpose. Well, those of you responsible for this scheme, if you really are sympathetic toward Islam then why do you demolish our university; yes look, the one standing over there? If you have genuinely reached the

¹ Toward the beginning of the 1960's the regime decided to establish a university by the name of "The Islamic University"! Imperialist policies required that the religious and scientific teaching centers lay under government control and that the clerical community became attached to the government administration departments. The clergy of Iran, however, ever-vigilant, did not allow the Shah to succeed in this.

conclusion that Islam, Islamic precepts and the *ulama* of Islam must remain, then although it's true we don't expect any goodwill from you, at least don't subject us to your malevolence. Just give us a chance to render you a service. Fortunately, we don't receive a penny from the national budget. Instead we have to endure poverty and tolerate your mean treatment of us. Whoever so wishes is free to witness for himself the living conditions of these students of the religious sciences. Go and see how they have lived both before and after their rooms were plundered. What did these agents of the regime want to plunder; an old rug maybe or perhaps a broken samovar? Are these what they were after? God knows this is not the case. Their intention was to intimidate the religious students. Why not go and see our *madrasahs* and homes for yourselves? We have nothing to hide. Our entire annual budget which consists of money donated to us with the utmost sincerity by these indigent people for the safeguarding of Islamic principles, doesn't amount to the money spent on even one of the parties given by you in honor of a foreign guest. If our entire annual budget can be said to equal the cost of one of your parties, then you are entitled to say: "Fie to you reactionaries!"

We argue that you ought not to squander so much of this country's budget. What is the point in holding so many parties? Is it reactionary of us to suggest that you be your own master and don't beg from people so much or that you don't incur unnecessary expenditure in the first place which indeed brings about the need to beg? If you come to believe in the precepts of Islam, all of us, the whole nation, will be behind you. Have we ever bribed this nation to love and support us to the extent that they do? No, in fact they have realized that all of us, the clergy, the great *maraji*, this religious student Khomeini, we all feel affection for them and seek their interests and the interests of the country and nation. People truly believe this. This belief sits firmly in their hearts; and man generally follows his heart. That is why they support us.

Why don't you begin to heed my advice? Just as I told those who were sent by the regime to speak to me, so too I am now telling you that you must change the way you tackle things. You saw that by inflicting pain, by beating, torturing, imprisoning, exiling and throwing insults, nothing was achieved. Indeed you saw that the nation deeply resents such behavior; and that you cannot suppress a nation for ever. You witnessed all this for yourselves so why not change your policy somewhat and see what happens? Why, you are the ones who claim to be rational! So try out a new approach for a change and show people a little benevolence, a little courtesy. See here, the government actually belongs to the people. The national budget comes

from the people's pockets. You are a servant of the people and governments are their attendants. Don't continually assert that you are the people's servant, while in practice you hit the people on the head; don't trample these poor people underfoot. You obtain your means of livelihood from the nation's budget, and you enjoy a comfortable life. Very well let's regard that as a gift to you. You live in whatever manner you want and can have whatever you desire. The kind of life led by these people is inconceivable; you couldn't possibly imagine how they live. We still have difficulty in comprehending how an airplane can actually make a return journey from here to Holland in order to bring flowers for a party. I have heard that the rent for this airplane has been three hundred thousand tumans. This is something widely discussed and well-known, but we still find it hard to grasp. Even so, let us again look upon all of this as a gift to you. In fact it is from the wealth of this nation that you feed; from the wage of this laborer and this farmer. If, as you maintain, you feel for the laborers and farmers then why not throw a few crumbs to the poor? With as little as one million tumans almost everyone could have been saved from the bitter cold of last winter; after all one million tumans is a mere drop in the ocean for you. Therefore share out some of the money you have appropriated from the nation amongst these poor people. With a little help they could be active and earn themselves an honorable living. Such actions would safeguard your future. Not only would you not meet with opposition, but the people would warm to you. Then, just as I am sitting here talking and people are listening and trusting in what I say, so too, people will find confidence in what you have to say. As things stand however, no one has faith in you. Even if you were to say two times two is four, people would say that this is too obvious to be true.

Someone approached me and apologized for the wrongdoings of the previous government. He thanked God that this government had eventually been dissolved; and he claimed that by comparison the members of the latest government were in fact religious people whose fathers had mostly been clergymen. In reply I said: "We were neither the enemy of that government, nor have we signed a contract of fraternity with this government. It is your deeds with which we are concerned and which we monitor. If you repeat the deeds of your predecessors then we shall relentlessly oppose you as we did them, for we are the same as we were before. Your names too will be blackened as were theirs. Nevertheless, if you change your attitude, then we are all Muslims and brothers together. Not only will we not oppose you, but we will lend you our support. I told you before and I will tell you again, you

must bow in humility before Islamic precepts, that is, if you really are the Muslims that you claim to be. Yes, you must submit to the precepts of Islam and of course abrogate those laws which contradict them.” Have we ever argued that there should not be a government? No indeed, but what we do say is that the government must obey the laws of Islam, or if not, then at least the laws of the Constitution. Neither have we ever advocated living the kind of life lived thousands of years ago, when people made their homes in caves. Which clergyman has ever said such a thing? Just name one clergyman who maintains that we are hostile to the signs of civilization.

When such signs arrived in this country, you tampered with them while in their unadulterated form, thereby transforming them into something unacceptable and prohibited according to Islam. Our radio service for example, is its purpose really that for which it is used here in Iran? Similarly, with regard to the television, should it be abused as it is here in Iran? Indeed, these modern devices are in fact also utilized by civilized countries in the same way as they are utilized here. The education and training received in this country is truly bad. Our educational system¹ is not capable of answering the needs of this country. It is incapable of rearing strong athletic youths who would confront the forces of imperialism, clench their fists, be killed and rescue the nation. No, our system of education is incapable of this. They undermine people’s resolve with this situation that they have brought about and by the kind of programs broadcast by our radio, television, etc. Our newspapers, our magazines, our books, in fact our entire publications, are in the hands of imperialists. It is the imperialist powers which vulgarize our newspapers in this way in order to poison the minds of our youth. It is they who organize our cultural programs in such a way as to ensure that we have no capable, virile youngsters. It is the imperialist powers who arrange such radio and TV programs so as to weaken people’s resolve and to make them lose their vigor, their potency. All this is the doing of the imperialists and it is to such imperialist manifestations that we object. Does that then make us reactionaries? What we have to say is extremely simple and doesn’t warrant aggression or hostility. Why not sit down and talk rationally? There is no need for anger and rage. There is no need to throw insults. All you have to do is to send some sensible representatives to talk with us and explain exactly what it is about cultural development and progress that we supposedly take issue with. What we do object to is all forms of corruption. We believe that your reform programs are in fact devised by Israel and it is to Israel that you

¹ It refers to the Ministry of Training and Education that was called the Ministry of Education at that time.

turn for help and advice whenever you want to draw up a plan. You bring military advisers from Israel into this country.¹ You send students from our country to Israel. If only they were sent elsewhere; to America or even to Britain for example. But no, you send them to Israel! These are the kinds of issues we dispute.

We argue that the entire Muslim countries have formed a united front on one side, in opposition to infidelity and Israel, while you yourself and the Turkish government are stationed on the other side in support of Israel. We hold that this is ill-advised. For God's sake man, don't go against the sensibilities of the Muslim peoples so, for I swear by God this is suicidal. All of the Muslims on one side and Iran on the other! If this is to be the case, then the nation of Iran will become reproachable and our Sunni brothers will think that Shiah are Jew-worshippers.

O people of the world! Let it be known that our nation condemns any alliance made with Israel. It is neither our nation nor our clergy who have made such an alliance. Indeed our religion beseeches us not to join hands with the enemies of Islam; just as our Quran implores us not to align with the enemies of Islam against the Muslim front. This is what we maintain. Can you call this being reactionary? If so then come and explain to us in what way this can be said to constitute reaction. You who boast a history of two-and-a-half millennia of sovereign rule and endlessly crow about those rotten bones which have decomposed and are no more² and which you now want to

¹ The political relationship between Iran and Israel dates back to the post-1953 (1332 AHS) years. In 1960 (1339 AHS) the government of the day in Iran gave official recognition to Israel and a friendly relationship between the Shah and Israel got under way. During these years of friendship many army officers and SAVAK agents were sent to Israel to receive training from MOSSAD (the Israeli intelligence agency) agents, and hundreds of Israeli officers and agents came to Iran to supervise the army and the Shah's intelligence agency (SAVAK) and to assist the Shah's agents. Toward the end of the Shah's reign the transactions which passed between Iran and Israel had reached an annual sum of four hundred million dollars. The Shah had himself ordered for an arms purchase worth six hundred million dollars in one go alone. According to the documents which were obtained from the American "den of espionage" after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Shah's regime had in fact, since 1958 (1337 AHS), been a member of an official tripartite organization composed of the security services of Iran, Turkey and Israel which was named "The Triple-Headed Bayonet". Refer to Documents from the US Espionage Den, Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam.

² The Shah had given himself the title "Aryamehr" meaning "light of the Aryan race" and had tried to give a new lease of life to the history of the Iranian monarchy. He also went through with the two-and-a-half-millennia celebrations in an attempt to bring to life the Iran of the past as well as its kings and to destroy Islamic culture and its teachings. In the book Mission for

dig up from beneath the soil to use in your confrontation with Islam, have you now at this late hour joined forces with Israel against the precepts of Islam and against the Muslims?! We are the ones who advocate your non-involvement with Israel, yet you now try to accuse us of collaborating with others and of being involved with so-and-so and whatever he brought with him.¹ The Devil takes this reasoning! Shame on you! Yes, this is what we have to say. Now in what way can this be called traditionalism, as that stupid man persists in asserting? What is traditionalist about our argument?

We enjoy a superior level of civilization; Islam enjoys a superior level of civilization; the greatly-esteemed *maraji* of Islam also enjoy a superior level of civilization. You may go and see them for yourselves. They can be seen here or in Mashhad, Tehran, or Najaf. Go and see which of these great men is reactionary. Those in power travel around by air or by car and expect the nation to travel by donkey. Earlier this year however, we all saw how one of these respected *maraji* traveled to Mashhad by air;² and everyone knows that the other *maraji* always travel by car. Again this year we witnessed how the *maraji* journeyed to Tehran where they all assembled³—I would later like to

my Country, the Shah has immeasurably glorified past kings of Iran, kings not at all much different from himself.

¹ From the movement's onset admirers of the Imam both from within and without the country would come to see him in a show of support, and these would include outstanding national and revolutionary figures. On one occasion a person introducing himself as an Egyptian diplomat in Lebanon managed to meet with Imam with the help of an Iranian cleric who acted as intermediary. At this meeting this person said that he was commissioned by Jamal Abdun-Nasir, the head of the Egyptian government, to convey the latter's gratitude to the Imam for his having revolted against Israel. There is reason to believe that this man had probably been sent on behalf of the Shah's intelligence service. Jamal Abdun-Nasir was one of Israel's major enemies, while the Shah was regarded as one of its staunch supporters and the propaganda spread by the Shah persistently presented Egypt as Iran's enemy. With the intention of plotting against Imam and of generating suspicion toward him, the regime published this concocted report in the press of June 1963 (Khordad, 1342 AHS): "...On June 1 a person named Abdul-Qays Jowjow (or Muhammad Tawfiq al-Qiyasi) arrived at Mehrabad airport in Tehran from Lebanon. Since he was viewed as being suspicious by the custom officers he was taken for questioning and enquiries were held. As a result, a sum of about one million tumans was taken from him which, subsequent to investigations, he confessed to have brought from Jamal Abdun-Nasir to give to certain persons in Iran."!

² Ayatullah Sayyid Hadi Milani was one of the *maraji*' of that time who was resident in Mashhad and who, along with other migrant *ulama* and *maraji*' of Tehran, had gone to the home of Ayatullah Khwansari. The Imam's address indicates the extent of the regime's anti-clergy propaganda in that Imam was forced to make mention of something that seemed so trivial and obvious.

³ Following the arrest of the Leader of the Islamic Revolution and the radio broadcast of Alam's (the Prime Minister) speech in which he gave notice that those who had been arrested

praise this move—but the question is, did they go by donkey? Are these men hostile to the effects of development and progress?

We ask you not to behave in this manner. We are after all members of the same family; we are all fellow countrymen. So why do you want to divide us? We lend this country our unconditional support without making any demands upon her budget; and despite the beatings, insults, abuse, imprisonment, and torture we are made to bear, we still remain a solid column which remains standing at the service of our country. If, God forbid, any danger ever threatened this country, then we would stand steadfast in readiness to fearlessly confront it.

There are those who say that they want to protect this country and who brag about their courage and valor. But do you recall how, when the Allied Forces came to Iran, it was these very poor souls who fled even as far as Yazd?¹ Can you name just one *akhund* who fled though; just one? On that day when airplanes were flying over Tehran in order to intimidate and terrorize the people, the late Ashaykh Husayn Qummi, may his soul rest in

would be tried and executed, the clerical community in Iran converged on Tehran from all over the country: from Qum, Ayatullah Marashi, Mr. Shariatmadari, Ayatullah Murtada Ha'iri; from Mashhad, Ayatullah Milani and Shaykh Mujtaba Qazvini; from Hamedan, Akhund Mulla Ali Ma'sumi; from Ahwaz, Haj Sayyid Ali Behbahani; from Isfahan, Haj Husayn Khadimi and Baqir Zand Kermani; from Khorramabad, Ayatullah Kamalvand; from Yazd, Ayatullah Saduqi and other *ulama* from all over the country. Refer to Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran, vol. 4, p. 132. The aforementioned clergy having assembled, issued a declaration headed, "The declaration of the clerical community in Iran," the complete text of which is to be found in *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 134.

¹ At 4 am on August 25, 1941 (Shahrivar 3, 1320 AHS), the British and Russian ambassadors went to the home of Ali Mansur, the Prime Minister of the day, to inform him of the Allies' attack on Iran. On the eve of September 13 (Shahrivar 22), Rida Khan (Shah) was informed that the Russians had entered Karaj and that they were advancing toward Tehran with great speed. On hearing this news the royal family and Rida Khan himself all made for Isfahan. Rida Khan went from Isfahan to Kerman and then to Bandar Abbas from where he was then taken to his place of exile by ship. Ministers, parliamentary representatives and army commanders too—i.e. those who make claim to being the country's protectors!—every one of them slithered into some hole or other! The commander of the Khuzestan troops surrendered without hesitation whilst the Americans, who were situated at the Ahwaz-Dezful frontier, continued to advance; the military commanders of Tabriz along with their soldiers and officers laid down their arms and fled toward the mountains and the Russians took over the region without meeting any opposition; the army of Gilan, whose commander was later decorated for bravery, fired a few cannon balls and then fled! The commander of the First Division which was stationed at Marzanabad lay in hiding and the troops of Mashhad fled toward the salt desert without water or food. Refer to The Memoirs of General Fardust, vol. 1, p. 87 onward.

peace, and I, were somewhere in the vicinity of Shapur Square.¹ As these aircraft were ominously hovering above, his eminence was twiddling his moustache as if absolutely nothing was happening; and I likewise was very calm and collected. On the contrary, however, if the shoe was on the other foot, then the first ones to flee would be those decorated heroes who are so puffed up with self-esteem and who constantly boast of the services they render to the country. It is only when oppression reigns and when it is in their own interests that they are strong. Thanks to God, however, that we are the ones who will always remain until the very end. Unless of course they come and take us away; otherwise you can be sure that we will be here.

Don't be mistaken in thinking that their plan to establish an Islamic university is due to their reconciliation with Islam; this is not at all the case. Instead, it is but a repetition of the time when the Quran was raised at the end of the bayonet in the confrontation with Amir al-Mu'minin (the Commander of the Faithful—Imam Ali (a)).² Muawiyah defeated Amir al-Mu'minin by taking advantage of the power of the Quran and using it as a weapon. Yes, by using the Quran as a weapon! Otherwise there is no doubt that it would have taken a maximum of a few hours only to wipe the Bani Umayyad off the face of the earth. They drew up a plan, however, whereby the Quran was brought forward and they said: "We are Muslims and you too are Muslims. We both bear witness to the same God and quote this Quran saying: *There is no god but Allah.*" No matter how much Amir al-Mu'minin insisted on being patient and not rushing into war, arguing no good would come from it, the foolish Kharijites³ who were the Imam's friends and companions (although they never really came to know him) ignored the Imam's pleas claiming that according to the Quran it was incumbent upon them to fight. They thought of an artifice: they fastened copies of the Quran onto their lances and raised

¹ Shapur Square (currently named Wahdat-e Islami), is situated in one of the old areas of Tehran, which, due to urban expansion, is now to be found in the south of the city immediately north of the railway station.

² In the battle of Siffin, Muawiyah's soldiers, seeing that they were in danger of defeat, fixed copies of the Quran to the end of their spears under the orders of Amr ibn al-as and proposed to Ali (a) that God's Book be the arbiter between them. The purpose of this ploy was to sow discord amongst Ali's troops and indeed resulted in the latter ceasing to fight in the battle. No matter how much Hadrat Ali counseled them it was to no avail. Eventually the matter was taken to arbitration and Ali's near-victory turned into defeat. Refer to Waqiat as-Siffin and Al-Imamah wa's-Siyasah.

³ Khawarij (Kharijites) is the plural of khariji ("foreigner/dissenter"); someone who turns against the government. After the battle of Siffin, a group of the Muslims who were later called the Kharijites left their ranks and chanting, "No arbitrator other than Allah" they held that the murder of Ali and Muawiyah was a religious duty.

them up into the air declaring: “The arbitrator between ourselves and yourselves is the Book of Allah; the arbitrator is the Book of Allah.”¹ Hadrat Imam sent after those of his companions who were actually engaged in battle, telling them to cease fighting and to return. His companions however, returned a message stating that they needed to fight for a further hour. Thus, the Imam explained to them that the Kharijites, having been deceived by the enemy, had now surrounded him and with swords drawn were about to kill him unless they returned from the battle front. Hence, we see how Islam was defeated by misuse of the Quran.

Do you truly believe you can defeat Islam by establishing an Islamic university? Do you imagine we will sit back and permit you to execute your plans? Indeed, we shall anathematize whosoever enters that university. The people themselves will bring it down. Could they conceivably allow the religion, believers and *ulama* of Islam to be under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture? The Ministry hadn't better make the fatal mistake of interfering with our religion or with Islamic issues, because only if Khomeini or God forbid, all the *maraji* of Islam actually passed away could they continue to see this program through. Even when we have gone and are thereby relieved of our Islamic duties, the nation of Islam will live on; it has been revived and given a new lease of life. May God reward all those responsible for this revival.

The nation of Islam has arisen and will never again acquiesce. Even if I make a U-turn or compromise with you (the Shah), the nation surely will not. We still adamantly retain our stance in opposition to those laws which counter Islam and to unwarranted incarceration and all kinds of compulsion and pressure exerted upon the nation. Are we reactionaries because we ask why certain people had been imprisoned, or ask what those poor souls in Bandar Abbas had done to deserve banishment there or indeed to deserve execution; or what they had done to deserve detention?² Supposing their

¹ Refer to the book *Waqiatu as-Siffin*, p. 481.

² It refers to the unfortunate episode of 1963. This episode concerns the execution at dawn of two combatants on November 2, 1963 (Aban 11, 1342 AHS)—Tayyib Haj Rida'i and Haj Isma'il Rida'i—their crime having been their participation in the Khordad 15 uprising. During this event, Tayyib caused the gang of Sha'ban Ja'fari (known as “bi mukh” (brainless)) to flee: a group established by Ja'fari in support of the Shah's regime. Haj Isma'il Rida'i was another of the devout, free-minded people of Tehran. By administering both mental and physical tortures to these two combatants the regime hoped that they would declare their receipt of a monetary payment from the Imam. Eventually, due to the resistance they exhibited they were both tortured to death. Once the news of their martyrdom broke, the theological center closed down and all religious classes were cancelled. On the seventh day following

crime had been to utter a few words concerning your duty to abide by the law, do those few words warrant a life sentence in Bandar Abbas?

You ought to reconsider your stand somewhat. Amend your behavior and abandon this reactionary attitude of yours. Try not to behave so savagely. Make efforts to leave these medieval practices behind. Don't be so reactionary; be civilized, be progressive. Allow the country to develop and afford its people respect. Don't subject the people to such hardships. Ensure that university curricula are such that our youth receive good moral and educational instruction. Train them to be combatants so that they refuse to tolerate imperialism.

This is what we the reactionaries urge. If you still call this being reactionary then so be it. But it is you, the "progressivists", who are systematically causing (moral and intellectual) damage to our youth by the score. As for your schools, they are not upright, thus rendering them untrustworthy. The educational programs implemented are in fact imperialist. Schooling entails nothing but games and football. Is this the situation in other countries? If so then who made all those major scientific discoveries? Who invented the airplane? It was the developed nations of course. Even the water-pipe installed in Qum is unfit for use because it was made in Iran. You and your "developed" country are not even capable of manufacturing a water-pipe. Interestingly, Razmara¹ made the claim: "We don't know how to

their martyrdom a group of well-known religious merchants and clerical combatants issued a declaration headed, "The United Islamic Councils". Part of this declaration reads:

"...Following the mock trial held on Saturday 2, two of the bravest of Iran's children... who were not prepared to accept the false charges made against the clergy by the security organization, despite the most inhuman tortures they were made to endure, lost their lives under the gunfire of the slaves of bloodthirsty foreigners. Their names however, now adorn the pages of a history of struggle against foreigners." With regard to the Bandar Abbas exiles and those imprisoned in Tehran, it must be remembered that the number of those arrested in the event concerning Tayyib and Haj Isma'il was seventeen in all, for each of which the military courts' prosecutor requested execution. Five people were sentenced to death in court but this sentence was later commuted for three of the convicted in a second court. A number of those arrested remained incarcerated until the victory of the Revolution. This account is verified by a confession made by Marshal Davallow Qajar (the adjudicator of Tayyib and Haj Isma'il), who was a trial witness in the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Tehran, and it has been recorded in the newspaper *Jumhuri-ye Islami* of November 25, 1979 (Azar 4, 1358 AHS).

¹ Marshal Ali Razmara, the supreme army commander during the time of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, who became Prime Minister in July of 1950 (Tir, 1329 AHS) advocating reforms in the system of government and a strengthening of the judicial system. He was among those who opposed the ratification of the bill to nationalize the Iranian oil industry, and in the National Consultative Assembly he said: "How can an Iranian who even manufacture a ewer, run the oil industry can't should it become nationalized?" On March 7 (Esfand 16) of that

manufacture anything other than pipes” and he was subsequently killed as a result. How can you call a country which is totally dependent upon foreign trade for its every need, developed? You bring specialists to Iran from Israel and I believe it was the *Ustavar*¹ newspaper that carried an astounding report which told of people actually being sent to Israel from Qum in order to “learn something”. God only knows what kind of things they can learn from the Jews, other than the art of cheating, deceiving and betraying. What is there for this “developed nation” to learn? What do you think? What’s your opinion? Do you really think that words are sufficient? Can development result from sending a few women to the Majlis? Have the male members of the Majlis actually accomplished anything for you so far which leads you to believe that your women may now do so? We believe that sending women to the Majlis will result in nothing but immorality and we believe that in ten, twenty or thirty years time you will see that we were right. We in no way oppose women’s progress, but we do oppose fornication and other such sinful deeds.

It’s all too easy to talk about “men’s freedom” and “women’s freedom”, but will it be achieved by mere words; and anyway, do men themselves really enjoy “freedom” in this country that you now want to offer “freedom” to women? Exactly what is it men are free to do? I am unable to adequately thank all of the Muslim nations; the great nation of Iran; all the members of different sects and groups and all of those who joined forces with us and shared our grief. Particular recognition must be given to those most revered *maraji at-taqlid*, who took the trouble to travel to Tehran, where they experienced insults and abuse and truly went to great lengths. The eminent *maraji* from all over the country assembled in the capital city having traveled from the cities of Mashhad, Ahwaz and Qum. Cooperation was forthcoming from all quarters, such as Najaf and even from the one person who had remained in Qum.² Everyone united and worked together thus proving the vitality and consciousness of the nation. We are prepared to endure anything for the liberty of this nation, whether it involves imprisonment, undergoing torture or bearing insults and abuse. I am pleased to say that those same distinguished *maraji* are present with us today, may God multiply their like (the audience cries, “Amen”), including those from Najaf, Mashhad and

same year Razmara was assassinated in the Shah Mosque (current name: Imam Khomeini Mosque) by Khalil Tahmasbi of the Fada’iyan-e Islam group.

¹ Refer to the local Qum-based *Ustavar* newspaper, No. 16, 3/5/1964 (12/25/1343 AHS).

² Following the Imam’s arrest, Ayatullah Golpaygani did not travel to Tehran along with the other *ulama* and *maraji*¹ but instead he remained in Qum.

Tehran, may God multiply their like (the audience cries, “Amen”). Islam is not a forlorn religion with merely one or two devotees, but rather every Muslim is a soldier of Islam. We must praise God that the *ulama* have joined hands and are prepared to sacrifice their lives in the path of Islam. It would be impossible for them to be any other way. We are all organs of the same body; we are as one, whether it be the person who considered it wiser to act temperately or the person who believed it better to take a dynamic course of action. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to these noble people. May Almighty God save them all (the audience cries, “Amen”); and may their protective shadow remain above us and above all the Muslims (the audience cries, “Amen”). Although we are many in number yet we are but one unit. Let no one presume that they can cause a rift between the *ulama* via mischievous propaganda, for this is not so. We are all together as one entity to fight in defense of Islam and its honor and in defense of Iran and the nation’s independence. We are unified and have but one voice.

I feel I must offer a word of advice to the young theological students who have recently joined the clergy and who are full of vigor and vitality. They need to be aware that the least insult aimed by them at any of the *maraji* of Islam would mean the termination of the *wilayah* between themselves and God. I assure you that to slight a distinguished *marja* is no trivial matter, so much so that if this great movement was to be impaired in any way as a result of such ignorance, then you would be chastised by God Almighty and the acceptance of your repentance would be problematic, for it is the honor and dignity of Islam that would have been damaged. I swear that if my children or myself were slapped in the face by someone, an act of retaliation would not please me and I would not agree to it,¹ for I am aware that there are those who would like to create discord within this circle, be it through ignorance or by intent. Such discord, God forbid, would be most injurious to Islam whereby the wishes of the imperialists would materialize.

We must all sacrifice ourselves for Islam. We must sacrifice our aspirations and desires for the sake of Islam. All of the *maraji* are over sixty years old. Is it conceivable that someone who has grown old devoting his life to Islam can then act to the detriment of Islam? Of course not. If at any time a disagreement does arise however, concerning the *ijtihad* of the *maraji*, as may also occur with any other Islamic issue, then the youngsters must not

¹ A number of religious students objected to the uncooperative and cautious behavior of some of the *maraji*. They thus behaved insolently towards the latter protesting that they did not confront the Shah in the way that the Imam did. In defending the *maraji* and the unity of the religious teaching centers, the Imam reminded them of the aforementioned issues.

become involved or interfere in any way, for this would present danger. The enemy is vigilant and awaiting. Hence, be aware that to insult one member of the clergy is to insult the entire Muslim community and to weaken the Muslim society.

I who am now seated here before you, humbly kiss the hands of all the *maraji*, wherever they may be; be it in Najaf, Mashhad, Tehran, or right here (in Qum). I kiss the hand of the entire *ulama* of Islam. It is the ultimate goal which is of primary importance. I extend a brotherly hand to all Islamic nations and to all the Muslims of the world, be they in the East or the West. We humble ourselves before all the *ulama* of Islam. You too must humble yourselves; all of you without exception. We are all from one nation and one country and we all have one religion. We are all seated at the table of the mercy of God, the Blessed and Exalted. We must thank God and be appreciative of the great *maraji* with whom we are blessed. To honor them is to honor Islam and to insult them is to insult Islam. Bear it in mind never to insult a *marja* or indeed any Muslim, for that would deeply displease Almighty God and I fear He might at some time chastise us; *akhdha azizin muqtadir*.¹

May Almighty God grant success to all of the *ulama* in their service to Islam (“Amen”). May God keep all the *maraji* of Islam in the shelter of His protection (“Amen”). May the protective shadow of all the *maraji* remain over all the Muslims (“Amen”). May God grant strength to the religion of Islam and may the hands of those who seek to betray this nation’s independence and her economy be severed (“Amen”).

May peace be upon you.

¹Ma’khudh or “overtook,” from Surah al-Qamar 54:42: “They rejected all our communications so we overtook them after the manner of the Mighty, Powerful One.”

Introduction to Speech Number Fifteen

Date: September 9, 1964 (AD) / Shahrivar 18, 1343 (AHS)/ JumadaI 2, 1384 (AH)

Place: Azam Mosque, Qum, Iran

Theme: The danger of the penetration of Israeli influence in Iran and the plots perpetrated by the imperialists in the Islamic countries

Occasion: The beginning of lessons at the theological centre

Those present: Religious students, clerics, merchants of the bazaar and others resident in Qum

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

As the race for the US presidency in September 1964 (Shahrivar 1343 AHS) received wide coverage in the Iranian press, even making the first lead on the front pages (this in itself showed the dependence of the Shah's regime on the policies of the White House), the Shah in Iran was trying to assure the next US President that the Khordad 15 movement had been destroyed and the grounds for implementing the American reform programme, the so-called Shah-People Revolution, and the revival of the Capitulation Bill had been prepared from all aspects. At the same time, the way had been opened for widespread American air strikes on Vietnam, and in this region, the crisis in Cyprus and the ethnic struggle and grave differences between Turkey and Greece had reached their peak. The Arab-Israeli dispute, the occupation of Palestinian lands, the expulsion of the Palestinians and their enforced homelessness continued. Meanwhile, at the conference of Arab heads of state in September 1964, Arab leaders spent their time discussing secondary issues, creating internal cliques and speaking of an illusory union.

Against this backdrop of events, the Pahlavi regime not only refused to sympathise with the oppressed Palestinians and the Islamic front against Israel, but by drawing attention to Jamal Abdul Nasser's claim to Khuzestan (as discussed in the introduction to speech 14) and the help he gave to Archbishop Makarios in Cyprus, it used the mass media¹ to arouse nationalistic sentiment and create hostile fronts arraying the Iranians against the Arabs and the Turks against the Arabs. At the same time, by changing the text of the pledge of allegiance in the army and other such actions, the regime tried to open the way for the influence and dominance of Israeli agents in the

¹ Refer to the articles and reports in the press in August and September 1964 (Mordad and Shahrivar 1343 AHS).

key and sensitive positions of the country. All this was carried out under the cover of the misleading propaganda of the mass media, under the rubric of land reform, the great revolution of the Shah, the establishment of the Iran Novin Party [Modern Iran Party] and.....

On the first day of the beginning of lectures at the theological centre in Qum on September 9, 1964 (Shahrivar 18, 1343 AHS), only a few months after being released from his imprisonment, Imam Khomeini dedicated his discourse to highlighting the distressing conditions of the Islamic community, divulging the regime's recent plan (to change the pledge of allegiance) and revealing the dependence of the Shah on the Israeli regime.

Changing the pledge of allegiance, that is instead of pledging allegiance to the Holy Quran, the soldiers were told to pledge allegiance to "the Holy Book that I believe in," was one of those dangerous conspiracies that the Shah's regime carried out on the directions of American advisers. In this way, the Zionist agents in Iran, who were active under the name of "Bahatism," could formally enter the army and occupy sensitive military posts in an official and open manner. This great act of treachery was reported to Imam by some of the high-ranking army personnel, disturbing and angering him. He decided to divulge this treason and the measures that were being taken in Iran to facilitate the dominance of foreign agents, and to start opposing them. The Shah's regime, afraid of the reaction this would provoke among the Muslim people of Iran, tried to prevent Imam from revealing the facts. Thus, in September 1964 (Shahrivar 1343 AHS), before he delivered his speech, a government representative was sent to Imam Khomeini claiming that these were rumours made by the regime's opponents for creating differences between the clergy and the government. The following day, after Imam had delivered an ultimatum to the regime, these "rumours" were officially denied in a radio broadcast.

The Shah's regime had been informed that Imam Khomeini was to deliver a speech on the matter and that a number of people from Tehran and other cities were to go to Qum to hear his speech. For this reason, and in order to create an atmosphere of fear and apprehension in the theological schools, a few thousand commandos and soldiers were sent to Qum. They took up positions around the Great Mosque, the Faydiyyah Madrasa, Astaneh Square and other sensitive centres of the city, leading people to think that the tragic events of the Khordad 15 were about to be repeated. Imam Khomeini paid no attention to these manoeuvres; he delivered his speech exposing the regime's treachery to Islam and the growing influence of Israel in Iran, and,

in no uncertain terms, called on the army to co-operate with him in throwing out the Israeli agents.

Other sections of Imam Khomeini's moving speech were devoted to emphasising the need to hand over the Ministry of Culture to the control of the religious leaders and to establish a radio station especially for the clergy. This proposal, formally put to the regime, illustrated Imam's special perspicacity in perceiving a formal role for the clergy in the political, cultural and propaganda arenas of the country. In addition to passive struggle with the regime, Imam also intended to embark upon a series of actions which would result in the clergy gaining control over some areas of the country's affairs with the aim of eventually overturning the regime.

In another important part of his speech, the leader of the Revolution strongly criticised the heads of the Islamic states and warned them to refrain from digression in their discussions. He asked them to desist from busying themselves with issues which stopped them from dealing with the main concern (the freedom of Palestinian land) and to concentrate on more fundamental matters.

In this speech, Imam draws attention to the former Islamic civilisation and describes the machinations perpetrated by the enemies of Islam after the First World War to create differences between Islamic countries and which led to the disintegration of the Ottoman State. He emphasises the need for the revival of the lost greatness of the Muslims by uniting and returning to the rich Islamic culture. At the end of his long speech, Imam Khomeini attacks the misleading and anti-Islamic propaganda of the Shah's regime and stresses the importance of the alliance of different classes of the society with the religious establishment, remarking that were the people not placed under such pressure and coercion, they would all side with the clergy.

This speech, which, like Imam's other speeches, showed the profound thought and careful consideration he gave to all matters, provoked a widespread reaction in Iran and all the theological schools. His relentlessness put the Shah and his agents in a defensive position. Even though the plan to change the pledge of allegiance was rejected before Imam delivered this speech and because of his previous ultimatum, still, after this speech the Shah's regime never dared to openly speak out on such matters again. The speech of the Leader of the Revolution proved that had Imam had sufficient time, and the reactionary regime and imperialists had not separated him from his self-sacrificing followers and sent him into exile in Najaf, he would have implemented serious and far-reaching plans for rescuing the Muslim masses across the Islamic world from the clutches of imperialism and despotism and

he would have pursued his historic mission to rescue the Islamic countries and nations from foreign domination and unite them under the banner of unity in a more earnest and speedy manner.

Speech Number Fifteen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Verily, we are from God and to Him we shall return.”

O God, preserve our tongues from vain discourse and lies. O God, enlighten our hearts with the light of Islam and devotion. O God, grant a listening ear to the kings of the Muslim governments, to the presidents of the Muslim governments, to the members of parliaments of Muslim governments, to the prime ministers and ministers of Muslim governments, to the heads of the universities of Muslim governments, to the employers and employees of Muslim governments. O God, place them amongst those who listen to all that is said and choose the best of it.¹

In this short time, and because of the chest pains from which I am suffering,² I cannot convey all that has been on my mind; but I will talk about the important matters. I am deeply distressed about the general situation of the Muslim countries, and especially about the situation in Iran. The Muslim governments, whether led by Muslim kings, Muslim presidents or prime ministers, under the influence of imperialism are ignorant of the aims of the Islamic religion. They are not aware of Islamic affairs. They do not want to be aware of the Islamic laws. They cannot, in their present situation, be aware of what Islam has brought for humanity and to what heights mankind will reach if the tenets of Islam are obeyed.

The imperialist governments, those governments that seek to plunder the wealth of Muslims, deceive the Muslim countries, the heads of Islamic countries, through different means and numerous tricks. Sometimes they create differences in the name of Shiah and Sunni. Even in the East those

¹ In the existing recordings of the speeches, this prayer is recorded at the beginning of another speech. However, from the point of view of style and content it is related to this speech. Some books such as *Sahifeh-ye Imam* have included it in both speeches. Refer to Surah az-Zumar 39:18.

² The unpleasant events of 1962 (1341 AHS), 1963 (1342 AHS) and 1964 (1343 AHS), the problems and difficulties of the Islamic world, the anti-Islamic agreements made by the Shah's regime, and especially the tragedy of Khordad 15 (June 5, 1963) all affected Imam greatly, both mentally and physically, and placed him under severe mental strain. Physical illness and the pains in his chest had bothered him for years. For further information on this subject refer to the book *Barrasi va Tahlili az-Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, pp. 305-6.

who are not Muslims have been deceived. It has been said that in India on the Festival of Sacrifices¹ a large number of cows, which are sacred for the cow worshippers,² are brought to the Muslims and sold to them very cheaply. They make them slaughter these cows and then they tell them: “The Muslims have slaughtered your sacred cows.” Disturbances are created between Hindus and Muslims, between the Indian sects, resulting in disputes which attract a lot of attention. They use these disputes to devour the East. Acting in the name of Islam and religion, they spread ideas amongst the Muslim sects in the Islamic countries, they sow dissension so that the Muslim sects start fighting each other, so that they discover differences between the Shiah and the Sunni. Thus, they find a way to get their hands on the wealth of the Muslims, and the Muslims cannot do anything about it.

The Muslims are those whose greatness once conquered the world. Their civilization excelled all others; their spirituality was of the highest caliber; their officials were the best; the vastness of their lands was greater than all others; the power of their government dominated the world. They (the imperialists) saw that with this power, with this unity of the Islamic lands, they could not impose whatever they wanted on them; they could not seize their wealth, their black gold and their yellow gold, so they thought of a solution. The solution was to create divisiveness between the Muslim countries.

Maybe some of you remember the international war, the First World War, and what they did with the Muslims and the great Ottoman State.³ The Ottoman State was that state which would sometimes prevail in its conflicts with Russia, while other governments could not stand up to her. The Ottoman State was a Muslim state, whose power spread almost from East to West. They realized that as long as this Muslim state with such power existed, they could not do anything, they could not rob the region of its

¹ Id al-Qurban.

² It refers to the Hindus. Hinduism is one of the religions of India whose followers are greater in number than those of any of the other religions in that country. The cow in Hinduism is held as being holy and sacred; to kill a cow and eat its meat is considered unlawful and a sin.

³ After the assassination of the Prince of Austria and the declaration of war by the Austrian Empire on the government of Serbia in 1914, the First World War began between the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, joined later by Ottoman Turkey, and Bulgaria) and the Allies (France, Britain, Russia, and minor European nations, joined later by Italy and America). The war ended in 1918 with the defeat of the forces of the Central Powers. The victors then proceeded to dismember the Ottoman Empire. All that has remained of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, which had survived for five hundred and fifty years, is the present day state of Turkey.

wealth. So after their victory in the First World War, under those circumstances, they divided the Ottoman State into a number of petty states. At the head of each of these states they placed a king, an amir, a sultan or a president, and each of these was in the grip of the imperialists just as the helpless nation was in their grip. In this way, they destroyed the Ottoman State which had such greatness; and the Muslim governments did not stir from their slumber, or they pretended to be still asleep. This Ottoman State acquired such greatness under the patronage of the Islamic leadership [*khilafah*] and by relying on the Holy Quran. After it was divided, in our time, at the time of the evil Ataturk,¹ they destroyed Islam there and now the Turkish government is not an Islamic government; it does not take Islam into account; there are no religious ceremonies. The government does not have religious laws, but the noble nation of Turkey is a Muslim nation, and it is they who circumambulate the Kabah in Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage in relatively larger numbers than pilgrims from other nations. Yet, their government is such a government. That former greatness was acquired by relying on Islam, and when the imperialists saw that reliance on Islam was a very important element, that with this reliance they could not destroy the Muslim governments, they separated religion from the state in Turkey with the result that now, when some of the Turks are killed in Cyprus, there is not one Muslim who expresses sorrow. It is distressing when a government acts in such a way and other Muslim governments are indifferent when it is defeated by the Christians or some of its people are killed by them.² You may

¹ In the First World War, Mustafa Kemal, later Kemal Pasha 1881-1938 known as “Ataturk” (i.e. father of the Turkish nation) was the commander of forces of resistance at the Dardanelles. Incited by the British, Ataturk rebelled against the authority of the Ottoman government and eventually turned the constitutional Ottoman Sultanate into the Republic of Turkey with himself as President. During his years as President, a post he held from 1923 until his death in 1938, Ataturk wielded almost dictatorial powers in his quest to westernize the new republic and in his battle with Islam. Separating religion from politics, which in effect eradicated the influence of religion; the unveiling of women; prohibiting the clerics from wearing their traditional clerical dress; changing the national script into Latin; closing down religious schools and mosques were just a few of the steps taken by Ataturk in his campaign against Islam.

² The conflict between the Muslim Turks and the Christian Greeks has its historical roots in Cyprus. From medieval times the island was ruled alternatively by the Christian Front and the Ottoman Empire (the Islamic Front). In 1878, according to the Treaty of Berlin, the Ottoman government, while preserving its rights and receiving an annual capitation in return, handed over administrative control of Cyprus to the British. In 1882, Britain established a governing council on the island made up of six English men, three Turks and nine Greeks. The greater number of Greeks on the council brought about the idea of union with Greece. In 1925, Cyprus was made a Crown Colony by the British. In 1960, it became an independent republic

only find one person who expresses sorrow, someone like an old *akhund* like me. The governments of Muslim countries do not express sadness because they have lost the greatness of Islam.

The leaders of the Muslim countries should bear in mind that the differences that are created in Iraq, Iran and other Islamic countries are differences which will destroy their existence. They should act wisely and prudently and realize that the imperialists want to destroy Islam in the name of religion and in the name of Islam. The wicked hands that create differences between the Shiah and Sunnis in these countries, belong to neither Shiah nor Sunni. They are the hands of the imperialist agents who want to seize the Islamic countries from them. They want to take their resources and create a black market for these so-called advanced countries. They want to create a market in the East for the things that they have an excess of, that they normally throw away, throw into the sea, and the East buys them at a good price, at a satisfactory price. It was in the *Ittilaat* newspaper a few days ago that the amount of food the Americans waste in three days, the amount which they throw away, is equivalent to the amount of food the whole of the Chinese nation, 650 million people, use in a day! Three days wastage of American food, just the leftovers that they normally throw away, 650 million people can use in one day. So why shouldn't they bring the East under their own power, why shouldn't they subjugate them so they can sell their refuse to the East at a suitable price and turn it into gold and take the gold back? Why shouldn't they do this? Our governments, the Muslim governments, do not pay attention to these matters, they do not understand what happens to them, they do not realize that by neglecting the Quran and no longer relying on Islamic laws these disadvantages come about. The imperialists weaken the Muslim governments with the creation of religious differences so they can take away their ideology and religion. I seek refuge with God.

Shouldn't the heads of the Muslim governments, the presidents, the Muslim kings, the ministers and members of parliament of the Muslim governments, be vigilant? Really don't they know what is happening, or do they know but their desire for rank and office compels them to follow orders? You sirs, do you believe that those who are aware of the course of events, or claim to be, have not understood this simple matter that one Sayyid from Khomein has understood? Do you think that this is possible? If they have

within the Commonwealth. The island's recent history has been dominated by tension between the two major communities, the Christian Greek Cypriots and the Muslim Turkish Cypriots over the Greek Cypriots desire for union with Greece. The problem has still not been solved.

understood it, God forbid, they are either besotted by them or there is fear involved. Why should they be afraid? They are afraid because they have been divided into groups. The Ottoman state which covered such a vast area has been divided into how many states? Each one of them is smaller than the other. They have put the poor people—this multimillion nation—under the yoke of a few godless people and then they colonize them and these heads of state abase their own nation. Shouldn't these Muslim governments wake up? What misfortune have they experienced because of Islam? The West has used one great deception to influence, tempt or intimidate the governments of Islamic countries. We can see it in our newspapers and magazines, in their propaganda and in their radio broadcasts.

That great deceit which debases the Muslim governments and distances them from the Quran is this race business. This man is from the race of Turks, he has to do his ritual prayers in Turkish. This one is from the Iranian race; his alphabet should be as such. That one is from the Arab race, Arabism should govern not Islam. The Aryan race should govern not Islam. The Turkish race should govern not Islam. Let us see where this racism, which is being developed amongst these men and is increasing and is encouraged, leads us. This racism is a childish affair and it is as if they are making children play their games. They are making the heads of the governments play their games. You are Iranian, sir. You are Turkish, sir. You, sir, are Indonesian. Sir, what are you, where are you from? We should do such and such for our own country! They say all this and ignore that pivotal point which existed in the lives of all Muslims. Alas, alas, that pivotal point has been taken away from the Muslims and they are still distancing them from it, and I don't know where it will lead to. Islam came and drew a red line across racism and allowed no differentiation between black and white, between Turk and Iranian, between Arab and non-Arab. The only distinction it made between men stemmed from piety, fearing God, true devoutness, political piety, material piety and spiritual piety. This is the difference that was established: "*Verily the most honored of you in the sight of God is he who is the most pious.*"¹ There are no Turks and Iranians, Arabs and non-Arabs. Islam is the pivotal point for all Muslims. The matter of racism is retrogressive, these men see us as reactionaries, but they are retrogressing to two thousand five hundred years ago. Are we the reactionaries?

¹ *Surah al-Hujurat* 49:13.

Why should the Muslim governments be ignorant of these matters? Why should these kinds of revolutions be created in each of these countries? Why should fronts be created between Muslim governments? One lot forms a “Triple Alliance”¹ against the other and the other creates another alliance against them, and each of them curses the other. Shouldn’t they wake up? The Muslim kings who think of themselves so highly, shouldn’t they pay attention to these matters? The Muslim presidents who have taken complete control of the Islamic countries, shouldn’t they wake up?

Are these things of which I speak untrue? Don’t they accept this reality that I am telling them with deep sorrow? One of the realities is that they encourage animosity between the Muslim governments, arraying one group against the other, and how they equip their armies on the borders! Now, as I speak to you, I have been informed that the Turks have massed 200,000 troops on one of their borders. Why? With whom do they have a quarrel? Why are the Muslims fighting one another? What has made the Muslims fight amongst themselves other than the hands of imperialism? If you remove the hands of imperialism from the Muslim governments then you will see what kind of government takes control, what kind of government comes into being. Protect your borders all of you. If it is supposed to be an Islamic government, if Islam is supposed to govern, then all the borders will be protected. There won’t be one government attacking another. They will all be Muslim; they will all be united under the banner of Islam. The reason why you see this government attacking the other, this one sending arms for that one’s army and that one sending arms for the other one’s army is because they are not united under the banner of Islam.

It is misfortunate for the Muslim governments, for the Muslim countries and nations, that the imperialists began laying their plans many years ago. For a long time, the imperialist governments were busy trying to belittle the Prophet of Islam. Then they endeavored to propagate the idea that Islamic laws belong to a thousand years ago and now such and such has happened and the country has progressed and etc., etc... and now Islam cannot satisfy the needs of the nations. Sirs,² what have you seen of Islam? All your media,

¹ Here “Triple Alliance” refers to the CENTO agreement. In 1964, at the time of Hasan Ali Mansur’s premiership, the Shah suggested the formation of a grouping within CENTO and America welcomed the idea. The agreement for the formation of the Regional Cooperation for Development organization (RCD) was concluded by the heads of Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. Led by Iran, the RCD was introduced as a non-military organization; Afghanistan and the sheikhdoms in the Persian Gulf were also expected to join it. This organization split the Muslim countries at a sensitive time in Middle Eastern politics.

² Addressed to the heads of the Muslim countries.

all your television programs, all your radio broadcasts, all your discourses, all your speeches in the Parliament are aimed at smashing the laws of Islam. If you do not do this purposely and have no evil intentions, then you have been made to do it, they have threatened, enticed, or deceived you. God willing, you have been deceived, and treason is not involved. You do not allow us to introduce Islam to the world.

Only three or four days ago I received a letter from one of the students in America. I am not acquainted with him personally, but apparently he is a religious person who is distressed at the existing situation. He wrote that unfortunately the students, the university students there (in America) say that all our misfortunes stem from Islam. O you unfortunate students! The Islam that is introduced to you from the radio is not Islam. The Islam that you get from the newspapers is not Islam. That Islam which has been introduced to you is defective, it's something that none of the Muslims accept. I do not accept it, and the other clergymen do not accept it. This is not Islam. They do not let us introduce (true) Islam. In this country, the television is independent and is controlled by an Israeli.¹ He says whatever he wants. The radio too, they produce its programs and its advertisements, and what good use they put it to! Not just in this country, in all Muslim countries; I am talking about all Muslim countries but I keep coming back to our own country.

One of the ruses of the imperialists is to introduce Islam as an old defective truth in the Muslim countries. The heads of these countries say that Islam is "worshipping the old," it's "retrogressive"; this is how they introduce Islam to the people. Give us one radio transmitter so our preachers can introduce Islam to the world. Our voice does not reach the world. Our words do not leave this mosque. All this that I am saying now, and which is reasoned and rational, is illegal, it is smuggled out of this mosque. No one knows which of these men will be arrested when he leaves here and which one will be left alone. No one knows where these tape recorders (which the people bring with them to record the speech) will be seized. We are not speaking out against somebody here; we are speaking about the welfare of Islam and Muslims. This is not a tirade leveled at one person, it is a sermon meant to offer advice and it is directed at everyone. Its aim is to do good. God knows we want your well being. So then give us a radio transmitter as well. Let the Muslims organize a radio transmitter themselves and I guarantee that it will not be entirely to your detriment. Yes, this idea conflicts

¹ It refers to Habib Thabit Pasal, who for years was the owner and head of the Iranian television. He was one of the main figures in international Zionism.

with the interests of the big bosses and they do not and will not allow this to happen. Here, somebody “worse than a Jew”¹ should control the television and propagate whatever he wishes, yet we are not free to propagate our ideas! “Oh no, these reactionaries should not speak,” is what they say, but where is the reaction?

All we are saying is that you should be united; all Muslims should be united; we do not have relations with that one,² with you,³ nor with anybody else, and yet we have relations with everybody. We see you all as being the same. All Muslims, in our view, if they act upon Islamic laws, are dear to us. We hold dear the nation of Islam, whether it be Turkish, Arab, Iranian, or from any other country, Africa, America, or wherever. We are saying join hands together; do not make a triple front and join Israel against another alliance, and the other Muslim countries too should not make an alliance against you. You should all form one alliance, you are all Muslims, you should rely on the Quran. But you do not know what the Quran is. All you do is put the Quran into your pocket! I don’t have a Quran in my pocket, yet all the officials have a Quran in their pockets! They seem to show a greater interest in the Quran than we do! Do you really believe in the Quran? You just want to deceive us. Whenever you stand up to speak you take the Quran out and hold it up high for all to see. You put the Quran in your pocket and you want to destroy it.

Now, are we being reactionary when we say that all of you should form one alliance, that you should stop them from plundering your resources? More important than the underground resources are those which lie above the ground: our youth. They are taking our youth; God knows they are taking the youth from the Muslim countries. One group is in America, one somewhere else and another I don’t know where! And now our youth are going to Israel. I have in my house at present a journal; the journal of the Iranian Students Organization in Israel. It exists now. These youth are our resources. Our youth are being deceived. They are being injected with the idea that whatever misfortune befalls their people comes from Islam. What have you seen of Islam that you say Islam brings misfortune? You have seen the Muslims here who are a poor, unfortunate, beggared people—and the government proclaims loudly that, praise be to God, nobody goes to sleep hungry—praise be to God, I hope that this is so! But do these words change the reality? Does that which was reported about the southern ports of the country a short while

¹ “Worse than a Jew” meaning in his animosity toward Islam.

² Asadullah Alam and the previous government.

³ Hasan-Ali Mansur, the Prime Minister at the time, and the new government.

ago in *Ittilaat*¹—and *Ittilaat* is the government’s official mouthpiece—change the reality? This will not change anything. These poor students of ours, they have seen that here the Muslims are hungry, helpless and misfortunate, their mosques are dilapidated, their places of worship are such and such. Then when they go to America and visit a church or a synagogue, they see that it is all neat and tidy, everything well-kept, everything just right, and they think that it is the laws of the Bible or the Torah that have brought these people to this stage, while the laws of Islam have kept the Muslims back.

No, it is the governments of the Islamic countries which have made us like this. These poor, deceived governments have brought us to this. They say that Islam is like this. There was a time when Islam held sovereignty over half of the world and was progressing farther and farther. Gustav Lebon,² in his book, *The Civilization of Islam*, looks at the Islamic civilization from a materialistic point of view; he doesn’t know what Islam is. He believes neither in Jesus nor in Islam. He understands civilization to consist of the pillars of ancient buildings, just as our children do. So when our youth go abroad, they see all the ceremonies, all the magnificence, they see the Vatican³ in all its splendor, while all our mosques are dilapidated and impoverished, and they think this is because of Islam. This has not come about because of Islam; the heads of the Muslim states have brought this about. The heads of the Muslim states that are under the domination of the imperialists have done this to us. They have given our resources to others and we have become unfortunate, impoverished and hungry.

It is said that there (in the West), the great heads of state attend religious ceremonies on Sundays. Do you ever see any of our Muslim leaders in the mosque? Can you find them there at all? Yes, sometimes you can when his father dies or his brother dies or something else happens and he struts

¹ In the *Ittilaat* newspaper of December 25, 1963 (Dey 4, 1342 AHS) it was reported that in the villages in the south of Iran there were no doctors or drinking water, and in one of the villages most of the people had lost their sight because of a lack of adequate sanitation.

² Gustav Lebon (1841-1931), a French doctor, sociologist and historian who was also the author of a number of literary works. His most important work *The Civilization of Islam and the Arabs* was published in 1884 in French. He traveled widely in Arabia and other Islamic countries.

³ The Vatican, the official residence of the pope, is an independent papal state in Rome, the seat of government of the Roman Catholic Church and one of the greatest Christian spiritual centers in the world. It has its own flag, anthem, postal service, stamps, radio station and police force which is formed by Swiss youths. St. Peter’s Basilica, the largest Roman Catholic church, the Lateran Palace and the Castle Gandolfo villa all fall under papal authority.

through the mosque on a fleeting visit. But this is not what going to the mosque is all about. Do they ever come to attend the daily prayer services? Over there, their presidents and kings attend the prayer services, and these are the services of a religion which today is nothing compared to what it was. They think that the Christian religion is that which exists today. Of course, at its own time it was right. Look at that which exists today of the Christian religion and Christian laws, you students study Christianity, study what that is and what the Quran is. Study what the Christian laws are and what the Islamic laws are. The Islamic laws run into the millions; there are millions of Islamic laws which cover everything. There is not a single topic in human life for which Islam has not provided instruction and established a norm. In Islam a law exists for it even before it happens. Whatever happens, Islam has a law for it, even today. Is this a religion which is “worshipping the old” and “defective”? Are all our misfortunes created by Islam? It is the Muslim leaders who create our afflictions—these helpless heads of state who pay no attention to the welfare of their own nations, or who simply do not want to pay attention. They are the cause of our wretchedness. They have created dark days for our people. And still they don’t leave us alone; they continue to make problems for us.

These things of which I speak refer to matters which are the concern of the governments of the Islamic countries, and this is as much as I, as a member of the clergy and a seminarian, can offer by way of advice to the Muslim governments. I hope this advice reaches them. These are important matters; it is imperative that the Muslim governments pay heed to them. I hope that they come to understand this and that they create a real Islamic union. They should set some of their desires aside and extend the hand of brotherhood to one another. One shouldn’t be superior to the other; they should be brothers, united against the West. They shouldn’t be xenomaniacs, smitten by the West.¹ The governments of the East should stand up to the West; even the Buddhists² should stand up to the West. They should push the West back and then create a stable government and a peaceful society amongst themselves. All the countries should retain their statehood, but none

¹ Xenomaniacs: those infatuated with foreign and especially Western models of culture. This is a translation of the Persian term, *gharbzadehha*, popularized by Jalal Al-i Ahmad in his book *Gharbzadegi* [Xenomania].

² It refers to the followers of an Indian prince, Siddhartha Gautama, known as the Buddha, who founded the religion of Buddhism in north east India in the 5th century BC. The teachings of Buddha overshadowed “Hinduism” in India for a long period, but eventually its influence waned in that country and it spread to other countries. Buddhism is one of the great religions of the world with over 500 million followers, who live mainly in the Far East.

should act aggressively against the other. All should be as brothers. If they are attacked by others, they should all form a united front and go forward together. If all the Muslims unite, no government can defeat them. It is wrong to think that the West has this and that. No, this is not the case. You do not have the courage to stand up to the West, you have been deceived.

When it comes to our own country, however, we cannot talk about the problems which afflict it in one or two days. The governments come and go, and each government creates a party. One makes a "People's Party" [*Hizb-e Mardom*], one such and such a party; one makes the "Modern Iran Party" [*Hizb-e Iran-e Novin*],¹ and the other such and such a party. They are just creating parties all the time. Political parties have no meaning in Iran. A one-party state has no meaning anywhere in the world except in those countries which are like Iran. A party which is forced upon us has no meaning. They take the identity cards off the people of the villages. Go to these villages and see for yourselves, they take their identity cards off them and register them in the party. The poor person who has been registered doesn't even know what "Modern Iran" means let alone understand its charter. This poor person doesn't even know what a charter is. All that these irreligious people want from these poor souls is to gather them in a place and make them shout, "hurray" and "long live". This is all they want from these poor people.²

In those countries which espouse a multi-party system, the governments are created from the parties. The government doesn't come before the party is formed and then the latter finds itself dependent on the former! But here,

¹ The Iran-e Novin party was formed by Hasan-Ali Mansur and a group of Iranians educated in America and Europe under the directorship of "Rockwell", the chargé-d'affaires of the US Embassy in Iran, for the purpose of carrying out the policies of Kennedy in Iran. The role of this party was to guard the Shah-People Revolution and to implement its principles. Iran-e Novin had the most seats in the government and Parliament, and high officials with key posts were members. With the assassination of Hasan-Ali Mansur, Ata'ullah Khoravani took his place as Secretary General of the party. The Iran-e Novin party was dissolved after the formation of the "Rastakhiz" or National Resurgence Party when the Shah finished his charade of a party system and a one-party system was officially acknowledged in the country. Refer to *Az Duhur ta Suqut*, p. 207 and *The Spy Nest Documents*, vol. 7, p. 103.

² The Imam is referring to the comments made by Hasan-Ali Mansur (the then Prime Minister) who said in a meeting of the members of the central committee of the Iran-e Novin party on August 26, 1964 (*Shahrivar* 4, 1343 AHS): "Fortunately, in this brief period of time, the advocates of the Iran-e Novin party have been able to establish their ideas in the most remote areas of the country and amongst people of all classes of society and bring them together under one banner... Our party has been established in the hearts of the villages and has penetrated into the heart of the centers of the working class." *Khorasan newspaper*, August 27, 1964.

well you can see for yourselves, first the government is formed, and there is no relationship between the government and the Parliament, or the government and you and I. First the government is formed and then they say—and these are their words, not mine—“We came upon orders and we’ll go upon orders, and nobody can do a damn thing about it!” No member of the Parliament can do a damn thing about it; not one of them dares to either. First the government is formed, and when it has gained control, then the party is formed. And then that party becomes the one from which the government was formed! Thus, our government is a party government! The government of these men represents a party system! Sir, who are you trying to fool? I as an *akhund* know what is really going on, don’t you think that the world governments also know!? They actually want you to be like this; they want you to be backward. Cast off this backwardness. Protect your country’s greatness. If you want to form a party, form it before your government is formed, and then let your party propose representatives for the Parliament the way that they should be proposed, according to the Constitution and other laws. The ministers and Prime Minister should be selected from the representatives that have been proposed by the party and elected by the people. Then you have a party system, a system which depends on the choice of the people. But you form the government first. First you appoint your Prime Minister then you form the party; and this is supposed to be the party system!? The newspapers cannot write about these things, they might want to, but you do not let them. We, however, are theologians; we do not have the same concerns as the newspapers. If the government wants to bother us then we are ready once more.

They put on such a show, a show of parties, just what we are witnessing now. Everyday they set off somewhere at the expense of this misfortunate nation. This hungry nation... God knows that sometimes when I think about our future, when I think about what next winter will bring, it saddens me, it saddens us all. Will the people have bread this year or won’t they? This year our food situation is not good. There isn’t even enough fodder for the animals. What will happen in this black winter for this misfortunate, poor nation? I don’t know what will happen. Is the government going to do something about it? Now that they have ruined the agriculture¹ they should at

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

least get the agricultural goods from the black market which has come into being and fill the stomachs of these poor souls. Or should they still sleep with an empty stomach, and should it still be said that there is not another person who goes to sleep hungry!? Everyday a number of these people come to me, to me who is in no position to do anything about this problem.

This is the state of the party system in Iran; this is the state of the Iranian Parliament which we all know about; this is the state of their relations with Israel. When one of the country's top-ranking officials met me he told me that the Israeli problem was finished with, it was over and done with, it didn't exist any more. How powerful they are in lying! They are so powerful that they even deceive me who is careful and vigilant. He told me that the Israeli problem is solved and now that Israel is finished with in Iran, now as I am sitting here speaking to you, many of the good farms of Iran are in the hands of Israel! People have written to me from Ilam and told me that the good farms of this place have been given to Israel for farming sugar beets, and at the side of the road, these people who say we have nothing to do with Israel have placed a sign which reads: the Iran-Israel Joint Farming Project.¹ In an Israeli newspaper which was given to me recently, it was written about the Israeli ambassador in Tehran! And they say that we have nothing to do with Israel! A couple of days ago on September 7 (Shahrivar 16 AHS) in the Darvaz-e Dawlat district of Tehran, the Jews created such a hullabaloo. Four or five hundred thieving Jews gathered together, and all that their speeches boiled down to was a eulogy to one and a tirade against another, and then they proclaimed that greatness belongs to the Jews, the Jews are chosen by God, we are a people who should govern, we are against dictatorship, we are against Hitlerism, and so on and so forth. This was the content of their

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.

¹ Also the fertile, water-abundant lands of Qazvin were in the hands of the Israelis for creating modern farming corporations. All of the fertile lands of Khorasan province around the Bujnurd road to Mashhad were owned by Hujabre Yazdani who exploited those lands through his "Hujabre Yazdani Farming and Industry Company".

speeches. These people come with the full knowledge of our government and openly say these things. Well, if dictatorship is prohibited and they are against it...well, why don't you stop them? Don't let them say these things. They say all these things just for the sake of praising one person and abusing somebody else. It's wrong for a country to rely on the Jews. Is this that we say now very bad? Of course it's a bitter pill to swallow, it's bitter for you. Nevertheless, it is disastrous for a Muslim country, for Muslims, to rely on, to have relations or make agreements with a government which is now the enemy of Islam, which opposes Islam and has usurped Palestine.

I ask the Muslim governments, why do you fight over rivers?¹ The land of Palestine has been usurped. O you hopeless ones, you should be throwing the Jews out of Palestine, instead you are fighting each other! Palestine has been usurped and you are squabbling over a river! While you dispute over a river, the Israelis have established a government in Palestine. They have driven those misfortunate Arabs out, and now a million or more of them are sleeping in deserts, hungry and bereft. They have become completely homeless and wretched. Shouldn't the Muslim governments raise any objections? Shouldn't they say something? Should you enter into an alliance with a government which has thrown one million Muslims out of their homeland and made them homeless? If you have not formed an alliance with them, well announce that you haven't in your newspapers; allow that which I am saying now to be published. If you refuse to do so, then obviously you have aligned yourselves with them, you have aligned yourselves with the Jews, with Israel! You see what the agents of Israel do in this country. Recently, I heard that now, because the regime has asked me not to say anything, I won't say anything. The government officials have said that they've corrected it.² Well, last night on the radio they spoke about this

¹ At the conference of Arab heads of state, which was held on September 5, 1964 in Egypt, in addition to discussing the differences that Egypt had with Yemen and Saudi Arabia, and the aims which each of the Arab governments had in their relationship with the newly established Palestinian Liberation Organization (which formally announced its existence in 1964), the most important matter discussed was how to divert the sources of the river Jordan in order to forestall the Israelis' irrigation scheme. The Israelis had at that time completed the work needed to enable them to divert some of the waters of the river Jordan, which runs through Syria, Occupied Palestine and Jordan, to irrigate the Negev Desert. The disagreement between the Arab countries was so intense that at the beginning of the conference the open session was closed and the heated discussions carried on behind closed doors. The conference eventually ended with no results.

² The Imam here is referring to the change in the method of swearing in the army personnel. According to the formal pledge of allegiance in use at that time, all of the army personnel, after a few months of training and after receiving their ranks, had to take an oath on the Holy

matter and announced that it won't be changed. But I don't believe a lot of what they say. It takes me a while to believe them. When they found out that I intended to preach today they said that this matter (the pledge of allegiance) has been corrected and shouldn't be spoken about. This is what they said on the radio last night as well.¹ But I don't believe them; and if they don't prove it to me I'll return another day to speak about this matter again.

These people, these Israeli agents in Iran, wherever you look in the country they are there. They occupy all the key posts, the sensitive posts in the country, and this, by God, could prove to be dangerous for the throne of this man.² They do not realize this. It was these people who plotted in Shemiran (a district in northern Tehran) to kill Nasiruddin Shah and take control of the country. Look at history; it relates how they plotted, how a few people tried to assassinate Nasiruddin Shah in Niyavaran, and how a group of people in Tehran tried to seize power.³ These people think that they should govern. They have written in their books, in their articles, that governance belongs to them, that they should create a new monarchy, a new government,

Quran that they would be the guardians and protectors of the integrity of the country and the independence of the state, etc. At the time of the Imam's anti-Israeli struggle, the Shah, prompted by America, changed the words of the oath from "I swear on the Holy Quran" to "I swear on the Holy Book". With this change, he lays the way open for Zionism to enter the Iranian army and occupy the sensitive posts. Refer to the book *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 695.

¹ After the Imam's warning, the regime sent a representative to him. The representative claimed that the news that the words of the pledge of allegiance had been changed had no foundation. The Imam asked the government to formally announce that a change had not been made, consequently, in an interview on Radio Iran with one of the army heads on the evening of September 8, 1964 (Shahrivar 17, 1343 AHS), it was categorically denied that the oath had been changed.

² The Shah.

³ In 1852, three followers of Mirza Ali Muhammad of Shiraz (1819?-1850), the founder of the Babi religious eclectic sect in Iran, made another attempt on the life of Nasiruddin Shah. Declaring himself to be the expected 12th Imam (Mahdi) long awaited by the Shiah Muslims as the herald of the manifestation of God's will, Mirza Ali Muhammad, known as the Bab (gateway), commanded the Shah of Iran, his subjects and even the kings and princes of the earth to follow him. During the short ministry of the Bab (1844-1850), Iran witnessed serious risings by his followers. In 1848, the Babis embarked on a series of revolts; the first in Mazandaran lasted from December 1848 to July 1849. It was followed by a second in Zanjan (May-December 1850) and a third in Neyriz. An attempt was also made on the life of the Friday Prayer leader in Tehran in a bid to seize the central positions of the country. The Babis, who were foiled in all their attempts, met with persecution and prejudice wherever they went in the country.

a just government.¹ These people who have such malicious ideas and evil intentions are found throughout the country from the court down.

Sir, you should be afraid of these people, they are such animals. Some of them can be found in the ministries. I pointed one of them out to one of the ministers and he told me I was mistaken. Then I sent him documented evidence to prove my claim, but the man, I shall not mention his dirty name, is still there. They are in the ministries and they are in the army. O you respected army personnel, you are Muslim, hit these people in the mouth! A lot of the army leaders are good people and they sometimes contact me, they send messages to me. Most of them are good people, and so they should intervene and stop these people who are against their religion, who are against their throne and crown, their country, their independence, their economy. You have to stop them. Go and ask that they be thrown out of the army, ask your superiors to throw them out. I swear to God I want your well-being. I am worried that one day you will open your eyes and see that they have destroyed your wealth, your being. I'm worried about this. If you will not stop them, then let us destroy them. I shall destroy them one day. I do not want to create disturbances. If you do not want to have trouble you should

¹ In 1850, the Bab, who had been arrested in 1847, was executed in Tabriz on the orders of Amir Kabir, the Shah's Prime Minister, and on the religious decree [fatwa] of the country's religious authorities. One of his devoted disciples, Mirza Husayn Ali Nuri (1817-1892), known as Baha'ullah, continued the Bab's teachings and in April 1863, he announced himself to be the new leader foretold by the Bab, henceforth his followers became known as Bahais. The followers of Baha'ullah consider him to be the cofounder with the Bab of their faith and believe him to be a messenger of God, a "divine manifestation". In 1880, Baha'ullah took up residence near Haifa in present day Israel which is today the location of the administrative centre of the Bahai community; he died there in 1892 following a short illness. The leadership of the Bahai community then passed to his eldest son Abbas Effendi (1844-1921) who adopted the name Abdul-Baha. In Iran, Abdul-Baha co-operated closely with both military and non-military British personnel, and in 1920 he was knighted by the British government. Upon his death, his body was buried on Mount Carmel the site of the shrine containing the remains of the Bab, overlooking the city of Haifa. In his will, Abdul-Baha named as his successor his eldest grandson Shoghi Effendi Rabbani (1899-1957). The third leader of the Bahais worked resolutely for the perpetuation of Bahaism, overseeing the creation of its administrative and educational institutions and establishing an international organization known as the "Universal House of Justice" which is the seat of its governing body and is also situated in Haifa, Israel. A Bahai community was set up in the United States in 1912, and in 1953, a temple was completed in Wilmette, Illinois. Effendi chose as his successor an American, Charles Mason Rimi, who worked closely with him in his plans for the establishment of a Bahai government. In 1957, Effendi traveled to Britain and died, in mysterious circumstances, only one week after entering London. Charles Mason Rimi, the son of a bishop, took his place calling himself the "Shepherd" of the Bahais. An insurrection which was started in Shiraz ended up as an established religio-politico organization in Israel and the US!

destroy them yourself; if you do not, you'll see that one day something else happens in some other way and at that time neither I can neither stop them nor you. This is the situation that we are faced with; you see it and we see it. I don't know what we should do about it or how we should put it right.

The way to ameliorate the country is to correct its culture. The correction must start with the culture. The hands of imperialism are very active in our culture. They do not let our youth grow up to be independent; they do not let our youth at the universities develop correctly. They do something to them from childhood so that when they grow up, Islam means nothing to them and they (the West) mean everything. If the culture is put right, the country is put right. For it's the culture which creates the ministers for the ministries; it's the culture which creates the representatives for the Parliament; it's the culture which creates the office workers. Either create an independent culture or give it to us to create. You are afraid of America; you are afraid of others. Give it to us to correct. Give us control of the culture.

Now the gentlemen (i.e. the government) want to create an Endowment Ministry!¹ It thinks it can copy the practices of other countries and bring the clergy under the authority of this ministry. You will take this dream to the grave with you, (God willing). Do you think that you can make the Muslim clergy become like the Christian clergy? It's impossible. The Shiah clergy are independent; they do not depend on any country. Let them come forward and tell (the world) whom they depend on. This is an independent clergy. We do not have to worry as to whether these respected religious students, who live with only thirty or forty tumans each month and work very hard, are supporters of another government or country. They are independent in their own ideas. It is amongst these people that human beings are found, that the Mudarrises² of this world are found. They won't let this happen. We won't

¹ A ministry entrusted with government supervision of estates in mortmain.

² 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 Khorasani 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

be brought under this and that minister. To hell with what that minister says. The government is mistaken, it is mistaken once again.

There should be a Ministry of Culture, but a ministry of correct culture, a culture which should be in our hands. Shouldn't we have a ministry in this country? All the ministers are from America, well, one should be from us. Put the culture in our hands. We'll appoint somebody as the Minister of Culture and we'll administer it ourselves. If we do not administer it better than you after ten or fifteen years, sack us. Give it to us to handle for a time. Appoint a Minister of Culture from amongst us and give us some time so we can do the job right. Then you'll see whether we tell you not to study, not to study well, not to travel to the skies. By God, you are not able to do these things, and because you cannot do them you say it is the clergy who do not let you. You tell me who is stopping you. Build your foundry. Which clergyman told you not to? Whoever he is tell us, so we know him. Start building your airplanes and your cars. Sir, you are not able to do these things. You poor people. You are a hopeless administration. Why? It's not because you are intrinsically hopeless, it's because the hands of imperialism have made you like this. You are xenomaniacs.

Is that which we say so outdated and time-worn that nobody will buy it any more?! I promise you that even Germany will buy it. You don't buy it. Give us a ministry. Give us a few hours on the radio; this radio which is driving our youth toward moral corruption with music and other things. Give us a few hours but leave us free to do it our way. Do not write the program

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 1938, the agents of the Shah poisoned him. In this way, one of the greatest political and religious personalities of Iran was martyred in the way of Allah. Mudarris possessed outstanding qualities, 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 Karrar (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." For further information on the Imam's views on Mudarris see the Imam's historic decree dated September 19, 1984 (Shahrivar 18, 1363 AHS).

yourself and then tell us to speak in such and such a way. We'll prepare the program and I promise you that it won't oppose your kingdom, your ministry or your leadership. It won't oppose any of them. If only the Ministry of Culture and the radio transmitters were in our hands for a short while. We would introduce the people and the world to Islamic laws and Islam. We would make the culture an independent culture, an Islamic culture, a culture that when one of its Arabs stands in front of the emperor he takes out his sword and pushes aside the fine silk and says: "The Prophet has said that we should not wear silk clothes nor sit on silk."¹ We nurture such men. Then

¹ In his history book, Tabari describes the meeting of Rabi' ibn A'amer, one of the three representatives of the Muslim armies, with Rustam, the commander of the Yazdagird army, before the al-Qadisiyyah battle: Rab'i set off to Rustam's camp and those who were on the bridge stopped him while they sent somebody to Rustam to inform him of Rab'i's arrival. Rustam discussed his arrival with the Persian leaders and asked what they thought they should do, give a display of wealth and refinement or simply disregard him. All of them were in favor of the latter, so they brought all kinds of ornaments, silk cloth and carpets to adorn the room, omitting nothing. They set a golden chair in place for Rustam and decorated it and laid down carpets and spread cushions woven with gold. Rab'i arrived, riding on his small horse. He carried with him a sharp, shiny sword in a sheath made from a piece of material taken from old clothes. His spear was cracked and his shield was made of cow hide which had red leather on it which resembled bread. He carried his bow and arrows with him and when he got near Rustam, where the carpets were spread, they told them to dismount, but he rode his horse on the carpets and then he dismounted and he fastened his horse to two of the cushions, ripping them. They could not stop him so they pretended not to see him. He knew what they were trying to do and wanted to annoy them. He wore a chain-mail which seemed to be made of knitted hair. His kaftan was made from the cloth he used to cover his camel and which he had torn and put on himself. His belt was fastened with bark from a tree and he wore a head band which was part of his camel's rope. They said to him: "Lay down your sword." He said: "I did not come here upon your orders, so why should I lay down my sword? You invited me here and now if you do not accept me as I am, then I'll go back." They reported this to Rustam and he said: "Let him come to me; he's alone isn't he?" Rab'i went forward and as he did so he used his spear, which had a sharp point, as a kind of walking stick, taking small steps and making a hole in all the carpets as he went. There were no carpets or silk cloth which weren't torn or ruined. When he got close to Rustam the guards forced him to sit on the floor; he pushed his spear into the carpet and when they asked him why he had done this, he said: "I do not wish to sit on your adornments." Rustam asked him: "Why have you come here?" He answered: "God has created us and he has brought us here to take whomever He wants away from worshipping the servants of God to worshipping Him, from the poverty of this world to the wealth, and from the oppression of the religions to the justice of Islam. He has sent us to the people with his religion so that we can invite them to accept God's religion; whoever accepts us, we will accept him, and we will return and leave him with his country to rule it, and whoever rejects us we will fight him all the time until we attain God's promise." He asked: "What is God's promise?" Rab'i answered: "Heaven for those who get killed in the war with unbelievers and victory for those who remain." Refer to *Tarikh-e Tabari*, vol. 5, pp. 1690-92.

you'll see when one such man is nurtured by our school of thought and by our culture whether or not he will fall under the influence of imperialism. But the imperialists won't allow us to do this. The malicious hands of imperialism won't let them give us the Ministry of Culture. Otherwise, it is our right, we should see to the culture.

If you want to create an Endowment Ministry,¹ then we should organize it, not you. We should appoint people for it, we do not accept your appointees. You are not eligible to appoint people for it, we have to do it. Let us select the head of cultural affairs. Let us select the Endowment Minister, then you'll see what will happen: everything will be as it should be, it will not be as it is now with all these misappropriations. Then you'll see how we eliminate this poverty with these very same endowments. Submit to a few Islamic laws, give us permission to take Islamic taxes off the people, just as Islam took it off them by the sword, then you'll see if there remains one poor person (in this country). We'll build roads for you; we'll buy ships for you, just let us handle the religious endowments. But you won't allow it.

I know that this that I say now falls on deaf ears. Nothing will happen. You people will leave here and I will leave too and nothing will happen. They won't do anything about this matter. This is a pain which we all have to suffer. What should we do?

The country's propaganda mechanisms should be controlled by us. Sir, we are the preachers, we are the ones with a message, not you. We should be given a program on the radio to convey our ideas, to propagate our message. Whatever you propagate is not Islamic propaganda, it is anti-Islamic. You have introduced Islam in such a way that an (Iranian) student in America writes to me saying that the other students over there believe that all misfortunes stem from Islam. O misfortunate students. All our miseries are caused by the heads of Islamic states, the Muslim governments. As God is my witness, Islam has not been put into practice in our country, even for one day. So what can I do now that the government has neither the time nor the energy to discuss such things? As soon as it is known that I want to say a few words, suddenly we see that a few thousand people are sent with the National Bus Company to Qum.² Do you have a quarrel with us, sir? Do you want to

¹ Khorasan newspaper reported on September 1, 1964 (Shahrivar 10, 1344 AHS): "There is talk that the Endowment Organization is to be separated completely from the organization of the Ministry of Culture. It has been known for some time now that a new ministry with the name of the Endowment Ministry is to be established." (The State Security and Intelligence Organization (SAVAK) of the Shah's regime)

² On the day that Imam was due to deliver this speech, a few thousand commandos and soldiers were sent to Qum on buses of the National Bus Company in an attempt to intimidate

force a quarrel between us and the National Bus Company? Take away this knife which you hold at its throat and see how it comes out in support of us. Do you want to administer a country through force? By God, you cannot do it through force.

Reform yourself a little. Put your house in order just a little. Now, when we call for reform, the gentlemen say they have already reformed! One of their great reforms was making Friday a public holiday.¹ Take heed of what I say, you are duty bound to let everybody in Iran know that Friday has been made a holiday by force without the poor hungry shopkeeper wanting it. If they do not close on that day, they are fined a penalty of eighty tumans or so, and yet the centers of corruption stay open. The cinemas have to stay open, the theatres also, they say the other centers of corruption have to remain open too—I'll not mention their names but the newspapers have written about them. These places have to stay open from morning till night, while all kinds of shops, including the bazaar, have to close. Tomorrow the government will apply the law to Qum as well, and will say that Qum requested this also, just as Tehran did. Qum also wanted this misfortune. These people who "requested" this will wake up in the morning and ask "when did we request this?" The government quickly writes about this supposed request, the newspapers also write about it. Some of these newspapers betray the country. These centers of corruption remain open, Friday is made a holiday and they provide all kinds of bacchanalian pursuits for the young people at the threshold of their lives. May God curse the traitors (the audience replies with "Amen"). Ten years from now there will not be one virtuous youth left for this country; all of them will have been dragged into these centers of corruption.

I advise you gentlemen to make the country realize what is happening, make all those living in this country realize what is happening, in order to confront what they are doing with your youth and in order to stop them from taking your youth off you in droves you should hold religious meetings. On those Fridays that they want to entice the people into the centers of corruption, you should hold meetings, in which you propagate religion, invite people to religion, invite them to do good and dissuade them from that which is evil. It is our duty to do this. You have to do this, if you do not, they will

him. They surrounded the Azam Mosque (where the Imam was to deliver his speech), Faydiyyah Madrasah, Astaneh Square, the courtyard of the holy mausoleum of Hadrat Masumah and other sensitive centers of the city.

¹ It was announced to all shops by the government that according to the law, working on Friday was prohibited.

take your youth away from you. Organize some centers for these young people so they can receive guidance there, so they can be told about the state of affairs, so they can be told, as much as that organization (SAVAK) allows them to be told, about the corruption which is being established in this country.

This holiday on Friday, observation of which is obligatory, is not to give the working class a day of rest,¹ it has been made into a holiday for the reasons I gave above. Perhaps, God willing, this is not their aim, but the outcome will still be the same. When the centers of corruption are open and everywhere else is closed, then naturally our youth will be enticed there. In these few weeks since they made Friday a holiday, the poor people, who need to go and earn some money for bread on this day and are not allowed to do so, have been made more impoverished, the youth, the fruit of the people, have been blighted. Go and see how the cinema has changed from one month ago. Perhaps there is some kind of collusion between those who propagate these things and the cinemas and centers of corruption. Perhaps they are getting something from these places to do this, otherwise, why wasn't some healthy form of entertainment first provided for the people? A legitimate, healthy form of entertainment should have been arranged for these poor people before the shop doors were closed, to attract them towards that. But you haven't done this, you've left the corruption centers open and you've closed the shop doors. You may not have had any bad intentions, but now I've told you what the outcome of your actions will be, and if after these words of mine reach the administrative centers in charge of this matter the situation remains the same, then it will be clear that there is malice involved, that yet another "order" has been given.

O God, awaken these people (Shouts of "Amen" (so be it) from the audience). O God, humble the enemies of Islam ("Amen"). O God, make the heads of Muslim countries aware of their duties (Amen). O God, sever the hands of the imperialists ("Amen"). O God, sever the hands of those who want to appropriate the wealth of this country through imperialism ("Amen").

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

¹ As the Imam pointed out, the merchants were also against the obligatory holiday and this was reflected in some of the regime's local media. Khorasan newspaper wrote on September 6, 1964 (Shahrivar 15, 1343 AHS): "As was predicted, the law obliging shops to close on Friday was not implemented as expected; especially last Friday when most of the shops in Tehran were open."

Introduction to Speech Number Sixteen

Date: October 26, 1964 (AD) / Aban 4, 1343 (AHS) / Jumadi ath-Thani 20, 1384 (AH)

Place: Imam Khomeini's home, Qum, Iran

Theme: The disclosure of the revival of the Capitulation Bill by the Shah and his rubber-stamp Parliament

Occasion: The anniversary of the birth of *Hadrat* Fatima (upon whom be peace) and Imam's opposition to the approval of the Capitulation Bill

Those present: Religious students, clerics, merchants of the bazaar, university students and academics and people from other walks of life from Qum and other cities

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The series of so-called "reform" measures which were promulgated by the Shah on January 26, 1963 (Bahman 6, 1341 AHS) in compliance with the orders of the Americans (in the framework of Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" plan) and were collectively designated the "White Revolution," were not only ineffective, but also in many ways destroyed the economic basis of the country. At the same time, the movement which began under the leadership of Imam Khomeini (upon whom be peace) alarmed America who realised that this movement would lead to continuous, bloody revolution against the United States and its protege, the regime in Iran.

These two facts prompted the US administration's decision to revive the Capitulation Bill and establish "consular judicial rights" in Iran so that US personnel could, with peace of mind, directly protect the Shah's throne and their interests in this part of the world. The proposal was first submitted by the Americans in March 1962 (Esfand 1340 AHS) before the Shah's reform programme was implemented. However, for some reasons it was not seriously followed up until after the bloody uprising of Khordad 15 (June 5, 1963). The culmination of Imam Khomeini's movement and reports from American analysts, showing that the Shah's regime was unable to suppress the movement and attract the support of the masses, motivated the renewed proposal of this plan and placed the regime under immense pressure to accept it.

On October 5, 1963 (Mehr 13, 1342 AHS) the bill granting capitulatory rights to US military advisers and other US citizens in Iran was passed by the cabinet of Amir Asadullah Alam. In August 1964 (Mordad 1343 AHS), it went to the Iranian Senate where it likewise received the sanction of the

Senators there. Hasan Ali Mansur, who became Prime Minister after Alam, took the above-mentioned bill on October 13, 1964 (Mehr 21, 1343 AHS) to the Parliament where representatives agreed to the measure. The text of the bill was as follows:

A single article - According to government bill numbers 18-2291-2157-25-11-1342 and their appendixes which were presented to the Senate on February 10, 1964 (Bahman 21, 1342 AHS), permission has been given to the government to grant immunities and privileges to the head and personnel of the US military advisory bodies and civil servants who in accordance with related agreements are currently employed by the Imperial government. This, in compliance with paragraph 6 of the first article of the Vienna Convention which was signed on April 18, 1961 (Farvardin 29, 1339 AHS)¹.

The approval of the Capitulation Bill by the Senate and the Parliament was never really made public. The media, under government censorship, refrained from divulging it. A short time later, an internal parliamentary publication containing the full text of speeches and discussions by members of Parliament and the Prime Minister on this matter reached Imam Khomeini, disturbing and upsetting him. The news of Imam's distress gradually spread. Many people went to Qum to discover the reason for his concern.

In order to divulge the treachery committed by the Shah and his lackeys against Iran and the Islamic society, Imam Khomeini decided that through a vehement discourse and a trenchant declaration he would call the people to protest against the bill and oppose the machinations of the Shah and the United States. Initially, Imam sent messengers to cities near and far to inform the *ulama* and clergymen of the plot and he himself spoke with the clerics of Qum and deliberated on the consequences of the tragedy with them. When suitable grounds for the speech were prepared, October 26 (Aban 4 AHS) was chosen as the day for its delivery.

The Shah's regime knew that resorting to force would not only be inexpedient but it would also make Imam more determined to deliver his speech. So they sought another way. They sent one of their men, who apparently had nothing to do with the regime and appeared to be a nationalist, to Qum to see the head of the movement in an attempt to prevent Imam from attacking American imperialism and creating anti-American sentiments in the religious environment of Iran. Although earnest in his efforts, this man could only succeed in meeting with Imam's son, the martyr Hajj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini. In this meeting, he maintained that any

¹ *Parliamentary Proceedings*, twenty-first session, meeting no. 104, page 27.

attack on America by Imam Khomeini “would be more dangerous than attacking the first person of the country” and he recommended that “in these times, if Ayatullah Khomeini wishes to deliver a speech, he should be very careful not to cross swords with the American government, for to do so would be very dangerous and would effect a very sharp and strong reaction from them; whatever else he says - even if he attacks the Shah himself - is of no importance!”

The Shah’s sensitivity was not without reason given his dependence on the White House. At the time, America was embroiled in the Vietnam crisis and presidential elections (November 3, 1964; Aban 12, 1343 AHS) for determining the late Kennedy’s successor were near¹. In his impassioned speech, Imam Khomeini, aware of this weakness of the regime, was to direct his attack fully at America and denounce and criticise the US in the strongest tone.

October 26, 1964 (Aban 4 1343 AHS), the day of the anniversary of *Hadrat* Fatima’s birthday and the birthday of Imam Khomeini himself, arrived. A deluge of people swept into Qum from all over the country to listen to Imam’s speech. Imam’s residence (situated in the Yakhchal Qazi district of Qum), the alleyways around it and the pomegranate orchard which was adjacent to Imam’s house were full of people. Numerous loudspeakers had been installed in the area. At 8.30 am Imam Khomeini appeared. A man of attractive and well-groomed appearance, his frowning face was ablaze with anger and his eyes red from tiredness and sleeplessness. He began his speech in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful and with the holy verse from the Quran: “*We are from God and to Him is our return.*” Each sentence of Imam’s alone had the quality of an epic. The crowd became emotional; the air thrilled with their shouts and tears, and each tear shed nurtured the seeds of revolution which took root and fourteen years later blossomed into victory.

As he spoke his voice rose:

“Gentlemen, I warn you of danger!

Iranian army, I warn you of danger!

Iranian politicians, I warn you of danger!

Iranian merchants, I warn you of danger!

¹ Lyndon Johnson, the new American President, a day before the expulsion of Imam Khomeini on November 3, 1964 (Aban 12, 1343 AHS) said: “The world is calm and millions of people in the free world and millions of people captive in undemocratic countries await the outcome of the American elections. The future of America is completely correlated with the future of the world.” *Khurasan* newspaper November 4, 1964 (Aban 13, 1343 AHS).

ulama of Iran, *maraji* of Islam, I warn you of danger!

Scholars, religious students! Centres of religious learning, Najaf, Qum, Mashhad, Tehran, Shiraz! I warn you of danger...

If our country is under American occupation then tell us...

All our troubles today are caused by this America.

All our troubles today are caused by this Israel. Israel itself derives from America.”

At the end of his epic speech, Imam Khomeini deprecated the approval of the bill by the representatives in the two houses of the Parliament: “The representatives in the Senate are traitors; all those in the lower house of the Parliament who voted in favour of this bill have betrayed this country. They are not our representatives. The whole world must know that they are not the representatives of Iran! Or, suppose they are, now I dismiss them. They are dismissed from their posts as representatives.” These sentences reflect Imam’s views on the authority of the *vali faqih* (the ruling faqih).

This passionate, revolutionary discourse was, until that day, without precedent in the history of the movement, and it shook not only the foundations of the Shah’s despotic rule but also the White House in Washington. In this speech, Imam Khomeini made clear his categorical and uncompromising stance against Eastern and Western blocks and confirmed the “No East, No West” policy which he adhered to until the end of his life. He illustrated his position vis-a-vis imperialist governments in this way: “America is worse than Britain, Britain is worse than America and the Soviet Union is worse than both of them. Each one is worse than the other, each one is more abominable than the other. But today we are concerned with this malicious entity which is America. Let the American President know that in the eyes of the Iranian nation, he is the most repulsive member of the human race today because of the injustice he has imposed on our Muslim nation.”

It was in this speech that Imam also determined the aims and goals of the clerics and gave invaluable and substantial guidance to contemporary and future generations. Imam introduced the principle of struggle with America - America which is the real reason for the misfortune of the Iranian nation and other nations - as an intrinsic aspect of the fundamentals of the new period of the Iranian nation’s struggle; the people of the world witnessed that up until his death he stood firmly by this principle.

In addition to this historic speech, Imam Khomeini issued a declaration which revealed more fully the regime’s treachery. The declaration, which was issued on October 26, 1964 (Aban 4, 1343 AHS) and in which the

problem of changing the pledge of allegiance¹ in the army was referred to, was published in large numbers and in a short time was distributed in all the cities. More than 40,000 copies were distributed in Tehran alone in less than ten minutes by 500 youths from the bazaar and universities. The speed and manner in which they were distributed alarmed SAVAK, but they were unable to do anything about it. The declarations aroused public opinion and this along with the rising discontent of the people with the Shah's rule frightened the regime. It realised that with the existence of a vigilant leader in Iran like Imam Khomeini the implementation of the Shah's so-called "reform" measures was not only impossible but the very foundations of the Shah's regime were in danger of being destroyed. Therefore, it decided to free itself of this peril by arresting Imam and sending him into exile.

On the night of November 3, 1964 (Aban 12, 1343 AHS) hundreds of commandos and armed paratroopers surrounded Imam's house in Qum. They entered the house over the walls and from the roof. In the process of arresting him they searched his home and hit the attendants in the house. After a series of abusive actions, the Shah's agents transferred Imam to a car which was waiting to take him to Tehran. It took the driver of the car just under ninety minutes to cover the distance between Qum and Tehran and reach Mehrabad airport. The sun of November 4 (Aban 13 AHS) had not yet risen when the great leader of the movement was expelled from his country for the crime of defending the independence of his homeland and the welfare of his Muslim countrymen and was sent into exile in Turkey².

¹ Refer to the introduction of the previous speech.

² The Shah's permanent aide, General Fardust, in his memoirs (vol. 1, p. 516 in Persian) wrote: "Just as Mansur became premier, with special powers, on the orders of the Americans, so too the expulsion of Imam Khomeini was carried out on America's direct command. I personally believe that Muhammad Riza did not want to send him into exile; in fact, I can say he was afraid of doing such a thing. The night before Imam was sent into exile, Muhammad Riza held a party at his palace with about 200 guests. Mansur, the Prime Minister, was among those invited. He walked up and down the salon in deep conversation with Muhammad Riza for about half an hour... finally, Muhammad Riza summoned me and unwillingly (I knew because I was very familiar with his gestures) said: "Ask the Prime Minister what he wants." Mansur explained that Ayatullah Khomeini had to be sent into exile in Turkey as soon as possible. I told him that Pakravan, the head of SAVAK, had to be told. He asked me to ring him and this I did. Pakravan said: "May I speak to the Shah." I told Muhammad Riza and he went to a telephone in another room to speak to Pakravan. The command to expel Imam from Iran was issued and that very night Moulavi, the head of SAVAK in Tehran, went to Qum with a group of paratroopers and brought Imam to Tehran. The next morning he was sent by aeroplane into exile in Turkey."

On the morning of the same day, the eldest son of Imam, the martyr Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, was arrested and taken to the Qazil Qala Prison. An official statement from the country's State Security and Intelligence Organisation (SAVAK) was broadcast on the radio and published by the press. The text of the announcement was as follows: "Because Mr. Khomeini's behaviour and his instigations were seen as being a threat to the nation and the security and independence of the country, and based on reliable information, sufficient reasons and evidence, he was sent into exile on November 4, 1964 (Aban 13, 1343 AHS)¹."

On hearing the news of the illegal expulsion of their leader, the great, self-sacrificing nation of Iran took to the streets in a show of protest, and in Tehran, Qum and many other Iranian cities the bazaars closed. The arrest and expulsion of Imam Khomeini effected a strong reaction from the clerics. The lessons of the religious schools and the daily congregational prayer ceremonies in Qum, Mashhad and Tehran and many other cities were suspended for between fifteen to thirty days. The Iranian *ulama* proclaimed their support for Imam and his goals through telegrams and declarations².

¹ *Khurasan* newspaper, November 5, 1964 (Aban 14, 1343 AHS), page 1, and other national newspapers.

² After Imam's expulsion, there was a flood of petitions, letters, telegrams and declarations to Qum and Turkey. Also Ayatullahs Najafi Marashi, Sayyid Hadi Milani, Sayyid Muhammad Rida Golpayegani, Sayyid Abulqasim Khu'i, Sayyid Hasan Qummi, Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari, Abulhasan Rafiai Qazvini, Sayyid Ali Bihbahani, Haj Mirza Abdullah Tehrani, and the *ulama* of Abadan, Shiraz etc... voiced their protest to the government by sending telegrams and letters. In one part of his first, angry proclamation, Ayatullah Najafi Mar'ashi said: "The ruling body should realise that a very serious crime has been committed; this crime will be put down in the annals of history and will never be forgotten..... Is it not shameful when foreigners are granted legal immunity and Ayatullah Khomeini is handed over to the care of foreigners!" On November 28, 1964 (Azar 7, 1343 AHS), Ayatullah Najafi Mar'ashi also defended Ayatullah Khomeini's revolt in a harsh and lengthy speech given at the shrine of *Hadrat* Masumah (upon whom be peace) in Qum. In the first telegram sent by Ayatullah Milani it was written: "Those responsible for these affairs should know that he (Ayatullah Khomeini) is not alone, but he is the speaker for all the clergy and what he says is correct and true."

Ayatullah Golpayegani wrote in his telegram...."Yes, in a country where the majority of the people believe that the only competent authorities are the clergymen, it is very distressing to see that the high-ranking clerics are being treated with such insolence and....In retaliation for this event, I have acted and will act according to my duty."

The complete text of the telegram of Ayatullah Khu'i to Ayatullah Mar'ashi is as follows: "*Hadrat* Ayatullah Marashi, Qum. The recent events and the dreadful news of *Hadrat* Ayatullah Khomeini's arrest has caused me great concern. Inform me of your health and the state of affairs."

The Shah's regime tried, through a Machiavelian manoeuvre, to mitigate the anger of the people. Thus, after spending fifty-seven days in the Qazil Qala prison, Ayatullah Haj Mustafa Khomeini was freed and allowed to return to Qum. However, at 2 pm on the afternoon of January 3, 1965 (Dey 13, 1343 AHS), the head of SAVAK in Qum, along with a number of his agents, attacked Imam Khomeini's house and after re-arresting Haj Mustafa sent him to Tehran and then from there into exile in Turkey.

After the forced expulsion of Imam Khomeini and his son to Turkey, some enlightened clerics began to divulge the facts. Consequently, many of them were arrested for their efforts, put on trial in the Shah's puppet court and sentenced to various prison terms¹. Eventually, the pure heart of the valiant martyr Muhammad Bukhara'i was set aflame by the anger of the gallant Muslim people of Iran. On Thursday January 21, 1965 (Bahman 1, 1343 AHS), in front of the Parliament building, Bukhara'i, this self-sacrificing soldier of Islam, with his fiery bullet ended the life of Hasan Ali Mansur, the Prime Minister who had taken the Capitulation Bill to the Parliament and had it approved.

November 4 (Aban 13 AHS) in the history of Imam Khomeini's movement marks a sensitive period and a memorable occasion. On this day, fourteen years after Imam's expulsion from Iran (November 4, 1978; Aban 13, 1357 AHS), tens of thousands of high school and university students in the grounds of Tehran University and the surrounding streets shook Tehran with the cries of "Death to the Shah" and "Long Live Khomeini." The bullets of the army and the slaughter of hundreds were futile on that day and the revolution ran its course to victory on February 11, 1979 (Bahman 22, 1357 AHS). On May 13, 1979 (Urdibihesht 23, 1358 AHS), the proposed single article of the interim government of the Islamic republic regarding the repeal of the law approved on October 13, 1964 (Mehr 21, 1343 AHS) - the Capitulation Bill - was passed by the Revolutionary Council. On the same day, the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic announced the abrogation

The text of the announcements and statements of the *maraji* and *ulama* can be found in the book *Nihdat-i Rūaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 4, p. 27-95.

¹ The names of the nineteen clergymen, prayer leaders of the mosques and religious preachers of Tehran who were arrested and jailed in Ramadan 1964 AD/1343 AHS appear in the book *Nihdat-i Rūaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 5, p. 96: Messrs Bejastani, Gholam Husayn Ja'afari, Sayyid Hadi Khosroshahi, Ali Asqar Morvarid, Sayyid Qasim Shojaie, Mahmud Salihi, Ali Akbar Nateqnouri, Fahim Kermani, Fazlullah Mahallati, Aqabozorg Kani, Jafar Shajouni, Mahdi Rabbani Amlashi, Ahmad Kafi, Muwahhid Isfahani, Muhammad Muqaddasiyan, Rida Gulsurkhi, Najmuddin Itimadzadeh, Mahdawi Khorasani, Tahiri Isfahani, and a few other preachers who numbered twenty-two altogether.

of this agreement with a formal statement¹. Surprisingly, it was on November 4 (Aban 13 AHS) of the same year 1979, that the Muslim students following Imam's line, in a revolutionary act which was fully approved by Imam Khomeini despite the opposition of the nationalists and the interim government, occupied the American spy nest in Iran (the American Embassy) and published documents showing America's direct and unjust interference in Iranian affairs.

¹ The text of the proposed bill of the interim government which was approved by the Revolutionary Council was as follows:

Single article - the approved law of October 13, 1964 (Mehr 21, 1343 AHS) referring to the granting of special immunities and privileges to American military advisers in Iran as cited in the Vienna Convention is abrogated.

Ittilaat newspaper May 12, 1979 (Farvardin 23, 1358 AHS).

Speech Number Sixteen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

“Verily, to Allah we belong and to Him we shall return.”

I cannot express the sorrow I feel in my heart. My heart is heavy. Since the day I heard of the latest developments affecting Iran,¹ I have barely slept. I am profoundly disturbed. With sorrowful heart, I count the days until death shall come and deliver me (the audience weeps). Iran no longer has a festival to celebrate; they have turned our festival into mourning.² They have turned it into mourning and have lit up the city; they have turned it into mourning and are dancing together with joy. They have sold us, they have sold our independence, and still they light up the city and dance. If I were in their³ place, I would forbid all these lights; I would tell the people to raise black flags over the bazaars and houses, to hang black awnings. Our honor has been trampled underfoot; the dignity of Iran has been destroyed. The dignity of the Iranian army has been trampled underfoot!

They have taken a law to the Parliament according to which first of all we are to accede to the Vienna Convention,⁴ and secondly we have to add a

¹ It refers to the Capitulation Bill approved by the Shah’s Parliament on October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS]. Capitulation is the name of all agreements that give the consular judicial rights or the extraterritorial judicial rights of a country within that country to a foreign government. According to this agreement, the citizens of the foreign country have legal immunity from the criminal and civil laws of the host country and the special courts of their sovereign government in the host country hold the right to judge their lawsuits and trials when they stand accused. According to the Capitulation Law and the Vienna Convention, these political and judicial immunities not only cover the American political agents, diplomats, military advisers and personnel, but their families and relatives also.

² The regime made sure that the news of the approval of the disgraceful Capitulation Bill was not divulged. On the day which coincided with the anniversary of the birth of Hadrat Fatimah (a) and which under normal circumstances would have been an occasion for rejoicing, with the announcement that “our day of festivity has been turned into a day of mourning,” The Imam unveiled the shameful act of the regime.

³ The Shah and the government of Hasan-Ali Mansur.

⁴ After the Second World War, the United Nations set its International Law Commission the task of preparing and codifying a general and international agreement on the political relations between the countries of the world. After years of discussion and study, the draft of this Commission, including one introduction, fifty-three articles and two protocols (on how the

provision that all American military advisers, together with their families, technical and administrative officials, and servants—in short, anyone in any way connected to them—are to enjoy legal immunity with respect to any crime they may commit in Iran! If some American's servant, some American's cook, assassinates your *marja at-taqlid* in the middle of the bazaar, or runs over him, the Iranian police do not have the right to apprehend him! Iranian courts do not have the right to judge him! The dossier must be sent to America so that our masters there can decide what is to be done!

The previous government¹ approved this measure without telling anyone, and now the present government just recently introduced a bill in the Senate and settled the whole matter in a single session without breathing a word to anyone.

A few days ago, the bill was taken to the lower house of the Parliament and there were discussions, with a few deputies voicing their opposition, but the bill was passed anyhow. They passed it without any shame, and the government shamelessly defended this scandalous measure. They have reduced the Iranian people to a level lower than that of an American dog. If someone runs over a dog belonging to an American, he will be prosecuted. Even if the Shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted. But if an American cook runs over the Shah, or the *marja* of Iran, or the highest official, no one will have the right to object. Why? Because they wanted a loan from America and America demanded this in return! This is apparently the case. A few days after this measure was approved, they requested a \$200 million loan from America and America agreed to the request. It was stipulated that the sum of \$200 million would be paid to the Iranian government over a period of five years, and that \$300 million would be paid back to America over a period of ten years. Do you realize what this means? In return for this loan, America is to receive \$100 million—or 800 million tumans—in interest! But in addition to this, Iran has sold itself to obtain these dollars! The government has sold our independence, reduced us to the level of a colony, and made the Muslim nation of Iran appear lowlier than savages in the eyes of the world! They

agreement was to be implemented) was approved by the General Assembly, at the Vienna Conference, and was designated the Vienna Convention. From March 5, 1965 its stipulations became compulsory in Iran. The shortcomings of the Vienna Convention were corrected in 1967, with the general plan being preserved, and it was proposed by the UN in seventy-nine articles and was approved by the members. Two articles of the seventy-nine, Articles 32 and 37 were those to which Imam Khomeini objected.

¹The government of Amir Asadullah Alam.

have done this for the sake of a \$200 million dollar loan for which they have to pay back \$300 dollars! What are we to do in the face of this disaster? What are our clergymen to do? Where shall they turn to for help? To what country should they present their appeal?

Other countries imagine that it is the Iranian nation that has abased itself in this way. They do not know that it is the Iranian government, the Iranian Parliament—this Parliament which has nothing to do with the Iranian people. This is a Parliament elected at bayonet point; what does such a Parliament has to do with the people? The Iranian nation did not elect these deputies. Many of the high-ranking *ulama* and *maraji* ordered a boycott of the elections, and the people obeyed them and did not vote.¹ But then came the power of the bayonet, and these deputies were seated in the Parliament.

According to a history textbook printed this year and now taught to our schoolchildren, one containing all kinds of lies and inaccurate statements: “It has now become clear that it is to the benefit of the nation for the influence of the religious leaders to be rooted out.” They have come to understand well that: If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit this nation to be slaves of Britain one day, and America the next. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit Israel to take over the Iranian economy; they will not permit Israeli goods to be sold in Iran—in fact, to be sold duty-free! If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit the government to impose arbitrarily such a heavy loan on the Iranian nation. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit such misuse to be made of the public treasury. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit any government to do whatever it wants, whatever is against the interests of the nation. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit the Parliament to come to such a miserable state as this; they will not permit the Parliament to be formed at bayonet-point, with the ignominious results that we see. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit girls and boys to wrestle together, as recently happened in Shiraz.² If

¹ The high-ranking *ulama* and the clergy called for a boycott of the twenty-first round of parliamentary elections in September 1963 [Shahrivar 1342 AHS] and the people, without delay, started a general strike and did not participate in the referendum. For example, of the 300,000 people eligible to vote in Tabriz, the Member of Parliament with the highest vote in this city won only 2,283 votes.

² The meaning here is the corruption which was created by allowing the establishment of mixed schools. The Shah, in his book *Mission for My Country*, said that in the fields of teaching and education he wanted to implement the Western method. He wrote: “In my country, the existence of women teachers for educating girls is not obligatory. In most schools and universities the classes are mixed and the lessons are given by both male and female

the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit people's innocent daughters to be under the tutelage of young men at school; they will not permit women to teach at boys' schools and men to teach at girls' schools, with the resulting corruption. If the religious leaders have influence, they will strike this government in the mouth; they will strike this Parliament in the mouth and chase these deputies out of both its houses! If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit a handful of individuals to be imposed on the nation as deputies and determine the destiny of the country. If the religious leaders have influence, they will not permit some agent of America¹ to carry out these scandalous deeds; they will throw him out of Iran. So, the influence of the religious leaders is harmful to the nation? No, it is harmful to you, harmful to you traitors, not to the nation! You have realized that as long as the influence of the religious leaders exists you cannot do everything you want to do, commit all the crimes you want, so you wish to destroy their influence. You thought you could cause dissension among the religious leaders with your intrigues, but you will be dead before your dream can come true. You will never be able to do it. The religious leaders are united! Once again I esteem all religious leaders; I kiss the hand of all the religious leaders. If, in the past, I kissed the hands of the *maraji*, today I kiss the hands of the religious students. I kiss the hands of the simple grocer (the audience weeps intensely).

Gentlemen, I warn you of danger! Iranian army, I warn you of danger! Iranian politicians, I warn you of danger! Iranian merchants, I warn you of danger! *ulama* of Iran, *maraji* of Islam, I warn you of danger! Scholars, religious students! Centers of religious learning, Najaf, Qum, Mashhad, Tehran, Shiraz! I warn you of danger! It is a dangerous situation. It is clear that there are things kept under cover that we know nothing about. In the Parliament they have said that they have to be kept secret!² It is evident that they are dreaming up further plans for us. What else can they do that is worse than this? What are they planning? What will this loan inflict on this nation?

teachers and lecturers without discrimination and sexual preference, the only concern being their expertise. I would also like to test the method which is customary in America (i.e. girls and boys marry while studying at the university) in establishing mixed universities where young girls and boys are educated together for the job of teaching.”

¹ The Shah.

² Nasir Behbudi, in a meeting of the National Assembly on October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS] said of the Capitulation Bill: “Please agree to discuss this matter in the uncomplicated and private atmosphere of the commission. Do not let more than this be revealed in the Parliament.” Parliamentary Proceedings, 21st session, meeting 104.

Should this impoverished nation now pay \$100 million in interest to America over the next ten years and at the same time should you sell us for this?

What use to you are the American soldiers and military advisers? If this country is occupied by America, then what is all this noise you make about progress? If these advisers are to be your servants, then why do you treat them like something superior to masters, superior to a Shah? If they are servants, why not treat them as such? If they are your employees, then why not treat them as any other government treats its employees? If our country is now occupied by the US then tell us outright and throw us out of this country! What do they intend to do? What does this government have to say to us? What has this Parliament done to us? This illegal, unlawful Parliament; this Parliament that the *maraji at-taqlid* have declared illegitimate with their edicts and decrees; this Parliament which not one of its representatives has been chosen by the people; this Parliament which makes such empty claims about independence and revolution saying: “We have undergone a White Revolution!” Where is this White Revolution? They have made these people suffer! God knows that I am aware of what is happening (and my awareness causes me pain), I know what is happening in the remote villages and provincial towns, in this our own impoverished city of Qum (the audience weeps). I am aware of the hunger of our people and the depressed state of our agrarian economy.

Do something for this country, for this nation, instead of piling up debts and enslaving yourself. Of course, taking the dollars means that someone has to become a slave; you want to use the dollars and we have to become the slaves! If an American runs over me with his car, no one will have the right to say anything to him! So you use the dollars; this is the issue. Should I not be saying this? Those gentlemen¹ who say we must hold our tongues and not utter a sound—do they still say the same thing on this occasion? Are we to keep silent again and not say a word? They sell us and still we are to keep silent? They sell our Quran and still we should hold our tongues? By God, he who does not cry out in protest is a sinner! By God, he who does not express his outrage commits a major sin!

Leaders of Islam, come to the aid of Islam (the audience weeps)! *ulama* of Najaf, come to the aid of Islam! *ulama* of Qum, come to the aid of Islam! Islam is destroyed! O Muslim peoples! Leaders of the Muslim peoples! O presidents and kings of the Muslim peoples! O Shah of Iran! Look at yourselves; look at us. Are we to be trampled underfoot by the boots of the

¹ Referring to those *maraji* who believed in keeping silent.

Americans simply because we are a weak nation? Because we have no dollars? America is worse than Britain, Britain is worse than America and the Soviet Union is worse than both of them. Each one is worse than the other; each one is more abominable than the other. But today we are concerned with this malicious entity which is America. Let the American President know that in the eyes of the Iranian nation, he is the most repulsive member of the human race today because of the injustice he has imposed on our Muslim nation. Today, the Quran has become his enemy; the Iranian nation has become his enemy. Let the American government know that its name has been ruined and disgraced in Iran.

You get immunities for the advisers? Those helpless deputies in the Parliament who shouted out “ask our friends (the Americans) not to make such impositions on us,¹ not to insist that we sell ourselves, not to turn Iran into a colony,” did anyone listen to them? There is one article in the Vienna Convention they did not discuss at all—Article 32.² I don’t know what article that is; in fact, the speaker of the Parliament himself doesn’t know. The deputies also don’t know what that article is; nonetheless, they went ahead and approved and signed the bill. They passed it, even though some people said, “We don’t know what is in Article 32.” Perhaps those who objected did not sign the bill. They are not quite so bad as the others. Those who did sign are a group of illiterates.

One after the other, our statesmen and leading politicians have been set aside. Our patriotic statesmen are given nothing to do. The army should know that it will also be treated the same way: its leaders will be set aside, one by one. What self-respect will remain for the army when an American errand boy or cook has priority over one of our generals? If I were in the

¹ Mr. Sartipur, in a speech given at a parliamentary meeting on October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS] in which the Capitulation Bill was discussed, said: “He—Mr. Mansur, the Prime Minister—has the opportunity to discuss this and ask our friends to keep us in a favorable position. One of the conditions of our friendship is that our friends should respect our loyalties to that which we regard as sacred.” Parliamentary Proceedings, 21st session, meeting 104.

² It was pointed out earlier that one of the seventy-nine articles of the Vienna Convention, Article 37, stipulates that the diplomats of each country are granted certain immunities in other countries, and sometimes this implies legal immunity. If a diplomat, who enjoys this immunity, commits a crime in the host country, he is exempt from legal prosecution and punishment and his case will be handed over to the courts in his own sovereign state for them to deal with. However, in the first paragraph of Article 32 of the said convention, permission has been given to the sending state to waive the immunity from jurisdiction of diplomatic agents and of persons enjoying immunity under Article 37. The omission of Article 32 prepared the grounds for Iran’s unconditional surrender.

army, I would resign. If I were a deputy in the Parliament, I would resign. I would not agree to be disgraced.

The influence of the Iranians should be rooted out! American cooks, mechanics, technical and administrative officials, together with their families, should enjoy legal immunity, but Mr. Qadi¹ should be imprisoned! Mr. Islami should be taken in shackles from this place to that! These servants of Islam, the *ulama* and preachers of Islam should be imprisoned. The supporters of Islam should be imprisoned in Bandar Abbas² because they are religious leaders or the supporters of the religious leaders. These are the ones who gave the history of Iran to the people! The government clearly documents its crimes by putting out a history textbook that says: "It is to the benefit of the nation to root out the influence of the religious leaders." This means that it is for the benefit of the nation that the Messenger of God should play no role in its affairs. For the religious leaders of themselves have nothing; whatever they have, they have from the Messenger of God. So the government wants the Messenger of God to play no role in our affairs, so that Israel can do whatever it likes and America likewise.

All our troubles today are caused by this America. All our troubles today are caused by this Israel. Israel itself derives from America. These deputies and ministers derive from America. They have all been appointed by America. If they were not, then why don't they stand up and protest?

I am now thoroughly agitated, and my memory is not working so well. I cannot remember precisely when, but in one of the earlier parliaments, where Sayyid Hasan Mudarris was a deputy, the government of Russia gave Iran an ultimatum—I can't remember its exact content—to the effect that: "Unless you accept our demand, we will advance on Tehran by way of Qazvin and occupy it!" The government of the day put pressure on the Parliament to

¹ Ayatullah Qadi Ṭabataba'i was one of the famous *ulama* and preachers of the province of Azerbaijan and the city of Tabriz, and was the leader of the Islamic movement in that district. This clergyman, along with many others who were arrested and imprisoned both before Imam's arrest and after it in the bloody uprising of Khordad 15, 1342 [June 5, 1963], was in prison at the time of this historic speech. Throughout the course of the Islamic movement and his short life after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatullah Qadi was in the front line of the Revolution. He was martyred by the Mujahidin-e Khalq (the Munafiqin) on Id al-Qurban [Feast of Sacrifice], November 1, 1979 [Aban 10, 1358 AHS].

² Bandar Abbas: a port on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf to which opponents of the regime were frequently banished because of its remoteness from all urban centers as well as its inhospitable climate.

accept the Russian demand. According to an American historian,¹ a religious leader with trembling hands came up to the tribune and said: “Now that we are to be destroyed, why should we sign the warrant for our own destruction?” The Parliament took courage from his act of opposition, rejected the ultimatum, and Russia was unable to do anything! This is the conduct of a true cleric; one feeble, aged cleric in the Parliament, a mere heap of bones, rejected the ultimatum and demand of a powerful state like Russia.² This is why they realize that they should destroy the influence of the clergy in order to attain their aims and desires!

What should I say? There is so much to be said, there are so many instances of corruption in this country that I am unable in my state at the moment to present to you even what I know. It is your duty, however, to communicate these matters to your colleagues. It is your duty to inform the people; the *ulama* must enlighten the people, and they in turn must raise their voices in protest to the Parliament and the government and ask, “Why did you do this? Why have you sold us? Are we your slaves that you sell us? We did not elect you to be our representatives, and even had we done so, you would forfeit your posts now on account of this act of treachery.” This is high treason!

¹ The American historian Morgan Shuster, in his book, *The Strangling of Persia*, writes: “A venerable priest of Islam arose. Time was slipping away and at noon the question would be beyond their vote to decide. This servant of God spoke briefly and to the point: It may be the will of Allah that our liberty and our sovereignty shall be taken from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands!” One gesture of appeal with his trembling hands, and he resumed his seat.

“Simple words, these, yet winged ones. Easy to utter in academic discussions; hard, bitterly hard, to say under the eye of a cruel and overpowering tyrant whose emissaries watched the speaker from the galleries and mentally marked him down for future imprisonment, torture, exile or worse...”

“And when the roll call was ended every man, priest or layman, youth or octogenarian, had cast his own die of fate, had staked the safety of himself and family, and hurled back into the teeth of the great Bear from the North the unanimous answer of a desperate and down-trodden people who preferred a future of unknown terror to the voluntary sacrifice of their national dignity and of their recently earned right to work out their own salvation.” *The Strangling of Persia*, p. 182.

² On November 29, 1911, the Russian empire, which exerted great influence in Iran, sent troops into Iranian territory and delivered an ultimatum to the Iranian government which was supported by Britain. The ultimatum called for the dismissal of the American advisory group led by Morgan Shuster; a guarantee that no foreign adviser would be hired in future without the consent of Russia and Britain; and payment of an indemnity to the Russian troops in Iran. 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 and other members of Parliament.

O God, they have committed treason against this country. O God, this government has committed treason against this country, against Islam, against the Quran. All the members of both houses who gave their agreement to this affair are traitors. Those old men in the Senate are traitors, and all those in the lower house who voted in favor of this affair are traitors. They are not our representatives. The whole world must know that they are not the representatives of Iran! Or, suppose they are, now I dismiss them. They are dismissed from their posts.

All the bills they have passed up until now are invalid! From the very beginning of the constitutional period in Iran according to the text of the law, according to Article 2 of the Supplementary Constitutional Law, no law is valid unless the *mujtahids* (Islamic jurists) exercise a supervisory role in the Parliament. Which *mujtahid* is supervising the Parliament now? They have to destroy the influence of the clergymen! If there were five clerics in this Parliament, if there were only one clergyman in this Parliament, he would punch them in the mouth! He would not allow this bill to be enacted.

As for those deputies who apparently opposed this affair, I have this to say to them: “Why did you not do something? Why did you not stand up and seize that despicable man¹ by the collar?” Is this how you show your opposition; you simply sit there and say: “We are not in agreement,” and then continue your flattery as usual?

Is this opposition?² You must create an uproar, right there in the Parliament. You must not allow them to pass this bill when you are opposed

¹ Hasan-Ali Mansur.

² Details of the parliamentary proceedings of October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS] which resulted in the Capitulation Bill being approved show how the Pahlavi regime had for years allowed the Americans to exploit the Constitution, the sanctities and the Islamic and national affairs of the country in order to satisfy their avaricious desires. The manner in which the Capitulation Bill was presented to the Parliament went against normal legal procedures and the charter of the Parliament. The contents of the bill grossly contradicted the numerous articles of the (former) constitutional law. This bill was nothing other than a bill of sale of the judicial and hence the political independence of the country. Apart from those who approved the bill in the parliamentary discussions, who with closed lips or shouts of bravo’ voted in favor of the bill, the method of opposition of a few representatives—even then this opposition was not to the bill itself rather to how it was presented to the Parliament—was the cause of great surprise and regret and served as another example of the injustice suffered by the Iranian nation throughout the fifty years of Pahlavi rule. On this day, October 13, 1964 [Mehr 21, 1343 AHS], Mr. Sartipur, as an opponent of the bill, said that the aforesaid bill conflicted with three articles of the Constitution. At the end of his speech he said: “I would like Mr. Mansur, who really wishes to adhere to the law and respect the Constitution, to find the opportunity to discuss this matter with our friends (meaning the American government) and ask them to keep us in a favourable position.”

to it. Is it enough to say simply I am opposed? Well, we see that when you do they pass it anyway! You must not permit there to be such a Parliament. Kick these people out of the Parliament.

We do not recognize this bill they have passed—as they claimed—as a law. We do not recognize this Parliament as a true Parliament. We do not recognize this government as a true government. They are traitors, traitors to the people of Iran!

O God, remedy the affairs of the Muslims (the audience replies with “Amen”). O God, bestow majesty on this sacred religion of Islam! (“Amen”) O God, destroy those individuals who are traitors to this land, who are traitors to Islam and to the Quran. (“Amen”)

Mr. Sadiq Ahmadi, another opponent of the bill, after some initial adulatory remarks said: “I still cannot say whether I am for or against because my investigations are incomplete.” The third opponent, Mr. Fakhr Ṭabataba’i, said: “The respectful advisers who have been given technical jobs are necessary for our country, we want to make use of these advisers and we employ these respectful advisers, they are our employees. I want to see whether it is wise to give them such immunities; this most certainly does not have an international aspect... Mr. Mansur’s government does not think of anything but the good of the country and whatever service the government gives or whatever positive steps it takes, I approve of.”

Mr. Nasir Behbudi said: “My request is this that you agree to discuss this bill in the uncomplicated and private atmosphere of the commission. Do not let more than this be revealed in the Parliament.”

The most comprehensive speech in opposition to the bill was from Mr. Zahtabfard. Announcing that he was at one with Mr. Mansur and was not ready to oppose the matter, he presented some of the facts, intertwining them with flattering remarks and allusions. He said: “Mr. Mansur, everyone has the right to ask yesterday’s Dr. Musaddiq and today’s Mr. Mansur what is the reason for granting such privileges to the American technical advisers. I am speaking logically, and I am not afraid of anybody because I rely only on God, the king, the nation and the Constitution.” Mr. Zahtabfard ended his speech with this conclusion: “We must give this assurance to the public, who are our family, that if, God forbid, the Parliament takes steps towards approving this bill, it also acts for the benefit of this great nation of Iran.” See Parliamentary Proceedings, 21st session, meeting 104, pp. 16-64.

Introduction to Speech Number Seventeen

Date: November 14, 1965 (AD) / Aban 23, 1344 (AHS) / Rajab 20, 1385 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: The duties of the heads of the Muslim countries and the responsibility of the *ulama* in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism

Occasion: The beginning of Imam's lectures at the Najaf theological centre

Those present: The *ulama*, scholars and students of Islamic subjects at the Najaf centre of theology

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

On the morning of November 4, 1964 (Aban 13, 1343 AHS), the aeroplane carrying Imam Khomeini to Turkey, his first place of exile, set off from Tehran. The Shah, who found himself in a stronger position with the victory of Johnson in the American elections, believed that by sending Imam Khomeini into exile the blaze of uprising would be extinguished. On November 7, 1964 (Aban 16, 1343 AHS), the Shah's Prime Minister, Hasan Ali Mansur, said: "The hands which obstructed the realisation of the aims of the Shah-People Revolution have been severed, and now it is the intention of the Shah and the duty of the government to guarantee the success of the reform measures everywhere in the country." The reforms which Mansur had in mind soon came to light. The day after (November 8/Aban 17 AHS), during a visit to the oil regions of the south, Mansur claimed: "Soon, with the drilling of new oil wells, new free regions will be created on the shores of the Persian Gulf and the wealth of the Iranian nation after the Shah-People Revolution will be spent in other ways!"¹ "The biggest call for oil tenders in the world" was advertised in the international press and three American groups, one American/Dutch group and the Shell group won the bid. The agreement granting 85% of off-shore oil to American firms was signed by Mansur. A consortium increased the export of Iranian oil by 14.5%, and in 1965 Iran was introduced as the world's largest producer of surplus crude oil. Subsequently, the rubber-stamp Parliament permitted the largest arms agreement in the world - until that day - to be agreed between Iran and America. On the agricultural front, as a result of the Shah's land reforms and concomitant with the second stage of the reforms, a country which had until

¹ The newspapers of November 7, 8, and 9, 1964 (Aban 16, 17 and 18, 1343 AHS).

then been an exporter of wheat and food produce now imported 200,000 tons of wheat from America and Russia and 25,000 tons of grain from America¹.

As explained in the introduction to speech 16, after the expulsion of Imam to Turkey, the protests voiced by the *maraji* and *ulama* of Najaf, Qum and other places increased; the bazaars of Qum, Tehran and other big cities closed down; the Friday Mosque of Tehran was attacked by the Shah's police, and strikes and demonstrations were held in different cities and especially in the theological schools in Tehran and Qum². A large number of clerics, merchants of the bazaar and other people were arrested and sent to prison. The Shah's regime even kept secret Imam's exact place of exile in Turkey. However, the pressure of public opinion eventually forced Mansur's government to agree to the *ulamas* demand and allow representatives of the *maraji-i taqlid* to go to Turkey to ask about Imam's well-being³. The

¹ Refer to *Az Sayyid Diya ta Bakhtiar*, p. 509.

² After the expulsion of Imam, in an atmosphere of increasing tension and continuing arrests by the regime, a ceremony was held at night at the shrine of *Hadrat* Masumah (upon whom be peace) in honour of Imam Khomeini and the movement. This action by the revolutionary religious students was opposed by the movement related to the *Dar at-Tabliq* (House of Propagation) and the organisation of Mr. Shariatmadari in Qum rose against it. The "night of fighting" ("*laylat al-zarb*"), the attack on Imam's supporters and the injury of Imam's friends, especially Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Mehdi Karrubi, which took place in the Azam mosque in Qum will always remain in the memory of those people who remember the movement of Khordad 15. Refer to the book, *Nihzat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 777.

On the eve of the Persian New Year (March 20) 1965 (1344 AHS), Hujjat al-Islam Fallahe Yazdi read the text of a trenchant declaration to the pilgrims and people of Qum which revealed the names of many *ulama* who had been arrested. Following this, army agents who had been sent to Qum from the Manzariya barracks (the army base 30 km away from Qum) attacked the people creating a tragedy. Preceding this on December 12, 1964 (Azar 21, 1343 AHS), a protest meeting supported by the United Islamic Groups had been organised by the merchants of the bazaar and others in the Haj Sayyid Azizullah Mosque in Tehran. This action and also the gathering of people in the Saheb-i Zaman Mosque in Azadi Street, which resulted in demonstrations and widespread fighting in the surrounding streets and areas, constitute just a few examples of the expression of the people's support. Refer to *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihdat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1 and also *Nihdat-i Rqaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 5.

An explanation of some aspects of the events occurring after the expulsion of Imam to Turkey and their repercussions appears in the previous introduction and in following speeches. Also refer to the two above-mentioned references and the November 4, 1991 (Aban 12, 1370 AHS) special edition of *Hudur* magazine.

³ On December 21, 1964 (Azar 30, 1343 AHS), the son-in-law of Ayatullah Khansari - Hajj Sayyid Faqlullah Khansari - met Imam Khomeini in Istanbul (for this meeting Imam had been transferred from Bursa to a hotel in Istanbul). A few days later, Shaykh Mustafa Jalili (from Qum) and Shaykh Abdul-Jalil Jalili (from Kermanshah) went to Turkey to meet Imam as representatives of Mr. Shariatmadari. Imam Khomeini, through letters and oral messages,

shooting and killing of Hasan Ali Mansur by Muhammad Bukhara'i - a member of the United Islamic Groups¹ - at ten o'clock on the morning of January 21, 1965 (Bahman 1, 1343 AHS) in front of the Parliament building, served as a reminder to the Shah and America that the movement of Khordad 15 had not been brought to an end by the merciless killing of the people and the expulsion of the leader of the revolution.

There are many surprises to be found and lessons to be learnt in the analogy of historical events. In 1951 (1329 AHS), General Razmara, the Prime Minister of the time, had been shot and killed by Khali Tahmasbi, a member of the *Fidayan-i Islam*, on his way to approve a Supplemental Agreement giving concessionary rights to the British over the oil in the south of the country, and now, fourteen years later, Hasan Ali Mansur too was killed by the bullet of Tahmasbi's friend as he took the agreement granting concessions for off-shore wells to American firms to the Parliament for final approval.

After the arrest of Muhammad Bukhara'i, the rest of his combatant friends - who had planned to kill the important elements of the Shah's regime and also the Shah himself at this time - were arrested and sentenced in a military court. Four of them were executed on June 15, 1965 (Khordad 25, 1344 AHS) and the rest were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment². After the assassination of Mansur, Amir Abbas Hoveyda succeeded him as Prime Minister³.

stressed to his friends and relatives: "I do not agree with anyone mediating for my freedom with the despotic regime." Refer to *Nihadat-i Rūaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 5, pp. 78 and 154.

There is reference in this book to a trip made to Turkey by the son of Ayatullah Marashi Najafi to meet with Imam; however this trip did not actually take place because the regime prevented it and Mr. Najafi was not issued with a visa.

¹ He and the martyr Hajj Mahdi Araqi were friends of the martyr Sayyid Mujtaba Navab Safavi and were the co-founders of the *Fida'yan-i Islam* group. It is interesting to note that etched onto his gun, which in fact belonged to Navab Safavi, was the sentence - "an Islamic government must be created."

² Muhammad Bukhara'i, Riza Saffar Harandi, Murteza Niknejad and Sadiq Amani were sentenced to death and Mahdi Araqi, Hashem Amani, Habibullah Asqaroladi, `Abbas Mudarrisifar, Abulfazl Haydari and Muhammad Taqi Kalafchi were sentenced to life imprisonment and hard labour. Hujjat al-Islam Mohiedin Anvari, Ahmad Shahab and Ahmad Ipki and more than one hundred other members of the United Islamic Groups were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Refer to *Nihzat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 818.

³ The telegrams and open letters of the *ulama* and *maraji* protesting about Imam's continued exile and warning of its consequences did not cease after Hoveyda took office as Prime Minister. The telegram of Ayatullah Khu'i and the full text of the open letters sent by the religious scholars of the Qum theological centre, and the religious students and scholars of Shiraz, Kerman, Khurramabad and Ashkouri residing in Qum, along with the names of the

On April 10, 1965 (Farvardin 21, 1344 AHS), as the council of ministers of the CENTO agreement continued their secret meetings in Tehran, once again the machine-gun fire of a self-sacrificing soldier - Riḍa Shamsabadi - sounded the warning bell, this time in the Shah's own house: the Marble Palace¹. On October 16, 1965 (Mehr 24, 1344 AHS), the full-scale attack of the Shah's security, military and police agents on the northern mountains of Tehran to arrest members of the Islamic Nations Party which, according to General Farsiū, the country's chief military prosecutor², was formed with the aim of toppling the Shah's regime and forming an Islamic government, proved once again that the spirit of the martyrs of Khordad 15 was still alive. This party, like the United Islamic Groups, was administered under the leadership of Imam's clerical friends³.

Eleven months of Imam's enforced residence in Turkey elapsed. The atmosphere in Iran was tense and the pressure of public opinion continued. The Shah's regime, through a continuous propaganda campaign, attempted to portray the recent events as ineffective and insignificant or pretended that with the departure of Imam Khomeini there were no longer grounds for fundamental opposition to the Shah's plans. In Turkey too, control of Imam was proving to be increasingly detrimental to the secular government there

people who signed them, appear in the book *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihdat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, page 801 onwards.

¹ The Shah survived this attempt on his life and the courageous soldier, shot by the bullets of the Shah's guards, gave his life for the freedom of the Iranian nation.

² The Tehran evening newspapers of January 18, 1966 (Dey 28, 1344 AHS). The interview of General Farsiū with reporters.

³ The pursuit and arrest of the members of the Islamic Nations Party took place on October 16, 1965 (Mehr 24, 1344 AHS) but the Shah's regime, afraid of the consequences of its action, suppressed news of this event. However, the tense situation in Tehran and the announcements of the students at the religious school disclosing the incident eventually forced the regime to confess. The news of the arrests was formally announced on January 18, 1966 (Dey 28, 1344 AHS). In this incident, sixty-nine people, including Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Jawad Hujjati-Kermani, Muhammad Kazim Bujnardi, Abul-Qasim Sarhaddiizadeh, Muhammad Mirmuhammad Sadiqi, Javad Mansuri, `Abbas Douzdouzani, Muhammad Kazem Seyfian, `Abbas Aqazamani (Abusharif), and Sayyid Husayn Hashemi Golpayegani, were arrested and sentenced in a military court. Mr. Bujnardi was initially sentenced to death, however because of public pressure and the actions and objections of the *maraji* and the religious schools, his sentence, along with that of a few of his fellow-combatants, was commuted from death to life imprisonment. The others were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Many of the members of the party were in the prisons of the regime until 1977/1978 (1356/1357 AHS) when political prisoners were freed. The names of fifty-nine of the people arrested along with the names of some of the party members appear in the book *Nihdat-i Rūaniyun-i Iran* vol. 5, pp. 157-174 along with an explanation of the incident quoted from the newspapers and the pamphlet entitled *Asnadi az Jam`iyat-i Mo'talef-i Islami.....*

which was itself under pressure from Islamic forces within its own borders. Thus, it was decided that Imam be transferred from Turkey to exile in Iraq. The Shah's regime believed that the apolitical and ossified conditions of Najaf's theological centre would form the most effective, natural obstacle to the political activities of Imam and thus there would no longer be a need for his direct and overt control. And so, on Tuesday October 5, 1965 (Mehr 13, 1344 AHS), Imam Khomeini set off with his honourable son, Ayatullah Haj Mustafa Khomeini, from Turkey to Iraq, his second place of exile.

At 2 pm on the afternoon of the same day, the aeroplane carrying them landed at Baghdad airport. Ten days later, on Friday October 15, 1965 (Mehr 23, 1344 AHS), Imam, escorted by dozens of cars, set off towards Najaf after making a pilgrimage to the holy sites of Kazimayn, Samirra and Karbala. The unparalleled greeting of Najaf for the leader of the Islamic movement provoked a widespread and mixed reaction. Imam's meetings with some of the *maraji* and *ulama* during the first few days of his arrival in Najaf had repercussions which removed the mask from the faces of many people and revealed Imam's greatness even more than before. At the same time, Imam's presence in Najaf warmed the hearts of his true friends. The people of Iran were delighted when news of Imam's arrival in Najaf reached them. Hundreds of telegrams were sent to him all of them wishing his speedy return to the Islamic country of Iran. SAVAK, confronted with the unequivocal position of the Iranian nation concerning the leader of the movement, tried to find ways to control the situation, but none of their plans, despite all the care that went into them, was effective.

During his stay in Najaf, Imam was determined to fulfil his mission, struggling against errant and un-Islamic ideas, regardless of enemy intrigues. After meeting and deliberating with a few of the *ulama*, he discovered that in a place where the agents of imperialism had propagated the slogan that religion must be separate from politics and had created ideas far removed from the true Islam, speaking about the Iranian Islamic movement and anticipating help was too much to expect. Thus Imam resolved, before anything, to stress the responsibilities of the religious students, the clergy, the *ulama* of Islam and the leaders of the Muslim countries and sweep away the pall of dust which was spread across the face of Islam.

Imam knew that his presence in Najaf was only temporary, even so, he decided to teach so that through his teachings he could, in addition to unravelling the intricacies and subtleties of Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and the principles of religion [*usul*], impart the truth of the pure Islam of Muhammad to the students. In his first speech, delivered to mark the

beginning of his lectures at the Najaf theological centre, Imam Khomeini spoke about the early history of Islam, the exalted position of the Islamic countries and the duties and responsibilities of different classes within Islamic society. Imam emphasised the point that: “The Prophet of Islam rose up for God in a place which was hostile towards him..... and he wrote letters to four great emperors of the time and invited them to embrace Islam.” In this speech, he also reminded the leaders of the Muslim countries of the use of the effective and God-given oil weapon and pointed out the pressing need of the superpowers and other powerful governments for the oil and other abundant resources of Islamic countries. Based on the premise that “prayer and praying constitute only one aspect of Islamic laws.....the mosque had been a place of administration and command, of studying and analysing the problems and difficulties of the day,” he condemned the notion that Islam is concerned only with the rules of prayer and ritual purity and he rejected the idea advanced by the imperialists that religion should be separate from politics. In his speech, he tried to eradicate the sense of despair, hopelessness and inferiority which had permeated Islamic society, Muslim leaders and the *ulama* of the Najaf theological centre and he reminded them of the Muslims’ lost greatness and identity.

Imam’s historic speech first and foremost shook the theological centre in Najaf which had been held in the grip of ossified ideas and the pervasive influence of quietism for more than half a century. It was welcomed with much acclaim by many students and intellectuals alike, and had a great impact. His speech emphasised the importance of the struggle against imperialism and despotism and the use of the oil weapon against the oil-devourers. Consequently, it provoked a sharp reaction from SAVAK, and the order was given that the speech be studied carefully for weak points to be used against Imam. The order was thus: “The weak points of this speech should be used to our advantage, and by allowing a recording of it to be played by the opponents of Khomeini, the speech should be condemned by a religious leader¹.” However, not only could they not find any weak points in the speech and SAVAK’s plan failed, but it was recorded in large numbers by Imam’s friends and disseminated widely by Muslim students in America who had translated it into English. The welcome given Imam by the *ulama*, religious students and clergy of Karbala and Najaf was far above the expectations of those who believed he would be ignored in that land.

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 2, Document No. 72, p. 799.

Speech Number Seventeen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

O God, preserve our tongues from vain discourse (the audience replies with Amen). Turn our hearts towards Thee (Amen). Keep us from depending on anyone other than Thee (Amen). Cast the love of this world out of our hearts (Amen). Endow us with a moral disposition (Amen). Keep us from all evil in the care of the Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali (*a*) (Amen). Make us servants of Islam and Muslims (Amen). Make us appreciative of the *ulama* of Islam (Amen). Protect the *ulama* of Islam wherever they may be (Amen). Let the religion of Islam, the word of Islam, take precedence over all others (Amen). O God, render the word of Islam elevated and predominant.¹

You gentlemen know that the Prophet of Islam (may God's peace and salutations be upon him and his descendants) rose up for God alone in a hostile environment. He rose up and endured great hardships, troubles and suffering until he conveyed the message of Islam to the people. He invited the people to the right path, he invited them to monotheism, he withstood such great hardships that I think it is beyond the ability of anyone else to endure the same. After the death of the Most Noble Messenger (may God's peace and salutations be upon him and his descendants) the Muslims carried out their duties to a certain extent. They strengthened Islam; they spread Islam such that a great Islamic state was established in the world which was superior to all others. The Prophet himself wrote a letter to Heraclius² which

¹ "Word" in the Quran has been used for various meanings, among them: the promise of truth; monotheism; Islamic call. Refer to the translation of the commentary of *Al-Mizan*, vol. 6, p. 91 and vol. 14, p. 188.

² Heraclius the First (circa 575-641 CE) defeated Phocas the Byzantine (Eastern Roman Empire) emperor in 610 CE and succeeded him as emperor. Initially, Heraclius was defeated in his war with the Persians and lost Syria, Palestine and Egypt. However, he mustered his army and once again attacked the Persians and retrieved his lost lands. The war between the Sasanian (Sassanid) and Byzantine empires ended with the death of Chosroes Parviz, the Persian king. In the last years of his reign, Heraclius remained in his palace eventually dying in 641 CE.

After the rise of Islam, in 628 and 629 CE, the Prophet began to disseminate the message of Islam outside of Arabia and to invite the kings and leaders of the neighboring countries to Islam. For example, the Most Noble Messenger in the letters that he wrote to the Byzantine

is preserved in the book *Sahih al-Bukhari*;¹ and in fact, as is recorded in history, he wrote four letters to four rulers, the rulers of Iran, Rome, Egypt and Abyssinia.² These letters, if I am not mistaken, have been preserved, and I have seen his actual letter in a Turkish museum, if I remember rightly.³ In these four letters, the contents of which are the same, he invited the four rulers to Islam and monotheism. This was the first step; this was the basis from which to convey the truth of Islam to the entire world, to all the empires of the world, and to introduce true Islam to the people. Unfortunately, apart

emperor and the king of Persia asked them to free the servants of God and allow them to worship the one God who has no partner and is the True Monarch. The letter that the Prophet sent to the emperor Heraclius read thus: "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. From Muhammad the Prophet of God to Heraclius the Great Emperor of Rome. Greetings to him who is the follower of righteous guidance. Verily, I bid you to hear the divine call of Islam. Turn to Islam so that you may be saved and God rewards you both in this world and the Hereafter. "Say: O People of the Book! Come to common terms as between us and you that we worship none but God and ascribe no partner unto Him and that none of us shall take others for lords besides Him. And if they turn away then say: Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered unto Him'." [Italics are from *Surah Al-i Imran* (The Family of *Imran*) 3:64. Refer to *Tarikh-e Yaqubi*, p. 443].

¹ The third Muslim century saw the compilation of the various Sunni collections of *hadiths* (sayings or traditions of the Prophet) into six books recognized as containing authentic or "sound" *hadiths* and which have since become standard. Of these six collections, referred to as *as-Sihah as-Sittah*, the "Six Authentic Collections", the most famous and most authoritative is that of Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Bukhari (810-70 CE), *Sahih al-Bukhari*. Bukhari, who was a Persian, selected out of the 600,000 traditions he collected from 1,000 shaykhs in the course of sixteen years of travel and labor in Persia, Iraq, Syria, the Hijaz and Egypt some 7397 traditions which he classified according to subject-matter such as prayer, pilgrimage and *jihad*. Bukhari's tomb outside of Samarqand is still visited by pilgrims today.

² After the conclusion of the Treaty of al-Hudaybiyyah which ensured a period of peace between the Muslims and their enemies, the Prophet of Islam sent letters to the kings and rulers inviting them to embrace Islam. The letters of the Prophet were divided into several categories. One category contains his letters to the kings and princes of different countries, amongst them the four letters of the Prophet of Islam to the rulers of the day: Chosroes Parviz, the Shah of Persia; Heraclius, the Roman Emperor; the Negus (*Najashi*) of Abyssinia; and Cyrus (*al-Muqawqis*) the Egyptian ruler.

³ In Turkey there are two museums called Istanbul Museum and Ankara Museum which were established in 1846 and 1923, respectively. They contain many historical artifacts and works of art. In 1964, Imam visited these two museums. When he first arrived in Turkey, Imam began to learn the Turkish language by the teach-yourself method and on the third day of his exile he visited the mosques, historical centers and other parts of Ankara. Imam's visits were made under the watchful eye of the Iranian and Turkish security agents. Toward the end of his period of exile in Turkey and while visiting some parts of the city of Izmir, Imam Khomeini saw the graves of forty clergymen. When he asked his Turkish companion the reason for their deaths, he was told that these clergymen were executed on the orders of Ataturk because they opposed his policies and defended Islam. Imam refers to this subject in his later speeches.

from the Abyssinian king, none of the rulers gave a positive reply and so the Noble Messenger's invitation, his attempts to introduce Islam to them ceased. Still, through numerous hardships, the Noble Messenger himself, and those who were responsible for the leadership of Islam after him, strengthened Islam, and it was passed down through the generations until now when it has been entrusted to us. Islam is now entrusted to this generation which exists now. This generation is responsible for Islam and the Islamic laws, and this responsibility changes according to the different classes of people. The responsibility of some is very great and that of others not so great.

Those whose responsibility is very great are the Muslim governments, the Muslim heads of state and the Muslim kings. Their responsibility is great and perhaps greater than all other classes. Islam is now entrusted, according to the will and ontological command¹ of God, the Blessed and Exalted, to the hands of these people. They are responsible for protecting Islam, for guarding its laws and preserving ideological unity under Islam. They are also responsible for introducing Islam to the civilized world so that it won't be thought that Islam is like Christianity (nominal, not true Christianity): a spiritual relationship between the people and God, the Blessed and Exalted, and nothing more. Islam has a program for life, a program for governance. Islam ruled for five hundred years or more, it reigned even though the laws of Islam at that time were not put into practice as they should have been. Still, even with only half of them in implementation, Islam administered a vast state with honor and dignity in all aspects, in all matters. One shouldn't suppose that Islam is like the other religions which exist today. These religions, especially Christianity which has nothing except for a few moral codes, have no program pertaining to the politics and administration of countries. Perhaps at their own time they did, but no longer. Islam is not like these religions, it has a program for these things. Islam has laid the foundations of man's life from before his birth. It has established the social foundations of the family and has laid down injunctions for man for the time that he lives in the family to the time that he enters into education, to the time that he enters society, to the time that he has relations with other countries,

¹ *Takwini*: meaning "ontological command". Philosophers and theologians distinguish this, which refers to the laws of creation and which all must obey by the very nature of things, from the "legislative [*tashri'i*] command," which refers to the laws set down by God in revelation and which man can obey or disobey according to his own free will. The "ontological command" is referred to in such verses as: "*His command, when He desires a thing, is to say to it 'Be' and it is.*" *Surah Ya-Sin* 36:81.

with other governments, with other nations; all of these have a program, the holy laws contain provisions for all of these things. Islam does not constitute just praying and making pilgrimage, the laws of Islam are not concerned merely with performing the mandatory ritual prayer [*namaz*], supplicatory prayer and pilgrimage; these form just one section of the laws of Islam. Praying and making pilgrimage are just one concern among a number covered by Islam. Islam deals with politics, with administering a country. Islamic laws can administer large countries. It is the responsibility of the presidents of Islamic countries, the kings of Islamic countries, the governments of Islamic countries to introduce Islam to the world.

Christians should not imagine that Islam is like Christianity or that the mosque is like the church. When *namaz* was held in the mosque, duties were assigned, the principles of war were decided there, and the administration of countries was planned there. The mosque is not like the church. The church, as they say, represents a personal relationship between the people and God, the Blessed and Exalted, however the mosque of the Muslims at the time of the Messenger of God (may God's peace and salutations be upon him and his descendants) and at the time of the caliphs—however they were—was the center of the politics of Islam. On Fridays, the Friday prayer sermon was political, it was concerned with wars, with the administration of cities, these all came from the mosque, the foundations were laid in the mosque at the time of the Messenger of God and at the time of Hadrat Amir, [Imam Ali] may God's peace be upon him, and at other times.

Islam should be introduced as it really is; the leaders are charged with a duty to perform. Those to whom God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given leadership have a responsibility to carry out. They have to introduce true Islam. They should organize a radio program for the introduction of Islam. They should consult the *ulama* so they can explain to them the truth of Islam and then they should propagate this truth by means of the radio and other methods of communication.

The Prophet of Islam wanted to create ideological unity in the world. He wanted to bring all the countries of the world, all the inhabited regions of the earth, together under the banner of monotheism. But the great desires of the kings of that time on the one hand and the prejudice of the Jewish and Christian clergy and others on the other were obstacles to his plans. Even today they form obstacles, they create problems for us. Even today the Jews prevent us from spreading Islam. Even now the Christians prevent us from introducing true Islam. Even today they form an obstacle.

Today it is the duty of the heads of Islamic countries, the kings and the presidents of Islamic countries to put aside these petty differences which occasionally arise between them. There are no Arabs and non-Arabs, Turks and Persians; there is only Islam and unity under Islam. They should adopt the same method of struggle that the Prophet of Islam used in his struggle; they should follow the way of Islam. If they guard their ideological unity, if they put aside these petty differences, if all the Muslims join together, then, according to estimations,¹ there will be a community of seven hundred million. But seven hundred million people divided are not as great as one million united. Seven hundred million divided people are of no use, thousands of millions of divided people cannot do anything either. However, if these seven hundred million, if only four hundred million of them, two hundred million of them, were to unite together, join hands in brotherhood together, protect each other's borders, protect their own boundaries, if they were to unite in the Islamic community which is common to us all, in the religion of monotheism which is common to us all, in the Islamic interests that we share, then the Jews would no longer covet Palestine and India would no longer have designs on Kashmir.² That is why they don't let you unite.

¹ Seven hundred million is the estimated number of Muslims in the world at the time of the speech. The exact number of Muslims in the world is not known. Statistics on this are in no way accurate because in some countries the Muslim population has not yet been counted; in some other countries people cannot reveal their religious convictions; in a number of countries the enumerators try to present the number of Muslims as being less than it really is for political or ideological reasons. In Europe and America only the sex, age and occupation of the people in the census are often taken into consideration, no interest being shown in their religious convictions. Therefore, it cannot be said with certainty how many Muslims live in those countries. In countries like America and India, converts to Islam are also not considered in the census. Whatever, the number of Muslims in the world exceeds one billion and without a doubt over the past decade that figure has been on the rise.

² Kashmir is situated in north-west India and neighbors Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is a mountainous region of great natural beauty and fertile land covering an area of 242 square kilometers and with a population of about five million people. The majority of Kashmiris are Muslim and because they converse mostly in the Persian language Kashmir is also known as "Iran Minor". Before colonization by the British, Kashmir had an independent government, but at the time of the British assault on India, this country was also occupied and until 1947 was controlled by the British. After the division of the Indian subcontinent into two independent states of Pakistan (Muslim) and India (Hindu), the state of Kashmir with a 70% Muslim population was supposed to be incorporated into Pakistan, however, India would not relinquish it and this annexation did not take place. Consequently, in 1949 Kashmir was partitioned, the north-west area becoming Azad Kashmir [Free Kashmir] controlled by Pakistan, and the remainder being incorporated into India as the State of Jammu and Kashmir. However, the dispute over Kashmir did not end with partition and both Pakistan and India continued to lay claim to the other's portion. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister

The hands that want to take your resources away from you, that want to take your wealth free of charge, that want to plunder both your underground resources and those that lie above the ground, they won't let Iraq and Iran, Iran and Egypt, Turkey and Iran unite together. They won't let them join forces.

It is the duty of the leaders to sit down together and reach a mutual understanding. They should protect their own borders; each one should preserve their boundaries and territorial integrity then join forces against that foreign enemy who causes you so much harm. There is a group of thieving Jews in Palestine who have kept more than a million Muslims dispersed for ten years, more than ten years, and have occupied Islamic lands. All the Muslim leaders do is mourn over their plight, but if they unite, how can this bunch of thieving Jews take Palestine from you and drive the Muslims out of Palestine while you look on helplessly? If they unite, how can the poor, wretched Hindus take our dear Kashmir from us while the Muslims look on helplessly?

These matters are all too clear, but sometimes one needs reminding of them. The leaders themselves know these things, but they should give them more thought. They should sit down together in meetings; they should come together, reflect on these matters and put aside these petty differences. Islam is now in your hands. The heads of Islam, the kings of Islam, the presidents and the shaykhs of Islam, those who have leadership in Islam should realize that God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given them this leadership and now they have a responsibility. Becoming the head of a nation, the leader of a people carries with it a responsibility for those people, for the life of the people, for what happens to those people.

Wealth lies in the hands of the East. Oil, this important resource, is in the hands of the East, in the hands of the Muslims—that which lies in Islamic lands. The world has progressed because of these important reserves of oil. Others need this oil. Every country which has progressed has done so through these reserves, every country which has won a war has done so because of oil. These oil reserves are in your hands. Praise be to God, Iraq has oil. Praise be to God, Iran has oil; Kuwait has oil; Hijaz has oil. This is one of the astounding things, the oil is in the hands of the Muslims so others should come and bow down before you, they should kiss your hands, kiss

of independent India, against his moral inclinations, opposed the vote of the United Nations Security Council which recommended that the future of Kashmir be determined by a democratic referendum. Nehru approved the laws that the Parliament of Kashmir, which was an artificial Parliament, had ratified calling for union with India (1957).

your feet and buy these reserves at the highest price; you shouldn't bow to them. God willing you don't. The wealth lies in your hands, they should be the ones who flatter you, but unfortunately we see that this is not the case. The imperialists have dealt with this matter, they have deceived some countries into thinking that they should flatter them, that they should pay them compliments and offer them something so that they come and take their wealth away (as they have done in other areas of the world). This is distressing.

As long as there is no unity, as long as the heads of Islam don't create unity, as long as they don't think about the misfortunes of the Muslim nations, about the problems that Islam and the laws of Islam have to contend with, about the alienation of Islam and the Holy Quran, they cannot have sovereignty. They should think, they should act so they find supremacy. If they consider this matter, if they act on it, then they will become masters of the world. If they introduce Islam to the world as it truly is, and if they put it into practice as it should be, then leadership will be yours, greatness will be yours. "*Greatness belongs to God, His Messenger and to the believers*".¹

So far I have spoken about that group, which constitutes our political leaders. The other group which also bears a responsibility is the *ulama* of Islam and the great *maraji'*. Their responsibility is very great, extremely great, perhaps in one way the responsibility of the *ulama* of Islam is greater than that of anyone else. It is up to them to introduce the Islam that they know to the world. Of course we don't have the means to do this, and this too is due to our incompetence. We don't have the means, all the means are in the hands of others. The Muslims and the *ulama*, the true Muslims and true *ulama* that is, don't have the means to propagate Islam and tell the world what Islam really is. You have such a good commodity and you cannot tell the world about it. The Christians, on the other hand, have spread the word of their Gospel, and you are aware of its contents, it is not an original account of the life and sayings of Jesus. They have spread the word of a false gospel² to

¹ *Surah Munafiqun* (The Hypocrites) 63:8.

² After the death of Jesus, many of his followers began to record accounts of his life and teachings and these were called Gospels. However, the only known surviving Gospel written by a disciple of Jesus, that is, by a man who spent most of his time in the actual company of Jesus during the three years in which he was delivering his message, is the Gospel of Barnabas. This Gospel was accepted as a canonical Gospel in the churches of Alexandria until 325 CE when the famous Council of Nicea was held and the doctrine of the Trinity was declared to be the official doctrine of the Pauline Church. One of the consequences of this decision was that out of the three hundred or so Gospels extant at that time, four were chosen as the official Gospels of the Church; these were the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and

the whole world and their missionaries have traveled all over the world preaching its message. It is said that as the Islamic countries, those countries which were under the yoke of imperialism, one by one in recent years broke free from the imperialist's grasp,¹ so the Pope's missionaries entered these countries and began to convert the people there to Christianity. Yet we, even in our own communities cannot do this, we cannot present the laws of Islam as they truly are even to our own society. We do not take our debates beyond the bounds of the book on ritual purity or the book on *khums*² or whatever. We don't talk about the politics of Islam. We don't talk about the divine

John which the Christians of today follow. The remaining Gospels, including the Gospel of Barnabas, were ordered to be destroyed completely. An edict was issued stating that anyone found in possession of an unauthorized Gospel would be put to death. This was the first well-organized attempt to remove all the records of Jesus' original teachings, whether in human or book form, which contradicted the doctrine of the Trinity. In the case of the Gospel of Barnabas, these attempts were not entirely successful and mention of its continued existence has been made up to the present day. It has been banned by the Popes over the centuries and is included in the list of Apocryphal [hidden from the people] and forbidden books. Those who have studied the *Evangelium Barnabe* remark on the fullness of its account of Jesus' life and teachings and how different this account is from that given in the four accepted Gospels. The Gospel of Barnabas declares the unity of God, foretells the coming of the Prophet of Islam and states that Christ was not crucified by the Romans but that Judas, the betrayer of Christ, was transformed by the Creator to resemble Jesus and was crucified in his stead. In the Gospels accepted today, many of the laws and injunctions are ignored, except for a few cases, and the main message contained in them is to obey God and His commandments, refrain from sin, to be kind and humble, not to be proud, to boast or be unjust. For more information on this subject, refer to *The Gospel of Barnabas* and *Jesus, A Prophet of Islam* by Muhammad Ata ur-Rahim.

¹ Some of the Islamic countries which have freed themselves from the direct domination of foreigners and have apparently regained their independence in the last half a century are listed: Algeria, Tunisia, Chad, Djibouti, Sudan, Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, from French colonialism; Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Gambia, Maldives, Sierra Leone, Oman, Kuwait, Malaysia, Nigeria, South Yemen, from British colonialism; Libya from Italian colonialism; and Somalia from British and Italian colonialism.

² *Khums*: literally means *one-fifth*. According to the Shiah school of jurisprudence [*fiqh*], this one-fifth tax is obligatorily levied on every adult Muslim who is financially secure and has surplus in his income out of annual savings, net commercial profits, and all movable and immovable properties which are not commensurable with the needs and social standing of the person. *Khums* is divided into two equal parts: the Share of the Imam [*sahm al-Imam*] and the Share of the *Sayyids/Sadat* (descendants of the Prophet) [*sahm as-Sadat*]. Accordingly, the Share of the Imam is to be paid to the living Imam, and in the period of Occultation, to the most learned living *mujtahid* who is the giver's *marja' at-taqlid* [Source of Emulation]. The other half of the *khums*, the Share of the *Sayyids/Sadat*, is to be given to needy pious *Sayyids* who lack the resources for one's year respectable living in consonance with their various statuses. For more information, see Sayyid Muhammad Rizvi, *Khums: An Islamic Tax*, <http://www.al-islam.org/beliefs/practices/khums.html>.

ordinances of Islam. Not being able to implement the divine ordinances does not mean that we shouldn't present them to the world. We should propagate them. The world should know that Islam has a program.

Islam has a program for everything, for all kinds of life. Who should introduce this other than the *ulama*? The *ulama* of Islam (may God increase their number) go through much trouble (for Islam) and endure many hardships, nevertheless their responsibility demands more from them than this. God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given might to the *ulama*; He has given them greatness; men listen to them; nations obey them. Their position brings with it responsibility; just as the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him and his descendants) had responsibility and rose up for his responsibility, so too they must rise up for their responsibility. They should introduce Islam and Islamic laws as they truly are, not that Islam which is in the hands of a few pseudo-saints and consists of just a book of prayers.¹ We should tell the world about this great commodity and about the progressive laws that we have. We don't need to refer to anybody else's laws. We've got laws for everything. Islam has prescribed man's duties; it has laid down the laws. The Muslims do not need to follow anybody else's laws. Now our youth, these young people in the universities, whether here, in Iran or in other countries, they don't know what true Islam is, or they don't even know what Islam is at all. They don't perceive Islam as being anything other than *namaz* and a few laws for ritual purity and so on. They think that if they want to become practicing Muslims and act according to Islamic precepts, there is nothing for them to act on. They believe this because Islam has not been presented properly. They ask: "What program does Islam have for us to act on? Such and such a group has a program, such and such a creed has a program, it has a program for life and we want a program for life, but Islam is just something individual between man and God, the Blessed and Exalted, and nothing more than this. Islam has no program for us to act on." They think this because they don't know Islam. They have no knowledge of the laws of Islam; they think Islam has no program for life. It is up to the *ulama* of Islam to rectify this. Of course they can't do it by themselves because of the problems they have, but it is their responsibility to set this matter right. They must explain Islam, all aspects of Islam, all doctrines of Islam, all ordinances of Islam, to the world. They should write and publish books concerning the laws of

¹ *Mafatih al-Jinan* [Keys to the Gardens of Paradise]: the standard manual of Shi'i devotion containing the supplicatory prayers of the Imams, as well as formulae for recitation at particular times or during visitation of the tombs of the Imams. Its compiler, Shaykh Abbas Qummi, was a scholar of vast learning who died in Najaf in 1940.

Islam. If they are successful in securing a radio program for themselves to convey their message, then they should use it to present Islam accurately to the world, so the world will understand what we have (in Islam), and even though we have this, still we live as we do. This is a great responsibility on the shoulders of the distinguished *ulama* (may God elevate their word). And you, the distinguished religious scholars and young *ulama*, also have responsibility. The responsibility of the future of Islam is on your shoulders, and it is a very heavy responsibility.

You should begin from now to meet this responsibility; these young sixteen-year-old men, these twenty-year-old men who are studying in the religious schools, in all schools, should begin from now, in accordance with the will of God, in accordance with the divine commands. They should be such that for each step they take for the acquisition of knowledge, they take one for self-reform and moral purification. If, God forbid, there is an *alim* who has not reformed himself, not purified himself; if, God forbid, there is an *alim* who is not as Islam requires him to be, then this is more of a loss than a benefit. All the false religions which have been invented or created were founded by educated people, people who were educated in the religious schools but who had not purified themselves. If you take note, you will see that all the heads of false religions are from amongst those who have studied, who are clergymen, but those who have not purified themselves.¹

This place is in the sanctuary of Hadrat Amir [Imam Ali], may God's peace be upon him. Being here in the holy land of Najaf, in the sanctuary of Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him, also carries with it many responsibilities. Just being here in Najaf is different than, for example, being in Kuwait, Tehran or Baghdad. Being in Najaf is itself something else, it carries with it responsibility. One should look at what conditions Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him, lived under; how he conducted himself in private and in public. One should think about the life of Hadrat Amir, may God's peace be upon him. One should take note of all the troubles he went through for Islam, how many times he was wounded, how much he suffered, how many times he fought in battle, how thirsty he went. One should consider these things. One such Islam has been entrusted to us, has been entrusted to you gentlemen. You have a responsibility. God forbid that in your quest for knowledge you think to comprehend the subtleties of the religious sciences but overlook spiritual refinement. Reform yourselves;

¹ Refer to the biographies of people such as Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab, the founder of Wahhabism; Shaykh Zaynuddin Ahmad Ihsa'i, the leader of the Shaykhi sect and Sayyid Kazim Rashti, his successor.

purify yourselves through the teachings of Allah, through the laws of Allah. If you do not do this, then knowledge is of no use. If there is no purification, then that light which God, the Blessed and Exalted, places in the hearts of those He pleases will not be placed.¹

That knowledge which brings illumination, that light which God, the Blessed and Exalted, grants, calls for expertise. It will not be granted to just any heart. Not every heart is worthy of it. If one does not purify himself, if one does not empty his heart of ugly morals, does not correct his vile deeds, if one does not turn to God and does not surrender his whole heart to Him, God the Blessed and Exalted will not place this light in his heart. This is not vain talk. You cannot turn around and say: “No, I know the intricacies of the religious sciences so I’m all right.” No, many knew the intricacies of religious sciences. Ghazzali² knew them very well. Abu Hanifah also knew them well.³ There are many people who know the intricacies of the religious sciences better than any, yet God the Blessed and Exalted has not placed that light in their hearts. This light calls for purification, for suffering and self-

¹ It refers to the *hadith*: “Knowledge is a light which God places in the heart of those He wishes.” *Al-Mahajjat al-Bayda*, vol. 5, p. 45.

² Hujjat al-Islam Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Ghazzali at-Tusi was born in Iran in 1058 at Tus, Khorasan, where he died in 1111. Al-Ghazzali is recognized by many as a great theologian of Islam and the final authority for Sunni orthodoxy. Starting his religious life as orthodox, al-Ghazzali soon turned to Sufism. He spent many years roaming from place to place before eventually going to Baghdad to preach and teach. It was there that he composed what many see as his masterpiece, *Ihya’ Ulum ad-Din* [The Revivification of the Sciences of Religion]. His other well-known works include: *Fatihah al-Ulum*; *Tahafut al-Falasifah*; *Al-Iqtisad fi l-I’tiqad* and *Kimiya-ye Saadat* [Alchemy of Happiness] which is *Ihya’ Ulum ad-Din* re-presented on a smaller scale for Persian readers. Al-Ghazzali was, however, among a number of classical Sunni authorities who attempted to legitimize both the hereditary caliphate and the usurpation of power by military dynasties, by means of their political theories. The influence of these theories has far outlived the circumstances that produced them and it continues to affect the political attitudes of Sunni Muslims, although it is now diminishing.

³ Al-Nu’man ibn Thabit (669-767 CE), also known as Abu Hanifah the founder of the Hanafi school of thought, was of Iranian origin and was born in Kufah. Although a merchant by profession, Abu Hanifah learnt Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] in his youth and became an influential jurist. However, he regarded the Quran as being created and he did not attach special importance to the *hadiths* [sayings and traditions] of the Prophet rejecting many (about four hundred) and only accepting a few as being “sound” or correct and thus applicable. He insisted on the right of *qiyas* or analogical deduction in his teachings, leading to what we call legal fiction. In all fields, he exaggerated some points and ignored others. Abu Hanifah was a student of Imam Ja’far as-Sadiq (*a*) for two years. One day Imam as-Sadiq found Abu Hanifah’s answer to a question on Islamic jurisprudence to be incorrect. He reproached him and said: “Woe unto you. What is your reference? Fear God and do not apply analogical deduction based on your own reasoning.”

discipline. Gentlemen, you have come here and joined this group, now you have to discipline yourselves, you have to take pains, you have to observe your duties, and you have to call your soul to account.¹ In the evening, when you have finished your studies, late at night, consider how many wrong deeds, God forbid, you carried out that day; God willing there won't be any. Consider how many times, God forbid, you spoke ill of someone that day; how many times you were impudent to the religious scholars. Do you realize what it means before God if one word of insolence is spoken to the *maraji'* of Islam? One has openly waged war with God! They are the friends [*awliya*]² of God.

For every step taken in the quest for knowledge, there should be at least one step taken towards moral purification, towards strengthening one's faith, towards establishing faith in one's heart. These matters need thinking about; they call for self-examination and guarding against evil. You gentlemen should be on your guard; you should guard yourselves against evil from morning till night. Man's soul is rebellious, if it is neglected for one moment, God forbid, it will draw the human being towards unbelief not just sinfulness. If the human being is neglectful, Satan won't be satisfied with his moral depravity, he wants man's unbelief. His ultimate goal is to create unbelief. It begins with small sins which gradually grow into bigger sins until eventually it reaches the stage when, God forbid, it turns the human being away from Islam. You should be on your guard. From the minute you wake up in the morning, from when the call to prayer [*adhan*] is made, or, God willing, even before that, you should be on your guard against evil. In these

¹ Calling one's soul to account is examining one's deeds, one's thoughts and one's heart in order to purify one's soul. Imam Khomeini, in his ethical and mystical work, *Sharh-e Chehel Hadith* [An Exposition of Forty *Hadiths*], cites the examination of one's soul as well as binding oneself with the resolve not to do anything against God's commands [*musharatah*] and guarding against evil [*muraqabah*] as necessary acts of a seeker of truth who is battling with his self [*mujahid*].

² The word *awliya'* has been retained here because of the depth of its meaning. Normally translated as helpers, friends, guardians, administrators, Hamid Algar in his book *Islam and Revolution* p. 361, n. 2, informs us that the word *awliya'* also refers to those who possess the quality of intrinsic *wilayah* i.e. governance. In Shi'i belief, they are the foremost among the prophets and the Twelve Imams who succeeded Prophet Muhammad (s). The word *awliya'* indicates primarily their spiritual rank, whereas the word Imam designates their function of leadership. According to some theologians, the *awliya'* are those whose belief is sound, who perform their religious duties and who as a result have attained proximity to God. In the general sense that can be deduced from the Quran, 10:62-63: "Verily the friends [*awliya'*] of God—those who believe and guard against evil—shall suffer no fear nor shall they grieve," it means "friends."

gatherings you have, whether with two people, four people, ten or a hundred people, you should guard yourselves against committing evil acts. Respect you elders, respect your friends, and respect the believers. You should not have an evil tongue, God forbid. You should not create problems and arguments. If you think that someone is doing something that in your opinion he shouldn't be doing or he does not do something that you believe he should do, take him as being correct in his course of action or lack of action as the case may be. One should not, without giving the matter due attention, be insolent, God forbid, to a believer, a Muslim, a religious student, a seeker of knowledge, let alone a religious scholar or a *marja'*. One should guard oneself against doing such things. One should be careful and observe all these points if one is to be favored by God.

Later on you will have a weighty responsibility. If you become the *alim* of a city, you have responsibility for that city. God willing, if you become the *alim* of a country, you have responsibility for that country. If you become the *marja'* of an Islamic community, you have responsibility for that community. You should begin now laying the foundations for the time that you will carry out this responsibility and fulfill your obligation. From now you should think about this. Don't say: "Well no, we'll study our lessons now and later on, God willing, when we are older, we will turn to moral purification." This is not possible. You can reform yourselves while you are young, but if, God forbid, you do not begin to purify yourselves now, then you will find it very difficult to do so when you are old, when your will power is weak and the enemy strong. As man's age advances, his will power weakens and the army of Satan in his heart becomes strong. Then it will be impossible to purify oneself, and even if it were possible, it would be very difficult. You should begin now, begin while you are young. Every step you take now is towards the grave. There is no time to waste; there is no reason to hold back. Every minute which passes of your honorable lives takes you a little bit closer to the grave, to the place where you will be asked questions, where you will be called to account. You should not neglect this task for you are getting closer to death. No one has given you a guarantee that you will live for a hundred and twenty years. We don't have a hundred and twenty years, maybe one dies at twenty-five, maybe at fifty, maybe sixty, perhaps, God forbid, just now. There is no guarantee. You should think about this. You should guard yourself against evil. You should purify your morals, God willing purify them even more than they now are. Act according to the teachings of Islam, according to the laws of Islam, so that, God willing, you will be favored by God and, under the pure dome of the shrine of Imam Ali (may God's peace

be upon him), you will be granted the light of that knowledge which has the approval of God, that knowledge which is light, that knowledge which brings you close to God, the Blessed and Exalted. This knowledge calls for self-discipline and sacrifice. You are already making sacrifices, so add this one to the others.

I pray to Almighty God that He grant you success (the audience replies with “Amen”). I pray to Almighty God that He grant glory and greatness to Islam and the Muslims (“Amen”). I pray to Almighty God that He grant glory and greatness to the *maraji*’ of Islam (“Amen”). I pray to Almighty God for the long life of the *maraji*’ of Islam (“Amen”). I pray to Almighty God for the moral purification of the students (“Amen”).

Introduction to Speech Number Eighteen

Date: Between October 1965 and September 1966 AD / Aban 1344 and Shahrivar 1346 AHS

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: Disunion benefits the enemies and self-love is the basis of all problems

Occasion: The existence of an atmosphere of disunion and discord at the Najaf theological centre

Those present: The *ulama*, scholars and students of religious sciences of the Najaf theological centre

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

On the evening of October 19, 1965 (Mehr 27, 1344 AHS), a few days after he was taken from Turkey to Iraq, Imam Khomeini went to see the *maraji-i taqlid* in Najaf. The conversation he had with Ayatullah Hakim that evening shows Imam's firm resolve to carry out his mission at the Najaf theological centre, and reveals the general character of the centre and the thinking prevalent there at the time. A verbatim account of the conversation is given as follows:

Imam Khomeini: It would not be a bad idea for you to visit Iran for a change of climate and witness the situation there at first hand and see for yourself what is happening to this Muslim nation. At the time of the late Burujirdi, I regarded his quietism in the face of the oppressive government as being sound and told myself that he had adopted this stance because he was not being told about the true state of affairs. I feel that this is the case with you also, and you are not being told about the suffering inflicted by the Iranian government on the people, otherwise you would not be so silent on the matter. In Tehran they celebrated twenty-five years of Pahlavi rule, and they extorted 4,000 dollars by force from these poor people for the celebrations. They put 800 girls and 800 boys together in one place and I'm ashamed to say what they did on the pretext of having a prayer gathering.

Ayatullah Hakim: Going to Iran does not appeal to me while you are here. Anyway, what good would it do, what effect would it have?

Imam Khomeini: It would most certainly be effective. By our uprising, we prevented the government from carrying out its dangerous plans. How can one say that your visit would not have any effect? If the *ulama* are united this will most definitely be effective.

Ayatullah Hakim: It would be better if a rational solution were sought and steps were taken through reasonable means.

Imam: Certainly, this kind of approach is effective, as we have seen. What we mean by action is rational action; irrational action is not being considered here at all. I am talking about the actions taken by the *ulama* and rational individuals of the nation.

Ayatullah Hakim: If our actions are too severe, the people won't follow us....they will not stand up for religion.

Imam: As I said, the people showed their bravery and sincerity on Khordad 15 (June 5, 1963).

Ayatullah Hakim: If we rise up and someone gets a bloody nose and disturbances occur, the people will curse us and will create an uproar.

Imam: We rose up and we didn't see anything other than respect, approval and the kissing of our hands. Whoever did not join us was treated coldly by the people and became the object of their animosity. When I was in exile in Turkey, I went to one of the Turkish villages - I can't remember its name - and the people of that village told me that when Ataturk embarked on his irreligious actions, the Turkish *ulama* got together in the village and began their own activities to counter his designs. In response, Ataturk surrounded the village and killed forty of those Turkish *ulama*. I felt a sense of shame when I heard this. I thought to myself: these were Sunni *ulama*, but when the religion of Islam was endangered they sacrificed forty lives. Yet at this time when a great danger threatens our religion, none of the noses of the Shii *ulama* bleeds, not mine, not yours nor anybody else's. This is indeed a cause of shame.

Ayatullah Hakim: What should we do? Whatever we do must be effective. What effect does giving lives have?

Imam: Anti-religious actions fall into two groups. One covers the actions of Riḍa Khan. He acted irreligiously and openly stated that he would do as he pleased. He didn't take the *shariah* into account at all. Of course, the action taken against him was based on the divine ruling to forbid the evil. The present Shah, however, carries out irreligious and anti-Quranic actions and says that they are based on religion, that what he does is what is required of him by the Quran, that he speaks from the Holy Quran. This evil practice¹, which jolts the foundations of the religion, is intolerable. One should make sacrifices. Let history relate that when religion was attacked some of the Shii *ulama* rose up and some of them got killed.

¹ *Bidat*: a belief or practice not compatible with either the Quran or the Sunna.

Ayatullah Hakim: What benefit does history have? The action must be effective.

Imam: In what way is it not effective? Wasn't the uprising of Husayn ibn Ali, upon whom be peace, of effective service to history. Have we not benefited greatly from his uprising?

Ayatullah Hakim: What do you say about Imam Hasan? He did not rise up.

Imam: Had Imam Hasan have had as many followers as you have, he would have risen up. He did initially give the command for an uprising, but then he saw that his followers had sold themselves and so he could not carry on. But you have followers in all Islamic countries.

Ayatullah Hakim: I do not see anybody who would follow us if we were to take action.

Imam: You take the action and rise up, and I will be the first one to follow you!

Ayatullah Hakim smiled and was silent¹.

The theological school in Najaf was once a centre of Islamic dynamism, a fortress defending the faith. The religious decree (*fatwa*) for armed struggle with British colonialism in Iraq had been issued from there and the great *ulama* of Najaf, guns on shoulders, had fought side by side with the freedom fighters against the British. Iran too had once turned towards this prestigious centre for leadership and guidance, and many of the protests and uprisings in the country had been orchestrated from there. However, this was no longer the case at the time of Imam's arrival at the school. Years of silence and stagnation had accorded those there the peace of mind to continue with their religious lessons and debates while neglecting the problems of the Islamic world and the dangers faced by the religion and the people. The arrival at the centre of a revolutionary *marja'*, who had stirred the people of Iran to action against the monarchical regime and whose call on June 3, 1963 (Khordad 13, 1342 AHS) against America and Israel had echoed across the Islamic world, struck fear into the hearts of the reactionaries there. Moreover, contrary to the Shah's expectations, the presence of Imam in Najaf was just as harrowing for the regime as his presence in Iran had been. Consequently, the intelligence agents of the Iranian and Iraqi regimes along with jealous elements at the centre set to work.

With the beginning of Imam's lectures, a group of people expert in the art of disputation, sophistry and confuting the arguments of their rivals

¹ Refer to *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihdat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 2, p. 150.

rushed to where Imam was presenting his lectures. They believed that because Imam had not studied at the Najaf theological centre he would not be able to contend with the scholars who had for years been studying Islamic texts in the peace and quiet of that monastic place free from any distraction.

Imam began his formal lecture by delving into one of the controversial and specialistic topics of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) concerned with business transactions, and presented the Najaf school with some useful and unheard-of issues which astonished many of the graduate *ulama*. And so the trammels were laid and the vituperation and calumny began.

Meanwhile, the Shah's regime was prepared to stop at nothing to eradicate the influence of the Khordad 15 uprising. The friends of Imam, one after the other, were sent to prison or into exile. SAVAK agents were ordered to identify and arrest those people who gave their religious levies to Imam's representatives in Iran for sending on to Najaf, and to seize the money. However, none of the problems and restrictions placed in his path could prevent Imam from continuing the struggle. In his proclamation of April 16, 1967 (Farvardin 27, 1346 AHS), which was his first after being sent into exile, Imam called the clergy and people of Iran to tread the path they had chosen with fortitude and to be steadfast and self-sacrificing. In an open letter¹ to Hoveyda, the Prime Minister of the time, Imam warned: "The assault on the religious teaching institution, the armed attack on the Faydiyyah Madrasa and the courtyard of the pure shrine in Qum, the massacres on Khordad 15 - what can all this be called except blind service to the lords of the dollar? Subjecting the *maraji*, the great *ulama* and the students of the religious sciences to pressure and mounting assaults on the university - what was the result of this except service to the foreigners?" In addition, the Six Day Arab-Israeli War and the issuance of Imam's proclamation in support of the Arabs sparked reaction from the revolution's front in Iran which resulted in the arrest of a number of Imam's friends in Tehran and other cities.

During his stay in Najaf, Imam established himself as a major presence at the theological centre. A group of his followers, many of whom had struggled to get to Najaf and now surrounded him like moths around a candle, were responsible for communicating the periodic proclamations he

¹ Imam sent this proclamation, which was in fact a detailed missive attacking the policies of the regime, to Ayatullah Rabbani Shirazi in Iran through a trusted individual. Its publication and distribution brought about a widespread reaction in the country. After the triumph of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Ayatullah Shirazi was appointed to the Council of Guardians by Imam Khomeini.

issued to Iran and the Muslim world at large. Creating dissension at the centre was the most effective means the reactionaries and opponents of the movement had of keeping this group busy with secondary matters and distracting it from its aims, thus creating circumstances at the centre which were beneficial to the Iranian regime. Imam's young, revolutionary followers could not tolerate the obstacles created by those who simply sat in a corner of the theological school reading books, and they began to stand up in defence of the truth of Imam's path.

In one of the meetings attended by a few of Imam's followers, harsh allegations were made by one of the participants about the lack of co-operation and the quietism of two of the *maraji* residing in Najaf. When news of the meeting reached Imam, he reacted by changing his scheduled lecture and instead presented a speech in which he cautioned his followers and warned them against any kind of encounter which would lead to divisiveness and disunity. Imam cared, perhaps more than anyone, about the destiny of the Islamic world and the theological schools and was all too aware of how the opponents of the movement and the individuals guided by self-interests could take advantage of such disputes and benefit from them.

In his speech, Imam drew attention to the scant numbers of followers of God's religion in the theological schools when compared to the numerous enemies, and described the creation of any kind of deviated front which weakened the schools as being contrary to one's religious duty and advantageous to the enemies. While recalling with some bitterness the situation in the Najaf school, Imam urged the young students to reform and purify themselves, and, referring to the *hadiths* of the *masumin*¹, he emphasised that love of the world and love of the self formed the basis of all conflicts and were the source of instability in the schools and consequently in the religion. Imam knew that disputes and discord amongst the clergy would cause a decline in their influence in society; he explained that: "If governments are afraid of an *akhund* or a *marja*, it's not because of their prayers or their curses, for when have they believed in prayers or curses? They are afraid of the people!" Finally, Imam advised his followers to counter the improper actions of others by acceptable means and by enjoining the good and forbidding the evil and he asked them not to conduct themselves in a manner that would cause factionalism. The leader of the revolution ended his poignant speech with this sentence: "This world slips

¹ *Masumin*: those possessing the quality of *ismat* (divinely bestowed freedom from error and sin) i.e. the Prophet, Fatima his daughter and the Twelve Imams.

through our fingers and will continue to do so. It's nothing, nothing important; one shouldn't give one's heart to it. That which is important is the Hereafter."

Speech Number Eighteen

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

I had intended today to proceed with my scheduled seminar, however yesterday two of the gentlemen came to me and told me things which caused me distress and so I deemed it necessary to take the opportunity to remind you of a few matters. It has even been said, privately, that if the situation is not controlled, it could cause severe disagreements and in some cases even fighting. I don't know what these disagreements are about.¹ Are they about worldly things? If so, you have nothing in this world. What do we have in this world to disagree over? If they put all our possessions together, they would not be enough to provide a comfortable life. Was it necessary for the gentlemen to rise up and form factions over such a meaningless and insignificant matter and for it to be feared that three of these factions may start fighting each other over some matters? Is it not possible that there are other hands involved here—hands which seek to bring shame on the theological schools, to bring more shame than this? Do you not think that this is what your enemies are after and they are involved in this in a way that you cannot see? Your enemies work furtively, they are clever, cunning and deceitful. There is a hand behind all this, an impure hand which seeks first to besmirch you and then destroy you so the people will thank them for destroying the *akhunds*. Is it not possible that they penetrate your groups by pretending to be religious, holy and pious or that they deceive some of you and place some of these gullible people among you to spread ideas which lead to vitiation and aggravate the already demoralized state of the theological schools?

How many do we in fact number? Those of us presently at the Najaf center and the Shiah theological schools of other cities and countries, how many are we? Does our number reach twenty thousand? Let us suppose there are two hundred thousand of us, including the village *akhunds* and others, if these two hundred thousand people had a consensus of opinion and followed

¹ For further information on the circumstances surrounding this speech, refer to *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Study and Analysis of Imam Khomeini's Movement], the section "Imam Khomeini in exile in Iraq," vol. 2, pp. 117-148 and "The beginning of a mission in Najaf," vol. 2, pp. 151-227.

that which Islam has demanded, then they could achieve much. But when among these two hundred thousand people—even if we say they don't have two hundred thousand differing opinions—each person, each front, as you say, has an independent view and according to that the opinions of other fronts are attacked, we can achieve little. Is this how our community is to act? Are we to humiliate one another in this way, our old men humiliating old men, our young men humiliating young men, our young men humiliating the old men and our old men humiliating the young men, while one group looks for an excuse to add to the already sullied state of the theological center and excite discord in the name of this and that front!? The outcome of this discord will be to the benefit of those who view the schools as being detrimental to their interests and who seek their annihilation. They will acquire a favorable outcome from this, and the nation will not express distress at your plight, the people will say this was the situation in the schools and it has not changed; this is still the situation that you see now.

It saddens me when a young man¹ comes here from Europe and stays with us for only a short time, only six to eight days, and comments on the situation here. He didn't say anything to me personally, although he visited me once or twice during his stay, but he told one of the gentlemen here that: "It's fortunate that it was I, the son of an *akhund*, who came to Najaf; if somebody else had have come and seen the situation here what would he have made of it?" I do not know what, in these few days, a person who is studying abroad and who is not of our occupation, even though his father is, has seen in this blessed school to make him comment so! Who was he in contact with and what have they told this student of modern sciences to dishearten him so about the situation in Najaf? If there are some hands involved here and these hands force you to say "I am from this faction, he is from that faction and so-and-so is from the other faction," and God forbid this becomes so and factions are created even in one school, and one day a dispute erupts in one school which affects all the other schools and the impure hands fan the flames of this dispute, then this will besmirch us in the eyes of the world, it will bring disrepute not only on me and you, but on a one-thousand-year-old theological center² and the pious religious scholars

¹ It refers Mr. Sadiq Tabataba'i, the son of Ayatullah Sultani, who at that time was studying in Germany.

² The establishment of the theological center at Najaf should, in truth, be attributed to Shaykh Ṭusi (1201-1274). In 1258, the Mongol invader Hulaku (Hulagu), grandson of Genghis Khan, invaded Baghdad giving the city over to plunder and flames. With the help of the opponents of the Shiah, he wreaked destruction on the centers of Shiah learning and religion in the city and burnt down the great library of Baghdad which housed thousands of volumes of precious and

who, praise be to God, are many in society. In addition to this, how will we answer to God for allowing this to happen?

Our traditions tell us that the dwellers of Hell are vexed by the stench which emanates from an *alim* who does not act according to his knowledge. Why do you think this is so? It is because there is a difference between someone who is an *alim* and someone who is not. There is a difference in some aspects. If, God forbid, an *alim* deviates from the right path, he could lead an *ummah* astray. I have seen this for myself in some of the provincial towns which I used to visit in the summer time. In some of these towns, for example Mahallat,¹ I saw that the people were well-instructed in their duties; the community was well-trained in its religious duties. If one looked a little closer, one saw that these towns had a righteous *alim* to instruct them. If there were just a few righteous, devout clergymen in a society, in a town, a few clergymen who were attentive to their religion, who were aware of what their knowledge meant and acted accordingly, then there wouldn't be any need to preach at all, the very existence of such men would be like a sermon. We have seen people whose mere existence has had a beneficial effect on others. There were clergymen in Qum whose mere existence served as a lesson to others. Tehran, on the other hand, as far as I know, is quite different. The situation there differs according to the different areas of the city. In one area you see that a corrupt person wears a turban or has become

unique books. In the wake of the devastation, Shaykh Ṭusi found conditions unpropitious for the continuation of his social and scientific endeavors in Baghdad and thus moved to Najaf. Gradually, a large group of students joined him there and the foundations of the great theological center of Najaf were laid.

Shaykh Ṭusi was an erudite, innovative religious scholar whose legacy includes many scientific works. He is one of the most outstanding and influential scientific figures of Shiah history, such that even today the Shiah religious schools are influenced by his work. He is known as the "Shaykh of the people". After his death, his son Shaykh Abu Ali Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan, who later became a famous authority on the science of the traditions, acquired the leadership of the school. Abu Ali was known as "Mufid ath-Thani" because of his asceticism and immense knowledge.

After Shaykh Abu Ali and his son, the theological center entered a more lustrous phase of its history through the presence of leading scholars of Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*], principles of jurisprudence [*uSul* or *usul al-fiqh*], etc. Then for a while the center fell from the limelight, and this remained the situation until the migration of the students of the late Ayatullah Wahid Behbahani to Najaf, and consequently the beginning of the center's period of scientific movement with the appearance of such distinguished scholars as Sayyid Bahr al-'Ulum, Muhaqqiq-e Damad, Kashif al-Ghiṭa', Muhammad Hasan Najafi (the writer of *Jawahir al-Kalam*) and Shaykh Murtada AnSari. In a short period of time, the theological center became renowned as one of the highest possible caliber.

¹ Mahallat: a town southwest of Qum.

the congregational prayer leader and he has led a group of people astray! And how strong is the stench that emanates from him! It's a stench which affects us even here, a stench that we produce in this world, not that which someone else adds to that we already have. This is a stench of our own making. Whatever happens in the Hereafter is what we have prepared here and what we take with us to the Hereafter. We shall not be called to account for anything other than our deeds; these are our own deeds.

When an *alim* is corrupt and puts a theological center in danger, this stench which emanates from him pervades not only a theological center but an *ummah* too. It is this stench that now our sense of smell cannot properly perceive. If we go to Hell, God forbid, there we will perceive this stench. And it is this stench which will vex the people of Hell.

In the same tradition it is related that the most distressed people on the Day of Judgment are those who spoke of justice and good conduct but acted to the contrary.¹ These people invite others to do good, and those who heed their call and act accordingly; they are the ones who will go to Heaven. But the person who makes the call, the *alim* who does not act according to his knowledge, he will go to Hell! So one may see, for example, that the grocer who listened to my guidance, my instructions and interdictions enters eternal happiness,² and it is I who, because I did not act according to my own knowledge, enters Hell. How distressing this is!

The responsibilities of an *alim* are truly great. Just as the scholar is spoken very highly of in the traditions (*hadiths*), so too is he spoken highly of in the Quran. Concerning the duties (of the *alim*) which have appeared in our holy traditions refer to the appropriate sections of the books *al-Kafi*³ and

¹ It is a saying of Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq; *al-Kafi*, vol. 2, p. 229.

² "Eternal happiness" is a reference to *Surah at-Tawbah* 9:21: "Their Lord doth give them glad tidings of a mercy from Himself, of His good pleasure, and of Gardens for them, wherein are delights that endure."

³ *Al-Kafi*: one of the most important collections of Shi'i *hadith* compiled by Shaykh Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kulayni (d. 941 CE). *Al-Kafi* includes 16,199 traditions that can be traced back to the Prophet and his family by an unbroken chain of transmission. The traditions in this book cover ideological, ethical and jurisprudential matters to name but a few. Kulayni lived relatively close in time to the period of the Prophet and the twelve Imams, this, along with the method of gathering, classifying and specifying the chain of transmission, has given *al-Kafi* a special importance among the collections of traditions and puts it alongside three other books as the most important collections of Shi'i traditions collectively famous as the *Kutub al-Arbaah* [The Four Books]. It is not claimed, however, that all the traditions contained therein are authentic [*sahih*]. *Al-Kafi* is divided into three sections: *USul al-Kafi*; *Furu' al-Kafi* and *Rawdah al-Kafi*. *USul al-Kafi* covers ideological and ethical matters and consists of the books of: Reason and Ignorance; the Excellence of Knowledge;

Wasa'il.¹ Refer especially to *Usul al-Kafi* concerning these matters, the duties of clergymen, the duties of an *alim*, those rules pertaining to the instructors and the instructed.

God knows that all these terms² tie us down. However much we delve into the terminology of the religion it will be to the detriment of the Muslims in this world and the next if we don't practice self-purification. Words alone have no effect. If the science of *tawhid*³ is accompanied by a sinful soul, then this very science of *tawhid* will be harmful to the human being! There were some people who were erudite in the science of *tawhid*, and yet they misled people, causing some to stray from the right path. There were some people who knew more (about your subject) than you do, but because they themselves had deviated from the right path when they entered a society they caused that society to digress also.

One should be careful about these things. The point is that the position of the *alim* is such that he has to be careful about these things. If a grocer does something wrong, the people say that such and such a grocer is a bad person. The same applies to an herbalist, an office worker, whoever. But the position of the clergyman among the people is such that if an *akhund* does something wrong the people say the *akhunds* are like this, they don't say that one particular *akhund* is bad. They make no distinction between the *akhunds*. But the *akhunds* are humans too; there are good and, God forbid, bad among

Divine Unity; Divine Proof; Belief; Unbelief; Quran and supplementary Prayer. *Furu' al-Kafi*, on the other hand, consists of books and sections on jurisprudence and is one of the authoritative reference books for deduction and independent reasoning [*ijtihad*] from Islamic law for the Shi'i jurists. *Rawdah al-Kafi* comprises different traditions on numerous matters. The grand book *al-Kafi* has for centuries been used by the Shi'i *ulama* and jurists as a reference book. Muslim scholars have written extensive expositions on *al-Kafi*, among them Mulla Sadra Shirazi and Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi.

¹ The book *Wasa'il ash-Shiah* compiled by Shaykh Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Hurr al-amili (d. 1693 CE) is one of the best collections of traditions [*hadiths*] ever compiled in recent centuries. *Wasa'il* is of immense importance to the Shiah *ulama* and numerous expositions have been written on it so far. *Wasa'il* includes traditions from the Prophet of Islam and the Imams which are quoted in the Four Books and in many other *hadith* collections. The classification and sectioning of the traditions of this book are especially noteworthy. *Wasa'il ash-Shiah* comprises more than fifty-one books from *Kitab at-Taharah* to *Kitab ad-Diyat* and provides a comprehensive review of matters concerning jurisprudence, laws, ethics and practices of the Ja'fari school of thought.

² It refers to the preoccupation of the *ulama* in the theological schools with the study of the terminology and sciences covering the fields of jurisprudence [*fiqh*], principles of jurisprudence [*uSul*], philosophy, the Quran and others.

³ The science of *tawhid* is that discipline of theology which seeks to establish the doctrine of divine unity and related doctrines by means of rational argument.

them also, however the people don't make any distinction between them. If I do something wrong they say the *akhunds* are like this, and this is a blow to Islam, the theological schools and the Islamic laws. If we destroy our standing in society, if the centers of learning begin fighting one another and cause one another to be eliminated from the minds of the people, if we curse each other, accuse each other of being unrighteous, call each other unbelievers and create a great hullabaloo, if we disparage one another and destroy one another, then Islam will no longer be strengthened in society through our teachings, we can no longer disseminate Islam. Islam is a trust in our hands. God, the Blessed and Exalted, has entrusted His religion to us, to all of us here and others in other places. Do not betray this trust. This factionalism is tantamount to treason. Are you of two different religions? Does your religion have different denominations? Does each of your teachers invite you to join one of the denominations? What does all this front-making mean? This one supporting that teacher, that one supporting another teacher! This is wrong. This is unbelief. This is a great sin, of the mortal kind if this corruption results from it. Don't act in this way.

These are very petty disagreements over very insignificant and meaningless matters! If we look at them from a materialistic point of view, then you have nothing to disagree over. How much stipend do you get? The money is only enough for your cigarettes. I once read in a newspaper or a magazine, I can't remember where, that the budget the Pope has for a priest in Washington—I can remember I worked it out—came to more than the entire budget received by the Shiah theological centers! You have nothing to fight over. If you are fighting over religion, then religion gives you no cause to fight. Praise be to God, you have religion, but religion is no cause for argument. The underlying reason of all these disagreements goes back to this world. One deceives oneself by thinking: "Religious duty demands that I join such and such a faction!" Does religious duty demand that you abuse Muslims, affront your teachers, and insult another human being like yourself? Do these constitute your religious duty? Gentlemen, these are things of this world! These come from satisfying one's carnal desires.¹

If, while studying, one takes a step towards self-purification... these theological centers are found wanting in this area. Very little attention is paid to self-purification; this matter is hardly discussed in the centers. Those people who hold classes dealing with self-purification, moral edification and spiritual counsel are very few. Some impure hands have caused these matters

¹ Carnal desires: desires that degrade man down to the level of beasts if submitted to.

to be omitted from the schools' curriculum, they have sullied the schools. Oh gentlemen, why do you say, in a derogatory tone, that so-and-so is a devotee of the pulpit?!"¹ Well, what of it; let him be a devotee of the pulpit, Hadrat Amir (Imam Ali) was a devotee of the pulpit also. This has all come about so the theological schools will be deprived of their spirituality. In material terms, the schools have nothing, they have (only) their standing in society, their reputation, and it is this that the governments are afraid of. The governments are not afraid of you or I; you and I have no power. If governments are afraid of an *akhund* or a *marja*, it's not because of his prayers or curses; since when have they believed in prayers or curses? They are afraid of the people. They are afraid of what the people will do if they offend a *marja*. If we start fighting each other, if I accuse him of being an infidel and he accuses me of the same, we will destroy one another, we will lose our reputation among the people, as has already happened. Our standing in society has diminished; now all we hear from the people is that the problem is that the *akhunds* are like this and the *akhunds* are like that.

[Take] Najaf in particular. There are things peculiar to Najaf that are not found anywhere else. The theological center at Najaf is one thousand years old, while the centers in other places are relatively new. The Najaf center is situated in the vicinity of Imam Ali's shrine, the others are not. So we should study this great man's life a little. We claim to be Shiah. What kind of Shiah are we? Imam Ali was ascetic; I'm not, am I still a Shiah? He was pious, we're not, are we still Shiah? His life was such, ours isn't, are we still Shiah? You are a Shiah but you should have followed his example in some things, you should have adhered to some of his teachings to call yourself a Shiah.

I'm afraid that when our time comes to die we will leave this world, God forbid, having departed from the Shiah school of thought and Islam. If we continue to act in this way, continue to live our lives in this manner, then we should fear that, God forbid, at the end of our lives when... there is a tradition which says that when the last breath of an *alim* reaches here, and the Imam pointed to his throat, he can no longer repent²! Because in the Holy

¹ It refers to the usage at the Najaf theological center of the derogatory term, "ahl-e minbar" (translated as "devotee of the pulpit") which was used to describe those not seen as being learned in jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and principles of jurisprudence [*uSul*] but who preferred to preach and teach moral edification. At the center, the exposition of the Quran and *Nahj al-Balaghah* was not even considered as being a science but was described as "a matter of secondary importance". Science was confined to the fields of jurisprudence and principles of jurisprudence.

² In one of the traditions it is related: I heard from Imam as-Sadiq (*a*) that: When the last breath reaches here—and he pointed at his throat—the *alim* can no longer repent. Then he read

Quran it is written that those who act through ignorance can repent. As long as he has time, the *alim* can repent; but have you been given an assurance that you have time? You may not even leave this gathering alive! You may be struck down by lightening. Have you been given a guarantee that you will be alive tomorrow? Perhaps you won't be. Have we been given a guarantee that we will be alive in ten years time? We may not be. The young should begin to think about self-purification now. I have reached old age and I know how difficult it is to do this when one is old. That isn't to say that now I am speaking to you as a perfect human being, to attain this state, as the late Mr. Haj Shaykh¹ used to say, is impossible. As I said before, I am a little older than you and as you come here to listen to me so I will tell you that while you are still young you can accomplish something. The roots of corruption are weak in the hearts of the young, but as man's age advances... according to a certain tradition: "The heart of the human being is at first white (pure and unsullied). Then, whenever he commits a sin, a black spot appears on it and the more he sins, the more the black spots increase."² The heart of the young is subtle and pure, but then when a youth enters the community, when he becomes involved in the community, gradually, God forbid, his heart becomes sullied, he starts to sin, he commits sins continuously until neither a day nor a night passes without his sinning against God. Well, this black spot appears on his heart, not on this (physical) heart, on that heart which is spiritual and purified, and gradually the more he sins, the more the black spots increase until when he reaches old age the whole of his heart is blackened. When this happens, it is difficult for man to restore his heart to its original state. But you young men can do this. You have the ability, the

this verse from the Quran: "God will accept repentance from those who did wrong through ignorance." The late Mulla Muhsin Fayd al-Kashani, an outstanding authority on Shi'i *hadith*, said on this tradition: "When the last breath reaches the throat, repentance by an *alim* who recognizes the signs of death and who loses hope of staying alive will not be accepted, but he who is ignorant of these signs and still hopes to live, his repentance will be accepted." *Al-Wafi*, vol. 1, p. 21.

¹ The late Haj Shaykh Abdul-Karim Ha'iri, the teacher of Imam and the founder of the Qum theological center said: "It is very difficult to become a mullah, but to become a perfect human being is impossible!"

² A tradition from Imam al-Baqir relates: "Each man's heart is white. Whenever he commits a sin, a black spot appears on it, if he repents that black spot disappears, but if he continues to sin, the black spots increase until the whole of his heart is blackened, and when that happened he can no longer turn to good. And these are the words of God, the Glorious and Dignified, which state: "By no means! But on their hearts is the stain of the ill which they do!" (*Surah al-Mutaffifin* [Dealing in Fraud] 83:14). Refer to *Bihar al-Anwar* compiled by Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, vol. 73, p. 332.

ability which accompanies youth. On the one hand, you have this ability, and on the other the corrupt impulses within your hearts are weak. However, the older one becomes and with each step that one takes towards the Hereafter, the obstacles to man's happiness in the Hereafter increase and his strength to resist them decreases. One cannot repent when one reaches old age.

Repentance is not accomplished simply by saying: "I turn to God in repentance!" It requires regret and such regret is impossible for persons who have engaged in backbiting and slander for fifty years, whose beards have grown grey in the commission of slander and backbiting! Such people cannot repent. They will be caught up in sin to the end of their lives.

Sometimes the youth become involved in backbiting—they should not, they should not even allow someone else to backbite. It is related in a tradition that a member of the Prophet's household said that if someone attends a gathering where backbiting takes place, that person should get up and leave that gathering. One of the people listening to this said that such an action could not be done, the reply given was: "If they were abusing your father wouldn't you get up and stop them? You would!" There is another tradition which says that one should not allow backbiting to take place, that he who listens to backbiting is one of the backbiters.¹ So we don't need to backbite to be one of the backbiters, it is sufficient for us just to listen to the backbiters. Do not let this corruption come about; advise each other against doing such things.

How many of you young people have spent your lives doing this? It has no great benefit for you. You are wasting your youth. If you give this youth to the cause of God, spend it in the way of God, then it will not be wasted, you will not lose anything. If, God forbid, you spend your youth like those attached to this world, you will have squandered your youth and you will have nothing of this world either. At least they will have enjoyed this world and its goods. The same cannot be said of you. You will be in a state of loss both in this world and the Hereafter.² We are in a state of loss if the love of this world and the love of the self gain dominance over us and prevent us from perceiving truths and realities and hinder us from the path of guidance.

¹ The Holy Prophet said: "The hearer of backbiting is one of the backbiters." For further information, refer to *Al-Mahajjat al-Bayda'*, vol. 5, p. 260 and Imam Khomeini's *Sharh-e Chehel Hadith* [An Exposition of Forty *Hadiths*], p. 270.

² "In a state of loss in this world and the Hereafter," is from *Surah al-Hajj* (The Pilgrimage) 22:11: "There are among men some who serve God, as it were, on the verge: if good befalls them, they are, therewith, well content; but if a trial comes to them, they turn on their faces. They lose both this world and the Hereafter; that is loss for all to see."

Gradually this love of the world and self-love will begin to increase in us to the point where Satan asks for our faith. It is said that all the efforts of Satan are devoted to this one goal: to snatch away men's faith. He may succeed in taking it from us at the very end of our lives. No one has been given a guarantee that he will retain his faith permanently. Our faith may only have been given to us on trust.

I should strive to purify myself just as you should strive to purify yourselves. You should purify your friends also. Your sins are not like the sins of others. It is related in a tradition that when an *alim* transgresses, it is not merely a case of him committing a sin, rather he corrupts a whole society because of his transgression. "The worst person is the corrupt *alim*."¹ It is a well-known fact that the extent of an *alim*'s corruption reaches as far as his influence. Today, in Tehran or in other places, you find corrupt *alims* whose stench has pervaded that place. This is the stench which will reach the dwellers of Hell and vex them.

Gentlemen, do we not have a duty to perform? This Holy Quran has been given to us as a trust. Is it not, therefore, our duty to preserve it? Is it not our duty to preserve the laws of Islam? Is it merely our duty to discuss matters of jurisprudential principles [*usul*] till the end of our lives and then in fifty years when many of these matters are settled we still find ourselves wanting in morals and religious behavior? You should take this matter into consideration from the very beginning. You are young and you can do it. From the beginning, for each step that you take in your quest for knowledge, take one in search of piety, self-purification and lessening one's carnal desires.

What are you quarrelling over? What is the matter with you? What animosity do you have towards each other? You are all from one community. You are all scholars and you are all, God willing, good people as well. Why then is it that they say if something is not said, if a word of warning is not given then an explosion could possibly occur, that the students may start fighting each other. Why? What are you fighting over? Do you think that your fight is between two heroes? Your fight before God is the greatest of all sins because you corrupt a society; you destroy Najaf in the people's eyes. If Najaf is destroyed the religion of Islam will be destroyed. During your time at the center you must purify yourselves so that when you leave here for another town or city, the people there will benefit from your knowledge, your

¹ Imam Ali (*a*) said: "The lapse of an *alim* corrupts worlds." *Ghurar al-Hikam*, compiled by Amadi, Section "*Zallah*". It was asked of the Prophet (*s*) who the worst people in the world were, and he replied "the *ulama* when they become corrupt." *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 74, p. 138.

morals and your deeds; they must learn from you. Do not suppose that you can make everything alright for yourselves by being hypocritical for the rest of your lives. Do not think that now while you are here you can do whatever you want, but when you leave you can through hypocrisy deceive the people into thinking that you are a good clergyman. You cannot do this. The corruption will be discovered eventually. Even if we suppose that you can, how long do you expect to live your life of hypocrisy, deceit and slandering people? A hundred and twenty years? We do not have a person who is one hundred and twenty years old among us, and one is rarely found anywhere else either. But let us suppose that you could live your life for one hundred and twenty years deceiving people, and that your life is what—a student's life; an ordinary kind of life? Let's suppose you live a life like that of Harun ar-Rashid¹ for one hundred and twenty years. What is one hundred and twenty years when compared to infinity; when after that time you will be punished for an eternity?

God, the Blessed and Exalted, has mercy upon his servants. He has given them intelligence, He has given them the ability to purify themselves, and He has not stopped there. He has sent prophets, books, *awliya'*,² and purified people. If these have no effect he brings about pressures for them in the world. These are acts of mercy by God, the Exalted, which limit men's actions, which restrain him. The clergy have their turbans removed, they are humiliated in a thousand ways, these are all acts of mercy by God and yet we do not see this. If these pressures do not make man a human being, then He creates pressures through illness. If again these illnesses do not make him a human being he is put under a lot of pressure at the time of his death. Again if that does not work, then he is pressured to purge himself in those stations that he must pass through [*iqabat*]³ after death, and if this does not prove to be successful then he is put under a lot of pressure to purify himself on the

¹ Harun ar-Rashid, the fifth and most famous Abbasid caliph who reigned from 786-809 CE and was the contemporary of the seventh and eighth Imams, Musa al-Kazim and ar-Rida (*a*). This caliph is renowned for his wealth and for the opulence and magnificence of his court in Baghdad.

² The word *awliya'*—like the cognate *wilayah*—has numerous different meanings. It is used here in the general sense that can be deduced from Quran 10:62-63: “*Verily the friends [awliya'] of God—those who believe and guard against evil—shall suffer no fear nor shall they grieve.*”

³ *aqabat* is the plural of *aqabah* meaning a difficult place on the mountain; a steep track or incline; a mountainous pass. In religious terminology these “*aqabat*” refer to the stations or stages of the Day of Judgment where one is required to halt and then pass through, and because passing through these stages is very difficult, they have been called *aqabat*.

Day of Judgment. However, if none of these prove to be successful then the final remedy is the fire,¹ and God forbid that this should happen, for, as it is related in a tradition “they will dwell therein for ages”.² This fate of which I speak awaits many of us, even those who accept guidance and guard their religion. It awaits you and me. Each period of time there³ lasts for many thousands of years. Gentlemen, in this world you cannot bear to hold a warm stone in your hand, in the Hereafter it is fire that awaits you. Be afraid of that fire! Throw these fires out of the schools; throw these differences out of your hearts. Purify yourselves. You intend to enter a society, to purify the people, but you cannot do this (if you remain in your present state). How can he who is not able to set right his own affairs do this for anybody else!? This factionalism is wrong, it is sinful. These actions will destroy the schools. Stop this hooliganism.

I am very much afraid that some people are attending these gatherings who do not belong to the center. Perhaps the students of the center are themselves all purified, good people and it is these people who, by using others, create religious duties⁷ so that the students believe that what they’re doing is in accordance with their religious duties. Thus they manage to create corruption in the Najaf religious seminary. These people are afraid of true human beings. They want true human beings to be destroyed. These hands work in the schools such that they destroy the standing in society of whoever is useful for the future of Islam so that he can no longer be beneficial to Islam and Muslims. You should be beneficial to Islam. What effect does a useless creature who neither studies here nor teaches, who does nothing, have on people? Those who have finished their studies, those who have nothing to do here, well they should go and begin their work, begin instructing and purifying the people.

You young people should prepare yourselves for the future. Your future will be much more difficult than ours. We no longer have a future. How much longer am I going to live? I’m seventy years old, I’m at the end of my

¹ “The final remedy is the fire.” *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Speech 167. It is one of the famous sayings of Imam Ali (a).

² In *Surah an-Naba’* (The Great News) 78:23, it is said: “*They will dwell therein for ages.*” Imam as-Sadiq in his commentary on this verse has said: “Ages [*ahqab*] here means eighty long periods of time [*huqb*] and each *huqb* is eighty years, each year is three hundred and sixty days and each day is like one thousand years that you know of as a year.” *Maani al-Akhbar*, p. 220, the section on the meaning of *al-ahqab*.

³ *Huqbah* is the name given to a long stretch of time of unspecified length. In some traditions it has been described as being eighty years of the years of the Day of Judgment and each day of these years is one thousand of the years of this world. *Mufradat ar-Raqi*, p. 126.

life; perhaps I only have a few more days left to live. You should make yourselves beneficial for the future of Islam. Your future is a difficult future; you should be prepared for it. The hands of many enemies await you from all classes. Prepare yourselves, reform yourselves, and purify your morals. Throw the love of the world, this world that we don't have, out of your hearts. Those attached to this world have (the pleasures of) this world too, but we only have the love of this world, we only have this corruption, we don't have this world or its pleasures. The source of all sins is the love of the world.¹ It is related in a tradition that two fierce, bloodthirsty wolves who attack an untended flock of sheep from the front and back, take longer to destroy that flock than it does for love of wealth and position to destroy the faith of the believer.² And apparently, according to some other traditions, it is from the love of the self and the love of the world that these transgressions occur. Even if the traditions do not actually say this, the truth is such. This love of the self, this love of position destroys Islam, destroys our religion. Think a little bit and throw this love out of your hearts. This world is nothing. It's not right for you to bind yourself to this world in love, especially this world of yours.

It was my duty today to speak to you gentlemen on this matter, to the extent that I am able, so that you will pay more attention to what is happening and what is likely to happen. These actions will not only cause loss of face for those perpetrating them, but to a society, a country and to Islam as well. You will be held gravely responsible in this matter if you do not stop this corruption. Stop these petty differences and the like, for they are very insignificant. We ourselves are insignificant; we don't understand just how insignificant we are. We seem to have put this world of ours before everything. This love of the self that we harbor... we have nothing! They have taken everything away from us. They have pushed us into the corner of a school, into the corner of a house. Are we now going to fight over this corner?! Is this worth fighting over? Gentlemen, what are these things that you are saying? You should show compassion and understanding towards others. Everyone has the right to do what he wants. What has it got to do with you if it's against the *shariah*?³ Your duty is to enjoin the good and

¹ Imam as-Sadiq says: "The source of all sins is the love of the world." *USul al-Kafi*, vol. 2, pp. 131, 315.

² It is a saying of Imam al-Baqir. *USul al-Kafi*, vol. 2, p. 315.

³ In effect Imam here is warning the students against unwittingly joining those elements of questionable intent in the school who stipulate religious duties for the students and cause disruption and factionalism in the name of the *shariah*.

forbid that which is evil—so carry it out. Advise one another to do good; there is no cause for fighting or anything else.

May God, the Blessed and Exalted, grant success to all of you. May he guide the Islamic schools towards reform and prepare us for the Hereafter. This world slips through our fingers and will continue to do so. It is nothing, nothing important; one shouldn't give one's heart to it. That which is important is the Hereafter. May God bless you in the next world. May God grant you success in serving Islam and the Muslims. May God guide you towards purification and towards another way of thinking. God willing, tomorrow we will continue with our discussions.

Introduction to Speech Number Nineteen

Date: September 8, 1967 (AD) / Shahrivar 17, 1346 (AHS) / Jumadi ath-Thani 3, 1387 (AH)

Place: Imam Khomeini's home, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: The regime's plan for destroying Islam and the clergy

Occasion: The assault on the religious schools of Qum and their plunder by SAVAK

Those present: Religious students and clergy of Najaf

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The killing of Hasan Ali Mansur and the subsequent appointment of Amir Abbas Hoveyda as Prime Minister (January 26, 1965/Bahman 6, 1343 AHS) ushered in a period of relative, albeit transient, stability for the Shah's regime. As the bloody war in Vietnam continued, Israel in the Middle East prepared itself for a widespread attack on Muslim lands. In Iran, SAVAK, using the experiences gained from the crushing of the Khordad 15 uprising and the arrest of members of the United Islamic Groups and the Islamic Nations Party, set about strengthening its organisation with supervision and training from the security forces of America and Israel¹. Meanwhile in Najaf, Imam Khomeini, unassisted, and at a time when many of his friends were in prison or exile, embarked on the lengthy and arduous task of trying to reform ideas at the theological centre. The prevalent mood at the centre was in no way propitious for mention of struggle and uprising and many there saw interference in politics as degrading the position of the clergy. In addition, apart from jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and dogmatic theology [*usul*], other subjects were regarded as improper and taboo.

However, even with all these problems, the sapling of the Khordad 15 uprising in Iran and Najaf grew stronger and more fructiferous day by day. On the anniversary of the assault by the regime's agents on the Faydiyyah Madrasa (February 16, 1966 / Bahman 28, 1344 AHS), the students of the Madrasa issued a declaration² in which they revealed some of the atrocities committed by the regime and resounded the voice of the people's protest against the continued exile of Imam Khomeini and imprisonment of Ayatullah Taleqani for the world to hear.

¹ Refer to *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 379-473.

² The text of the declaration along with the names of a number of the signatories appears in the book *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 888.

In the early months of 1966 (1345 AHS), further arrests of effective elements at the Madrasa took place¹. In one section of a proclamation issued in protest at the recent waves of arrests and signed openly by many of the religious students and scholars of the centre in Qum, we read: "Those who carry out such audacious acts wittingly or unwittingly are preparing the grounds for a profound explosion in the theological centre of Qum and in other parts of the country²."

The publication of the message of the religious students at the Qum theological centre in support of the strike by Tehran University students (May 3-20, 1966/Ordibehesht 13-30 1345 AHS) was a step towards the establishment of closer relations and increased co-operation between the theological centre and the university in the struggle³. In addition, the declaration of the teachers and students of the Qum theological centre issued on the anniversary of the Khordad 15 uprising (i.e. on June 5, 1966/Khordad 15, 1345 AHS) and the revelatory letter sent to the military prosecutor by two prominent clergymen from Qazil Qala prison⁴ (a copy of which was sent to the *marjai-i taqlid*, the Human Rights Commission and the United Nations) constituted further steps taken by those committed clergy loyal to Imam Khomeini towards keeping the flames of the Khordad 15 movement ablaze.

On June 5, 1967 (Khordad 15, 1346 AHS), the usurpatory regime of Quds, in implementing its malicious and expansionist scheme (from the Nile to the Euphrates) and with the all-out support of America, began its full-scale, multilateral attack on the Arab countries in the region - amongst these primarily Egypt, Syria and Jordan - and using its powerful military capability it plunged the Arab Middle East into a devastating Six Day War. Israel's main objectives behind the war were to secure its expansionist goals and break the resistance of Egypt's beloved leader Jamal Abdul Nasser.

Imam Khomeini persistently emphasised the iniquity suffered by the Palestinian people at the hands of the usurpatory Zionist regime and the

¹ The first to be arrested were Ayatullah Husayn Ali Muntaziri and his son the martyr Muhammad Muntaziri. Later, Mr. Rabbani Shirazi; Ali Asqar Morvarid; Ahmad Jannati; and Ahmad Azeri Qummi were arrested and sent to places of torture. Mr Shahobuddin Eshraqi, Imam Khomeini's son-in-law and representative in Qum, was also arrested and banished from Qum and forced to live in Hamadan.

² *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 902.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 905. Concerning the reaction to Imam's exile from students and political and cultural societies both within Iran and abroad, refer to the same source, vol. 2, pp. 19-95.

⁴ Ayatullah Muntaziri and Ayatullah Rabbani Shirazi, September 7, 1966 (Shahrivar 16, 1345 AHS). Refer to *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 1, p. 915.

illegality of that regime. Previously, when appropriate, he had called on the Muslim nations to struggle against the occupiers of Quds, and now too, in an emotional, fiery declaration issued on June 7, 1967 (Khordad 17, 1346 AHS), he urged the Islamic nations to unite against the common enemy. Imam was fully aware of the close political, military and economic relations that existed between the Iranian regime and the Zionist occupiers and that Israel's oil needs were met by Iran. Thus, in his declaration, he proclaimed any kind of relation with Israel and the sale of oil to the Zionist regime as being illegal and contrary to Islam.

On June 9, 1967 (Khordad 19, 1346 AHS), in its news broadcast at twelve midnight local time, Radio Iraq interrupted its normal programmes and broadcast the text of Imam's declaration initially in the Arabic language and then in Persian. This act constituted recognition, on the part of the Arab leaders, of the importance of its contents and of the effectiveness of Imam's words and his role in mobilising the Muslim masses of Iran and other Islamic countries of the region. One part of the declaration reads: "This corrupt element (Israel), which has been placed in the heart of the Islamic countries with the support of the great imperialist governments and whose corrupt roots threaten the Islamic countries every day, should be rooted out through the determination and concerted efforts of the Islamic countries and the great Muslim nations. Assisting Israel, whether in the form of selling weapons and explosives or oil, is *haram*¹ and contrary to Islam. Relations with Israel and its agents, whether political or trade relations, are *haram* and contrary to Islam and Muslims must stop using Israeli products and goods."

Other *maraji* and *ulama* of the theological schools also rushed to help their Arab and Palestinian brothers, who were under attack from the usurpatory Israeli regime, by issuing proclamations and opening bank accounts through which pecuniary donations could be made. The Shah's spy network, led by Israel and America, forbade the holding of ceremonies to commemorate the martyrdom of Palestinians, and through threats, intimidation and seizing the people's contributions, as well as arresting those actively involved, it began to confront the waves of the Iranian people's support for the struggles of the Arabs. A ceremony which was due to take place at the Ark Mosque in Tehran on June 7, 1967 (Khordad 17, 1346 AHS) in honour of those martyred in the Arab-Israeli war was stopped, as was an anti-Israel demonstration planned by the people of Tehran. According to one of SAVAK's documents: "As ordered, the collection of money for the Arab

¹ *Haram*: categorically forbidden by religious law.

countries - especially Jordan - through Ayatullah Shariatmadari does not pose a problem. If anyone else sets about preparing or distributing proclamations other than those of Shariatmadari, you are to take the necessary steps and report the outcome¹.” Signed Muqaddam.

In the following months, SAVAK, the Town and City Police and the Gendarmerie of Qum laid plans for occupying the Faydiyyah Madrasa which at that time was a centre for politically conscious activist elements of the revolution and for the distribution of Imam’s proclamations and directives. Their aims were to stop the distribution of Imam’s directives and to prevent his pictures and revolutionary slogans from being plastered onto doors and walls. In the summer of 1967 (1346 AHS), agents of SAVAK attacked the Madrasa ransacking it and plundering some of the students’ belongings. In Tehran and Qum, the friends of Imam once again demonstrated in protest at these actions and congregational prayer gatherings were suspended.

After hearing news of the plunder of the Faydiyyah Madrasa, the clerics and followers of Imam in Najaf also took to the streets of this city in protest and went to the homes of the prominent clergy there to seek their help in bringing these tragedies to an end. Imam Khomeini, in a short discourse given on the occasion, thanked the demonstrators for their expression of support and sympathy for the oppressed clergy and people of Iran, and called on them to show perseverance and be steadfast.

The protests and opposition to the occupation of the Faydiyyah Madrasa forced the regime to concede defeat and return the Madrasa to the clergy. However, at the same time, it secured a pledge from some of the prominent clerics that they would prevent any kind of political activity from taking place at the Madrasa. Nevertheless, on the first night of the re-opening of the Madrasa, the sound of *salawat* for the health of Imam Khomeini rang out from a congregational prayer gathering taking place there.

Following these events, the regime began removing Imam’s pictures from shops and the schools of Islamic sciences; it even prevented the holding of a *rauza*² in Imam’s home and prohibited Imam’s brother, Ayatullah Pasandida, from residing in Qum, sending him instead to Tehran. Other frenzied actions of the Shah’s regime at this time included an attack on Imam Khomeini’s home in Qum on the pretext of carrying out investigations, and ordering that there were to be no comings and goings of people to the house and that nobody was to congregate there. Eyewitness accounts of the attack

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 2, p. 246. General Nasser Moqaddam in 1967 (1346 AHS) was the SAVAK chief of Tehran responsible for domestic repression.

² *Rauza* = mourning ceremonies held in commemoration of the martyrdom of the Imams.

and existing records show that at 10 am on Tuesday November 13, 1967 (Aban 22, 1346 AHS), police and SAVAK agents, accompanied by a representative from the Public Prosecutor's office in Qum, attacked Imam's house and, in an operation which lasted until 1 pm of the same day, seized all of Imam's books - which according to SAVAK reports amounted to more than ten thousand volumes - along with many historical papers and documents which they then transferred to the offices of SAVAK¹. The agents also ransacked Imam's new library in Qum called "Vali Asr" and stole thousands of books in the different fields of science, politics, economics and ethics. Further, in response to Imam's political moves in Najaf, the regime summoned those people responsible for paying out Imam's stipends to SAVAK headquarters and intimidated them into signing letters to the effect that they would stop paying the stipends sent by Imam for the religious students in Qum.

¹ On this day, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini; Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Ali Akbar Islami (Imam's representative in Qum) and Hujjat al-Islam Hajj Shaykh Hasan Sanii (one of Imam's close associates and the head of the financial affairs of his office) were arrested and taken to SAVAK headquarters. Once there, Imam's son was pressed to agree to close the door to Imam's house, the gathering place of combatants, and not to let anybody in; this he stoutly refused to do. Hujjat al-Islam Islami was then approached, but before he could answer Imam's son spoke up: "Mr. Islami is responsible for leaving the door to Imam's house open and for collecting the religious dues, nobody apart from Imam has the right to close the door and if we were to do this, we would be severely reprimanded by Imam." Despairing of being able to persuade members of Imam's household to close the door to his home, SAVAK resorted to appointing its agents to do the task. For months, police and SAVAK agents were placed at the door to Imam's home and no one was allowed in. These agents stood guard from one hour before sunrise to one hour after sunset. Immediately after they left, activities began at Imam's house and sometimes the comings and goings of religious students for paying their religious dues and for other matters went on until the early hours of the morning. SAVAK's motives behind this move were to cut relations between the religious students, stop the payment of religious dues and hamper the payment of Imam's stipends to the students. However, even after months of controlling his house, Imam's stipends were still paid to students in Qum and Najaf. SAVAK had not, therefore, achieved anything from its action, and so its agents were recalled and Imam's home was no longer kept under guard. Throughout this period of control, even with all the restrictions the regime imposed, activities in Imam's house continued and affairs were administered under the guidance of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Ahmad Khomeini. Control of Imam's house was in itself a cause of the people's discontent and was detrimental to the regime. During this time, Imam's son was arrested more than ten times and taken to SAVAK headquarters where they tried to force him to bring a halt to activities at the house but to no avail. On one occasion, he was beaten unconscious by SAVAK agents on the way to SAVAK headquarters. Of course, SAVAK later denied that their agents had done such a thing and described it as the act of a fifth columnist.

The arrest of a number of *ulama* who supported Imam¹, the attack on the residents of the Hajj Abulfath Madrasa in Tehran and locking the doors of that Madrasa constitute other trammels laid down by the Shah's regime for the supporters of Imam Khomeini. A number of the clergy who found themselves without shelter and support were forced to migrate to Najaf.

By dint of these many plots and tricks, the Shah hoped to break Imam's spirit and stop him in his struggle and moves against his monarchical regime for good. However, some of SAVAK's documents of this time speak of the Shah's failure in his aims: "According to information obtained, payment of Khomeini's stipends in Najaf and other theological centres, including Qum, has increased, and even with all the restrictions placed upon him, the aforementioned still pays his stipends and it is even said that he is in a much better situation now than when he was in Iran. Thus, bearing in mind the importance of this matter, it is requested that the order be given to utilise all means possible to identify those who pay their religious dues to Khomeini and also those who collect this money and send it on to Iraq²."

On receiving these and other similar reports, the Shah realised that sending Imam into exile in Najaf had in no way helped the regime. Consequently, he afforded much haste in contacting the Iraqi government in order to obtain their agreement to change Imam's place of exile and send him to a relatively far-off country (such as India) where the Iranians and Muslims would have difficulty in reaching him. It was the intention of the regime, according to its normal practice, to kidnap Imam quietly from Najaf and take him to an undisclosed destination. This plan however was divulged and different groups of people warned the Iraqi government, through letters and telegrams, of the unpleasant consequences of such an action. As a result, the Shah's scheme to transfer Imam from Iraq to exile in India was defeated by the strong reaction shown by various political and religious groups in Iran and the world over.

¹ Messrs Hasan Sane`e, Islami and Mahfuzi who were sent into exile after their arrest.

² *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihad-i Imam Khomeini*, vol. 2, p. 271

Speech Number Nineteen

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The scheme of the government in Tehran is more serious than first imagined. Their design in closing the Faydiyyah Madrasah and imprisoning the *ulama* and religious students is to cause disruption in the Madrasah and to destroy Islam and the clergy. They want neither Islam to exist nor the clergy, for they realize that as long as Islam and the clergy exist in the country they cannot implement the orders of their masters and make Iran completely dependent on foreigners. By the festivals¹ that they create every day and the weaponry that they are constantly buying from this place and that,² by their wasteful spending and extravagance, they are trying to drive the Iranian nation towards calamity and bankruptcy and, God forbid, to make us the beggars of America and Israel. But be assured, they will not succeed. Praise be to God, the nation is awake and the Iranian clergy know what their duties

¹ Holding ceremonies and festivals was one of the ploys used by the Shah for both amusing and deceiving the people and covering up his weaknesses, defeats and disappointments and those of his regime. Included among these festivals are: The Shah's birthday on October 26 [Aban 4 AHS]; the anniversary of the White Revolution on January 26 [Bahman 6, AHS]; Women's Emancipation Day on January 7 [Dey 17, AHS]; the Shah's escape from danger on February 4 [Bahman 15 AHS]; the anniversary of the coup d'état of June 18 [Khordad 28 AHS]; the liberation of Azerbaijan on December 12 [Azar 21 AHS] and...the costly and extravagant international festivals like the 25th anniversary of the Shah's rule; the anniversary of the crowning ceremony; the festival marking two-and-a-half millennia of monarchy; and dozens more like these. More than thirty different festivals and anniversaries were held during the 60's and 70's, all of them very costly and all of which were related to the Shah's family and the monarchical system. On different occasions, Imam issued proclamations and delivered speeches severely condemning these festivals, which were paid for from the earnings of the deprived masses.

² The Shah purchased arms from all Eastern and Western arms-manufacturing companies. In 1966, the Pentagon agreed to sell Iran the latest models of F-4D Mac Donald Phantom jet fighters. After this purchase, which also included the purchase of other numerous and diversified military equipment, the Shah placed a big order with Britain and France. In 1967, on a trip to Moscow, the Shah announced that he had signed an agreement with the Russian government for the purchase of 110 million dollars worth of Soviet military equipment including personnel carriers, trucks and anti-aircraft weapons. The Shah's moves toward closer relations with the Russians prompted America to bolster its military relations with Iran, such that the sale of American arms to Iran in 1970 was more than \$113.2 million, rising to more than 1.3 billion in 1975 and reaching 4 billion in 1976.

are. The imperialists have not been able to deceive the clergy of Iran and put them to sleep, and, God willing, with this awareness they will sever the hands of the traitors to Islam and the country. You have a duty to help your brothers in Iran in whatever way possible. Persevere in the face of difficulties and be steadfast; even this expression of sympathy and support for the oppressed people of Iran will itself be effective. May God awaken everyone from the slumber of ignorance...¹

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nahdat-e Imam Khomeini*, vol. 2, p. 257.

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty

Date: April 9, 1968 (AD) / Farvardin 20, 1347 (AHS) / Muharram 10, 1388 (AH)

Place: Karbala, Iraq

Theme: Unawareness of the redemptory teachings of Islam is the cause of the decline of the Muslims

Occasion: The arrival of *Ashura*, 1968

Those present: The students of Basra University

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

One of the most important strategic plans of the Shah's regime was to attempt to create differences between the university students and the students of the theological centres and to sever any links which may have existed between these two groups. It was generally accepted that any kind of alliance between these two groups would prove quite dangerous for the regime.

Unfortunately, the vast propaganda churned out by the regime's skilled experts was such that the efforts of those sympathetic elements in the society - whether clergymen or others - did not have a great impact. That is not to say that the various publications printed in Qum - which was seen as being the base of the clergy in the country - did not contain material interesting to the university students, but such publications did not usually expound on the wants and problems of these students. The students and youth at this time seemed to prefer reading the works of pseudo-intellectuals, who had prostituted themselves and were probably SAVAK agents, to perusing the books and other publications even slightly redolent of religion.

The promotion of the phenomenon of "modernism" and the ensuing predilection, especially amongst the university students, towards Western literature which condemned religion and promoted the ideas of polytheism and atheism, created dangers and with each passing day increased the distance between the students of the university and the religious students. The extensive and intrepid efforts of the clergy and those affiliated to the universities across the country who were supporters of Imam did not prove successful in countering its effects and advancing the cause.

The Shah's regime usually facilitated the work of those groups whose poems, stories and film scenarios were antagonistic towards religion. The famous, misnamed intellectuals seemingly carried the standard of opposition to the Shah's regime, but when they had to go to Europe to get treatment for

their addiction to heroin, the Shah's wife paid their expenses! As the policy of the Shah's regime was based on spreading corruption, fornication, libertarianism and irreligiousness, it was not easily offended by the so-called revolutionary poems and writings of the intellectual class; and if by chance a writer or poet from this class was arrested and thrown into prison because of his work, he would, upon giving a half-hearted pledge, be freed after a short time and would return to society. However, were a religious orator to question the regime's policies, even in symbolic terms, he would immediately be arrested and subjected to the most brutal torture in the Shah's dungeons, even perhaps being martyred thereby. The reason behind this was that the regime knew that such orations delivered by those devoted to Islam, bore such depth of meaning, couched as many were in cryptic terms, and had a great effect on the people. The writer of a so-called "revolutionary" poem however, when interrogated by SAVAK, had a hundred and one explanations for the words he had used.

The clerics in their sermons and discourses would speak the people's language and discuss their everyday problems, but the task of the intellectual artist was "art for art's sake." The regime feared that if the language of "art for art's sake" were transformed to the language of "art for the people's sake", the ensuing results would prove disastrous for its survival. The Shah's skilled experts were only too well aware that should an alliance be created between the students of the universities and the religious students and both groups found a common language, then this "art for the people's sake" could come about. Thus they strived, through different means, to create differences and divisions between these two groups.

Imam Khomeini knew of the regime's malicious plan, and on many occasions he saw fit to stress that the creation of unity between the theological centres and the universities and of an alliance between the academics, university students and the clergy, was the most pressing duty of the revolutionaries. The frequent messages of Imam to the Islamic societies of students resident in Europe, North America, Canada and India - during the period of his residence in Najaf - constituted temporary steps taken to effect unity of thought between the theological schools and the Islamic students' organisations. Little attention has been paid in historical analyses of the Islamic Revolution to the skilful manner in which Imam Khomeini and his followers managed to explode the myth that the academics and students of the universities formed a distinct and separate group from the committed intellectuals of the clerical establishment. The question how and through what methods Imam was able to bring these two powerful strongholds

together in defence of a common aim in the years 1977 and 1978 (1356-1357 AHS), at the height of the revolution, despite efforts by both the Shah's regime and the Freemasons governing the universities to the contrary, calls for further investigation. We hope that in subsequent introductions to Imam's messages to the students and interviews throughout this book, we will be able to accomplish this to a certain extent through our analyses of historical events and the citing of documents.

In *Ashura* 1968 (April 9), Imam reminded a group of Basra University students visiting him in Karbala of the enemies' divisive designs and at the same time stressed their future responsibility. During the speech given on the occasion, he said:

“When the imperialist agents approach us (the clergy), they say that the young, the educated and the students have been corrupted, that they have lost their religious and nationalist beliefs, that they have gone astray and blindly imitate foreigners. Yet when they come to you (students), they tell you that the *maraji* and clergy are superstitious reactionaries who do not understand the realities of the time. They tell you that to listen to them would be to follow a retrogressive path and that supremacy and progress require that you pay no heed to the hopes and ideas of these fanatical elements and that you distance yourselves from them. It is our duty and yours to deepen our spiritual and ideological relations, despite the efforts and desires of the imperialists and those who seek to create divisions between us, and to create unity of thought....”

In this short speech, Imam Khomeini addressed both the religious students and the university students and invited both groups to resist and struggle against oppression. He emphasised the importance of unity between the theological schools and the universities and warned:

“If you do not prepare yourselves and stand firm, not only will you be destroyed, the laws of Islam will be destroyed also; and you will be responsible....”

It was because of this message and others like it, and the note of caution they contained, that when the Islamic movement of Iran began, the religious and university students stood shoulder to shoulder against the Shah's heavily-armed regime, eventually toppling it.

Speech Number Twenty

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

When the imperialist agents approach us (the clergy), they say that the young, the educated and the students have been corrupted, that they have lost their religious and nationalist beliefs, that they have gone astray and blindly imitate foreigners. Yet when they come to you (students), they tell you that the *maraji'* and clergy are superstitious reactionaries who do not understand the realities of the time. They tell you that to listen to them would be to follow a retrogressive path and that supremacy and progress require that you pay no heed to the hopes and ideas of these fanatical elements and that you distance yourselves from them.

It is our duty and yours to deepen our spiritual and ideological relations, despite the efforts and desires of the imperialists and those who seek to create divisions between us, and to create unity of thought and together by using our mutual experiences, information and capabilities, create stability, greatness, prosperity, progress and supremacy for ourselves.....

You educated youth are the men of tomorrow and the leading personalities of the society's future. You should be vigilant and struggle against the retrogressive, divisive and bemeaning elements in your country. If you pay this matter due attention, you will find that the most important cause of the decline of the Muslims is the unawareness and neglect of the redemptory teachings of the true Islam, that Islam which created the most brilliant, resplendent civilisation at the darkest period of history and took its followers to the heights of greatness, power and nobility. Once these followers shut their eyes to these teachings and accepted a deviated and class-based system which they called Islam, then naturally that greatness and long-held glory was lost and they fell into dark times like the present...¹

¹ *Barrasi va Tahlili az Nihadat-i Imam Khomeini*. vol. 2, p. 424.

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-One

Date: June 22, 1971¹ (AD) / Tir 1, 1350 (AHS) / Rabi ath-Thani 28, 1391 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: The crimes of Iranian kings and the Pahlavi dynasty

Occasion: The holding of festivities to mark two thousand five hundred years of monarchy

Those present: Students and clergy of the Najaf theological centre

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

At a time when the majority of the Iranian people lived in poverty and privation, when any truth-seeking voice was stifled and the prisons and dungeons of Iran overflowed with God-seeking clergymen and others who were fighting in the way of righteousness and truth, the Shah and his regime were busy preparing for the most costly and extravagant festivities ever held: the celebrations of two and a half millennia of monarchy. To prepare for this occasion, the regime embarked on such a massive and costly propaganda campaign that it provoked adverse reaction from most of the international political and social groups and the major newspapers. The regime, which was usually indifferent to such criticisms, this time saw fit to respond. Amir Asadullah Alam - the Minister of the Imperial Court - in reply to the flood of objections declared in an interview: "One cannot weigh the celebrations for 2,500 years of monarchy against money."! The Shah also, after the festivities were over, said: "The bulk of the cost of the ceremonies has been paid by the people themselves." Both statements contained some element of truth. The cost of the ceremonies was so great that it could not be weighed against "money", and this exorbitant, stupefying sum was in fact taken from the pockets of the people.

Wasteful expenditure was so high that accurate accounts of the cost of the ceremonies were impossible. William Shawcross in his book *The Shah's Last Ride, the Fate of an Ally* writes: "Shiraz was given a face-lift. The prison, where some of the dissidents who opposed the Shah's rule were held by SAVAK, was painted up, the streets were cleaned, pots of flowers were placed all along the main roads, birds in cages were hung from lampposts, shopkeepers were given blue coats to wear. As soon as the party was over, all

¹ *Nihdat-i Rūhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 6, p. 57. (In *Sahifeh-yi Imam* this speech is said to have been delivered on May 27, 1971/Khordad 6, 1350 AHS).

the finery, even the shopkeepers' jackets, was taken away. Only the painted prison remained.....Top hairdressers flew in from the Paris salons of Carita and Alexandre; Elizabeth Arden created a new makeup named Farah, to be given in kits to the guests; Baccarat designed the crystal goblets; Ceralene fashioned the place settings after a fifth-century B.C. Persian ceramic; Robert Havilland produced a cup-and-saucer service to be used just once by arriving guests; and Porthault, one of the great French linen makers, made the private and state linens. Lanvin created new uniforms for the gentlemen of the court. The coats were ornately if not fabulously stitched with over a mile of gold thread. Each took about five hundred hours of work¹." At the same time, a particularly noteworthy article appeared on the front page of one Iranian newspaper, it read: "The Heads of State who will be guests of His Imperial Majesty at the celebrations will each be presented with a carpet bearing their own portrait. The best artists of Isfahan and Tabriz have been working sixteen hours a day weaving the carpets for the ceremonies²." In the same newspaper we also read: "Eggs in Hamadan are scarce and their price has risen³."

In order to prevent displays of disapproval and objection by students, the regime declared October 11-18 (Mehr 19-26 AHS) a holiday for the universities and justified its move by announcing: "The universities will be closed at this time to enable the students to attend the ceremonies⁴." The people's anger and that of militant groups increased. SAVAK's agents were on the alert and prepared themselves to quash any unrest. A few days prior to the beginning of the ceremonies, the newspapers began reporting on clashes between SAVAK agents and the militant groups. For example, one article read: "In fighting at midday Tuesday a shooting incident left one armed troublemaker and one policeman dead⁵."

SAVAK's continuing repression and its assaults against the people proved so gratifying to the Shah that he promoted SAVAK's head, Nehmatullah Nassiri, from Major-General to General. Additionally, in a ploy to delude the people, he forced Parliament to ratify a quasi-bill freeing 5,000 prisoners.

As the people of Shiraz witnessed the most ugly and shameless programmes of shows and exhibitions, other dangerous plans for leading the

¹ Chapter 2, p. 41.

² *Kayhan*, October 5, 1971 (Mehr 13, 1350 AHS).

³ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁴ *Kayhan*, October 7, 1971 (Mehr 15, 1350 AHS).

⁵ *Ibid.*

young generation astray were also being laid. *Kayhan* newspaper in a number of its editions began to stress the necessity of sex education for adolescents and young people, and in one of its editions wrote: "Sex education should be introduced into the school curriculum¹."

Special, expensive programmes were prepared for entertaining the Heads of State who came to Iran to attend the ceremonies. Anwar Sadat - the (now-executed) leader of the Egyptian regime - was one of the first to enter the country. Hundreds of reporters and cameramen came to Iran, at the expense of the country, to film the ceremonies and report on them. More than one hundred and fifty flights left Tehran daily for Shiraz carrying guests to Pasargadai - the site of the ceremonies.

The Shah and his friends spoke of Cyrus as the "King of kings." The newspapers were forced to fill their pages with congratulatory notices and the news was all about the arrival in Iran of the heads and presidents of various countries.

The promised day arrived. The Shah, addressing the impressive but empty tomb of Cyrus the Great and before an audience of tens of thousands gathered at the site at Pasargadai, said: "To you Cyrus, great king, King of kings, from myself, Shahanshah of Iran, and from my people, hail! We are here at the moment when Iran renews its pledge to history to bear witness to the immense gratitude of an entire people to you, immortal hero of history, founder of the world's oldest empire, great liberator of all time, worthy son of mankind. Cyrus we stand before your eternal dwelling place to speak these solemn words: Sleep on in peace forever, for we are awake and we remain to watch over your glorious heritage²!" In this way, on October 12, 1971 (Mehr 20, 1350 AHS) one of the most extravagant festivals in history began.

On a day spent speaking of the glory and greatness of Iran and its people, the newspapers quoted the head of one of the town councils as saying: "Due to a shortage of wheat, the price of bread cannot be fixed." Because of this, the people's most basic food became scarce.

The payment of bribes to foreign newspapers by the Shah's regime continued. *The Times* and *Le Monde* published special supplements to mark the occasion at the expense of the Imperial Embassy of Iran in London and Paris; and in Germany, the order for the publication of the book *Iranian Studies* was given. In addition, the BBC broadcast the programmes of the royal festivals for half an hour every day. The front pages of the newspapers

¹ *Kayhan*, October 9, 1971 (Mehr 17, 1350 AHS).

² *Kayhan*, October 12, 1971 (Mehr 20, 1350 AHS).

were full of pictures of the Shah and other dictators: The Shah and King Husayn of Jordan; the Shah and Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian emperor; the Shah and Ceaucescu, the Rumanian leader; the Shah and Sadat, head of the Egyptian regime; the Shah and the Vice-President of America; the Shah and Podgorny, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; Farah, the Shah's wife, with the wife of Marcos, the Filipino dictator and.....the list goes on.

When the festivals had ended, the Shah in an interview with reporters concerning the cost of the festivities, which had become a topical issue for the foreign press, said: "I personally don't think that the cost of the festivities will be more than the cost of the two parties that we gave for our guests!" Also in this regard he said: "This year, even with these so-called expenses which it is said we have incurred for the festivities, our growth-rate figures are higher than any other year!" When one of the freelance journalists asked him about the number of political prisoners in Iranian gaols, he answered: "The number of political prisoners in Iran is exactly the same as the number of traitors in the country!" In answer to another question posed by a United Press reporter as to why a nation which is three thousand million dollars in debt incurs these kind of expenses, the Shah, who was a little taken aback by this, replied: "I know of some countries who are a few hundred billion dollars in debt, even so, the expenses incurred by their national companies for advertising alone exceed a few billion dollars per year!"

As the propaganda for the festivals by the state-controlled press continued, this announcement unexpectedly appeared on the front pages of the newspapers: "By order of the king, a religious corps is to be set up!" In this manner, the training of a number of the regime's lackeys for the formation of a religious corps and the conscription of the students of religious sciences were proposed. The plan was that the students of the theological schools eligible for military service and the graduates of the College of Theology should be conscripted into the religious corps for military service!

On October 24, 1971 (Aban 2, 1350 AHS), the Minister of the Imperial Court, Amir Asadullah Alam, falsely declared the cost of the royal festivities to be 16.8 million dollars. As the Shah and his gang revelled at the expense of the poor, deprived Iranian nation, drowning in drunkenness and stupefaction alongside the heads and dictators of other countries, Imam

¹ *Kayhan*, October 19, 1971 (Mehr 27, 1350 AHS).

Khomeini watched from his humble dwelling in Najaf beside Imam Ali's holy shrine and his heart went out to the people.

A few months before the holding of the celebrations for 2,500 years of monarchy, on June 22, 1971 (Tir 1, 1350 AHS), Imam said: "Unfortunately, I have received letters and complaints from Iran about the situation there which do not cease to trouble me." Imam Khomeini did not consider muteness on the part of the religious groups at that time to be right and he proclaimed: "One should celebrate the rule of that person who, when he hears that an anklet has been stolen from a non-Muslim woman living under the protection of Islam, wishes to die of shame, not he who, because a slogan is uttered in the university which runs counter to his carnal desires, sends his men to the university to beat the students. Gentlemen, according to reports that have reached here, some female students needed surgery as a result of the blows and wounds they received. This crime happened just recently but here in Najaf no one is aware of it. Why did this happen? Their only crime was opposing the twenty-five hundredth anniversary celebrations and saying: We have no need of this festival; we are hungry; put an end to the hunger of the Muslim people; do not celebrate over the corpses of the people."

Elsewhere in his speech Imam said: "Gentlemen, come to your senses; awaken Najaf. Protest against these crimes. If one hundred telegrams were sent from Najaf in a polite form and showing full respect, even using the title "His Most Exalted Highness", requesting that these hungry people be fed, that all this expense that the government wants to pay out on these affairs be spent on this misfortunate hungry nation, on this poor, bankrupt people, some of whom have run away from Iran and some of whom are here; if one hundred telegrams were sent to Iran by the religious scholars and students here, it may have some effect. But unfortunately, such an idea occurs to no one!"

Even with all the restrictions placed in the path of the people by the regime for acquiring a taped copy of Imam's speech, the text of the speech reached Iran and had a great impact. In those days, SAVAK was wont to crush any kind of opposition to the celebrations, and the propaganda machinery, including the newspapers, radio and television, was made to work all out to promote the festivities. Even so, the aware Muslim people of Iran were very angry at what was happening in their country and everywhere there was talk of the Shah's squanderings.

As expected, Imam's speech provoked marked reaction amongst student groups abroad. The harsh questioning of the ceremonies by foreign reporters, who were in Iran to cover the festivities, and the criticism of their high cost

showed that these reporters were aware of the circumstances and this awareness was most certainly brought about by the determined efforts of the concerned people of Iran. This speech, along with other revelatory speeches of Imam, contributed to the eventual fall of the Shah's imperial regime.

Speech Number Twenty-One

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

I feel it is my duty on certain occasions to draw the gentlemen's¹ attention to some aspects of the problems facing the people of Islam and it may be that you will consider it your duty also to attempt to aid your Muslim brothers, even if only by way of propagation, telegrams and letters.

From the beginning, the Muslims and Islam were plagued by the carnal desires of some people which, after the death of the Prophet (s), prevented the true Islamic government from being set up and which are the cause of our problems today. If they had allowed the government that Islam calls for to be set up, the ruler that God, the Blessed and Exalted, had designated, that the Most Noble Messenger had appointed² to rule, if they had allowed that system to come into being, the government to be an Islamic government, the governor to be he who was designated by God, then the people would understand what Islam really is and know the true meaning of an Islamic government. Unfortunately, after the death of the Prophet the people were led away from that which he had ordered, and this deviation was not only confined to that time, rather it prepared the grounds for a permanent deviation such that throughout subsequent Muslim history, apart from the short time that Imam Ali (a) ruled,³ a true Islamic government could not be established.

What Muawiyah⁴ did, with the help of those personalities and elders from before the time of Islam, brought about these troubles for the Muslims

¹ It refers to the great *ulama* and *maraji'* of the theological centers in Najaf (Iraq) and Iran.

² It refers to the events of Ghadir Khumm where the Prophet appointed Imam Ali as his successor based on a divine instruction. For detailed information on sources and narrators, as well as maps of Ghadir Khumm, visit: "Ghadir Khumm in the Quran, Hadith and History," <http://www.al-islam.org/ghadir/>.

³ On June 24, 656 CE, Imam Ali was proclaimed caliph at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Practically the whole Muslim world acknowledged his succession and he was the first and only caliph in whose selection a great majority of the community took an active part. He was martyred on January 25, 661 CE after governing for only four years and seven months.

⁴ During the caliphate of Abu Bakr, the first of the four rightly-guided' caliphs, Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan was the head of a battalion in the caliph's army, and Abu Bakr never gave him a position higher than that. However, under the rule of the second caliph, Umar ibn al-Khattab,

and Islam. This internal conflict, which was worse than any other conflict, embroiled Imam Ali, and after his rule, the system of government lost its Islamic character entirely and was replaced by a monarchical regime. However, the short time that Imam Ali ruled and determined his own governmental policies—even with all the problems he faced: the Battle of the Camel;¹ the Battle of Siffin;² the battle with the

he was appointed governor of Jordan and Damascus. Muawiyah gradually strengthened his position until at the time of the third caliph, Uthman ibn al-affan, he became governor of all of Syria. As governor of Syria, Muawiyah began to act more and more like a monarch, such that Imam Ali upon assuming his position as fourth caliph, issued orders for his dismissal.

¹ In the aftermath of the murder of the third caliph, Uthman, Imam Ali was acknowledged as caliph, but from the moment of his accession he had to face opposition within the Muslim community from many different areas and shades of opinion. The first challenge to his authority came from within the Quraysh itself. Imam Ali's close identification with the *Ansar* [= the helpers: those who had given the Prophet and his followers shelter and home at the most critical moment of his mission] and his reluctance to accept the nomination of Abu Bakr as first caliph, had alienated him from many of the Quraysh who now felt they had to challenge him to preserve the position their tribe had won. The rebellion centered on Zubayr ibn al-awwam, Ṭalha ibn Ubaydullah and the Prophet's wife, A'ishah. Zubayr and Ṭalha were both early converts to Islam and supporters of the caliph Uthman during whose caliphate they had acquired position and great wealth. They were ambitious for the caliphate and did not wish to see power pass from the Quraysh tribe, to which they belonged. A'ishah who was the daughter of Abu Bakr, refused to return to Medina from the *Umrah* [lesser pilgrimage] when informed of the nomination of Imam Ali. Some time later, Ṭalha and Zubayr, with the excuse of going to perform the *Umrah*, joined A'ishah in the holy city of Mecca and planned for battle. Their aim was to capture Basra—which they achieved massacring many people and unceremoniously throwing out the governor in the process—divide Iraq and bring an end to Imam Ali's rule. After much hesitation, Imam Ali finally marched to Kufah, accompanied by his three sons Hasan, Husayn and Muhammad, Abdullah ibn Abbas, Ammar ibn Yasir, and Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr (the brother of A'ishah) and there he succeeded in gathering a strong force. On December 9, 656 CE outside of Basra at a place called Khariba, Imam Ali met and defeated the coalition in a battle styled, 'The Battle of the Camel,' after the camel on which A'ishah rode which was the rallying-point for the rebels. Both Ṭalha and Zubayr fell, and Imam Ali magnanimously mourned the fallen and had them honorably buried. A'ishah was captured and sent back to Medina accompanied by her brother. This victory strengthened Imam Ali's position in Iraq, Iran, Yemen, Mecca and Medina and consolidated his authority in Egypt and Africa.

² Upon assuming his position as new caliph, Imam Ali inaugurated his rule by dismissing most of the provincial governors appointed by his predecessor and exacting the oath of fealty from the others. However, Muawiyah, the governor of Syria, refused to be dismissed and, withholding his homage from Imam Ali, he tried to implicate him in the murder of the third caliph, Uthman, and on the pretext of avenging his death, he rallied his forces and set off toward Kufah to do battle with him. On the plain of Siffin south of ar-Raqqah, on the west bank of the Euphrates, the two armies stood face to face. Skirmishes, said to be about ninety in all, dragged on for weeks as neither side seemed anxious to fight. The final encounter took place on July 28, 657 CE. Under the leadership of Malik al-Ashtar, Imam Ali's forces were on

Kharijites¹—served as a lesson for the Muslims and they came to understand what Islam really is, to a certain extent at least.

If they had allowed the government to retain its Islamic form and the people to live in the shelter of an Islamic government, perhaps all these misfortunes which afflict us in the present day would not have come about. The governor who was chosen by God, the Blessed and Exalted, to exercise rule over that *ummah* was a person who, when he became ruler, when everyone gathered around him and swore allegiance to him, lived more frugally than the most impoverished of our religious students or grocers. His food was stale oaten bread, and it is said that at the end of his life the bread that he ate was so hard and dry that he had to break it with his knee and eat it with water.² It is related that Imam Ali used to say: “I am afraid that in some corner of my realm there is a hungry person and how can I sleep with a full stomach when one of my subjects goes hungry.” This was what an Islamic system of government meant.

the point of victory when the shrewd, wily Amr ibn al-as, Muawiyah’s leader, resorted to a ruse. Copies of the Quran fastened to lances were suddenly seen thrust in the air—a gesture interpreted to mean an appeal from the decision of arms to the decision of the Quran. Urged by his followers, Imam Ali accepted Muawiyah’s proposal to arbitrate the case. Hostilities ceased after a confrontation which had lasted one hundred and ten days and left 70,000 dead, 45,000 being from Muawiyah’s army. The acceptance of the principle of arbitration was to prove disastrous for Imam Ali and it alienated the sympathy of a large body of his own followers. For more information refer to Philip K Hitti’s *History of the Arabs*, pp. 178-186.

¹ The Kharijites or *al-Mariqun* (=a name given them by Imam Ali and meaning “those who missed the truth of religion”) were a group of quasi-holy, narrow-minded Muslims who were originally followers of Imam Ali and fought with him at the Battle of Siffin. Initially they supported arbitration, pushing Imam Ali to accept it; however, later they revolted against it arguing that because God was the only true arbitrator, Imam Ali and those who agreed with him in the arbitration were not just wrong they were unbelievers, hence they could have no dealings with them. On Imam Ali’s return to Iraq from Siffin, this group split off from his army and set up camp on the banks of the Nahrawan canal. The Kharijites (or seceders) became a fierce group who believed that they were the only true Muslims, and as such they began terrorizing the people whom they regarded as unbelievers. Imam Ali was at first able to talk to them and persuade some of them to cease in their hostilities, but eventually he was forced to take up arms against them. In 659 CE he attacked their army under the leadership of Abdullah ibn Wahab al-Rasibi at Nahrawan almost annihilating them. Nahrawan was the third and last battle Imam Ali had to partake in with his internal enemies.

² Utba ibn Alqama said: “I entered Imam Ali’s house and saw that he was eating dry bread with stale milk. I asked: Oh Commander of the Faithful, how do you live off such food? He answered: The Prophet of God ate bread which was drier than this and wore clothes which were coarser than these that I wear. I am afraid if I do anything other than this I will not be reunited with the Messenger of God’.”

The greatest disaster that befell Islam was the usurpation of rule by Muawiyah from Imam Ali. This disaster was even worse than the tragedy of Karbala, and the misfortunes that descended upon Imam Ali and Islam at that time were worse than those which befell the Doyen of the Martyrs [Imam Husayn (a)]. The greatest disaster of all at that time was that they did not allow the people to perceive the true meaning of Islam. Even today the people are unsure of what Islam really is, what an Islamic government is, what Islam requires and what programs Islam has for governance. Even today, Islam remains obscure. The people of Islam should mourn the usurpation of rule from Imam Ali and commemorate those five or six years when he governed, when even with all the problems he faced and all the troubles that were created for him he maintained a true Islamic system. They should commemorate his justice, the fact that he was at one with his people, that his standard of living was lower than that of others while his spirit rose ever higher above the horizons. They should commemorate God. They should commemorate a ruler who, when he hears that an anklet has been stolen from a non-Muslim woman living under the protection of Islam,¹ wishes to die of shame.²

*“As for those who disbelieve, they engage in pleasure and in eating as the beasts eat, and the fire shall be their abode.”*³ This is the distinguishing feature. One who eats and takes his pleasure with no concern for what is permitted or forbidden [*haram*], who pays no attention to the condition of the people or to the ordinances of the Islamic laws, such a person is like an animal, he eats as the beasts eat and the *“fire shall be his abode.”* According to a tradition, the unbeliever eats with seven stomachs, whereas the believer eats with only one.⁴ The believer has just one stomach which accepts only that which is lawful. He adapts his appetite, his other desires to the laws of Islam so that he does not violate those laws. But the unbeliever eats with seven stomachs. Satiating one’s lusts without concern for the laws of Islam, this constitutes one stomach. Satiating one’s anger without concern for the

¹ The word used is *dhimmi* meaning 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.

² It refers 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.

³ *Surah Muhammad* 47:12.

⁴ The word used is *mia* meaning stomach. The Prophet said: “Soon after I leave you, there will be food that the believer will eat with one stomach and the unbeliever with seven.” *Wasa’il ash-Shiah*, vol. 16, p. 406.

law, this is another stomach. Satisfying one's carnal desires, this is another. Another three are created from a mixture of any two of the above three, and another one comes from all these three together. That makes seven. The unbelievers have seven stomachs but the believer has no more than one, and his stomach is satisfied in the way of the law. Islam has commanded just one way. It's not the case that the believer follows his anger or his lusts, these are controlled by him. All these forces within him are subordinate to the power of wisdom, and this itself is subject to the law of Islam. The Muslims should mourn the passing of that government of wisdom, that government of justice, belief and God: they should commemorate those few years of Imam Ali's rule.

... Gentlemen, these matters of which I am to speak are not imaginary. Unfortunately, I have received letters and complaints from Iran about the situation there which do not cease to trouble me. One of the respected *ulama* of Shiraz has written saying that famine has afflicted some families in the south of the country to the extent that hunger has forced them to sell their children.¹ One of the *ulama* from Fasa has also written to me about the situation in the country saying that he wanted to arrange some food and clothes for the impoverished people, and I agreed that he could use money from the charitable contributions² for this purpose. Letters have also arrived from Tehran telling me that there is famine in Baluchistan and Sistan and in the outlying regions of Khorasan such that the people have swarmed into the major cities and because of hunger they can no longer keep their livestock. While these tragic circumstances and conditions prevail around the country, millions of tumans are to be spent celebrating in honor of the monarchy.³

¹ Some of the disasters that Imam refers to here were reported in the newspapers of the day. *Kayhan* newspaper dated May 31, 1971 [Khordad 10, 1351 AHS] reported: "Many deprived people are so poor that with heavy hearts and tearful eyes they are abandoning their beloved children on the wayside and street corners so that they do not have to witness their gradual death. Their pictures and particulars continually appear in the newspapers."

² Share of the Imam: *sahm-i* Imam, moneys paid to the Imam, or, in the period of his occultation, to the *ulama*, for charitable disbursement.

³ After the arrest and exile of Imam Khomeini in 1963 [1342 AHS], the opponents of the Shah's regime embarked on an underground struggle. From 1966 onwards, the Shah, in a bid to demonstrate his power and position, and also to distract the people and keep them amused and occupied, began to hold many festivals. The most important of these was the celebration marking 2,500 years of monarchy in Iran. For the holding of this festival, which is remembered as the greatest show on earth, a city comprising portable palaces and tents furnished with the most expensive decorations was erected beside the ancient site of Takht-e Jamshid (Persepolis). Nine kings, five queens, twenty-one princesses and numerous presidents, vice-presidents and prime ministers from different countries of the world attended

According to reports, 80 million tumans are to be spent on Tehran alone preparing the city for the festivities. Experts have been invited from Israel to take care of the arrangements for the celebrations; from Israel, that country which is the enemy of Islam, which is at present at war with Islam, which destroyed the al-Aqsa Mosque—a crime which some people sought to cover up.¹ In addition, according to the world’s major radio stations, Iranian oil tankers are on their way to Israel filled with Iranian oil for a country which is at war with the Muslims!² These are the actions of the kings that we have to hold festivals for!

the ceremonies. The food at Persepolis was prepared by the expensive, international restaurant “Maxim’s” of France aided by other leading French and Swiss chefs and caterers. The only food on the menu that was Iranian was caviar (which the Shah would not touch); almost everything else came from France. The dishes, cutlery, wine glasses and tea cups used were the best of their kind and the most expensive in the world. All this was taking place at a time when the majority of Iranian people did not enjoy such basic amenities as water, electricity and medical care. *Time* magazine, in its August 4, 1980 edition wrote: “Even the story-teller Shahrzad, in her one-thousand-and-one tales, could not bring alive the magnificent scenes of the celebrations for 2,500 years of Iranian monarchy at the ruins of Takht-e Jamshid. When the Shah held this great show at Takht-e Jamshid, he saw himself as the inheritor of one of the oldest monarchical regimes in the world which would endure for centuries and even till the end of history. Which one of his distinguished guests could have imagined that the history of 2,500 years of monarchy in Iran would end with Muhammad Riza Shah himself?”

¹ The al-Aqsa Mosque: the site in Jerusalem where the Prophet ascended to heaven in the eleventh year of his mission (Quran 17:1); also the complex of mosques and buildings erected on the site. The chief of these was set aflame by the occupiers of Palestine on August 21, 1969. The day after this disaster, the Iranian newspapers led their readers to believe that the fire had not been started intentionally and that the Zionist regime was also shocked and saddened by the event. It was also announced through an official declaration that: “The Shah and the people of Iran, like other Muslims, will be among the first to compensate for the damage done by this fire and will proudly pay their share for rebuilding the al-Aqsa Mosque—the *qiblah* of the Muslims...” A bank account was subsequently opened and the people were asked to donate money to pay for the damage. At that time, Imam was opposed to the mosque’s repair for he wanted this crime of the Quds usurpers to remain for all the Muslims of the world to see and for it to act as a further provocation for the Palestinian combatants.

² After the defeat of the Arab governments in the Six Day War with Israel in 1967, the Arab world witnessed an increase in anti-Western, especially anti-American, sentiment among its people. America had always shown itself to be Israel’s patron and main supplier of arms, thus, the Arab countries decided that in the event of another war with Israel, they would cut the production and export of oil to the West. Later, in October 1973, the Arab oil weapon was unsheathed on behalf of the Egyptians and Syrians who had once again embarked on a war with Israel in an attempt to free their territories from Israeli occupation. The Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, meeting in Kuwait on October 17, 1973 decided to cut production and bring about a total embargo on all oil for the US and the Netherlands until Israel withdrew from all occupied Arab territories. The rich industrialized countries were at first appalled by this action which threatened to place their economies in jeopardy. However,

Since its inception to the present time, the Iranian monarchy has befouled history. The crimes of the kings of Iran have blackened the pages of history. It is the kings of Iran who massacred their own people, who beheaded them and built towers with their skulls.¹ Should the Islamic nation now honor the rule of such monarchs with a celebration?! Should the merchants of the bazaar in Tehran now be forced to contribute to such festivities?! One should commemorate the ruler in whose shelter the Muslims lived comfortably. One should commemorate a ruler who, when he hears that an anklet has been stolen from a non-Muslim woman living under the protection of Islam, wishes to die of shame, not he who, because a slogan is uttered in the university which runs counter to his carnal desires, sends his men to the university to beat the students. Gentlemen, according to reports that have reached here, some female students needed surgery as a result of the blows and wounds they received. This crime happened just recently but here in Najaf no one is aware of it (the audience weeps). I am not able to mention the other shameful deeds that they perpetrated. Why did this happen? Their only crime was opposing the twenty-five hundredth anniversary celebrations and saying: "We have no need of this festival; we are hungry; put an end to the hunger of the Muslim people; do not celebrate over the corpses of the people." Gentlemen, let the world know about these things. Why is Najaf so sound asleep? Do we not have a responsibility? Is our only duty to study?

the US and its allies were only marginally affected by the embargo because the Shah announced his opposition to it and agreed to increase production of Iranian oil to meet the needs of the Western market. One of the fundamental aims behind this increase was to meet the requirements of Israel and South Africa.

¹ The history of monarchy in Iran has been marked by atrocities. To cite just a few: In 1356, Teymur, among the most celebrated practitioners of the custom of building skull-pyramids, slaughtered 70,000 people in Isfahan and built a pyramid with their skulls. The eighteenth-century monarch Nadir Shah Afshar in 1744 set off to crush a rebellion against him led by the Governor-General of Fars Province, Qia Quli Aqa. As he approached the rebel's base in Shiraz, the people of that town, afraid for their lives, seized the Governor-General and handed him over to Nadir Shah's troops. The monarch then decided not to carry on to Shiraz, but went to Kerman instead where he summoned all the aristocrats, officials and leaders of Fars province and, along with the leaders of Kerman, had most of them killed and built two towers from their heads. Shiraz was sacked by his soldiery anyway and they pillaged every house and slaughtered many citizens. In 1794, Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar attacked the city of Kerman in a bid to capture his adversary, Lutf Ali Khan Zand, who had sought refuge there. He proved successful in entering the city and Lutf Ali Khan fled to Bam where he was later captured, blinded and put to death. Aqa Muhammad Khan then killed or gouged the eyes out of numerous people in vengeance for their giving shelter to Lutf Ali Khan. He then transferred the bodies of the dead to the city of Bam where he had a number of skull-pyramids erected. Refer to *Sharh-e Hal-e Rijal-e Siyasi-ye Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 246-377 and *Shaytan-e Sabz*, p. 190.

Should we pay no attention to the problems of the Muslims? Are we not to protest that the oil belonging to Iran and Islam is sent to a country which is at war with Muslims? Is there no cause for protest here? Should we not speak about this?¹ Which kings are we to commemorate? What happiness have kings ever brought the people? Should we commemorate Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar?² Even in my time the Qajars were still committing atrocities. Should we commemorate the monarch who massacred the Muslims in the mosque of Gawhar Shad in such numbers that the walls were stained with blood and the gates of the mosque had to be closed so that none see the spectacle?³ Should we celebrate the rule of that monarch who was responsible for the events of Khordad 15, who killed, according to one of the *ulama*, four hundred people in Qum alone, who had fifteen thousand people massacred throughout Iran? Should we commemorate the rule of these people?! Even those that were reputed to be good were vile and cruel. It is

¹ Here Imam is alluding to the quietism of the *maraji'* and *ulama* of Najaf and their opposition to his policies and his involvement in such matters.

² Aqa Muhammad Khan Qajar (1741-1797) 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 Khan, 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-e Hal-e Rijal-e Siyasi-ye Iran*, vol. 3, pp. 246-257.

³ In late 1935, Rida Khan gave orders for strict enforcement of his decree requiring men to wear Western headgear and the Islamic veils of women to be removed. This move angered the people and prompted opposition from the clergy. Ayatullah Haj Aqa Husayn Qummi, a religious leader of Mashhad, traveled to Tehran in protest. He set up residence in the vicinity of the shrine of Abdul-azim (a descendant of Imam Hasan) and when the people heard of his arrival, they rushed from all areas of Tehran to the shrine to see him. The gathering of people there worried Rida Khan, and he gave orders that the residence of Ayatullah Qummi and the shrine be surrounded and no one be allowed to enter. When news of this occurrence reached Mashhad, the people held a large gathering in the new courtyard of the shrine of Imam Rida (*a*) and immediately orders were given to shoot those gathered there. After this event, Bahlul, a famous preacher of Khorasan province, called the mourners of those murdered in the incident to come together at the mosque of Gauhar Shad, part of the shrine complex in that city. Upon hearing of this second large gathering, Rida Khan ordered that machine-gun fire be used to disperse the crowd and that mercy be shown to no one. Police in Mashhad, along with the infantry, entered the mosque and massacred several hundred people. The bodies of the martyrs and even the wounded were then mercilessly loaded onto trucks and taken out of the city where they were buried in a mass grave. The site of this grave is known as the seat of carnage'.

related that one such good¹ monarch, for whose soul prayers are said, once on the way to Abd al-azim ordered a group of poor hungry soldiers, who had dared to assemble about his coach to ask for bread and because a stone thrown by one of them had struck his carriage, to be strangled with a rope.¹ The order was carried out in part before one of the great ministers, one of the noblemen of Iran,² objected saying that they were only poor servants of God and shouldn't be treated so. His intervention caused the rest to be spared. This was one of the good¹ monarchs; the deeds of the evil monarchs are much worse, as we are witnessing now.

They eat with seven stomachs! They pay no attention to the nation, to the elementary needs of the nation. People address themselves to us constantly from all over Iran asking permission to use the charitable taxes for the building of bathhouses. So what is all this talk about the Iranian people being prosperous and content? Are they prosperous when they sell their children because of hunger?! Is Iran now prospering? They are now extorting money by pressure and force from the merchants of the bazaars of the country so they can spend some of it on these shameful festivities and use the rest for themselves or their agents. They spend the wealth of the poor people and Muslims for these celebrations, and from the country's budget they spend millions, tens of millions on such an amusement, such an idiotic spectacle. For what? To satisfy their carnal desires. So that it can be said that we are the people who have celebrated; we are proud that we had Aqa Muhammad Qajar, we are proud that we had Nadir Quli. God knows what a ruthless butcher he was.³ Should we commemorate these people? The Muslims must

¹ It is written that Nasiruddin Shah had set off to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Abdul-azim. Along the way, his entourage was stopped by a group of soldiers who had gathered on the road to complain to the Shah about their commander Ala ad-Dawlah, who had stolen from their rations and wages. Their commander, who was accompanying the Shah, came forward and began to shout at the soldiers, but they abused him and threw stones at him. One of the stones struck the royal carriage, angering the Shah. On his return to the city, he ordered that the soldiers be summoned into his presence. In a bid to prevent the killing of the poor soldiers, the courtiers brought a number of those who were young, tall and handsome before the Shah so that he might spare them because of their youth. But the Shah ordered that they all had to be strangled. News of this event was reported in the European newspapers of the time, and the Shah, in an attempt to cover up his crime, dismissed the commander of the soldiers. Refer to *Ah-zab-e Siyasi-ye Iran*, p. 226.

² The person referred to is Mirza Yusuf Ashtiyani (1812-1886) known by the title Mustawfi al-Mamalik and nicknamed Aqa'.

³ Nadir Quli Afshar Qarakhlu (1687-1747), 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

mourn the existence of such rulers. They should commemorate a ruler who, when he thinks that someone may be going hungry in a far corner of his realm, suffers hunger voluntarily himself. His seat of government was the mosque in Kufah, his bench of judgment was situated in one corner of the mosque and he “ate food as a slave eats and sat as a slave sits.”¹ According to tradition, he once bought two tunics, and finding one of them better than the other, he gave the better one to his servant Qanbar.² The other he kept for himself, and since its sleeves were too long for him, he tore off the extra portion and in this torn garment the ruler of a country ten times the size of Iran went out to deliver his sermon. This gives cause for celebration.

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, Gauhar 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 favor 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 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 heads and relatives was not realized 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-e Hal-e Rijal-e Siyasi-ye Iran*, vol. 4, p. 193.

¹ A tradition related by Imam al-Baqir on the personality and behavior of the Messenger of God says: “The Messenger of God ate food as a slave eats and sat as a slave sits.” *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 16, p. 225.

² The true name of Qanbar was Abu ash-Sha’ta Mawli ibn Muammar. He was an African slave who was freed by Imam Ali. Qanbar was the name that Imam Ali gave him. Qanbar was very devoted to Imam Ali and was dedicated in his service to him. For his part, Imam Ali trusted Qanbar greatly. After Imam Ali’s martyrdom, Qanbar entered the service of Imam Hasan and just before the uprising of Imam Husayn, he was imprisoned by the Umayyads and was eventually martyred during the reign of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan at the age of sixty-five by Hajjaj ibn Yusuf ath-Thaqafi.

Gentlemen, come to your senses; awaken Najaf. Protest against these crimes. If one hundred telegrams were sent from Najaf in a polite form and showing full respect, even using the title His Most Exalted Highness',¹ requesting that these hungry people be fed, that all this expense that the government wants to pay out on these affairs be spent on this misfortunate hungry nation, on this poor, bankrupt people some of whom have run away from Iran and some of whom are here; if one hundred telegrams were sent to Iran by the religious scholars and students here, it may have some effect. But unfortunately, such an idea occurs to no one and I should be only too grateful that no one complains to me about my criticisms of the Iranian government! Really, don't we have a duty to perform here? Should we just sit back and pay no attention to the circumstances of the people or to what tragedies befall them? Is it enough for us to simply go to Imam Ali's shrine, pray for them and come back? We who depend on Islam for our living—even though our budget may only be little, still we are living off that—are we not to lift a finger for the sake of Islam? Is *tarattub*² Islam? Well fair enough, in its place it is; but is that enough? Is it enough that we gather in such and such a mosque and study Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and dogmatic theology [*usul*] but remain unaware of the concerns of Muslims? Are we to ignore this Jew who wants to seize all the lands of Islam up to Iraq and destroy these shrines? Is then that person³ who gives him oil a Muslim? Do we not have cause to object, to ask why sir are you giving the oil of Muslims to the unbelievers? Why are you giving the oil of Muslims to a people who are at war with the Muslims? Of course he will answer: "I'm a servant, I've been given orders and I have to carry them out." Naturally, a servant has no other choice but to obey his masters. He said himself in one of his speeches⁴ that the Allies had installed him on the throne: "The Allies, after occupying Iran, thought it

¹ It refers to the title the Shah used for himself.

² *Tarattub* is one of the subjects discussed in the study of the principles and ordinances of Islamic law that the *Usulis* have referred to in their investigations into commands (to prevent the contradiction of two commands). Refer to Akhundi Khorasani, *Kafī al-Usul*.

³ The Shah.

⁴ 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.

fitting that I should be in control of affairs, and they agreed to my accession to the throne.” May God curse them for thinking it fitting. Someone who is a puppet has to serve his masters; he cannot do otherwise. All this stems from following carnal desires. Attacking the universities comes from nothing other than carnal desires. Attacking the Faydiyyah Madrasah and the perpetration of such unthinkable, opprobrious deeds there stem from carnal desires. They insulted the Quran and Imam Ja’far¹ in this attack, they set fire to the students’ turbans and threw some of them off the roof of the building. One young *sayyid* was brought to our house with a broken back after they had thrown him off the roof. Should we now celebrate the rule of such a person? There is nothing for us to celebrate. What is there for the Iranian nation to celebrate? It’s the duty of the Iranian nation to engage in passive struggle against this festival, acts of violence are not necessary. They should refrain from participation in these festivities and remain indoors during the days of the festival. They should avoid participating as far as possible.

If all the *ulama* of Iran were to protest collectively against these celebrations would the authorities arrest them all, banish them or execute them all?! If all the *ulama* of Iran, who number at least 150,000, all the mullahs, *maraji*’, Hujjat al-Islams and Ayatullahs were to protest and break this seal of silence, this silence which in fact endorses these atrocities, would the authorities destroy them all? If they were able to do this, they would first destroy me, but their interests do not permit them to do so. If it would be only in their interest to destroy me!

What life is this that I lead? Death to this life of mine. They imagine that I am very happy and content with my life and so they think that they can threaten me. Let them come, the sooner the better.² Death as soon as possible

¹ The assault on the Faydiyyah Madrasah took place on March 22, 1963 [Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS] and coincided with the anniversary of the martyrdom of Imam Ja’far as-Sadiq (*a*). The Shiah theological centers have been recognized for many years as being the centers for the teachings of Imam as-Sadiq, and because of this, Imam saw this shameful act on the part of the regime, in which copies of the Quran were also set alight, as an affront to Imam as-Sadiq.

² Here Imam is giving his reply to the threats made against him by the regime and which Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini has written about in his memoirs: “Following the killing of America’s pawn, Teymur Bakhtiyar—who was made the Military Governor of Tehran after the coup d’état of August 19, 1952 [Mordad 28, 1332 AHS] and later became the first head of SAVAK—by SAVAK agents in a completely secret operation (refer to the *Memoirs of General Fardust*, vol. 1, p. 415) while he was out hunting in Iraq and as he was being closely guarded by the Iraqi Baath party, the deputy head of SAVAK in Qum came to the house of Mr. Ishraqi, Imam’s son-in-law, to deliver, as he put it, a very important message from SAVAK headquarters to myself and Mr. Ishraqi. He spoke for more than an hour, but the gist of his message can be summed up in a few sentences: “After killing Mr.

would be better than this life; then I might join the presence of the Most Noble One in the Hereafter, where nobleness and kindness reign supreme, and be delivered from this life of misfortune. What life is this that I lead, constantly hearing the cries and moans of our oppressed and tyrannized people? Every day news arrives of the atrocities they have committed against the young women. How they have killed some of them, how bandits and ruffians attacked the university at lunch time and poured boiling liquid from the pans over the students' heads. For what? Because they said down with so-and-so and long live so-and-so. Should they kill people because of this? They said why do we need a 2,500 years of monarchy celebration? Those people should celebrate who have some kind of life, who have a government under whose protection they are happy and comfortable. One should celebrate the rule of Imam Ali whose people were protected within the shadow of his sword, whose people were secure; no one was afraid of his rule. No one was afraid of the government because it was a government of justice and a government of justice excites no fear. But is this the case with the Iranian government? In our country circumstances are such that everyone lives in fear waiting for the government agents to burst into their homes. They may be innocent, but the authorities attack, arrest and torture now on the strength of mere suspicion. It is just like the time of Ibn Ziyad and Hajjaj when if it was even suspected that someone might be a follower of Imam Ali he was seized and destroyed.¹ If someone offers them a word of advice or

Bakhtiyar, the Iraqi government now intends to assassinate Mr. Khomeini in Najaf and lay the blame for it on us—the Iranian government! Tell Mr. Khomeini about this.” As he was leaving, he said: “If you wish, you can also divulge this matter to the public, it will be alright!” After his departure I told Mr. Ishraqi: “SAVAK has a particular aim and wants everyone to know about this.” I told Imam about the matter, but I did not tell anyone else. Our silence compelled SAVAK to go to Mr. Falsafi, the famous preacher, and tell him what they had told me. Mr. Falsafi, who was not aware of the truth of the matter, made it public in one of his sermons. Imam Khomeini's understanding of this message was that the regime had threatened him and in effect what they were saying was: “We killed Bakhtiyar even though he was closely guarded by Iraq; you have no one to guard you!”

¹ After the death of Imam Ali, the Shiah suffered persecution at the hands of subsequent rulers on numerous occasions. Ubaydullah ibn Ziyad (died 686), one of Yazid's henchmen, from the beginning of his governorship over Kufah when he martyred Muslim ibn Aqil to the end of his life, killed, tortured or imprisoned twelve thousand Shiah for the crime of devotion to Imam Ali. It was on his orders that many followers of Imam Ali had their hands and feet severed and their tongues cut out. Maytham at-Tammam was one who suffered this cruel fate at the hands of Ziyad because he refused to curse Imam Ali and continued in his unswerving loyalty to him and his house even after Imam Ali's death. Ziyad participated in the battle against Imam Husayn at Karbala. Another ruthless, bloodthirsty governor at the time of the Umayyad caliphate was Hajjaj ibn Yusuf ath-Thaqafi (661-714 CE) who considered the non-believers

publishes a few copies of an admonitive pamphlet, they arrest him and take him off to some unknown destination. If someone utters a word from the pulpit, if he says something which does not even have much impact on the people, still he is arrested and carried off to prison. Don't we have a duty to at least expose these crimes?

What do I consider as my duty? I consider it my duty to remind you that such things are taking place, to cry out with all the strength at my command and to write and publish with whatever power my pen may have. If my colleagues too consider it proper, if they regard the nation of Islam as their own nation, if they consider that nation to comprise of their followers then let them do the same. And if they do not consider it proper, they must decide for themselves, and may God watch over them. What are we to do in the face of all these problems? Even though we have still not purified ourselves, for if we had we would be thinking about these problems, should I now sit and speak to you about ethics and self-purification while the Muslims and the foundations of Islam are being destroyed!?

You have a path of action open to you. Each of you writes a letter of protest to the government of Iran. A stamp doesn't cost much, even though your income is very little; write a letter for God's sake. Tell them to abandon this festival, to feed the hungry. Ask the learned scholars and authorities of Najaf to give some advice to the Iranian government. I do not even say they must protest, rather, by way of exhortation and counsel let them ask very politely that they cease behaving towards our people in this way.¹ They are making the people suffer, and if they are allowed to continue unrestrained still worse misfortunes will descend upon us. Every day new events are created. They even have special experts for dreaming up these events. Every day they create a new festival, a new idiotic spectacle. If matters continue on their present course, we will be faced with events in the near future that none of us can even imagine.

It may be effective if we make our protests known to the Islamic countries which plan to take part in these vile festivals, if we ask them not to partake in these sordid celebrations, not to participate in the murder of the Iranian nation. Tell the Islamic countries to shun all participation in this

and fire-worshippers to be superior to the followers of Imam Ali. He was infamous for the cruelty he displayed on behalf of his masters in both Iraq and the Hijaz, and killed thousands of people simply because they were Shiah. Refer to *Tarikh ash-Shiah*, p. 40.

¹ Here Imam' words show quite clearly his isolation in the struggle and his alienation in Najaf. The prevailing atmosphere of quietism and indifference in the school is also made quite obvious.

festival that is being arranged by Israeli experts and engineers on the outskirts of Shiraz.¹

Experts from Israel are taking care of the arrangements—from Israel, that enemy of Islam and the Quran which a few years ago attempted to corrupt the text of the Quran² and now imputes to the Quran unworthy statements. Just recently the Israelis claimed that *Surah* Five Verse Six of the Quran says that after easing nature, the Muslim does not have the right to wash his hands with soap only with water, and that this has been the cause of some of the diseases in Germany. This matter created such a hullabaloo in that country. What is Verse Six of *Surah* Five? It is a verse which talks about ritual cleanliness.³ This is what the Israelis are like. They bear so much animosity towards Islam. Our students abroad vigorously protested against this and refuted these statements, may God strengthen and assist them. They wrote to the newspapers, but some of the government-controlled press did not accept their arguments and those which did did not really give enough publicity to their counter-arguments. They met with the authorities and told them that this was a lie; they proved its falsehood in articles in their newspapers and magazines. They performed such a great service for Islam. Can the same be said about us? They are the students of the modern sciences, but they are Muslim, they are awake while you and I as students of the traditional sciences are asleep or involved with other things. One should not

¹ It refers to the celebrations of 2,500 years of Iranian monarchy which were held at Takht-e Jamshid, fifty-six kilometers north-east of Shiraz on the Marv Dasht plateau.

² Soon after the Six Day War, it was reported that copies of the Quran were circulating in the territories seized by the Zionists, as well as in African countries, from which all verses critical of the Jews had been excised.

³ *Surah al-Ma'idah* 4:6: "Oh ye who believe! When ye prepare for prayer, wash your face and your hands (and arms) to the elbows. Rub your hands (with water) and your feet to the ankles. If ye are in a state of ceremonial impurity, bathe your whole body. But if ye are ill, or on a journey, or one of you cometh from offices of nature, or ye have been in contact with women, and ye find no water, then take for yourselves clean sand or earth, and rub therewith your faces and hands. God doth not wish to place you in a difficulty but to make you clean and to complete His favor to you, that ye may be grateful." In 1971, a West German newspaper claimed that the spread of a contagious disease among Muslims was due to their lack of personal hygiene and that this had been brought about because the Quran had prohibited Muslims from washing themselves with soap. The article cited Verse Six, *Surah* Five in support of its claim and stated that because Muslims wash themselves without the use of soap or any other cleansing agent, bacteria was not killed and disease followed. This article was not left without answer and the Muslim students in Europe wrote articles refuting the claim and held a seminar on hygiene from an Islamic point of view.

speak out about the situation here! Speaking out is incompatible with the position of a *marja'* or an *akhund*! Shouldn't the *akhunds* speak out?!¹

Were not the Prophet and Imam Ali religious scholars and did they not preach long sermons? How is it that now, when it is the turn of the present generation of religious scholars to speak out, we make excuses so we can shirk our responsibility. Gentlemen, do not let allow yourselves to be taught to think like this. It is your duty to serve Islam, and service to Islam does not just mean studying, this is only one aspect of it. You have a duty to concern yourselves with the problems of the Muslims. You have a duty to interfere. How often we have been told we must not interfere in affairs of state. It seems that we have in fact come to believe that we should not interfere in the affairs of government, we should not object. Yet since the very beginning of history the prophets and scholars of religion have stood up to tyrannical governments. Did they not realize that they were not supposed to do this? When God the Blessed and Exalted sent Moses to destroy Pharaoh, didn't He know that one must not struggle against kings? It is related in a tradition and quoted in either the work of Ṭabari² or Ibn Athir,³ that the Prophet said that the title of King of kings' is the most repugnant of all titles in his eyes.⁴ It is one of the most hated titles given to a human being. This title is for God.

From the very beginning, the prophets and after them the Imams (*a*) all rose up against kings and tyrannical governments, not relinquishing the struggle even under conditions of extreme difficulty or imprisonment. Musa ibn Ja'far continued his struggle even in prison.⁵ Abu Abdillah¹ practiced

¹ It points to the quietism of the Najaf theological center.

² Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari (838-923 CE) who was born in Ṭabaristan in Iran is one of the great Muslim historians and the writer of *Tarikh-e Ṭabari*.

³ 'Izzuddin ibn al-Athir (1160-1234) is one of the great Muslim historians and transmitters of Prophetic traditions. His history entitled *Kamil at-Tawarikh* and famous as *Tarikh-e ibn Athir* is one of the famous history books.

⁴ It is related in a tradition accounted to the Prophet of Islam, thus: "The most hated of all titles in the sight of God is King of kings'. Refer to *Sahih Muslim*, vol. 3, p. 1688.

⁵ Imam Abu'l-Hasan Musa, son of Ja'far: seventh of the Twelve Imams, and generally known as Imam Musa al-Kazim. He was born in Medina in 744 CE and died in prison in Baghdad in 799 CE. In the book *Durr at-Tanzim*, an example of Imam Musa ibn Ja'far's opposition to Harun ar-Rashid is cited. Harun ar-Rashid sent Fadl ibn Rabi' to Imam Musa (*a*) in prison to give him a message. Fadl said: "I saw Imam at prayer. I stood waiting a while for him to finish. After finishing one prayer, he immediately began another, and repeated this act several times until I began to speak. I said: "The Commander of the Faithful sent me to you and ordered that I tell his brother to command anything he wants and bring it for him." Upon hearing this Imam said: "Neither have I money that will be of benefit, nor has God created me as one who pleads." Then he said: "*Allahu akbar*" ["God is Great"] and began to pray again." The fourth Imam, Ali, known as Zayn al-abidin and as-Sajjad (658-712 CE) even from his

dissimulation [*taqiyyah*] and related the *maqbulah* tradition² and at the same time he confronted them; he confronted them with words and propaganda and by this means he urged the people on in their struggles against the king. Imam Hasan rose up against the king of his day, Muawiyah, as far as he was able,³ even though at that time most people had sworn allegiance to

prison cell kept in contact with the combatants of his time and led the struggle against the repressive regime.

¹ In the language of the traditions and Islamic jurisprudence, “Abu Abdillah” is the title by which the sixth Imam, Ja’far ibn Muhammad as-Sadiq is known.

² The *maqbulah* tradition is the tradition of Umar ibn Hanzalah who asked Imam as-Sadiq, the sixth Imam, whether it was permissible in the event of a disagreement between two Shiah concerning a debt or a legacy to seek the verdict of the ruler or judge. He replied: “Anyone who has recourse to the ruler or judge, whether his case be just or unjust, has in reality had recourse to the *taghut* (i.e. the illegitimate ruling power). Whatever he obtains as a result of their verdict, he will have obtained by forbidden means, even if he has a proven right to it, for he will have obtained it through the verdict and judgment of the *taghut*, that power which God Almighty has commanded him to disbelieve in: “*They wish to seek justice from illegitimate powers, even though they have been commanded to disbelieve therein*” [Quran 4:60]. Imam as-Sadiq then advised the Shiah to refer to one of the *fuqaha* i.e. one learned in the principles and ordinances of Islamic law, or, more generally in all aspects of the faith. Those learned in the study of traditions have called this tradition the *maqbulah* tradition, and even though its chain of authorities [*isnad*] is weak, still it is accepted and referred to by the *fuqaha*. Refer to *Wasa’il ash-Shiah*, vol. 18, the section on the attributes of judges, pp. 98-99; Imam Khomeini, *Kitab al-Bay’*, vol. 2, p. 476.

³ During the last year of Imam Ali’s caliphate, Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan, the governor of Syria and the main challenger of Imam Ali, managed to bring a large part of the Muslim lands under his control. Nevertheless, he could not claim for himself the title of “Commander of the Faithful” while Imam Ali was still alive. Immediately after Imam Ali’s death, the office of caliph was passed on to his eldest son Imam Hasan (*a*). His acclamation as caliph by the people was a great cause of alarm to Muawiyah who had been working for the office for many years and who with the death of Imam Ali at last saw a clear path to undisputed authority. He lost no time in taking action, he denounced the appointment, sent many of his agents and spies to arouse the people against Imam Hasan, gathered an army of 60,000 men and marched against the new caliph. When Muawiyah’s warlike intentions became clear, Imam Hasan had to prepare for battle. In a sermon delivered in the Friday Mosque, he invited the people to take part in a *jihad* against Muawiyah. Initially the people showed fickleness and lack of enthusiasm to do battle with Muawiyah. It was only when people such as Adi ibn Hatam, an old and devoted follower of Imam Ali and chief of the tribe of Tayyi, and Qays ibn Sa’d ibn Ubada al-Ansari, a trusted commander of Imam Ali’s army, addressed the people urging them to respond to the call of Imam Hasan, did they come out to participate in the war. When the people announced their readiness to fight, Imam Hasan sent a vanguard of between 12,000 to 14,000 men under the command of Ubaydullah ibn al-abbas. Soon after, Imam Hasan left Kufah with his main army. However, before he reached his vanguard, some of the troops accompanying him began to show signs that they lacked the necessary ardor and were not ready to make sacrifices in a *jihad* for their faith. Muawiyah’s machinations brought about mutiny in Imam Hasan’s army, his army heads received bribes and one after the other left the

Muawiyah and recognized him as their king. And when he was betrayed by a group of self-seeking, opportunistic followers and left without support, the very conditions of the peace treaty that he signed with Muawiyah disgraced that monarch,¹ just as later, the bloody revolt of the Doyen of the Martyrs [Imam Husayn] disgraced Yazid. The confrontation has always continued. Later on the great scholars of Islam fought against the tyrants who spent the wealth of their country on debauchery and trivial enjoyment abroad. One person in particular borrowed great sums of money and went to Europe twice, three times—but are human desires ever satisfied? The *ulama* opposed his actions.² At that time they were strong.

battlefield, leaving Imam Hasan to stand alone. Under such circumstances, Imam Hasan was forced to come to terms with Muawiyah. For a more detailed account of this event see *The Origins and Early Development of Shia Islam*. S.H.M. Jafri, pp. 130-148.

¹ The terms of the peace agreement which was signed by Imam Hasan and Muawiyah are as follows:

- 1) Governance lies with Muawiyah on condition that he rules according to the Book of God, the *Sunnah* (i.e. the practice) of the Prophet and the conduct of the righteous caliphs.
- 2) The caliphate will be restored to Imam Hasan after the death of Muawiyah and if anything were to happen to him, it would pass to Imam Husayn. Muawiyah does not have the right to select a successor after him.
- 3) Muawiyah will stop reviling and cursing Imam Ali and he will not mention him in any other than good terms.
- 4) The treasury of Kufah which contains five million dirhams will not be handed over to Muawiyah. Muawiyah will send two million dirhams annually for Imam Husayn. Preference will be given to the Bani Hashim over the Bani Umayyah in the granting of gifts and awards. One million dirhams will be divided among the relatives of those martyred while fighting for Imam Ali in the battles of the Camel and Siffin. All this will be paid from the revenues of the district of Darabjird.
- 5) The people from all over the land—Syria, Iraq, Yemen or the Hijaz—will be secure and this includes every race, black or red. Muawiyah will overlook any offences pending against them and no one will be called to account for past offences. The people of Iraq will not be punished in revenge for their past. The companions and followers of Imam Ali, wherever they are, their lives, properties, women and children will be guaranteed and they will be kept safe and secure. They will not be persecuted, injured or deprived of their rights or privileges nor dispossessed of anything which they possess. No dangerous plot will be made for killing Imam Hasan ibn Ali and his brother Imam Husayn, or anyone from the family of the Prophet and nowhere in the regions of the Islamic land will they be intimidated or threatened.

In his first speech in the mosque at Kufah, Muawiyah dismissed the agreement. However, at the same gathering, Imam Hasan delivered a speech in which he spoke of Muawiyah's treason. His speech was so effective that some of the people gathered there stood up and began to curse Muawiyah. Refer to *Sulh-e Imam Hasan* [The Peace Treaty of Imam Hasan], pp. 353-358; 385-392; Shaykh Radi Al-Yasin, *Sulh al-Hasan: The Peace Treaty of Al-Hasan*, trans. Jasim al-Rasheed (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1998), <http://www.al-islam.org/sulh/>.

² During the reign of Muzaffaruddin Shah (1896-1907), unrestrained spending, the plunderings of corrupt courtiers and the costs of the Shah's extravagant European tours,

The nation was vital and alert, the people supported them and they were successful in their struggle. If we too are vital and alert, we will be successful. But unfortunately each one of us persists in his own individual opinion, and naturally, if one hundred million people have one hundred million different opinions, they will be unable to accomplish anything, for “the hand of God is with the group.”¹ Solidarity and unity are essential, and isolated individuals can achieve nothing. If the *ulama* of Qum, Mashhad, Tabriz, Isfahan and the other cities in Iran were to protest collectively today against this scandalous festival and this debauchery that they are about to bring about, if they were to condemn these crimes and extravagances which are destroying the people and the nation, all for the sake of satisfying their own carnal desires, be assured that results would be forthcoming. But as long as each one of us persists in his own individual opinion, persists in thinking that his religious duty is one thing while another believes it to be something else, this is disastrous for Islam. It is disastrous for Islam to have such clergymen. Such clergymen like me are disastrous for Islam. I say these things because an even darker future, God forbid, lies ahead of you.

You should give these matters some consideration. Do not spend your time creating religious duties for yourselves. It is the apathetic person who says it is not his religious duty to rise up against tyranny. You have more forces at your disposal than the Doyen of the Martyrs did, and he rose up and opposed the king of his time until he was killed. Had he been apathetic, God forbid, he could have said it was not his religious duty to rise up. His enemies would have been only too happy for him to remain silent so that they could attain their vile goals; they were afraid of his rebelling. But he dispatched Muslim² to procure the people’s allegiance to him so that he might overthrow that corrupt government and set up an Islamic government. If he had stayed in some corner in Medina and had nothing to do with anyone, and when that

emptied the country’s treasury. Circumstances were ripe for exploitation by the imperialist governments of Russia and Britain who, in attempts to increase their influence in the country, stepped in with offers of heavy loans to the bankrupt monarch. In return, they took control of the customs revenues, income from the northern fisheries and the telegraph office as well as some other privileges as insurances against the loans. Money received in loans amounted to more than two million English pounds and thirty-eight million Russian rubles. Active elements among the clergy of the time such as Ayatullah Tabataba’i and Ayatullah Behbahani, brave preachers and even the newspapers of the day, objected to these measures and called on the people to stand up for their rights. Refer to *Ikhtinaq dar Iran*, pp. 13, 19.

¹ “The hand of God is with the group”: a statement attributed to the Prophet, *Sahih Tirmidhi*, vol. 9, p. 10.

² Muslim: a cousin and votary of Imam Husayn and was martyred by the Umayyad forces.

wretch¹ told him to pledge allegiance he had done so, God forbid, they would have shown him a great deal of respect, they would have come to kiss his hand and carry him on their shoulders for he was the grandson of the Prophet. And if you sit silently by, you too will be respected, but it will be the kind of respect that is given to a dead saint. A dead saint is respected by everyone, but a living saint or Imam who speaks out has his head cut off. God knows were Imam Ali to stand up to them today, they would do the same to him. This all stems from following their desires, “they eat as the beasts eat”: they care not where their nourishment comes from or how it is obtained. As long as their needs and requirements are met, the world may drown in blood and entire peoples may be destroyed. They are animals. Let them know that the fire shall be their abode, that they are despised by the Islamic community and by all alert peoples throughout the world, and that the Muslims are repelled by the very notion of monarchy.

May God strengthen and assist you all. May He awaken you all. May He strengthen and aid Islam, the theological schools and the great *ulama* and make them aware of these evils. It is your duty to pray for Islam and your fellow Muslims—those poor, hungry, wretched people in Iran—for those who suffer imprisonment, torture and banishment, for those who are in hospital and for those innocent girls who had such severe wounds inflicted on them. Pray for them, they are Muslims and they are oppressed.

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

¹ Walid ibn Utba: the governor of Medina at the time who was told by Yazid, the new Umayyad ruler, to exact homage from Imam Husayn (*a*).

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-Two

Date: December 23, 1971 (AD) / Dey 2, 1350 (AHS)¹ / Dhu al-Qa'dah 4, 1391 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: Denouncing the Baathist regime's deportation of Iranians and the announcement of Imam's decision to migrate

Occasion: The deportation of Iranians by the Baathists

Those Present: About 10,000 religious students and clergymen, and many Iranians resident in Iraq

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Even though Imam Khomeini (pbuh), who was living out his exile in Iraq, was the most adamant opponent of the regime in Iran, he never took advantage of the discord that existed between the Baathist and the Iranian regimes. In 1971, the Iraqi regime revengefully decided to deport thousands of Iranians from Iraqi soil and thus the latter were brutally cast out into the freezing cold wilderness near the border.

Imam Khomeini strongly objected to the measures taken by the Iraqi leaders, and denounced their inhuman behaviour. The Iraqi regime's schemes to silence Imam were unsuccessful, and thus it was forced to turn to a new tactic. Hence, to all outward appearances it stopped deporting Iranians, but actually by creating intolerable conditions Iranians were still in fact forced to leave Iraq. Meanwhile, Teymor Bakhtiyar, acting as mediator, officially announced that the deportation of Iranians had stopped and that those who had been deported could return. He also arranged for Iranians, especially clergymen, to be able to leave Iraq of their own will.

On July 5, 1969 (Tir 14, 1348 AHS) the new governor of Karbala, Shabib al-Maleki, went to see Imam Khomeini during his visit to Najaf, and after delivering the greetings and salutations of Iraq's President to Imam, met with indifference concerning the deportation issue, much to the astonishment of those present.

The following day, *Jomhuri*, the newspaper associated with the Iraqi regime, distorted a report concerning the meeting between the new governor of Karbala, Imam, and a number of high-ranking clergymen by writing that during this visit the governor had stated that the revolutionary Iraqi

¹- Existing SAVAK documents state that this speech was given at Imam Khomeini's home, but this is evidently a mistake.

government, headed by Ahmad Hasan Abubakr, held the men of religion in particularly high regard because the clergy were men of truth, justice and brotherly love, and he had added that the July 17 revolution provided the answers for all of the clergy's equitable demands. The report continued by describing how the clergy had thanked the governor and had wished the governing officials success, and that then they had commended the Iraqi government's actions concerning the returning of Iranians to Iraq and had expressed their contempt towards the oppressive government of Iran regarding their instigation of the Shatt al-Arab problem. Imam became angry after reading this report and on July 8, 1969 (Tir 17, 1348 AHS) summoned the governor of Najaf asking him to retract the article, but Iraqi officials cleverly contrived not to do so; and in spite of everything, Iranians continued to be deported from Iraq. The Baathist regime confiscated the latter's belongings and sent them to Iran without giving them any preparation time. Imam's efforts to stop this inhuman behaviour had not been successful. He announced his decision to migrate from Iraq to Lebanon in a speech delivered on December 23, 1971 (Dey 2, 1350 AHS) at the Shaykh Ansari Mosque in the presence of a group of religious students and clergymen of Najaf.

Imam Khomeini's decision alarmed the Iraqi regime, for it knew that his statements would expose the Baathist regime even more than before and would damage their international reputation. Therefore, because of this, they opposed Imam's departure. The Iranian government became aware of Imam's conflict with the Iraqi regime and thus tried to take advantage of the situation, but Imam's unique and keen awareness prevented SAVAK and its Iraqi agents from achieving their objective.

Speech Number Twenty-Two

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

When I sent the Iraqi officials a telegram stating my views concerning their behavior, not only did they ignore my counsel; they reacted by taking the harsh measures that we all saw.¹ After this I decided I need no longer remain. Tomorrow I shall request to leave, but wherever I may be, my affections will remain with you my brothers, just as if I were here. As for those of you remaining here, be you clergymen of Afghanistan, India ... Iraq or wherever, our relationship will remain the same once I have gone as it was when I was here... I hope that the Iranian clergymen will safely achieve their goals and, God willing, will find a position in one of the religious centers, either in Qum, or, if this is not possible, then in Mashhad, in order to protect the religious centers of learning. I also hope that just as the Holy Prophet, peace be upon him and his descendants, left Mecca one day, thinking that he would never return, so you too who are being forced to leave this place, you whose ultimate desire is to be near Imam Ali and the religious center of learning in Najaf, will also one day be able to return. I hope that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will protect this place, for there still remains a group of clergymen here... and this is where Islamic teachings have been compiled.

This theological center shall not be broken up; it cannot be broken up. All that can happen is that people can be changed around. Perhaps I am not worthy to be in the vicinity of the shrine of Imam Ali (*a*), but God willing, He shall choose from those who deserve to be near the Hadrat (Imam Ali)

¹ Relations between Iran and Iraq following the Baathist coup were reaching a critical state and the Baathist regime was deporting groups of Iranians from Iraq in the middle of winter to areas near the border. Imam Khomeini, in spite of all the limitations confining him as an exile, sent a telegram to the Iraqi President sketching the unpleasant political outcome of this action, and detailing the role played by Iranians in helping Iraq to achieve liberation. He then voiced his opinions with regard to the Baathist officers' actions towards Iranian residents in Iraq. In his telegram Imam wrote: "It is my opinion that the harsh behavior of the officers has placed women and children in danger of the deadly cold, while it has also damaged the country's political reputation and the nation's economy. In closing, keeping this point and others in view, I advise you to reconsider your options and to maintain the Islamic brotherhood which God, the Exalted, and the Holy Prophet (*s*) have specifically ordained." However, in spite of this, the anti-Islamic Baathist regime ignored Imam's advice and continued exiling Iranians as before.

and can defend Islam and the Shiah school of thought. In any case, no matter how much I think about it, it is not right for me to stay at a time when my friends are leaving, when our religious brothers are being sent away in such a manner. By comparison, I was told that when it was decided to throw the Jews out of Baghdad some time ago, they were given six months prior notice and an official body was set up to ensure that the property of the Jews would be bought from them at a fair price. Yet this is the manner in which they behave with you and with the Iranian Shiah here. It is deplorable that this country should act in this way with those living in the vicinity of the holy shrines of the Twelve (Immaculate) Imams, peace be upon them, and it is no longer right for me to remain here. Tomorrow therefore, I shall request permission to go to Lebanon where, just as the two martyrs¹ (may God bless them) attained martyrdom, so too, God willing, (the audience weeps heavily for a considerable length of time)...

Wherever you gentlemen may be, wherever we may be, our hearts must be brave and we must be ready to endure whatever unpleasantness may come our way, be it in Iran or here in Iraq, and we must serve Islam. Do not imagine that this kind of hardship is detrimental to you, for this is not so. It is to your benefit, for not only will you be favored by God, the Exalted, but your deeds will achieve favorable results here in this world. Look how we are treated in Iran, and in what manner we are treated in Iraq. For a certain group of Shiah the situation is like that in Iran and like this in Iraq. These people, these merchants, businessmen, women and children, are now being sent to the borders in the bitter cold of winter, and there they meet with

¹ The two martyrs: the first martyr, Shamsuddin Muhammad ibn Makki al-Amuli, the second martyr, Zaynuddin ibn Ali al-amili. The first martyr was born in 1333 (734 AH) in one of the Jabal Amil villages in Lebanon. He was an eminent Shiah religious scholar who was an exceptional master of religious jurisprudence, Quranic commentary, *hadiths* and doctrinal theology. Some of his most famous writings include *Al-Lumat al- Dameshqiyyah*; *Ad-Durus al-Shar'iyyah fi Fiqh al-Imamiyyah*; *Kitab adh-Dhikri*; and *Al-Ulfiya fi-Fiqh as-Salat al-Yawmiyyah*. He died on Thursday, Jamadi al-Awwal 9, 786 AH (1384), after having been imprisoned for one year in Syria, during Barquq's term of office as governor of Damascus. In accordance with a judicial decree issued by Judge Burhanuddin Maliki and Ibad ibn Jamaah Shafi'i, he had been hung and his corpse burned.

The second martyr was born in the year 1505 (911 AH) in Jabal Amil. He was a senior Shiah canonist and was proficient in most of the popular sciences such as religious jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, Quranic commentary, philosophy, discourse, gnosticism, astronomy, and medicine. His most important works include *Ar- Rawdat al-Bahiya fi Sharh al-Lumat al-Dameshqiyyah* and *Masalik al-Afham*. He was arrested at the age of fifty-four in 1559 (965 AH), by order of Judge Uthman and while being transferred from Istanbul was killed by one of the enemies of the Shiah who had been sent by King Uthman.

people who treat them more severely still. These poor, unfortunate people are worse off than you, and I truly feel sorry for them.

In any event, you must be strong. Prepare yourselves and remember God the Blessed, the Most High, for He is your benefactor (the audience weeps bitterly.) You have God on your side and He will help you; and God willing, this theological school will remain secure.

The day that Haj Shaykh Abd al-Karim passed away (may he rest in peace), it was said that there were more than one hundred religious students in the theological center but they were redundant religious students... soon afterwards however, once the oppressor was gone the theological school came to have five-thousand members, and now, praise be to God, it is still going strong and hopefully always will. God willing, the Blessed and Supreme Lord shall give you strength and will protect this theological school. I hope He will allow you to return to your homes and that you will strengthen your souls in order to endure hardships for the sake of God. In return, God the Blessed and Exalted will reward you. God willing, tomorrow I shall determine my future course. Tomorrow I shall hand in my passport and if they accept it so be it, but if they do not accept it then I shall remain here. May God keep and protect you all. It will be difficult for me to leave you gentlemen... (the audience weeps) but it is my destiny, it is something which has occurred and I submit to God's will...¹

¹ At the end of this speech several sentences were spoken between Imam and a member of the audience which were not intelligible on the tape recording possessed by the Institute.

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-Three

Date: December 31, 1971 (AD) / Dey 10, 1350 ((AHS) / Dhu al Qa'dah 1391 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: Iranians used as scapegoats by the Baathists

Occasion: The Baathists refusal to allow Imam to migrate to Lebanon

Those present: Religious scholars, clergymen and several Iranian residents of Iraq

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

After Imam Khomeini (pbuh) threatened to leave Iraq, the Baathist regime, for fear of its reputation, contrived to keep him from migrating. The continuing expulsion of Iranians under inhumane conditions and the arrest of several high-ranking religious men saddened and angered Imam. The late Ayatullah Hakim's efforts in this regard were also unsuccessful against the Baathist regime's widespread propaganda created to incite nationalistic feelings in the Iraqi people.

In the middle of all this, Michel Aflaq - ideologue for the Baathist regime - came to Baghdad and put forth dangerous plans. He was responsible for hatching a plot to accuse the son of the late Hakim of spying for Mullah Mustafa Barazani, and he conspired to assassinate religious personalities such as the late Shaykh Muhammad Shariat, Imam's representative in Pakistan.

Imam's distress was not entirely due to the restrictions imposed upon him by the Iraqi Baathist regime. The Iranian regime, aware of the differences which existed between Imam and the Baathists, took action by means of informers and loyalists to poison public opinion against Imam and to torment Imam himself.

The dispute between Iran and Iraq concerned an agreement made in 1937, when Britain had total control over Iraq, which divided the Arvand river (Shatt al-Arab) between Iran and Iraq. The agreement was however one hundred percent in Iraq's favour, and Iran's objection to the contents of the aforementioned agreement became a pretext for deporting Iranians from Iraq and laid the groundwork for destroying the Najaf theological centre.

Imam was living in Iraq as an opponent of the Iranian government, and the Baathist regime hoped to make the most of this opportunity and use Imam's presence against Iran. But Imam was not one to subject himself to other's profiteering for politics nor to sacrifice an oppressed nation for

personal gain. Imam's revolt against the Shah's regime was a divine uprising and even though he was actually a prisoner of the Baathist regime he was never prepared to speak out against Iranians for the sake of the political ploys of two cruel governments involved in destructive adversity, and he in fact stood in opposition to these inhumane actions of the Baathist regime.

This was one dimension of the problem. The other concerned the events taking place within Iran, news of which vexed Imam Khomeini. The price of crude oil, for international reasons, went up, and correspondingly Iranian revenues rose and were spirited away by those connected to the regime. The Shah began to establish new anti-Islamic, anti-human programmes, especially in the year 1971 (1350 AHS), against the clergy. The establishment of a "Religious Corps" by order of the Shah was one of these programmes. As soon as Imam heard about it, he issued a proclamation on November 12, 1971 (Aban 21, 1350 AHS) stating: "The tune of the Religious Corps is played at a time when the tyrannical regime is daily striking continuous blows at the body of Islam....now it is up to the zealous Muslims and especially the enlightened youth to earnestly declare their aversion to this unrhythmical, destructive tune and to increasingly attend the mosques and religious gatherings and express their devotion to Islam, the great *ulama* and the respected preachers (may their blessings continue) all the more, and through this expression, strike these imperialist agents (may God forsake them) in the mouth¹."

While the Iranian regime suppressed insurgent groups and imprisoned and tortured the clergy, it also continued with its anti-Islamic programme. The most brazen plan brought forth was its sex education programme for high-school students, a plan which was justified in articles published by the government-controlled press. The programme was unsuccessful due to the strong opposition and objections of many of the clergy. But the regime continued in other ways to disseminate Western culture and spread corruption.

The opening of mixed schools was part of a programme which was gradually brought into effect². Other actions included the establishment of the "Youth Palace", a place where the regime's un-Islamic and valueless objectives for young boys and girls were achieved; there were a few centres set up in Tehran and gradually branches were established in the provincial capitals and other large cities.

¹ *Nihdat-i Ruaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 6, p.48.

² *Ibid.* vol. 6, p. 36.

Another deplorable tragedy in Iran was brought about by police officers who viciously attacked students holding a protest gathering at Tehran University, and then at the Science and Industry University (previously known as Aryamehr) and Tehran Polytechnic on April 4, 1971 (Ordibehesht 10, 1350 AHS) as university students there protested at the arrest of Tehran University students. In this incident, over 450 students were injured and arrested. Their slogans "Salutations Khomeini!" revealed the influence Imam's speeches had on the students and their acceptance of his leadership.

The massacre of workers from the Jahan Cheet factory in Karaj as they held protest a rally was another depressing incident which saddened Imam¹. Also at this time, Muslim students, resident in Europe, wrote letters to Imam seeking his guidance and Imam responded by requesting that they help to bring together the educated classes and the religious scholars.

The *Mujahidin-i Khalq* organisation, which later revealed its true nature and became known to the Iranian people as the "*Munafiqin*," (the Hypocrites) appeared to also espouse an Islamic ideology, though its members believed strongly in armed struggle. They decided to use Imam Khomeini's spiritual and political influence, which was becoming more widespread daily among the educated and university students, in order to acquire financial benefits and to strengthen their organisational situation.

One of the combatant clergymen who was present in Najaf when some members of this group visited Imam there states: "Some of the original members of the *Mujahidin* - later known as the *Munafiqin* - visited Imam in Najaf to obtain his sanction of their principles and receive confirmation of their decision to embark on an armed struggle. Imam welcomed them with open arms and, over several visits, permitted them to put forth their opinions. Even though they had only brought two of their publications for him to study, through reading them and listening to their ideas Imam told them that now was not the time for an armed rebellion, and contrary to letters of authorisation which they had from some of the high-ranking *ulama*, he refused to support their objectives and methods. After reading the book, "*Rahe Anbia, Rahe Bashar*" (*The Way of the Prophets, the Way of*

¹ After suppressing the strikes and demonstrations, the female factory workers of the Gherghereh Ziba Factory on March 1, 1971 (Esfand 10, 1349 AHS) were attacked by officers of the regime and beaten and wounded and many were arrested on the Karaj road to Tehran. On April 13, 1971 (Ordibehesht 19, 1350 AHS), four thousand factory workers from the Jahan Cheet factory of Karaj set out on a protest march from Karaj towards Tehran. On route armed police attacked the strikers. The workers resisted and several people were killed and many were wounded in this incident.

Mankind), Imam realised that they did not believe in *maad* (the day of resurrection). They believed in the evolutionary perfection of material in this world¹.”

The tendency towards Marxism among members of this organisation between 1973 and 1975 (1352-1354 AHS) and their actions after the victory of the Islamic Revolution which were in complete co-ordination with the anti-revolutionary grouplets; their seeking refuge in America and Western countries; and their later co-operation with Saddam was a sign of the depth of Imam Khomeini’s insight².

When the Iranian regime saw Imam Khomeini’s obstinate stance regarding the Baathist regime of Iraq, it decided to strike up a close relationship with him in order to achieve its own aims. The chief SAVAK representative in Iraq received orders to meet with Imam and inquire as to whether he was interested in returning to Iran or going on to Pakistan. However, because he was aware of Imam’s firm stance he wrote his report for the Iranian authorities without first speaking to Imam and in this he stated that Imam’s return to Iran would prove detrimental to the interests of the Shah’s regime.

Imam was very optimistic that the movement he had founded would end in victory, and the machinations against him proved to be ineffective. When the leader of the movement realised that Iraq opposed his proposed departure from that country he fearlessly made an emotional speech to a group of religious students and clergymen, and while he was aware of the presence of Iraqi spies and secret agents, he said: “Governments come and go, their life is very short.”

¹ An interview with Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Mahmood Du’ai for the *Jumhuri Islami* newspaper, July 7, 1980 (Tir 16, 1359 AHS).

² At a time when the *Munafiqin* had won the confidence of many of the religious leaders of the country, Imam Khomeini realised that their interest in Islam was merely a cover for the party’s aims. In one of his speeches dated June 13, 1979 (Khordad 23, 1358 AHS), Imam Khomeini stated: “When I was in Najaf some members of this group (*Munafiqin*) visited me. For twenty or maybe twenty-four days they visited me and spoke for about two hours each day about the *Nahj al-Balagha*, the Holy Quran, and as they spoke it seemed to me that these subjects were just a means to an end, the *Nahj al-Balagha* and the Holy Quran a means for another purpose... Now I’m a student of religion too, but I could not recite the *Nahj al-Balagha* or the Holy Quran as they could. I listened to them throughout their visit, but I remained silent until they told me that their group wanted to begin an armed revolt, then I replied: “No, now is not the time for an armed revolt, you will lose all of your support...They wanted me to support them, and several people from Iran had asked me to support them, but I did not trust them...they cannot be depended upon.” *Sahifeh-yi Imam*, vol. 7, p. 107.

With regard to the oppressive Baathist regime of Iraq which had suppressed the voice of the people in its prisons, even silencing the remonstrations of the late Ayatullah Hakim, the highest-ranking Shii *marja'*, by placing him under house arrest, Imam addressed the clergy of Najaf on the need to preserve their unity and for self-purification, and advised the Iranian people to provide for those driven from Iraq, stating: “..this government, which cannot really be called a government, has no power to resist nations and if they confront you and I, they cannot confront the nation.....If the Iranian clergy are expelled, the clergy from other countries must stand up and carry on with their religious duties...”

One can say that if this stirring speech had not been made, when the Iranian clergy had been expelled, the other religious students and clergy would have left also and the highly-renowned theological centre at Najaf would have been deserted. This in fact was the ultimate aim of the Baathist regime of Iraq, and possibly of the Iranian regime as well. But Imam Khomeini encouraged the other religious students to stay at the centre and resist this inveterate plot of the Baathist regime of Iraq thus rendering it fruitless.

Speech Number Twenty-Three

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

During his time in Mecca before his migration to Medina, the Holy Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him and his descendants) was concerned only with propagating the word of God and acquainting the people with God the Exalted and with Islam. He had no assistant to help him combat the polytheists and spread Islam. Just as one sees in the Holy Quran, the *Surahs* which were revealed to him in Mecca concern the aspects of introducing Islam, preaching and guidance alone, there is no mention of disagreements or war and even the laws are spoken of less.

The ordinary man who looks only at the surface of things could not have predicted what benefits his migration from Mecca, under such unpleasant circumstances and having suffered a defeat, would hold for him. However, when he went to Medina, then the results of his migration became clear and he was able to spread the word of Islam and find followers there, eventually returning victoriously and successfully to Mecca in such a way that the elders of the Quraysh tribe were humbled before him, and even though this was so, the Prophet set them free.¹

Now, even though a great many Iranians have become the scapegoats in the dispute between the governments² and have been turned out of this

¹ During the eighth year after *hijrah* (630 CE) the Prophet set out for Mecca. The Prophet's uncle Abbas left the camp to find someone from Mecca to send a message to the Quraysh telling them to present themselves to the Prophet or be destroyed. That night Abbas met Abu Sufyan, gave him shelter and took him to the Prophet. Abu Sufyan became a Muslim that night. Abbas said: "Abu Sufyan is a man who would like to benefit." The Prophet said: "Whoever goes to his own home and closes the door shall be safe; whoever seeks shelter in the home of Abu Sufyan shall be safe; and whoever goes to the Masjid al-Haram shall be safe." The way that the Prophet dealt with the people of Mecca revealed the beneficence of Islam and the generosity of this religion's Prophet to those who once opposed him. The Quraysh had tormented Prophet Muhammad and his followers for twenty years and they feared the consequences, but when they had been conquered by him they heard him say: "I free all of you." See *Tarikh-e Tahlili-e Islam*, pp. 79-80; Ja'far Subhani, *The Message*, <http://www.al-islam.org/message>; Syed Saeed Akhtar Rizvi, *The Life of Muhammad the Prophet*, <http://www.al-islam.org/lifeprophet>.

² Historical records of the dispute between Iran and Iraq date back to the Safavid era, a period in which Iraq had still not reached independence and was part of the Ottoman Empire. However, the dispute between the two countries to which Imam is referring concerns the

country under such tragic circumstances,¹ there may well be some great benefits to come from this action of which we are, as yet, unaware. May God, the Blessed and Exalted, return you all to this theological center just as the Holy Prophet (s) returned victoriously and triumphantly to Mecca, and may the day arrive when this theological center becomes even stronger than it is now. I am sure that, sooner or later, the theological center will return to its former state, and, God willing, if you act upon your religious and scientific duties, you too will return to Najaf.

The burden of knowledge is a heavy burden which is upon your shoulders. Not only is it your responsibility to learn a handful of terms and their meanings, but you have also been given the responsibility for preserving Islam and its precepts. You are the trustees of a divine revelation, and you must purify your souls while at the same time acquiring knowledge. And as you propagate your knowledge to others, you must also ameliorate your soul. Never fail to remember your obligations, be amicable and pleasant to one another, put aside your differences, be to one another as brothers, and with a spirit of unity and purity work for Islam. You are all scholars, you are all the leaves of one tree and all from one root, and if you are faithful to your vow, God, the Exalted, shall be loyal to His vow and shall return you to the theological center. God willing, we shall meet again here. If I reach the end of my days and am not here with you, you all shall be here and gather together once again.

In any event, this theological center will not sink into decline; it will remain in its place. Irrespective of the spiritual and divine aspects, even

superpower conflict over the Baathist coup d'état in Iraq. On July 17, 1968 [Tir 26, 1347 AHS] the British coup d'état in Iraq brought the Baath Party to power. After a series of political changes and transformations, the American wing of the Iraqi government was cast aside and in reality the covert disagreements between Britain and America regarding their interests in the Persian Gulf became the basis of future disagreements and struggles between Iran and Iraq. These differences, which grew with every passing day with the unilateral abrogation of the Iran-Iraq border agreement by the Shah's regime, reached a climax and resulted in worsening political relations between these two countries. Meanwhile, the Iraqi people and Iranian residents of that country became the scapegoats of these disagreements. The differences continued as long as the superpowers had disagreements concerning their interests in the Persian Gulf and after that peace prevailed.

¹ The Iranians were banished from Iraq during the freezing cold of winter. They were not even given permission to take with them food, clothing and the other necessities required for a winter trip. They were taken in groups from their homes and picked up off the streets and packed into military trucks and then abandoned in the wilderness and mountainous areas. These Iranians had lived and worked long years in Iraq to become homeowners, then in a very brief space of time, all their possessions were confiscated and they were banished from their homes.

according to the laws of nature the theological centers will not vanish because they are held in esteem by all Muslims, especially the Shiah, and they have the support of the nation, and that which the nations support the government cannot oppose. Governments are transient, their lives short. The support for Najaf comes from great nations and because of this it will be preserved. Now in our theological center there are students from Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Iraq and other Arab nations all acquiring knowledge, and this government,¹ which certainly cannot be called a government, does not have the power to stand up to these nations, even though it may oppose you and I it cannot oppose the nation. If the Iranian gentlemen are sent away, the others must remain and uphold their obligations to their religion. For you are like regiments of soldiers, if one regiment is attacked and defeated by the enemy, then another steps in to take its place and resolutely stands up to the enemy. It is the enemy's wish that when one regiment is defeated the rest retreat leaving the battlefield deserted.

The gentlemen who are here from other countries must stand firm and continue with their studies and with the purification of their souls. And if I, a student of religion, and the *maraji'* leave, you must remain and continue with your duties. Of course, my leaving has reasons that maybe many of you are not aware of, but others must remain and not desert the fortress, for we have seen what can happen. The theological center in Qum was destroyed—such destruction! A few who were always under pressure and harassed put up resistance and soon there came a turnabout: the previous oppressor² was removed and the defeated center of that era³ became the six-thousand-strong theological center of today. You have not been defeated. If you look at the history of the oppressors and those oppressed around the world, you will see that the oppressed are always victorious. Muawiyah with all the power,

¹ The Baathist regime of Iraq.

² Rida Khan.

³ In one of Imam Khomeini's writings he described the destruction of the theological center in this way: "Everyone has seen that the anti-religious propaganda was so widespread that most of the national newspapers occupied their own time and that of their readers with this matter and in whatever way possible they instilled irreligious ideas into the people... Propagation by the clergy was impossible during those twenty years. Holding gatherings for the propagation of religion was viewed (by the authorities) as being as bad as if not worse than, drug smuggling. Theological centers throughout the country which were the fountainhead of this propagation were taken over and either shut down or turned into centers of corruption for the youth. The Marvy Religious School, from which thousands of clergy had graduated, was converted into a place for a few Armenians. The Sepahsalar Religious School was given over to a few young people and renamed the Mawqufa School for their reform training and remains so even now." See *Nahdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 2, p. 337.

wealth and greatness which he possessed was obliterated and today in Syria, the center of his realm, there is not even a trace of his grave...¹

The situation of these poor merchants who have stayed long years in Iraq and who have no friends, family, acquaintances, not even a single relation in Iran, is extremely sorrowful and it is my hope that the people of Iran will treat them well. They are guests and I expect the noble Muslim people of Iran to be kind to their guests and their brothers. Give them shelter, food and clothing. Help them to solve their problems and more importantly, familiarize them with the Iranian situation with which they are unfamiliar.

you gentlemen, who leave for iran, send my regards to our iranian brothers, tell them that i personally request that they help these brothers who number approximately a hundred thousand and have been expelled from iraq and scattered throughout iran and that they show them kindness.

¹ Muawiyah is quoted as saying: "I am immersed in worldly riches!" And so he was. He was the first to create an empire of Arab aristocracy. The Green Palace, where he lived, was luxurious. It was a wonder to the eye. The walls, columns and floor of the palace hall were inlaid with expensive stones of yellow, black and white. His throne was carved out of white marble. In the year 680 CE when Muawiyah wanted to celebrate the twentieth year of his rule, half his body was paralyzed and he spoke with difficulty. When he died he was buried in a small grave.

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-Four

Date: September 28, 1977 (AD) / Mehr 6, 1356 (AHS) / Shawwal 14, 1397 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: A warning against the infiltration of eclectic ideas and drawing erroneous conclusions from the politico-religious laws of the Holy Quran

Occasion: The propagation of eclectic interpretations of Islam; the holding of the indecent art festival in Shiraz

Those present: Religious students and clergy of the Najaf theological centre

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

Approximately six years have passed since Imam Khomeini's twenty-third speech on December 31, 1971 (Dey 10, 1350 AHS) and his twenty-fourth speech given on September 28, 1977 (Mehr 6, 1356 AHS). During this time, Imam kept up his relationship with the revolutionary Muslims by publishing numerous declarations and proclamations and sending these printed messages to the various groups. He never discontinued his opposition to the Shah's regime and continually referred to the movement in his many classes and meetings with all types of people. Here follows a synopsis of major occurrences during those six years:

The price of oil was raised during the seventies placing Iran in a propitious financial situation.

The Shah (Muhammad Riḍa) and his court were now able to plunder the nation's wealth even more than before.

The Shah's megalomania and ambitious nature led him to emphasise and boast his title of Shahanshah, the King of kings, and the history of two thousand five hundred years of monarchy in Iran. Muhammad Riḍa's father, Riḍa Khan, also took pride in such things, and the holding of a celebration for two thousand five hundred years of monarchy was an old dream of this father and son. All those acquainted with them knew of this dream.

As the years passed, both political and literary organisations, personalities and offices prepared for the holding of such a celebration. The mass media co-operated extensively by publicising and explaining the so-called "national" celebration. The imperial embassies abroad had numerous articles published in Western newspapers to prepare public acceptance of the event. It made no difference to the world leaders what was happening to the deprived, oppressed people of Iran.

At the celebrations for two thousand five hundred years of monarchy, leaders from the oldest dictatorships in the world, such as Haile Selassie, the emperor of Ethiopia, to the heads of the so-called most democratic countries; along with leading political figures from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and also Russia - the capital of the socialist countries - toasted one another's health in the magnificent, royal tents at Takht-i Jamshid without the slightest concern for the affairs of the people, while only a few kilometres away in the village of Marvdasht, men and women went hungry. Such villages were kept under surveillance by the Shah's secret police so that out of the thousands of reporters who came to Iran at that time from all over the world, few actually saw the conditions under which the people lived.

Imam Khomeini continued his struggle alone from his humble home in Najaf. In February 1971 (Bahman 1349 AHS), at a time when insults and jealous remarks from the reactionaries at the theological school of Najaf continued against him and his problems with the Baathist regime showed no sign of easing, Imam Khomeini sent his first message to the Muslims of the world gathered together on the occasion of the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this message, while referring to the hunger and poverty of the Iranian people, he strongly protested the holding of celebrations for two thousand five hundred years of monarchical rule and sent a warning to the world: "These festivals and celebrations have nothing to do with the noble Muslim people of Iran, and all those who organise and participate in these festivals are traitors to Islam and the Iranian people." This message was published in two languages: Persian and Arabic, and was distributed among the Hajj pilgrims. Several Iranians who distributed it were arrested by the Saudi authorities and kept in leg-irons for more than two years before being set free. Copies of this message reached Iran and provoked a widespread reaction from all classes of people. Three months before these celebrations were held, Imam made an important speech in Najaf in which he invited the people of Iran to embark on passive opposition to the festivals and asked them to stay inside their homes. Meanwhile, Amir Asadullah Alam, Minister of the Royal Court at the time, stated in his propagation speech: "Of the money given in good will by the people for the holding of these magnificent celebrations, some was left over and His Highness has ordered that it be used to build a large and glorious Islamic mosque."

The celebration for two thousand five hundred years of monarchy took place with four army and airforce bases on alert in the area surrounding Takht-i Jamshid. The cost of this celebration, according to one accurate calculation, reached five hundred million dollars, one-tenth of the

government's budget for that year. As the ceremonies commenced, many of the militant clergymen and members of other political groups who opposed the two thousand five hundred year celebrations were arrested by SAVAK officers and thrown into prison.

The danger posed by the "pseudo" clergymen who were used by the Shah to justify his monarchical rule was no less than that posed by the activities of SAVAK. In a letter dated March 15, 1973 (Esfand 24, 1351 AHS) addressed to the university students outside the country and the clergy of the theological schools, Imam Khomeini stated: "First of all it is necessary to settle this issue of the pseudo clergymen. They are the most dangerous enemies of Islam and Muslims today, and by their hands and the hands of the stooges of imperialism, the menacing plots of the old enemies of Islam are put into action. They must be removed from the theological schools, mosques and Islamic gatherings."

This period saw the peak of SAVAK's political power and suppression in the country, and a large number of Imam's followers along with pioneers of the Khordad 15th uprising were either in exile or were languishing in prison. Some of the elders of the theological centre who had been stirred into protest through Imam's endeavours, now washed their hands of opposition and busied themselves with teaching and discussion, resorting to dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) in the face of the regime's corrupt acts.

Deceitful elements who from years ago had infiltrated the theological schools and, with the support of the regime, had even attained the position of *marja'*, established a so-called "Islamic Propagation Organisation" which ardently helped the regime lead the sensitive young people at the theology schools away from vital Islamic and social issues and distract them from any form of endeavour by keeping them occupied with insignificant matters.

Imam Khomeini was infinitely patient, devoted and sympathetic. But in Najaf he was alone in his sympathy for the Muslims and the misfortunes which befell them and Islam. He struggled against the Baathist regime and its unacceptable actions towards the Iraqi people and the Iranians. He opposed the anti-Islamic and inhuman programmes of the Shah's regime and he was alert to the actions of the opportunist groups who wished to take advantage of the situation, warning that although their views sounded good and were alluring, they were not compatible with his own religious views: "These different schools of thought offered to the Muslims from the left and right are merely for the purpose of leading them astray; the desire is to keep the

Muslims abject, humiliated, backward and enslaved forever, and to keep them away from the liberating teachings of the Noble Quran¹.”

There were those who came onto the scene in full Islamic apparel and even associated themselves with Imam, but he was vigilant: “...I openly declare that I despise these traitorous groups by whatever name they go, whether Communist, Marxist or deviants of the Shia school of thought and the holy ideology of the descendants of the Prophet (pbut), and I regard them as traitors to the country, Islam and religion²...”

The fourth Arab-Israeli War began on October 6, 1973 (Mehr 14, 1352 AHS) after a surprise military attack by Egypt and Syria on Israeli positions in the Sinai Desert and Golan Heights and, contrary to the previous three wars, brought about some victories for these two Islamic countries. At the beginning of this war, the oil-rich Arab states stopped exporting oil to those countries supporting Israel, which included America and the Western European industrialised countries.

Imam Khomeini was not merely concerned about the Iranian people, his responsibilities were more universal, and two days after the war broke out (Ramadan 1973) he sent a message to all the Islamic nations calling on them to desist from creating destructive divisions between themselves and invited them to unite behind the Muslim countries involved in the war: “...It is necessary for all oil-rich Islamic nations to use their oil and any other resources they may have as weapons against Israel and the imperialists and cut off the sale of oil to these countries and those who back Israel....and compel the Iranian government to break its silence and stand up against Israel along with other Islamic governments.”

At this time, not only did the Shah’s regime refrain from expressing any verbal condemnation of Israel, but in response to the oil embargo it suddenly increased its oil production to help meet the needs of the European countries and America. For this reason, Imam addressed the people of Iran in a declaration issued on October 14, 1973 (Mehr 22, 1352 AHS), saying: “...It is the duty of the zealous nation of Iran to block American and Israeli interests in Iran and attack them.”

As Iranian oil income quadrupled so the Shah’s wealth and that of those affiliated with him increased proportionately, and soon foreign newspapers recognised the Shah as one of the world’s wealthiest men. A large amount of

¹ Imam Khomeini’s message to the Muslim university students living in the US and Canada, July 10, 1972 (Tir 22, 1351 AHS). *Sahifeh-yi Imam*, vol. 1, p. 185.

² A highlight from Imam’s responses to a letter from a group of people in August 1977 (Murdad, 1356 AHS). *Sahifeh-yi Imam*, vol. 1, p. 229.

the oil income was used for personal investment outside the country by the Shah, Ashraf Pahlavi and other people affiliated to the regime. Foreign expenditures, especially on military equipment, increased many times over and several trade councils came to Tehran from countries all over the world. Military expenditures in the year 1973 alone reached two billion dollars. In other words, after the Arab-Israeli War, the Shah was America's largest purchaser of weapons, and arms sales to Iran made up more than 35% of America's military exports.

In 1974 (1353 AHS), the largest ever foreign trade agreement was signed by the Iranian government and America for the amount of fifteen billion dollars. The items bought consisted of military equipment, food and consumer goods. Another part of the oil income was given out to West European industrialised countries in the form of loans; England was given 1.2 million dollars and France one billion dollars. Ten months after the price of oil had gone up, Iran had given loans amounting to approximately ten billion dollars!

In spite of the increased oil income there was a national deficit of 2.7 billion dollars in the year 1976 (1355 AHS) due to the granting of loans to Western countries, the overt and covert aid to Israel, and the embezzlement of millions of dollars of the national income by civil servants and military officials. This in turn forced the Iranian government to secure a loan of 4.5 billion dollars from multinational banks in 1977 (1356 AHS) at 12% interest! In fact the government had no choice but to raise the production of oil.

In opposition to the Shah's destructive plans, Imam Khomeini condemned the signing of an agreement between the American and Iranian military in a declaration published on March 12, 1975 (Esfand 21, 1353 AHS) which he concluded by saying: "Today, with the granting of loans and the sale of arms, the nation is condemned to bankruptcy and held back from development. Through binding transactions, especially the recent 15 billion dollar contract with the American imperialists, the Shah has yet again dealt a destructive blow to the Iranian economy and has auctioned afresh the wealth and resources of the deprived Iranian nation."

In 1974 (1358 AHS), the Shah, considering himself to be at the peak of his power, established the Rastakhiz Party of Iran which converted several parties: Iran Novin, Mardom, Pan Iranist and Iranian, into a single party. Amir Abbas Hoveyda (the Prime Minister of the time) was appointed head of the party, and in a press conference he announced that anyone who did not believe in the three principles of the Rastakhiz Party, i.e. monarchical government, the Constitution, and the Shah-People Revolution, and who did

not want to join this party could apply for their passports and leave the country. Imam immediately reacted to the Shah's actions and in his declaration of March 12, 1975 (Esfand 21, 1353 AHS), he requested the Islamic *maraji* to boycott the Rastakhiz Party and to prevent the people's rights from being violated.

In March 1975 (Esfand 1353 AHS), the problems between Iran and Iraq ended through the mediation of Houari Boumediene, the President of Algeria. The restoration of good relations between Iran and Iraq meant that further difficulties were created for Imam by the Iraqi government. The Shah too attempted to make Imam's circumstances there even more difficult, and beneath some of the reports that he received from the Iranian embassy in Baghdad he wrote: "For the umpteenth time I have said that you must silence this voice!"

A few months later in June 1975 (Khordad 1354 AHS), the clergy and religious students commemorated the twelfth anniversary of the bloody uprising of Khordad 15th (June 5). This commemorative gathering, which was held at the Faydiyyah Madrasa, was cruelly attacked by police and many people were injured and arrested. Imam Khomeini issued a declaration on July 11, 1975 (Tir 20, 1354 AHS) condemning the actions of the police on this day and congratulating the people on their liberating activities and thinking.

In 1977 (1355 AHS), Jimmy Carter of the Democratic Party was elected President of the United States and the Shah started pursuing the possibilities of compromise with the Democrats as he had previously done during the presidency of John F. Kennedy. It was the policy of the Democratic Party, according to former doctrines, to create a more open political climate in the countries under its domination in order to stave off public unrest. In Iran's case, however, there were many differences. The discontent of the people, especially the lower classes, with the Shah's regime had increased immensely, and global conditions were also different. In March 1977 (Esfand 1355 AHS) at the Hague, Amnesty International condemned the repression of the Shah's regime and in May 1977 (Ordibehesht 1355 AHS), during the annual conference of CENTO, the American and British foreign ministers advised the Shah to rectify his dictatorship. At this time, there was a shift in the policies of the West in general towards Iran, Amir Abbas Hoveyda was removed from his position as Prime Minister after having held that post for the past thirteen years and replaced by Jamshid Amuzegar, America's old pawn.

In April that same year, William Sullivan, America's ambassador to the Philippines, had been appointed by Carter as new ambassador to Iran¹. Also in this month, the Freedom Council for the Defence of Human Rights had been formed in Iran. The participation of David Owen, the British Foreign Minister, and Cyrus Vance, the American Secretary of State, in the meetings of CENTO in Tehran the following month, revealed the strategic role of Iran as an American military base in the Persian Gulf. In America, Ardeshir Zahedi stated: "Iran alone is America's largest market for goods in the region²" and "Oil is like bread and water to Iran³." These statements sum up, in the shortest way possible, the results of the Shah's White Revolution and the land reform programme fifteen years after their inception.

On May 19, 1977 (Ordibehesht 29, 1356 AHS), Dr. Shariati died under suspicious circumstances in London. On this occasion, a number of demonstrations lasting several days were held by students in various cities, especially Tehran, in opposition to the regime. The anniversary of the Khordad 15 (June 5) uprising was commemorated at the theological centre in Qum, as it had been in previous years, and students at Tehran University held demonstrations on campus and at the Department of Economics.

In the same year and through the efforts of respected individuals such as Ayatullah Khamene'i and the martyrs Bihishti, Mutahhari, and Bahonar, efforts which began in 1975, the progressive clergy supporting Imam founded their own organisation for the purpose of leading the opposition and pursuing Imam's goals. The foundations of this organisation were strengthened following Ayatullah Mutahhari's visit to Najaf, at the end of the year 1976 (1355 AHS), during which Imam stressed the importance of

¹ Sullivan was the director of covert negotiations between the nationalists, the Shah and the White House from 1977 until 1978 (1356-1357 AHS), and he was the executor of hostile American policies from the time of the Islamic Revolution until the takeover of the Espionage Den (American Embassy in Tehran). In his book *Mission to Iran*, he explains: "In my first meeting with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, I asked why I had been selected to be the ambassador to Iran when I knew nothing of the country or of the region in which it was such a significant feature. The secretary told me that it had been decided to send a professional who had considerable experience in dealing with authoritarian governments and with leaders who were forceful personalities." Refer to *Mission to Iran* by William H. Sullivan, p. 16.

² The *Rastakhiz* newspaper April 26, 1977 (Ordibehesht 6, 1356 AHS), taken from a speech delivered by Zahedi at a social gathering in Dallas, Texas.

³ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1977 (Ordibehesht 14, 1356 AHS). Zahedi's interview with NBC television in America. *Kayhan* newspaper March 4, 1978 (Esfand 13, 1356 AHS) wrote: "The export of oil from Iran has reached more than 5.2 billion barrels a day."

adopting effective methods in the struggle and the creation of organisation and co-operation between the opposition forces¹.

Imam Khomeini was the greatest luminary of the century. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, he attempted to enlighten the Islamic community to the facts using simple, straight-forward language that was understandable by all. He considered neither whom he would offend nor whom he would please in his quest to make the truth known. At the theological centre in Najaf, Imam Khomeini was the acting leader of the politico-religious movement and carried out his responsibilities as *marja*, teaching theology and discussing politics and religion with a fervour.

For more than half a century the theology centre of Najaf had remained cloistered safely in its silence, never overstepping the boundaries of subjects pertaining to worship. When a topic concerning government appeared in a history book it was dealt with as a historical event and would not motivate the readers to discuss present methods of government. But Imam Khomeini, with a complete understanding of his own Islamic responsibilities before God, became the founder of a new course of study which until then was unprecedented in the theological schools and which breathed new spirit into the life of everyone, especially the religious students.

In the present speech, which was delivered in a class on religious jurisprudence, Imam refers to the problems confronting the youth and emphasises the importance of their studies and of being disciplined and dividing their leisure and study time wisely. He then goes on to discuss the vital issues of the Muslims and says: "...Islam and the other divine religions do not envisage a government like other governments. Islamic government is not like other governments.....many of its laws are political and some are spiritual..." Elsewhere in his speech, Imam discusses the works of some writers and their erroneous understanding of Quranic verses, and reveals the

¹ In the years 1977 and 1978 (1356-1357 AHS), widespread demonstrations organised and guided by this group - the Society of Revolutionary Clergy - shook the nation. In addition to those mentioned, many other revolutionary clergymen were also active members. The Society of Revolutionary Clergy organised the Committee for the Organisation of Strikes, the Committee for the Organisation of Demonstrations and the Welcoming Committee for Imam Khomeini, and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Republic Party was founded by the members of this group. The Goba Mosque and the Grand Mosque of Tehran, each supervised by one of the revolutionary clergymen, were the organisational centres for demonstrations and gatherings of the opposition and sent Imam Khomeini's representative to the outlying cities and provinces. The names of the members of the organisation and a short explanation of their activities in connection with the Society of Revolutionary Clergy can be found in the book *Taqvim-i Tarikh-i Inqilab-i Islami-yi Iran*, pp. 17-21.

eclectic ideas of some groups pretending to be Muslim and claiming to be militants.

In the year 1977 (1356 AHS), opposition to the Shah's regime entered a new stage and the leadership of Imam Khomeini bore its first fruits. Some opportunist groups, after years of defeat, entered the battle and tried hard to gain power, their primary objective being to attract the youth and publish and distribute their literature which was cloaked in Islamic terminology. Imam Khomeini was well aware of their hypocritical ideas and in this speech he warned against the dangers of certain notions and ideas and attacked the concept of separation of religion from politics, which was deeply rooted in the theological schools and amongst the high-level clergy, by saying: "...They haven't understood Islam.....Islam has more rules pertaining to politics than it does to worship. The books relating to the political aspects of Islam are far greater in number than those concerned with worship."

The so-called "art" festival in Shiraz and its obscene programmes, some of which took place even in the streets, met with widespread disapproval in 1977. Even the strictly censored newspapers of that time objected. Imam Khomeini pointing this out stated: "You have not been informed about it, and it is difficult to speak of. Indecent acts have taken place in Shiraz and it is said that such acts will soon be shown in Tehran too, and nobody says a word. The gentlemen (clerics) in Iran don't say anything. I cannot understand why they don't speak out!"

A great portion of Imam's speech deals with the books and publications which were published by Muslim intellectuals at this time and which attracted many admirers from the young and educated classes, both inside and outside the country. These included the many discourses of Dr. Ali Shariati whose works tended to divide the people into groups of supporters and opponents of his ideas. Careful study of the text of Imam's speech regarding such works shows that Imam was able to offer constructive criticism, without naming any names, and this in turn reveals his desire not to create any kind of friction or division between the theological schools and the universities while at the same time carrying out his responsibilities.

In closing, Imam invites everyone to unite and rise up in opposition and promises victory.

Speech Number Twenty-Four

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

Yesterday, I discussed the issue of usurpation [*ghasb*]. After the discussion, one of the gentlemen pointed out that I had previously spoken on this issue and was repeating myself. This is not unusual for people such as myself, for as man ages all his faculties become weak, and just as physically, he becomes frail, so too his mental and spiritual powers, his ability to worship, become impaired. All of these are strong in youth, and that is why I have told you gentlemen many times that now that you enjoy this blessing of youth make use of it and do not waste it. I am not saying that the young people should not have any kind of recreation, or that they should study all the time, what I mean is that they should divide their time between recreation and study and that most of their time should be spent on the latter. You, gentlemen, who are devoting your life to study, now that you enjoy the blessing of youth, divide your time and spend the better part of it on debate, discussion, study, lessons and teaching. Do not suppose that you can squander your youth and put off worship and study until the end of your lives, for when one reaches that stage in one's life, one can neither worship nor study, nor is one's cogitative faculty strong or clear enough for one to be able to understand scientific matters. It is now in youth that you should strengthen your understanding of the fundamentals of science and religious jurisprudence so that when you reach old age and you have mastery over these, your knowledge will bear fruit and you will be able to utilize it. But if you squander your youth and waste this blessing, you will not be able to compensate for this later. So, you, gentlemen, should bear this point in mind that the period of old age is a period of forgetfulness, thus you see that I begin to discuss a matter which I have already discussed. This is due to the weakness that comes to man in old age.

Another matter which I think is very important and which I feel should be given due attention is that man—this creature which is the essence of all creation—is himself a multi-dimensional creature possessing as he does different qualities. From one aspect, he is similar to vegetables; just as vegetables need water and the nutrients they get from the earth to grow, so too man depends on the earth and the blessings of God, the Blessed and

Exalted, for his growth. In addition, he has an animalistic aspect just like other animals; he has eyes, ears and so on, and other senses which he shares with other animals. That which is more predominant in him—although it can be found to a lesser degree in animals too—is his ability to ideate¹ at which level other things are added to the animalistic qualities that he possesses. The human being is characterized by his reasoning, spirituality and the “immateriality of his rational soul”² which other animals do not enjoy.

The Holy Quran, which is supreme among all other ideologies and books, was revealed to develop man, to turn a potential human being into an actuality. This was the reason behind the revelation of the other divine books also. The missions of all the prophets, regardless of the period, were to turn the human being into a true human being. All the sciences, the acts of worship, the religious learning and the rules for worship are all a means to turn a defective human being into a perfect human being. The Quran is a book of human perfection which, when turned to, provides for every stage of man’s development.

Islam and other divine religions do not envisage a government which is like other governments; the government of Islam is not like other governments. The materialistic governments—whatever their leanings—are only concerned about preserving order in their own countries. If the government is a true exponent of justice, it will attempt to guarantee that oppression does not exist outside its own boundaries, and if the rulers are themselves just, they will not tyrannize others. But in principle, such governments only guarantee order in their own countries and whatever happens within the home is of no concern to them so long as it poses no danger to the regime. The people can drink wine, gamble, perpetrate all kinds of scandalous deeds within their homes and the government will not interfere. However, if they come out of their homes and start to riot, then the government will clamp down on them for then they are going against the order of things. Whether the government is just or unjust, it will not interfere

¹ This is the *mithali*’ stage which is between nature [*tabiat*] and reasoning [*aql*]. At this stage, physical images and perfect forms exist but there is no matter which force or effect has. This world, which is the stage between reason and matter, exists for some animals too, for example some animals have the intelligence of knowing their master, but this stage is stronger in human beings.

² In the explanation for the *mithali*’ stage of the human being, it was said that some intelligent animals also experience a weak form of this stage, but the stage of reason [*aql*] and that of immateriality of the rational soul which perceives the whole’ belongs only to human beings and the animals do not possess it. The highest stage of an animal’s existence is the *mithali*’ stage and the ideational stage.

in that which people do in their own homes, unless an oppressive act takes place in the home and somebody complains to the authorities, in which case the government may decide to do something about it. However, such is not the case with Islam and divine governments. They have rules for everyone wherever they are. So if someone wishes to carry out a vile and unlawful act in his own home, the Islamic government will have something to say about this. Although corruption within people's homes will not be purposely sought out by the Islamic authorities, still, unlawful acts are forbidden and a ruling has been given that they should not be carried out. Those who perpetrate such acts are made punishable by the law, and if the government finds out about their actions then it has to follow its legal rulings and mete out the necessary punishment.

Islam as well as other divine governments and calls involve themselves with all aspects of man's development, from the lowest level up to the highest to which he can ascend. It is not like those governments which only concern themselves with the governing of a country, for Islam, in addition to having many rules pertaining to the politics of a country, also has spiritual laws. It deals with both the material and the spiritual. It has rules pertaining to man's spiritual education, his spiritual development, and, at a more mundane level, which concerns man's character; it has rules for his moral edification. Islam has moral teachings and it has rules which govern his social relations, his relationship with himself, his wife, his children, his neighbors, his friends, his fellow countrymen, his co-religionists, and people of a different religion. Islam has rules for man which extend from before his birth until after his death. It contains provisions relating to the preliminaries of marriage and the form in which it should be contracted, and others relating to the development of the embryo in the womb until birth. It specifies how the child should be reared, it has rules for him at puberty, in his youth, in old age, when he dies and is laid in his grave and even after that, for this is not the end; it is only the beginning. These rules pertain to all aspects of man's life here, to his intellectual and moral education, but they don't end here, they are continued even when he enters the grave, when he is separated from this world¹ and reaches the realm of perfection and incorporeality. For the world of the grave is itself the beginning of another life, it is the beginning of the spiritual life of the grave, the spiritual life in the intermediate area between Heaven and Hell [*barzakh*], and then the spiritual life on a level

¹ When the soul leaves its material shell.

even higher still. Islam and its laws which God, the Blessed and Exalted, has sent for man are not confined merely to this world or the next.

Throughout the ages, there have been many groups of philosophers, gnostics, Sufis, Muslim scholastics and others who looked for the spiritual aspects of life and found them, each according to his own level of perception, and who then charged the so-called ordinary people with error for looking only at exoteric meanings. They considered anybody apart from themselves as being exoterics' and charged them with error. In their exegeses of the Quranic verses too they explained most, if not all, of the verses in mystical, philosophical and spiritual terms, and they ignored those aspects which referred to the worldly life and those teachings which are needed for this temporal life. Based on their own ideas, they sought meanings which were above the understanding of the so-called ordinary people, and, in addition, they saw themselves as being endowed with a special knowledge and rejected all others apart from themselves. At the same time, another group of people existed who busied themselves with matters of jurisprudence and worship; they rejected the first group and regarded their ideas as erroneous, denouncing them as heretics or unbelievers, among other things. However, both these two groups were unrealistic, one confined Islam to the branches and secondary aspects [*furu'*] of the laws and the other to spiritual laws. One group believed Islam to be concerned only with the supernatural and the other believed that Islam was all about the laws of nature and jurisprudence, that everything else was irrelevant.

Recently another situation has arisen whereby some good, pious people, writers who work for the people just as the religious jurists [*fuqaha*], the scholastics and philosophers do, wish also to serve Islam. They too, based on their own individual understanding of the subject, wish to explain the laws of Islam to the people and expound on them. Now this new group of writers, who write very well, is doing the opposite to that which the philosophers and gnostics did; they are now trying to make the verses of the Quran conform to their own materialist notions.

The philosophers and gnostics believed that Islam had come to instruct man in monotheism and other divine and theoretical matters and that anything else was merely an introduction to these. They said that one should ignore these other matters and concentrate only on the divine aspects of Islam.¹ Because of these ideas, some of them, not all of them of course, paid no attention to religious jurisprudence or to the jurists, the traditions,

¹ "Pay attention to the objectives and ignore the principles" is one of the generally known proverbs and is cited when one wants to emphasize the importance of outcome.

the literary meaning of the Quran and many of the Quranic laws. They did not reject them; they simply ignored them, which is the same as rejecting them. When one has nothing to do with these things, when one is indifferent and rejects those who believe in these matters calling them exoterics' this means that one has not accepted these things and "*we believe in some of God's prophets but reject others.*"¹

Materialism has now gained predominance across the globe creating a garish, gaudy world and the proponents of this ideology have also increased greatly in number. Recently, a group of people have appeared who say that the reason for all Islamic laws is nothing more than to create a just society and do away with classes. They claim that the monotheism [*tawhid*] of which Islam speaks means that all peoples should live equally, as one, as a single unity, and that Islam's justice seeks to create a just and egalitarian society. In other words, Islam seeks to create an egalitarian but animalistic life whereby everyone eats the same grass, everyone lives together as equals and no one has anything to do with anybody else, everyone eats from the same trough. As for all the verses which have been revealed about the Day of Resurrection and about monotheism [*tawhid*], and all those proofs which have been given for the existence of another life, these are all ignored by those who are religious but who espouse certain principles of materialism. They close their eyes to such verses and concentrate on other verses, while those people who espouse such views and are not so religious simply explain such verses away.

During my youth, I met a few religious students who said that they had discovered something new and that was that the Day of Judgment took place here, in this life, that whatever was to happen, happened here, the punishment was meted out here and everything ended here. Of course in those days there were people who had deviated from what is right, but such ideas were not very common. They believed in an animalistic life which ended with death. They did not actually say that they did not accept the Day of Judgment or the verses in the Quran which pertain to it, but they believed the Day of Judgment to be a thing of this life and the verses referring to it to mean something which would happen here.

This group which has appeared now is a group of people who are religious and who attract many followers, but they are in error. In their books and writings, in the articles that they have written in magazines and the suchlike, they say that Islam came to develop the human being, but they

¹ *Surah an-Nisa* 4:150.

maintain that it aims only to create a classless human being. In other words, Islam did not come to develop man spiritually and take him from his animalistic stage to a higher one, but only to make him classless, to make all men live equally under one governing system which pays everybody equally and which in return is to be served by everyone.

It is as if they ignore all the proofs which are found in all religions, and, as far as they can, they interpret the verses of the Quran according to their own beliefs; those that they cannot explain in this way they just ignore completely, they simply forget about them. The other group (the philosophers and mystics) do likewise, they speak of those verses which they can relate to the spiritualism and mysticism that they understand, but they too ignore the rest. Look at how those who believe in these matters have interpreted the story of Moses and Khizr.¹ God only knows where they got their ideas from.

When man reaches this stage whereupon his whole attention is focused on the unseen and he completely ignores those teachings which are for this earthly life, when he reads into things that are not there, as in the case of the story of Khizr and Moses, when he sees only the spiritual aspects and nothing else, then his heart becomes totally engrossed in spiritual matters and he does not concern himself with the fact that worldly affairs and the teachings for this temporal life form one aspect of the religion, just as prayer and worship are another. He interprets everything to suit his own particular point of view, and those things which oppose his viewpoint he does not try to understand at all.

On the other hand, when he understands nothing other than this material world, then his ability to perceive is defective; he cannot understand how anything can exist beyond this. These people are not concerned about proof², one cannot demonstrate something to them with proofs, they are people of exposition³ and they want to present an eloquent exposition. They can perceive nothing beyond this world and so they either explain the verses in accordance with their own beliefs in a bestial, worldly life, a classless prosperous life where, if possible, everyone lives as equals, or else they don't accept those verses which pertain to spiritual matters—of course they haven't the nerve to say they don't accept them—and if they do accept them, the

¹ According to the traditions, Khizr was a prophet who had the power to perform miracles. His name derives from an Arabic root meaning green⁴ and it is said he was called this because wherever he went became green. His real name was Tali ibn Malikan ibn Afkhashad ibn Sam ibn Nuh. According to the traditions, Khizr had eternal life due to drinking the water of life. Refer to the translation of *Tafsir al-Mizan*, vol. 26, pp. 243-245.

degree of their acceptance is very weak. They have a strong belief in their hearts about this life but they cannot properly perceive the existence of the unseen, their hearts are defective and their belief weak in this regard.¹

It must be stated that Islam was unknown at the beginning and even now it is unknown.² Throughout Islamic history, Islam has remained unknown among men. The mystic recognizes Islam to be concerned only with mysticism and the unseen, whereas that group of people who are found today who write in newspapers and magazines, they understand Islam in terms of what its form of government is, what its teachings, manifestations and justice comprise of. They understand it only in terms of this material, natural world, and they believe it to go no further than this. Islam then for them does not go beyond the bounds of creating a prosperous, animalistic life whereby man lives like other animals which graze on the mountainside eating grass equally and having nothing to do with one another, a life like that at the time of primeval man when, according to them, the fish of the seas, the deer and other animals hunted in the wilderness were equally at the disposal of everyone. They claim that this was the best period of man's history and Islam seeks to re-create this period. In their view, Islam and the other divine religions came to return the people to that time when life was a prosperous, animalistic life. At that time they lived off the fish from the sea, and now they live off chicken and fish! All that matters is that man has a prosperous life, that he eats the right food and wears the right clothes. These people have nothing other than knowledge of God; they cannot understand anything apart from this world, this natural realm. They cannot perceive anything beyond this. The existence of another world and what kind of a world it is lie beyond the scope of their perception. So what are they to do when they don't have this perception?

Consequently, such groups do not have the right to tell you gentlemen who are busy with your studies here, who really understand Islam and know what Islam is, nor do they have the right to say that the bearded and turbaned men are good for nothing and these lessons are of no use anymore. Such things are said by those who do not understand Islam properly. Likewise, you too do not have the right to impose your ideas of the divine sciences on them, and if you do you will be no different from them. Neither group has the right to do anything like this. You cannot condemn them for saying that there should be no oppression and that justice should prevail, for this is true, Islam

¹ Refer to the Quran, *Surah al-Kahf* 18:60-82.

² Referring to a Prophetic tradition which says: "Islam was a stranger at the beginning and will return to that state again. Blessed are the strangers." *Musnad Ahmad ibn Hanbal*.

calls for this too, but it is not confined to this. Islam aims to develop a human being who is a seeker and protector of justice, who has high morals and divine knowledge so that when he leaves this world he will enter the next as a true human being.

The understanding of those who see only one side of the coin and are blind to the other is incomplete: “*Show us the straight way, the way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy grace, those whose (portion) is not wrath and who go not astray.*”¹ There is a tradition, I’m not sure whether it is correct or not, but they say that according to the exegetes of the Quran, those who have brought about the wrath of God consist of the Jews, and those who go astray consist of the Christians. In another tradition it is said—and again I cannot say whether this is truly a saying of the Prophet or not, I am simply repeating what I have heard—that the Prophet said: “My brother Moses was blind in his right eye and my brother Jesus was blind in his left, but I have sight in both my eyes.”² Those who wish to expound on this say that Moses was blind in his right eye because his teachings as laid out in the Torah concentrate mainly on the material world and political and worldly affairs—and as you see the Jews have grasped the world with both hands and are devouring it with an insatiable appetite, they are devouring America and have now turned their attention to Iran and still they are not satisfied—and Jesus (*a*) was blind in his left eye, which represents the realm of nature, because his book (the Bible) pays more attention to spiritual matters. “But I have sight in both my eyes.” The Prophet of Islam, however, paid attention to both aspects, both the material and the spiritual. The rules of Islam testify to this as do its policies.

Of course, in the opinion of many of the educated class, and especially many of the religious scholars, Islam has nothing to do with politics. They believe Islam and politics to be issues separate from one another. This is what the governments would like us to think; this is the idea that the foreigners have instilled in us from the beginning. Many promote the notion that the *akhunds* should have nothing to do with political matters. When they want to defame an *akhund* they say: “This is a political *akhund!*” They say that Islam is separate from politics; that religion is separate from politics, but these people haven’t understood Islam. The government of Islam was formed

¹ *Surah al-Fatihah* 1:6-7.

² This is said to be a saying of the Prophet. Imam Khomeini refers to it in the book *Sirr as-Salat* (p. 92) and interprets it thus: “Moses’ multiplicity dominated his unity, and Jesus’ unity dominated his multiplicity; the Prophet of Islam was the great isthmus (between the two) which is the middle road and the right path.”

at the time of the Prophet and was continued after him, whether in a just or unjust manner. At the time of Imam Ali (*a*), however, the government was a just, Islamic one. It had policies for everything. Just what is politics? Politics is the formation of policies dealing with the relationship between a ruler or government and the people or other governments, and with the prevention of corruption in society. In Islam, all these policies exist. In fact, Islam has more rules pertaining to politics than it does to worship. The books relating to the political aspects of Islam by far outnumber those concerned with worship. This mistaken notion has been put into our minds so that now some of the gentlemen (the clergymen) believe that Islam has nothing to do with politics, that it consists of a few ordinances concerning worship which is itself a personal matter between God and man. You can go to your mosques and pray as much as you like, read the Quran to your hearts content and the governments will leave you alone. But this is not Islam. Islam stands up to the oppressor, it orders the people to do battle with the *taghut* [oppressor], with the unbelievers who reject divine guidance, and with those who rebel against God. So with all these rules for battle, for *jihad* and so on, is Islam so far removed from politics?! Does Islam mean nothing other than going to the mosques, praying and reading the Quran?! Islam is not only this. Islam has political laws which must be implemented.

At this stage then one may ask that if this is the case and Islam is concerned with political affairs, then what is the point in going to the mosque? What's the use of performing the ritual prayer [*namaz*]? This view is a mistaken one also. Islam is concerned with prayer; Islam is based on prayer.¹ Islam is not concerned only with this worldly life, with an animalistic life whereby one questions the need for prayer once one's life is put right. If one denies the existence of anything other than this worldly life, then he is right to question the reason behind prayer, for it no longer matters. If one is only aware to this extent, then everything ends once social justice has been created among men and the world has been set right. But when there is another world, when proof exists, when all religions assert the existence of a world beyond this corporeal one, then just as this material world should be reformed with its own tools and social justice should be spread among the people by a just government, so too the tools which exist for the other world should be put to use. For according to the proof and according to all religions, there is another world apart from this one, there is

¹ "Islam is based on five things: prayer, alms-giving [*zakat*], *haji* and governance [*wilayah*] and nobody is invited to anything more than governance." A tradition from Imam al-Baqir, the fifth Imam from the Prophet's Progeny. *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 3, p. 29.

eternal life after death, and the tools for that life have been brought by the prophets. Supplicatory prayer, invocation of God [*dhikr*], the Quran and the ritual prayer [*namaz*] are all tools for the other life. The rules for worship are tools for the afterlife, the divine sciences likewise. These are to help man in his life in the next world, to illuminate his life there.

So those whose predilections tend toward the material aspects of this natural realm should not charge those who incline toward mysticism with error. To find fault with them is a mistake and is adopting a narrow-minded attitude. Likewise, the mystics and philosophers also do not have the right to charge with error those who say that we should struggle against tyranny and oppression and establish social justice. Do not say that your only duty is to sit down and study. No, it is the duty of all Muslims to both implement and study Islam, to study it and fight against oppression with all their might. If everyone were to observe this duty, then no government could tyrannize its people or another government. Tyranny occurs when the people do not support their government, when they follow one path and the government another. This happens when the government has not treated the people in a way so as to secure their support, when those in authority have done things that turned the people against them.

Just look at the situation in our own country. The regime there has created such a gulf between it and the people that if, God willing, it is brought down, the people will light up the streets in celebration. Why should this be so? If someone such as Imam Ali were overthrown, would the people act the same way? No, but the regime in Iran is now greatly out of touch with the people, it is not concerned about the people, it has nothing to do with the people apart from oppressing, tyrannizing and spreading corruption among them.

You do not know what kind of obscenities have been started in Iran recently. You have not been informed about it, and it is difficult to speak of. Indecent acts have taken place in Shiraz¹ and it is said that such acts will soon be shown in Tehran too, and nobody says a word. The gentlemen

¹ In the art festival of Shiraz, two artists, a man and a woman, performed sexual intercourse in front of a live audience. The act was so obscene and shameful that Anthony Parsons, the British ambassador to Iran at the time, in his memoirs writes: "The effect of this bizarre and disgusting extravaganza on the good citizens of Shiraz, going about their evening shopping, can hardly be imagined. This grotesquerie aroused a storm of protest which reached the press and television. I remember mentioning it to the Shah, adding that, if the same play had been put on, say, in the main street of Winchester, the actors and sponsors would have found themselves in trouble. The Shah laughed indulgently." For more on Anthony Parsons' comments on this incident refer to pages 54-55 of his book *The Pride and Fall*.

(clerics) in Iran don't say anything. I cannot understand why they don't speak out! All this corruption is taking place and I don't know if it will end with this or not. They put on a show which included the sex act itself, the actual act itself was shown in front of a live audience and nobody breathed a word. What are they waiting for? When and where are they going to speak out, to object?

Interestingly enough, all the organizations which arrange such events, including the government itself, do everything with his (the Shah's) permission. Nothing can be done without his approval; such lewd acts cannot be shown without his permission. He arranges for such things to be shown and then orders the newspapers to condemn them as shameless acts so that the people themselves will not take any action, so that if passions are inflamed they will be tempered by this press criticism. God forbid, in the not too distant future such shows will take place in Tehran too. Yet nobody objects, no *akhund*, no politician, no doctor, no engineer. They should voice their opposition, if all the people objected together, if they all stood up for the Islamic laws and spoke out then such events would never occur. They take place now because of our indolence and our weakness which are played upon by others. They call you (the clergy) a group of weak and hopeless people, whereas in fact you are powerful, you command the support of the nation. The nation is Muslim and the Muslim nation is devoted to Islam and to the clergymen of Islam. The clerics must in turn serve the nation, and if they do not then the people will no longer give them their support.

Be that as it may, Islam is concerned with all of these matters; it comprises of both material and spiritual aspects, and deals with both the unseen and the manifest. For man is a multi-dimensional being and the Quran is a book designed to produce true human beings, the book of God was revealed to bring the true human nature of man forth from a potentiality into an actuality, and as it corrects society, so too it takes man to a higher stage of human perfection. So these groups should not oppose one another. The spiritual and material are both separate matters. If you are unable to comprehend what *fiqh* is then why do you belittle it so, when in reality you simply do not understand it. Likewise philosophy, if you do not understand philosophy and transcendental philosophy then why do you belittle the philosophers so when you simply don't understand what they are saying? Simply because one does not understand what a certain group is saying and what it is aiming at does not give one the right to oppose it. Maybe this shows narrow-mindedness.

All groups should join hands and unite. Islam's jurisprudents [*fuqaha*] with its engineers, its doctors, its university and school students, should all join hands together so that they can achieve something, so they can escape from these pressures which are being exerted upon them more and more with each passing day. But they do not unite, and I can't understand why!

They have begun to a certain extent in Iran now. An opportunity has presented itself and the people have taken it and we hope, God willing, that more opportunities present themselves in the future.

May God, the Blessed and Exalted, grant you all success. May He assist Islam, the *ulama* of Islam, the students and all Muslims.

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-Five

Date: November 1, 1977 (AD)¹ / Aban 10, 1356 (AHS) / Dhu al- Qa'dah 18, 1397 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: The power of the clergy and the political, intellectual and religious services rendered by the Shii *ulama*

Occasion: The martyrdom of Mr. Mustafa Khomeini (may he rest in peace)

Those present: Religious students, clergymen and Iranians resident in Iraq

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

On the morning of Sunday, October 23, 1977 (Aban 1, 1356 AHS), the noble city of Najaf sank into a state of confusion and disbelief, the people, and in particular the religious students and the students of Islamic sciences, wearing a look of utter astonishment - their solemn faces telling of the occurrence of a great tragedy. This was in fact how news spread about the martyrdom of Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini - that honourable, God-fearing scholar; that brave crusader who yearned for martyrdom, who was prepared to make any sacrifice for the sake of Islam, and whose death plunged the Muslim community into a chronic state of bereavement.

Ayatullah Haj Mustafa Khomeini was one of the closest friends and most devout followers of the Leader of the Revolution; and because of his political insight, sound mind and brilliant intellect, he served as a staff on which Imam's followers leaned. He was endowed with extraordinary intelligence and astounding genius, and as a distinguished scholar of the theological centre in Qum, he stood by and aided Imam throughout each stage of the struggle until Imam was eventually exiled to Turkey.

Following Imam's arrest on Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963), the day when the cry "We either want death or Khomeini" shook dozens of cities including Qum, Tehran, Varamin, Shiraz, and Mashhad, Mustafa Khomeini led demonstrators as they marched through the streets of Eram, around Astaneh Square and into the holy courtyard of *Hadrat* Masumah (pbuh) in Qum. At 9 am on November 4, 1964 (Aban 13, 1343 AHS), as Imam was being sent into exile, Mustafa Khomeini went to the home of Ayatullah

¹ In *Sahifeh-yi Imam*, vol. 1, p. 255, the date of the present speech has been wrongly given as December 31, 1977 (Dey 10, 1356 AHS). The correct date is November 1, 1977 (Aban 10, 1356 AHS).

Najafi Marashi to talk there with the *maraji* and to hold discussions concerning how the movement was to be continued in Imam's absence. Half an hour into the talks however, he was arrested by agents of the regime who had stormed the house in question. That afternoon Mustafa Khomeini was sent to Qazil Qala prison in Tehran from where he was subsequently released 57 days later on December 29, 1964 (Dey 8, 1343 AHS). Five days following his release, at 2 pm on January 3, 1965, Mustafa Khomeini was again arrested when Imam's home in Qum was stormed by Colonel Badi'i, (the head of SAVAK in Qum) and other agents of the regime. This time Mr. Khomeini was firstly sent to Tehran and then deported to Turkey where he joined his father in exile.

In the holy city of Najaf, his second place of exile, Mustafa Khomeini took a fighting stand both against the reactionary climate which prevailed in the theological centre there and against the plots hatched by the Iranian and Iraqi regimes. He remained a dauntless combatant right up until the moment of his martyrdom. The lectures delivered in kharij,¹ *fiqh* and dogmatic theology by this outstanding martyr who had in fact attained the level of *ijtihad* while still in his youth, were amongst the most popular lectures given in Najaf; and he was regarded by everyone there as a truly hopeful prospect for the religious teaching centres. The Shah's regime saw Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa as his father's right-hand man and it believed that by killing him it could firstly rob Imam of this trustworthy aide, and secondly, cause Imam's resolve to waver, thereby preventing him from continuing or stepping up the struggle.

When one reads what Imam's honourable son, Hujjat al-Islam wal Muslimin Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini and others have to say about events on the day of Mustafa Khomeini's demise, and about the way Imam reacted to the martyrdom of his dearest loved one, the frivolous nature of the convictions held by the regime's veteran politicians and strategists really come to light. With regard to the events of that day Hujjat al-Islam Ahmad Khomeini writes:

"It was early morning, at about 5 am, when I stirred from my sleep having felt someone shaking my legs. I opened my eyes to see that Imam was standing there saying: Get up and go to Mustafa's house They have asked for you to go there. I think there must be something the matter with Masumah (Mustafa Khomeini's wife).' My sister-in-law had recently been ill and the doctor had been brought to see her on the previous evening, therefore I

¹ An advanced course in the academic programme of divinity students consisting of discussion of principles and jurisprudence beyond text-books.

immediately rushed to her home. I saw a taxi parked outside the house in question, and on entering the building I saw that three people were present: Mr. Duayi; an Afghani Muslim brother who was staying at my brother's house to study; and another gentleman. I went upstairs and saw my brother being held by the arms and legs in order to be carried downstairs. I placed the palm of my hand on his forehead and saw that it was still warm so we put him into the taxi; but it was as if right at that moment someone had told me that my brother Mustafa had passed away. I held him in my arms until we reached the hospital. After performing a medical examination the doctor said: I am afraid he is dead'.

I returned home not knowing what to tell Imam but realising that I had no choice but to somehow tell him of what had happened. I went to the outer-quarters of Imam's home, the place where members of the public would come to seek Imam's advice. I sent two people to tell Imam that Mustafa had been taken ill and had been sent to hospital; and accordingly my message was relayed to Imam. On receiving my message Imam said: Tell Ahmad to come here'; and so I went to him. He told me: I want to visit Mustafa in hospital'. I became truly disturbed and after leaving Imam told Mr. Rezvani about the whole affair, adding that in order to delay Imam's discovery of what had actually happened, it was best to tell him that the doctor had prohibited any visits to the hospital. Thus it was decided that Mr. Rezvani should go to Imam and approach him in this way. We both dreaded what might happen next. Imam saw me through a window of the room in which I was standing which lay on the upper floor of the house. He called out my name and I again went to him. Imam asked: Is Mustafa dead?' I became deeply upset, broke down in tears and said nothing. As Imam sat there with his hands placed upon his knees, he three times repeated the words: ***Surely we are God's and to Him we shall surely return***' (Quran: Sura 2, verse 156).¹

The wife of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, Mrs. Masumah Ha'eri Yazdi, describes what happened as follows:

"... On the night of Mustafa's death, some guests were due to arrive at our home at midnight. I was very ill and Mr. Duayi, our neighbour, brought a doctor to see me. Because of my condition and since my husband usually studied late at night anyway, Mustafa told me to go to sleep and said that he would open the door and welcome our guests himself when they arrived. I

¹ *Javanan* magazine No. 766.

never actually found out either what time our guests arrived, when they left, or what happened during their visit.

The following morning, when Mustafa's breakfast was taken to him, he was found to be in a sitting position but with his head drooped down. On being informed of this I immediately went upstairs. I saw something crimson in colour both on Mustafa's hands and on his chest. We took him to the hospital without delay, where we were told that he had actually died two hours earlier from poisoning. When the doctors wanted to perform an autopsy, Imam refused them permission and said: Were you to do this, certain innocent people would be arrested, but their arrest would not bring Mustafa back to us'. As expected, the Iraqi authorities prevented the doctors' medical reports concerning the death from being announced, whilst the doctors themselves were also prevented from making any statements about the matter. There was absolutely no doubt that the cause of death had been poisoning and that even the doctors had been intimidated into keeping silent."¹

Against the regime's expectations, on November 1, 1977, ten days after his son's martyrdom, Imam delivered a fiery, monumental speech in which he expressed how he regarded the loss of his dearest loved one as "a divine blessing in disguise" and said: "... If only we were aware of that hidden beneficence which God, the Blessed, the Most High, shows towards his servants - ***And surely He is Benignant towards His servants*** - and if only we had a true understanding of these occurrences, then we would not show such a lack of intolerance in the face of such affairs; affairs which are indeed trivial and unimportant. We would realise that some kind of divine grace is involved in all this; that this is some form of guidance."

Even after hearing of his son's martyrdom Imam Khomeini never allowed his daily routine to be altered in any way. Hence, as his son's corpse was being taken to be buried at Karbala (in Najaf), Imam, in accordance with his daily programme, attended both the noon and evening congregational prayer gatherings, after which he went to the home of his deceased son to console those there. Here, he enjoined everyone present to be strong and in addressing Sayyid Mustafa's grieving mother, he said: "The Lord Almighty had once given us something in trust and now He has taken it back from us. I shall be patient and you are to do the same, your patience being for the sake of God".

¹ *Kayhan* newspaper October 23, 1980 (Aban 1, 1359 AHS).

On his first visit to his son's grave, whilst encircled by a large crowd of people, Imam simply sat on the ground, placed his hands upon the grave, and with a particular stoicism recited a funerary prayer (the Quranic Sura entitled "Fatehah" ("The Opening")). He then turned to those present and suggested that they recite a funerary prayer for the other *ulama* who were buried nearby.

The *ulama* of the theological centre of Najaf had intended to hold a forty-day-long memorial ceremony for Imam's deceased son, but Imam told them: "Lectures must not be suspended. The honourable gentlemen of the clergy must resume work as normal". Then, in addressing the students and the devoted followers of his deceased son, he advised: "You are to edify those who are still living and are not to show a lack of tolerance at such times as these. Attend to your lectures and your religious studies and concern yourselves with self-edification and with the purifying of your souls."

The first lecture to be given by Imam following the tragedy of his son's death, took the form of a wide-ranging address which covered issues and problems facing both Iran and other Islamic societies. Under the circumstances, this address proved to be most beneficial and instructive. It must be noted that at that time the works of Dr. Ali Shariati and the book entitled *Shahid-i Jawid*¹ were the subject of much discussion and debate in society and especially in the universities and the theological teaching centres; and by exploiting the flaws found in these literary works the regime tried to sow the seeds of dissension and discontent. The rift which existed between the university and the clergy was the one which for many years Imam Khomeini had made particular efforts to bridge in order to bring these two groups closer together; and to this end Imam had sent numerous messages in the past both to the clergy and to the Muslim University Students' Associations at home and abroad.

In the present speech (25), having discussed the gravity of the mission assigned to mankind in the great scheme of creation, Imam recounts the vital and historic role played by the clergy in former Islamic movements. He cites examples of the clergy's involvement in popular movements of the past by looking at events in history, and he regards these clerical figures as the forerunners of present events. Imam then criticises those Muslim intellectuals and authors who had ignored the role played by the clergy throughout the history of the struggles of Islamic nations and he argues that the *ulamas* relationships with the ruling authorities of the day, be they amicable or

¹ The book *Shahid-i Jawid* by Nematullah Salehi Najafabadi.

hostile, and both the active and passive forms of resistance in which the *ulama* engaged, were but different ways of ensuring the survival of Islam, *fiqh*, and Shiism. Imam again narrates certain examples of the former struggles in which the Shii *ulama* were involved, after which he warns against the artificial distinctions made by some between those in the clergy and those in the universities; and in addressing intellectuals and academics he says: “If you want to engage in struggle alone, without assistance from the *akhund*, then you will remain oppressed by others till doomsday. You are to come together, to unite, to be brothers together. Don’t spurn those in the clergy. The latter constitute an imperishable force; they constitute the power of the nation”.

On the other hand, whilst addressing the *ulama* and the clergy Imam says: “Every so often some kind of trouble crops up in Iran; and at such times, instead of the honourable preachers, the learned *ulama*, concerning themselves with the political matters found in Islam, with the economic matters found in Islam, they spend their time talking about this person’ being a heathen, that person’ being an apostate, and so-and-so’ being a Wahabi. They accused the scholar who has toiled hard for fifty years and whose knowledge of *fiqh* is more thorough than that of the majority of themselves, of being a Wahabi. But it is wrong of them to say such things. You are not to create a rift between yourselves... If some patent error or other is found in the work of those who are currently striving for the sake of Islam and are writing material to this end, then you are to rectify it. As ones who are learned, you are to rectify this error, and not to ostracise the person concerned... Do not spurn those in the universities... do not continue to ascend the pulpit and to find fault with them. Ascend the pulpit and admonish them”.

Contrary to the expectations of the Shah’s regime, the martyrdom of Imam’s son, Mustafa Khomeini, served to kindle the flames of the revolution rather than extinguish them - flames which were indeed further kindled because of the momentous event which occurred later, on January 9, 1978 (Dey 17, 1356 AHS - protests against the defamatory articles about Imam in the *Ittilaat* newspaper).

On learning of the martyrdom of Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, the people of Iran, as aware as ever of the true state of affairs, held memorial services for the deceased combatant. During the first of these ceremonies to be held, disturbances broke out in the city of Qum following which people in other cities also rose up in protest in order to reveal the true nature of the regime. During the clashes which ensued, the people’s adversaries entered the arena with weapons, using the bayonet for protection, whereas the Iranian

people entered the arena protected by a shield which not only prevented their adversaries from putting their weapons into use, but which in fact rendered them powerless - that shield being the slogan "Allahu akbar" (God is Great). Finding inspiration from this slogan, the people cried out as one, putting the enemy to flight and thus causing the regime to crumble. Hence, the martyrdom of Mustafa Khomeini in fact led to the rebirth of Islam and the Muslims, the eternal message of this blessed martyr being: "In our efforts to achieve freedom we shall lose many lives, but ultimately victory will stem from our ability to stand firm".

Speech Number Twenty-Five

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

I must firstly thank all the different strata of society; I must thank the various orders of the religious ministry in whichever country they may be—be they in Iraq, in Iran or elsewhere—for showing such concern. I must thank everyone including the *maraji* of Islam, may blessings last long; the learned *ulama* both in Iran, here in Iraq, or elsewhere, may esteem their esteem last long; the accomplished orators; the students, both from within the universities and from elsewhere; and those who have shown concern from various countries abroad—countries such as America, Europe and India for example. I thank them all and pray for their success and good health. I thank all of those who have shown their concern and have organized gatherings and I ask them to forgive me if, because of my old age, I have been unable to visit them or to participate in all of these gatherings. I hope that they will accept my apologies. These kinds of affairs¹ are of no real importance; these

¹ It refers to the martyrdom of Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini (1930-1977 / 1309-1356 AHS), Imam's eldest son, who began studying Islamic sciences at the age of fifteen and attained the level of *ijtihad* at the age of twenty-seven. He became an expert in Islamic sciences in his youth, his teachers being Imam himself, Ayatullah Burujerdi and Haj Sayyid Muhammad Damad. On November 4, 1964 [Aban 13, 1343 AHS], he was arrested on the orders of the regime and imprisoned in Qezel Qalah prison for fifty-seven days. After his release, he went to Qum, where he was given a grandiose welcome by the clerics and people there. Hujjat al-Islam Haj Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini who was present during a telephone conversation between Mawlawi—the head of SAVAK in Tehran—and Haj Aqa Mustafa, relates the story of the latter's release and his expulsion from Iran to Turkey as follows: "In prison, the head of SAVAK in Tehran proposed that they would release Mustafa on condition that a few days later he would leave the country to join his father in Turkey. Haj Aqa Mustafa at first agreed to do this, but upon being released he met with his mother who advised him that such an action was not right and thus he decided to remain in Iran. When Colonel Mawlawi found out about this, he telephoned Haj Aqa Mustafa and while uttering obscenities and abuse, he threatened him. My brother answered him in a similarly harsh tone. At 10 am the following morning (January 3, 1965 / Dey 13, 1343 AHS) he was arrested again and sent into exile first in Turkey and later in Iraq along with Imam. Haj Aqa Mustafa, like his distinguished father, was of an uncompromising nature and he believed that in order to sweep away the Pahlavi regime, an all-encompassing uprising was required, and he himself took great pains to realize this. However, in 1969 [1348 AHS], the Iraqi secret police, who were keeping a close eye on things, arrested him and took him to the presidential palace in Baghdad. Hasan al-Bakr, the

things happen. Everyone experiences this kind of thing at some time. God, the Blessed and Exalted, shows His mercy in ways both manifest and hidden. He has a hidden beneficence of which we have no knowledge; a beneficence about which we are uninformed. It is because we are deficient with regard to knowledge, with regard to our deeds, and indeed in every respect that we grieve and make a fuss when these kinds of matters arise. We show no tolerance at such times. This is due to a lack of understanding on our part with regard to God the Exalted. If only we were aware of that hidden beneficence which God the blessed, the Most High shows toward his servants—*And surely He is Gracious to His servants*¹—and if only we had a true understanding of these occurrences, then we would not show such a lack of tolerance in the face of such affairs—affairs which are indeed trivial and unimportant. We would realize that some kind of divine grace is involved in all this; that this is some form of guidance.

This world is one through which we must pass. It is not a world in which to abide forever; it is a path. If we are able to tread this path correctly, as did God's prophets—"*Juzna wa hiya khamidah*"²—and we are able to travel this path safe and sound, then we shall attain salvation. But God forbid, should we slip and stumble along the path of this world, then the same will occur when we cross over the *Sirat*³ in the Hereafter; there too we will stumble and run into problems. I pray that God, the Blessed and Exalted, may awaken us; that he may make us aware of those hidden blessings of which we are now unaware, so that God willing, we may succeed in attaining the stage of awareness attained by those who have grasped both the heights of divinity and the various stages of mankind—those who do not overestimate the world; who do not view the world as an independent entity; who do not regard their worldly ambitions as ends in themselves but instead regard this

Iraqi President of the time, who was well aware of Haj Mustafa's secret meetings with Ayatullah Hakim, threatened Haj Mustafa and then suggested that he embark on a struggle against the regime in Iran with the help of the Iraqi Baathist regime. Although Haj Mustafa rejected this proposal of cooperation, nevertheless the Shah's regime began a propaganda campaign against him in Iran, accusing him of collaboration with the Iraqi government. Haj Aqa Mustafa was martyred on November 23, 1977 [Azar 2, 1356 AHS] at the age of forty-seven, just over a year before the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran."

¹ It refers to *Surah ash-Shura* 42:19: "*Gracious is God to His servants. He gives sustenance to whom He pleases, and He has power and can carry out His will.*"

² It is transmitted in a tradition that one of the Imams (a) was asked to explain the meaning of *Surah Maryam* 19:71: "*Not one of you but will pass over it. This is with thy Lord a decree which must be accomplished.*" He said: "We were allowed to pass through Hell while the fire was out." Refer to *Ilm al-Yaqin*, vol. 2, p. 971.

³ *Sirat*: a kind of bridge which only the righteous can cross on the road to Paradise.

world as a means of reaching other places, of attaining other, higher forms of bliss and felicity. May God allow us to reach such higher stages. Indeed, we cannot perceive these higher stages. While here in this world we cannot fully comprehend the various stages which exist, the various worlds which exist, or the true magnitude of this world. How deceptive this world is—this world, which is the only world we have ever been able to see; a world which according to a tradition: “*Ma nazarallahu ilayhi mundhu khalqih*”;¹ a world of matter which God, the Blessed and Exalted, held in contempt after having created it, even though the little that they have so far been able to discover and to grasp shows this universe to be so stupendous that it lies beyond the powers of the human intellect. So far they have reached a stage where they have now realized the mind-boggling and inexplicable nature of this world of matter, yet this is a realization which will indeed grow in intensity as time goes by. They have so far been able to conclude that there are certain stars whose light takes six billion years, yes, six billion years to reach the earth. Such a figure is beyond our imagination. Some have written that if certain stars were to be split open, 500 million suns could be accommodated inside them; and there are some stars which are so big that were they to be placed at the sun’s center, they would extend as far as the earth. This vastness, which is beyond human comprehension and which is inaccessible to human investigation, constitutes the cosmos of the world’; it constitutes the meanest of worlds. Indeed, some of those who were acquainted with these matters used to say that this world has been designated as the Earth’ to reflect God’s disdain toward the essential nature of this world. This world which is so vast and so immense is yet but the Earth’; and the heavens, along with all that has so far been discovered to lie therein, are but the “nearest of heavens” according to the Quran which states: “*Surely We have adorned the nearest heaven with an adornment, the stars.*”² Thus, the Quran speaks of the skies and all that lies within them as the “nearest” heaven; nothing yet having been discovered by man about the more distant heavens. But even so, despite such magnitude the tradition tells of how God, the Blessed, the Exalted, “held the world in contempt” after He had created it; while the Quran speaks of the life of this world as but “a provision” (for a time). Indeed, life in the Hereafter is true life. That is where everything is really alive. We are not really in a state

¹ Imam Ali, in denouncing the world, said: “The world has no value or esteem before God, the Glorious and Dignified, and from among all that He has created and we can perceive, nothing is more odious in the sight of God than the world; and from the time that He created it, He has not looked upon it.” *Kanz al-’Ummal*, vol. 3, p. 214.

² *Surah as-Saffat* 37:6.

of life here; we are in a state of death. True life is to be found in the Hereafter—the next abode “*that most surely is the life*”.¹ But we are not now able to grasp this fact.

While we are here in this world, God, the Blessed and Exalted, has given us certain missions to accomplish. While here in this worldly existence, we have certain duties to fulfill—duties assigned to us by God, the Blessed and Exalted, to which we must attend. We must not neglect our religious duties. All religious duties are in fact blessings from God, blessings which we mistakenly regard as duties. They constitute blessings, whether they are individual duties assigned to train the individual and to enable him to mature—there being no other means of attaining maturity or of improving the self, and there being certain stages of human development which are unattainable other than by following this path—or whether they are social duties which we are obliged to fulfill, duties to which we must attend in order to regulate society. Both the prophets and the Quran have spoken of those things which concern the spirit, things which concern the different stages of understanding and which relate to the realms of the unseen. The traditions and the Holy Quran have spoken both of issues which concern individual duties and which play a part in man’s development and maturation, and of political issues, economic issues; issues which concern society and are to do with the regulation and moral teaching of society. We, and all of mankind, have a duty to pay due attention to all of these stages, to all of these different levels of human development and we are not to concentrate solely on one aspect alone.

Let me now discuss the sense of attachment that I feel toward all of the various fronts which serve Islam, be they those clerical fronts which have always served Islam from the beginning, or other fronts which are also now actively serving Islam; fronts which are composed of intellectuals and of those who are involved in politics. I am fond of all these fronts, but at the same time I have a grievance to voice against them all. Indeed, when any Muslim, any human being, sees how these people are serving humanity and the human cause, and therefore how they are serving Islam—the school of thought which has come to develop true human beings—he cannot help but feel a sense of attachment toward these people or groups; groups which are serving Islam either by their use of the pen or by taking certain actions. There is nothing wrong with him feeling this sense of attachment. But, nevertheless, there is a grievance which must be voiced against these various

¹ *Surah al-ankabut* 29:64.

groups; a well-intentioned grievance. I have a complaint to make against those intellectual and academic groups and those students who are striving in the path of Islam—may God always assist them; and this complaint concerns their having overstepped the mark in some of the things they have written about the *faqih*, about *fiqh*, and about the *ulama* of Islam—a complaint about them having said things on occasion which were uncalled for. The people who have said these things do not mean ill. I know that on the whole it is not that those who want to serve Islam are spiteful and therefore say something out of bad faith, but rather they do so because they are insufficiently informed. Similarly, my knowledge of history is lacking. I am now eighty years old. I have been among academic circles for almost sixty years and have taken an active interest in current affairs for almost thirty years. I have also probed into the history of the last one hundred and odd years, but my knowledge of history prior to this time is slight. My knowledge of foregone eras, of bygone ages, of the period which stretches from the beginning of the Islamic era down to the recent past, is rather superficial. Nevertheless, even a cursory glance at past history reveals how the clergy have been the ones who have preserved this Islam in all of its dimensions. That is to say, the gnosticism of Islam has been preserved by the clergy; the philosophy of Islam has been preserved by the clergy; the ethics of Islam have been preserved by the clergy; the *fiqh* of Islam has been preserved by the clergy; the political precepts of Islam have been preserved by the clergy. All of these fields of knowledge have been preserved due to the painstaking efforts of those in the clergy. This rich science of *fiqh* that we now enjoy—the *fiqh* of Shi'ism being truly the most comprehensive in the world—is a set of religious laws, the exposition and analysis of which has been due to the efforts of the Shiah *ulama*.¹

The *fiqh* of Shiah Islam is the most comprehensive of all the religious jurisprudence. There is not another set of religious laws in the world which is so comprehensive. Those religious laws outside Shiah Islam which were initially divine laws and which, like the *fiqh* of Shiah Islam, were also comprehensive at one time, have not survived. They have been substituted by terrestrial laws, laws which have been devised by the earth's inhabitants, by people whose understanding is so little that traditions relate how the human brain would not even satisfy the appetite of a sparrow.² Yes, these terrestrial laws have sprung from such brains, or more precisely from those brains

¹ Deducing secondary aspects [*furu'*] from the principles and fundamentals [*usul*] of Islam.

² A saying from Imam as-Sadiq: "Oh son of Adam, if a bird were to eat your brain, it would not be satiated." Refer to the book, *Usul al-Kafi*, vol. 1, p. 126.

which function correctly, for those which do not function correctly are indeed void of knowledge, period. All of these man-made laws are defective. These laws are defective regardless of where they may have been devised; and moreover, they are laws which have been devised to suit a particular environment, or a particular situation. They have been devised to regulate the affairs of a particular country, for example or to regulate the political relations between one country and another; but apart from this, their laws serve no other purpose. The place where other laws can be found, laws to suit all purposes, is in Islam; and the most comprehensive of Islamic *fiqh*, is that which is found in Shiah Islam. The *fiqh* of Shiah Islam is unique in the world—it is not to be found among other Muslim sects, may God increase them in number, nor is it to be found elsewhere, among the non-Muslims. And this *fiqh* has developed because of the painstaking efforts made by the Shiah *ulama*. From the advent of Islam, that is, throughout the Prophet’s lifetime and after that, during the time of the Immaculate Imams, peace be upon them, it was these Shiah *ulama* who would gather around the latter and would record the Islamic precepts narrated to them. Subsequently, the *ulama* compiled four hundred different works from these recorded utterances; works which became known as the *Usul* [the Principles].¹ Later still, various compendiums were made from these *Usul*, such as *Al-Kutub al-Arbaah*.²

These have all been the results of efforts made by the Shiah *ulama*. All of the different dimensions of Islam and the Quran, those dimensions which can be grasped by man’s narrow understanding that is, have been preserved and expounded by the *ulama*, by these “bearded men who wear turbans”, to quote the words of these intellectuals and academics. It is the *ulama* who have managed to keep Islam alive until the present. It is they who have

¹ A large number of the disciples and students of Imam as-Sadiq wrote down his replies to various questions and collected them together in book form. These sayings, which fill four hundred volumes, later became famous as *Usul al-Arbaamiah*. Shahid al-Awwal in his book *Dhikrah* and Muhaqqiq Hilli in his book *Mu’tabar* and a number of other writers in their literary works have explained certain factors concerning the above-mentioned principles [*usul*]. A number of these principles were used by the authors of *al-Kutub al-Arbaah* in their compositions, and some of them have not yet been explained. Refer to *al-Mu’tabar fi Sharh al-Muktasar*, p. 15 and *Dirasa Hawl al-Usul al-Arbaamiah*, p. 12.

² *Al-Kutub al-Arbaah* [The Four Books] are the most reputable of the Shiah *hadith* sources. These books are *al-Kafi fi Ilm ad-Din* [The Sufficient in the Knowledge of Religion] by Thiqat al-Islam Muhammad ibn Ya’qub al-Kulayni (d. 940 CE); *Man la Yahduruhu al-Faqih* [For Him Not in the Presence of a Jurisprudent] by Shaykh as-Saduq Muhammad ibn Babuyah al-Qummi (d. 991 CE); *Tahdhib al-Ahkam* [Rectification of the Statutes] by Shaykh at-Ṭa’ifā Muhammad at-Ṭusi (d. 1068 CE) and *al-Istibsar fi ma Ukhtulif fihī min al-Akhbar* [Reflection upon the Disputed Traditions] also by at-Ṭusi.

written books on any topic you care to mention; on the subject of theology; on the science of Islam; on Islamic sciences; and it is they who have taken great pains to this end thus enabling the fruits of their labor to now be passed on to this present-day clerical order.

With regard to political affairs, as I mentioned before, my knowledge of history is slight and I can no longer remember everything that I may have read or seen in the past; but even so, the history of the past one hundred years or so is something which is known to us all. If we were to go back a little further in time however, we would see how a certain section of the *ulama* had made self-sacrifices and had had connections with certain kings. Although these *ulama* could see that the people disapproved of this situation, they still had connections with the kings of the time; but they did this in order to propagate faith, to propagate Shiah Islam, and to propagate the religion of Truth, for whether they liked it or not, the kings were obliged by these *ulama* to go along with the propagation of faith, of religious faith, of the faith of Shi'ism. Thus, these were not *akhunds* of the Royal Court, as some of our writers mistakenly claim. On the contrary, it was the kings who followed and paid allegiance to the *ulama*. The sanctum of Shah Sultan Husayn¹ can still be seen in the Chahar Bagh Madrasah in Isfahan² even today; and it was they, the *ulama* who led him to use such a chamber. It wasn't a case of him holding sway over the *ulama*. There were political motives behind the *ulama*'s behavior; there were religious motives. Thus, when one hears for example that Majlisi,³ Muhaqqiq ath-Thani,¹ or Shaykh Bahai,² may God be well

¹ Among the rooms of the Chahar Bagh Madrasah the first room in the north-west wing is a special room famous as the Shah Sultan Husayn room. Shah Husayn (1688-1726), one of the Safavid rulers, spent a lot of his time in this room in consultation with the great *ulama* of his time.

² The Chahar Bagh Madrasah which is also famous as the "Shah's Mother's" Madrasah was built during the Safavid era on the orders of Shah Sultan Husayn.

³ Muhammad Baqir Majlisi (1625/6-1698/9), commonly known as "the Second Majlisi", was one of the great Shiah *ulama* and transmitters of Prophetic traditions during the Safavid period. He compiled more than sixty books, the most famous of which is his *Bihar al-Anwar* [Oceans of Lights], a monumental encyclopedia of traditions and narratives which attempts to present all Shiah traditions in a single work, classifying them by subject matter. Since its compilation, its value as the standard reference work for all Shiah studies can hardly be overemphasized. One indication of its popularity is that despite its enormous size, it was published twice in lithographed form in the nineteenth century. The modern edition of the work fills 110 volumes of approximately 400 pages each. His other works include: *Ayn al-Hayah*; *Mishkat al-Anwar*; *Hilyat al-Muttaqin*; *Hayawat al-Qulub*; *Tuhfa az-Zayir*; *Jala al-Uyun*; *Miqyas al-Masabih*; *Rabi' al-Asabi*; *Zada al-Muad*; *Haqq al-Yaqin*. Majlisi lived during the Safavid era. His great personality and position among the Iranian Shiah and his sittings with the Safavid king, Shah Sultan Husayn Safavid (1688-1726), even though these

pleased with them, held ties with the kings of their time, that they cooperated with them and accompanied them, one must not assume that the *ulama* s continued attachment to the court was for the sake of obtaining position and status and that they were in need of some favor or other to be bestowed upon them by Shah Sultan Husayn and Shah Abbas! This was not at all the case. These *ulama* made self-sacrifices; they both sacrificed and struggled against the self so that they could propagate this religion of Islam by means of the kings themselves. These *ulama* even managed to continue their crusade to preserve Islam and the Shiah faith within an environment where cursing the Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali (a)) was a common occurrence and at a time when there was no mention or sign of Shi'ism. I even heard somewhere that once, when the authorities had decided to desist from making such curses against the Imam, people from an Iranian city requested permission to continue with this practice for a further six months. Yet in spite of such difficult circumstances and such a hostile environment, the *ulama* continued with their struggle. They humbled themselves before the people and continued with their mission although the latter at that time were hostile

lasted for only four years, constituted one of the causes of Iran's stability at the time and contributed toward the preservation of her territorial integrity. Not long after Majlisi's death, and due to the incompetence of the king, Iran fell into anarchy, Ghalzai Afghans took control of Isfahan, the Safavid capital, in 1722 and the south of the country fell under their control, while the Russians and Ottomans controlled the north. Allamah Majlisi's grave is situated in the Jami' Atiq of Isfahan. Refer to *Danesh-e Muslimin*, p. 222.

¹ Shaykh Zayn al-abidin Abu'l-Hasan Ali ibn Husayn ibn Abdul-ali known as Muhaqqiq Karaki' or Muhaqqiq ath-Thani' (d. 1534 in Najaf) was one of the famous *ulama* of the Safavid period at the time of Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) and held the position of Shaykh al-Islam or Chief Jurist-consult in Iran. His most important works include: *Jami' al-Maqasid fi Sharh al-Qawa'id*; and commentaries on *Sharayi' al-Islam* and *Sharh al-Fih Shahid al-Awwal* and the book *Tahrir* by Allamah.

² Muhammad ibn Husayn Amili known as Shaykh Bahai was an outstanding scholar at the time of Shah Abbas Safavid (1588-1629). He went to Iran from Lebanon in his youth with his father Husayn ibn Abdus-Samad who himself was one of the Shiah *ulama*. He learnt *fiqh*, *usul*, literature, the science of religious traditions and Quranic exposition from his father. He later benefited from the teachings of such scholars as Mulla Abdullah Yazdi and when he himself reached the position of professor [*ustadh*], religious scholars such as Mulla Muhsin Fayd Kashani, Makki Amili, Shaykh Muhammad Taqi Majlisi (the father of Muhammad Baqir Majlisi) and many others studied under him. Shaykh Bahai was an expert in *fiqh*, mathematics, physics, mechanics and astrology. He was the author of 88 books and treatises in Persian and Arabic. His most important works are: *Jami' Abbasi* (concerning *fiqh*); *Khulasah al-Hisab* (mathematics); *Tashrih al-Aflak* (astrology); *Kitab Arba'in*; *Kashkul* (narratives, traditions, science and poems); *Mathnawi Shir va Shikar*; and *Mathnawi Nan va Halva*. He died in Isfahan and, according to his own will, was buried near Imam Rida's shrine.

toward them—a hostility which probably stemmed from the people's ignorance.

Similarly, today, if anyone objects to and criticizes the *ulama* it is because they are not aware of the facts. It is not that they cherish a grudge against the *ulama*, but rather it is a case of them not understanding the situation. At the time of the Immaculate Imams the case was the same. People were unaware of what was really going on and wrongly accused the *ulama* —'ulama' such as Ali ibn Yaqtin who served as a minister of the Royal Court; or even the Commander of the Faithful (*a*), he too can be cited as such an example. For twenty-odd years the Commander of the Faithful joined in with the rulers of the land when they performed their prayers and he paid them his allegiance.¹ But he did these things for the good of Islam, because there were certain benefits to be gained for Islam which overrode these side-issues. The other Immaculate Imams (*a*) also fraternized with the sultan of the day at times; but when this was an impossibility then they behaved otherwise. The interests of Islam are of far more importance than we imagine. They override any other concern that we may consider important. The reason that you now criticize these *ulama* who put their lives in danger for a certain cause and who were forced in the past to behave in a certain manner to this end, is because you are unaware of the truth of the matter. It is not that you bear malice or have bad intentions; it is that you are unaware of the actual facts. If I thought I could guide an unjust sultan to the straight path, then I too would fraternize with the king. You too would have a duty to do the same if, as a result, you could reform an unjust, cruel sultan. It is not a question of being attached to the court; it is a question of reforming individuals. These *ulama* did not join the Royal Court as such, instead their intention was to reform individuals; and I therefore have a grievance to voice against those who state otherwise.

So far I have discussed the *ulama* with regard to *fiqh* and concerning their association with the authorities of the day, and I have done so to the best of my knowledge. Now, I shall turn to political aspects and to the *ulama* s involvement in the political affairs of recent history; and again I shall discuss this matter to the best of my knowledge. One of the movements that occurred during the past one hundred years or so in opposition to certain things which were detrimental to Islam, was the movement concerning the tobacco issue²—an issue with which you are all familiar. The great Mirza

¹ It refers to the three caliphs before Imam Ali.

² In 1891, Nasiruddin Shah granted yet another in a long line of concessions he had already given to foreigners in return for money to satisfy court consumption and to finance his tours of

Shirazi, may God rest his soul, issued a decree of prohibition and, led by Mirza Ashtiyani¹ in Tehran, the *ulama* of Iran, the *ulama* from all over Iran, may God rest their souls, embarked on their crusade, rescuing the fallen Iranian government as a result. The government had collapsed because of a certain few who had sought revelry and pleasure and who had wanted to peddle the wares of the country. These people had sold Iran to the foreigners. Hence, Mirza Shirazi, may Allah be pleased with him, issued a decree and the other *ulama* of Iran, in obeying this decree, laid their lives on the line. They endured hardships, went to great lengths, rose up in opposition and persuaded the rest of the people to rise up, until eventually the tobacco concession was annulled. So much for the movement which fought against

Europe. This time, in return for a personal gift of twenty-five thousand pounds, an annual rent of fifteen thousand pounds to the state and a twenty-five percent share of the profits for Iran, one Major Gerald Talbot acquired a fifty-year monopoly over the distribution and exportation of tobacco. *Akhtar* [Star], a liberal Persian paper published in Istanbul at the time, expressed the general concern of Iranian merchants: "It is clear enough that the concessionaire will commence the work with a small capital and will purchase the tobacco from the cultivators and sell it to the merchants and manufacturers for higher prices, and all the profits will remain in the purse of the English. As the Persian merchants have no right to export tobacco from Persia, those who were formerly engaged in this trade will be obliged to give up their business and find some other work. The concessionaire does not take into consideration how many merchants who were engaged in this business will be left without employment and will suffer loss in finding other occupations." The clergymen and *maraji*' of the time immediately opposed the concession and demanded its cancellation. Ayatullah Mirza Shirazi, the *maraji*'-*taqlid*, determined the destiny of this struggle. He issued a religious *fatwa* stating that the use of tobacco in whatever form was *haram* [forbidden] and was tantamount to declaring war with Imam az-Zaman (the Twelfth Imam). The bazaar in Shiraz, the main tobacco-growing region, shut down and a general strike of the leading bazaars particularly Tehran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Mashhad, Qazvin, Yazd and Kermanshah ensued which spread into a state-wide consumer's boycott. Ayatullah Shirazi's representative in Tehran, Mirza Hasan Ashtiyani, led the protest there. Hookahs were smashed and tobacco was set on fire as the consumer's boycott received support from practically all classes of Iranian society, even members of the royal harem. Consequently, Nasiruddin Shah, seeing his position threatened by this rebellion was forced to annul the concession and pay the penalty. See Nikki Keddie, *Religion and Rebellion in Iran: The Tobacco Protest of 1891-92*.

¹ Haj Mirza Hasan (or Muhammad Hasan) Ashtiyani (d. 1902) was a famous *mujtahid* and one of the Usulis* of Nasiruddin Shah's reign. He was a student of Shaykh Murtada Ansari and attained the level of *ijtihad* in Najaf. He came to Tehran in 1865 and began teaching the religious sciences. His grave is situated in Najaf. His works include: *Kitab al-Waqf*; *Kitab al-Awani ath-Thahab wa'l-Fida* and *Kitab al-Qada*. Refer to the *Encyclopedia of Shi'ism*, vol. 1, p. 116. *The adversaries of the Akhbaris. They hold that the *faqih* may legitimately apply rational exertion to the solution of legal problems. The Iranian religious scholars have been overwhelmingly Usuli since the late 18th century. See Hamid Algar's *Religion and State in Iran, 1785-1906* pp. 33-36.

despotic rule. As for the fight for constitutionalism, this involved a movement which in fact sprung from Najaf and which once more was pioneered by the *ulama*.¹ Here again, the *ulama* in Iran rose up against despotic rule, against ruthless despots who did as they pleased and killed as they pleased... On one occasion, a group of poor soldiers who were not even given bread to eat, had assembled in the street to protest. At the same time, His Majesty was passing by in the royal carriage on his way to pay a visit to the shrine of Hadrat Abdul-azim. At this point, one of the aforesaid soldiers threw a stone. According to historical accounts, these soldiers were brought before the king as a result, and the latter ordered for their execution! A great number of soldiers were therefore executed, until someone known as Mustawfi al-Mamalik² interceded and spoke out against these measures taken by the king. These are the kind of despotic people, the kind of despotic kings they were. Muhammad Ali Mirza³ was yet another of these despots, and

¹ The Iranian constitutional movement (1905-1911) greatly benefited from the support and co-operation it received from such personalities as Akhund Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani and Aqa Shaykh Abdullah Mazandarani both *maraji* of Najaf, and from Sayyid Abdullah Behbahani and Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba'i, two of Tehran's prominent *ulama*. Akhund Khorasani issued a *fatwa* [decree] about the importance of the Constitution and in this way made the constitutional movement in Iran indebted to him. Shaykh Abdullah Mazandarani was one of Akhund Khorasani's close associates throughout the movement. A proclamation issued by these two religious scholars read: "The Constitution of each country limits and conditions the will of the ruler and the offices of government so that the divine ordinances and common laws based on the official religion of the country are not transgressed."

² Mirza Yusuf Ashtiyani (1810-1886) known as "Mustawfi al-Mamalik" or "Aqa" was one of the leading personalities of the Qajar period. He was a noble, virtuous man who was a close associate of Mirza Taqi Khan (Amir Kabir).

³ Muhammad Ali Shah, the sixth monarch of the Qajar dynasty and the son of Muzaffaruddin Shah, ruled for only two years from January 1907 to July 1909. At the beginning of his rule he was sympathetic toward the demands of the constitutionalists. However, he soon began to oppose the movement. On June 23, 1908, with the help of the Cossack Brigade commanded by its Russian colonel named Liakhoff, he staged a successful coup d'état against the first Iranian Majlis; the Majlis building was bombarded and closed, and a number of political figures were arrested and executed including Malik al-Mutakallimin and Mirza Jahangir Khan, the editor of the paper *Sur-e Israfil* [Trumpet Call of Israfil]. Ayatullahs Behbahani and Tabataba'i, the two prominent *ulama* of the movement, were arrested and sent into exile. In 1909, as forces loyal to the constitutional movement converged on Tehran and the royalists fled in disarray, Muhammad Ali Shah sought sanctuary in the Russian legation. Five hundred delegates, drawn from the dissolved parliament, from the Bakhtiyari and guerrilla forces, from the bazaar and from the liberals in the court, met promptly in Tehran and declared themselves a Grand Assembly. Functioning as a constituent body, the assembly deposed Muhammad Ali Shah, nominated his twelve-year-old son, Ahmad, to be the new Shah, and elected Add al-Malik, the aged but liberal ilkhani of the Qajar tribe, to serve as royal regent. Subsequently, Muhammad Ali Shah sought refuge abroad. Throughout the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah, the Russians

indeed everyone is aware of the kind of person, the kind of beast he was. Other kings have also been the same. And it was this kind of despotism that the *ulama* rose up against at the time when they formed a movement in the struggle for constitutionalism. They were the ones who, more than anyone else, wanted to achieve constitutional rule; but they did not succeed in this. No, they were unsuccessful. Had they succeeded, all would have been well, but they were unable to do so. This was through no fault of their own however. Indeed, they tried their best, and because of their efforts the resultant situation was at least an improvement on the former state of affairs when those in authority were unaccountable for their deeds. Things did not turn out as the *ulama* had wanted though, because even though the *ulama*'s efforts had brought about the drafting of the Supplementary Constitutional Laws, these were not in fact adhered to. This present-day government of Iran is unsanctioned; it is illegal. These parliamentary deputies in Iran are illegal; they are not sanctioned. According to the laws of the Constitution, this present-day Majlis is not sanctioned. The Constitution states that the Majlis of Iran must lie under the supervision of five *fuqaha*; but can even one such person now be found to occupy such a role? Indeed, can any kind of supervision of the Majlis be seen to exist at all? Is there any kind of true popular representation there at all? Or is it a Majlis which has been set up without popular approval? Yes, it is a case of it having been forcibly installed. Therefore, we see that although the *ulama* tried their utmost to achieve constitutionalism, they were prevented from doing so. Having said that, it was nevertheless the clergy who, as always, were the vanguards of the movement and who brought about changes, albeit ones which fell short of their initial objectives. Once again it was the clergy's endeavors which were paramount, other forces playing a supportive role only. Needless to say, others did in fact play a part in this movement, but as ever, it was the clergy who were in the forefront.

Again, what would have happened had the *ulama* not engaged in combat in Iraq?¹ On this occasion, the son of the Sayyid¹ was killed in the war; the

directly interfered in the internal affairs of the country and were the instigators of many outrages. Among these was the bombardment of the holy shrine of Imam ar-Rida in Mashhad and the slaughter of a large number of Iranians there. See Ervand Abrahamian's, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Chapter Two.

¹ During the First World War, the Ottoman government sided with Germany against the armies of Britain and France. As the war spread to Iraq, which at the time formed part of the Ottoman Empire, and the situation became critical, the great Shiah *ulama* of the time, residing in Iraq, declared *jihad* against the British and eminent *mujtahids* and scores of religious students led the army in defense of their Islamic homeland. Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi (d.

son of the late Sayyid Muhammad Kazim² was killed in the war. Yes, the *ulama* there, in Iraq, shouldered arms and went into combat. The late Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari,³ may Allah be pleased with him, was imprisoned; that is, he was taken captive along with a number of others and was sent abroad. He himself told of how they were counted one by one as they were handed over by the foreigners into the custody of others, and of how the latter explained to him that this was a precaution which had to be taken for his own safety since it was believed that cannibalism was practiced by the inhabitants of that region. During this period, it was the second Mirza Shirazi, that outstanding personality, that great man who shone both in learning and in deeds, who rescued the country of Iraq. He issued the order for *jihad* and called on the people to participate in this crusade. People therefore responded to this call, for at that time, unlike today, people used to

1921) an important Shiah jurisperudent and *marja'* of the time, encouraged the people to rise up through his stirring proclamation in which he stressed the incumbency of *jihad* against the British. He was a leading force in the resistance staged by the Shiah *ulama* opposed to the imposition of British rule on Iraq at the end of World War I. Among other *ulama* who took part in the *jihad* the following can be cited: Mirza Shirazi's son; Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Kashani and his son Ayatullah Sayyid Abu'l-Qasim Kashani; Ayatullah Sayyid Muhsin al-Hakim; Ayatullah Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Kashif al-Ghita and Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari.

¹ Imam is referring to Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Ṭabataba'i Yazdi, the son of Ayatullah Muhammad Kazim Ṭabataba'i Yazdi. Sayyid Muhammad Ṭabataba'i was one of the famous *ulama* residing in Iraq and was the *marja'* of the Shiah there. He proclaimed *jihad* against the British in Iraq and was one of the leaders in the Iraqi uprising (1920) in which he himself was killed.

² Imam here is once again referring to Sayyid Muhammad Ṭabataba'i (see previous footnote). His father Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Ṭabataba'i Yazdi (d. 1920) was one of the great Shiah *ulama* and *maraji'* and was a student of Mirza Hasan Shirazi. His most famous work is *Urwat al-Wuthqa*. After the death of Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani he attained the position of *marja' iyyah* (authority). As a *marja'* he issued a number of *fatwas* ordering his followers to resist the foreign imperialists. Consequently, at the time of the occupation of Iraq by the British and of Libya by the Italians, and the Russian and British invasion of Iran, it was the *fatwas* of this great clergyman which encouraged the people to free their lands from foreign occupation.

³ Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari (1888-1952) was one of the great religious scholars of Iran. He studied the science of *usul* under Ayatullah Akhund Khorasani and combined militancy with learning. He fought against the British occupiers of Iraq under the leadership of Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi and spent a period in exile on the island of Hengam in the Persian Gulf. For a period of eight years (five years during the reign of Rida Khan and three years during that of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi) he administered the theological center in Qum alongside Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Hujjat and Ayatullah Haj Sadruddin Sadr, two great jurisperudents and theologians of the time. Ayatullah Khwansari struggled alongside Ayatullah Kashani in the movement for the nationalization of oil in Iran.

take their lead from the *ulama*. Hence, in answering the call to war made by Mirza Shirazi, the people fought; they gave lives and battled on throughout the traumas of the crusade until they eventually won back Iraq's independence. Had it not been for their efforts we would now be captives; we would now be a British colony; but yet again, the vigorous efforts of the *ulama* saved the day.

The reason why certain *ulama* in Iraq were sent into exile in Iran was because of their opposition to foreign forces. The late Messrs Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan,¹ Na'ini,² Shahrestani,³ and Khalisi⁴ were all sent into exile in Iraq because they spoke out against these forces and their agents; and I myself can vouch for this.

Again, at the time of that man from Siyahku, that abhorrent ruffian Rida Khan, the *ulama* once more rose up and this time they did so in the city of

¹ Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan Isfahani (1858-1946) was educated initially in Isfahan but traveled to Iraq in 1889 to complete his education under the tuition of Akhund Mulla Muhammad Kazim Khorasani and Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi. He attained the position of *marja' iyyah* in 1921. His practical treatise' [*Risalah al-amaliyyah*] is known as *Sirat an-Najah*. He participated in the Iraqi revolution of 1920 as one of the leaders of the Shiah population and was banished from Iraq for a while.

² Ayatullah Haj Mirza Muhammad Husayn Na'ini (1860-1936) was one of the great *mujtahids* and religious jurists of the early twentieth century. He studied under Mirza Shirazi and proved to be one of the latter's most outstanding pupils. He played a crucial role in the progress of the constitutional movement, and was one of those Iranian *maraji'* residing in Iraq who was sent back to Iran after the Iraqi uprising of 1920. However, after six months he returned to Iraq and took up residency in Najaf. His most famous work is *Tanbih al-Ummah wa Tanzih al-Milla* which discusses Shiah political theory including government from the Islamic point of view and which he wrote at the beginning of the constitutional movement in Iran. He was famous for his eloquence of speech and his fine handwriting and is recognized as one of the great scholars of the science of *usul* (principles of religion or dogmatic theology).

³ Ayatullah Ali Shahrestani was one of the famous Iranian *mujtahids* and one of the Shiah leaders during the Iraqi revolution of 1920. He was exiled to Iran by the British after their occupation of Iraq, and he spent the rest of his life in Bakhtaran (Kermanshah).

⁴ Ayatullah Khalisi was one of the Shiah religious scholars and a leader of the movement in Iraq against the British occupation of that country. In 1922, the Iraqi monarch King Faysal banished more than forty of the Shiah *ulama* from Iraq. Ayatullah Khalisi was sent into exile in the Hijaz for ordering a boycott of the elections and for suspected opposition to the heads of Iraq. His expulsion from Iraq sparked strong opposition from the *ulama* and Muslim people of Iran, such that the Iranian government was compelled to hold talks with British and Iraqi officials to try to persuade them to allow Ayatullah Khalisi to travel to Iran from the Hijaz and the other *ulama* to return to Iraq. The Iranian government was successful in its efforts, but as Ayatullah Khalisi stepped onto Iranian soil at Bushehr, he was killed by a follower of the British. His works consist of *Al-anawin fi'l-Usul* and *Mukhtasar ar-Rasa'il wa'l-Wusul ila Kifayat al-Usul*.

Isfahan.¹ I was present on this occasion. Both the *ulama* from Isfahan and those from other Iranian cities, converged on Qum where they assembled and rebelled against the regime. However, the regime resorted to trickery and the movement was crushed. Whether defeat in fact resulted from the regime's trickery or whether it was due to other factors, the point is that it was indeed defeated. Yet another movement was embarked upon by the *ulama* of Khorasan.² The late Messrs Aqazadeh³ and Sayyid Yunus¹ along with other

¹ In September 1927, Rida Shah issued a decree which implicitly prohibited the clergy from carrying out some of their duties and from involvement in the country's affairs. His decree was in fact a declaration of war against the clergy. First reactions came when protests against the military service law were held by the people of Isfahan and about one hundred *ulama* and *mujtahids* of Isfahan, together with a group of other inhabitants of that city, traveled en masse to Qum. The "Qum migrants" as they became known, were led by one Haj Aqa Nurullah Ruhani. Upon arrival in Qum, the migrants called on the *ulama* and *maraji'* from across the country to join them in Qum in their show of opposition. About seven hundred clergymen responded to their call. Contemporaneous with this event, people in different Iranian cities held anti-government demonstrations. The spread of this opposition to his new policies compelled Rida Khan to respond. He sent some of his representatives along with his Prime Minister and Court Minister to Qum to speak with Haj Aqa Nurullah and the other *ulama*. Eventually, the government was forced to give in to the migrants' demands which included a review of the military service law; the selection of five *ulama* to take seats in the Parliament and the appointment of an overseer of Islamic laws in the towns and cities of Iran. However, Haj Aqa Nurullah, who had stipulated that the migrants would return to Isfahan only when their conditions were met and officially ratified, died under mysterious circumstances during the night of December 25, 1927. Subsequently, with the death of their leader, the protesters dispersed, returning to their respective home towns. Refer to *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*, vol. 4, p. 396 and *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 2, p. 157.

² 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 Aqazadeh were taken to Tehran to stand trial. See *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 2, p. 165.

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 for Khorasan in Iran and took up residence in 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

of their contemporaries, were arrested and taken to Tehran where they were imprisoned. I myself saw how the late Aqazadeh, may Allah be pleased with him, was seated on the ground with his turban removed, and how no one was allowed to go near him. He was led through the streets in this state, with his turban removed, and was taken to a court of law where he was tried. Throughout the whole of this time however, there was no sign of these political parties. These parties were not at all in evidence during these uprisings which were staged by the *ulama*. Yes, they existed, but they were inert.

Azerbaijan² was the spring-board of yet another movement during which the late Messrs Mirza Sadiq Aqa³ and Angaji⁴ were arrested and exiled for their participation in this campaign. Following a long period in exile, the late Mirza Sadiq Aqa never actually returned to Azerbaijan although he was held

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; Ash-Shahadat* and *Mabthath al-Fazz*. Refer to *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*, vol. 6, p. 252.

¹ Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Yunus Ardebili (1876-1959) was one of the famous Shiah *maraji'*. He left his place of birth (Ardebil) for Zanjan to study *fiqh* and *usul* under Akhund Mulla Qurban Ali Zanjani, and rational sciences [*ulum al-ma'qul*] under Akhund Mulla Sabz Ali Hakim. In 1892, he traveled to Najaf where he attended the theological centre studying under notable instructors. 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 as-Saadat at the shrine of Imam Rida (a). He is famous for authoring such books as *Dawreh-ye Kamil-e Fiqh* and *Risalat dar Qa'idah ladarar*. Refer to the *Encyclopedia of Shi'ism* and *Tarikh-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*.

² 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.

³ 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 Shiah during the first half of the twentieth century.

⁴ Haj Mirza Abu'l-Hasan Angaji (1862-1937) the son of Sayyid Muhammad Shaykh Shariat 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 Mamqani. 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 Riyad*.

in high regard by the people there. Instead however, he came to Qum where I would occasionally pay him a visit and where he in fact remained until the end of his life.

Someone else with whom I was acquainted, was the late Mudarris, may he rest in peace. He was yet another *alim* who stood in confrontation against oppression, against of the oppression of that man from Siyahkuh, that ruffian Rida Khan. He stood up in opposition in the Majlis... Other *ulama* had sent him to Tehran as a leading representative of theirs, yet he traveled to Tehran in a horse-drawn carriage. According to a reliable source, Mudarris had bought this carriage in Qum, and had personally ridden the horse several times during his journey to Tehran. Having reached the capital, he bought a modest house in which to live, where I would often go to visit him. I visited Mudarris, may Allah be pleased with him, regularly. He was the most popular Member of Parliament in Tehran. He used to stand alone and fearlessly speak out against oppression; and he enjoyed a following which included people like Malik ash-Shuara'.¹ But in spite of this following, it was he who stood up and spoke out against oppression and against the injustices committed by that man (Rida Khan).

This all happened during the time when the Russian government had sent an ultimatum to Iran and when its soldiers had entered Iran, advancing as far as Qazvin. I can't remember exactly what it was that Russia wanted from Iran, but it is documented in history, and it concerns a matter which would have more or less reduced Iran to servitude; a matter which the Russians insisted on being ratified in the Iranian Majlis. The matter was taken to the Majlis and everyone there was at a loss as to what course of action they should take, hence, they remained silent in their stupor. A foreign journal recounts how a clergyman came and stood at the back of the speaker's platform, his hands trembling from age and infirmity; and the journal quotes him as saying something along these lines: "It may be the will of Allah that our liberty and sovereignty shall be taken away from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands," He then cast a negative vote, and

¹ Muhammad Taqi Bahar known as Malik ash-Shuara' was a great Iranian poet and scholar. During the Constitutional Revolution, he was one of the friends and followers of Sayyid Hasan Mudarris. His revolutionary essays and poems written at the time of Rida Khan's suppression were the cause of his incarceration and banishment from one town to another on many occasions. Bahar was elected to the Parliament on several occasions.

others, finding courage, followed suit, thus dismissing the ultimatum. As for the Russians, there wasn't a damned thing they could do about it.¹

This is the policy politicians usually follow. Firstly they play the bogeyman to see how their opponent reacts. Should their opponent stand up and confront them, then they beat a retreat; but should the poor opponent step back, then they close in. Animals also behave in this way. An animal also has this property, whereby it comes forward at first to sass out its opponent. If the latter takes the offensive, then the animal runs away; but if its opponent flees, then the animal chases after it. This is normal practice for an animal. And so we see what a fearless opponent this clergyman, Mudarris, was. He was someone who would stand up to a great power, who confronted a power as great as Russia. He was someone who, to quote the aforementioned journal, stood up with trembling hands and said: "It may well be the will of Allah that our liberty and sovereignty shall be taken away from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands." He then cast a negative vote; and others, finding courage, did the same. Now, wouldn't you say that this clergyman is worthy of appreciation? And what about these past movements...and this recent movement which led to the event of Khordad 15 and again, all of those lives given by the people? During the movement of

¹ In May 1911, the Iranian government recruited sixteen American financial experts—headed by Morgan Shuster—to reorganize 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 Anzali 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. 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 Iranian history," gathered outside the parliament building shouting, "Independence or Death". However, Premier Samsam as-Saltanah, 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-e Bist Saleh-ye Iran*.

Khordad 15, it was the religious scholars who were at the forefront; it was the *ulama* ; and this has continued to be the case right down to the present. Even now it is the religious scholars who create uproar and make their voices heard more than anyone else. Of course some of those from the university are also now involved in this struggle; they too are playing a part in the movement as are the rest of the people. But it is the *ulama* that they follow and not anyone else. A great number of the *ulama* from Tehran have been imprisoned by the regime; many of the preachers and the *ulama* have been arrested and sent to prison where they have been kept for several days and where they have undergone persecution.¹

My good men, you are mistaken in believing that you want Islam but not the mullah. How can you have Islam without the mullah? Again, it is these very mullahs who step forward and who get things done. It is they who sacrifice their lives. Even now some of our mullahs are in prison; some of our *ulama*, our self-sacrificing *ulama*, are in prison as we speak, refusing to give in to these acts of oppression. They are approached by agents of the regime who ask them to express regret for their actions, but they do not comply. The things I have so far discussed are just some of the things that I have personally witnessed during my lifetime, many other such things having by now escaped my memory; and as for incidents from an earlier period in history, since I am no historian I am not really in a position to discuss them. However, with regard to the grievance I wish to voice against these intellectuals, I would ask them not to brush aside this powerful force which has the support of the nation; and not to dismiss the *ulama* arguing that: “We want Islam, but we don’t want the mullah”. This is against reason; it does not make political sense. You must welcome the *ulama* with open arms; and should they be found wanting in their knowledge of political affairs, then come together and give them the political instruction they need. The relationship they have with the people is much better than yours. They command a greater influence over the people than you do, indeed, you have no such influence. They are influential among the people. Each mullah carries weight within his own parish. Those of you, who are concerned about Islam and who say that you want Islam, are not to say that you want Islam but that you don’t want the *akhund*. You should say that you want Islam and that you want the *akhund* too.

¹ Nearly fifty-three clergymen were arrested and imprisoned during the bloody events of June 5, 1963 [Khordad 15, 1342 AHS].

If an *akhund* is unaware of certain political issues for example, then you are to make a joint effort to help him. You are to teach him about these political issues so that he may then practice what he has learnt, and as a result, is able to retain the nation's support thus enabling you to administer the country. If you want to engage in struggle alone, without assistance from the *akhund*, then you will remain oppressed by others till doomsday. You are to come together, to unite, to be brothers together. Don't spurn those within the clergy. The latter constitute an imperishable force; they constitute the power of the nation.

Therefore, do not brush the power of the nation aside by saying that you don't want to have anything to do with the clergy. No matter how much you may say this, the fact remains that the people certainly do want the clergy to be involved. You are but an isolated group compared to the rest of the people, people who indeed want the *ulama* to be involved in things. People such as those in the bazaar or the ordinary man in the street, they all want the *ulama* to be involved. Therefore, while I feel a sense of attachment and fondness toward certain intellectuals—intellectuals who serve Islam, and in particular those who are abroad, those in America, Europe and India for example, with whom I correspond and who are at the service of Islam, who want to serve Islam, who have a love of Islam, and who want to eliminate oppression, on occasion having firmly resolved certain difficulties which have arisen abroad in the past—at the same time, I believe that they should not disregard those services rendered by the *ulama* of Islam and the *akhunds*, arguing that “We want Islam minus the *akhund*”. Don't you see that this is not possible? Islam and the *akhund* are inseparable entities. To say “We want Islam minus the *akhund*”, is like saying “We want Islam, but an Islam which does not concern itself with politics”. Indeed, this is the extent to which Islam and the *akhund* are intertwined. There is no way that you could have Islam without the *akhund*. The Holy Prophet (*s*) was also an *akhund*; he was one of the greatest *akhunds* of all time. The Prophet was the *akhund* above all *akhunds*. And Hadrat Ja'far as-Sadiq (*a*), he too was an *alim* of Islam. These men were the *fuqaha* of Islam; they stand supreme among the *fuqaha* of Islam. So how on earth can you now say “I don't want the *akhund*”?! Indeed, this is why I nurse a grievance against these intellectuals.

However, I also have a complaint to make against the honorable gentlemen of the clergy. They too are guilty of overlooking many factors. They too, because of their purity of heart, are influenced by the malicious propaganda which is put out by the regime. The latter dreams up some machination or other daily. It continually makes an issue out of nothing so

that the prime cause of our suffering will be overlooked and the *ulama* will become inattentive. That is to say, there are certain elements which often purposely create a sensation, thus causing some predicament or other to arise. Every so often some kind of trouble crops up in Iran; and at such times, instead of the honorable preachers, the learned *ulama*, concerning themselves with the political matters found in Islam, with the economic matters found in Islam, they spend their time talking about “this person” being a heathen, “that person” being an apostate, and “so-and-so” being a Wahhabi. They accuse the scholar who has toiled hard for fifty years, and whose knowledge of *fiqh* is more thorough than that of the majority of themselves, of being a Wahhabi.¹ But it is wrong of them to say such things. You are not to create a rift between yourselves. If you continually reject people one by one by saying that this person is a Wahhabi, that person is an unbeliever, and so-and-so is whatever, then at the end of the day who will remain?

I mentioned earlier that I am no expert as far as history is concerned, but nevertheless there are certain things which I have seen or heard in the past and have committed to memory. One such thing concerns something which the Noble Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him and his family, did following his capture of Hunayn; something from which two lessons can be learned for those who are keen to understand. On the occasion in question the Noble Prophet did two things: firstly, according to historical accounts, when he heard that one of the leaders of these unbelievers had got away and fled to Jeddah and that he had boarded a boat there with the intention of escaping, the Prophet handed his *aba* [cloak] to someone, ordering for it to be taken to the escapee and for the latter to be brought back for he had been spared;² and

¹ It refers to Ayatullah Muntaziri.

² This was Safwan ibn Umayyah, one of the leaders of the unbelievers who, upon the Prophet’s triumphant return to Mecca in 630 CE, fled the city for Jeddah from where he hoped to go on to Yemen. Umayr ibn Wahb approached the Prophet and told him of Safwan ibn Umayyah’s flight, saying: “Oh Messenger of God, Safwan is one of the elders of this city who because of his fear of you has fled to Jeddah to throw himself at the mercy of the sea. Grant him quarter.” The Messenger of God replied: “It is granted.” Umayr ibn Wahb then said: “Oh Messenger of God, give me a token that I may take to him so that he will believe he has been granted amnesty.” The Prophet handed him the turban he had worn upon his head when he had entered Mecca after the city had surrendered to him. Umayr took it and set off to Jeddah. He arrived there just as Safwan was about to board a ship. Safwan returned with him to Mecca and went to the Prophet and said: “This man tells me that you have granted me quarter.” The Prophet replied: “That is so.” Safwan ibn Umayyah said: “Grant me a two-month respite. The Prophet answered: “I will grant you a four-month respite.”

secondly, he again behaved in a similar manner with Abu Sufyan¹ (and later with Abu Sufyan's offspring), a person who throughout his whole life continually refused to accept the faith of Islam. Thus, when the spoils which had been won during the Battle of Hunayn were brought forward for distribution, in spite of all that this Abu Sufyan and those pagans of the Quraysh had done in the past, the Prophet gave generously to them all, giving as many as a hundred camels to one, three hundred camels to another, and goodness knows how many camels and other things to the rest. And he did this even though he knew that they were pagans; even though he was well aware of them being polytheists. As a result however, the devotees protested that their own share of the spoils had been inadequate and that these unbelievers had been too greedy. In reply to these protests the Prophet said: "They (the unbelievers) have taken camels away with them whereas you have got me with you. Wouldn't you prefer to have the Prophet of God with you rather than some camels?!"²

Hence, we see what a noble person this man was. Irrespective of his prophetic role, we can see what an exalted mind he had. And at the same

¹ Abu Sufyan was one of the aristocratic and influential figures of the Quraysh tribe during the Age of Ignorance (before the dawn of Islam). It is said that he was an exciter of discord and was either the instigator of each disagreement which occurred among the Quraysh or played an active role in the dissension. According to one narrative, he lost the sight of both his eyes during the course of two battles. Abu Sufyan opposed the Prophet and the message of Islam until the defeat of Mecca in 630 CE when he embraced Islam and was granted amnesty by the Prophet. He died *circa* 651 or 654 CE.

² After his victory in the Battle of Hunayn, the Prophet gave most of the spoils to the Quraysh and the Meccans for he knew that this would reconcile them to Islam. However, the Ansar (=the helpers, the epithet given to the Medinans who helped Muhammad after his migration to Medina) received only a small portion of the booty and this caused them much discontent. When the Prophet of God was informed of their objections, he gathered them together and said: "Are you now upset over a small amount of the wealth of this world that I have used to reconcile some hearts and thus strengthen Islam and you don't consider important the great blessings that God has bestowed upon you and the fact that he has guided you to Islam? Oh Ansar, are you not content that some take with them camels and sheep while you take with yourselves the Messenger of God? I swear by God in whose hands lies my life that if the people had all gone along one path and the Ansar along another, I would have gone along the path of the Ansar. And had I not migrated here, I would still have been one of the Ansar. Oh God, grant forgiveness to the Ansar and the sons of the Ansar and their grandsons." These words of the Prophet had such an effect on the hearts of the Ansar that they began to weep aloud. Their shaykhs and leaders stood up before him and kissed his hands and feet. Then they said: "We are content with God the Almighty and with your mission and are happy with this portion." Refer to *Kitab al-Irshad* (The Book of Guidance) by Shaykh al-Mufid translated by I.K.A. Howard, p. 90; *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* by Hugh Kennedy pp. 43-44 and *Tafsir al-Mizan*, vol. 18, p. 62.

time we see how the beneficence shown by the Prophet toward the pagans of the Quraysh led the latter, who were probably impure at heart, to at least make an outward appearance of being Muslim, and to therefore join the fold of Islam. Furthermore, we see how admirably, how marvelously, the Prophet replied to those who voiced protest, thus making them content.

Returning to the present-day situation, if some patent error is to be found in the work of those who are currently striving for the sake of Islam, and who are writing material to this end, then you are to rectify this error. As ones who are learned, you are to rectify this error and are not to ostracize the persons concerned. Do not drive them away. Indeed, today we need the support of as many people as possible. Right now, we are to make the most of every single person. At times like this, when whatever the regime writes is against us; when all its measures and propaganda are aimed against us; when neither the press nor the radio are free to convey our message or to broadcast even one word of our argument; at a time when our hands are bound and we have been placed in a strait-jacket whereby we cannot get our message across and have no means of propagation at our disposal; indeed, we need every single person we can get. Therefore, even supposing that there are a few mistakes to be found in the work of those who are writing to promote Shi'ism, you are to rectify these mistakes. Do not ostracize these people; do not drive them away. Do not reject those from the university. These are the people in whose hands this country's destiny will lie in the future. It is not you who will become a government minister in the future. You and I are not the country's future ministers. We are in a different profession. Tomorrow, this country's destiny will lie in the hands of these people from the university. It is they who will become Members of Parliament, government ministers or whatever. Therefore, you are to be on friendly terms with these people. Do not persist in your rejection of them. Do not continue to mount the pulpit and denounce them. Mount the pulpit and advise them instead of reviling them. Where will reviling people get you? Advise them. Welcome these credit-worthy fronts which are currently active. Like yourselves, their members have also suffered imprisonment and persecution; they too have suffered exile; they too have been forced to live abroad and are afraid to return to their own country. If you ostracize those who are currently writing and publishing material abroad on Islamic and religious issues, then tomorrow, should the country's destiny fall into the hands of some of these people, what will they do with the future generation of *akhunds* having been tormented so by *akhunds* in the past? Everyone must join hands together.

Both the country of Iran and the Islamic countries as a whole, of which Iran is but a member, are hovering on the brink of a disaster. God knows how distressed and worried I sometimes become when I think of how many days Iran would be able to survive on its own supplies, if, God forbid, it should become involved in a war. Experts say that were these supplier countries' to cut their supplies to Iran, then the latter would only be able to sustain itself for a thirty-three-day period. Yet what kind of a country are we talking about here? We are in fact talking of an Iran whose province of Khorasan alone was capable of supplying the country's needs all year round, in addition to producing a surplus for export to others. Yes, just one of its provinces—the province of Khorasan. But what did they do? They went and implemented land reforms! They implemented those damned land reforms, and as a result all the land has been taken from the people and we have now reached a stage where Iran's total agricultural produce is enough to suffice for a mere thirty-three-day period—if the published figures are accurate that is, otherwise the period could in fact be even shorter still.

What would happen if, for just one day, these ships and those people¹ who have built a market here in which to sell their goods did not come to Iran? Yes indeed, that is what land reforms' actually means: the opening up of a market here for use by foreign countries. These countries have been known to have poured wheat into the sea in the past; they have had a wheat surplus and so they have poured it into the sea.² But why should they do this when instead they can implement land reforms' in Iran and export this wheat surplus to her, receiving cash payment in return? They have left our agriculture in a paralyzed state, everything now coming to us from there, from abroad. Just take a look at the various journals. In them you can sometimes see with what swelling pride the government boastfully brags about how much wheat it has imported, how much barley it has imported and so on. But you bungling idiots, don't you see this is in fact something of which you should be ashamed! You are the ones who should be exporting wheat. You are the ones whose province of Azerbaijan alone was once enough to supply you with all of your agricultural needs as well as producing a surplus for you to export. Yet now you sit and boast about being the ones

¹ The Americans.

² According to a United Nations report, while millions of people in developing countries were dying from malnutrition because of the shortage of food, America decided not to cultivate millions of hectares of farmland in order to stop the decrease in the price of agricultural commodities. America controls the distribution and price of wheat by destroying it (throwing it into the sea) or preventing its cultivation. See *The Food Crisis*, p. 16.

who have to import goods! Yes indeed, you should be ashamed of these land reforms' of yours and of whatever other reforms' you have brought about.

To return to my grievance against the honorable gentlemen of the clergy, I ask them not to divorce these other fronts from themselves, but instead to bring all the different fronts together. Moreover, those in the clergy must value this group of people who are striving in the path of Islam and who are writing material to this end. They (the clergy) must make use of these people. My good men of the clergy, extend the right hand of fellowship. Do not talk of a deprave, libertine university and...do not continually divorce other fronts from yourselves. And the same goes for the members of other fronts; they too must not divorce the clergy from themselves by saying, for example, that they are reactionaries and old-fashioned. In what way can the *akhund* be said to be reactionary? How can the *akhund* be said to be reactionary when he stands as a forerunner of progress? Thus, we have a situation where one front accuses the clergy of reactionism and so on, while another front makes defamatory statements about those in the university saying so-and-so is an atheist and so on. But this is totally wrong.

Both fronts are to extend a brotherly hand to each other, so go ahead and do this and set out a joint course of action which you can both follow. Today we have been presented with an opportunity. Iran would not be in the terrible state it is now if this were not the case. This is an opportunity which has been granted us and which, if capitalized upon, presents us with an ideal opportunity. The gentlemen must avail themselves of this opportunity. They must protest in writing. Some writers from certain parties are already busy making such written protests to which they are also adding their signatures. Such people write, air their views and sign their work.¹ You are to do the same, and you are to get a hundred *ulama* to sign your work. You must hammer the message home; you must come out with the problems which are facing Iran. Now is the time to say these things; and if you do so then you will achieve results. However, my concern is that should this opportunity be wasted and should this man's² position be strengthened, then the regime will come down on the people so hard that they won't know what hit them; and it

¹ By way of example one can cite the Iranian Society for the Defense of Freedom and Human Rights affiliated to the International Committee for Human Rights in America, the Assembly of Iranian Writers and the Assembly of Attorneys. Two months before the present speech, Iranian writers, academics and politicians issued a statement in which, without mentioning the Shah's name, they called for the government to act according to the constitutional law and for the rights and freedom of the people to be respected. Refer to *Zendegi-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [The Political Life of Imam Khomeini], p. 366.

² The Shah.

is you clergymen who will bear the brunt of this attack. This is what is worrying me. Therefore, do not waste this opportunity. All fronts must unite and write about the problems facing Iran. Announce them to the world. If it is not possible to do so in Iran, then send what you have written abroad; they will publish it there for you. Somehow send your work here (abroad) and we will send it to be published. Get your criticisms down on paper; protest against the regime itself as others have... We ourselves have seen how several people have already criticized the regime in writing; we have seen how they have got away with saying many things to which they have given their signature. This is an opportunity not to be missed so do not let it slip by.¹

¹ Jimmy Carter, the Democrat candidate in the US presidential elections, was voted in as the new American President over his rival from the Republican Party on November 3, 1976 [Aban 12, 1355 AHS]. He took office on January 20, 1977 [Dey 30, 1355 AHS] espousing defense of human rights as one of the main planks of his platform. This may have been a customary gesture expected by the audience at home, but the reasoning behind the emphasis on human rights was prompted by other objectives too, among them the need to: improve America's image, particularly in the wake of the brutal events of the Korean and Vietnamese wars, and mollify the still strong global anti-US feelings brought about by those events; increase the propaganda against and psychological pressure on the Kremlin and attract disgruntled Russian elements to the American side; and to place US-installed or backed dictators in a favorable light by making them appear to be making strides toward the improvement of human rights and the democratization of their countries and thus meriting further US support or aid—in this way, the US government hoped to prevent uprisings against dictators in its client states and thereby secure its own interests in the various regions of the world. Throughout the presidential campaign, the Shah had put his support and oil money firmly behind the Republican candidate, Gerald Ford. The Shah's ambassador in London wrote in his diary on August 8 that the Shah "fears that Jimmy Carter may have Kennedy-type pretensions' and would much prefer to see Ford re-elected." (p. 23 of Parviz Radji's *In the Service of the Peacock Throne, The Diaries of the Shah's Last Ambassador to London*). In his many years of dealing with US Presidents, the Shah had found his despotic nature and policies were less censured by the Republicans than the Democrats. This was confirmed throughout the 1976 campaign when the Democrats criticized the torture and political repression which was increasingly becoming more commonplace under the Shah in Iran and used his abuse of human rights to discredit the Republicans in their support of him. Upon assuming office, Carter, confident in the stability of the Shah's regime, placed Iran at the top of the list of those countries which were expected to at least put on a show of liberalization and present some modicum of respect for human rights (although, as was to be seen, Carter would in no way allow abuse of the latter to stand in the way of US lucrative ties with Iran). Hoveyda was then dismissed from office and Jamshid Amuzegar took his place. A Society for the Defense of Human Rights was formed by some of the more moderate elements of the opposition. The administrating body of this society comprised of Mahdi Bazargan, Hasan Nazi, Ali Asghar, Haj Sayyid Jawadi, Ahmad Sadr Haj Sayyid Jawadi, Rahmatullah Muqaddam Maraghi'i, Lahiji and Minachi.

The regime in Iran is now doing its best to straighten things out with the imperialist powers. It is seeking to fully establish its puppet status with these powers once and for all, for it has not yet been given their full assurance on this. It is therefore busy making plans either to bring the representatives of these powers over here or for its own representatives to go there or whatever in order to straighten things out for good.¹ And my worry is that, God forbid, should this opportunity be lost, and should this regime receive the assurance it is seeking from the imperialist powers, then unlike former times, untold damage will be inflicted upon Islam.

I beseech Almighty God to grant success to you all; and to grant glory to Islam. O God, in the name of the Immaculate Imams, exalt Islam; bestow dignity and greatness upon it; awaken us from the slumber of ignorance; bring together all of our different fronts; and enable us to speak with one voice. May God's peace mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ Initial doubts which hung over the future course of US-Iran relations upon the new President assuming office were cleared up when in November 1977 the Shah traveled to Washington to seek further support for his regime from the Carter administration. Carter had earlier approved billions of dollars worth of military sales to Iran signaling that no drastic change in the relationship was to come about even in the light of scant improvement in Iran's human rights record. Gary Sick in his book *All Fall Down*, p. 78 says: "The tone of policy in Washington had changed sharply from the days of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, but the emphasis was definitely on gentle persuasion, not heavy pressure or fundamental shifts of alliances. If that was not evident to the Shah prior to his arrival, there could have been little doubt in his mind after the nearly five hours of face-to-face meetings with President Carter on November 15 and 16."

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-Six

Date: January 1978¹ (AD) / Dey 1356 (AHS) / Safar 1398 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: The crimes committed during the fifty years of illegal Pahlavi rule

Occasion: The murder of the people of Qum on January 9, 1978 (Dey 19, 1356 AHS)

Those present: Religious students, clergymen and others

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech

Imam Khomeini (pbuh) saw the martyrdom of his eldest son as being a “hidden blessing from God.” Analysts believe that the death of Haj Aqa Mustafa actually hastened the victory of Imam’s movement at its most sensitive stage. His death inflamed the people of the holy city of Qum and soon Tabriz, Yazd, Isfahan, Tehran and other Iranian cities were engulfed in the flames of protest.

After the martyrdom of Haj Aqa Mustafa, many of the *maraji-i taqlid*, the *ulama*, *fuzala*, clergymen, merchants from the bazaar, university students and some of the political parties and groups, who until that day had no strong pretext or motive for showing opposition or for loud cries of remonstrance, fulminated against the Shah’s regime through statements issued in their individual styles, from the radical to the conservative. When the regime aimed its next blow against Imam Khomeini, protest overflowed into rebellion, and rebellion in turn, matured into revolution.

On January 7, 1978 (Dey 17, 1356 AHS), just one week after President Carter had been in Tehran lauding the Shah as a wise statesman beloved of his people, SAVAK ordered the publication in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of a scurrilous article written under the pseudonym Ahmad Rashidi Mutlaq and entitled “Red and Black Imperialism in Iran” attacking Imam as an agent of foreign powers. While pursuing a particular aim in the publication of the article, the regime also wanted to avenge itself on Imam and his followers. The particularly pungent parts of the attack attracted the attention of the leader of the movement. One part of the calumnious article read: “The inception of the Shah-People Revolution on Bahman 6, 2521 of the imperial calendar (February 26, 1963/1341 AHS) united red and black imperialism in

¹- In *Sahifeh-yi Imam*, vol. 1, p. 267, the present speech is said to have been delivered on January 9 (Dey 19), but in view of Imam’s remarks this is a definite mistake, the said speech having been made at least several days following the event which occurred on January 9.

Iran, each one of which apparently had a special plan and design in our country, and this warm-hearted co-operation manifested itself in the riots of Khordad 15 and 16, 2522 (June 5 and 6, 1964) in Tehran.....Ruhullah Khomeini was a suitable agent for this design and the red and black reaction found him to be the most apt individual for opposition to the revolution in Iran.”

The public reaction was immediate outrage. The following day Qum came to a virtual standstill as the shops and bazaar closed and lessons at the theological centre were suspended. People flooded to the houses of the *maraji* and to the teachers at the theological schools in the city, demanding that something be done to put an end to the overt insolence shown by the regime to Imam and the clerical establishment.

On January 9 (Dey 19), as the people of Qum joined religious students in peaceful demonstrations and the houses of the teachers bustled with activity as people came and went, the protests took on a wider dimension. On the afternoon of the same day, the demonstrators gathered in the streets around the home of Ayatullah Husayn Nuri¹ - one of the teachers at the Qum theological centre. Ayatullah Nuri delivered a trenchant and revolutionary speech in which he attacked the policies of the Shah's regime and by exalting the personality of Imam Khomeini and honouring the uprising of Khordad 15 and subsequent events, he avouched that the uprising of the people in support of Imam's movement would continue until the final victory. When he had finished his speech, the demonstrators set off again, but as they passed by Shuhada Square (then Fatimi Crossroads), armed agents of the regime opened fire on them. The streets around the square and the Hujjatiyah Madrasa in Qum became the scenes of further demonstrations and the sound of machine-gun fire and shouts of “Long Live Khomeini” and “Death to the Pahlavi Dynasty” could be heard around the central districts of the city late into the night. The demonstrations were suppressed with heavy loss of life. The hospitals of the city were filled with the injured, and as people flocked there to donate blood, the response of the regime was to send its agents during the night to steal the bodies of some of the martyrs and take away some of the injured. This was the first of a series of demonstrations that progressively unfurled across the country.

Demonstrations held in Mashhad were described by the *Rastakhiz* newspaper as an “unholy alliance of red and black reactionaries.” On January 7, 1978 (Dey 17, 1356 AHS), which coincided with the anniversary of the

¹ Situated in Bigdili Road, in Safa`iya Street, Qum.

enforcement of Riḍa Khan's decree forbidding women from wearing the *hijab*, the pious women of Mashhad donned their black chadors and took to the streets in protest at the anti-Islamic policies of the regime. This incident attracted the attention of the world's press and received widespread coverage from the big news agencies. Until the end, barely a single region remained untouched by revolutionary fervour.

As incidents like these continued to take place throughout the country, Muhammad Riḍa Shah and his wife Farah embarked on trips abroad to give the impression that all was under control and events unfurling in Iran were very insignificant and did not warrant concern. As Farah travelled to Egypt as the guest of Mrs Jahan Sadat, the wife of the Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, the Shah went to America.

Prior to this, the US President, Jimmy Carter, had spent New Year's Eve and New Year's Day with the Shah in Iran as an intermediate stop in his whirlwind visit to Poland and India. During this visit, Carter held meetings with the Shah and King Husayn of Jordan, who had also been invited, and attended a state dinner and New Years' Eve party. The state dinner proved to be the most notable event of the visit. President Carter used the occasion as an opportunity to reassure the Shah once again that the US-Iran relationship would remain sound and during a toast to the Shah, he produced a line that he later had reason to regret when he said: "Iran is an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world. This is a great tribute to you, Your Majesty, and to your leadership and to the respect, admiration and love which your people give to you. There is no leader in the world for whom I feel such deep gratitude and personal friendship as the Shah¹." Just one week later demonstrations engulfed the country which were to culminate in the downfall of the Shah's regime.

Before his trip to Iran, Carter had said that he would demonstrate in Tehran just how much importance he placed on Iran-US relations². The Shah too had accepted with a sense of pride and power the words of the American Ambassador in Iran that the friendship between the two countries had never before been so close and sincere and Iran and America would not be parted from one another under any circumstances³. The Iranian Ambassador in the United States also reiterated that: "No country has observed the principles of human rights like Iran"!

¹ *Tarikh-i Rawabit-i Khariji-yi Iran*, p. 304.

² The *Rastakhiz* newspaper, December 16, 1977 (Azar 25, 1356 AHS).

³ *Ibid.* December 6 and 16, 1977 (Azar 15 and 25, 1356 AHS).

After receiving news of the events of January 9 (Dey 19) and reports of the killings, Imam Khomeini offered his condolences to the oppressed people of Iran in the text of a hard-hitting speech which he delivered in response to the atrocities. In this speech, Imam also referred to Carter's recent trip to Iran, commented on the fifty years of crimes by the illegal Pahlavi monarchy and spoke of the corruption in the army, university and imperial Parliament. At the end of his speech, he warned the people against division and disunity and urged all classes to unite together in order to maintain the struggle against the regime. On January 22 (Bahman 2), Imam Khomeini also issued a proclamation in which he referred to the events of January 9 (Dey 19) and severely condemned American interference in the country and the crimes of the Shah.

The numerous acts of abomination perpetrated by the Shah during the period from Khordad 15 1342 (June 5, 1964) until 1356 (1978); the unfolding anger of and increasing protests by the people; the warnings and revelations of Imam and his training of vigilant and revolutionary followers during this period; the increase in the level of public awareness; and perhaps most importantly the martyrdom of Haj Aqa Mustafa, created circumstances whereby the killings of January 9 (Dey 19) in Qum and Imam's speech and proclamation in this regard opened a new chapter in the continuation of the Khordad 15 movement. The repeated demonstrations by the people of Iran from January 9, 1978 (Dey 19, 1356 AHS) until February 11, 1979 (Bahman 22, 1357 AHS) led to victory for the Iranian people and the collapse of the Shah's regime. June 5, 1964 (Khordad 15, 1342 AHS); November 4, 1965 (Aban 13, 1343 AHS); January 7 and 9, 1978 (Dey 17 and 19 1356 AHS) are particularly heart-rending dates and turning points in the history of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

Speech Number Twenty-Six

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

I am at a loss as to whom I should offer my condolences on this tragedy, this great tragedy.¹ Should I offer them to the Most Noble Messenger, peace be upon him and his family, to the *Masumin*, peace be upon them, to Hadrat Hujjat (the Twelfth Imam) peace be upon him, or to the Islamic *ummah*, to the Muslims, to the oppressed in all countries of the world, or should I offer them to the oppressed nation of Iran or the respected people of Qum. Should I condole with the bereaved, with the fathers and mothers who have borne so much suffering, or with the theological schools and the *ulama*? To whom should I offer my condolences and whom should I thank for these events that have come about for Islam. The awakened nation of Iran is plundered and dishonored, it suffers many tragedies and yet it stands firm in the face of these and it sacrifices lives. They have opened up fire on the people with machine-guns without right or reason, and so far, according to the information that we have received, they have killed seventy people. However, we have been given varying reports and some news agencies report that a hundred people have been killed; the most oft-repeated figure is one hundred or two hundred and fifty dead, but some telegrams that have arrived here from European countries or America speak of three hundred dead, so it is still not clear how many have actually been killed. The number of injured is also not yet known. The correct figure will probably come to light later, if that is possible, if the regime has not thrown the bodies of the people into the Hawd-e Sultan Lake, as they did on Khordad 15 [June 5,

¹ It refers to the killings of January 9 [Dey 19] which took place following the printing of the defamatory article entitled: "The Red and Black Reaction in Iran" which appeared in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of January 7, 1978 [Dey 17, 1356 AHS]. The said article which openly insulted both Imam Khomeini and the other *maraji*, carried the fictitious author's name "Ahmad Rashidi Mutlaq"; and after its publication, the people were so enraged that they immediately collected all of the newspapers in question, set them ablaze, and then began to shout out anti-Shah slogans in the streets. Two days later, on January 9, the theological teaching centers closed down and the general public, including those from the bazaar, headed for the homes of the *maraji* to demonstrate their support for the clergy. On their way however, they were suddenly attacked by armed troops who immediately opened fire on them.

1964].¹ I wonder if the true figure will ever be discovered. We have received confirmed reports that some people went to the hospitals to donate their blood, but they were arrested and hence some of those in need of blood died. The regime's agents didn't give the bodies of those killed to their relatives, and if the latter persisted, they made them pay five hundred tumans before they handed the bodies over to them.² Whom should we thank for this and with whom should we condole?

We should be thankful to the Iranian nation. It is an awakened nation; it is a vigilant, renitent nation in the face of oppression. The Iranian people witness so much injustice, they sacrifice so many lives yet still they resist, still they persevere, and this perseverance will bear fruit. There is no doubt that when a nation awakes, when even its women rise up against the government and against these oppressors, it will be victorious, God willing.

I have heard that at the time of Rida Khan, the father of this Khan, the late Mudarris told him that he believed Shaykh ar-Ra'is³ had once said that he feared a bull with horns for it had a weapon but no intellect or wisdom [*aq̄l*]. Even if this does not prove to be a saying of Shaykh ar-Ra'is, it is still a wise adage, for what heinous acts are perpetrated when weapons fall into the hands of the impious and the unworthy. From the very beginning, man has suffered because weapons have been in the hands of impious, unsuitable people. From the very time that man became civilized, as he believed, weapons have been in the hands of the impious and all the problems which mankind has had to suffer stem from this. So long as these unworthy weapon-bearers remain armed, mankind will not find its ultimate destiny. One of the missions of the prophets was to disarm the unworthy, injudicious weapon-bearers, but they could not, for these people held power and authority. Worthy people too in every age tried to wrest the arms from the hands of the unworthy, but they were also unsuccessful. So it has been the unworthy, injudicious and ungodly people who have always been armed and this is the cause of all the problems that you witness (in the world). From the very beginning, when man first came to this earth and the door of struggle between the just and the unjust was opened, and throughout all ages, arms have been in the hands of the unjust—very rarely has it been otherwise. We

¹ The Hawd-e Sultan (Qum Lake) is situated on the lowest stretches of the plain which lies between the cities of Tehran, Qum and Saveh; and it is a well-known fact that the corpses of the victims of Khordad 15 were deposited into this lake by government agents.

² Those who came to claim the corpses of either the people killed during the demonstration or those who had been executed following a predetermined trial, were asked by the Shah's agents to make a payment which would cover what they termed bullet costs³.

³ Avicenna.

don't need to delve far back into history to see what crimes have been committed because of this; we only need to look at the wars which have occurred over the past hundred years. The First World War,¹ the Second World War,² the Vietnamese War³ of recent history and the killings that

¹ World War One, which broke out in 1914 and came to an end in 1918, was initially sparked off by an Austrian attack against Serbia, other countries, including the Soviet Union, Germany, France, Belgium, Britain, Japan, America, Finland, Bulgaria, Italy and Hungary also later becoming involved in the battle. This war left almost 13,500,000 people dead and numerous cities razed to the ground.

² World War Two broke out in 1939 with a German attack on Poland; and in support of the latter, the French and British governments subsequently declared war on Germany. Italy, Somalia, India, Libya, Yugoslavia, Greece, the Soviet Union, Iran, America, Japan, Algeria, Morocco, Romania, and several other countries were all involved in this war. On August 6, 1945 [Mordad 15, 1324 AHS], America dropped the first atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, and this, together with a second attack on Nagasaki three days later, led directly to Japan's surrender and to the end of the Second World War—a war which claimed the lives of 39,000,000 people.

³ Vietnam was occupied by the French in 1880, but in 1940, following the defeat of France in Europe, the reins of the government in this country were seized by the Japanese. In 1945, the year of Japan's surrender to the Allies, France yet again set its sights on Vietnam but this time it experienced a defeat at the hands of the latter. In 1954, as a result of the agreements concluded at the Geneva Conference, the temporary partition of Vietnam into two areas of North Vietnam and South Vietnam came about. An American-backed government was installed in South Vietnam which, in its attempts to consolidate the regime's position, came down hard on all dissidents who were thus sent to labor camps. Between the years 1956 and 1960, as much as one billion dollars was given by America to the South Vietnamese government by way of military and economic aid, in addition to military equipment which was also dispatched by the US to support the regime there. In 1960 a guerrilla campaign was launched against the Vietnamese regime by South Vietnamese guerrilla forces known as the Vietcong'. Thousands of Vietcong members were either arrested or killed by both government and American forces throughout the following four years, until in 1964, America officially waged war with both North Vietnam and the Vietcong of South Vietnam. During the period which stretched from 1962 until 1968, more than 400,000 Vietcong members and North Vietnamese combatants were killed in war and conflict. From February 1965 until January 1968 alone, 2,582,000 bombs were dropped on the defenseless people of this country during 107,700 air raids which were carried out by US aircraft on North Vietnam; and in 1969, hundreds of the inhabitants of Mylai, a small village situated in South Vietnam, were killed in a general massacre which was carried out by American troops there. On August 10, 1969, approximately 500,000 young people from North Vietnam were reported to have been killed in the war. From 1971 until 1973 the Vietcong managed to topple down the South Vietnamese regime with several severe blows; and eventually in 1975, a defeated America was forced to withdraw from Vietnam. This withdrawal was concurrent with an all-out attack on South Vietnam which was staged by both the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese forces, and which resulted in the collapse of the South Vietnamese regime, the liberation of South Vietnam, and the latter's unification with North Vietnam. According to Western sources, the killing of each Vietcong member cost America as much as 350,000 dollars, let alone the moral, social and

accompanied them, these all came about because the arms were in the hands of the unworthy, they were the ones who had the weapons.

I myself can remember and have witnessed the bloodshed that has occurred over the past fifty years in Iran because of the unlawful rule of these criminals. Such sorrow and bitterness it has caused us. Perhaps some of you too share this sorrow or perhaps you are too young to know of everything that has happened, but I am old, I have witnessed the people's misfortunes and the crimes and killings perpetrated by these unjust weapon-bearers from the time that the first coup d'état was carried out.¹ I was in Arak then,² and the English criminals, the unjust British who possessed arms, armed an unworthy, ignoble Rida Khan and imposed him on the people. After World War Two began, and the British had kicked him out of Iran for disobeying them, they admitted in a broadcast over Radio Delhi that they had engineered the rise to power of this blackguard.³ At the time, the people suspected this to

psychological damages inflicted upon the American nation—damages which were in fact far greater than any economic losses it sustained.

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 Diya'uddin Ṭabataba'i 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 Ministerial Chairman 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 became elected as monarch. This article was ratified by the Majlis in spite of opposition voiced by the clergy and certain crusaders such as Mudarris.

² In 1920 (1299 AHS—the year of Rida Khan's coup d'état), having received an education in Khomein, Imam Khomeini went to the theological center of Arak where he continued his studies.

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 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 towards 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

be the case, but they didn't know all the facts because the evil propaganda of the time did not allow it. I have witnessed the indescribable crimes that he committed during his stay in power.

I cannot describe for you the sorrows of those days. I'm sure his heinous deeds have been recorded in the annals of history and God willing, after the overthrow of this evil monarchy, the historical facts will be disclosed and the records will be made available for you or for future generations to read. Then you may be able to understand a little better, that is if these accounts can describe what bloodshed he caused, how many of the *ulama* he incarcerated, how much pressure he brought to bear on this poor nation in order to impose uniform dress, how he hit the oppressed, how he humiliated the *ulama* and how many turbans he removed from the heads of the religious scholars. It is said that when this ungodly man went to Turkey and saw what misdeeds Ataturk had done there, he sent a telegram to his agents in Iran telling them to make the people wear uniform dress. At the time, he used the excuse that the farmers who worked out in the sun should wear a peaked cap so that they wouldn't be troubled by the sun—however, it was obvious that this was not the real reason for imposing this law. When he returned from his trip, then the pressures began in earnest.¹

A series of intense pressures and outrageous atrocities followed the issuance of this Uniform Dress Law. The *ulama* were tormented greatly because of this law, many of them were sent into exile and some of them

this course of action (i.e. the sending of Rida Khan into exile)". Refer also to *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye Muasir-e Iran*, vol.1, pp.127-128.

¹ When Rida Khan returned to Iran having visited Turkey and talking with Ataturk, he began to speak of modernization. Ataturk had taught him that the greatest barrier preventing the Westernization of a nation was the *ulama* and the clergy, and that only by foreshortening the arms of the latter was he himself able to persuade the men to wear a neck- or bow-tie and a hat and to prohibit the women from wearing the Islamic covering! Hence, in following Ataturk's example, and after consulting with Britain, Rida Khan also embarked upon a new program of "reforms". In a personally-issued writ, Rida Khan banned the donning of religious dress for all clergymen save a few who had been made an exception. Other steps taken by him in bringing about uniformity of social dress included the compulsory wearing of the Pahlavi hat (semi-brimmed), and later the Chapeau hat (full-brimmed), frock-coat and jacket. Regulations concerning the compulsory wearing of a hat, and the color and type of shoes and clothing which were to be worn, were conveyed via the governors of the various provinces in the form of official notices which were handed down to the latter from the Ministry of the Interior! But even this did not satisfy Rida Khan, who then began to consider further measures which could be taken to crush Islam and the Muslims in Iran. However, having been discharged from this mission, he did not actually get the chance to implement these measures but instead left his son to carry out the rest of his proposed plans.

were killed because of their objections to it.¹ The second excuse used to bring pressure on the people came when he called for the unveiling of women, which again he did in imitation of the ungodly Ataturk, the unjust, armed Ataturk. What a shameful act this was. God only knows how this nation of Iran suffered when he forced the women to remove their veils.² The veil of humanity was rent asunder. God knows which women he dishonored in this way, which people he humiliated. He forced the *ulama* at bayonet-point to attend celebratory parties with their wives, which they did with heavy hearts and which ended with the people crying. Other people as well, different groups in turn, were invited and obliged to attend parties with their wives. This was the freedom for women which Rida Shah enforced. He used bayonets and the police to compel the respected people, the merchants and the *ulama*, to attend these parties on the excuse that he himself had organized them. At some of these celebrations—as the regime called them—the people cried so much that those agents with a sense of shame regretted having

¹ In 1935 [1314 AHS], Rida Khan forced the people of Iran to abandon the national and traditional form of dress for a foreign one. The writ which was issued in this regard was called the “Uniformity of Appearance Writ” and it applied to everyone including even the clergy. The people, who were truly angered by these measures, turned to the clergy for guidance and the latter thus commanded them to rise up in opposition. In the struggle which ensued, Ayatullah Husayn Qummi was sent into exile in Iraq (the home of the holy shrines of some of the noblest figures of Islam); and Yunus Ardebili, Muhaqqiq Khorasani and the latter’s son were tried in court and sentenced to imprisonment, Ayatullah Khorasani’s son actually dying shortly after having been forcibly divested of his religious garb. Furthermore, about one hundred of the country’s most distinguished clergymen and preachers were also arrested and imprisoned during the course of this protest.

² 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 chador (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 chador. Indeed, the chador 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, while 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 fraternization between the sexes! Hence, from that time onwards, many such social functions were organized to this end, and government officials received strict orders to treat those women who appeared in public wearing Islamic dress with the utmost harshness.

forced them to attend. This was just one way he used to put pressure on the people, and God only knows what repercussions this measure had.

Another way was he stopped the clergymen from going to the pulpits and delivering sermons of any kind.¹ He also prevented them from holding *rawdahs*—indeed at one time in Iran no *rawdahs* assemblies were held at all during *Ashura*. Some fearless people did however dare to hold assemblies, but these had to be held late at night or in the early hours of the morning and they had to end before the call to morning prayer was sounded. In this way, he kept everybody in Iran from this divine bounty, from commemorating the sufferings of Imam Husayn and reciting narrations (of the martyrdom of the Imams).

This came about because the weapons were in the hands of the injudicious. Arms should be borne by those who are worthy of bearing them. When weapons are in the hands of the unjust, then iniquities ensue. The crimes that have occurred! The mass murder that took place in the Gauhar Shad Mosque and the subsequent arrest of the *ulama* of Khorasan and their incarceration in Tehran, the trial, imprisonment and murder of some of the great *ulama* ; these events came about because the weapons were in the hands of the injudicious. The *ulama* of Isfahan and the *ulama* of Azerbaijan were arrested and banished merely for uttering a word or standing up to Rida Shah. Apparently the *ulama* of Azerbaijan were forced to stay in Sunqur² and the late Aqa Mirza Sadiq, may God grant him mercy, never returned to Tabriz.³ This was another way through which that evil man repressed the

¹ The law which was established to bring about uniformity of social dress applied to everyone except those muftis who were Sunni and a limited number of clergymen who, prior to this law, had obtained government permission to don the religious dress. Other than these exceptions, no one had the right to wear religious garb unless they possessed a certain certificate which was issued by the Ministry of Education. Subsequent to the announcement of this law, disciplinary officers and gendarmes would interrogate any clergyman on sight, and should the latter not possess the aforementioned certificate, then they would remove his turban from his head in full view of the public and summon him to the police station. Moreover, the officers at police headquarters would sometimes disregard the certificate in question and would take those wearing turbans into custody anyway and force them to shave off their beards. These measures became so strict that the clergy could rarely be seen in the streets, only venturing out from their homes after nightfall and only using those alleyways which were less crowded and busy; and following the quelling of the popular and clerical uprising in the Gauhar Shad Mosque in Mashhad, even more pressure was brought to bear by Rida Khan on those who belonged to society's clerical class.

² Sunqur is situated 97 kilometers north-east of Bakhtaran and lies 58 kilometers away from the historical monuments of Bistun.

³ In 1934 [1313 AHS], Rida Shah's Minister of Education, Ali Asghar Hikmat, was at a ceremony in Shiraz when, to the surprise of most of those present, a group of girls began to

people. The atrocities that he committed cannot be spoken of in one or two meetings.

And now, during your own lifetime, you too are afflicted with misfortunes inflicted upon you by another injudicious horned beast.¹ For do not be mistaken in thinking that even one bullet is fired without the Shah's permission. Do not suppose that the head of Qum's police or the head of Qum's SAVAK, or any of Qum's policemen have the nerve to open fire on the people and kill them without his permission. No wise person should suppose that this could be so. All these incidents are reported to him and clearly this evil man has to give the orders to shoot. It is said that on Khordad 15, he circled above the demonstrators in a helicopter and gave the command to open fire, as if he were giving the command to open fire on foreign armies!² On armies that were attacking Iran!³ This useless lot is so humble

dance before the audience. As a consequence, those guests who had not expected to witness such a spectacle left the ceremony and since the public had also become aware of what had taken place, they arranged for a protest demonstration to be held. Sayyid Hisamuddin Fali, an influential cleric and *alim* of Shiraz, voiced strong objection to the Iranian government concerning the behavior witnessed at the ceremony, and he was then arrested and sent to prison. The news of events in Shiraz and the arrest of Sayyid Hisamuddin reached the *ulama* in the theological centers of Qum, Mashhad and Tabriz. In Tabriz two distinguished *ulama*, their eminences Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan Angaji and Aqa Mirza Sadiq Aqa, remonstrated with the government and as a result were also arrested and banished, firstly to Kurdistan (Sanandaj) and several days later to Qum. After a while Ayatullah Angaji eventually returned to Tabriz, but Ayatullah Aqa Mirza Sadiq Aqa actually passed away while still in exile in Qum.

¹ The Shah.

² Imam sarcastically calls those people of Iran who had risen up to demand justice "an army of foreigners" in scoffing at the government's claims.

³ It is said that on Khordad 15 and 16, 1342 AHS [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 AHS...(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

and meek before the kings and presidents of other countries, especially the American President, they flatter them and align themselves with them, but in their dealings with their own people, because of the authority they exercise over them, they harass them and cause them suffering. When they go abroad they spend their time groveling and eulogizing, but when they return to their own country, they begin their wickedness. Previously, when it was said that the Shah had granted some freedom in Iran, I told the gentlemen here that if this man reaches an agreement with this evil Carter¹ and strengthens his servile position, he will hit the people harder than ever before. But I didn't think he would do it as soon as this. Almost immediately after he had finished his talks with Carter and had confirmed his servitude, he created a pretext for showing some muscle.

He created a pretext for attacking the people in Qum. Pay no attention to what is written in the regime's press, those who were there say that the people were marching peacefully to give their requests to the *ulama* when one of the regime's own men threw a stone smashing something, the regime's agents then attacked and began shooting at the people. This is what happened on Khordad 15 too. Of course the people had themselves risen up to call for the injustices to be redressed, but the demonstrations were peaceful² until a group of the regime's own agents in Tehran set a library on

member of SAVAK, and who was the most intelligent and pre-eminent person within America's advisory body there."

¹ James Earl ("Jimmy") Carter was the thirty-ninth President of the United States. He won his way into the White House (1977) by advocating "the defense of human rights"! His diplomatic record tells of many ventures undertaken by him including his role in the establishment of political relations with China; his efforts towards the drawing up of the scandalous Camp David Accord between Egypt and Israel; his role in concluding the Nuclear Arms Reduction Pact with the Soviet Union; his hard-line stance in opposition to the Islamic Revolution; and his involvement in the failed military attack on Tabas.

² In order to check the escalation of the Iranian nation's struggle, an escalation which in fact began in 1962 [1341 AHS], the Shah's regime intended to create an atmosphere of terror and to kill the people en masse; and hence, it was in accordance with this plan that the dreadful crime which took place on Khordad 15 (June 5) was actually perpetrated by the regime. In a speech delivered on June 8, 1963 [Khordad 18, 1342 AHS] in Hamedan, the Shah invents lies and makes false accusations in a bid to gain the people's support, whereby he explains: "When I spelt out the six tenets of our very own national revolution to the peasants and the people of Iran, I pointed out that there were two forces which would not remain silent: the Black Reaction and the Red Reaction. That which we witnessed in Tehran on Wednesday, Khordad 15, was a manifestation of one of these two forces—the Black Reaction. On that day, the Black Reaction...set fire to the library in city Park as well as a sports arena, various vehicles of transport and bus-ticket kiosks. Members of this Black Reaction attacked buses carrying school girls and it assaulted defenseless women in the streets of Tehran... It argues that you

fire and looted a shop. This created the pretext for the regime to open fire on the people with machine-guns.

They created the pretext then just as they did for this most recent outrage,¹ otherwise the people did not want to do battle with the regime. Someone who is unarmed cannot fight an armed bull. The people had no intention of doing battle with the regime. But he had to make us see that he is no longer the man he was before he met Carter, that now that he has met with Carter and smoothed out any differences, now that he has consolidated his servile position,² the people should no longer suppose that he has lost his support, no, he still has it, and thus he will carry on killing! These vociferations and these threats are made in order to show the people that he has not lost his might. But he has made a mistake; he doesn't realize what ignominy he has brought upon himself with these killings. The people have now risen up against him, against the man who once said that the whole nation was in agreement with him,³ that everyone voted in support of his

peasants who have been given freedom must once more become bondsmen. The reason why the Black Reaction attacked the power station was to halt production in Iran!"

¹ It refers to the tragedy which occurred on Dey 19 [January 9] which has been mentioned earlier.

² In 1976 [1355 AHS] the Shah spent enormous sums of money to support the Republican Party candidate in the run-up to the American elections. However, the Democratic Party actually won the election and the newly-elected President, Jimmy Carter, entered the White House from where he announced: "We do not supply arms to just anybody irrespective of who they may be, nor do we offer our support to just anybody". The Shah, who could not maintain his rule even for one day without American support, repeatedly sent congratulatory messages to Carter and voiced his support for Carter's ideas and policies for fear of what might happen otherwise. But in spite of this, Carter paid no attention to the Shah until the time when, on the advice of Kissinger, America's Foreign Minister at that time, Farah (the Shah's wife) made a trip to America. Following a sixteen-day stay in Washington, during which Farah held talks with Carter, differences were settled, and the latter even extended an invitation to the Shah to visit the US. Subsequently, in the hope of gaining Carter's support, the Shah signed various agreements worth billions of dollars with America; and with the same end in mind, he also guaranteed a price freeze on oil in OPEC and granted large concessions to American companies. Eventually these "gestures" made by the Shah paid off whereby Carter consented to visit Iran and to declare his support for the Iranian monarch!

³ With regard to the "patriotism" shown by the Iranian people during the events of September, 1941, the Shah had said: "The Iranian people's patriotism was plain to see when I attended the Majlis to take the oath of sovereignty. On that day, the people carried their young sovereign on their shoulders both to and from the Majlis. This was the greatest reassurance that I have ever been given". Furthermore, with relation to events which occurred in 1953 [1332 AHS] concerning his return to Iran, the Shah said: "The people once again asked for their Shah, the affection and support they showed to me being so great that I again felt that I shouldered an added responsibility—a responsibility other than that stipulated in the Constitution and other than that of a constitutional monarch. I was made to feel that I am a monarch which the people

bloody White Revolution. The uprising began in Qum then spread to Tehran, to Khorasan, Azerbaijan, Kerman, Ahwaz, Abadan until now the whole of Iran is in revolt. The whole of the nation has risen up against this man who claims that everyone is in agreement with him, that the nation wants him, that the people support him. But if one day the bayonets of America were to be removed, then the courtiers themselves would skin this man alive. Carter should put this to test one day, were he to leave this weak nation alone, leave these people alone, then he would soon see what would happen. These organizations that we hear about are nothing more than a ploy to deceive the people. They are not bothered about security, so why do they send a representative of the Security Council here? It is just a show to beguile the people.¹

They want to deceive the people, just as the Communists do...communism is the opiate of the people, it cannot solve their problems. Is it possible that someone who himself is not a human being would want to serve mankind? Would an unjust armed person ever work for the sake of the oppressed? I know that this is not possible. During World War Two, when the heads of the Allied governments were to meet in Tehran,² the American

had again asked for to determine the country's fate and to safeguard its interests". Concerning the White Revolution' he said: "In order to unfold the secret which lies behind the revolution and the harmonic relationship which exists between the Shah and the people, one needs to examine the ancient history of Iran, its royal history, and the sense of attachment felt by the Iranian people towards the monarchy in this country"; and in another speech he claimed: "No matter which part of this country I visit, I receive a warm welcome from the people and I encounter the enthusiastic support of the nation. The people feel attached to me and this gives me a sense of pride". This was said however, at a time when the Shah was afraid to go among the people without protection from the most highly-trained security guards! During the last days of his reign, when the country of Iran resounded with the slogan "Death to the Shah", a correspondent for *Der Spiegel* asks Farah (the Shah's wife): "Did you expect to see such hatred from the people?", to which she replies: "Not at all; I am absolutely astonished". And when the Shah is asked by a correspondent what he felt about the situation, he says: "I feel a great sense of sorrow". See *Bistopanj Sal Hakimiyyat-e Amrika dar Iran*, pp. 103-106; and *Nutqha va Payamha-ye Shah*, p. 3233.

¹ On January 9, 1978 [Dey 19, 1356 AHS], the day of the tragedy in Qum, Kurt Waldheim, the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, visited Iran, supposedly to examine the situation there with regard to human rights. After attending several receptions and holding talks with the Shah, Farah and Ashraf (the Shah's wife and sister, respectively) however, Waldheim concluded his investigation' and left Iran! See the press from January 9-20, 1978 [Dey 19-30, 1356 AHS].

² While World War Two was still being fought, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, the leaders of America, Britain and the Soviet Union, gathered in Tehran to hold a conference. This conference lasted from September 2 until September 7, 1943, and once it had ended two declarations were issued. The first declaration announced the unanimous agreement reached

and British leaders arrived in a conventional manner and went to their embassies, but it was said, and God knows that this is true, that Stalin,¹ who at the time was the Russian leader—the same Stalin whose pictures we still see here and there although in recent years his reputation has been sullied somewhat—who was supposed to be equal with everyone else and whom everyone called brother, brought his own milch cow along on the plane so he would not have to drink the milk from Iranian cows! They were both injudicious, armed creatures, but God knows he was worse than his cow! I myself witnessed the state of his troops in Iran. While he entered Iran with his cow, his troops, who controlled the Khorasan region—for at that time Iran was divided into a few regions of control and that particular region was in the hands of the Russians—were begging along the roadside. I myself saw this, we were traveling by bus to Mashhad to make a pilgrimage and on the road to Mashhad just outside Shahrud, Russian soldiers were begging in front of cars; it made them so happy if someone gave them just one cigarette that they went away whistling! Communism is a means of beguiling the people, nothing else. Is it possible for someone who does not believe in the unseen to think about the people and about remedying their affairs? No, it is a deceit. On certain occasions, these armed people deliver blows, and on others, they deliver both the blows and the propaganda. The propaganda machinery is in their hands. Now you see that in addition to beating up the people and killing them, in addition to all these crimes, they propagate that all the blame for these acts lies on the shoulders of the people, that only six people died in this incident and a few of them, including a thirteen-year-old child, were trampled to death by the people, and that the regime itself had committed no crime! On the one hand they create such propaganda and on the other they commit mass murder. All these heinous acts stem from the unjust being armed; it is the just who should be armed.

The God of Islam is just, the Prophet of Islam was just and free from sin, the Imams of Islam were just and free from sin. The judges of Islam should be just, its *fuyaha* should be just, the person who witnesses a divorce should be just, Islam's prayer leaders should be just, its Friday prayer leaders should

by the three governments concerning the future strategy to be adopted in the war; and the other declaration announced the promise of economic aid to Iran both during and after the war. At the time, northern Iran was under Soviet occupation, southern Iran was under British control, and Iran's communication routes were controlled by American forces.

¹ Joseph Vissarionovich (1879-1953), known as Stalin (the Iron Man), became the leader of the Soviet Union following Lenin.

be just, its leaders should be just, its provincial governors, those who were sent to this place and that in the early days of Islam and who also acted as the prayer leaders, had to be just. They are only valid when they are just. If there is no justice and if those who exercise authority are not righteous, then such malicious acts as those we are now witnessing are perpetrated. The arms are in the hands of the unworthy, the unjust.

On the one hand they massacre the people, and on the other they shout about social justice'.¹ On the one hand they force the women to remove their veils and on the other they shout about the freedom of women! It's ridiculous. This kind of freedom is ludicrous, it can't be called freedom. On the one hand they carry out land reforms', and on the other they create a market for America! This has been the result of the land reforms. At one time just one of our country's provinces met the needs of the whole of the country, and what remained was exported. But now whatever you want has to come from abroad! And the regime is proud of this and boasts: "We import our wheat from abroad; we import our barley, our oranges, and our eggs from abroad"! This should be lamented. The regime has no shame. This is what its land reforms entailed—all this destruction.

¹ The Shah constantly played with the words justice' and social justice' as can be seen in the following example: "Despite the urgency of military matters and the pressing nature of issues relating to the war, I began to discuss the need to establish social justice in my country... How can one accept a situation where some become ill from overeating while others fall into such a sorry state due to a lack of food... I have not relaxed my efforts for even one moment in achieving my aim, that being, the establishment of social justice in my country. Each and every one of the proposals that I have made concerning the establishment of social justice, has, thanks be to God, been put into operation"! The kind of justice which had been put into operation however, was one whereby desperate poverty had forced a certain section of the population to send their children to work in carpet-weaving factories where they earned less than 15 rials per day for their efforts; or again one where an entire family had to survive from one year to the next on the produce obtained from a single walnut tree or from a goat. Indeed, justice had been put into operation to such an extent that those in both the north and the south and in the east and west of Iran were suffering from poverty and destitution, from pain and sickness. There was neither water nor any signs of development; neither electricity nor health care. Meanwhile however, the Shah and his loyal followers owned 50% of the shares in private banks! On one occasion alone (according to a petition made by the government of the Islamic Republic), Muhammad Rida and his wife stole 35 billion dollars of the people's money! Iran's foreign trade (according to statements made by the provisional government's Trade Minister) more or less lay in the hands of only 60 people; major company shares were held by a mere 50 families; and tens or perhaps hundreds of checks, each worth so many millions of dollars, were cashed daily for members of the royal family and for the Shah's courtiers and attendants, from a joint account numbered: 214895-20 (the account number of the Pahlavi Foundation) in a Swiss bank in Geneva! Refer to *Nutqha va Payanha-ye Shah*, pp. 2793-2966; *Raz-e Bilyun Dular*, p. 7; *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Iran*, pp. 251, 266 and 281.

Yet the Shah and his regime claim that all the *ulama* agree with the reforms and the White Revolution. If you can find just one *alim* anywhere in Iran who is in agreement with your bloody revolution, then you have the right to say all the *ulama* are in agreement with you. Try to find one congregational prayer leader from among the prayer leaders of Tehran who is in agreement with you and will say that he concurs with you, aside from those whose turbans you yourselves have placed on their heads, whom you yourselves have created, and who dance to whatever tune you play, for they are not true religious scholars, but of course one or two of them can be found everywhere in the country. Try to find one from among the provincial prayer leaders who will say he is in agreement with you. Try to find a mulla in Qum who will say he is in agreement with you. The Shah and his regime have no shame. They carry out all kinds of heinous acts, all kinds of wrongdoings and then in order to deceive the people they say: “All the *ulama* are in agreement with us; only one who is not from this country disagrees with us”¹.

The arms are in the hands of the unjust and the ignoble. Consider all weapons, the pen itself is a kind of weapon, which must be in the hands of the just and worthy people, for when it is in the hands of the depraved, corruption and scandalous deeds will increase. At the present time, and in some societies and certain aspects, the pen is in the hands of the depraved who gloss over whatever the head of these profligates does and who palliate his crimes by means of their literary eloquence. This is a crime which is perpetrated against this nation by dint of the pen. These unworthy writers sit at home with this weapon in hand and with their eloquent style they whitewash the corruption, the crimes and the massacres and present everything to the contrary, they turn everything round. So the pen too should be in the hands of the just people.

Culture is the source of a nation’s happiness or misfortune. If the culture is not sound then the youth who are trained in this unsound culture will, in the future, create corruption. The imperialist culture produces imperialist youth for the country. A culture which is created by the designs of others—and it is the foreigners who lay their plans for us then hand them over to our society in the form of culture—is an imperialist and parasitic culture. Such a culture is a weapon more lethal than anything else; it is even worse than the arms of these ruffians, for their weapons eventually fall to pieces, as they

¹ The *Kayhan* newspaper of June 5, 1963 [Khordad 15, 1342 AHS] read: “Only two members of the *ulama* of Qum and Mashhad have voiced opposition, the rest of the *ulama* are in complete agreement with the government”—the two members in fact having been Imam Khomeini and Ayatullah Hasan Qummi.

have done now. But when the culture is corrupt, our youth, who form the foundations of our society, are lost to us; they are trained to become parasites, to become infatuated with the West.

They are trained in this way from the very first day that they enter school and this continues into higher education. If the culture is a correct culture, then our youths will be trained correctly. If the culture is a culture of truth, a divine culture, a culture which is of use to the nation, which is advantageous for the Muslims, then it does not produce such people as those who now exercise authority over us. But our culture is an imperialist culture, our culture does not lie in the hands of suitable people, the just do not administer it.

If our universities were correct, independent universities and those who taught there were just and were free to do as they saw fit and what was right to do, then our country would not have got into the state it is in today nor would it reach a potentially worse stage tomorrow, God forbid. Some people have seized control of our universities who are themselves parasites, who are themselves supporters of the imperialists and possess a servile attitude. All this is because of one person, for if a lecturer or a professor at the university wishes to speak out, he is not able to, because the security organization, acting on the orders of His Imperial Majesty' does not allow him to do so. If our universities were proper universities then when the students there try to speak a word of truth, the police would not suppress them so. The things they do to them! They beat the girls, they beat the boys, and they beat our youth and imprison them. This is because our universities are not independent. We don't have universities. Universities which are controlled by one person cannot be called universities. The learning environment should be a free environment.

If this Parliament were a proper, just Parliament, and were a tool in the hands of the just, would the members have allowed such laws as have passed already through Parliament to have been ratified? Would they have allowed the Capitulation Bill granting immunity to the American military advisers, a bill which caused great humiliation for Iran, to have been ratified¹? We don't have a Parliament. The members of Parliament are appointed; they are just a group of agents, functionaries of the security organization who call themselves a Parliament'. All of them are agents. If they were independent and if they had been selected by the people, if the Parliament were a national Parliament, then they would never let the regime buy all these arms as it

¹ The Capitulation Bill.

does¹, they would never give away our oil and buy weaponry in return—weaponry which we ourselves don't know how to operate. This weaponry baffles us so they have to bring in American advisers and experts to show us what to do with it. But these experts won't show us how to operate it. They are such animals; they will not be satisfied with this. They come here and are paid such exorbitant wages. We do not know how much they are paid every month, and cannot even begin to imagine, we only know that there are very many of them in the country. Their number, including their relatives, probably runs into the hundreds or thousands. It used to be said that there were sixty thousand of them in Iran getting huge salaries from this nation. The regime takes the money from the pockets of this poor, wretched nation and pours it into the pockets of these wealthy people. And even then they don't train our military properly! They want our armed forces to remain in their present state, so that they can do whatever they want with them.²

¹ The bilateral agreement signed in 1959 [1338 AHS] between Iran and the US left Iran lying firmly in America's clutches. Following this agreement, America gained a free hand to interfere in all of Iran's affairs and an influx of foreign specialists flooded into the country. Moreover, the country's system of defense, the organization of its armed forces, and in short, all of the army's administrative and executive affairs were supervised by American military advisers. In addition, the army's supreme commanders were in a subordinate position to that of the American advisers; and the opportunity for America to make inroads into the country became so great that in 1976 and 77 [1355 and 1356 AHS] weapons purchased by Iran from America amounted to 12 billion dollars compared to a former figure of 4 billion dollars! Refer to *Bistopanj Sal Hakimiyyat-e Amrika dar Iran*, p. 63.

² Prior to the Islamic Revolution approximately 30,000 American military advisers were working in Iran and the US 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 center in addition to special clubs for American citizens only. One of Iran's radio stations and at certain times one of its television channels were given over to the broadcasting of certain programs 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 *Dawlat va Hukumat dar Iran*, p.231; *Mission to Iran*, pp.15-42; *I'tirafat-e Shah*, p.78; *Siyohaft Ruz Pas Az Siyohaft Sal*, p.110.

If we had an independent army instead of a parasitic one, it would not allow these advisers to come into the country and give the orders; the army officers would not simply be puppets in their hands. But our army is not a true army. All the armed forces are controlled by one man, one corrupt man who has corrupted everything. As it is said, one bad apple can spoil the whole barrel. The corruption in Iran stems from him, but no one can say this because of the suppression which exists. Instead they keep saying the agents, the agents! Who gives these agents the order to kill the people? Who gives them the order to attack the Hujjatiyyah Madrasah and kill the religious sciences students there? Who gives them the orders to position their machine-guns at the crossroads and open fire on the people?¹ Can anybody, other than this vile man, order such things? All the corruption stems from him. Does the Parliament have the right to say a word without the permission of this vile man? Does the army have the right to say anything without his permission? Do our judges have freedom? Do we have an independent judicial system? Our judges have the weapon of judgment in their hands, but they do not have the justice. They say they cannot dispense justice, so we have to ask them then why did you become a judge? You made a mistake in becoming a judge so leave this profession. Now everywhere in our country the weapons are in the hands of the unjust and all this corruption goes back to the court and to that man. He should be removed.

I don't know why this army is asleep. Why do they allow themselves to be humiliated so? Only a few days after that abominable Carter left, the regime carried out such actions. And this is only the beginning, if the people let him, the Shah will carry on, unless he is made aware of the consequences of his actions. The people are creating a clamor which is being heard across the world, the radios everywhere are speaking about it. The regime's own radio can say whatever it likes; the people will no longer be deceived by their words. The nation has awakened. Sir, the people have awakened, if they had not then the bazaars would not have closed down as they have done. It has been said and officially confirmed by the regime, that Tehran bazaar closed down on Thursday in a show of protest. The closure of Tehran's bazaar is not a common practice, it is a very uncommon event, no one can just close down the bazaar.² It has been achieved because of the feelings and vigilance of the

¹ It refers to the event which occurred in Qum on Dey 19, 1357 [January 9, 1978], when agents of the regime attacked the religious students and the people killing and wounding many of them.

² On January 17, 1978 [Dey 27, 1356 AHS], merchants and tradesmen of the bazaar in Tehran issued a statement in which they declared Thursday, January 19, 1978 to be a day of a general

people. This gentleman who used to say “all concur with me” should look around him, the bazaars in Tehran, Ahwaz, Isfahan and Shiraz are actively protesting against him, and this has become our way of life now.

I hope that all classes, whether the *ulama* and *mujtahids*, the religious students or the merchants of the bazaar, the traders, army personnel or civil servants, who are sorely grieved by this wicked man will unite together and that our political groups will not work alone but they will cooperate with others just as in this most recent incident when this expression of antipathy was supported not only by some political groups,¹ but the *ulama*, the merchants of the bazaar, students...all classes came together. Telegrams were even sent by foreigners, from America and Europe, expressing their antipathy towards the regime and telling us that three hundred people were killed in this recent event.

I hope that all the fronts will join hands together. If the nation unites in all aspects then these unjust people will be disarmed and the horns of this bull will be broken. They should not disagree with one another or purposely

shutdown and called on all of those in the bazaar to refrain from opening up their shops and stalls for business on this day. This statement was made in protest to and condemnation of the regime's killing of defenseless people, and in support of the popular and clerical uprising in Qum; and the proposed day for a general shutdown coincided both with the final day of a week-long period of mourning and protest by the clergy and with the day when memorial ceremonies were to be held for the martyrs of Qum. Refer to *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 7, p. 38.

¹ The statement made by the Iranian Laborers' Party on January 18, 1978 [Dey 28, 1356 AHS], serves as an example of the revulsion which was expressed by certain political parties against the regime's activities. This statement, which was addressed to the country's Attorney-General, accused the government's executive body of felony and stressed the party's support for the people of Iran and the faith it had both in the Shiah *maraji'* and the religious and clerical orders in Iran. Another such example was the statement issued on January 30, 1978 [Bahman 10, 1356 AHS] by *Ittihad-e Niruha-ye Jebhe-ye Melli-ye Iran*, which again underlined this party's support for the various popular fronts and endorsed the action taken by those in the bazaar. This statement also spoke of the shutdown proposed for Thursday, January 19, 1978 [Dey 29, 1356 AHS] which was to be observed by the merchants and tradesmen in the bazaar of Tehran—a shutdown which, it stated, was to be a demonstration of the disgust felt towards the killing of a defenseless group of people in Qum, and was to be a show of support for the country's progressive clergy. In addition to the aforementioned parties, other groups also issued statements which expressed support for the proposed shutdown—groups such as the *ulama* and preachers of Tehran and its suburbs; the natives of Shiraz in the bazaar of Tehran; the merchants and tradesmen who were natives of Isfahan but who resided in the country's capital; the natives of Azerbaijan in the bazaar of Tehran; the lecturers and scholars from the theological centre of Qum; and the Muslim Movement both at home and abroad. Refer to *Nihdat-e Ruhaniyyun-e Iran*, vol. 7, p. 55 onwards; and *Do Sal-e Akhar*, the section concerning Dey and Bahman 1356 AHS.

seek reasons for dissent. They should not start fighting one another over insignificant and childish matters. Differences are created by those who want to keep the people busy, and it is they who benefit from disunion among the people. The people should wake up to these things and, God willing, they have already done so. They should unite together, all of them. They should join hands together and, God willing, by the power and strength of God and through your unity, the root of all this corruption will soon be eradicated.

I ask for everyone's well-being from God the Most High. I express my thanks to all classes of people for standing by the *ulama* of Islam. I thank all fronts, especially the great *ulama* and the noble merchants of the bazaar. I thank them all and call upon them to pray for Islam, to strengthen and unify their fronts, and to come together for one aim which should be the severance of the hands of the oppressors and foreigners so that this country may prosper. The hands of the foreigners should be foreshortened, the resources which exist in our country should be used for the weak and for the good of the country, and all the country's affairs should be rectified and put in order. This will not happen unless this regime is disarmed, and I hope, God willing, that it will be.

May God's peace and mercy be upon you.

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-Seven

Date: February 18, 1978 (AD) / Bahman 29, 1356 (AHS)/ Rabi' I 10, 1398 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: The crimes of the Shah and of those who claim to support human rights

Occasion: The fortieth day following the martyrdom of those killed in Qum in the tragedy of January 9

Those present: Religious students, clergymen and members of the public

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The second sweeping Islamic movement which was carried out by the people, arose in Tabriz on February 16, 1978 (Bahman 29, 1356 AHS), when the fortieth day following the martyrdom of those killed in Qum during the bloody uprising of January 9 (Dey 19) was commemorated. It was this movement which gave rise to those moments and incidents from which shone the life-giving sun of the Islamic Revolution.

The occurrence of the clerical uprising on January 9, 1978 (Dey 19, 1356 AHS), and the resultant blow delivered to the regime, had widespread repercussions throughout Iranian cities. *Maraji-i taqlid* and various political parties, societies and groups rose in support of the insurgence. On January 19 (Dey 29), the bazaar of Tehran closed down in a show of protest; employees from both the Telecommunications Company of Tehran and the Central Tobacco Company voiced objection; the pupils of Amul's high-schools engaged in street demonstrations; and other similar events occurred in other parts of the country.

In a message delivered on January 22, 1978 (Bahman 2, 1356 AHS), Imam Khomeini (pbuh) declared: "Both Carter and others who plunder the resources of oppressed nations should realise that Muhammad Riḍa is a traitor and an outrage and that he will inevitably be dethroned...I promise the nation of Iran that with the vigilance, conviction and distinct courage it now has, it will triumph... a twin victory, with the extirpation of the oppressors' predominance and the overthrow of the disgraceful Pahlavi dynasty."

In proclamations issued, the honourable Messrs Golpayegani, Marashi Najafi and Shariatmadari along with the Iran Clergy Society declared February 18, 1978 (Bahman 29, 1356 AHS) a day of national mourning in commemoration of the fortieth day following the incident of January 9; and they called for a nationwide strike to be held on this day. The nation of Iran

responded to this call and religious teaching establishments and centres of commerce and education were indeed closed on that day. In Qum, Tehran and certain other cities popular demonstrations ended in serious clashes with the armed forces.

It was at this time that the precursory and determinant uprising of February 18 (Bahman 29) took place in Tabriz, a city which, during the course of Iran's history, had demonstrated time after time the valour of the people of this region in its defence of Islam and the country's territorial integrity. The golden sunlight of Sunday, February 18 had barely appeared when the people of Tabriz set off by the score to attend the mosques. Classes at the University of Tabriz were cancelled and the city's main bazaar was completely closed down. The crowd of people that had assembled at the Tabriz bazaar thickened and grew by the second. This was despite the fact that in compliance with the instructions of General Azmuda, the governor-general of East Azerbaijan, the bazaar's entrance had been blocked by government troops serving under the command of the head of Tabriz Police Headquarters No. 6, in order to prevent people from entering the mosque. 10 am was only a few minutes away when the head of Police Headquarters No. 6, whilst shouting abuse, charged into the people with open fire, wounding several of them as a result. Enraged by what had happened, people rushed towards the town; and between the hours of 10 am and 2 pm seventy-three banks, nine cinemas, six governmental vehicles, twenty-two centres of corruption, many liquor stores and the building of the Rastakhiz Party were set on fire by demonstrators. According to the account given by the Tabriz Fire Department, 134 different sites were ablaze in the town and two police officers and nine police constables were injured. At 3 pm government reinforcements entered the scene and it was only when they had positioned themselves and darkness had fallen, that the people then returned to their homes.

Many were injured during the incidents which occurred during this Islamic movement mainly as a result of attacks by government forces on the demonstrators. The number of those wounded was such that there was insufficient space in the hospitals of Tabriz for them to receive medical treatment; hospital corridors and stairways, whilst under the surveillance of SAVAK agents, being crammed with those injured. Later, in contrast to other figures given, the Shah's regime put the death toll at six; but eye-witnesses maintained that those martyred in fact numbered about 600 people.

Once February 18 had drawn to a close, within the next 48 hours alone, 621 students were sent to prison. On February 28, 1978 (Esfand 9, 1356

AHS), General Eskandar Azmuda, governor-general of East Azerbaijan, was summoned to Tehran and General Ja'far Shafaqat was appointed in his place. The head of the provinces' security forces and two other leading military figures were also dismissed. Following the installation of the new head of security forces, 400 security-force members were dispatched from Tehran to Tabriz to strengthen the police force and military unit there. Various leading members of SAVAK were also dismissed for their lack of foresight and their inability to obtain the intelligence required to prevent the demonstrations from taking place.

Once informed of the bloody tragedy which had occurred in Tabriz on February 18 (Bahman 29), Imam Khomeini, in addition to delivering the trenchant speech in question, sent an important message concerning the tragedy to the people of Azerbaijan on February 27, 1978 (Esfand 8, 1356 AHS). In this message, whilst commenting upon the simulated demonstrations which had been held by agents of the Shah's regime, Imam warned: "He (the Shah) should realise that it is now too late; the people of Iran have chosen their path and they will not rest until they have put those criminals responsible for this crime in their place and have avenged themselves and their fathers on this bloodthirsty family."

After the event of February 18, a delegation of so-called "dignitaries" of the regime went to Tabriz to account for the measures which had been taken by the Shah and the government. In his message, in which he strongly attacked these tricksters, Imam stated: "Remarkably enough, a delegation is reported to have gone to Azerbaijan to tell the people that the Shah was unaware of the crimes being committed. But who gives any credence to this claim, apart from the members of SAVAK and the Majlis? And even they know in their hearts that this is false."

In the speech in question (Speech 27) Imam Khomeini, whilst paying due regard to the Qum uprising of January 9, severely attacked the governments of America, Britain and other countries which had signed the Declaration of Human Rights and which had endorsed the crimes perpetrated by the Shah during those days. Furthermore, he maintained that American interference was the source of the Iranian nation's suffering. During his discourse, Imam exposed the Shah as the one to blame for the massacre of January 9, and he indicated both the danger of the idea of the separation of religion from politics, and the heavy responsibility borne by the clergy in dealing with society's political concerns. Furthermore, by giving a detailed description of the political involvement of the Immaculate Imams (pbut) and

religious leaders, he strongly attacked the view of those who had taken a stance of destructive expectation¹ and silence in opposition to the oppressors.

In another part of his speech, Imam pointed to the volatile economic state of Iran, and condemned the Shah's plunder of national resources, plunder which was to the benefit of America and Israel; and he regarded it the duty of all free human beings to give assistance to those people who had risen up in revolt.

The event which occurred in Tabriz on February 18, 1978, which resulted in the martyrdom of a large number of the people of this city, had wide repercussions throughout the country. The regime realising the serious nature of the popular uprising, adopted various other measures, amongst which was a visit by Jamshid Amuzegar, the Prime Minister, to Azerbaijan which was made in order to console the people of that area. However, the guidance and leadership of Imam and the resistance of the people was such that none of these tactics bore fruit. With the holding of commemorative ceremonies for those martyred in Tabriz, people of different cities exposed the crimes perpetrated by the Shah's regime and increased the extent and frequency of demonstrations held - a trend which continued until the triumphant revolt of Bahman 22, 1357 (February 11, 1979).

¹ See footnote 23 to this speech.

Speech Number Twenty-Seven

Date: February 18, 1978 [Bahman 29, 1356 AHS / Rabi' al-Awwal 10, 1398 AH]

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Subject: The crimes of the Shah and of those who claim to support human rights

Occasion: The fortieth day following the martyrdom of those killed in Qum in the tragedy of Dey 19 [January 9]

Addressees: Religious students, clergymen and members of the public

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

*“And there is no power and no strength save in God,
the Most High, the Great
And surely we are God’s and to Him we shall surely return.”*

As we are gathered here, according to the information reaching us, all the major cities of Iran such as Tehran, Tabriz, Mashhad and Qum are closed down. Some cities, such as Qum, are completely closed down while in others, the bazaar and other centers of activity are closed. We hear that the bazaar in Tehran is completely closed except for a few merchants who may have some connection with the regime. From what we are told, these closings represent a form of active protest against the Shah himself. The people have identified the true criminal. Of course his identity was obvious before but no one dared to speak out. Now however, by God’s grace, this barrier of fear has collapsed and people have succeeded in the main task of identifying the true criminal and realizing who is responsible for the misery of our nation.

Forty days have now passed since the death of our young ones, our students of the religious sciences, our clergy and our devout youngsters of Qum. How people have wept and mourned during these forty days; and what courage—the like of which has rarely been equaled in history—was displayed by the people of Qum and the students of the religious sciences who fought bare-handed against the government and the Shah’s agents and yielded their martyrs. According to reports, the agents of the regime spilled into the streets and alleyways of Qum and attacked the people; but the latter resisted to the best of their ability, both before and after the massacre, thus proving they are alive and not dead!¹ Likewise, the great *maraji’* of Islam in

¹ It refers to the tragedy of January 9, 1978 [Dey 19, 1356 AHS].

Qum, have expressed themselves courageously¹ both in their speeches and in their declarations, including the one issued two or three days ago on the occasion of the fortieth day following the massacre and the general strike ordained for that day. In this declaration they addressed the main issue and stated who is responsible for the crime, albeit not explicitly but rather by implication which is in fact more effective. May God keep them steadfast.

The students of the religious sciences, despite living in a place which is subject to attack by those bandits, yesterday organized an impressive mourning ceremony which was attended by a large number of people, and at which several vigilant and active youngsters fearlessly gave a truthful account of the state of affairs. According to reliable information, as we sit here in Qum, a great meeting is taking place at A'zam Mosque in this city. I don't know what the government intends to do about this meeting. I wonder whether the regime's agents have once more gone on the rampage, killing and plundering? This is now a matter of grave concern to us. We are anxious and concerned for the people of all the major cities in Iran; cities like Mashhad, towards which the government shows a particular sensitivity; or Azerbaijan and Tabriz, which are under government observation. And I wonder what lies in store for Qum, which is the center of all our struggles and the center of learning from whence knowledge is disseminated to all lands, (just as was predicted by the Prophet's family (*a*)), what danger awaits her? In fact, we now see that not only is knowledge disseminated from Qum, but action too, whereby it is now the center of Islamic activity—the center of the Islamic movement.² The movement emanates from Qum, from the city

¹ The Clergy Society of Iran, in a declaration beginning with the holy verse: *And reckon not those who are killed in Allah's way as dead...* (*Surah Ali Imran* 3:169), asked the entire nation to rise up once more against the illegal, anti-Islamic programs of the Iranian government, and to answer the ruling system in Iran with a punch in the mouth by closing down the theological centers, universities and shops on Saturday, February 18, 1978 [Bahman 29, 1356 AHS] in observance of a national day of mourning. Ayatullah al-'Uzma Golpaygani also issued a declaration concerning this day and called to mind that: "Commissioned officers, instead of making amends for what they had done and attending to the damages inflicted, banished a group of believers and learned men without reason". In yet another declaration, Ayatullah al-'Uzma Najafi Marashi also requested that the authorities desist from their tyranny and from their encroachment upon people's rights. In the declaration issued by the *maraji'*, February 18 [Bahman 29] had been declared a day of public mourning. Furthermore, in a public statement Mr. Shariatmadari announced: "We declare Saturday, February 18, 1978—the fortieth day following this grave tragedy—a day of public mourning. We expect the Muslim community to remain absolutely calm and composed while conducting the aforesaid ceremonies".

² allamah Majlisi writes: "Imam as-Sadiq (*a*) said: Very soon Kufah will become devoid of believers and it will lose its position as the seat of learning. This will occur in such a manner that the snake will hide in its own pit. Subsequently, a region by the name of Qum will arise as

itself, from the religious students, from the *ulama*, from the teachers (may God support all of them), from the masses of its people who are the faithful soldiers of Islam, and it spreads throughout the country. It remains to be seen whether it will spread to us here in Najaf or not; God only knows what will happen.

All the miseries that we have suffered, still suffer and are about to suffer in the immediate future, are caused by the heads of those countries that have signed the Declaration of Human Rights, but that at all times have denied man his freedom. The declaration's maxim is "freedom of the individual". Each individual human being is born free and must remain free. Everyone must be equal before the law; they must be free in their choice of residence and occupation, and they must enjoy freedom in their everyday lives. This is what the Declaration of Human Rights advocates. From the time that this declaration came into being not only Muslims but mankind as a whole have suffered at the hands of those states that signed and ratified it. The US is one of the signatories of this document. It has agreed that the rights of man must be protected and that freedom is one such right. But just look at what crimes the US, this so-called signatory of the Declaration of Human Rights, has committed against mankind. For as long as I can remember—and I can remember back further than many of you, for you are younger than I—America, one of the countries which gave its signature to the issue concerning human rights, has been the cause of disasters for mankind. It has appointed its agents in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries to deprive everyone living under its domination of his freedom. The imperialists advocate man's freedom in order to deceive the masses; but people can no longer be deceived. All of these issues to which they give official sanction, of which the Declaration of Human Rights is but an example, are mere acts of deception and hold no authenticity. They draw up some pleasant-looking, high-sounding declaration with thirty articles relating to human rights, but in practice they neglect to enact a single one of them! This Declaration of Human Rights is but a fallacy; it is the opium of the masses.

What we have said is true not only of America but also of Britain, another country that signed and ratified the Declaration of Human Rights; a country whose civilization and democracy are so highly praised by those who Britain itself has convinced of its praise worthiness via effective propaganda and cunning. Indeed, it has succeeded in convincing people that it is the

the new seat of learning. Qum will become the center of knowledge and learning until a time when religious learning will be available to all without exception. This event will take place at a time when the twelfth Imam's manifestation draws near". *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 57, p. 213.

leader of democracy and the home of true constitutionalism. But we have all seen what crimes and atrocities Britain has committed in India, Pakistan and its other colonies.¹ The imperialist states like America and Britain brought Israel into existence,² and we have seen what misery they have inflicted and continue to inflict on the Muslims there, and in particular on the Shiah

¹ In 1615, the British ambassador to India registered the right for his own government to trade and he gained concessions for the establishment of the commercial company of British East India. This is how British penetration got underway in the Indian subcontinent. This colonial company fortified British rule in India by intensifying the activities in which it engaged. Meanwhile, because of racial, religious and linguistic diversity and in particular the intense discord which prevailed between the Hindus and Muslims in India, this newborn British colonization was strengthened by force of circumstances. This occurred in such a manner that eventually in 1839 India became a British protectorate. It was after this that the British government began to take harsh measures and thus came to dominate India's affairs; and from 1857 India officially became an addition to the British dominion. During the First World War, one million Indian soldiers were sent to the front line to fight for Britain, tens of thousands of whom were killed as a result. The compulsory provision of food by India for the British army led to a severe famine there. Eventually the Law of Independence for the Indian subcontinent was passed in the British House of Commons on July 4, 1947, by virtue of which in August of that same year, the two countries of Pakistan and India emerged from the British dominion in the subcontinent.

² In 1907, at a conference held in Britain, the most powerful colonialist government of the day (Britain) declared to the government heads of Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy that if the surrounding coasts of the Mediterranean Sea—situated between the East and the West and lying in Muslim hands—were to be taken from their grasp, then this would present a serious danger for the aforementioned countries. It was this concern that caused the colonialist governments of the day to consider setting up a government in a strategically important part of the Mediterranean Sea—a government which would be at variance with and opposed to the Islamic countries, so as to create a rift in the unity of the Muslims. Earlier in 1897, Herr Tazl, journalist and publisher of *Die Welt* newspaper—the official Zionist mouthpiece—had organized a conference in the Swiss city of Biel in order to discuss the issue of an Israeli government. He was also the author of a book entitled *Jewish Government*, in which he appealed to his own nation to help in the establishment of such a government in Palestine or Argentina. With the outbreak of World War One, American leaders, under the tutelage of the Jews, agreed to American participation in the war on the side of Britain on condition that Britain took steps to settle the Jews in Palestine and to set up an independent government for them. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War also gave Britain the opportunity to settle a large number of Jews in Palestinian land. In 1948, America gave its open support to a state in Palestine by the name of Israel, following which the bloody war between the Arabs and the Jewish settlers in Palestine broke out. During a Security Council meeting, the United Nations Organization, under the pretext of preventing further killing and bringing an end to the Arab-Israeli war, gave its approval in a written declaration to the partition of Palestine into two areas: one for Muslim residents and the other for Jewish residents. Thus, the State of Israel was officially established with the backing of the imperialist powers. The usurper Israeli government occupied a large part of Muslim land, driving 1,200,000 Muslims from their homes.

Muslims. Meanwhile, they have installed an agent in Egypt named Sadat,¹ whose every act is devoted to serving imperialism and who, only a short time ago, visited Israel where he gave it official recognition and approved of every word the Israelis had to say.

For as long as I can remember during the past fifty years—fifty years of national mourning and tragedy inflicted on our nation by this disgraceful family—it was Britain, this democratic lover of mankind and signatory to the Declaration of Human Rights, that kept the Iranian people suppressed and afflicted. In fact it was Britain, according to its own admission, that brought Rida Shah to power. For almost twenty years, we, the religious scholars, and the Muslim nation as a whole were subject to intense pressure. Rida Shah wished to expunge every trace of the *shariah*. Of course, he did not succeed but this was his intention. Hence, anything which bore the remotest resemblance to Islamic propagation was prohibited.

As for America, that other signatory to the Declaration of Human Rights, it imposed this Shah upon us; a worthy successor to his father. During his period of rule he has turned Iran into an official colony of the US. What terrible crimes he has committed in the service of his masters! Indeed, what terrible crimes both he and his father have committed against us all since their appointment by these signatories to the Declaration of Human Rights—these very signatories who have brought such misery and suppression to mankind, of which we have heard and witnessed but a fraction. However, one cannot truly understand a situation by hearing about it alone. You may hear of what this nation experienced at the time of Rida Shah, but you cannot

¹ Anwar as-Sadat was born in 1918 in Egypt and having completed his basic education, entered the Officers' College where he joined the officers' corps of Jamal Abdun-Nasir's group. These officers took part in covert operations and Anwar as-Sadat was later arrested, expelled from the army and imprisoned. Some time later he was released from prison and became a member of the Iron Guard, whose duty it was to safeguard the Egyptian king's life and crush opposition forces. Later, on the insistence of Nasir, he again joined the Free Officers' Movement which was conducting a covert operation against the ruling system of the day. In 1952, with the victory of the Egyptian revolution, Nasir became the President and Anwar as-Sadat initially became Parliamentary Speaker and then, following Nasser's illness, he became the country's vice-president. After Nasir's death in 1970, Anwar as-Sadat, in accordance with the Constitution, became responsible for the country's affairs for a sixty-day period, after which he was elected as the official President of Egypt. He annulled the treaty between Egypt and the Soviet Union and despite the fact that Egypt had assumed the responsibility of Arab leadership during the Arab-Israeli war, he nevertheless signed a bilateral treaty with America. When he then made a unilateral peace agreement with Israel, he in fact dashed all of Egypt's hopes. Sadat was eventually assassinated by a young Muslim officer named Khalid Islambuli.

actually conceive what the people themselves in fact felt and experienced, or what they suffered at the hands of these people. You are only able to appreciate and sense what this man is doing now, at the present time, and then only insofar as you are now physically present.

You are thus aware of the present situation in Iran. You can appreciate what this man (the Shah) has done to this nation during the past few days. Even now it would not surprise me if at this very moment some confrontation or conflict is taking place between the people and the Shah's agents, although we have not yet in fact received any reports to this effect. What we do know however, is that agents of the regime have attacked the forecourt of the Shah Mosque¹ in Tehran and have forced a few shops there to open up for business, but the Tehran bazaar as a whole has not surrendered. Even though the government has sent a circular to all the bazaars in Iran forbidding anyone to close his shop and threatening severe punishment for disobedience, nevertheless, not a single bazaar in the country has paid any attention to this threat, not even the bazaar in Tehran which lies within close range of the regime. People no longer pay any attention to these empty noises. Gone are the days when they could intimidate people and frighten them into heeding their warnings. . . today people are being killed, yet they refuse to heed any threats.

It is now forty days since the massacre in which many of the *ulama* and the young and devout people of Qum were killed. May God preserve the Iranian people and the theological center of Qum, both of which in proving how fully alive they are have ensured the recording of their names in the annals of history. Even now as we calmly sit here, these people are in a state of intense activity. You can't imagine the condition Mashhad is now in. I have no detailed information of its present state but I do know that until recently everything was closed down there. The same is true for Azerbaijan; there too everything was closed, but more than this I cannot say. According to the reports we have received, a general shutdown prevails in Qum whereby not even a single grocer's shop is open. Even Tehran is ninety percent closed and to achieve this is not as easy as one may imagine. In fact the closure of Tehran is a smack in the mouth for those babblers.

They are those who once said that they had the backing of six million people who had voted in favor of their White Revolution! That was a foolish claim to make. I was in Iran at the time, and sent some people to Tehran to find out what this referendum² of theirs was that they wanted to stage. When

¹ Shah Mosque in Tehran (the present-day Imam Khomeini Mosque) is situated south of the main bazaar of Tehran.

they returned they told me that no more than 2,000 people had gone to cast their votes, and that even these were in fact their own agents. Yes, they once said: "Six million of the Iranian people have given us their vote, and since the rest of the people are either elderly, women or infants and hence unable to vote, the six-point program has been given unanimous approval." The Shah too would repeatedly claim in his speeches that: "The people are with me. Only a handful of people voice objection every now and then and they are the Islamic Marxists,¹ otherwise the nation is behind me!" Now you will see the uproar that the regime will cause following this national shutdown. They will object and behave as they did previously after the week-long closing in Qum, the eight-day closing in Isfahan, and the two or three days of partial closing and the one day of complete closing in Tehran. On the latter occasion some unsuspecting wretches were seized by the Shah's agents and loaded onto buses; whilst another group of the regime's officials sent circulars to government offices and schools demanding that they close down and participate in a government-staged demonstration.

This is what you call freedom, demanding that people freely' participate! Notwithstanding, most government offices ignored the circulars they had received. As for those poor wretches who had been loaded onto the buses, they were falsely told that they were being taken on a pilgrimage to Qum, and on realizing the truth of the matter during the journey, those who were able to, fled. From what I was told, those who remained behind and who were compelled to take part in the demonstration behaved as though they

¹ "Islamic Marxist", an expression coined by the Shah, has been thus defined in a book he is believed to have authored: "There is a number of people who, to the detriment of their own country engage in violence and murder. Modern democracy in Iran however, neither allows acts of violence or treachery against people nor does it permit reactionary or retrogressive campaigns. A sinister and profane alliance almost always emerges between these two extremes, producing an incredible and incompatible combination of Islamic Marxism between the atheists and those who claim to be the defenders of religious principles. This is in spite of the fact that the revolutionary freedom seeking of the former group is as far away from real freedom and true revolution as is the Muslim adherent of the latter group from the essence and spirit of Islam." From thenceforth the Shah used this expression many times. During a later speech, having forgotten that this ideology' was in fact his very own brainchild, he explicitly called it an absurd ideology': "Those misled, insane or self-seeking men who are to be found in many of the developed countries and who, unfortunately, engage in a kind of international terrorism have no place in this country. These people...under the pretext of absurd ideologies such as "Islamic Marxism", turn to violence and sometimes murder to the detriment of their own homeland"! This ludicrous expression became a weapon in the hands of the Shah's agents whereby they were able to arrest any dissident against whom they held no evidence and send him to the torture chamber for the crime of having an involvement in the campaign and the absurd ideology' of Islamic Marxism.

were participating in a funeral ceremony. However much they were told to shout “Long live the Shah”, they remained silent. The whole crowd was as silent as if it was attending a funeral! Indeed this was in fact the case, for they were attending the Shah’s funeral.¹

Those who rule us do not appreciate the situation and once again we have failed in our attempts to reform them. If only they had compromised somewhat with the people; if only they had heeded the people’s demands; if only they had performed their duties; if only they had shown sympathy towards Islam and the laws of Islam then the people would not have opposed them so. But the people see that His Imperial Majesty’ is against whatever they attach value to. He is against the Islamic calendar which means he is against Islam itself. In fact the worst thing that this man has done during his reign is to change the calendar.² Changing the calendar is even worse than these massacres; it is an affront to the Most Noble Messenger himself (*s*). In spite of such plans however, they will never achieve ultimate success. Just as they tampered with the Islamic calendar which meant so much to the people,

¹ A few days after the tragedy of January 9, 1978 [Dey 19, 1356 AHS], SAVAK, without prior notice, boarded employees of the Ministry of Education, members of the Rastakhiz Party, and other office employees onto several buses and told them that they were going on a pilgrimage to the holy shrine of Hadrat Ma’sumah in Qum! However, having almost arrived in Qum, the people were forced to alight from the buses and were told to march towards the holy shrine while shouting “Long live the Shah” and exhibiting impassioned affection for His Imperial-Majesty! This demonstration, despite the agents’ threats, took place with such dispassion and indifference that, to quote Imam: “It was as if they had participated in a funeral procession”. At the end of this demonstration’, governmental agents issue a statement in which, while condemning foreign incitement, it is declared: “We, members of the Iranian people’s Rastakhiz Party in the holy city of Qum, vow never to permit the enemies of the nation and of the Shah’s revolution to violate the law” (*Khorasan* newspaper, January 13, 1978 [Dey 22, 1356 AHS], p. 12). Likewise, a similar engineered demonstration was arranged by the Women’s Organization of Khorasan in Mashhad to counteract a magnificent demonstration held by the Muslim women of Mashhad on January 7 (*Khorasan* newspaper, January 12, 1978, p. 1). During another such demonstration held in Tabriz, a clergyman who was known to be a fifth-columnist says: “Imperialism in the guise of religion and faith wants to threaten the unity and unanimity of the Iranian nation”; while a women’s representative also says: “The women of Iran will stifle the sound of reaction before it is voiced”. Accounts of other similar comments and incidents are to be found in the newspapers of the day.

² Toward the end of 1975, on the anniversary of Rida Khan’s birthday, both the Consultative Assembly and the Senate agreed in a joint meeting that the official calendar of Iran was to be changed. Until then, time had been reckoned from the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina (in 622 CE). The new calendar however (known as the Imperial calendar), took as its point of departure the founding of the Iranian monarchy by the Achaemenid emperor Cyrus, fixed somewhat arbitrarily at 529 BCE. Following this change, it wasn’t long before the self-absorbed monarchial regime in Iran was uprooted.

so too they attacked the centers of learning. They have raided and plundered our *madrasahs* several times now. Before, it was the Faydiyyah Madrasah that they stormed and made the scene of their crimes, but now it is the Hujjatiyyah Madrasah, the Khan Madrasah and the Haqqani Madrasah which are the targets of their attacks—or in fact any *madrasah* whose gates are open and where gatherings take place, however small. We are told that the entire doors and windows of the Khan Madrasah have been knocked in and smashed by rifle butts, and that a student of the religious sciences was shot and killed at the gate of the Hujjatiyyah Madrasah. One of the *ulama* who went to visit the scene told me on his return that a stream of blood ran from the place where the student had been shot to the edge of the pool in the *madrasah* courtyard.¹

Do you suppose the chief of police in Qum is responsible for such actions? No, he is not capable of doing such things. Don't repeatedly put the blame on the officials of the regime. The Shah himself is the culprit. He is the one who gives the orders and tells them to kill. If he didn't give the command to kill, there would be no killings. Do you imagine it is a trivial affair to open fire on a whole nation with rifles and machine guns, or to make an armed attack on the theological center in Qum which is so loved and highly respected by the people? Do you imagine that the command for such action could be given by the head of SAVAK in Tehran, the head of SAVAK in Qum or even the Prime Minister? No, it is the Shah himself; he is the prime culprit! And who is responsible for imposing him on us? The Shah himself stated in his book:² "The Allies, after occupying Iran, thought it fitting that I should be in control of affairs, and they agreed to my accession to the throne." May God curse them for thinking it fitting. Later, on realizing the mistake in having mentioned this matter, it was erased from the text. Those Allies, those who signed the Declaration of Human Rights, it is they who appointed such a person to reign over us, and it is they who brought about such repression. You say mankind is free! But what about the Iranian people? Yes, the imperialists appointed a man to rule in Iran, as they had his

¹ On January 9, 1978 [Dey 18, 1356 AHS], the Shah's agents opened fire at Hospital Crossroads on rows of religious students and people of Qum who were conducting a peaceful demonstration in protest against the defamatory article (concerning Imam Khomeini) carried by the *Ittilaat* newspaper. During this incident a young religious student who was shouting slogans from the second floor of Hujjatiyyah Madrasah was wounded by the agents' gun-fire and was carried by other religious students to the pool of the *madrasah* where he finally attained martyrdom.

² The Shah, in his book: *Mission for my Country*.

father before him;¹ the latter also having denied the people all kinds of freedom. But the situation was different then, either people were unable to confront the regime then as they can now or their consciousness was not yet truly awoken.

The theological center in Qum has brought Iran back to life; it has performed a service to Islam that will endure for centuries. This service must not be underestimated; we must pray for the theological center in Qum and pray that we will come to emulate it. This center's name will remain inscribed in history for all time. In comparison to Qum, we here in Najaf are dead and buried;² it is Qum that has brought Islam back to life. It is the center in Qum and the preaching of its *maraji'* and *ulama* that have awakened the universities, those same places where we religious scholars used to be accused of being the opium of the people and the agents of the British and other imperialists. No, all that was the propaganda of Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union and others, designed to misrepresent us and make the *ulama* and their institutions appear to be the opium of the people. They spread such propaganda because they know full well how active the religious scholars are and what a dynamic and militant religion Islam is. They drew up a plan to bring the religious scholars into disrepute, and propagated the notion that religion must be separated from politics.

This campaign has been in operation for many years now, whereby even the *akhunds* themselves have now become convinced by it and ask the question: "What business do we have with politics?" But to pose such a question is in fact to abandon Islam, to bury it in our chambers in the *madrasah* and in our books of religious learning. The imperial powers dearly wish that religion could be separated from politics and politics from religion. From the very beginning this is the idea that our politicians have promoted, until it has reached the stage where even we, the clergy, have come to believe that politics is none of our concern, and must be left to the politicians; and that we must concern ourselves with matters of religion only and turn the other cheek if they slap us in the face.³ This idea of turning the other cheek has been wrongly attributed to Jesus (*a*); and yet again this too has been the

¹ Rida Khan.

² It refers to the quiescent climate of the Najaf theological center. Imam's remarks are indicative of the unfavorable circumstances prevalent in the Najaf theological center and of the indifference demonstrated by the latter.

³ 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.*

doing of these imperial beasts. Jesus (*a*) was a prophet, and no prophet can be so illogical. Look at the history of the prophets. We see how Jesus did not remain among his people very long before his ascension to heaven.¹ You are all aware of the history of the prophets. It is well known that the exalted prophet Abraham (*a*), one of the earliest true prophets of God, took up his axe and shattered all the idols. He was not afraid of being cast into the fire and burned. If he had been afraid of such things then he would not have been a prophet. This man who stood alone before such great forces and who was then cast into the fire, he could not follow a logic that required him, if slapped on one cheek, to turn the other cheek for it also to be slapped. That is the logic of the indolent, the logic of those who do not know God and who have not studied the Quran. Then look at Moses (*a*), a simple shepherd with nothing but his staff in hand. He too fought single-handed and he did so against Pharaoh who made claim to divinity. Here too, the Shah would like to make such a claim but he realizes that now is not the right time, for people would not believe him. Nevertheless, should he detect the least relaxation in our vigilance then he too would cry: “*I am your Lord, the Most High*”.² There have always been those who have made such absurd claims in the past, and there always will be. And then there is the Most Noble Messenger (*s*). As you well know, he began his mission alone, prepared himself for the struggle to come for thirteen years and then fought for a decade. He did not ask: “What business do I have with politics?” But rather he administered the entire Islamic realm. The same was true of the Commander of the Faithful (*a*). He ruled, engaged in politics and fought wars. He never said: “Let me sit at home and devote myself to prayer and worship and not concern myself with political issues.”

But now we find one of the *ulama* (may God grant him mercy) saying: “If the Imam of the Age (*a*) considers it to be the appropriate time then he will come. I cannot claim to be more concerned for Islam than he is and he is well aware of the present situation. Thus, he is the one who must make the first move to remedy our affairs and not I!” This, however, is the logic of those who want to shirk responsibility,³ it is not a logic of which Islam

¹ Imam here is referring to *Surah Ali Imran* 3:55: “And when God said: O Jesus, I am going to terminate the period of your stay (on earth) and cause you to ascend unto Me”; *Surah an-Nisa*’ 4:158: “God took him up to Himself”.

² *Surah an-Naziat* 79:24: “Then he (Pharaoh) said: I am your Lord, the Most High”.

³ A group consisting of both *ulama* and clergymen as well as others, because of an erroneous interpretation of the principle of expectation’ [*intizar*], have adopted the belief that no one has a duty to do anything about oppression, corruption and the non-performance of Islamic duties. These people hold that one must wait (in expectation) until oppression, injustice and

approves. Islam does not acknowledge such reasoning. Those who reason in this way conduct diligent searches in order to come up with a couple of religious traditions which tell us, for example, to make our peace with kings or to pray for them. But this is contrary to the teachings of the Quran. They have obviously not read this holy book. Even if they could find a hundred such traditions, it would not further their argument¹ for such traditions are in discord with the Quran and the custom of the prophets. There is a tradition that says: "Whoever wishes long life for a king will be resurrected along with him."² Could a Muslim possibly wish long life for a king, whereby that king might commit more injustice? Could anyone wish to maintain relations with someone who slaughters people; who slaughters the *ulama* ? Are you aware of how many of our great *ulama*, our valued teachers, are now living in prison or in exile? These are the very same *ulama* and religious scholars who, until recently, were living in exile and who, on being released, returned to their home towns, clenched their fists and began to speak out against the government and the Shah. Once again they were arrested. The honorable young gentleman who delivered a speech at the commemorative gathering yesterday afternoon had previously endured imprisonment and banishment; and it is quite likely that he has been arrested again now, or that he will be tomorrow. This is what true Muslims are made of. He is the true Muslim, who, when he comes out of prison, clenches his fist and resumes his struggle. The Prophet (s) stated in a tradition that even if a Muslim constantly says: "*La ilaha illa'llah*" [there is no God but Allah], but he shows no concern for the affairs of his fellow Muslims, he is not a Muslim.³ A Muslim is the

corruption reach a climax, when the Imam of the Age, may God hasten his manifestation, will appear and fill the world with justice and redress. Not long ago the holders of this view became involved in an extensive operation to form an organization and a collective body; but due to basic organizational disorder and an inability to defend the organization's unsound principles, this group inevitably gave up its overt activities.

¹ Here, the Iranian text reads: "It will be struck against the wall", meaning it will be of no worth. In an Islamic tradition the Prophet (s) said: "When you hear a tradition which is said to be from me, assess it according to the Book of God (Quran). That which agrees with the Book of God you are to accept and that which disagrees with the Book of God, you are to strike against the wall". *Tafsir-e Safi*, vol. 1, p. 21.

² In quoting verse 113 of *Surah Hud* 11:113, Imam as-Sadiq (a) states: "*And do not incline to those who are unjust, lest the fire touch you*". Here, reference is made to one who inclines towards his sovereign and prays for his longevity so that the sovereign may grant him a gift. Refer to *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 72, p. 369.

³ "Whosoever rises in the morning and does not strive to help in the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim": a tradition from the Prophet (s). A similar tradition has been quoted by Imam as-Sadiq (a). Refer to *Usul al-Kafi*, *Kitab al-Iman wal-Kufr*, the chapter entitled "*Ihtimam bi Umur al-Muslimin*".

person who works to benefit Islam and his fellow Muslims; fellow Muslims such as those killed by the Shah. They kill our young men and yet we shouldn't care? They kill our *ulama* and yet we shouldn't care?

Are we supposed to agree to all this, or to behave as if we are in agreement? If this is so then we must become different human beings! In Iran our young men were imprisoned and banished and now they are subject to the same measures again. But when these courageous youths return from prison or exile they recommence their struggle, returning to the themes of their earlier preaching. Again they are sent into exile. But even if they were to be banished or imprisoned and then released ten times over they would still be the same people that they were in the beginning. This is because they have received true Islamic training. Similarly, if the Commander of the Faithful (*a*) were to be killed and then brought back to life a hundred times over, he would still be the same Commander of the Faithful. But take some apathetic person and kill him, if you were to bring him back to life, he would still be as apathetic as before.

We have suffered and continue to suffer all these misfortunes at the hands of those government heads who have signed the Declaration of Human Rights and who loudly proclaim man's right to freedom. Before, it was the British that brought us misfortune (until the time when they no longer held such influence in our country), and now it is the Russians on the one hand and the Americans on the other. These are the ones who are responsible for all our miseries. If only they were to withdraw their protection and backing of those in the Iranian government, the people would skin them alive. It is the government of Iran which granted absolute immunity to the American advisers, for which it got a few dollars in exchange; and one can see how many American officials there are in Iran now and what huge salaries they receive! That is our problem—everything in our treasury has to be emptied into the pockets of America, and if there is any meager amount to spare, it has to go into the pockets of the Shah and his gang. They buy themselves villas and goodness knows what else abroad and stuff their bank accounts with the people's money while the nation lives in poverty.

At the same time, they constantly proclaim: "Iran is one of the most advanced countries in the world. It is now on a par with America, or at least Japan" (and maybe even a little more advanced than Japan). But the absurdity of these words and the warped thinking that underlies them has become apparent to everyone. Even the corner grocer will tell you that the Shah is talking nonsense but that "he is quite unashamed and goes right on talking, so what can be done about it?" After these events, the general strike

and shutdown, you will see in tomorrow's newspapers that they're back to their old bombastic claims: "We hold the support of all the nation; all the people are with us except for a few misguided individuals; those clergymen who are truly enlightened support us, as for the rest they are all reactionaries including the *ulama* and the great *maraji*' of Qum who announced a general shutdown, the true' religious scholars—that's what they call them—are all in agreement with us." The only problem is that these true' religious scholars are only to be found in the newspapers. To which true' religious scholars do they refer? How can any Muslim ever agree with you or consent to the killing of these people?¹ Yes, the case may be that sometimes a Muslim or a scholar is afraid and says nothing, whereas at other times he is not afraid and speaks out; at times a student of the religious sciences is afraid and does not leave his home, whereas at other times he is not afraid and cries out in protest! But agreement', that is the wrong word.

What scholar could possibly agree with you? Could someone be a religious scholar and agree with a massacre? Is it at all possible? Can someone believe in Islam and yet agree with abolishing the Islamic calendar in favor of the calendar of the unbelievers? Could any Muslim agree with this scandalous uncovering of women? The women of Iran have themselves risen up against the Shah and landed him a blow by crying: "We don't want to live this way! We want to be free!" To which this good-for-nothing replies: "But you are free! The only thing is that you cannot go to school wearing a *chador* or head-covering!" You call this freedom? I can't make this state of affairs out in Iran. This Shah and his government are some kind of misbegotten monsters² that are difficult to identify. Our country is in such a terrible state and we are faced with so many difficulties.

God only knows the kinds of problems the people are experiencing and only a fraction are referred to me. For example, they tell me: "We want to build a water-storage tank at such-and-such a place, because the people have no water there and women have to travel about six kilometers to fetch water." Now if people don't even have water, how about electricity or decent roads, do they have these? No, in fact they have nothing! Don't look at the part of Tehran where, on the face of it at least, things have been put in order,

¹ It refers to the religious students and those people who attained martyrdom during the event of January 9.

² This is an expression for anything disturbed and distressed whose internal disturbance has brought about an abnormal state. "*Shutur, gav, palang*" is an expression used in the Persian language to refer to a combination of heterogeneous things or something of incongruous composition. *Amthal va Hikam-e Dehkhoda*, see under the word "*shutur*" [camel].

take a look at the other part of the city. Go look at those pits, those holes in the ground in which people live, dwellings you reach by descending about a hundred steps into the ground. What a terrible place to live! Homes that people have made from rush matting or clay so their poor children can have somewhere to live. Yes, I am talking about Tehran and not some remote village or town; this is how things are in Tehran. When you enter the city you see all the cars and that deceptive exterior, but you haven't seen the state the other side of town is in. The people who live there have no current drinking water in their homes. They have to take their pitchers and climb up those hundred steps until they come to a water tap, then fill their pitchers and climb down again. Picture some poor woman in the middle of the biting winter climbing up and down those steps to fetch water for her children. A reliable informant, the congregational prayer leader of Pamnar, told me of how one of the families that was driven out from one such hole went and sat down in the middle of Pamnar Avenue.¹ This poor man with his wife and children sat there until finally people gathered around and helped to find them a place to live. They weren't even allowed to live in that hole in the ground. Even that was taken from them! That is our progressive' country for you, and its capital city of Tehran. In one of their very own newspapers they wrote that in some parts of the country—I can't remember exactly where, I think maybe it was in the region of Shushtar²—when the people wake up in the morning they wash the trachoma-infected eyes of their children with urine so they can open their eyes. This is the state of our advanced and progressive country! Urine is used to wash their infected eyes because there is a lack of water!

Is our country really so poor? What happens to all of its money? Our country possesses an ocean of oil. It has iron, precious metals, and much more. Indeed, Iran is a rich country. But those so-called friends of mankind' have appointed their agent to rule this country in order to prevent the poor from benefiting from its riches. Everything must go into his masters' pockets and be spent on their enjoyment. Should a small portion of this wealth be left over, then even that goes to the Shah and his gang. Although a trifling amount by comparison, still there is enough for them to have a villa, a palace and an estate³ awaiting them wherever they travel, in addition to enjoying

¹ Pamnar is one of the oldest streets of Tehran which is situated in the city center near to the main bazaar.

² Shushtar is one of the cities of the province of Khuzestan which at one time was one of the most inhabited cities of this province. This city covers an area of 3,528 square kilometers and lies 128 kilometers from Ahwaz (the provincial capital).

³ 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

healthy bank accounts—yes they are truly well-off.¹ They fooled people for a time with this Carter by saying that he would do such-and-such and would take all kinds of positive measures if he came to power.² Once in power however, he said clearly—liars have short memories after all—”There can be no question of human rights in countries where we have military bases; human rights must not even be mentioned”. For after all freedom is part of human rights. First he says human rights are inalienable and then he says: “I don’t want to hear about human rights”. Of course he’s right from his own point of view; he uses the logic of bandits. The head of a government that has signed the Declaration of Human Rights says: “We have military bases in

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.

¹ In footnotes yet to come, indication will be made to the amount of foreign currency held by the Shah as is recorded in the official report made by the Central Bank. During the months of Shahrivar and Mehr 1978 alone [circa August-October], a substantial amount of money was sent out of the country, seventeen entries having been politically-coded credit transfers which were deposited into the Shah’s private accounts in Swiss, French and American banks and which amounted to 30,750,000,000 rials (over 2,000,000,000 dollars). *Gam beh Gam ba Inqilab*, pp. 95-102.

² After ten years of military intervention in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, during which hundreds of thousands of trained military forces were dispatched, and the most sophisticated of arms employed, America was finally defeated, tens of thousands of its men having been killed, wounded or captured and tens of billions of dollars have been spent. As a consequence, in 1975 America was forced to leave this territory. The defeat of this military operation and the innumerable crimes and inhuman acts perpetrated by the American troops as well as the psychological and sociological damages incurred, had made the American people strongly in favor of a peace-loving government which would defend human rights. Furthermore, the American government, having witnessed the overthrow of its agents following the discontinuation of the war in South-East Asian countries such as Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, believed the solution to lie in the creation of a politically-open climate and in allowing conservative and liberal fronts to play a role in Third World countries. In the meantime, the Watergate Scandal of 1974 had truly brought the Republican Party into disrepute both in America and across the world, thus leaving the US government no alternative but to allow a representative of the Democratic Party to win the vote in the presidential elections, by which means it kept alive the possibility of reaching its goals. It was because of this policy that the Zionist front and the global capitalism espoused by Carter were ushered into the political arena along with the argument for human rights’.

Iran; we can't talk about human rights there. Respect for human rights is feasible only in countries where we have no military bases". But for all its boasting about human rights, what miseries America has inflicted on the peoples of Latin America, in its own hemisphere!¹ Again we see what it has done to Lebanon. There too it installs an agent and reduces the country to its present miserable state; and in Egypt it installs another, by the name of Sadat, whose every act is devoted to serving imperialism. A short time ago the latter went to Israel and gave it official recognition whilst approving of whatever the Israelis had to say. The Shah of Iran also says that it is necessary to make peace with Israel. In fact this wretch² gave Israel recognition twenty years ago. I was in Qum at the time when he gave recognition to this government of infidels—and Jewish infidels at that—thereby affronting Islam, the Quran, the Muslim governments and the entire Muslim people. The name of Israel was not openly mentioned at first, but later it was.

Indeed, this person was a slave from the very beginning as he himself later made clear. This man (the Shah) who openly raises the question of human rights is in fact quite right to ask what it is all about.³ What do human rights mean? It means the logic of bandits! It is nothing to do with human rights. The logic of bandits cannot be other than banditry, expressed with machine guns and rifles, by gunning down the religious scholars, by the destruction of the Faydiyyah Madrasah, and the subsequent closing and

¹ As soon as a freedom-fighting movement appeared in Chile, America—the defender of human rights—staged a coup, killed Salvador Allende, and resumed its domination of that country. US espionage agencies and terrorist organizations are currently conducting intense operations against the freedom-seeking people of Nicaragua and El Salvador. Again it was American military intervention which brought about the defeat of the revolutionary regime in Granada. Yet, despite all of this, this country claims to respect human rights and freedom!

² The Shah.

³ On October 25, 1976 [Aban 3, 1355 AHS], the Shah quite clearly expressed his views on human rights' and democracy' in response to the attacks made by Carter during his presidential campaign on the dictatorial and savage actions of the former. In an interview with *Kayhan* newspaper, the Shah said: "They want to question us on democracy and human rights. This is truly ridiculous. Why, does democracy simply mean to shout abuses? Does democracy amount to creating a hullabaloo? Is democracy only killing? What other meaning can democracy possibly have—if indeed it still exists—other than the policy pursued by us?" Once Carter had taken office and had forced the Shah to see things his way and to agree to the announcement of a politically-free climate in the country, and following an intensification of popular demonstrations and the failure of both the Shah and Carter to keep things under control, the Shah in an interview with Radio France on June 19, 1977 [Khordad 29, 1356 AHS], confesses that: "If our defense of human rights leads to our fall and our subjection, then that can no longer be said to be human rights!" He then warns America saying: "We can purchase goods from wherever we please, but who can replace a friendly Iran for America?"!

sequestration of this center of Ja'fari Shi'ism. Faydiyyah Madrasah has been closed for several years now. They plundered the *madrasah* and robbed its students; they burned the turbans of the religious students and even burned their books! They insulted the Quran itself! That is the logic of bandits. As you know, the students in Qum then made their headquarters in the Hujjatiyyah and Khan Madrasahs, and there too they have been attacked and beaten. But if they are beaten and expelled from their *madrasah* a hundred times over, they will establish their base in yet another *madrasah*, for they have come to life, they have awakened! At any rate, these are the difficulties we face. As we sit here, we don't know what is happening to our Muslim brothers in Iran. It is a cause for anxiety; but we shall have to wait until tomorrow to see what happens and how events evolve. One thing that is for certain is that an impressive ceremony was organized yesterday afternoon in memory of those who were killed in Qum. And today too, A'zam Mosque¹ in Qum is full of people and the bazaars and shops of Qum are all closed down. The bazaars in other towns too have also been closed, according to what I have been told. There is no news yet from Shiraz and Isfahan but I have no doubt that there too the bazaars are closed. This is a bewildering situation.

Their logic is the logic of the machine-gun, and the logic of all too many of us is silence. Some say there is no alternative but to remain silent. Their logic is to slap us, and our logic is to be slapped! They claim Jesus (*a*) recommended turning the other cheek. But he would never do such a thing for that is the logic of the apathetic! Jesus was a great prophet. He began his struggle in the cradle when he said: *I shall rise up to establish prayer and worship*. According to the Quran² he was a prophet while still in the cradle. Is it possible that such a person could utter such apathetic, cowardly words? This recommendation to turn the other cheek was invented by those who claimed some affiliation to Jesus (we cannot call them Christians). They deceived the Christians and made them completely passive towards their governments.

There are people among us who tell us we must swallow whatever poison the holders of authority' wish to force down our throats, simply because they are the authorities'. We mustn't say a word against these

¹ The A'zam Mosque, situated beside the holy courtyard of Hadrat Ma'sumah, was established in 1954, due to the efforts of the late Ayatullah Burujerdi. The architect of this mosque was Husayn Lurzadeh and the glazed tiles were laid by Husayn Burhani Isfahani. The mosque is about 11,000 square meters in area, of which 4,000 square meters is actually built upon. Imam's speeches from 1962 until 1964 [1341-1343 AHS] were delivered in this mosque.

² *Surah Maryam* 19:29-33.

tyrannical authorities?. But if what they say is true, then why did Imam Husayn (*a*) oppose the authorities? Why did he confront Yazid¹ and his government “*tu’ti’l-mulk man tasha’*”!² A certain *akhund* wrote to me a few years ago to ask me: “Why do you oppose the government? Do you not know that *God gives authority to whomever He wishes?*” I didn’t even answer him. He wasn’t worth answering. But his question involved a clear denial of the Quran. In a way, it can be argued that God gave kingship to the Pharaoh, but didn’t Moses (*a*) oppose him? Nimrod’s³ kingship was also a divine gift in the sense that everything is from God, but didn’t Abraham (*a*) oppose him? Why is the Prophet in opposition? Why was Hadrat Amir against Muawiyah? Muawiyah also represented the holders of authority’, so why did first the Commander of the Faithful and later Imam Husayn (*a*) oppose him? And then Imam Husayn (*a*) rounded up his family and fifty or sixty followers and rose up in revolt against another holder of authority’, Yazid. Why did he do that? Clearly those who disagree with revolt against the authorities talk sheer nonsense!

Those holders of authority’ who are mentioned immediately after God and His Messenger in the Quran⁴ must also be close to God and His Messenger in their practice. They must be the shadow of God and his Messenger. Yes, the Islamic ruler is the shadow of God,⁵ but that which is meant by shadow is something which of itself has no motion. Your shadow does not move by itself, it moves only when you move. Islam recognizes that person as the shadow of God’ who abandons all individual volition in the sense that he acts only in accordance with the ordinances of Islam, his

¹ Yazid ibn Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan succeeded Muawiyah as the caliph. During his initial year of rule he brought about the event which occurred at Karbala. During his second year as caliph, he raided Medina (the incident of Hurra). His third year as caliph saw him attacking Mecca when the Ka’bah actually caught fire; and it was in this same year that he was overtaken by death.

² It refers to *Surah Ali Imran* 3:26: “Say: O God, Master of the kingdom! Thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever Thou pleasest”. A group of people, by reason of this verse, consider it incumbent to obey the command of anyone in authority—even someone like Yazid.

³ Nimrod reigned in Chaldea under the name of Keykaws. He was an idolater and a relentless tyrant and despot who possessed idol temples of gold, enjoyed a great amount of wealth and had a very large army. *Tarikh-e Anbiya’ az Adam ta Khatam* [History of the Prophets from Adam to the Seal of the Prophets], p. 289.

⁴ In *Surah an-Nisa’* 4:59, obedience towards those in authority is shown to be in conjunction with obedience towards God and the Prophet (*s*).

⁵ When the ruler of Islam is a person such as the Prophet (*s*), his government is referred to as the shadow of God. Hence, in certain traditions the sultan and ruler of Islam has been referred to as the same. Imam Khomeini, by virtue of the rare and gnostic insight with which he was blessed, has explained the meaning of this concept in his speeches.

motion therefore being dependent and not independent. The Messenger of God (*s*) was indeed a true shadow of God. But can the same be said for this vile man, the Shah? Yes, a few thoughtless people among us say so; but that would mean that anyone who rebelled against Yazid who was also a holder of authority' deserved to be killed! In fact, at the time of Yazid, the Umayyad judges delivered a verdict that Imam Husayn, the Doyen of the Martyrs, deserved death! We have not read the Quran properly, and have not understood its logic. Above all else, we must study the Quran. The Quran has given instructions for everything and has made clear what our duties are. It has told us how we are to treat kings.

Why does the Quran repeat the story of Moses (*a*) so frequently? Is it just meant to be an entertaining story? If the Quran wanted to tell us a story, one recitation would be enough. So what is the purpose behind the Quran's insistence on repeating the story of Moses and his opposition to the Pharaoh? It is to make us understand! The Quran constantly discusses warfare against the unbelievers and mentions the affair concerning the hypocrites [*munaḥiqin*]. Is this purely for the purpose of telling us a story? Is the Quran a story-book? The Quran is a book designed to produce true human beings; it is a book intended to create active human beings. It is a book that deals with everything in this world, from beginning to end, and covers all the stages in man's development. It is a book that regulates man's spiritual life and orders its government. Everything is there in the Quran, in the traditions of the Most Noble Messenger (*s*) and in the traditions of the Immaculate Imams (*a*). But careful study of all these sources is needed for us to understand what our duty is. We repeatedly read in the Quran that the Pharaoh behaved in one way and that Moses behaved in another, but we do not consider why the Quran tells us all this. It tells us this so that we too may act like Moses towards the Pharaoh of our age. Let us take up our staffs and oppose this vile man.¹ At the very least, let no one support this regime.

May Almighty God grant you all success. May Almighty God remove this evil rule from the Muslims (the audience cries Amen). May God, Exalted and Almighty, preserve our people in the midst of their tribulation (Amen). May God, Exalted and Almighty, grant a favorable end to this struggle both to the Muslims and to Islam.

¹ The Shah.

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-Eight

Date: May 13, 1978 (AD) / Ordibehesht 23, 1357 (AHS) / Jumadi ath-Thani 5, 1398 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: The causal factor behind all the crimes committed in Iran is the Shah

Occasion: The merciless killings carried out by the regime at the end of 1977 and the beginning of 1978

Those present: Religious students, clergymen and a number of Iranians residing in Iraq

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

The new year of 1978 was no more than four days old when Imam Khomeini (pbuh) delivered a message of condolence to the Iranian nation to commemorate the fortieth day following the death of those martyred in Tabriz. In this message, in addition to disclosing the crimes committed by the Shah's regime - namely, the merciless killing of the people of Qum by SAVAK agents which led to the popular uprising in Tabriz - Imam also stressed: "O you Muslims from various groups, the revered religion of Islam seeks your assistance whatever your trade or profession may be. It is everyone's duty to strive to save this religion and to offset those blows which it has received and continues to receive from the sovereigns of injustice and oppression, especially blows received during this fifty years of anti-Islamic and anti-national rule by the Pahlavi family."

In another part of this speech Imam warned: "The uprising in Tabriz, like the nationwide movement of Iran, is an Islamic uprising. It is an uprising in defence of the truth and the ordinances of Islam, and to relate it to Marxists or to Islamic Marxists, as does the propaganda of the Royal Court, is nothing but a deceit - a deceit carried out because these diverted schools of thought hold no footing in Iran, for were this not the case then the Shah would not afford them mention..."

In a speech given on March 20, 1978 (Esfand, 29, 1356 AHS), Muhammad Riḍa Shah, who considered himself the victor in the Tabriz massacre, mentioned the granting of political freedom and spoke of the Islamic combatants in the most offensive of terms, saying: "... We have decided to give as much individual freedom to people in Iran as possible. It is likely that the antiquated and withered worms of reaction or the pink unfledged chicks will take advantage of this freedom and pull out all the

stops, but no matter what they might say, it won't have the slightest effect on the resolute nation of Iran."

The Shah had become truly conceited, both because of the Arab-Israeli war and the oil sanctions imposed on Arab oil-producing countries, and because of the rise in oil production in Iran to six million barrels a day as well as an increase in the income received by her through foreign exchange. His conceit was so great that he promised that in the near future Iran would become on a par with several of the large industrialised countries of the world, and that she would become "a great civilised country". This was said at a time when, in 1977 (1356 AHS) alone, Iran had borrowed approximately four and a half billion dollars from Western governments and several national state banks; and when, according to a government official of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the average rate of interest charged on American loans to Iran had been twenty percent.¹

On the occasion of his father's birthday, the Shah freed 348 political prisoners in a publicity stunt, although previously, in an interview with foreign journalists he had said: "We in Iran have no political prisoners! Those who are in prison are terrorists who have been involved in acts of violence."!

At the demonstration held in Tabriz to commemorate the fortieth day after the death of those martyred there, a great number of people were arrested and sent to court by both disciplinary forces and SAVAK agents. At that same time, both anti-regime and pro-Imam Khomeini demonstrations sprung up across the country. In Tehran, Babul, Qazvin and Kashan many cinemas and head offices of the Rastakhiz Party were set on fire. The Shah's regime found itself in dire straits. Imam Khomeini's messages were transmitted from Najaf to Tehran on a regular basis and demonstrations engulfed the country.

Despite strict censorship, those headlines of which SAVAK had approved and which therefore appeared in the press at that time were as follows:

"Forty-three arrested during demonstrations and disturbances in another twenty-seven cities"

"Vandals rendered the television relay station at Kashmar inoperational"

"Nineteen of those found distributing (Imam's) declarations were arrested in Tehran"

"An attack on the Iranian radio and television base in Germany"²

¹ *Naft va Buhran-i Energy*, p. 208.

² *Kayhan*, April 3, 1978 (Farvardin 14, 1357 AHS).

This report carried on the front pages of the press is also worthy of note:

“Nationalist committees confront demonstrators and rioters” - the words “nationalist committees” being used here to mean SAVAK agents.¹

Thus, the demonstrations called for by Imam Khomeini continued to be held. Meanwhile, newspapers reported one killed and seven arrested during a demonstration held in Ahwaz, whereas observers said that the number of those killed was in fact in the tens, the press having printed “one person” in accordance with SAVAK instructions.

“The people of Kermanshah blow up the Rastakhiz Party’s headquarters.” Amidst the turmoil evident from such headlines as this, the Shah and his wife, disencumbered from these demonstrations, had gone to Kish for a holiday. In an interview with a foreign correspondent, Abbas Ali Khalatbari, Iran’s Foreign Minister stated: “People are free to conduct peaceful demonstrations in Iran”, but he failed to mention why people were holding protest rallies or why they were being killed. That which really struck the Shah’s regime with fear was the request made by a group from within the armed forces for a religious decree to be announced. The text of this request reads as follows:

“It has been deemed necessary to draw your worthy attention to the routine custom of swearing by Almighty God and the Holy Quran to safeguard the crown and the throne of the imperial regime - an oath taken by all of those in the army at the time of their being decorated or receiving promotion. It is requested that you state your opinion in this regard to the great Islamic Movement, and that you pronounce a decree concerning nonconformity to this oath and commitment.”

On behalf of certain members of the armed forces.

February 21, 1978.

Imam’s reply was as follows:

In the Name of the Most High.

The swearing of an oath to safeguard a *taqhut* power is wrong and to oppose such a power is obligatory. Those who have taken such an oath must act contrary to it. And peace be upon you, and the mercy and blessings of God.”

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini.

When this reply of Imam’s was circulated, the regime became truly afraid and set about considering an alternative solution. The so-called “founders” of the Rastakhiz Party issued a statement in which they said:

¹ The newspapers of *Kayhan*, *Ittilaat* etc., April 4, 1978 (Farvardin 15, 1357 AHS).

“When anarchy prevails, a club is the only thing with which to answer a club. The majority of our people neither approve of sheepish meekness nor of bawling, brawling and window-smashing.”

It was following this statement that news was released under the headlines: “Resistance forces ask that rebels be fought against” and “The formation of groups to tackle vandalism in Khurasan”. Abdul Azim Valiyan, the governor-general of Khurasan, announced: “The holy city of Mashhad is the first Iranian city whose people, by forming corporate groups, have taken the initiative in doing something to prevent seditious conduct.”¹

The demonstrations of Tabriz and the killing of the defenceless people of that city, had a profound impact upon the people. Hence, the government endeavoured to find a way of “making up for the past”, as they themselves put it. It therefore set about organising a pro-regime demonstration there in Tabriz by employing its own commissioned agents. In a press interview, Abdul Majid Majidi, one of the key figures of the Rastakhiz Party, announced: “Cabinet members will be taking part in the demonstration to be held in Tabriz.” Thus, the demonstration needed to serve the government’s purpose took place in Tabriz, and was attended by Jamshid Amuzegar, the Prime Minister, who, before a reported crowd of three hundred thousand people, said: “The government is going to identify the causal factors which lie behind demonstrations and revolts; and henceforth we will keep the people more informed of what is actually going on.”

Sharif Imami, President of the Senate, who kept a low profile during those days, entered the scene and in an open parliamentary debate said: “The Iranian nation will remove any obstacle which lies before it.”

Jamshid Amuzegar, the technocrat and well-experienced Prime Minister of the Shah, said during a press conference which was held subsequent to the arranged rally in Tabriz: “The purpose of this rally was to allow the people of Azerbaijan to show, with the help of the Rastakhiz Party, that those who participated in the demonstration which was held fifty days ago, were not in fact from Azerbaijan. Since this request of the people of Azerbaijan to stage a rally could not be met prior to the New Year, it was postponed until today when we were able to give a positive response and could witness the sentiments of these people.”

It was at this time that an organisation called “Sazman-i Intiqam” (The Organisation of Revenge) was set up which was composed of SAVAK members and monarchists and which, as its maiden operation, blew up the

¹ *Kayhan*, April 6, 1978 (Farvardin 17, 1357 AHS).

homes and offices of two barristers-at-law who had uttered certain rousing remarks.

On Friday, April 21, 1978 (Ordibehesht 1, 1357 AHS), the city of Isfahan witnessed the biggest anti-regime demonstration to date. Dozens were injured during this demonstration which ended in clashes between people and officials; and the enraged people of Isfahan attacked and set fire to the Women's Organisation headquarters and several branches of various banks. In other cities the situation was much the same.

Meanwhile, Walter Scheel, the West German President, during a meeting with the Shah in Tehran, underlined the cementing of relations and the enhancement of close ties with Iran! On Monday, April 24, 1978 (Ordibehesht 4, 1357 AHS), the Shah, in an interview with German reporters who had accompanied Scheel to Iran, said: "We shall carefully monitor the situation to ensure everything remains under control. We shall do everything in our power not to make a U-turn but instead shall continue to pursue our policies of liberalisation, for this is what I have had in mind from the very beginning." Then, in order to please the West, the Shah added: "We have no intention of asking for an increase in the price of oil", after which he said: "When we told our own people that they could enjoy freedom of speech, we were aware that, as always, a profane comradeship existed between the red and black reactionaries. We shall try to involve the majority of people in all affairs, from everyday affairs of life to issues of politics." But everyone, even the German reporters, knew that the Shah was lying. The front page of the following day's newspaper read: "Distributors of offensive writings and declarations have been arrested" - "offensive writings" meaning the treatise of Imam and "declarations" meaning the messages and statements of Imam Khomeini with regard to the fortieth day following the bloody tragedy of Tabriz.

Newspaper headlines of Thursday, April 27, 1978 (Ordibehesht 7, 1357 AHS), were dedicated to the following news item: "A large number of arms smuggled into Iran".

- The mystery surrounding arms smuggling to Iran and Saudi Arabia became solved because of a murder incident on Yugoslavia Road in which two drivers were killed.

- An Austrian driver has transported a consignment of arms and explosives from Tehran to an unknown destination.

- The driver of a lorry loaded with munitions was expelled from Iran by the Austrian embassy (in Iran).

- Arms and explosives were taken to Iran concealed in a lorry.

On the following day, the Austrian embassy (in Iran) issued a statement in which it announced: "The explosives which were smuggled into Iran were used in the arson attacks on banks in Tabriz." These unfounded reports were fabricated and published to authenticate the remarks made by Jamshid Amuzegar, who claimed that: "The Tabriz demonstrators were not from Azerbaijan but had come from abroad".

Meanwhile disturbances broke out in the University of Azarabadegan in Tabriz. Students from other universities had also placed the government under extreme pressure by their engagement in nationwide strikes and demonstrations. Lectures had to be cancelled and the regime's impotence in confronting the students became more apparent than ever before.

In Ordibehesht 1357 (April/May, 1978), Nuruddin Taraki, a Soviet agent, attempted a communist coup in Afghanistan and to a certain extent this matter overshadowed reports which appeared in the national press concerning the popular demonstrations in Iran. However, the crucial interview conducted by the French newspaper *Le Monde* with Imam Khomeini, was immediately cabled to the main national newspapers in Iran; and without delay, reporters set about translating this interview, the text of which was rapidly circulated by Imam's supporters and followers.

During this interview, Imam replied in detail to the various questions posed by Eric Rouleau, a correspondent for *Le Monde*. When asked: "What do you mean by the words Islamic government? - a term which immediately brings to mind the Ottoman Empire or the State of Saudi Arabia?", Imam replied: "The only former example of an Islamic government to which we can turn for reference in order to discern its meaning is that which prevailed at the time of the Prophet (pbuh) and of Imam Ali (pbuh)."

Meanwhile, Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari was also interviewed daily by both Iranian and foreign reporters. When a French correspondent asked his opinion concerning "Islamic government" (something to which Imam ascribed great importance), he answered: "An Islamic government is something which we deeply desire but which cannot be achieved under the present circumstances. At present, its realisation can perhaps be said to be a distant prospect. We want the constitutional law to be implemented before anything else."¹

Imam Khomeini, who was kept fully and accurately informed of the solid movement in Iran, and who received regular reports of the shoulder-to-shoulder demonstrations held by the people, continually called on the nation

¹ *Nihadat-i Ru'aniyun-i Iran*, vol. 7, pp. 164 & 165.

to keep the movement going in the inspiring proclamations he made. In the present speech (Speech 28), which was delivered in the holy city of Najaf at Shaykh Ansari Mosque on May 13, 1978 (Ordibehesht 23, 1357 AHS), before religious students, clergymen and a group of Iranians residing in Iraq, the merciless murders which took place during the end of 1977 and the beginning of 1978 (1356 and 1357 AHS) have been condemned outright. Imam gives people the glad tidings that:

“ . . . These are disasters and yet glad tidings for us; glad tidings can be found in all of these affairs: the glad tidings of the nation’s ultimate victory; the glad tidings of the severance of foreign influence (God willing); the glad tidings of the overthrow of this dynasty (Pahlavi) and of their departure from this country or from this world. This is all good news and people must be strong, optimistic and fearless.”

In his speech, as well as giving the glad tidings of an imminent victory, Imam also maintains that the regime’s killings are due to a kind of insanity with which dictators are usually afflicted towards the end of their lives. In pointing out the Shah’s new tactics, which entailed a continuation of the killings whilst at the same time expressing regret for them, Imam states: “Your (the Shah’s) repentance spells death; a wolf’s repentance spells death.”¹ In another part of his speech, the Leader of the Revolution argues that American backing is the cause of the perpetuation of the Shah’s crimes; whilst towards the end of his discourse, he underlines both the need for the theological centre of Qum and those clergymen who are involved in the ongoing movement to come to the fore, and the need for unity between all segments of society. Imam also emphasises the importance of avoiding the formation of different parties, and he calls on everyone to join together under the banner of “the Party of God”.²

A factor of paramount importance in this speech is the stress placed by Imam upon the need for the movement’s affairs to be organised in the religious teaching centres, and for the establishment of organisations and organisational networks between the clergy and the centres of religious teaching, to enable the struggle to further develop. These comments subsequently led to the employment of new methods in the approach taken to continue the struggle within the country. In this regard, Imam states: “... Now that the people of Iran have risen up... they must not lack organisation. There

¹ Reference to a Persian proverb.

² See footnote 21 of this speech.

must be links between the theological centres of Qum, Tehran and all other cities. Links are needed; this movement must be organised.”

This speech of Imam’s soon reached Iran where hundreds of thousands of copies were reproduced and distributed among the different sectors of society. The Shah, having become extremely afraid, gave up the idea of visiting Bulgaria and Hungary, and the Ministry of the Royal Court issued a statement announcing that “His and Her Majesties’ journey has been postponed.” Furthermore, the big capitalists began to consider withdrawing their capital from the country.

The Shah, who had completely lost face, brought his wife Farah on the scene. During an interview, the latter gave the glad tidings of “more freedom for the universities”, and bearing a heart-rending expression she said: “If a problem exists in some far off place, I feel a sense of guilt about it.”

Universities were closed down, both popular and student demonstrations continued, and the big capitalists had begun to flee the country, but nevertheless, the Shah did not halt his fruitless endeavours. With the exception of both Imam, who with certitude gave the glad tidings of the Shah’s imminent departure and the nation’s forthcoming victory, and those who believed in the words of Imam and regarded him as a wise freedom-fighter and a sincere *marja*’, everyone else, from foreign analysts and governmental politicians, to opposition and religious parties and figures, generally believed the possibility of deposing the Shah and, more importantly, of uprooting monarchical rule in the country, to be an impossible task; and this was especially so considering America’s influence in the country. However, Imam did not falter in honouring the grave commitment to which he had pledged himself; and having learned from the valuable experience gained on Khordad 15, the great nation of Iran had this time entered the arena whole-heartedly, to bear out God’s promise that: ***If you help (the cause of Allah), He will help you*** (Quran: Sura 47, verse 7).

Speech Number Twenty-Eight

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

I do not know where to begin. Should I talk about the people's misery, or about glad tidings? At present misery prevails throughout Iran, and yet it is a misery which constitutes glad tidings. As I had formerly predicted, when these dictators, these despots and ruffians, anticipate and actually see their own fall and their own death toward the end of their lives, and when the end of their political power is in sight, they become mad. They completely lose all self-control and act in a state of madness and insanity when dealing with people. The Iranian people are currently eye-witnesses to this; and even you too gentlemen, witness it to a lesser degree.

At present, Qum, the center of the religious institution, the center of Islamic jurisprudence, lies in the clutches of the well-furnished Mongolian army. The well-furnished army of Muhammad Rida Shah is worse than that of Genghis (Khan). People's homes, according to what we have been told, are being searched one by one, and no one knows what they are looking for. Army troops are now stationed in Qum with guns, tanks and machine guns, and all of the theological centers and the homes of the *ulama* are, as is often the case, under police and army observation. They have invaded the homes of the *maraji*', committing murder and perpetrating crimes there.¹ Going by information received today, certain *ulama* are in hospital right now.²

¹ Imam Khomeini and other *maraji*' declare May 9, 1978 [Ordibehesht 19, 1357 AHS], a day of a general strike to commemorate the holding of mourning ceremonies forty days after the martyrdom of those killed in Yazd, Jahrom, Qazvin, Ahwaz, Isfahan and other provinces; and they also call for the nation to conduct further mourning ceremonies on this very day. The people of Qum also participate in the numerous gatherings which are held in the homes of the *maraji*'. This is when the regime's agents attack the defenseless people. A number of people flee to the home of Ayatullah Golpaygani for refuge, and the regime's agents have the audacity to invade the privacy of the Ayatullah's home, beating and injuring the people right there and then. As a result of this incident, the Ayatullah suffers a heart-attack and is taken to hospital. The following day, armed agents savagely attack the people again at Eram Square, striking and cursing them. A group of people found shelter in Mr. Shariatmadari's home which agents then storm. The latter begin to fire at the people killing a young religious student as a result.

² It refers to Ayatullah Golpaygani.

This is the insanity which has befallen this person (the Shah), and I don't know where it will end. It is a nervous condition which has come about because he sees himself as fallen, although as far as the nation is concerned, indeed he was fallen from the very beginning. From the very beginning, on the day when Rida Shah, under Britain's orders, attacked Iran and carried out a coup d'état, those who were aware of what was going on realized that he was fallen. It was later on, when he (Rida Shah) began to throw his weight around, and his police behaved the way they did with the people, with the *ulama* and with women, with the religious teaching centers and with religious propagation, that people then recognized the monstrosity and the beast with which they were to contend. So we see that this dynasty was fallen in the nation's eyes from the start. Its fall is not a thing of the present, for it was fallen fifty years ago as far as the people are concerned. However, the nation has now become aroused and word has it that more than thirty cities in Iran have demonstrated against this man, shouting "Death to the Shah".

According to the Shah's reasoning, the people of these thirty cities and of the country as a whole have all come from abroad and have entered Iran with forged passports! Furthermore, they are a handful' of rioters!¹ The entire *maraji'* of Islam and the *ulama* from all regions of the country have risen up against this person; and from what we were told today, fifty-six of the *ulama* in Tehran have refrained from attending the mosques, declaring that they have done so in protest to the regime's behavior. Yet it is claimed that they have all come from outside Iran via forged passports!—that they are a handful of rioters!—that they are troublemakers! The *ulama* of Tehran, the *ulama* of Qum, the *ulama* of Khorasan, the *ulama* of Azerbaijan, the *ulama* of Yazd, the *ulama* of Kerman, the *ulama* of wherever, these are all a bunch of rioters!! The one who is not a rioter is Muhammad Rida esquire! This person is not a rioter! He is a peace-lover! He is taking us through the gateway of a great civilization'!

¹ During a telephone conversation held in Shahrivar [August/September] between the Shah and Carter (the US President), the former refers to the popular revolution as a riot which has been arranged in accordance with devilish plans. During parliamentary proceedings, the Minister of State says: "It is not clear when and over which border those who caused the riot in Tabriz crossed into Iran"! A political forecaster for the Rastakhiz Party (Ja'farian), maintains that the riot' in Tabriz was the work of people who bore no relation to the nation of Iran. A pseudo-clerical representative of Parliament for Tabriz says: "Islam categorically forbids rioting"! In the Majlis, Senator Ali Rida'i states: "The rioters were a gang of inexperienced youngsters and it is not clear which border they crossed or what means of identity they used when entering Iran"! Cited from page 13 of the book, *Khatirat-e Brzezinski* [Brzezinski's Memoirs].

As for this book that they have written for him on his behalf¹—he hasn't got the intelligence to write it himself, it is they who write it for him²—I don't know whether he has taken the trouble to read it to see what nonsense it contains, or whether he hasn't even read it let alone write it. If anyone were to take a look at this book he would truly be ashamed at how a pen could write with such abandon in referring to so much suppression, so much hardship suffered by the people, so much killing, so many conspiracies, so many deals to sell the nation to foreigners, and so many acts of betrayal toward the Muslim nation of Iran—in referring to all of these as the “rendering of a service”! There is freedom in Iran! A freedom of which no one is aware! Were someone from the planet Jupiter to read this book, he would think that its contents resemble Plato's thinking!³ He would be convinced that Iran is another world! A world in the beyond! If he were to actually enter Iran however, and see what kind of government it has, if he were to see what the Shah's government is like, then he would realize that everything contained in the book is an exaggeration; it is empty talk. You ought to read this book. Of course the one who wrote it must have been a well-informed person—whether he (the Shah) has actually read it or not I don't know, but in any case the writer himself has been someone possessed of some knowledge. Nevertheless, he has sat and written about the beyond; about somewhere beyond this world.

As for him (the Shah), he wants to take us to the gateway of a great civilization'; or rather, this is what he has already achieved! We are now at

¹ The book *Toward the Great Civilization* was published under the name of Muhammad Rida Shah in 1977 (or, as some contend, in 1976), by “The Center for Research into and Publication of Political Culture Prevalent during the Reign of the Pahlavis”. The false, mendacious and fanciful issues raised in this book even came under criticism from the Shah's own partisans and supporters abroad. Fereyduh Hoveyda, who translated the book into French writes: “In my opinion, the book *Toward the Great Civilization* is no more than a world of fantasy...and it is a far cry from reality”. Similarly, the Iranian ambassador to England said that “in a way the book amounted to the depiction of an hallucination which was the outcome of the mental discharge of a demented, infirm individual.”

² 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 Shuja'uddin Shafa', who had been in charge of cultural affairs during Rida Shah's reign, and was Muhammad Rida Shah's ambassador to London.

³ That is, whoever read this book would think that in Iran the Shah had managed to bring about that very utopia which Plato had strived to accomplish!

the gateway of a great civilization’! We are presently within a city which is situated in the beyond! We have now entered a great civilization’! But what do we have to show for it? Name one thing that is ours other than the lying and exaggerated talk in which we indulge; other than this what do we have? What do we have other than these crimes, these killings, this suppression, and this lying? Even the press reporters who have behaved the way they have for some forty to fifty years, even they have now objected to their having to tell so many lies. Yes, press reporters have argued “Don’t force us to tell so many lies”. Going by what some have said, university professors have voiced objection saying that they will not attend classes and lectures while the universities are in their present state—a state brought about by the regime.¹ But then again, these professors are also probably a gang of rioters!

These *ulama* in Tehran who, according to reports received today, intend to refrain from attending congregational prayers as a form of protest, and also those at the theological center of Qum, which is presently closed down and has been brought to a standstill, these are all a bunch of rioters who have crossed over the border into Iran by using forged passports! And all of the people of Azerbaijan—those who have conducted such an uprising, the likes of which has rarely been witnessed before, and who have engaged in such an unprecedented shutdown²—these too were a bunch of hooligans! The same

¹ In April/May of 1978 [Ordibehesht, 1357 AHS], the majority of the country’s universities closed down and university professors stopped attending their lectures. On May 13, 1978 (Ordibehesht 23, 1357 AHS), the *Kayhan* newspaper wrote: “In a letter addressed to...the head of the university, one hundred and seventy professors from various faculties of Azerbaijan University have expressed their regret with regard to the recent predicament (the regime’s attacks on student demonstrations and its turning a deaf ear to the students’ requests) and have warned that should this state of affairs continue, then they, the lecturers, will refuse to attend lectures”.

² On February 18, 1978 [Bahman 29, 1356 AHS], which corresponded to the fortieth day following the martyrdom of those killed in Qum, the clergy of Tabriz declared a general strike. People intended to gather at Haj Mirza Yusuf Aqa Mosque on that day, but the regime’s agents closed the mosque doors on them. When confronted by the people’s severe reaction, police troops opened fire, and in response people then charged toward the officers causing them to flee. Then, a crowd of people who were carrying the corpses of martyrs and shouting “Death to the Shah”, took to holding a demonstration in the high streets. As they walked, they demolished a range of buildings: those Saderat banks which belonged to Bahai capitalists; the Rastakhiz Party’s central headquarters; a statue of the Shah which stood in Khaqani Square; the Bahai-owned Pepsi Cola factory; and many cinemas and liquor stores. They also set several of the officers’ vehicles on fire. For a few hours the city lay in the hands of the people, but fresh governmental troops as well as military forces resumed their attack and reclaimed the city having killed and wounded hundreds of people. By the end of the day, Tabriz had taken on the appearance of a war-stricken city.

goes for the people of Yazd,¹ and for Iran as a whole. All the people of Iran are a bunch of hooligans', to quote them, "who don't understand what they are saying"! According to the regime, those who oppose dictatorship, those who oppose the traitors to Islam and those who have betrayed this nation, those who oppose such things are but a bunch of hooligans who have come from abroad!

Even now, in spite of the set-up that has come about in Iran, and in spite of all this opposition to the regime from thirty-odd cities as well as villages—yes, in spite of all these issues with which the regime is confronted, whenever he (the Shah) speaks, he in no way stands down from his initial claim that: "The entire nation of Iran is with us! All of the various guilds are with us"! Only last night we were all told of how the heads of a hundred and twenty-odd various guilds had said that they remain loyal to the regime, that they are behind the Shah-People Revolution, and that they object to these rioters and have asked the government to punish them!² Are these a hundred and twenty-odd guilds outside Iran? No, they must be in Tehran and probably in the bazaar of Tehran. But if they are indeed in Tehran and in its bazaar, then how come they say that this bazaar has now been closed for four days? I don't know about now, today, but for the past four days they say it has been closed. These people in the bazaar were in protest. Indeed, it is usually the case that social uproars initially emerge from the bazaar. The source of the outcry is the university and the bazaar. Have those in the universities come from abroad?! And those in the bazaar of Tehran, have they come from

¹ Following the Tabriz uprising, the *ulama* and clergymen of Iran declared the fortieth day after the martyrdom of those killed during that event, a day of public mourning. In the majority of Iranian cities, people assembled and engaged in anti-Shah demonstrations. On March 30, 1978 [Farvardin 10, 1357 AHS], once the splendid mourning ceremonies held by the people of Yazd in RawDah-ye Muhammadiyyah Mosque had drawn to an end, military troops surrounded those who had poured into the streets, killing and wounding a number of them. By way of retaliation, the enraged people then broke the windows of governmental offices and the headquarters of the Rastakhiz Party, and overturned a statue of the Shah.

² On May 13, 1978 [Ordibehesht 23, 1357 AHS], the *Ittilaat* wrote: "Following the statement issued by the government concerning punitive measures to be taken against the rioters and saboteurs, the leaders and representatives of one hundred and forty-five trade unions in Tehran have today issued a statement in which they express their disgust with regard to the recent incident involving riots and disturbances in Tehran and other cities; and they have requested that the government immediately silence and punish the rioters." In acknowledgement, a written statement released by the government read: "The guilds of Tehran are unanimously and firmly prepared to make any kind of offering or self-sacrifice in order to silence the saboteurs and to crush the enemies of this land and frontier. Each of these guilds constitutes a stronghold for the protection and safeguard of the monarchy, the Constitution, and the Shah-People Revolution.

abroad too?! These a hundred and twenty-odd guilds that have all allegedly expressed their loyalty to the regime are, it seems, located beneath the ground! We who are abroad cannot see them! Anyone who is right-minded and upright cannot see them! These guilds all support you!! The entire thirty-odd million population of Iran is behind you!! Only a few thousand, only a few in numbers oppose you! Initially it was said that the number of the opposition could be counted on one hand. Gradually they increased this figure somewhat; and now it has reached the thousands—those who oppose the regime now number two or three thousand! Millions of the remaining population are all in favor, and support the regime! But where exactly these people are, we don't know! Are they in Yazd? Are they in Qum? Are they in Tehran? Are they in Mashhad? Are they in Azerbaijan? Are they in Kurdistan? Are they in Ahwaz? Where are they? Where is this place that is beyond the reach of this present-day population of Iran?

However, the people that now live in Iran are well aware of what is going on. Those reports which ought to have been made by news agencies concerning the present situation in Iran have indeed been made. These reports have cited some twenty-odd Iranian cities—some have said twenty-five, others thirty-three—as being on strike. People in these cities have all demonstrated against the Shah. Even radio reports attest to this. It is said that these, the Shah and his government, hold a certain theology student [*talaba*]*—*meaning myself*—*responsible for all this; but I say it is all his own doing. All of these thirty-odd cities which have risen up have done so as a result of his own provocative behavior. Were a thief to say that a judge has severed his hand, he is to be told: “No, you yourself have severed your own hand. You are the one who thieved; and whoever thieves loses his hand.”

Just give it some thought; that is, if you still have the ability to think. You are actually witnessing your fall with your own eyes and so you have lost the ability to think straight. Just think of what you and your father brought upon this nation over the last fifty years; of what this nation went through, firstly because of your father and afterwards because of you. Think of what you did to this nation; of all the pain which sits in the hearts of the parents of those killed by you throughout this period; from the time when that villain, may Allah's curse befall him, perpetrated that crime in Gawhar Shad Mosque, until today, when we see the same crime being committed by you yourself. Do you expect the nation not to erupt? Does it take someone to act as the detonator before the eruption can take place? This country is presently a tinderbox on the verge of erupting anyway. Do you think that this eruption can be prevented by these profligate acts whereby one day a

Revenge Group' is formed and another a Paykar Committee' is formed and other such absurdities?¹

When you attend their parliamentary sessions, just listen to how these four wretches talk in order to ensure their re-election to the Majlis next year—a matter concerning which even they themselves have spoken of. Even the Member of Parliament for Azerbaijan itself says: “These people are not from Azerbaijan. That anyone from Azerbaijan would oppose the Shah is impossible.” So where are these people from then? Where are the people of Tabriz from Mr. Member of Parliament?! That is the state of our Parliament and the deterioration that has come about therein. One day it is Mudarris who is in the Majlis, and another day it is these that you see for yourselves. One day it is Mudarris who stands before all those present and speaks in opposition to Rida Shah—of course they eventually killed him but he stood in opposition until his last breath—and another day it is these, who, for the sake of being re-elected to Parliament, say the sort of things that they all know themselves to be lies, that others know to be lies, and that they themselves know that everyone knows to be lies. They say them nevertheless. In order to further their own interests and to secure the approbation of Rida Shah and Muhammad Rida Shah, they incur the wrath of Almighty God. This is the state of our Majlis; that is the state of our religious laws; that is the state of our bazaar; that is the state of our oil; and that is the state of our independence.

God is my witness to how deeply grieved some of these high-ranking officers are who sometimes come to see me *incognito*. They are grieved by these American advisers who, every so often, come here to Iran in fresh troops to play such havoc with us; and they are grieved by the deals these good-for-nothings strike with them. And I don't know, it is truly beyond me

¹ Having sensed its impotence vis-à-vis the people's strength, the regime sought to terrorize people and to oust them from the field of combat by planting bombs in various parts of the city and conducting secret attacks. To this end, agents of the regime and SAVAK members coalesced to accomplish these operations by forming clandestine groups called “The Underground Organization of Revenge” and “The Paykar Committee”. Included in their operations were the planting of a bomb in the homes of Dr. Matin Daftari and Daryush Furuhar, and the attack made on a high school in Najafabad in Isfahan. This underground organization asserted that its prime objective was to protect the country's open political climate! See the *Ittilaat* newspapers of May 1-2, 1978 [Ordibehesht 11-12, 1357 AHS]. By terrorizing well-known figures, this organization aimed on the one hand to intimidate the combatants and to oust them from the field of combat, and on the other hand it aimed to draw public attention toward those who had been the victims of the regime's aggression and hence to divert public attention from the true leaders of the movement.

why these high-ranking officers of ours are so incompetent. Why are they so incapable? Why have they remained seated at home and taken no action thus allowing others to impose upon them so? Why do they allow these American advisers to treat them as they do? Why don't they kick this reprobate out?¹ They said to us: "Well, if he (the Shah) were to go, who would replace him?" I told them that if he were to go and even Ubaydullah² were to take his place, then that would be better than him staying, because whoever were to replace him would at least pay this country some attention. He has now become worn out. He is reaching the end of his life and has become neurotic and mad. He has lost all self-control, and continues killing people; and God only knows where it will all end. If he goes however, people will be granted a respite, no matter who his replacement may be. But not even one hour of relief can be had while he remains. If he goes and someone else takes his place, at least the people will be at ease for a while. Don't imagine that if he goes then the world will come to an end, for his going will upset nothing. Where are these high-ranking officials—General so-and-so, Lieutenant General so-and-so, Major General so-and-so? These titles are mere words. These people are just like Members of Parliament who keep bragging that they are the representatives of such-and-such a place, and that they each speak "on the nation's behalf". This good-for-nothing stands alone, and then he talks about "myself and the entire nation" as if the two were united!

How can it be said that this nation, a nation which has now risen up against this reprobate, a nation which can see how this person has given away and destroyed whatever it had, a nation which sees how he has corrupted its youngsters and how he wants to corrupt its girls, how can this nation be said to fully support the idea of the revolution—the "Shah-People Revolution"?! Yes, despite everything they still have the audacity to talk of the Shah-People revolution!! Why not call it the American revolution and come right out with it? Why not speak of American commands, of the American revolution? What a state to be in! As he (the Shah) himself stated in something he wrote: "They (the foreigners) thought it fitting that I should be in control of affairs". May God curse those who took it upon themselves to consider such a thing fitting for us.

Qum is now under martial law, and from what we hear so too is Tabriz and Mashhad, or rather they are under something even worse for this surely

¹ The Shah.

² It refers to Ubaydullah ibn Ziyad, the governor of Kufah during Yazid's caliphate. It was because of the former's acts of conspiracy and his direct involvement in affairs that the tragedy of Karbala came about.

does not constitute martial law! Martial law is a kind of social order whereby certain social intercourse and social gatherings are contained. But is bursting into people's homes martial law?! Bursting into people's homes to conduct searches, is that martial law? They say that government agents have surrounded the entire city of Qum and are busy conducting searches there. They are looking for arms. They are afraid of their own shadows, the poor wretches! Don't be fooled by such acts of violence. Don't let it intimidate you in any way. These agents right now are frightened of their own shadows. They are so beset by fear that just like a cat which, when all else is lost, attacks everything in a fit of panic using its paws, claws and anything else it can use, so they too, having reached that stage, now attack the people using hands, arms, legs and all kinds of things such as machine guns, tanks, artillery and the like. They attack the defenseless people. In Qum, they are searching homes, and they have said that they intend to do the same in Azerbaijan; indeed, the whole of Iran is to be searched by them.

He (the Shah) himself is the one who has provoked all this; not I. I am a mere theology student [*talaba*], who, like other honorable religious students, likes others in other cities, voices grievances about the regime. The one who lies at the heart of the matter, at the core of this revolution and these outbursts is he, the Shah himself. He is the very person who plays a central role in all this. It is a mistake for the one who is committing treason to believe that when the people shout out against this treason then a third party must have provoked them to do so. You yourself are the instigator. You provoked the people with your acts of treachery. You are the one who betrayed this nation, and in return, people have risen up and raised objection. There is plenty about which to object. What do you expect these poor people to do? You have marred and destroyed whatever reputation this Islamic nation had, and now you are busily engaged in bringing further loss and ruin.

People have now been driven to extremities; they have been driven to lay their lives on the line. Youngsters are killed and their parents then step forward to take their place in the struggle. The regime's agents kill people in Qum, and these people are then replaced by others, both young and old, from other parts of the city. People are tired of living. They are now tired of this situation, of this state of affairs that you have brought into being here. For whom is there any comfort? Who can be at ease for a day or even an hour, let alone have some kind of a life? People prefer not to have an existence in this world rather than to live this kind of life. So the blame lies at your own door and there is no longer anything that you can do to put things right.

Your repentance means nothing to the nation. You may well truly repent and give people that which is rightfully theirs and attempt to make up for all the crimes you have committed. It is possible that God may accept your repentance, for He is Magnanimous, but the nation will not. We cannot accept your repentance. Your repentance spells death. The repentance of a wolf spells death. Now, at this late hour, he has resorted to claiming that he has issued orders for the people not to be treated so badly. Only last night he said that he had instructed so-and-so to no longer maltreat the people and so on. And so there you have the wolf's repentance of which I just spoke. Doubtless, you (the Shah) are now employing other means to try to pave the way for further crimes to be perpetrated; for there is no way that you would ever give up committing crimes. You are someone whose nerves have been truly shattered and destroyed, and who can see that the entire nation is against him. Moreover, you fear that a prolonging of the nation's opposition may mean a withdrawal of your masters' support of you, and God only knows that this iniquitous America would leave nothing behind for you should it one day withdraw its backing. Under such circumstances your associates would devour you.

But what is the nation to do now? Foreign advisers have poured into the country and everything is in their hands. They are the ones who hold the power; the nation is powerless. These people who rant about human rights are the same people who have dragged our nation into such a mess. What is a powerless nation which possesses neither arms nor anything else to do? However, no weapon can compare to faith. No weapon can present a challenge to the nation's uprising. Today, no matter how many people they may kill, no amount of weapons can present a challenge to this popular uprising. As you now see, every city is beset by misery. Every day the people of these cities are harassed by the police, or harassed by soldiers and the military with tanks, artillery and guns; or they have to put up with a certain group of people who come and stage demonstrations shouting "long live this" and "up with whatever". A certain reprobate actually entered the homes of some of the *maraji*, drew his gun and threatened to kill everyone present unless they cried "long live such-and-such". And from what I hear, those present did not comply but instead put him in his place good and proper. This is what they have to endure—having to shout "long live whatever". But does shouting "long live" something actually afford that something a long or eternal life? Things have gone too far now; he ought to leave well alone and look out for himself. If he can save himself from being killed by this nation, then he ought to run away secretly. He unduly cancelled his trip abroad

thinking that he could control affairs himself¹—supervise the killings personally—only too aware that were he to go away, someone else might replace him. But whether you go or not, you are all washed-up, you poor wretch. And this is of your own doing. We didn't do it. The nation didn't do it. You did it yourself; you sowed the seeds. Would this situation ever have arisen if the government was a legitimate government, a legitimate power and a legitimate administration—if it showed sympathy and concern toward the nation and toward Islam? Would such a situation ever have arisen? Would the people have demonstrated against you? No; in no way would this have happened. So you should realize that these affairs and this unanimous and unidirectional demonstrating that you witness against you are of your own making; you yourself have brought all this about.

These are disasters and yet glad tidings for us. Glad tidings can be found in all of these affairs: the glad tidings of the nation's ultimate victory; the glad tidings of the severance of foreign influence, God willing; the glad tidings of the overthrow of this (Pahlavi) dynasty and of their departure from this country or from this world. This is all good news, and people must be strong, optimistic and fearless.

Certain factors are intrinsic to any Islamic revolution. Killing and suffering are integral parts of an Islamic revolution. We are to discover how Islam in fact came about. This religion of Islam, and this Holy Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him and his family, suffered all kinds of calamities while reforming the community. When it became possible to rise up against polytheism, atheism and injustice, what great battles were engaged in by the Holy Prophet, what numerous lives were lost, to what great lengths the Prophet himself went and what wounds he bore. From the advent of Islam, from that day when it was declared that henceforth one must rise up against tyrants, such as these we now face, the Holy Prophet followed a policy of fighting, killing and being killed. He did so for the sake of social reform and in order to sever the hands of these thieves and traitors and to put an end to their lives, for such people are harmful to society. Those members of the tribe of Quraysh, who owned gardens and caravans, were harmful to society; they had to be annihilated. So in fact, in the beginning this was the

¹ The Shah had intended to make an official visit to Bulgaria in May of 1978, but the expansion and intensification of the revolution led him to dispense with this plan. Thus, on May 11, 1978, it was announced that the Shah had postponed his official visit to Bulgaria due to his having caught a cold. With tongue-in-cheek, Parviz Raji, the Shah's last ambassador in London, writes in his book: "Everyone suspected that the germs which had caused this cold had probably come from Qum"!

approach adopted by Islam. By the time it reached you and me however, Islam had become transformed whereby we now do nothing other than study literary works and desist from advising the people to do anything about their situation.

God knows how much I lament the state of the theological centers. I feel grief for the theological center of Najaf which is now losing its good name; it is losing its reputation before the Muslims. I truly regret this. A theological center which is one-thousand-or-more years of age is losing its good name. Just take note of how, throughout this whole affair, in all of the statements made, be they from religious, intellectual or academic fronts, no mention is any longer made of Najaf. Najaf is falling into oblivion. O you honorable members of the clergy, come to the rescue of this theological center at Najaf!

The theological center of Qum however, is a center which is alive. It gives lives, kills and gives more lives. Presently it is under pressure but nevertheless it is alive; it has risen up in spite of everything. The religious students from Qum have arisen, natives of Qum have arisen, the community of Qum as a whole has arisen. Qum takes the blows but it continues to stand up in confrontation. The religious student of Qum loses members of his family, but he continues to stand up in confrontation. Thus he is alive. In fact, people believe that Qum is all that they have. Yes, I feel regret for Najaf. I myself belong to the city of Qum but I feel regret for Najaf. I and others like me feel attached to all such centers. We feel attached to a theological center such as this which is over a thousand years of age. Don't allow this center to be destroyed. Don't allow this theological center to fall into oblivion.

Now that the people of Iran have risen up, may God grant them divine guidance, this uprising must be organized; it must not lack organization. There must be links between the theological centers of Qum, Tehran and all other cities. Links are needed; you must give this movement some organization. This movement must not be something dispersed. It must be well organized so that if the people of Qum rise up one day, then the entire nation will rise up with them. Don't be dispersed. Different fronts must all unite together.¹ Some fronts are mistaken in no longer making mention of the clergy, which is in fact the case according to reports which have reached me today from certain clerical figures. These fronts don't realize. They don't know that without the clergy they are of no worth. If it is not the case that a dirty hand is involved which has forced these fronts to dissociate themselves

¹ Both nationalist and religious groups and parties.

from the clergy in whatever they write, and if it is not the intention of these fronts to create differences or divergences between themselves, but rather their actions are due to ignorance, misconception, or selfish motives, then they are to reform themselves and to put themselves right. All of the various fronts must unite. The organization must form an alliance; it must be a religious party which stands in opposition to the Rastakhiz Party.¹ Everyone must unite in the Party of God, Hizbullah.² Everyone must speak out together. Everyone must rise up together. Everyone must follow a policy of passive resistance together. It is wrong under the present circumstances for each group to act independently and to make separate demands for itself. The clergy must be united with these groups, and they with the clergy; those in the universities must be united with you, the clergy, and you must be united with them; those in the bazaar must be united with everyone else; the workers must be united with everyone else.

All of you are experiencing the same hardship. All of you are troubled by the same suffering. The suffering among you is a common suffering. We have all been overtaken by a great misfortune. It is not something which pertains exclusively to the clergy, or to the various parties, or to those in the universities. This is not an exclusive matter which involves any one particular group. If they take the country's oil, it is everyone's oil that they

¹ The Shah had ordered for various parties to be formed such as the Mardom Party, the Milliyun Party and the Iran Novin 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 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*, p. 257.

² It refers to *Surah al-Ma'idah* 5:56: "Then surely the party of God are they that shall be triumphant"; *Surah Mujadilah* (The Pleading One), verse 22: *Now surely the party of God are the successful ones.* Imam Sadiq (pbuh) said: "We and our followers are the party of God and the party of God is victorious."

are taking. If they foolishly bring a load of scrap iron¹ into the country, this is something which affects us all; it is a disaster for everybody. Bringing American advisers here is a disaster for us all, and not just for a few of us. If they establish a military base here for America, this is something which affects us all. If they (the regime) betray us, or betray the nation, it is everyone's concern.

Everyone join hands together. It is wrong for everybody to set up his own outfit. Looking out for oneself is wrong; it means defeat. Organization must be given to this uprising, to this movement which is already under way. Those who lead the people, those who are judicious among the people, they must give this movement organization. That is to say links must be established between all of the various fronts. There must be links between all of the small provinces. Meetings held in these different provinces must be held on the same day. Links must be established like those that I previously sought to establish in Qum but which they prevented from materializing, may God guide them on the straight path. My intention had been for meetings to be held throughout Iran on a specific day, so that, for example, on a Friday or Saturday evening a meeting of learned people would be held in Tehran, and the same in Khorasan, and in such-and-such a village and such-and-such a place. This is what I mean when I talk of organizing the movement. But they prevented it. They didn't understand.²

Now it is time to wake up gentlemen; it is time to be vigilant. Your adversary remains formidable. He has now brought knives to the fight; he has now introduced tanks and guns into the contest. But you are not to be afraid of these guns; guns are nothing. You are on the side of Truth. You are in the right and Almighty God is with you. Organize this movement which has now emerged in Iran. You must liaise with each other. The honorable clergy must liaise with all other fronts and all other fronts with the honorable clergy. The entire nation must cohere together. Leaders of the people must hold meetings together at a given time, so that if one day an announcement is made from a

¹ Guns and military equipment.

² In 1964 [1343 AHS], just after his release from prison and subsequent to the events which took place in 1962, Imam Khomeini proposed that weekly meetings should be held by the clergy nationwide on a specific day in order to analyze political issues and review interrelations between the theological centers. However, because of a lack of foresight on the part of the *maraji'* and the *ulama* toward the positive outcome which could have been achieved from acting upon this proposal, and due to a lack of support, and even in certain cases, a show of opposition by these members of the clergy, by and large this constructive proposal was not heeded; and when Imam went into exile it was totally forgotten.

certain quarter, then all leaders would speak out in unison; all Iranian citizens would act in unison.

I give all of those fronts which have risen up for the sake of Islam and for the sake of establishing the truth, the glad tidings that, God willing, *Inna's-subha laqarib* is near.¹ God willing, you will triumph, but only on condition that heterogeneous elements are not involved, and that selfish desires—snatching this for oneself and snatching that for oneself—do not intrude. We are all each other's brothers. I am a mere religious student [*talaba*], you are an honorable clergyman, he is a merchant, he is from the university, he is a doctor, he is an engineer, he is an intellectual—we are all suffering from one and the same misfortune; we all have to sit down and grieve together.

May God grant success to all of the opposition fronts. May He bestow good health on us all (Amen). I pray to God that He foreshorten the arms of foreigners from this Islamic country (Amen). May God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

¹ This refers to *Surah Hud* 11:81: "Is not the morning nigh?"

Introduction to Speech Number Twenty-Nine

Date: May 31, 1978 (AD) / Khordad 10, 1357 (AHS) / Jumadi ath-Thani 23, 1397 (AH)

Place: Shaykh Ansari Mosque, Najaf, Iraq

Theme: It is a religious duty to rise up against the Shah and American interference in Iran

Occasion: The arrival of the anniversary of the bloody uprising of Khordad 15, 1963

Those present: Religious students, clergy and a group of Iranian residents in Iraq

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

A few months into the year 1357 AHS (1978/79 AD) and the movement of the Muslim people of Iran was nearing a climax, directives given by Imam Khomeini (pbuh) from Najaf reaching Iran one after another in the form of cassette tapes or written matter. Demonstrations continued in Tehran, in cities both large and small, and even in villages. The Shah and his statesmen were now in dire straits. Even though the press was under strict censorship by SAVAK, the graveness of the disastrous situation could still be detected by reading between the lines of the censored reports. One by one the major capitalists were transferring their enormous wealth abroad, by selling or mortgaging the property that they had amassed either by years of fleecing and exploiting the deprived, or because of their association with the Imperial Court.

Imam Khomeini's ingenuity and the nation's positive response towards the repeated holding of fortieth-day memorial services which were invariably converted into demonstrations attended by hundreds of thousands of people, had totally stupified the Shah and his aides as well as foreign "experts". During the fortieth-day memorial services held within each city, a number of people would be martyred, and this would activate the holding of yet another memorial service in another city.

A fortieth-day memorial ceremony held in honour of those killed in Tabriz on February 18, 1978 (Bahman 29, 1356 AHS), took place in several cities including Qum, Mashhad and Yazd. During a ceremony held in Yazd on March 30, 1978 (Farvardin 10, 1357 AHS), violent clashes broke out between government forces and demonstrators, a group of people being either martyred or wounded as a result. Following this incident, Ayatullah Saduqi (who was later martyred) filed a criminal suit with the Public Prosecutor's Office in Yazd, and he strongly condemned the torturing of

those demonstrators who had been taken into custody, and argued that this kind of torture resembled that administered in “the Middle Ages”. He also wrote an informative letter to the high-ranking clergy of Qum which provided news about many of those who had been martyred or wounded.

On April 9, 1978 (Farvardin 20, 1357 AHS), having heard of the deplorable events which had occurred in Yazd and other cities, political prisoners at Qazil Hisar Prison in Karaj went on hunger strike; and because of this, students from the University of Tehran, the University of Amir Kabir (formerly Tehran Polytechnic), and Melli University (today’s Shahid Bihishti University), engaged in demonstrations. Two days later, students from Iran University of Science and Technology also engaged in demonstrations, during which a number of them suffered injuries inflicted by members of the police force. On April 12, 1978 (Farvardin 23, 1357 AHS), students from the University of Tabriz also organised a demonstration in which one student was killed; and on the following day, the bazaar in Tabriz closed down by way of protest. Similarly, in other cities the situation became tense, a tenseness which was added to by an exasperation of the rage felt by the traumatised people towards the regime. Demonstrators set cinemas on fire thereby signalling both the people’s desire to return to Islamic values, and the anger they felt about the arts serving the purposes of the *taqhut*: the cinemas having been used as a centre for the projection of vulgar films and imperial propaganda.

“Security prisoners” was a new term used by the Shah’s regime to refer to “political prisoners”. During the periods of demonstration and protest, Radio London (B.B.C.) announced: “Two thousand six hundred security prisoners have been granted a free pardon at a time when conditions for prisoners in Iran are being improved.” Concurrent with this news came the report that: “The number of security prisoners held has decreased by two thousand”.¹

On May 9 and 10 (Ordibehesht 9 and 20), the demonstrations in Qum and Tabriz reached a climax. According to press reports, in addition to these two cities, demonstrations and disturbances were also taking place in twenty-three other cities, hundreds of demonstrators having been arrested and dozens

¹ It is worth mentioning that throughout the events of the Islamic Revolution, the B.B.C. and other foreign radio stations skilfully broadcast news reports and independent reviews which served to both further their own objectives and to contribute to the survival of the Shah’s regime. Although the major events in which the movement played a part were presented in these broadcasts as insignificant, nevertheless, censorship imposed in Iran and certain reports of events therein which were made over foreign radio stations resulted in people’s attention being drawn to these events even more.

seriously injured. These reports were an indication of the extent to which the regime had stepped up its harsh treatment of the demonstrators. Press columnists reporting from Qum and Tabriz, put the number of those martyred in the hundreds. Fictitious headlines and reports such as: “Disturbances in Shiraz under the red flag”, bespoke the chronic state of perplexity in which the regime found itself, whilst also demonstrating the desperate attempts being made by SAVAK.¹

After the bloody demonstrations in Qum, Tabriz and other cities, the government published a sharp statement which announced: “Troublemakers will be dealt with harshly”. Another part of this statement read: “It would seem that the rioters are under the impression that the government has unlimited patience”! At the same time, General Shafaqat, governor-general of East Azerbaijan, stated: “Tabriz is in a tranquil state, disturbances only having occurred for one hour on Monday in the University of Azarabadegan”. But even as these hollow claims were being made, a sit-in protest by students of Tabriz University was in full swing, all lectures had been cancelled, and demonstrations continued on a daily basis.

The Shah had meant to go abroad but the country’s domestic situation was such that Amir Abbas Hoveyda, Minister of the Imperial Court, issued a statement in which it was announced that the Shah’s visit abroad had been postponed - although the reason for this was not mentioned!

Once more Qum witnessed the holding of a massive demonstration. Officers engaged in their pursuit of the demonstrators, and a religious student by the name of Sattar Keshani was martyred in the home of Mr. Shariatmadari. Imam Khomeini subsequently sent his condolences with regard to this incident to the latter via a telegram.

A government spokesman claimed that those centres and agents which lay behind the disturbances had been identified and that the lenience exhibited by the government during the past three months had given the “rioters” occasion to run riot and therefore those in authority had been given strict orders to deal with any kind of disturbance with the utmost severity. Furthermore, we see that whilst the government maintains: “It is in absolute control of the situation, and has taken the necessary precautions”, the press informs us that: “In the majority of universities, lectures have been cancelled”!

On May 16, 1978 (Ordibehesht 26, 1357 AHS), Tehran University was the scene of clashes between students and officials. On the same day, the

¹ *Kayhan*, May 10, 1978 (Ordibehesht 20, 1357 AHS).

front pages of the press carried reports of demonstrations and riots at the University of Azarabadegan, the University of Isfahan, Melli University, Iran University of Science and Technology, and the University of Amir Kabir; and again on that same day a meeting of university heads was under way in Tehran in which a solution to the problem was being discussed. But in spite of all this, it was announced in the newspapers that the Shah and his wife, Farah, were going on a visit to Eastern Europe.

The policy followed by Imam, and the directives given by him start to pay off. People from all segments of society, along with the clergy - the vanguard of the Khordad 15 uprising - and those from the universities, unite in a way never seen before; and with their voices at one with that of the Leader of the Revolution, they shout that they will settle for nothing less than the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of an Islamic government.

The government of Britain, whose name brings back bitter and painful memories for the Iranian nation, now enters the scene. The British Prime Minister, whilst declaring his government's support for the Shah, states in a speech delivered in the House of Commons on May 17, 1978: "We support the move to grant further freedom in Iran - a cause to which the Shahanshah is truly dedicated - and we back the firm stand taken by this country." The Shah, on hearing this news, immediately exclaims in a speech that: "We can in no way afford to be lax in procuring the necessary military deterrents."!

On May 6, 1978 (Ordibehesht 16, 1357 AHS), a correspondent for the Paris publication *Le Monde*, conducted an interview with Imam Khomeini in which he asked the latter's opinions about "Islamic government" and the current situation in Iran. The introduction of his reportage read: "We held an interview with Ayatullah Khomeini in a small room situated in the heart of Najaf, one of the most insalubrious desert regions in Iraq." During this interview Imam stressed: "We will not co-operate with the Marxists, even when it comes to bringing about the Shah's overthrow". Furthermore, he stated that the establishment of an Islamic government was the ultimate goal sought by both himself and the nation; but at the same time he insisted that bringing about the overthrow of this autocratic regime of the Shah was the nation's immediate objective.

Contrary to the decisive and uncompromising stand taken by Imam, many political groups and parties as well as certain persons from the religious order - some of whom had even attained the level of *marja'iyat* - promoted slogans which called for the implementation of the constitutional law and which espoused a limited and constitutional monarchy. Under the

desperate circumstances in which the Shah's regime found itself, this was the ideal way to keep the situation under control. However, it was the position adopted by Imam which featured in the struggle; a position which set out the aims of the movement and which enjoyed the popular support of all fronts.

By the time the month of Khurdad, 1357 (May/June, 1978) arrives, Iran is one great mass of blood and fire, and people are demanding the overthrow of the Shah's regime, crying: "Until the time when the Shah is wrapped in a shroud, we cannot regard this country as our homeland". Both the East and the West continue to back the Shah. The Baathist regime of Iraq has restricted Imam's activities and monitors any social intercourse he has. The Leader of the Revolution is warned to desist from any further engagement in political activities. The anniversary of the bloody tragedy of Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) arrives, providing Imam with an ideal opportunity to deliver an historic address, and to once again instil in the people of Iran the spirit of the revolution.

Hence, Imam delivered a powerful speech in Shaykh Ansari Mosque in the noble city of Najaf before hundreds of religious students and students from the theological centres. Firstly, he engaged in a comparison between Mongolian rule and the Shah's regime, describing the former's wrongdoings and depravity; then whilst referring to Khordad 15, "the day of God", he gave a detailed account of how the regime's policy to grant freedom to the people was but a deceptive trick devised to save the regime, and how the real culprit in all this was America. In this regard Imam stated: "All of the misery suffered by us is America's doing... The prime culprit is America and the lesser culprit, the Shah".

In another part of his speech, whilst pointing to the Shah's indulgence in fanciful theories about reaching the gateway of a great civilisation, Imam Khomeini specified instances of American, Israeli and European plunder of Iranian national resources and the poverty and destitution suffered by the majority of Iranian people as a result.

Imam, in paying tribute to Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) stated: "Khordad 15 must be kept alive... the nation of Iran must not allow Khordad 15 to be forgotten".

The avoidance of discord and disunion, is another pressing concern covered by the Leader of the Revolution in his speech, about which he declares: "It is a sacred duty; everyone must be united... If the Muslims were as one, then no one could stand up to such a multitude of people. There isn't a damned thing they could do about it". Concerning the positions adopted by some politicians and religious leaders, and the compromising statements

made by them, Imam says: "They must point out who the murderer is, if possible directly, if not then indirectly, and if this too is not possible then at least they are not to pin the crime on someone else... If you should read anything written by some party that suggests 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, and this therefore constitutes perfidy."

Classes at the theological centre of Najaf were closed for the summer break and hence the present speech was in fact the final speech to be given by Imam from the noble city of Najaf. Henceforth, until the time of Imam's migration to Paris, it was his declarations and directives which served to guide the struggle and to edify those who had risen in revolt.

Speech Number Twenty-Nine

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

Iran is an exemplary country; and I think it unlikely that another country like Iran or another nation like the oppressed nation of Iran can be found to exist among all countries of the world, or that there are many examples of such a country even ever having existed at all. It is recorded in history how Genghis (Khan), despite his savage and barbaric temperament and all the bloodshed that he caused, governed according to a system of law which was known by others as the great code of laws¹—a code which neither Genghis nor any other Mongol ever violated. Some have even suggested that the respect held by the Mongols for their law was like that held by the Muslims for the Quran at the advent of Islam; for the Mongols to violate their law meant death. So we see that even a people like the Mongols and a man such as Genghis abided by some kind of law. But let us now see, in this present day and age in which we live, which law can this regime of Iran, this Shah of Iran be said to abide by? Is there any law at all governing Iran? Does any law actually command respect? Does this regime and those who run it hold respect for the various social sectors in the country? Let's consider these questions one by one. Let's see whether Iran and this regime of hers abides by the law of Islam. They say that throughout the city of Tehran liquor stores outnumber book stores, and that these stores carry on their business in safety and freedom, doing as they please. If one voices objection to this situation then he is denigrated and penalized.

Which of the laws of Islam is presently enforced in Iran and within its system of government? Much mention is made of oppression in the verses of the Quran and in the ordinances of Islam, and the same goes for those who

¹ "The code of laws" was a set of laws devised by Genghis Khan which were implemented in his name by Mongolian kings. According to this set of laws, offences such as adultery, theft, pederasty, bearing false witness, and witchcraft, called for the death penalty. Those offences which were severely punishable were the showing of disrespect towards parents; exhibiting ascendancy over or disobedience and distrust towards a spouse; and refusing to help the needy. Furthermore, war regulations demanded that the various Mongolian tribes come to each other's assistance during battle; and each individual soldier was allowed to take those spoils he had obtained from war for himself.

oppress, but all the same can Iran and the Iranian regime be said to be guardians of justice?—of social justice?—of Islamic justice? Are they fooling themselves or are they trying to fool the nation? To what extent do the Shah and his gang value the Quran? Does holding respect for the Quran mean having it printed and then distributing it to the people in order to fool them¹—like the kind of respect shown by Muawiyah when he fixed the Quran to the end of a lance pleading that everyone should act according to its teachings? Can such people be said to hold respect for the Quran? Do they hold respect for the clergy? Just consider the extent to which Islam has praised and singled out the clergy as people worthy of respect; yet are they actually respected and held in high regard by these people? Do they respect the *maraji*’ of Islam? Indeed, it was only a few days ago that they stormed the homes of the honorable *maraji*’, breaking the doors and windows, killing people and brawling. Even now commandos are in the homes of some of these honorable gentlemen. They tell us that commandos are present in these homes in order to monitor the activities of the *maraji*’. What have the honorable gentlemen done to deserve to be treated with such disrespect?

Do they (the Shah and his regime) act in accordance with the constitutional law? Even Genghis acted according to the code of laws’, and so did others like him and the Mongol people themselves. Does this present-day Genghis,² do these Mongols respect the constitutional law? Do their elections comply with legal standards? Do their parliamentary candidates meet stipulated criteria?³ Is their Majlis one which obeys the law?¹ Which of

¹ In order to promote his popularity, the Shah would sometimes put on a false show. Thus for example, he would make pilgrimages to the Holy House of God (Ka’bah) and to the shrines of the Immaculate Imams; he held discussions with certain religious figures; he organized mourning ceremonies sponsored by the Imperial Court; he formed the Religious Corps and promoted religious programs on both the television and the radio; and he renovated places of pilgrimage. The printing of the Aryamehr Quran was another such act of deception to which he resorted.

² The Shah.

³ The majority of Majlis representatives were not elected in accordance with legal criteria or via the electoral system, but rather most of them were imposed upon the people. These very representatives were the ones who carried out the Shah’s orders. Members of Parliament would go to Muhammad Rida Pahlavi on specific days to ascertain where the Shah stood on certain issues in order to be sure of which way to vote in the Majlis. Many bills which contravened the constitutional law were in fact passed in Parliament due to the fact that these representatives used to allow the executive council to have a say in those affairs which concerned the legislative council. Refer to *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye Muassir-e Iran*, vol. 1, p. 121; the article entitled: “Qanun-e Asasi-ye Iran ba’d az Tawallud Teror Shud,” in *Kayhan*, October 10, 1978 [Mehr 18, 1357 AHS]; and to the interview held with Mazhari, a Majlis representative, in *Kayhan*, October 9, 1978 [Mehr 17, 1357 AHS].

their affairs can be said to be remotely in accordance with any law, be they religious laws or secular and constitutional laws? Do they have any regard for our education system?² If they do, then why are the schools in Iran either

¹ In a confession printed in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 23, 1978 [Aban 1, 1357 AHS], Mazhari, a Majlis representative, stated: "The Parliamentary Speaker conducted the entire Majlis proceedings in such a way as to leave no time for questions to be raised and discussed. That is to say that the government, in accordance with the Majlis's internal regulations, would announce its readiness to answer questions, but the agenda prepared by the Speaker of the Majlis would be so heavy that there would not be enough time to actually raise any questions. It even reached the stage where the most well-known Member of Parliament warned that whoever should raise a question in Parliament would not find himself as a parliamentary representative in the future, since it was the regime which made decisions about the government and the political parties." Abbas Akhbari, another Member of Parliament, said: "On one occasion when a car tax bill was under discussion, RiyaDi declared that the bill pertaining to this tax had been ratified, in spite of the fact that only a few representatives had actually cast their votes! When Rastam Rafati voiced objection asking how the bill could have been ratified when an insufficient number had voted, he was told: "Don't come out with wisecracks during an open parliamentary session"!"

² With regard to the damage caused to national and religious education in Iran by the Pahlavi regime, Imam Khomeini, in his religio-political last will and testament writes:

"One of the imperialists' major intrigues concerns taking control of the educational institutions and especially the universities, for a country's destiny lies in the hands of those who graduate from the universities...the plan is to turn the youngsters in universities away from their own culture, customs and values, and to draw them towards the culture, customs and values found in the East and the West. The imperialists plan to select those who are to run the country from among these youngsters, placing the latter in strategic governmental positions. In this way, the imperialists will be at liberty to do whatever they like by means of these hand-picked stooges... An example of this are those plans which have regretfully had a great impact on our own dear country as well as on other countries...plans which entail the self-alienation of those countries which have been smitten by imperialism, and the resultant infatuation of these countries with both the East and the West. These plans have succeeded to the extent where those smitten countries now see themselves, their culture, and their own capabilities as worthless, whilst regarding the East and the West—the two superpowers'—as a superior race with a superior culture... Those nations which have suffered oppression under foreign rule have been held back by the imperialists in all things, whereby they have been turned into consumer societies. And they have made us so afraid of their achievements and their demonic power that we aren't attempt to our own initiative in anything. We submissively obey their every command, having surrendered whatever we have to them, and having entrusted in their hands both our own and our country's destinies. This forged intellectual void has led us not to rely on our own ideas and capabilities in any of our affairs; and it has meant that we blindly follow the East and the West. Whatever culture, customs, technology and initiative we may have possessed, have been mockingly referred to as worthless by those writers and broadcasters who themselves lack knowledge and understanding, and who are infatuated with the East and the West; and they have presented and continue to present our way of thought and our national strength as all washed up. Furthermore, they have promoted foreign customs, however trite and disgraceful, by the things they do, say and write and have passed these

totally or partially closed? And why do the university lecturers suspend their lectures? It is because the government won't leave the university alone. What have these students done to deserve being deprived of education?¹ What kind of respect does this regime show for education? What kind of respect do they afford the army? Those who mistakenly regard the army as a part of their own outfit, just what kind of respect do they afford it? We have an army which serves under American advisers—the latter being granted immunity whilst the former is placed under their command! Why humiliate the army in this way? Do you realize what an affront this is to the Iranian army—how humiliating this is for the army of Iran—for its commanders? Why do these commanders allow themselves to be humiliated so? How come they don't wake up and see to this man² sending him to where he belongs? Just what do they hold in respect? What law do they abide by? At least let them abide by a law like that of Genghis when dealing with us; at least let them act according to some kind of principles; let some law come into play somewhere. Anarchy! Iran is currently in a state of anarchy.

Khordad 15 has not yet arrived, but even so, well in advance, well before this day approaches, they are busy making arrests for fear that on Khordad 15 a few people might speak up and voice some kind of objection with regard to the killings which occurred on this day (in 1963)—that they might speak of the crimes that were perpetrated and murders committed on the orders of the Shah himself, the very one who commanded the troops during these killings. They have already arrested a number of people in Tehran. In Qum a large number of religious students have been arrested as well as ordinary people and even youngsters, children. They arrest anyone they come across—or so it is said—and the governor-general's prisons in Qum are so full of people that there is no room for any more; they've become absolutely chock-a-block.

customs on, and continue to pass them on, to each and every country, making them out to be truly praiseworthy.”

¹ As a consequence of the disturbances which occurred in 1977 [1356 AHS], the universities were closed as if on strike. During the 1977-78 academic year, lectures were boycotted by the students. Many universities, such as Tabriz University, Tehran University and Sharif University of Technology (formerly Aryamehr University) announced that they had prematurely ended their academic term. Towards the end of the year, the crisis in the universities became so intense that on May 8, 1978 [Ordibehesht 18, 1357 AHS], severe clashes broke out between the security guards and students of Tabriz University. At Sharif University of Technology, members of the academic staff came out on strike and likewise, students boycotted lectures in support of their professors. See the article in *Kayhan*, October 5, 1978 [Mehr 13, 1357 AHS], entitled: “How calm is maintained in the universities”.

² The Shah.

What state of affairs is this that we now see in Iran? What kind of freedom is this that His Imperial Majesty has granted us?!¹ Indeed, is freedom something to be granted?! To say that it is, is in itself a crime. To say “we granted freedom” itself constitutes a crime. Freedom belongs to the people. The law has given freedom to people. God has given freedom to people. Islam has given freedom. The constitutional law has given freedom to people. What on earth is meant by “we granted” (freedom)? Who the deuce are you to do the “granting”? What the dickens had it got to do with you anyway? “We granted freedom to the people”!! The granting of freedom means this that we now see; it does not in truth concern freedom at all but instead concerns what we are now witnessing—it is something to fool the people.

The regime, after deliberation, has formed a group from within its own gang which is to write something every now and then to give the impression that there is in fact freedom of the pen; that people are free to write what they wish. Of course there are some honorable people amongst those who write, who come from all different walks of life and who continue to write despite the dangers facing them. A great number of scholars and academics in Qum write about the tragic events which occur here, may God always assist them, and more or less all of the religious students also write reports of these events, which they then sign and publish. Again such writers can also be found within political groups and associations who bravely document what is going on and publish their work, although in so doing, they subject themselves to danger and harassment. Of course amongst these, within these so-called political fronts, there are also those who wish to draw a red herring by diverting attention from the main culprit to these lesser mortals; to those in the government for example. The regime would like nothing more than for the blame to be placed on the government, for anyone to say whatever they like about the government, and for His Imperial Majesty to go unnoticed; for the real culprit to be overlooked. On one occasion when I had intended to speak out, they sent someone to tell me that I was not to speak of the Americans, but that apart from this there would be no objection to my speaking of anyone else, even the Shah. I told them that all of our problems

¹ Following the uprising in Tabriz, the Shah, finding himself under tremendous pressure, made the decision to “grant political freedom”; and in an address made in Esfand 1356 AHS [February/March 1978], he said: “We have decided to give people as much individual freedom as possible. It is likely that some may wish to take advantage of this freedom and pull out all the stops, but no matter what they might say, it won’t have the slightest effect on the resolute nation of Iran.”

are due to Americans; all of the misery we suffer is America's doing. Are we to leave the main culprit alone and to turn our attention to the henchmen and stooges instead? Right now in Iran, it is America that is the prime culprit while this Shah of ours plays a secondary role. We are now suffering at the hands of this lesser culprit and the rest of those who are involved are not worth considering! Neither does his Prime Minister deserve mention, nor do his ministers and Members of Parliament; none of these are in any way worthy of mention. He himself is not worth talking about either, but we have no choice but to speak of him. The *ulama* of Iran are now suffering. Indeed, the Iranian people as a whole are presently suffering. They are not allowed to breathe. At present the streets of Iran are swarming with commandos. Two or three days ago, some people told us that commandos are within the homes of the high-ranking clergy, and that they are amongst the people too; and they say that the streets are full of guns and tanks and the like. What has happened? What has this nation done? Has it done anything other than to say let us breathe?

This Mr. Gateway to a Great Civilization!¹ He has not taken a proper look at Tehran and its various districts. Written reports made by certain gentlemen tell of forty-odd districts (in Tehran) in which one finds these slum-dwellers, these tent-dwellers, who either have no home at all, or have made some kind of tent for themselves, or again who have found a hole in the ground and thus live like animals, the poor souls. A great number of districts, forty-odd in all, have been named in the reports. I have the list in front of me right now. This Mr. Great Civilization has not taken a look at this city of Tehran with its forty-odd wretched districts, where they are deprived of whatever civilization has to offer. They have no water or electricity, and there is no trace of such things as tarmacked surfaces; they have absolutely nothing, the poor wretches. They drove these poor souls out of the villages appropriating the land there for themselves; and as a result the villagers came to Tehran. And this is now the state of Tehran, with its forty-odd districts and its slum- and tent-dwellers who are living in pain and misery, who are living in a desperate state. The reports state that in order to obtain water, these poor women have to climb a hundred steps or more to where a water tap is situated. Just imagine having to carry a water jug all this distance, and having to descend all these steps, especially during the winter. Imagine how often they must fall down and what pains they must take for the sake of obtaining a drop of water for their children. Can this Mr. Great Civilization see all this

¹ The Shah.

from where he is sitting? Is he really unaware of these things or does he turn a blind eye to them? Only three or four days ago, he visited the holy shrine in Mashhad where, as usual, he went through the motions of devout worship. Afterwards he came and spoke of a great civilization before a group of poor people who had been assembled there by the regime's agents. He spoke of what we will have achieved in a few years' time, and amongst other remarks made he stated that in the near future Iran's population will have reached sixty-five million and its oil will have run out.¹ Who on earth is exhausting our oil supply? He repeatedly says that there is no oil. But there is oil and it is you who is sucking our oil supply dry. You are pumping oil down the throats of America and other countries. It is not that there is no oil. We have many oil reserves, but you are using them up such that in a few years' time they will run dry and people will be left in despair. After this he intends to use solar energy! Why, for goodness sake...what on earth are you talking about? Be ashamed of yourself! You want to use solar energy?! Will we have no need for oil later?! Are we to use other sources of energy?! For whom are you saying these things? At least tell them not to say these things over the radio. Let them say these things to the peasants but not over the radio where people and even those in Najaf can hear them, and where those in Europe can hear them and laugh at them. I now have in my possession the names and particulars of the forty-odd districts of Tehran which they listed and brought to me—Tehran, a city which stretches all the way from Hadrat Abdul-azim (in the south) to Shemiran (in the north). Such far-off districts as these are all a part of Tehran. And there are places which are even worse than Tehran. Certain gentlemen, certain honorable merchants who came to see me, spoke of a place other than Tehran saying: "Permit us to add something to the charitable tax which is demanded of us by Islam, and to use this money to

¹ A report which appears in the *Ittilaat* on May 29, 1978 [Khordad 8, 1357 AHS] concerning the previous day's visit by the Shah and Farah, reads: "... Beneath the blessed propylaeum of the holy shrine's oratory, where the Shah was welcomed by a group of clergymen and *ulama*, Mr. Nawqani, having given a welcoming address, stated with the utmost deference: "...Moreover, the spiritual effects which emanate from Your Royal Highness are also in evidence in other Islamic countries of the world; and everywhere shines alluringly with the august name of Shahanshah! Your Highness...King of kings...whatever we behold compels us to say: may you continue to reign ever glorious, for now is but the dawn." In response to Mr. Nawqani, Aryamehr, the Shahanshah, made the following comments: "You are all aware of my own personal faith in the true religion of Islam and of the way in which I run a country. Twenty years from now, the time will have come when this nation's population will have more or less reached its peak—that is to say, it will have reached sixty-five million people—and that is also the time when our oil will have run dry."

make a water tank for these poor souls whose wives have to travel a distance of six kilometers—I believe that was the distance quoted if my memory serves me right—to find water to bring back for their children and families to drink”; and I accordingly gave them permission. Whether they have now made the water tank or not, I don’t know. It is the same in every district. Don’t imagine that group of people who are loyal to the regime and who lead a prosperous life are typical. When certain people who know no better see the kind of lives these people have, they think that Iran is a prosperous country, and that everyone is fortunate enough to own a car, a garden and so on. The people who own these kinds of things are in fact the very members of his (the Shah’s) own gang; they are the very plunderers who are fleecing the people. Can the ordinary people ever hope to enjoy a life like theirs? Go and take a look at the slum-dwellers. Go and look at the tent-dwellers. Go and look at the south of the city. Such deprivation can even be found in the north of the city too. Eisenhower Street is another of the places where slum- and tent-dwellers can be found.¹ Go and take a look at these people and then talk of progress made and of how we are about to reach the gateway to a great civilization—for which occasion we are in fact about to hold a commemorative celebration!

That is how things stand on one front, with regard to the slum-dwellers and the down-and-outs in Iran. On the other front however, the regime has handed wherever and whatever is of value over to large American, Zionist or British companies; and they have done so in the name of nationalization. They have handed over our forests, pastures, water sources, rivers, subterranean waters and so on. I have a copy of a report which explains how these grazing pastures had been such that during a visit to Iran by the Queen of England’s husband, the latter, after merely seeing the Arjan Plain,² had remarked that this was the finest place in the world, the best pasturage for the farming of any kind of livestock. Yet they nationalized this land and afterwards gave it to the British. And now, according to the written report given to me, the Queen of England along with some of the British plutocracy and British companies, are doing something or other with the animal husbandry carried out on these pastures in order to produce meat. Now

¹ Today’s Azadi Street.

² The Arjan Plain is a vast plain situated in the rural outskirts of the small province of Kazerun. Embraced by a mountainous range, it is the repository of the water of numerous streams which runs into it from all sides via waterfalls, forming a lake of clear water in its centre. The lush, verdant land of Iran, like that in Kazerun, was given over to the British to do with as they pleased.

whether they are producing meat for export abroad, or whether they also intend to give a little of it to us, only God knows. They say that the Umran Plain¹, situated on the outskirts of Qazvin, is the best place for cultivation. They have forced the people there to migrate elsewhere and have handed this land over to the Jews, the Zionists. Yes, they have given it to the Jews who are now using it to their own ends, American and Zionist companies reaping the benefits. These pieces of land which are second to none are now theirs to farm and cultivate whilst this poor, downtrodden nation still goes hungry. This nation remains in a wretched state and is at a loss as to what it should do about it. This is our great civilization' for you!! People haven't got bread to eat but the gentleman (the Shah) speaks of civilization! He speaks of our enjoying a great civilization; of wanting to take us to a great civilization! The Mughan Plain² is yet another of the plains which they have nationalized. Its people have been driven away and its farmers ruined. And again they have handed this over to yet another group of foreigners. Similarly, the Dez Dam,³ which cost seven hundred million to build and on which they spent one billion two hundred million dollars—or perhaps tumans, I can't remember—in order to build a canal system which would feed water into the dam: this too is another gift which has been graciously presented to His Imperial Majesty and his gang. One hundred and fifty villages have been brought to ruin. They have destroyed these villages and have nationalized the land there, which ought in fact to mean that this land is for the whole nation, but instead it is owned by His Imperial Majesty and his gang only. These are the things which have been documented and spoken of and which can be verified by witnesses.

This is the kind of life we have and this is the kind of great civilization we enjoy where our youngsters are arrested and detained before the arrival of Khordad 15. I doubt whether even the law of the jungle is like this. Indeed, the Mongols were not, for they at least had their code of laws'; they at least

¹ Situated in the north of the Bu'in Zahra region, the Umran Plain (Qazvin Plain) is one of the extremely fertile plains of the Zanjan province. The Shah agreed to give this plain over to Israel where it could establish modern agricultural organizations. See *Az Sayyid Dia ta Bakhtiyar*, p. 495.

² The Mughan Plain, one hundred thousand hectares in area, is situated alongside the Aras River in the province of Azerbaijan. This vast, flat plain is one of the most favorable grazing pastures on which to raise cattle. Mughani sheep, one of the best and purest breeds of sheep, are bred by the Shabsavan tribe who take their flock to the Mughan plain to graze during the winter season. See *Jugrafiya-ye Mufassal-e Iran*, vol. 3.

³ The Dez Dam was constructed on the River Dez, fifteen kilometers north of Dezful, and was put into operation from the year 1962 [1341 AHS]. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 218.

had a law by which to abide. But in Iran, according to which law is so-and-so to be arrested? According to which law must so-and-so be killed? Which procedure must be followed and according to which law? As for you (the Shah), you kill people and illegally enter the homes of the *ulama* of Islam. Should someone speak up proclaiming the people's innocence, he is beaten and killed by some reprobate or other; and there is no one to speak out and ask why!

It is unlikely that history has ever before witnessed such events as the crimes committed by that man (the Shah) on Khordad 15; and if it has then they have been very rare cases. They just mowed down innocent people at random. Those who were witnesses to this said that these military trucks just kept coming; these armored vehicles just kept mowing the people down, leaving them lying in the streets. The regime won't allow anyone to make the slightest murmur with regard to Khordad 15; but the nation of Iran must not allow Khordad 15 to fade from their memory. Khordad 15 must be kept alive.¹ This event constitutes a crime whose imprint must not be allowed to fade away. Now, thanks be to God, they themselves are causing this day to become revitalized to a certain extent because these preventative measures and these arrests and other such steps taken by them, infuse Khordad 15 with a new life and vitality. The nation of Iran must not allow Khordad 15 to fade from their memory, nor must they allow any of the crimes which have been committed subsequent to Khordad 15, or those committed prior to it by the Shah's father, to be forgotten. These crimes must serve as a portrait of what went on during the Pahlavi reign so that there is no chance of any misconceptions occurring, and so that it is well understood that these affairs were the doing of the heads of the Pahlavi family. People must preserve the memory of Khordad 15. If possible they are to do so by raising a hue and cry, creating uproar and holding demonstrations; if not, then they are to do so by passive resistance and by staging sit-ins in their homes. If the regime's forces are seen to make a savage wolf-like attack against the people during demonstrations with the intention of arresting the youngsters, then the people are to remain in their homes. Let them show the abhorrence they feel towards this regime and this person (the Shah) by remaining in their homes by way of protest. If possible then, they are to hold demonstrations; but whatever happens this day must not be forgotten; it must stay alive and, God willing,

¹ Imam Khomeini, in an address delivered in 1979 [1358 AHS] in commemoration of Khordad 15, said that he regarded Khordad 15 of 1963 as the day when the Islamic Revolution got underway; and he declared each subsequent anniversary of Khordad 15 to be a day of public mourning.

so it shall. At the same time, it is important for all of the various groups, whichever groups are in the country, to consult each other, be it the scholastic and clerical front or the military and merchant fronts; the academic and university fronts, or the nomads and those who live in shacks—all of these fronts must consult each other and take each other into account.

Furthermore, the leaders of the various groups must liaise with each other; they are not to go their own way. Now is not the time for you to act in isolation. If you lack solidarity then not only will your lot remain as it is now, but it will become even worse. It is a bounden duty, a sacred duty, for you to be united. The senior members of these fronts must establish secret links with each other. These links must not be open but rather must remain underground. But in any case, these members must liaise with each other so that should they decide to make some kind of statement, then they all do so together; should they decide to stage an attack, then they all do so together; should they decide to remain silent, then they all do so together. They must act in unison and not in isolation. It is wrong for one person to want to form a party, whilst another wants to form whatever else. We must all unite as one. Muslims must all form a corporate body. If the Muslims were as one then no one could stand up to such a multitude of people; there isn't a damned thing they could do about it. Not only these here, but large powerful countries wouldn't be able to do a damned thing either if the Muslims were to unite. However, the regime sows discord between the various fronts and we mistakenly believe this discord to be genuine. But we must stop being taken in so easily.

We must stop believing in their ostensible propriety. We must consider what Hadrat Rida (*a*) would say to this person, who, in a sham of piety visits Mashhad once or twice a year and stands before the tomb of the Hadrat. God knows that if the Hadrat were alive he would not allow him to enter his shrine. How could Hadrat Rida possibly permit a libertine debauchee to enter his shrine? However, the Hadrat is not here with us now. They bring some *akhund* or other to eulogize, depicting him (the Shah) in glowing terms and declaring the sincere love and devotion felt towards him by the people. Yet just look what he has been up to elsewhere! Just look at the things he has said!

There must be a liaison between you, your activities being undertaken in an organized way via an inter-related network and based upon certain criteria. Muslims must act according to a program. The various parties must join together. It must not be a case of every party for itself. They must point out who the murderer is, if possible directly, if not then indirectly, and if this

too is not possible then at least they are not to pin the crime on someone else. To relate these crimes to anyone but the Shah is in itself a crime. Supposing you were to say: "The government has done such-and-such a thing", what is the government anyway other than the Shah's mouthpiece? Or again supposing you were to say: "The police have done such-and-such a thing", what is the police force anyway other than a tool at the Shah's disposal? It was only yesterday that certain clergymen told me of how seventeen of these officers—or maybe they were both officers and some other kind of functionaries—had been brought to Qum to commit some kind of felony. All seventeen of them have gone into hiding taking their weapons with them; and according to the aforementioned clergymen, this search which is being conducted in Qum and this comprehensive inspection which has been carried out, have in fact been in order to trace these arms which the officers have taken along with them.

This is the present state in which our army finds itself. Do you think that the army is fond of these people—people who have handed over control of the entire army to a few Americans, a few American advisers in whose hands the whole world lies and as a result of which those in the army receive harsh and unfair treatment? Are those in the army fond of these people? This could only be the case if these servicemen had no sense of honor; for there is no way that anyone with a sense of honor could feel kindly towards them. As with the other fronts, those in the army must not remain silent either. They too must liaise with others.

There must be links between the various parties and those in the army, and between the latter and the clergy. Everyone must liaise together and mark out a course to bring about this person's downfall.

The Muslim people and the nation of Iran will not become reconciled with this person. If someone should speak of reconciliation, know that he is a traitor. There can be no reconciliation with him. The door to reconciliation is now closed. How could there possibly be reconciliation? Which doors have they left open for him that would make reconciliation possible? Can one still talk of reconciliation after all those youngsters of ours have been killed? Can one still talk of reconciliation in spite of all that profanity towards that which we hold sacred? Forget it! There is no way that we could consider reconciliation. The claim that the clergy spoke of reconciliation is but a lie. No one is prepared to consider reconciliation with this regime. It is preposterous to imagine such a thing. How could this nation possibly become reconciled with a person who has thrown away everything it ever had, including its honor and whatever it had of spiritual or material worth? A

prominent diplomat was right when he said that Muslims, Iranians, can choose one of two options: either freedom, or permitting him to remain.¹ They must either choose to allow him to stay, and therefore remain in a state of suppression for ever more, or they must opt for freedom and therefore get rid of him. And since they are sure to opt for freedom, then they are sure to get rid of him, God willing. Indeed, it is a solemn duty for us all: a solemn duty, a sacred duty. A nation has been and is still being divested of all it possesses, yet striving to ameliorate the affairs of the Muslims is amongst the most pressing of religious obligations. You must pay due attention to this ordinance, otherwise *wa illah fa laysa bi Muslim*.² This is one of the commands which applies to us all. We are all obliged to ensure the continued existence of Islam in Iran. This person neither favors Islam, nor the Quran, nor Hadrat Rida (*a*). Someone who inclines towards Islam does not act with such impertinence towards it. It is the duty of us all to rise up against this person, be it by the written word, by word of mouth, or, whenever the situation demands, by armed revolt. When that time comes, I will be the first to shoulder arms. But whilst armed revolt is not possible we shall revolt by speaking out.

After causing us to lose all our prestige and after bringing about the destruction of our pastures, reports state that almost forty thousand aqueducts have dried up in Iran due to their having closed the dams or whatever it is they have done. Naturally, when the aqueducts dry up, the land cannot be cultivated; and when the people there cannot cultivate the land they migrate to Tehran or some other city, where they fall into a state of poverty and misery. This constitutes a deliberate measure to move people to the cities in order to ensure that no insurgence breaks out in the villages where it is difficult to keep the people in check. Anyone with the slightest political

¹ It refers to Mahdi Bazargan. In reply to a question posed during an interview with a reporter for Belgian television asking whether the current practices of the regime could coexist with freedom, Mr. Bazargan replied: "No! One of these two must be sacrificed for the sake of the other. Iran will not taste freedom while His Imperial Majesty remains in this country." Refer to *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye Muassir-e Iran*, vol. 9, p. 229. It must be pointed out that Mr. Bazargan's demand for the Shah's dethronement and the toppling of the monarchy, did not carry the same resolve and immediacy as that made by Imam. In an interview with Hamid Algar, Mr. Bazargan confessed that he and his sympathizers (both among the clergy and elsewhere) felt it unwise for the Shah to be dethroned straight away. Refer to *Khat-e Sazesh*, p. 102, and read the introductions to those speeches delivered by Imam in Paris.

² In relating a tradition of the Holy Prophet (*s*), Imam as-Sadiq (*a*) said: "He who arises in the morning and gives no thought to the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim. And he who does not respond when he hears the cries of a man pleading for assistance from the Muslims, is not a Muslim." *Usul al-Kafi*, Chapter "Al-Ihtimam bi Umur al-Muslimin."

awareness can tell that the idea is to force the villagers to migrate—those who live in mountainous regions, such as the Bakhtiariis, or the Baluchis, who are to be found in both mountainous and desert regions—they want such people to migrate to the cities where they can be controlled and monitored more easily. That is to say that should these people ever be about to voice opposition to the regime then they could be brought under control by deploying guns and tanks against them. If these people were in the highlands however, it would be impossible to bridle them there. But the time will come when people from all sectors of society will rise up in opposition to the regime, and this uprising will then spread throughout the country. So far we have dealt with one aspect, but there is another aspect which concerns profit-seeking: their handing everything over to the plunderers in both the East and the West—everything, whatever there is to give.

Iran has never before experienced the situation in which it finds itself today. That is, there may have been crimes, murders and the like in the past, but you cannot find another time when Iran's resources have been given away to such an extent. You can go back to foregone eras and work your way as far back in history as you like, but you will not find a time when all of the good pastures in Iran had been given over to outsiders and foreign companies as they now have. All of our fisheries, all of Iran's fisheries in both the north and the south, have been taken from the people and are being run by foreign companies. The report states that seven thousand people were killed in the north of Iran before the government was able to nationalize¹—to use its own words—the fisheries, which it then appropriated and handed over to giant companies.¹ Just consider our oil, our fishing industry and fisheries, our pastures, our bountiful forests. People were under the impression that the forests had been nationalized, that is, that the forests were now for the benefit of the nation! But this is mere rhetoric. "Nationalization" is like that gateway to civilization that he (the Shah) talks about; these also being mere words which the regime comes out with, but which bear no truth. They have given

¹ In order to secure exclusive fishing rights and to be able to assure the safety of profits made by foreign caviar-producing companies, the regime had set up a security guard called The Fisheries' Coastguard. This guard had its own information network and was given a free hand to kill poachers. As a result trouble would sometimes arise between the coastguards and those local fishermen who had no choice but to turn to poaching to earn a living. On one particular night, coastguards fired at a number of fishermen, who, along with their wives and children, were sailing out to sea in the north of Iran to cast their fishing nets. A large number of these people were killed as a result. SAVAK even prohibited the survivors of this incident from holding a mourning ceremony for those killed. See *Az Sayyid Dia ta Bakhtiyar*, p. 561.

some of those splendid forests, with their fine-quality wood, to a Romanian company; and the latter is now enjoying the returns on them.

He had said in a speech that at one time, some years ago, Iran had been divided into two regions: one belonging to Russia and the other belonging to Britain, and that he had done this and that to free the country. Well, it's really beyond me how he hasn't got more sense than to say such things! Or maybe he does know better but he is trying to fool a certain few. If this is the case however, why does he say these things over the radio? "We rescued Iran from its divided state"! Very well, so how exactly did you rescue Iran—you, whose pastures are in part serving to feed the English lady¹ and her gang, in part the Americans and Zionists, and in part yourself and your offspring? What kind of "nationalization" do you call this?! What kind of rescue is this which entails us handing over all our national resources to them and being their servants again? Is our nation to serve others and to surrender whatever resources it may have to them, be they physical or intellectual? "We rescued Iran"! In what way did you rescue Iran? You have given Iran and all it has away to others; you have completely ruined the education in Iran. Nowadays, if we need the services of a physician, we have to go to England. Every few days someone heads for England for medical treatment. But if we had doctors of our own then why would we need to go to England? The universities—these too have been destroyed by you. We no longer have universities. On the face of it there are universities, but you won't even allow this semblance of a university system to go unthreatened. What are the poor university students and professors to do about these monstrosities (the Shah and his regime)? Whatever Iran stands for has now become a mockery. This person has destroyed whatever dignity Iran had, and has made a mockery of it. He has given whatever is of any use to giant companies, he and his select circle of followers having permission to feed from the small shares apportioned to them. As for those poor souls who once lived in the villages, and whom they claim to have transformed into farmers, they have been forced to migrate to the cities. The tent- and slum-dwellers now living on the outskirts of Tehran were those very same farmers, poor souls, who used to raise cattle and supply the country of Iran with wool, oil, meat etc. Now, all of them have been lost. Whatever we need has to come from abroad. Meat has to come from abroad. Wheat has to come from abroad. He has completely destroyed our agriculture. He has destroyed our education system. He has destroyed our army; our army's honor. And he means to

¹ The Queen of England.

destroy our religious establishment, but, God willing, he will not succeed in this.

The immediate duty of all Muslims now must be to speak with one voice, and that which must be pronounced by them before all other unanimous statements made is: “Let us get rid of him first, then we can sort ourselves out afterwards”. And should anyone fail in this duty, then he has betrayed Islam. If you should read anything written by some party that suggests 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, and this therefore constitutes perfidy. As for those who call for an observance of the constitutional law and human rights,¹ they must press for a constitutional law from which those articles included therein by force have been expunged. I myself witnessed how these articles which sanction the present evil monarchy were introduced at bayonet-point—that is, at the point of Rida Khan’s bayonet. It is not the case that people had a say in this or were involved in any way... the people had no say in the matter. These undertakings were accomplished at bayonet-point. These are articles which are unacceptable to the people of this country. Hence, these articles which have given legal sanction to this regime must be done away with. We too have no qualms with a constitutional law which has been amended via supplementary constitutional laws, but it must be an amended Constitution. You must be aware that he who advocates constitutional law without stipulating that it is to be an amended Constitution—or even if he does make such a stipulation but he does so in ambiguous terms—is either following a misguided path or does not appreciate the situation. Now that I have clarified the situation however, there is no longer any excuse for him not to understand the situation.²

¹ Those in favor of the constitutional law included the majority of hard-line politicians in the National Front; the senior members of the Freedom Movement; all of the groups, parties and societies which eventually broke their long-held silence during the last year of the Shah’s regime; the moderate clergy front; and others such as Mr. Shariatmadari.

² Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari was among those who adhered to an erroneous policy. He, who at that time enjoyed power and influence as a *marja’ at-taqlid*, would have been content with the implementation of the statutes contained in the constitutional law of 1906: statutes which gave the clergy a say in those laws ratified in the Majlis. He asked for nothing more than this. For details of this person’s underhand dealings with the Shah’s agents, SAVAK, and foreign elements, and of the acts of sabotage in which he engaged during the most critical stage of the Muslims’ struggle in Iran, refer to “Shariatmadari dar Dadgah-ye Tarikh,” in *Daftār-e Asnad-e Inqilab-e Islami* [“The Documentary Registrar of the Islamic Revolution”], 1982 [1361 AHS].

We all have a duty to liaise with each other. There must be links between ourselves and those abroad; between active groups at home and active groups abroad; between the *ulama* of Islam and other *ulama* ; between eminent religious figures in major Islamic centers and the *ulama* in the provinces; and between the *ulama* of Islam and the various parties. Now is not the time for parties to act in isolation, nor for the *ulama* to act in isolation. A party cannot achieve anything in isolation; and as for the *ulama*, they too need the various parties to be involved in affairs. It is up to these two communities to bring Muslims together. They are to ensure that Muslims in Iran enjoy solidarity, and that all groups liaise with each other whilst also having links with high-ranking governmental officials. Relations must be established with those officials in top governmental positions who have not lost their sense of honor and who remain men of integrity. Many such men are still to be found in the governmental sector. There are many such men who are pained by this wretched state of affairs. Relations must be established with these men so that the day will arrive when we are able to rise up, and by so doing get rid of this person, set up an Islamic government, and, God willing, start putting the laws of Islam into practice, for at the moment there is no trace of such laws in Iran. Do divorce proceedings under the present system conform to the laws of Islam? Do the present marriage proceedings conform to the laws of Islam? Do business transactions conform to the laws of Islam? Just what is in accordance with Islam? Does going on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hadrat Rida (*a*) make everything alright?! Can an act of hypocrisy put everything right?! Do you think that you can continue to fool the people?! I pray that God may awaken the Iranian people (Amen), and that He may increase their present awareness (Amen). May He preserve the theological centers (Amen). May He foreshorten the arms of the foreigners and their agents from this country (Amen), and grant unity to all the Islamic countries (Amen).

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

Introduction to Speech Number Thirty

Date: October 9, 1978 (AD) / Mehr 17, 1357 (AHS) / Dhu al-Qa'dah 6, 1398 (AH)

Place: Imam's temporary place of residence in Paris

Theme: The imperial regime is the source of all corruption in Iran and the bayonet of America is that which is safeguarding the regime

Occasion: An audience with Iranian residents of France following the lifting of those obstacles which impeded Imam's political activities (this therefore being the first speech to be made by Imam in Paris)

Those present: A group of students and Iranians residing abroad

Circumstances, significance and repercussions of the speech:

With every passing day, week and month of the year 1978, people came closer to realising the materialisation of the forecast made by Imam Khomeini (pbuh) concerning the dissolution of the monarchy. This was in spite of the fact that at that time world political analysts and the governments of the European countries and America were utterly convinced and confident that whatever designs the Islamic uprising had in store for the Shah would be successfully dealt with. Moreover, right until the very last days of the Shah's regime, even religious and national figures within the country also firmly believed that America would not allow the Shah to be toppled from his throne of power, let alone the monarchy be dissolved. Those who were of this opinion stood by their argument during meetings held with Imam in Paris, asking the latter for a change in those tactics employed in the struggle.

At a time when the entire nation of Iran is calling for the regime's overthrow, when in the streets and alleys of various cities hundreds of people are being fired at daily by the Shah's assassins, and when Imam Khomeini, unlike previous years, even regards the holding of celebrations to mark the arrival of Shaban 3 and 15 as improper¹, certain parties and veteran

¹ In part of a previous message Imam had said: "We, who are still witnessing the devastating damages which are being inflicted upon Islam and Islamic countries by the Shah, have no cause to celebrate ... The day that we eradicate the foundations and roots of both tyranny and the tyrant and sever the hands of the oppressive Pahlavi dynasty from this country, will be the day for celebration; a day which, God willing, is nigh." A group of *ulama* and lecturers from the theological centre of Qum, the clergy of Tehran, and certain political figures, subsequently issued individual statements in which they welcomed the proposals made by Imam in his message. The names of those who made these statements and the text of what was written therein have been included in the book *Nihdat-i Ruaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 7, pp. 213-221.

politicians rant on about free elections, Fabianism, passive resistance¹, and so on. Furthermore, in an interview held on July 20, 1978 (Tir 29, 1357 AHS) in the theological centre of Qum, Mr. Sayyid Kazim Shariatmadari tells the foreign press that he believes the solution to lie in “the implementation of the

¹ From what we read in the booklet published by Freedom Movement Publications in Mordad 1357 (July/Aug, 1978), entitled *Sama-yi Dowlat-i Muvaqqat az Veladat ta Rehlat*, the head of this movement had sent a list of proposals to Imam Khomeini in the holy city of Najaf, an excerpt of 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).

“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 (ie. 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.

constitutional law” - in other words, he believes that the Shah should remain as sovereign; and he says this without making the least indication to the key demand of the people i.e. the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of an Islamic Republic. Mr. Shariatmadari says: “... Therefore, when we stress that the constitutional law must be rigorously observed and implemented; this includes amongst other matters the holding of elections. Elections must be conducted fairly. They must be free and democratic so that the Muslim people may elect those they truly wish to represent them without being subjected to pressure. In this way, a popular, democratic Majlis can be formed from the true representatives of the people; and when formed, such a Majlis will undoubtedly observe the constitutional law and will block the ratification of anything which contravenes the canons of Islam...”¹

Iran at that time was aflame with anti-regime demonstrations. Even the Shah’s loyal supporters who owned homes nearby his palace, ranted and railed against him. The profundity of people’s hatred towards the Shah was expressed by the slogans chanted in the streets and bazaars: “Death to the Shah”; “May your Crown Prince die, you treacherous king”. The man who, some years back, whilst drunk with power and overcome by American support, had smugly and arrogantly cried out before hundreds of world leaders, presidents and rulers as well as thousands of his dearest admirers: “Cyrus, King of all kings, sleep soundly for we are awake”, was now refused sleep both day and night. He was no longer able to think straight and was prepared to go to any lengths in order to remain sovereign.

During an interview conducted on August 17, 1978 (Mordad 26, 1357 AHS), the Shah issued a warning to the Muslim people of Iran - people who for years had witnessed his cruelty and had now risen up against him under the command of a man who was a descendant of Imam Husayn (pbuh) - and in so doing he lay bare the depth of animosity and rancour which he felt towards the nation. His eccentric fantasies became apparent during this interview when he spelled out how “We promise the people a great civilisation; but our enemies, they promise the people a great terror”.

Two days after the interview, people realised in a way only too tragic just what the Shah had meant by these words. On August 19, 1978 (Mordad 28, 1357 AHS) - the anniversary of the American coup of 1953 - the Rex Cinema in Abadan was set on fire whilst hundreds of men, women and children, both young and old, were present there watching the film

¹ *Nihdat-i Rūhaniyun-i Iran*, vol. 7, p. 224.

“Gavaznha” (“The Deer”),¹ thus making clear what the Shah’s words had meant. On this day - as the regime’s agents later confessed in various interviews given - SAVAK agents set the cinema, along with the entire audience it housed, on fire, having shed incendiary substances in the cinema’s theatre and having locked its doors from the outside. Furthermore, they not only sent fire engines which were out of water to the scene, but they also prevented the people from assisting in the operation to extinguish the fire! About eight hundred men, women and children were burned alive during this harrowing incident. The Shah’s promise of “a great terror” had been fulfilled. Following this tragedy, a massive demonstration was staged and on August 22, 1978 (Mordad 31, 1357 AHS), in a message to the Iranian nation, as well as offering condolences to the bereaved, Imam Khomeini announced: “Circumstantial evidence reveals that the harrowing incident in Abadan, just like the killings in other Iranian cities, has stemmed from one source. Who, other than the Shah and his associates, hoped to gain from this crime?”

Having dismissed Jamshid Amuzegar, on August 27, 1978 (Shahrivar 5, 1357 AHS) the Shah appointed Ja’far Sharif Imami as Premier. The latter, who before holding this office had been President of the Senate, was widely known as a Freemason and as one of the most important pillars of the Shah’s regime. He named his cabinet “the cabinet of national reconciliation” and announced that he was going to fight against the causes of corruption within the regime: an announcement in fact made for the sake of appearances to serve as a publicity stunt, the main purpose of this “fight” in fact being to grant concessions to certain members of the opposition thereby causing a rift within its ranks, and to attract individuals and groups from the political centre. This was a scheme which had previously been tried and tested by the American government during many of the social and political crises in Third World countries, and which had obtained successful results in the past.

Once appointed as Premier, Sharif Imami immediately sent a message to the nation saying: “Our homeland is in danger. O people rise up in defence”! In this message it was announced that the Imperial calendar was to be abrogated and once more the official calendar was to be reckoned from the

¹ The film “Gavaznha” (“The Deer”), produced by Mas`ud Kimiyayi, depicted various aspects of immorality and police suppression and was one of the less vulgar films to be screened during the time of the Shah. It was shown in most of the cinemas in Iran throughout the year 1978 (1357 AHS), the Rex Cinema in Abadan being one such cinema which was screening the film at this time.

migration of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) from Mecca to Medina. Political parties were also told that they were now free to conduct their activities.

Dr. Yadullah Sahabi, a key member of the Society for the Defence of Freedom and Human Rights, and a founding member of *Nihzat-i Azadi-yi Iran* (the Freedom Movement of Iran), said with regard to Sharif Imami's government: "... As long as the new government respects people's rights and the civil liberties stipulated in the constitutional law, and as long as it allows political prisoners and exiled clergymen to go free, we, in return, will support measures taken by the government and will discuss our problems with them rather than taking them to the *maraji* and international organisations"! Similarly, Dr. Karim Sanjabi, announced: "The National Front has always stood in defence of the constitutional law and it regards its unshakeable principles as truly progressive and practical. (!) Every last one of these principles must be implemented in full."¹ Meanwhile, in an interview with the French broadcasting company, the leader of the Freedom Movement Mr. Mehdi Bazargan said: "The worrying thing is that there may be general discontent within the different parties, thus destroying any hope of these parties playing a constructive role in shaping the future of the country. This movement which we now witness is one which is spontaneous, voluntary and strong, and one which we must follow up rather than take control of since we have been prevented from making our voices heard via either the press or political meetings"².

On August 30, 1978 (Shahrivar 8, 1357 AHS), Sharif Imami announced: "We will resolve our differences with the *maraji-i taqlid*" and "we will hold discussions with the leaders of various groups and will accept their demands". In an interview given on the same day, Mr. Shariatmadari maintained that "the clergy's immediate demand is that the constitutional law be implemented".

The National Front too, whilst putting on a statesmanlike act, presented its twelve demands, the most important of these being the abolition of SAVAK, the release of political prisoners, the return of those exiled, and the unharnessing of political activities.

For the first time since 1963 (1342 AHS) - the year when news of Imam Khomeini's exile appeared in the press - *Kayhan* adorned its front page with Imam's name and printed a large three-column-wide picture of him (Tuesday, August 29, 1978 (Shahrivar 7, 1357 AHS)), whilst running the

¹ The *Ittilaat* newspaper, November 14, 1978 (Aban 23, 1357 AHS), p. 4.

² *Kayhan*, August 27, 1978 (Shahrivar 5, 1357 AHS).

headline: “Discussions held for **Hadrat** Ayatullah al-’Uzma Khomeini’s return”. **Kayhan**, which had run a second edition in order to print Imam’s picture, wrote: “Unofficial reports suggest that an official delegation has set out for Najaf. This official body, it is claimed, is attempting to persuade **Hadrat** Ayatullah al-’Uzma Khomeini to agree to return to Iran, but as yet we have no news of the Ayatullah’s response”. Because Imam’s picture had been printed and his name made mention of, the circulation of **Kayhan** on that day hit an all-time high, the paper’s six large printing-presses working all out from twelve noon until ten o’clock in the evening. The **Ittilaat** also printed Imam’s picture in its second edition but its circulation did not reach that of **Kayhan** which sold one million two hundred thousand copies. In certain cases, one such copy was bought for a hundred times its official price, people queuing up for hours in order to buy the paper.

In a circular released on August 28, 1978 (Shahrivar 6, 1357 AHS), Imam Khomeini suggested that the appointment of Sharif Imami as Prime Minister was a case of “changing one kingpin for another”. Whilst refusing any kind of reconciliation with the regime, Imam emphasised: During demonstrations the whole nation cries that it wants the Shah and the Pahlavi dynasty to go. This is what the nation wants, and not empty promises to respect the **ulama**, or the temporary closing of casinos, or the directive to adopt the Islamic calendar: moves made as temporary measures to deceive the people...”

The tough stand adopted by Imam Khomeini left no opening for any kind of compromise or reconciliation with the Shah on the part of those from religious, political or liberalist fronts.

September 4, 1978 (Shahrivar 13, 1357 AHS) coincided with the auspicious occasion of Id al-Fitr. The prayer for Id al-Fitr, conducted on the hill slopes of Qaytaria and led by the now martyred Dr. Muhammad Mufatta, was attended by hundreds of thousands of people from Tehran. A gathering of such enormity was unprecedented in Iran. Once the Id prayer had been performed, a mass demonstration was held in which hundreds of thousands of people took part. Throughout the demonstration, which ended at Azadi Square (formerly Shahyad Square), people cried “Long live Khomeini” and carried placards which demanded the “abolition of the Shah’s regime” and the “establishment of an Islamic government”.

In a message sent on September 6, 1978 (Shahrivar 15, 1357 AHS), Imam Khomeini thanked the people of Iran for the magnificent demonstrations they had held, and he suggested that it was in the government’s best interests to step down. Imam had stressed: “Our nation

has now come to a fork in the road. In one direction lies victory and the expulsion of the Shah, and in the other, eternal humiliation beneath the boots of his executioners. We must choose between dignity and honour in the sight of God and man, and, God forbid, perpetual abasement and indignity. I know the Muslim nation of Iran will never submit to abasement... Rest assured that, God willing, victory and triumph are near”.

William Sullivan, America’s last ambassador to Iran writes in his book: “The Shah himself was not idle. Jolted by the events of September 7, he summoned his military commanders to the palace that evening and held a long meeting. The city and the country awoke the next morning to announcements that martial law had been declared during the preceding night and was in effect as of September 8 (Shahrivar 17).¹

On Friday, September 8, thousands of people gathered at Jaleh Square to organise another demonstration, the majority of whom were oblivious of the fact that martial law had been declared. They were confronted by the armed troops which had cordoned off the Square and the surrounding streets with automatic firearms. Muslim women and their children featured prominently in this demonstration. All of a sudden the officers opened fire on them. People waded through the blood-filled streets shouting the slogan “Death to the Shah, long live Khomeini”, and the demonstration thus continued. According to subsequent reports the number of those martyred at Jaleh Square and in the surrounding streets exceeded four thousand, but the precise number of those martyred and wounded on “Bloody Friday” was never ascertained.

Sullivan writes: “In the United States meanwhile, a Camp David summit meeting on the Middle East was in progress. Reports of the situation in Iran drifted into the the mountain retreat, and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, a close friend of the Shah, decided to telephone his fellow chief of state to express his sympathy and support. Within a short period after that call had been made, President Carter also called the Shah. Although I was never informed of the exact content of their conversation, I was later told that it was a substitute for the letter that had earlier been recommended and that had now been overtaken by events. A group of American businessmen who had been visiting Iran had an audience with the Shah the afternoon he received these two telephone calls. When they came to my residence for a reception later that evening, they told me that the Shah had been briefly delayed at the outset of their audience by a call from President Carter and that he had

¹ *Mission to Iran*, p. 114.

seemed considerably buoyed up by the event. In any case, he had obviously at last captured the president's attention, and after that occasion I never heard complaints from him that the CIA or the United States government was in any way seeking to undermine his authority."¹

Following this, General Zia al-Haq, the head of Pakistan's military government, came to Tehran and met with the Shah, but the content of discussions held between the two was never made public.

Two days after "Black Friday" (September 8) when hundreds were killed at Jaleh Square, Sharif Imami presented his proposed programme to the Majlis and whilst doing so he declared: "We shall uproot the cause of discontent". Following parliamentary discussions, the Prime Minister won a vote of confidence with one hundred and seventy-six votes to his credit, after which he immediately announced that "Marxists were the central cause of the harsh action taken by the government"! Then, in a logistical move, he ordered the military authorities of Tehran to arrest Fereyduun Mahdavi, the ex-Minister of Trade, and Mansur Ruhani, the former Minister of Agriculture.

News of the earthquake in Tabas overshadowed all other news at that time. Over twenty thousand people lost their lives in this unfortunate occurrence, thousands of others being wounded. A body of delegates led by the martyr Ayatullah Saduqi, set out for Tabas as Imam Khomeini's representatives. A news correspondent telephoned a report from Mashhad in connection with the disaster, but because of press censorship and Article 5 of martial law regulations this report was only ever kept on file in the archives of *Kayhan*. This report stated: "Although people are in dire need of help, they do not show much eagerness in accepting assistance from the government. The presence of Ayatullah Saduqi however, who has come to the disaster area on Imam Khomeini's behalf, has been extremely telling, people discussing all their needs with him."

On September 25, 1978 (Mehr 3, 1357 AHS), the abolition of the Rastakhiz Party was announced and the Prime Minister said: "All legal parties will be free to participate in elections". Despite the enforcement of martial law in Tehran and eleven other cities, demonstrations continued in earnest; yet the press was not allowed to print such news.

The Shah tried fresh tactics daily in an attempt to mollify people's anger. On September 26, 1978 (Mehr 4, 1357 AHS), Dr. Aliquli Ardalan, Amir Abbas Huveyda's replacement as Minister of the Imperial Court, announced:

¹ *Ibid.* p. 115.

“Any kind of interference by the royal family in governmental affairs is now forbidden. They are not to make any kind of recommendations, exercise any influence, indulge in any negotiations, or participate in any way in affairs concerning the State and governmental institutions; nor are they to have any kind of dealings with the government. Furthermore, those organisations, societies and boards of trustees which are under the patronage of royal family members are to be entrusted to the government.”

On September 23, 1978 (Mehr 1, 1357 AHS), news reached Iran via a telephone call from Najaf that Imam had been placed under house arrest by Iraqi military troops. Saddam Husayn, the Vice-President of Iraq, was behind this move: a move which caused the general public and those in the theological centres to become anxious and enraged. The Iraqi President (Hasan al-Bakr), was inundated with telegrams of protest which flooded in from *maraji, ulama* (their eminences Najafi Marashi, Sayyid Abdullah (Shirazi) and Mr. Shariatmadari) and ordinary members of the public, Imam Khomeini and Ayatullah Khui also being swamped by a deluge of such telegrams in Najaf. In addition, statements were issued by people of learning from the theological centre of Qum and from the people of Qum as a whole, whilst a joint statement was issued by the *maraji* of Qum (their eminences Golpayegani, Najafi Marashi and Mr. Shariatmadari). In one place this joint statement read: “We notify the government of Iran that should the case be that it has had no hand in what has happened in Najaf and that it has had no involvement in denying him (Ayatullah Khomeini) his freedom - something which constitutes a direct insult to the nation of Iran, the clerical order and Shiism, and which will be the cause of the Iraqi government’s undoing - then it is to officially declare the resentment it feels towards the action taken by the government of Iraq.”

Newspapers of September 26, 1978 (Mehr 4, 1357 AHS), ran a brief news item which read: “The house arrest of Ayatullah al- Uzma Khomeini in Najaf by the Iraqi army has been brought to an end, and high-ranking Iraqi officials have said that the misunderstanding has been resolved!”

It must be remembered that because of Imam’s house arrest in Najaf, he was unable to send any messages whatsoever to Iran. In spite of this however, strikes were held by various sectors of the work force: on September 24, the workers at Abadan oil refinery went on strike; the following day employees from the Telecommunications Company staged a strike; and on September 27, both employees of Kharq oil fields and the personnel of other major governmental organisations took strike action. This situation led SAVAK to send a delegation to Baghdad to meet with Sa’dun

Shakir, the head of Iraq's security organisation. In response to warnings issued to him by senior Iraqi officials, Imam Khomeini had stated: "I take interest in both politics and religion and I shall never turn back or stand down from my political points of view".¹

It was following these remarks of Imam that the Iraqi authorities, in collaboration with the visiting delegation from SAVAK, took the decision to expel Imam from Iraq. Initially, Imam was to go to Kuwait, but the Kuwaiti authorities refused to allow this. Hence, on October 5, 1978 (Mehr 13, 1357 AHS), Imam and his fellow companions were forced to return from the Kuwaiti border back to Baghdad, from where they then flew to Paris on the following day (October 6, 1978). How Imam's departure for Paris came about and how his activities were restrained by the French authorities on first entering the country, are matters which will be explained in the following introduction. The present speech, which is the first to have been given by Imam after the lifting of these restrictions, was delivered in France on October 9, 1978 (Mehr 17, 1357 AHS), before an audience of students and Iranian residents abroad. In it Imam points to the Shah's crimes and to the continuation of the Iranian people's sacred revolt against this key agent, and he stresses that the imperial regime is the source of all corruption in Iran and that it is the bayonet of the satanic America which is safeguarding the regime. Imam Khomeini, in addressing all segments of the arisen nation of Iran, modestly states: "I, who am a mere religious student (*talabah*), profess my faith in my religion".

Whilst drawing attention to the cataclysmic occurrence of September 8, Imam strongly condemns the visit made to Iran by Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Head of State; and in another highlight of the speech he says: "We do not want America to be our guardian. We do not want all of the nation's assets to be taken by America... We do not want our gas to be taken by the Soviet Union and our oil to be taken by America... We are not in need of a guardian... As long as America and the hands of these superpowers' remain over our country our movement will continue... Do not be afraid of these so-called superpowers".

In the concluding part of his speech, whilst promising imminent victory, Imam Khomeini argues that the continuation of the movement can be guaranteed by avoiding differences and retaining unity and brotherhood among the different combatant forces both at home and abroad.

¹ *Zendeginama-yi Siyasi-yi Imam Khomeini*, p. 480.

Speech Number Thirty

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

From what some have said, it seems that a number of gentlemen had come to see me when I was not here, and that they kicked up a fuss somewhat, believing that this must be someone's doing.¹ However, this had not been the case. My present state of health does not permit me to remain here for any length of time, and because of this, a place on the city's outskirts has been found for me where I will be able to rest. I came today because I heard that some gentlemen were going to come here to visit me and I wanted to be here to receive them.² I am not used to formalities such as having someone act as mediator, a curtain, between myself and another person for example. This is contrary to the civility taught in Islam. Health permitting, I am at the service of all the honorable gentlemen; but there comes a time

¹ In this regard Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini writes: "Once Imam had gone to Mr. Ghadanfarpur's house in Paris, it was decided that a home should be found for him. Mr. Bani Sadr said: A friend by the name of Mr. Asgari has a house on the outskirts of Paris which I suggest we should look at.' I went with Mr. Asgari and Mr. Bani Sadr to see the house in question which stood forty-two kilometers outside Paris in Neauphle-le-Château. The following day we again went there to survey the area with Imam, who subsequently gave his approval, firstly, because the house lay outside Paris; secondly, because his staying there would not inconvenience the owner, and thirdly because it was sufficiently large in size. Thus, having approved of the house Imam then remained there. The following day news that Imam was staying in Paris spread amongst the students who then made for Mr. Ghadanfarpur's house; but when they saw that Imam was not there, they thought that Dr. Yazdi, Messrs Bani Sadr, Ghadanfarpur and Qutbzadeh must have purposely taken Imam somewhere out of their reach. Word spread among the Iranian people who reacted badly to the news. The next day Imam returned to the home of Mr. Ghazanfarpur in Paris, where he announced that he had moved to Neauphle-le-Château. He stated that there was no danger of him being influenced by others and that all were welcome to visit him at his home, but that his age did not permit him to constantly be among his visitors."

² Three small houses in Neauphle-le-Château were provided for Imam Khomeini and his companions. Imam and his family-members resided in house number one which was an extremely small building. House number two, situated opposite house number one, was used for gatherings, for meetings with Iranian students, and for members of Imam's staff—congregational and midnight prayers were also performed here by Imam. House number three served as a place in which those students and followers of Imam who had traveled from Paris could rest or sleep. Whoever traveled to Paris to visit Imam was allowed to remain in this latter house for a forty-eight-hour period.

when one's strength is taken from one. Fortunately you are all young but (God willing) should you reach old age then you will realize that an old person does not enjoy the same state of health as do young people. I have now reached the final stages of my life but I pray that I, along with you all, will be able to serve Islam; that we can serve the Muslims and our homeland.

Iran is now in a distressed state. It suffers a kind of distress which it has probably never experienced before throughout its entire history. If you take a look at history, you will see that there have been revolutions and other such things in the past, but they were not such that malevolent troops savagely attacked the people on one front, whilst on the other, the people gave their lives and the lives of their children and stood up in resistance. Iran's present state is such that wherever one looks one sees signs of a revolution taking place—an Iranian revolution; that is. According to what they tell me, it is as if everyone, everywhere in Iran, is now a party to some kind of divine plan: everyone, from infants who have just learned how to talk, to adults, both young and old; from boys and girls to women and elderly ladies and gentlemen. Mankind does not have the power needed to awaken people in this way, whereby members of all social classes and age groups have such unity of purpose. This is something extraordinary, as if it were divinely inspired. It is the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, that the Iranian nation should stand up in resistance (which, God willing, is indeed what they will do) by means of this movement that they have embarked upon and this unity of expression that they hold.

As for this degeneration that has come about in Iran, this is something for which the imperialist regime holds full responsibility. Throughout history, from the birth of the Iranian monarchy to the present day, whatever depravity prevailed was brought about by the imperialist regime. This has always been the case, but it has taken different forms depending on the exigency of the time. Each period has demanded a certain approach. The period through which I have lived, but through which I believe none of you honorable gentlemen have, is a period which has been haunted by Rida Khan. During this period the British stage-managed a coup d'état and brought Rida Khan forward imposing him upon the Iranian people as their ruler.¹ He was the one

¹ During the reign of Ahmad Shah Qajar, a contract known as "The Contract of Wuthuq ad-Dawlah" (the Prime Minister of the day) was concluded between Iran and Britain (1919), according to which Britain was obliged to pay a loan of two million pounds sterling to Iran and was to be responsible for organizing and administering the Iranian army. In effect, this contract rendered Iran a subject of British sovereignty whilst also serving to protect the country from Russia. Ahmad Shah Qajar, for reasons too lengthy to mention here, opposed this contract and thus the British government decided to remove him from their path—a task

appointed to accomplish the aims of his masters, but in order to succeed in this, he realized that it meant having to silence and crush those sectors of society comprising the intellectuals, the *ulama* and the religiously devout.¹ At the same time, his ability to net any profits also depended upon him taking this course of action, so he set to it, pouring any profits netted into his masters' pockets. God only knows what miseries we suffered during the time of that father of his (the Shah), and the miseries we are all suffering now during the reign of this son: a son befitting of such a father. There can be no doubt that he is Rida Khan's son; that is to say, whatever undesirable qualities were to be found in the father, are also to be found in him, with the added quality of him being a hypocrite. Rida Khan was a tyrant, who constantly bullied the people, and the nation at that time did nothing to resist him—or rather they did very little. Of course there was some resistance at that time, but it was minimal and unlike that which we are now witnessing today. But at least Rida Khan did not falsely adhere to Islam and the Quran and the true ordinances of Islam; at least he did not play the hypocrite.² He was a spearhead who attacked and retreated. At least this much can be said for him, that although he battered the people with the bayonet, he did not kill on the same scale as this one (the Shah) does. Rida Khan was responsible for a massacre in Gawhar Shad Mosque, a massacre which was carried out by a group of wicked people; but this gentleman³ has been responsible for several

not too difficult for he was not very popular with the people anyway. Therefore, in 1920 [1299 AHS], a coup d'état was staged by Rida Khan Mirpanj which not only resulted in Ahmad Shah's dethronement, but also paved the way for the overthrow of the Qajar dynasty and the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty; and indeed, shortly afterwards, it led to Rida Khan being placed on the imperial throne.

¹ The reign of Rida Khan was ushered in by repeated acts of intimidation and terrorism. If one of those who sought freedom opposed Rida Khan, he found himself confronted by the bayonet of Rida Khan's officers. If a newspaper proprietor were to voice objection towards the oppression which prevailed and the illegal offences which were committed, he became the object of Rida Khan's terror tactics. On numerous occasions Rida Khan was heard to have said: "I shall break the pen of those who oppose me!"; "I shall cut out the tongue of he who voices criticism!"; "I shall smash the teeth of those who oppose me!" During the very first week following the coup, a large number of political activists, intellectuals, clergymen and other people were arrested and sent to prison, such as Sayyid Hasan Mudarris, Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Yazdi and Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Estarabadi.

² It refers to the periods both at the height and towards the end of Rida Khan's reign. During the time when he was commander-in-chief of the nation's armed forces, he would make a public show of his religious faith and would sometimes take part in *rawdakhwanis* (i.e. meetings held to commemorate the martyrdom of the Immaculate Imams, during which narrations are recited, often in verse).

³ The Shah.

massacres in the past, and God forbid, should he be granted a respite by God, the Blessed, the Exalted, then he will be responsible for more massacres in the future.

While he has ruined our youth, leading them into corruption, at the same time whenever he gets the chance to speak, like two or three days ago when he spoke in the Majlis, he rants on about how the ordinances of Islam must be protected and so forth.¹ But don't you see you foolish man, it was you who only recently changed the official calendar of Iran, discarding the calendar which was based upon the history of Islam—a history which testifies to a nation's glorious past—and replacing it with a calendar based upon another form of history; until you were delivered a blow in the mouth that is, after which you dispensed with the newly-decreed calendar.² Freedom! The man continuously talks of freedom!³ With regard to the Rastakhiz Party, you have repeatedly stated in speeches that everyone is to join it, and that if anyone, through malicious intent, does not join it then you will come down hard on him, beat him and so on; or if not this, then you will

¹ In Mehr 1357 AHS [September/October, 1978], during the opening ceremony of the National Consultative Assembly, the Shah said: "It goes without saying that in our endeavors 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 fulfill—obligations which the people must also fulfill in another way"!

² In August of 1978, following the tragedy at the Rex Cinema in Abadan (August 19, 1978 [Mordad 28, 1357 AHS]), Jamshid Amuzegar's government was dissolved, and on August 27, 1978, Sharif Imami formed a new Cabinet. On his first day in office, Sharif Imami issued a statement in which he announced a change in the calendar whereby the officially-recognized basis of time calculation in Iran was once more to be in accordance with the solar calendar of *Hijrah* (calculated from the date of the migration of the Prophet Muhammad (s) from Mecca to Medina) rather than the imperial calendar (calculated from the coronation of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Iranian monarchy).

³ Refer to the Tehran evening newspapers of August 6, 1978 (Mordad 15, 1357 AHS—the Shah's speech to commemorate the seventy-third anniversary of constitutional government), and August 19, 1978 (the press conference held by the Shah to mark the anniversary of the coup of Mordad 28).

provide him with a passport with which to leave the country, for you will have him kicked out.¹ Freedom! Where in this country can freedom be said to exist? Do people enjoy freedom of the pen? Do people enjoy freedom of speech? What kind of freedom do they enjoy that he keeps on ranting about people's freedom? Do they have freedom to observe the ordinances of Islam—the true religion of Islam and its ordinances? What on earth gives you the right to talk of Islam? What qualifies you to continuously rant on about the true religion of Islam. Indeed, you are the one who is causing its destruction.

This is the situation with which we are all now faced. Our youth in Iran are suffering at the hands of this corrupt regime; they are shedding their blood and losing their lives. Only a few days ago, a large number of our youth were killed in Kermanshah,² and so too in Kurdistan; and they say the same has also been the case in other parts of the Kurdistan province. And you saw for yourselves what they did a few days ago in Tehran; what they did in Tabriz; what they did in Mashhad. The towns, in which they have conducted wholesale massacres and have gone on the rampage, are too many to enumerate.³ And now he is clinging on to power via military rule.¹ If the

¹ The Shah had said that whoever does not join the Rastakhiz Party clearly feels indifferent towards Iran!

² A report carried in the *Ittilaat* newspaper of October 2, 1978 [Mehr 10, 1357 AHS], read: "On Sunday, October 1, 1978, over eight thousand people in Bakhtaran took part in demonstrations and rallies. At 4 pm of that day, the demonstrators assembled in Burujerdi Mosque and in the surrounding streets to protest against the house arrest of Imam Khomeini in the holy city of Najaf. At 6 pm this group then set off on a demonstration march while shouting slogans, their intention being to go to Jami' Mosque. On the way however, they were confronted by government troops who opened fire on the innocent people bringing about a bloody tragedy which left thirty-four people dead or injured. Again, ceremonies held to commemorate the third night following the martyrdom of the aforesaid victims also resulted in fresh clashes breaking out between the people and government troops, in which yet further numbers were killed and wounded".

³ Newspapers of the day reported the holding of massive demonstrations in the major cities of Iran on August 31, and September 1, 1978 [Shahrivar 9-10, 1357 AHS], in which large numbers of people were killed and wounded, and some arrested. Although demonstrations in a few cities were held without incident, according to reports, the majority of demonstrations held throughout the country resulted in scuffles and clashes between troops and demonstrators. The exact number of those killed was never ascertained, but newspapers of the time claimed that the death toll was in the tens. Cities which were affected included Tehran, Miyana, Shahriyar, Kermanshah, Ardebil, Tabriz, Babulsar, Mashhad, Amul, Abadan, Zanjan, Qazvin, Kashan, Shiraz, Hamedan, Kerman, Jahrom, Arak, Ilam, Rafsanjan, and Zahedan...and in Tehran, Kerman, Mashhad, Shiraz and Tabriz many were killed, wounded or arrested during demonstrations which took place on Monday, September 4, 1978 [Shahrivar 13, 1357 AHS]. These events led to the bloody event of September 8, 1978 [Shahrivar 17, 1357 AHS] when thousands were left lying in a blood bath at Zhaleh Square. In the wake of this incident, on

military, if this God-forsaken America, were to withdraw their protection of him for ten days, these royal guards of his would devour him. There would be no need for you, the people to do it. If America were to withdraw its support of him, those Royal Court attendants, the very ones who now guard him in the court, would put an end to him. His life is in no way secure.²

Believe me, you and I are more at ease than he. He is now knee deep in trouble. He has caused misery for the people, but now he is the one who is in such a sorry state that he cannot distinguish between day and night. He probably cannot sleep. Now whenever he speaks he trembles. He can't put four words together coherently.³ This is the state in which he now finds

Wednesday, September 16, 1978, a number of people were killed and injured in Tabriz. On October 1 and 2, large demonstrations were held in a number of major Iranian cities during which violent clashes broke out leaving many killed, wounded or arrested. During these two days, in addition to the aforementioned cities, demonstrations were also to be seen in Zanjan, Urumiyah, Bana, Durud, Kashan, Semnan, Kermanshah, Aqlid and Arsanjan in the province of Fars, Dezful, Amul and ... in which a number of people were killed and wounded.

¹ 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 Jahram. 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.

² Such as on April 10, 1965 [Farvardin 21, 1344 AHS], when one of the guards at Marble Palace fired at the Shah.

³ In his book *Mission to Iran*, William Sullivan, the last American ambassador to Iran writes: "On the day that I went to see the Shah he seemed to be extremely depressed ... throughout the duration of our talks, the Shah was listless, dejected and disturbed, and unlike previous meetings when he had always tried to monopolize the talks, discussing the subjects of interest to him, his only verbal contribution on that day was to give short, confused and overlapping

himself, but at the end of the day, God willing, he will be in a worse state; and as for the Hereafter, things will be even worse still for him.

So much for the present situation in Iran. However, both we here and others who are presently abroad, we are all duty-bound. It is not a question of us having left Iran and therefore having no obligation towards it. We all have an obligation to fulfill—that is to say that reason, the conscience and religious law all tell us that we have a responsibility to meet. Wherever we may be, it is our duty to help this sacred movement of Iran both collectively and individually; both alone and as a member of a group. It is not good enough to say that although they are shedding blood on the battlefield, we are abroad and cannot therefore be with them. No—we too must engage in combat abroad. We too must all fulfill this obligation to the best of our ability—each person, however much or to whatever extent he is able—by speaking out, by writing, by demonstrating.

We now have a religious duty to perform for the nation of Iran. We are now under a religious obligation to help its people. We are indebted to them, for they are making sacrifices for the sake of Islam and the nation. We too are a part of the nation; we too belong to the nation of Iran. So they have in fact made sacrifices for our sakes, shedding their blood and suffering imprisonment. Just consider how many of our *ulama* are now in prison; how many of our *ulama*, our intellectuals, our doctors, our engineers, our students, our merchants, people from all sectors of society, are currently in prison. A number have been killed and a number are prisoners. These self-sacrifices have all been made for the sake of the nation, for the sake of Islam; and we who are Muslims and who are the fellow countrymen of those who have made sacrifices, we who belong to this nation, have a religious duty

responses which were sometimes incoherent”. A reporter for the journal *Der Spiegel*, who was on intimate terms with the Shah, held an interview with the latter during the Shah’s final days in Iran. He writes: “The Shah, looking old and worn, with white hair, a haggard face and heavy eyes, managed with difficulty to bring a grim smile to his lips when he said that he was keeping himself going by taking drugs. The Shah said: People are truly ungrateful and unappreciative; they neither have patience nor the ability to reason’.” When the reporter of the journal asks him about his friends, he replies: “Friend? Which friend? My friends left me months ago and went to America and Europe with stolen money. They are now enjoying themselves in the Champs Elysees and in California. My foreign friends have also deserted me. It is as if they have never seen or heard of me before. Whenever they see me they look the other way. I am alone, and have nobody other than a few distant acquaintances who have remained and who themselves have been left alone, without anyone. All those around me did all they could to take care of themselves. Even certain members of my family didn’t have pity on me either—stealing and plundering as much as they could and defaming myself and my poor wife. They ought to be hunted down and given what for!”

towards these people. We must do what our religion demands of us. I as a theology student [*talaba*], fulfill my religious duty by writing, holding discourses like the one I am now holding with you, and by making statements and speeches. You, as students, regardless of your subject of study, must also fulfill the religious obligation you have towards these people of Iran—people who have been crushed under the boots of this regime. I pray that the Lord may crush them, and so He shall, God willing. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us all to show our concern for this nation and to do whatever we can for them. Obviously, there is a limit to what we can do, but we are to carry out our religious duty and to serve this nation and its people to the best of our ability.

Indeed, besides this religious obligation, we too belong to this nation and we can see how all of our national resources are being given over to America and its comrades. If Muhammad Rida (Shah) were not to give our oil away so generously, then it would not dry up so soon; our reserves would not be exhausted within such a short space of time. But they have put our oil up for sale and are letting it go for a song. They are taking the lot, pocketing whatever there is—the British on the one hand¹ and other parties on the other. As for the Americans, they are worse than any of them.² The Russians

¹ Iranian oil reserves were first discovered at the beginning of the twentieth century by the British who were the first to exploit these excessively abundant reserves. During the First World War the fuel used by British warships was changed from coal to oil, and Iranian oil became the most important source of fuel for these ships and constituted one of the reasons which drove the British to occupy Iran at the beginning of the Second World War. 1909 saw the establishment of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and oil extraction in Iran rose rapidly. Not only did the capital investment programs and the operations carried out by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company not result in the development of the Iranian economy and industry, but rather these programs and operations themselves were in part the cause of an economic decline and economic bondage which came about in Iran. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company sold oil to Iran at a higher price than that it sold to Britain, making a five-hundred percent net profit on the oil and oil products it supplied to the consumer. The plunder of Iranian oil during the reign of Rida Khan continued in such a way that within a thirty-nine-year period the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company exported 338 million tons of oil from Iran, paying the Iranian government a total of 118 million pounds, which on average worked out at 7 shillings per ton or 19 cents per barrel. The total amount of capital invested by the British Oil Company in Iran amounted to 21.6 million pounds, in lieu of which company shareholders received 115 million pounds—a further 175 million pounds going to the British government by way of taxes. A further 400-500 million pounds of the company's profits went towards expanding the company's installations and assets across the globe. Thus, Britain held a massive share of Iran's oil reserves following the drawing up of a contract by the oil consortium: a consortium which took as much as 13.3 billion barrels of oil from Iran throughout an eighteen-year period!

² 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

too are involved.¹ They have all borne down on this nation and have joined hands in order to keep this good-for-nothing in power so that they can carry on with their plunder.²

You all saw how the Chinese Premier, the leader of one billion people, came to Iran to discuss the Chinese people, Communism and the nation of Iran! This villain came to Iran and met with someone who is responsible for several wholesale massacres. He flew over our dead by helicopter. They couldn't drive him through the streets because people would have raised an uproar; all hell would have been let loose. The villain was aware of all this, it is not as if he was oblivious to it; and what a large body of escorts

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 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 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.

² Carter agreed to an audience with the Crown Prince of Iran, Rida Pahlavi, in the White House, addressing whom he said: "Our friendship and alliance with Iran is one of the important bases on which our entire foreign policy depends." As Carter congratulated the Shah for October 26 (Aban 4-the Shah's birthday) he again pledged his support for the latter. During the critical days of Aban 1357 [October/November 1978], the National Security Council of America held a meeting after which William Sullivan was instructed to inform the Shah that the USA would give him their unlimited and unconditional support throughout the current crisis. Concerning the need to support the Shah, David Owen, the British Foreign Minister said: "True friends are those who think of each other in times of need. I believe we must make a choice, and my view is that we should back the Shahanshah of Iran. The toppling of the regime in Iran means a defeat for the ideals of human rights"! Hua Kuo-feng, the Chinese Premier, demonstrated his support for the Shah by visiting Iran during the final days of the regime, when he officially announced that he supported the Shah. Brezhnev, the Soviet Premier, also declared his country's support for the Shah and offered his congratulations to the latter for his birthday.

accompanied him. They flew him over our dead and took him there (to the palace) where he and the Shah shook hands and continued with their program of talks together in the most cheerful of spirits. He, this person, and others like him are deluding the people.¹ At the same time, we saw how such a vast number of the Iranian people were killed on Khordad 15, and how afterwards in the Russian press, the Soviet Union expressed its support for the Iranian regime saying that those killed had been a bunch of reactionists or what have you, who had intended to do this and that. And now the Russians express their support for him (the Shah) again as they did then. As for America, well, its position goes without saying.

They (the imperialists) want to take all of our national resources for themselves. And just what is this sorry nation to do once its oil has gone and its assets have been destroyed? God only knows what it is to do. This gentleman (the Shah) says that we must derive energy from the sun! You want to derive energy from the sun when you can't even light a kerosene lamp? What on earth are you talking about? You only say these things to fool the people. This whole scenario is being set up by them to enable the imperialists to keep this reprobate in power.

Within the country too, whoever says that he (the Shah) must remain or that it is better that he remains, does so because he is a traitor, for everyone within the country has seen what this person is doing, what he has done to the people, what he has done with our resources, what he has done with our wealth. God knows what vast amounts of the nation's wealth have been appropriated by members of this family, whereby abroad they now own villas and real estate and so on and so forth. These have all been paid for by the nation's wealth.

Indeed, I was around when Rida Khan came to power: a mere soldier suddenly appeared on the scene and things led to the stage where now each of his descendants has become billionaires.² This money belongs to the

¹ 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.

² Rida Khan, who before the coup d'état had been a simple Cossack, became the owner of a vast fortune after having seized power. He founded a commission called "The Royal Estates Bureau", and instructed it to buy the most coveted regions in the north of the country for him

nation. These family members have shares in every company; they own a part of every established company in Iran.¹ And as for oil, the Shah is just giving it to the imperialists *ad libitum*, retaining a small share which he then gives to them in exchange for ironware²—something which is of no use to us at all. Yes, these guns are of no use to us but they are to him, for he can use them to beat and kill the people. Our nation can do without such things. A certain amount of the nation's wealth also goes into the pockets of both the

at a low price. He was prepared to commit any crime in order to take possession of the people's property. At the time of his banishment from Iran his possessions comprised: 44,000 plots of inhabited land; 360 million dollars cash in foreign banks; 68 million tumans in deposit accounts at home; centers such as the silk-weaving factory at Chalus, several rice refineries, cotton-mills, stonemasonries, the textile factory at Ali Abad, the hotels of Abali, Gachsar, Ramsar, Darband in Shemiran, and Ferdowsi; as well as owning the villa complex at Mabarakabad, etc. A British Member of Parliament, who had been a close acquaintance of Rida Khan, wrote: "Rida Khan cleared the Iranian highways of thieves and bandits, and he let the Iranian people know that henceforth only one bandit exists in Iran!" See *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini*, p. 88, and *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 111.

¹ There was not one major economic organization in Iran—whether in the department of trade or in the areas of agriculture and industry—in which the Shah and his family were not shareholders. Through "The Pahlavi Foundation", "The Imperial Organization", and "The Social Services", the Shah was one of the major shareholders of Umran Bank, Iranshahr Bank, Dariush Bank, The Development and Investment Bank of Iran, and Shahryar Bank, while he also held major shares in the Kurush Savings and Mortgage Bank and the Ekbatan Savings and Mortgage Bank. The Shah had substantial investments in companies and organizations such as General Motors of Iran, Iran Metal Industries Co., and Iran Aluminum Co. In addition, he was a major shareholder in companies which were involved in trade, production, industry, and distribution, such as: the Ahwaz Pipe Construction Company; the Bridgestone Company of Iran; Kiyon Tyre Manufacturers; Pars Paper Mills; the Darupakhsh Company; the Fars and Khuzestan Cement Plant; Abyek Cement Plant in Qazvin; Tehran Cement; Western Cement Industries; Tehran Plaster; Iranite; West Tehran Land Construction and Development Organization; Kish Development Organization; Atisaz Company; Eskan Housing Development Company; Karaj Cane Sugar Mill; Pars Sugar Mill; Marvdasht Company; Ahwaz Cane Sugar Mill and Refinery; Dezful Cane Sugar Mill; Shahabad Sugar Mill; Fasa Cane Sugar Mill; Kermanshah Cane Sugar; Luristan Cane Sugar; Jiruft Agriculture and Industry; Iran-America Agriculture and Industry; Ziyaran Meat Production and Packing; Karun Agriculture and Industry; Iran Dam Construction; Iran Sea Water Services; Afset Company and the list goes on. The Shah did not even overlook investments in hotels and restaurants! This unchallenged sovereign pocketed a huge share of the returns made from dozens of restaurants, casinos and night-clubs and from the following hotels: Babulsar; Vanak; Ramsar; Arya Sheraton; Chalus; Gamrun; Bandar Abbas; Nowshahr; The Hayt in Khazar; The Hayt in Mashhad; and The Tehran Hilton! Furthermore, each member of the Pahlavi family was also involved more or less to the same extent as the Shah in commercial-business enterprises. For further information refer to *The Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty*, vol. 1, p. 216.

² Guns and military equipment.

Shah himself and the members of his family, who then spend it on propaganda abroad—heaven knows how much they actually spend in this way. It is said that a budget of one hundred million dollars is spent abroad on propaganda for the regime—and what is propagated?—that it is vital to Iran that this man stays; that if he were to go then Iran would become a communist state.¹ But why on earth should Iran become communist? The nation of Iran is a Muslim nation. The rallying cry of the Iranian people is Islam; the people call for religion. Why should they become communist if the Shah were to go? This continued propaganda campaign of theirs however, is to no avail. It is now said that the regime has recently arranged for a group of people to shout out communist slogans in the university when it reopens, in order for the people to believe that it is now the communists who pose a threat to the regime! But this is not the case at all. These people are members of SAVAK and not communists. The imperialists' aim to keep him in power even if it means having to resort to every trick in the book; and this is because he serves them better than anyone else could.

From the very beginning our argument has been and still is that we have a country of our own which we want to keep for ourselves. We don't want America to be our guardian. We don't want all of the nation's assets to be taken by America, or for the Soviet Union to take them away. We don't want our gas to be taken by the Soviet Union and our oil to be taken by America. Tell me, is it an open house here where anyone can take whatever he wants!?! We don't want it to be like this. We are a nation in our own right, and whether you like it or not, we want to be the ones who benefit from our own land, from our own water, from our own oil and from our own resources, each of which are in bounteous abundance. Yes, we want to benefit from all of these resources and to drive away those thieves who continually eat them up and take them away. We want to drive this regime out too, and to administer our own country ourselves. We are not in need of a guardian. Whether we run the country badly or we run it well, at least we will have done it ourselves. This is the case we argue. Who has the right to say "No,

¹ 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. 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."

someone else has to come and control your affairs”? What business is it of theirs? Whether we want to administer the country or are in fact able to do so is beside the point; our demand is that you all get out. As for what would happen once these have gone, once we have driven out these parasites and these gluttons for oil—the superpowers’ being both parasites and gluttons for oil, and this Pahlavi family along with all those who have had dealings with this family over the past fifty years, being the parasites who are benefiting from the wealth of our very own country whilst our youngsters are paying the price with their lives—we argue that were we to drive these out, we would then be able to fully administer this rich nation of ours unaided. It is not that our national budget is inadequate; it is that those who partake of it are many! Paying for those public relations officers both at home and abroad to uphold the Shah’s regime and for others such as these advisers they bring in from abroad, takes a tremendous amount out of the budget. All of these people have poured into this country for our resources which they are now busy plundering and taking away.

If we foreshorten the arms of these people, which indeed we shall, God willing, and if the nation which has risen up in revolt foreshortens their arms and drives out the main culprits—if we succeed in this, then we will have enough oil and will achieve autonomy. Who asked you or your agents to come and run our country anyway?

What do we want with all of these foreign advisers?!¹ They are all here to keep him and his regime in power and to plunder us. They prop him up so that they can plunder. The regime must also be in favor of them plundering the nation otherwise the imperialists would get rid of him (the Shah) and replace him with someone better. It’s not that they are really keen on him, but it is a question of not being able to get rid of him. In any case, they would still have us to contend with no matter who they put in his place. Should they decide to stage a coup and install a military government, then he will have no

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 workforces 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 organizations 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”.

choice but to kill or to leave.¹ And in fact that is just how the situation now stands. He either has to pull the trigger and kill the whole nation, or he has to abdicate. Until the time when America leaves us alone, and these superpowers' take their hands off our country, our movement shall continue and so shall our slogans and activities; and God willing, we shall eventually triumph.

Do not be afraid of these superpowers', gentlemen. If ever we were to go to war with foreign countries we would lose because they would be in a better position than we; we are nothing, whilst they have everything. But there are times when a nation must speak out; when it has something to say—something which makes sense to the entire world. And now what we have to say is that we are a nation in our own right and we do not want foreigners to be in our country, to be in our home: so they must get out. No one can dispute this argument, and if anyone were to dispute it their challenge would inevitably be short-lived anyway for they would have to take on world opinion, which is something no power can challenge. We have now managed to draw the world's attention towards Iran. Iran is now the centre of everyone's attention. That is to say everyone is busy researching about Iran; they are probing into it. They do so however, for the purpose of making inroads into the country, although it is true some intentions may in fact be honorable whereby research is conducted which asks questions about the nation's make-up, and about what has happened there and why. In time, once everyone has become aware that the people of a nation have risen up to demand what is rightly theirs, and not to demand that which belongs to others, then inevitably they will lend their support to this cause. If you join hands together as you have done so far, pushing differences aside and getting on well with each other, if you remain united, then I give you the glad tidings that, God willing, you will pull it off: you will get rid of this regime and the foreigners and the country will become yours.

There is just one more thing that I would like to say to you Iranian gentlemen who are not in Iran, and that is I sometimes hear of there being some trivial differences, some petty grievances between you—I sometimes heard of such things whilst I was in Iran, and I may well have heard of them

¹ The staging of a military coup and the enforcement of a military government was among the solutions discussed in political circles—a solution which was reached by the Shah's supporters during the final months of his reign to combat the popular demonstrations and the Islamic Revolution. However, both the Shah's mistake in imposing a military government under General Azhari, and Imam's timely warning that "A military government amounts to nothing less than a military coup", denied this policy a chance of working.

here too. If this is the case then I believe something is amiss.¹ You are all each other's brothers. Why, and over what do we differ? We must all join hands together to destroy he who is the common enemy. If we are going to be at variance among ourselves he will remain comfortably seated on the throne and our energy and efforts will be wasted. This is yet another of the tricks that they (the imperialists) have always had up their sleeves and that is to create divisions between the different segments of society. They create two parties with two different names, sow discord between the two and thus render the people inert; or, for example, they may build someone up to be the centre of attraction and place him in the spotlight, thus causing the people to become preoccupied as they enter into debates with regard to this person. As a result their energies become dissipated whilst the imperialists sit back and take advantage of the situation. You gentlemen who are currently outside the country must be each other's brothers. Resolve your differences. If you have seen a brother doing something which troubles you, then you are to approach him in a brotherly manner and tell him that he has done something to upset you. Let the matter be settled. I pray that God, the Blessed and Exalted, grant you all success. May you complete your studies here having attained honorable results and then return to your homeland. And may the time come when our country's affairs are handled by accomplished, righteous people. And I pray that all of you, all of us, may serve our people, our homeland and Islam. I must also add that my health as it is at present doesn't permit me to come here every day. Even before speaking to you here today I felt a little tired, but having come here I saw there was no alternative but to speak with the gentlemen present. I must apologize for not having been able to come here sooner. However, let me first of all say that from the time that I first became involved in this struggle I never allowed anyone to interfere in my affairs, including those closest to me. I was independent in whatever I did. I did or didn't do things as I saw fit and I acted according to my own reason and discretion. Don't be mistaken in thinking that my coming here must be due to some sort of special relationship between myself and someone else for example, or that there is someone who influences what I do and whose

¹ Due to an absence of governmental pressure, political differences outside the country were far greater than those within it. Disagreements existed between the various groups such as the National Front—to which Bani Sadr paid allegiance—the European branch of the Freedom Movement Abroad, the American branch of the Freedom Movement Abroad, and other religious and non-religious groups. The most serious disagreements however, existed in Europe between Messrs Qutbzadeh, Bani Sadr and Dr. Yazdi. It is to these disagreements that Imam refers here.

judgment I accept unquestioningly. This is not the case. Don't take offence for example because I may have gone out somewhere for a welcome rest, believing that this must have been something planned in order for me not to welcome and speak to the gentlemen visitors; for me not to be available for them. I am always available for the gentlemen and the door to my home is open to them all. Whichever of them would like to come to my home is welcome to do so. However, as far as my coming here to stay or my traveling here every day is concerned, I am sorry to say that the state of my health just doesn't permit me to do these things. I have to return to where I am staying in order to rest and, God willing, to make myself fit enough to be at the service of all of the gentlemen who wish to see me.

One of the ladies present at the gathering: [With regard to the issue of women's Islamic covering [*hijab*], this matter has been bothering those sisters who are living over here. That is to say they would truly like to know whether this form of covering is acceptable or not?]

Imam: You mean in the manner that you are now dressed?

The lady: [Yes.]

Imam: There is no objection to this. If it has no ill effect then there is no objection to this form of covering. You must decide for yourselves whether dressing in this manner has any ill effects or not, or whether it causes an affront to your dignity say, or other such concerns. If your form of covering causes an affront to your dignity then you don't need anyone else to tell you whether it is correct or not, for you yourselves should know. But if it does not cause an affront then it fulfils the condition required for a woman's dress to be Islamic: that is all a woman's Islamic covering amounts to and nothing more.

The lady: [Also, in Iran...?]

Imam: The situation in Iran today differs from the situation here (in France). There, in Iran, more ill effects may possibly result, so it is not a case of the Islamic covering worn by women in Iran having to be worn here too. The Islamic covering required for women in Iran and that which conforms to Islamic requirements is to the extent that you are now wearing. Islam does not change according to where it is practiced. However, sometimes external factors are involved which have to be taken into consideration—factors which cause ill effects, moral discrepancies and other such things to arise from the use of a certain kind of covering, and when this is the case, women's Islamic covering must take a different form. However, under

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different circumstances, this covering can be as simple as it is elsewhere—no, there is no objection to a woman not wearing a *chador*.¹

¹ The *chador* is a traditional form of covering for women constituting a long veil worn over the head which stretches to the ground.

