

7217



**IMAM KHOMEINI  
AND  
NOVEMBER 4TH  
(Aban 13)**

**Anniversary of the Occupation of the  
Den of Spies (American Embassy)**

**by the Muslim Students in the Line of the Imam**

---

---

**Book title: Imam Khomeini and November 4th (Aban 13)**  
**Publisher: Ministry of Islamic Guidance**  
**Circulation: 15,000**  
**Date of publication: November, 1982**

وَأَنزَلْنَاكَ عَلَىٰ آلِ يَسْرِينَ الَّذِينَ أَنصَلْنَاكَ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ

وَجَعَلْنَا لَهُم مِّنْ جَعَلِهِم مِّنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ

سورة القصص - الآية ٥

*"And we decided to be gracious to those who were being oppressed in the land, to make them leaders and make them heirs"*

*Quran 28: 5*

---

\_\_\_\_\_

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Imam Khomeini defines his stance in respect to the occupation of the Den of Spies</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini orders the release of women and black hostages</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini's message</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini rejects the U.N. Security Council Meeting</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini meet Visiting Priests</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini calls on the nation to resist coercion</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini replies to the Pope's message</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini speaks on Carter's disgraceful defeat</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini meet Foreign delegates</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini's message to the Muslims of the world</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Imam Khomeini speaks on the question of the Shah and hostages</b>	<b>50</b>

---

**IMAM KHOMEINI DEFINES HIS STANCE  
IN RESPECT TO THE OCCUPATION OF  
THE DEN OF SPIES**

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

At this crucial juncture, I will not accept any person who just wanted to see me for this purpose. But I agree to this meeting due to our respect for Christian clerics and the Pope. I feel all the more pleased to have received his message, because this provides me with an opportunity to clarify a few points which I suspect have preoccupied the minds of our people, the minds of other nations, and especially the minds of the impoverished masses of the world, including Muslims and Christians.

The 35 million people of this country were subjected to U.S. imperialism and more recently to special pressure by Carter. Millions of the impoverished masses throughout the world have long expected some sort of reassurance from the Pope. They have expected a paternal gesture of mollification from the Pope to warn the oppressors against acts of injustice, and counted on him as a personality who would mediate between the impoverished nations and the superpowers who have claimed to be Christians. But alas, the cries of the impoverished masses always fell on deaf ears. We gave lives for a period of 50 years. Our people

---

were massacred. They imprisoned our people and tortured them in jails in the most inhumane manner. In those days there was no person who would venture to mediate. Never did it occur to the great Pope to defend the rights of these impoverished people. Never did it occur to him to act as a mediator so that the oppressors would leave this impoverished nation alone.

Now, this prompted our people and our youth who had long been subjected to oppression and tyranny to head for that place of espionage and arrest some people in that 'den of spies' who, according to all available documents and information, conducted acts of espionage against our people and against the region. The bulk of destroyed material and files in that place is most convincing evidence of the nature of their business. If all these documents were related to normal embassy activities and if they did not reveal this conspiracy against our nation, our people would not have resorted to such an action. But now that we have been convinced of a plot which was in the making against our country, and now that our people here and people in other countries have supported this occupation of the embassy by our youth, I must remind you that this has been the demand of the whole of our nation and that this action must not be construed as having been done under the pressure of the desires of a bunch of students. There were plots in the making here; plots which were against humanity and against the Islamic countries. Foreign embassies here are not allowed to indulge in acts of espionage, yet our document specialists have already been convinced of this embassy's engagement in acts of espionage and conspiracy.

I am now surprised to see that only at a time like this the great Pope has been moved to such an extent that he wants to see the hostages freed in the name of humanity.

Well, as far as the conduct of our people with the hostages is concerned, I can say our youth are Muslims and that to my knowledge their conduct with them has been in keeping with humanistic principles. As for the releasing of these people, we must first see what the demands of our people are. We should first ask ourselves whether the demands of our people are legal and whether they conform with humanistic principles. We should ask ourselves whether our people are driven by philanthropic and humanistic feelings or whether they have been prompted by other motives. Our people had been subjected to the tyranny of this same person who is now in the United States. He committed acts of treason in this country for a period of 37 years. During this period our youth were deprived of a decent living. For 37 years this nation was subjected to oppression from all sides under the plans which were devised and engineered by this same person. He massacred hundreds of people on June 5, 1963. Since then he has probably killed more than 100,000 people. As a result of his brutality, thousands of others were also injured or maimed. In the face of this suffering, our nation now demands extradition of this criminal to Iran to be tried on the principles of justice. If he is convicted, he must give back the property that he has taken from us. Right now the wealth that he and his relatives have taken from this country has filled up foreign banks in the United States and western countries.

I know for a fact and the people of my generation have observed as well as those who have read about it in history, that when his father launched the coup d'etat he possessed nothing. He was a mere soldier. But when he took control of the country he began to confiscate people's property. The best farms in Mazandaran, north of Iran, came into his possession by the force of his agents. Many of the own-

ers of religious leaders who expressed an opinion on this matter, were imprisoned or sometimes killed.

I remember during the reign of Reza Shah people were massacred in the Gohar Shad Mosque (in Mashhad) where they had gathered for prayers, and a number of onlookers who had gathered in the mosque were also killed. When he left Iran, or rather, was thrown out, he took with him this country's jewels as much as he could in his suitcases. In the middle of his sea journey, however, the British took away all the jewels from him. Then, the Allies imposed his criminal son (Muhammad Reza Pahlavi) upon our nation, even though the nation was not pleased to have his son after the behavior they had seen of his father.

As a result, this man did everything they (the Allies) demanded. The treacheries he committed during his reign towards our people are too numerous to be counted. For example, one of the services he provided was that he purchased arms and ammunition in exchange for oil which this country exported to the United States. Then those weapons were used for American military bases. Thus, this man gave away our oil and with its money, he built military bases for others. During the past 10 or 15 years he killed so many of our youth. His prisons were full of young patriots.

During this period we would have liked to hear a word from one of the spiritual leaders abroad especially the great Christian leader, in sympathy with this oppressed nation. I cannot believe that the Vatican was unaware of what was happening here. I do not know what to do about this indifference. When people wonder if the Christian clergy acknowledge these crimes committed, I do not know what to tell them. The Christian clergy know very well that the Holy Quran has defended the Virgin Mary and has

strongly rejected the calumnies that had been made against her. Thus, the Quran has defended Christianity and its religious leaders and saints. We would have like to see personalities such as the Pope inquire as to why our nation was undergoing such suffering, and ask Carter why he is right now sheltering a man whose crimes and treacheries of more than thirty years are quite evident.

We are not surprised by Carter's efforts. He is a politician; not in the healthy sense of politics, but of his own version. He will commit any treachery to fulfill his personal interests and under the illusion that he is serving his country's interest, so that our youth may not discover the truth. But I wonder why the Pope offers to intervene in this affair in which an oppressed nation wants to reveal some of the injustices done to it and inform other oppressed peoples. It wants to put the oppressors on trial.

We would have taken the initiative if we could have tried this man (the ex-Shah) in another country. But the crimes he has committed, the documents we have on him, the millions of witnesses we have – farmers, workers, religious clergy and scholars who have been oppressed – we cannot take abroad for testimony. But as a sign of respect we have for the Pope, we would welcome his representative and that of any other person, even a representative of our worst enemy, Carter, to attend this man's trial in this country. Whatever the court's verdict, we and our people would accept.

I would like the Pope to know that his is not an issue that I may be able to solve personally. We do not want to impose anything on this nation. Islam has not permitted dictatorship. We must submit to the people's will. Almighty God and the Prophet of Islam have not entitled us to impose anything on our people. We might occasionally

---

put a humble request to the people. Now this issue is beyond my responsibility and individuals like me. It is in the hands of the nation. And the nation has expressed its support for this action. As you may be aware, Radio (Iran) has been announcing support given by various groups of the people.

In any case, our issue is a humanitarian one. Because of their adherence to Islam, our people are humanitarian. And you as a Christian should follow Christ and be humanitarian just as Jesus was.

The humanitarian feeling prompts our people to have this man put on trial so that the world may know who motivated him to these crimes, oppressions, and looting of our resources, and thus, other nations may take note. In the light of these facts, what would the Pope's judgment be? I would request the Pope to contact Carter who has appealed to him and scrutinise the problems. Will the Pope really find that all the oppression done to us, all the massacres and all the wealth taken away from these impoverished people who are deprived of shelter, food, and work even in the city of Tehran, while our wealth has been accumulated in foreign banks by this man (the ex-Shah), are justified? If he has not yet heard about this, we now inform him about what he has done. In the face of all these facts, I do not suspect that the Pope will suggest that we set free these people without having that person (the ex-Shah) at our disposal. Why? Because the Pope, not less than any other human being, is certainly aware of such crimes. At any rate, we do not have any illegitimate demands. Every human being in any part of the world, with the exception of Carter who should pay attention, will accept our demands. Our demands are fair. We say that you have taken our criminal and you are giving him shelter. We want you

to surrender him to us. He is the same person who killed our youth, who roasted them alive and who cut off their limbs. We demand that you surrender this person to us so that we may give him a fair trial. Should it be proven that our claims are unfounded then he will be permitted to be put back on the Peacock Throne in which case the people of this country will obey him. But if you admit that he is at fault and that Mr. Carter is disrespecting the people's legitimate demands, then it will be your duty to ventilate our grievances and ask him for any justification by way of a challenge, and take advantage of your spiritual influence in doing so. Let me remind you that while these people claim to be Christians, in practice, their conduct is completely against the word of Jesus Christ. They have beguiled many a people in their own lands. Now it is time that the Pope showed some genuine concern about the world of Christianity, and equally, about all impoverished nations. It is only fitting at a time like this that he show some concern about the prestige of the Christian world. It remains his duty to reveal the true identity of the people who preach the Gospel but who act against it. The Pope must now introduce Mr. Carter to the people of the United States and to the world of Christianity, and he must reveal the latter's crimes against the people, as we did with Muhammad Reza (ex-Shah). Our people have long known about him and his crimes and we did our best to disclose more about him, and we expect you to do the same.

If you do this we will greatly appreciate it. We are bringing our plea to you because we have been subject to injustice; we call on the Christian world to rescue itself. Because what these people do in the big countries in the name of the Messiah and the crimes that they commit in the name of Christianity are not consistent with the spirit of

---

Christ. Such acts serve only to disgrace Christians the world over. Let me reassure the Pope that had Jesus Christ been living today he would have reprimanded Mr. Carter; were Jesus living today, he would have rescued us from the clutches of this enemy of the people. You are his representative, and in your capacity we expect you to do what Jesus Christ would do had he been living today.

I pray to God the Almighty that He may direct us in the course of our divine duties and lead us in our religious tasks. I pray to God that He may make us supporters of the oppressed. I am hopeful that the Pope will show some concern about the condition of our people, and I trust that he will not take it amiss if we say that under the circumstances we cannot accept his request. But we would like to assure him of our good conduct with them (hostages), and I would like you to go and see these people in your capacity as the Pope's representative. I would like you to speak with them and find out for yourselves whether they are being kept in unsatisfactory conditions. But you need not worry about their being uncomfortable, for they are not. Mr. Carter has resorted to every possible means to rescue himself from this entanglement. He is like a drowning person who tries to grab hold of anything that should come his way. Once he tries to frighten us by threatening military action. Once he tries to frighten us by threatening economic sanctions.

It is unfortunate that in the midst of these developments a person who claims to be Iranian, and who says he is first an Iranian and then a Muslim, should ask Carter to exercise economic boycott on Iran. He is none other than Bakhtiar. He is now in England and claims to be a nationalist. Now you see how my past prediction came true today.

I recall that I said that the superpowers might keep a

person for 20 to 30 years so that they might use him for a rainy day; so that they can make a servant out of him, and make him their own agent, but presenting him in the disguise of a national personality, like Bakhtiar, who has apparently attached himself to the late Dr. Mosaddeq and who claims to be nationalistic. They use such people once they think the time is right for them. He was in the National Front for many years and claimed to be concerned about the nation. He said he was first an 'Iranian' and second a 'Muslim' – a statement which in itself is blasphemy. But at the time when they needed him, they used him and he continued the mass killing once he had replaced the most wicked creature of God, Muhammad Reza. He ordered his men to kill our people, but his men did not obey. He (Bakhtiar) himself proposed that economic sanctions be imposed on this country. But let me announce here that we are neither afraid of military intervention nor are we afraid of economic sanctions, since we are Shi'ites and as Shi'ites, we welcome any opportunity for sacrificing our blood. Our nation looks forward to opportunities for self-sacrifice and martyrdom. Now let us suppose that in the absence of all reasoning, Mr. Carter should decide to send military forces here. We have a population of 35 million, most of whom long for martyrdom. These 35 million people will resist, once we are all martyred, then our enemies can do whatever they want with this country. We are not afraid of such an encounter. We are men of war; we are born to fight. Our youth have fought with army tanks, machine guns, and with bare hands. Mr. Carter need not try to frighten us with any war-like encounter. We are men of war even though we may go to action without war equipment.

But as for economic sanctions, let me remind you that we are a nation who has long been accustomed to depriva-

tion. We have been stuck in this bottleneck for 35, or rather, 50 years. We have not become accustomed to deprivation. If such should be the case, we will all fast. This will be the case only if they succeed in imposing economic sanctions on us and if all other countries join them in doing so. But such a condition is fathomable only in the world of fancies and such will not be the case. But in the face of all realities, should this be the case, we will continue growing wheat and barley in our fields, and the yield of those crops will suffice us. Well, perhaps we will have meat only once a week – and incidentally, it would be a healthier diet to eat less meat – and maybe we will have only one meal everyday. But tell them not to try to frighten us of such things. If we should be forced to either save face or fill our stomachs, we will prefer to save face and let our stomachs go hungry.

I would like you to convey my greetings to the Pope and tell him that we share a common interest: we both adhere to the school of monotheism. We are triggered in our actions by piety and theism. We ask you to extend your helpful hand to this nation, and we expect you to give paternal warning to the superpowers and demand explanations for their wrongful acts.

–November 8, 1979

## **IMAM KHOMEINI ORDERS THE RELEASE OF WOMEN AND BLACK HOSTAGES**

Imam Khomeini issued the following message to Hujjat-ulislam Musavi Kho'ini and the students who have occupied the Embassy of the United States in Tehran yesterday. "The espionage and plotting centre under the name of the American Embassy, and its staff, who have plotted against our Islamic movement, do not deserve international political respect. The extensive threats and propaganda by the U.S. government have no value before our nation. Neither his (Carter's) economic blockade nor his military threats are useful. Carter makes the mistake of thinking that all governments are waiting to serve him. This great mistake will soon become clear to him. The Iranian nation has risen to prevent these espionage centres from continuing their scandalous work. And unless Muhammad Reza Pahlavi and the properties he has taken with him are not given back to us, this espionage centre and those professional spies (hostages) will continue to be held.

But since Islam has special respect for women and since the blacks have long been suppressed by the United States and possibly they have been forced to come to Iran, the students should hand them over to the Iranian Foreign Ministry to be expelled immediately, if proved not to be spies. The Iranian nation will not allow the other hostages to be released unless the U.S. government meets the Iranian nation's request."

---

### **IMAM KHOMEINI'S MESSAGE**

We understand that Carter's special representatives are due to come to Iran to negotiate with me in Qum. However, I find it necessary to note that the U.S. government has announced its open opposition to Iran by giving shelter to the ex-Shah. It has also been revealed that the American Embassy in Iran has been a place for espionage against our sacred Islamic movement. Therefore, it is not possible for the special representatives to meet with me. Moreover, the members of the Revolution Council should not meet with them, and no responsible official is permitted to have a meeting with them. Once the United States has delivered the deposed Shah, the number-one enemy of the nation, to Iran, and once it has discontinued its espionage activities, the door will then be opened for negotiations on issues related to the interests of Iran.

—November 22, 1979

## **IMAM KHOMEINI REJECTS THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING**

There are rumours these days proposing a meeting of the U.N. Security Council to investigate the case of the hostages (at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran), whose acts of espionage have been proven to the Iranian nation. After embarking on political and military manoeuvres, Carter has now agreed with the formation of a U.N. Security Council meeting to study the case. But he ignores that our nation knows that the verdict of any council or court, formed under direct influence of the United States, would be dictated in advance, leading to the condemnation of our oppressed nation. Our nation does not agree with the formation of this so-called Security Council meeting whose task has already been set.

To investigate the case of the deposed Shah and that of the spies at the espionage centre (U.S. Embassy) cannot but take place in Iran because the documents and evidence pointing to the crimes are found in Iran and cannot be transferred abroad. About 100,000 of our people have been martyred and there are millions of witnesses including over 100,000 disabled people (by the Shah's regime) whose transfer outside Iran to report to the Council is not possible. Considering the above facts, formation of any court or council, contrary to judicial principles, is rejected by our

---

nation. Our beloved people should know that they will be victorious in this regard by the will of God and reliance upon Islamic faith, and will thwart the ominous plots of the powerful one after another.

I once again reiterate that it is indispensable that the various groups of the nation, no matter what their ideological, political, or religious doctrines, preserve their unity and assume a hostile position against the innumerable crimes of the U.S. government, and refrain from creating trouble and sowing discord which would only serve the interests of the enemies of our country.

## **IMAM KHOMEINI MEET VISITING PRIESTS**

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini, received the six noted Christian priests who had come to Iran to visit the hostages. At this meeting, Dr. Thomas Ericks, Georgetown University Professor of Middle Eastern History, thanked the Iranian people for their hospitality. He said they had gone to the Behesht-i-Zahra Cemetery (in Tehran) to pray for the late Ayatullah Taleqani and the martyrs of the Iranian Revolution. He went on to say that he prayed to God for guidance to find other ways to face the present crisis in order to turn the current confrontation into cooperation because while humanity is heading towards violence and war, the Godly way is directed towards peace and forgiveness.

The following is an excerpt from Imam Khomeini's statement in reply to Dr. Ericks.

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

Greetings to all the oppressed nations of the world, the Christian nations and our Christian compatriots on the occasion of Christmas. Everything relating to Jesus Christ was a miracle. It was a miracle that he was born from a virgin mother. It was a miracle that he spoke in his cradle. It was a miracle that he brought humanity peace, happiness, and spirituality. All the prophets were miracles, and they came to shape humanity. They all want mankind to be lead

---

on the straight, divine path and for everyone to live in peace, happiness, and fraternity.

The people of the world today are afflicted with the great satanic powers which do not allow the prophets' teachings to be realised. The Christian clergy have many peculiarities, as the superpowers are Christian or lay claims to Christianity. In contradiction to the words of God the Almighty, the superpowers act against Jesus Christ's teachings. According to the teachings of Christ and God the Almighty, the Christian clergy have a duty to wage a spiritual war against the superpowers who act contrary to the way of the prophets and the way of Christ.

You went to Behesht-i-Zahra and saw some of the martyrs' graves. Wherever you go in Iran, you will see such graves. You have not seen our handicapped. Everywhere in Iran you will see people who have lost their limbs, or have been injured (by the previous regime) and are deprived from leading a normal life. I wish you Christian clergymen could stay in Iran for awhile to travel to various towns, villages, and hamlets to witness the scars left by the crimes committed by him (the ex-Shah) who was supported by American presidents. I wish you could go and see the crimes that were imposed upon us by U.S. presidents.

You should see what they did to our youth in underground cells just because they desired independence for the country. Time is lacking now even for a topical recounting of what crimes they committed against our youth. It may suffice to say that they amputated the limbs of many of our youth, they charred or broiled many others, and they cut off the limbs of many children in front of their parents so that they (the parents) would confess. They did things which are disgraceful to tell. They did all this on the grounds that they were commissioners of the big powers

and that they had a 'mission' to fulfill in this country. They committed crimes here and put the blame on the U.S. government for what they did. They did things to foul the name and holiness of Jesus Christ in the eyes of the people. Christian clergymen have a responsibility to rescue Jesus from this entanglement in which your presidents have brought him. Jesus looks to Christian clergymen and scholars. He is looking intently at you to see what you will do with these cruel people who have betrayed mankind. Have you ever brought up or discussed such crimes in your churches? Has the Pope ever done anything in respect to these crimes? Has the Pope condemned us because we have kept the hostages? Does the Pope know what jobs these people had? Is it in keeping with the dignity of a clergyman to condemn an oppressed nation? Would it be justified to condemn a nation which was under the yoke of the governments which only apparently adhered to Christianity? Did any person among the Christian clergy ever protest against such cruel crimes which were committed in Iran?

On the occasion of the birthday of Jesus Christ we wrote an article about the crimes which had been committed in Iran, but to our regret we heard that the Pope would not approve the printing of our article. Why should the Christian clergy have such an attitude towards the oppressed peoples?

Why should the followers of the gospel of Jesus Christ condemn us, and why should they be biased towards acts of cruelty? Are you not aware of the crimes that had been committed here? Are you not aware that they have plundered the wealth of this country? And that they have left behind a hungry nation? Do you not know that they subjected this nation to oppression and torture over a period of 50 years and that they robbed all of its wealth to pay to

---

the superpowers. Does the Christian clergy not know that in a blatant violation of the teachings of the prophets and of Jesus, Mr. Carter has frozen the assets of Iran in all banks. Do you realise how they want to exert pressure on an oppressed nation? Do you know that by his proposal for economic sanctions Mr. Carter intends to starve a nation of 35 million.

Is the Pope aware of all this or has he been misinformed about the events in Iran? If he is aware, it is a loss for us, for the Christian world, and for the Christian clergy; and if he is not, it is a disgrace for the Vatican. Why should you people who have come here not give an account of the issues here as you have seen them? Will the Vatican not rely on your words? Will the Vatican only accept reports from the big powers?

Are you cognizant of the U.S. mass media war against us? Do you realise that all this propaganda in the United States is totally against the demands of the oppressed people in the world? But you say it is not your responsibility to prevent all this misleading propaganda. The Pope apparently does not have the responsibility to check the acts of the people who are waging war against us with their pens and by other practical means. If this is not his responsibility, then whose is it? Who on the earth should propagate Christianity? Whose duty is it to teach people the gospel?

Time is lacking here for us to investigate into the pains and afflictions of an oppressed nation, but I would like to send a message to the American nation, the clergy in the United States, and the Christian clergy through you. I call on you all to save Christianity and to save the oppressed masses, for at this time, the Messiah and Christianity are facing a challenge and so is the Pope.

On this Holy Day which should be a day of peace, the

U.S. President wages war everywhere. He suppresses the deprived of the world while the Christian clergy continue as silent onlookers.

May God Almighty save mankind from the evil of the people who act against the Divine teachings and against the teachings of the Kingdom of Heaven, and may God Almighty rescue the oppressed from the clutches of the oppressors.

– December 27, 1979

---

**IMAM KHOMEINI CALLS ON THE NATION  
TO RESIST COERCION**

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

Noble Iranian nation, I received the report about the cutting-off U.S. relations with Iran. If Carter has ever done anything termed as an act in the interest of the oppressed people, it is this cutting-off of relations – relations between a nation which has risen for its freedom from the clutches of the international plunderers and a world expansionist plunderer – relations which have always been against the oppressed nations and in the interests of the plunderers. We consider such a cutting-off of relations as a good omen because it is proof of the disappointment of the U.S. government over Iran. If the militant Iranian nation celebrates this indication of final victory which has made a cruel superpower sever its relations, that is to say, and its plundering, it is rightful to do so. We hope that the destruction of subservients such as Sadat and Saddam may take place as soon as possible, and that the noble Muslim peoples may do the same thing to these treacherous parasites that our nation did to the traitor Muhammad Reza and also cut-off their relations with the superpowers, especially America, in order to live freely and reach complete independence. I have repeatedly noted that our relations with those similar to the United States are relations between an oppressed nation and world expansionists.

You dear nation who, for the satisfaction of Almighty God, defeated your enemies by crying 'allahu akbar' (God is greater) and achieved freedom and independence, be prepared, through reliance upon God and preservation of unified expression, to face the enemies of Islam and the oppressed. You, by the will of God the Almighty, will be victorious and overcome all difficulties. Saddam Husein who, like the toppled Shah, has shown his anti-Islamic and anti-humanistic face by embarking on the destruction of Islam and the holy centre of Najaf. He is doing the same thing to the oppressed Muslim people for Carter's satisfaction that the Mongols did, and has taken the same attitude towards Muslim clergy, especially Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Sadr, that Reza Khan and Muhammad Reza Pahlavi took against the clergy and other groups. He should know that he is digging his own grave and that of his anti-humanistic and unlawful Ba'athist regime.

Noble people of Iraq, you are the descendants of those who expelled the British from Iraq. Rise and cut off the criminal hands from your Muslim country before this corrupt regime destroys everything. You tribesmen of the Euphrates and Tigris, be united with the nation and destroy this root of corruption before the opportunity is lost, and defend your Muslim country and Islam for the sake of God because God is with you. You Iraqi army, do not obey this (Saddam) who is against Islam and the Quran, and join the masses and cut off the hands of the United States which has come out of Saddam's sleeves. Be aware that to obey this criminal is against God the Almighty and will bring severe punishment. I pray to God for the glory of Islam and Muslims and Iran.

—April 9, 1980

---

## IMAM KHOMEINI REPLIES TO THE POPE'S MESSAGE

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

His Excellency Pope John Paul II,

Your Excellency's message expressing anxiety over the worsening of the relations between the Muslim country of Iran and the United States has been received. I appreciate your Excellency's good-will and draw your respected attention to the point that our militant, noble nation considered such a break in relations as a good omen and celebrated it with much rejoicing and illumination. I thank you for your prayers to Almighty God for our militant people, but should note that your Excellency should not be concerned with the greater and more dangerous problems mentioned in your message, because the Muslim nation of Iran welcomes the problems which may result from the severing of relations and is not afraid of greater dangers. That day will be dangerous for our people when relations, such as those existing during the former treacherous regime, are re-established, but — God willing — they will not be re-established. I want your Excellency, in view of the spiritual influence you have among Christian people, to warn the U.S. government of the consequences of its tyranny, imposition of force, and plundering and advise Mr. Carter, who

is confronted with final defeat, to treat the nations which desire absolute independence and do not want to be affiliated with any power in the world, according to humane criteria, to follow the teachings of Christ (may God's blessings be on him), and not to expose himself and the U.S. government to further scandal.

I pray to Almighty God for the prosperity of the oppressed of the world and hope that they may be freed from the hands of the oppressors.

—April 16, 1980

---

**IMAM KHOMEINI SPEAKS ON  
CARTER'S DISGRACEFUL DEFEAT**

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

Brave Iranian nation! You have heard about the American military intervention and you have also heard Carter's apology for it. As I have repeatedly said, Carter is ready to commit any crime in order to reach the presidency. He is even ready to set the world on fire to get there. With one after another situation, it has become apparent and it will continue. Carter thinks that by undertaking these foolish manouevres, he can prevent the Iranian people from the way they have chosen, people, who, for their independence, freedom and for their beloved Islam, stop at no self-sacrifice to reach their way which is the way of God and humanity. Carter once again realised what country he is confronting, what school of thought and action he is playing with. Our people are people who sacrifice themselves and our school of thought and action is a school of thought and action of jihad. This person (Carter), who supposedly loves humanity, is actually trying to reach a few years of presidency. With his crime, he ruined the lives of a group of people who sustained the loss. In order to lessen his crime, he has confessed to eight people having died, while the truth is that tens of people lost their lives because of his desires. Tens of people are

wandering in the Kavir-i-Lut lost and at the edge of death. His claims that he took all of the personnel of the airplane opposes the reports given us.

Carter must know that if this group had attacked the den of spies of Americans in Tehran, not one of them nor would any of the fifty some spies imprisoned in the den of spies have remained alive. All would now be on their way to hell.

Carter should know that an attack on Iran is an attack on all Muslim lands. The Muslims of the world are not indifferent to this affair. Carter should know that an attack on Iran means the cutting-off of the oil to the world and the world would then mobilize against him.

Carter should know that with this foolish act of his, he will have such an effect upon the American people that his supporters will become his opponents. Carter should know that with this clumsy act, his political respect has reached zero. He must lose hope in the presidency. Carter, with this act of his, has proven that he has lost his power of thinking. He is incapable of running such a vast country like America.

Carter should know that our nation of 35 million have grown up with our school of thought and action and they know martyrdom to be happiness and an honor. They sacrifice their lives for it. Carter should know that all the modern military weapons which America gave to the deposed Shah in order to establish their own base here, still exist and are now in the hands of the great army and other armed forces (of Iran). It is a threat to (America's) life.

Now that the great Satan has done this foolish deed, our noble and brave people must become prepared to follow the Command of God, the Most High, with all of their strength, relying upon the power of God, the Most High,

and be ready for the battle with their own enemies. The armed forces, gendarmerie, Guardians of the Revolution and the 20 million army, who have equipped themselves, must be prepared today to sacrifice themselves for Islam. when necessary, they can defend their country. They should not fear this foolish manouevre which was defeated by the Command of God. Truth is with us and God supports the Muslim people.

I warn Carter that if he continues these foolish acts, the control of these young people and struggling brave Muslims who guard the spies of the den of spies will no longer be possible for us and our government. He is personally responsible for their lives. I must remind you again that the events in Kurdistan, in which the deviated leftish and opposers of Islam have arisen to cause disturbances, the events of the universities which American leftist groups have undertaken to cause disturbances in those sacred places and the illegal acts of the Iraqi government at the Iranian border, have a close connection with the acts of Carter.

At this sensitive time, if again these deviated groups cause disturbances within or outside of the universities, our people will know that they are directly related to the earth-devouring America. They will undertake their duty towards them. Tolerance will then be against the policies of Islam.

I advise all young people to join the people and defend their country. Put aside deviated ideologies. The unifying of the ranks is in the interests of all. I ask God, the Most High, for the greatness of Islam and Muslims and the curtailment of corrupters and tyrants.

—April 27, 1980

## IMAM KHOMEINI MEET FOREIGN DELEGATES

Delegates to the International Conference on American intervention in Iran met the leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and Founder of the Islamic Republic, Imam Khomeini, at his residence in Jamaran village, north Tehran, at 10:30 a.m. on Wednesday. Imam Khomeini delivered a speech enumerating some of the crimes and damages inflicted on the Iranian nation by the deposed Shah and the United States of America. The following is the text of Imam Khomeini's speech:

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

I would like to thank all of you gentlemen who took the trouble to come to our ruined and oppressed country. May Almighty God give success to all who follow the right path and support the deprived.

I have one question for all countries: Why is Mr. Carter afraid of the participation of these delegates in this conference? Why has he penalized his fellow countrymen who are prominent figures in the U.S. for coming to Iran? Why does he fear the Shah's return to Iran? Why is he afraid of the trial of those persons held in the American Embassy here, or as we call it, the 'Den of Spies'? If they have not

interfered in the destiny of our country, if the U.S. government has had nothing to do with the fate of our country, and if its embassy has been a proper one like other embassies, then it should have stepped forward and sent delegates for investigation. Why is Carter so frightened of investigations? What has he done? What has the U.S. government done to our people that makes him so scared? If he and his supporters have done nothing wrong to Iran, they have not tyrannized Iranians, then when we make claims, they themselves should send individuals and groups from all over the world to come here and witness how well and humanely the Iranians have been treated, and prove that it is just the Iranians who are ungrateful! If we had no other reasons or justifications, this alone would have been sufficient proof that Carter was guilty and this is why American citizens and great personalities were forbidden to come to Iran, and have been threatened with up to ten years imprisonment and fifty thousand dollars fine for violation of this restriction. Even those who are unaware of the facts can sense that there is something wrong that causes so much apprehension in him. Something must have happened to give Carter such a feeling.

It is regrettable that the governments of weak nations are trodden over by powerful nations in times of both war and peace. There is a Persian saying that 'the chicken is sacrificed both in marriage and in mourning'. Weak nations suffer the same fate. I can remember the two world wars, and I do not think any of you perhaps recall the First World War. At that time I was younger and I was going to school. I saw Russian soliders where I lived, in Khomein. We had been invaded by them at that time. Some of you may recall the Second World War in which we were invaded by three powers: American, British, and Soveit troops were

spread throughout Iran. The Soviets occupied Iran from north of Tehran up to Khorasan. The British occupied Qum and that area and others were scattered in other regions. We were invaded to serve as 'the Bridge of Victory' for them. After their victory our nation was still being butchered during times of peace. This is the way impoverished nations are subject to aggression and invasions at times of peace and war.

While the world lived in an illusionary peace and the world powers were not engaged in war, they availed themselves of all opportunities to plunder us. When Britain and the U.S. had direct involvement in this country, we were left with virtually nothing. We were alienated from our culture; it did not belong to us. Our university people were totally unaware of the aspirations of our nation and our armed forces did not belong to us. The directions of our economy were irrelevant to the needs of our country. All projects were designed by foreigners.

In one of his books, the deposed Shah had indicated that when the leaders of the three allied nations gathered in Tehran, they decided that he should remain in Iran. Later on, the Shah's aides had perhaps told him that he should not have used that remark in his book, and as a result this statement was deleted from his book. However, this is a statement made by an individual who was the initiator of oppression in this country and who has overtly confessed to being reinstated by the superpowers. The same fate had been arranged for his father, when the British admitted from Radio Delhi that they had brought Reza Khan to Iran and gave the monarchy to him. But he betrayed them, and had to be removed. This was another confession made by the same person who was their puppet. Reza Khan, in one of his statements, had said that they (the British) pre-

---

pared the list of deputies for Majlis at their embassy and sent the list to us, and we were obliged to appoint them.

We recognize the Majlis deputies and also Reza Khan in this manner, and we know the nature of their governmental status, in which the U.S., Britain, and Soviet Union were involved. These are the evidences that are available. We like to see what our people say. From the outset of his rule, Reza Khan indulged in corruption. The people revolted and the clergymen from Azarbaijan and others from Khorasan and Isfahan and nearly every city of the country joined the movement. They wanted to fight and had no other purpose.

What did our people try to achieve on the 15th of Khordad (June 5, 1963), that tomorrow is its commemoration? Did they really deserve to be attacked and massacred on that day when, as was confessed, the whole operation was conducted by the deposed Shah himself? What did they demand that made them victims to such a horrible fate which continued some two decades after that bloody day?

Most regretfully, all foreign mass media and also some local ones who served the superpowers made us unable to convey our sufferings to the world. We lack the means and facilities. Foreign newspapers are against us and their radios and televisions fail to relay our true messages to the four corners of the world. They spread all sorts of false and distorted stories about Iran in the world. They have presented Iran as a big jungle in which groups of savages barbariously attack people; killing and massacring them, cutting off the breasts of women, and committing other acts of terror that cannot be explained simply or briefly.

Now, can we convey all the cruelties that have befallen our nation to the outside world? Who can undertake this

task? Everyone is in the service of the oppressors. Now we would like to see what you, honourable ladies and gentlemen, who have come to this country to investigate these horrors, can do to project our cries so that they may be recognized in the world public opinion. What we want is the truth. We are not looking for support, but we want the truth.

We want you to relay facts to your countries and tell them the story of the 15th of Khordad. And tomorrow you will observe how this nation will commemorate the 15th of Khordad as a day of mourning. You will see what this nation has to say about the 15th of Khordad, about what happened after the 18th of Dey. We have endured much suffering during the past two years, since the beginning of the Revolution, such as massacres and killings. Did you know about the infamous prisons of Reza Khan and particularly Muhammad Reza? Can you imagine what went on inside these dungeons? Do you know what they did to our young men in these prisons? Did you watch television last night and the night before about the confessions of a notorious SAVAK torturer? Do you know that they have sawn off the legs of our clergymen? Do you know that they roasted our young men in ovens? Can we convey our grievances to the world? I doubt it. Even you cannot publicise our case when you go to your countries, because hired pens of traitors to humanity will go to work against you to neutralise what you have to say. But do your best to convey the facts to the people.

Our nation has revolted now and started a movement, and I hope that our nation may succeed and no power can ever again be allowed to repeat the wrongs that had been done in the past. Mr. Carter and those like him are using maximum efforts to bring back the same old problems we

---

had at the time of the deposed Shah. But these are dreams that the superpowers will take with them to their graves. Iran will never again allow the interference of these powers, and if they imagine that they have massive military powers, and sophisticated weapons, we, in turn, possess innumerable impoverished people armed with clenched fists. The deprived masses will eventually dominate over the oppressors. These powers want to enforce economic sanctions against us and have done so. To our regret we have realised, through these actions, the true character of these governments which claim to be civilised and independent.

Carter sits in his office and issues orders, and the imposed governments of these nations obey. They also have no independence. It is not only the governments of the oppressed countries which are dependent; it has now become clear that the governments of the powerful nations also have no independence. These governments are afraid to oppose the U.S., as they know more harm will come to them as a result of not following the U.S. in imposing economic sanctions against us. Most of these governments have informed us that they would supply us with what we bought from others. Even if the economic sanctions prove to be successful, we, as a deprived people, will save our independence. If we are given a choice between going back to ancient times and using donkeys as a means of transportation in order to keep our freedom, or becoming the servant of Mr. Carter and the superpowers in order to lead a luxurious life; we prefer the first option.

Our nation has chosen martyrdom and our people say that they want to become martyrs. From the beginning of this movement, since I was in Najaf, up until the present time, men, women and the young have always come and asked me to pray for them so that they could achieve

martyrdom; and I pray that they be regarded as martyrs by God. We had a marriage ceremony in Tehran sometime ago and after the ceremony the bride gave me a letter in which she had the same request, that is, to pray for her so that she could achieve martyrdom. Will a nation that has such requests be afraid of military intervention? Will they be afraid of economic boycott? Even if they wall around this country of 35 million in order to imprison us in Iran, we prefer this to that of a country in which the open-door policy is being applied for the plunderers. What do we want with such a civilisation which is far worse than barbarism? Why should we try to strive for a so-called civilization which is worse than the behaviour of wild animals?

This 'Gate of Civilisation' which the deposed Shah wanted to open for us was for world powers to dominate us by plundering our wealth in return for exportation of useless goods, and exploiting our oil in return for the establishment of military bases in Iran, at our own expense and being of no use to us. What sort of civilisation is this? This father and son, and particularly the son, pushed our country backward and gave all our possessions away, so much so that if all our people join hands, and with the grace of God they have joined hands, we need many years to rebuild what has been ruined in the past 50 years, and specifically what has been done in the last twenty years or so by America. Why should we have any relations with these powers which want to rob us? Is not our relationship with them that of the plunderer and the plundered? Why do we need such relations? Let them close all doors to us and enforce economic sanctions. We have a large country, we have water, and, by the grace of God, we will have rain. We will eat whatever we cultivate ourselves, and will not

---

worry about the rest. They can not frighten a nation that seeks to keep its independence and is ready to sacrifice itself. This independence and freedom which we have found is a God-given gift, and we are obliged to preserve it. If we do not safeguard this God-given gift, then we have not appreciated it.

We are not afraid of the threats which are being made by driving naval fleets into the Persian Gulf and such places. These threats are no longer effective. Perhaps in the past they were effective; for instance, if they wanted to force us to accept a contract, and if we objected, they would send a battleship to the Persian Gulf from Britain and the problem would be solved. But now if they bring in all their ships and planes, they will not be of any use. We rely on God; we recognize a Creator for the universe. Those who did not realise it before should pay attention to the fact that a nation which had nothing but 'allahu akbar' (God is greater) and 'He is Everything', pushed aside the evil forces which had the support of all; not only the super-powers, but also the smaller powers that supported them.

They did not let us live and work in this country. Everyone agreed with them. What caused this oppressed and unarmed nation to defeat all those powers? It was nothing but God that frightened their leaders. This is exactly like what happened at the outset of Islam when a minority overcame the majority. Furthermore, (the great power of God) frightened them so much that they could not stand up against 30,000 Arabs with only a few swords and camels, while they themselves were an army of 700,000 with 60,000 vanguards. But they were defeated. What does this mean? It was nothing but an invisible hand. Should not those who do not care about spirituality and the invisible hand wake up? Who has crashed Mr. Carter's helicopters

in the desert of Iran? Have we done that? Have the sands done it? The sands were acting for God. Wind is the agent of God and it destroyed the tribe of Aad. These sands are agents of God. They should learn from this.

But then again we must not become arrogant. I ask the Iranian people not to be arrogant. There is no power but the power of God. So rely on Him and sacrifice yourself for the Great Power. As long as the Iranian people preserve their basic power which is spiritual power, and attain their goals with the cries of 'allahu akbar', their cause will be insured by God. May God forbid the hands that try to discourage you. If they succeed in their devilish acts and deviate you from the spirit you had at the beginning of the Revolution; that will be the day that God the Most High will reject you (God forbid) and you will return to the same position. Preserve the spirit you had at the beginning of the movement. You did not revolt for food and property? You did not revolt for position. You do not wish to be martyred for the purpose of obtaining carpets and wealth. As long as this spirit which is a divine spirit is preserved, you will be victorious. I promise you victory, and God the Most High has given you the promise of victory. If you help God, God will help you. Stabilise your actions, maintain your clenched fists which are divine fists, do not be afraid of any superpower. Do not be frightened by any domestic or foreign propaganda. We will follow our path which is God's path.

The delegates that came here to investigate cannot really investigate; they cannot investigate all our suffering. We have given you the documents, but you cannot understand what happened to the young Iranians who experienced the horror of those dark, underground cells of SAVAK. Nevertheless, since you have received some documents and

---

have been informed a little about that, when you go and visit that place (the former U.S. Embassy) which is not like an embassy, then you will agree that the issue is not the holding of some diplomats as hostage. That is what the foreign pens and foreign press have dictated to you. If you visit the place, you will see that it was not a place for diplomats. And those persons were not diplomats.

I hope that God the Most High grants victory to all of us and all the oppressed people of the world, so that everyone is freed from the superpowers' domination. This must occur and will occur. Now the oppressed people of the world have begun to rise up against the oppressors. They have been awakened. To awaken is the first step towards enlightenment. Enlightenment is also the first step towards mysticism. To be awakened is the first step; and the Islamic countries, Muslim nations, the oppressed nations throughout the world have risen; and black Americans are being tyrannized for uprising, and by God's will they will succeed.

May the peace and blessings of the Almighty God be upon you.

—June 4, 1980

## **IMAM KHOMEINI'S MESSAGE TO THE MUSLIMS OF THE WORLD**

In a message to Muslims throughout the world, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini, reiterated on Tuesday the stance of the Iranian government with respect to the policies of the United States of America. The Imam, who was talking to a group of preachers and leading clergymen in Qum on the eve of the new lunar year, warned U.S. President Jimmy Carter against any wishful thinking that the Iranians might change or modify their attitudes towards U.S. imperialism. The following is the full text of the Imam's statement:

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

This month of Muharram is quite different from what it was for us in past years. In the past, we, the people of Iran, were faced with the brutal Pahlavi regime. That regime was only a branch of a much larger 'matrix of corruption'. This year, and in this month of Muharram, we find ourselves confronting that 'matrix of corruption'; confronting those who have brought the impoverished nations under their own control. We find ourselves confronting those who have assigned agents of their own kind in every country so that they may continue to plunder the nations.

---

Thank God we ultimately succeeded in our struggle against that wicked branch of corruption with the help of our people and also with the help of you clergymen throughout the country, especially the clergymen of Qum, and by our trust in God.

Mr. Carter referred to his men at that 'den of spies' in Tehran as being 'diplomats', and said that detaining these men and trying them in courts would anger 'the people of the world'. In the eyes of the arrogant, the world is different from what it appears to us. The arrogant, see the world from the viewpoint of conceit and haughtiness. This mental sickness has led them to believe that the people of the nations do not compose a part of the 'world'! This is the viewpoint of Mr. Carter and a group of others who are not more than 50,000 in all, and who are the leaders of governments who violate the rights of people and tyrannize the masses. In the judgement of Mr. Carter and people like him, the world includes no one except these people and their followers who, with much regret, have joined him in other parts of the world. By the nature of their attitude, the arrogant throughout the world do not see the large masses of the nations which can form an ocean, while they themselves (the arrogant) are only like a drop of water. This mental sickness blinded them in such a way that they are unable to see others. When such people sit on the seat of the presidency, when they look around with that sickly attitude, they see that at a time like this, a couple of government ministers in their own country or elsewhere in the world might 'get angry' over an issue like this. These people regard them as representing the world. In their judgement, the people whom we are now detaining are 'diplomats', yet they are the people whose guilt has already been proven. This is a kind of mental sickness which also afflicted

Muhammad Reza and which was eventually responsible for his downfall.

This is a mental sickness which, once it attacks a person, makes it impossible for him to see other people around him. The person who has this kind of sickness tends to see only himself and a bunch of his admirers around him; a bunch of clowns around him. He is unable to see the masses. He is unable to understand that it is the nation and the people who set forth the principles and criteria of governments. The governments are merely small groups of people whose task is to serve their nations. Such people do not understand that governments must 'serve' the people and not 'rule' them. Muhammad Reza treaded the same wrong path. He did not recognise the rights of others. He considered himself as representing the whole of the nation and this same judgement led him to commit so many crimes against the people of this country. He did not fathom that there is a great 'power: capable of resisting the guns, the bayonets, and the machine guns. He (Carter) suffers from the same sickness though at a more acute stage. The United States government suffered an economic, and to some degree a political defeat with the downfall of Muhammad Reza. Despite its intense efforts, the United States could not – as it wanted – retain him. The U.S. government sent many of its emissaries to us so that it could retain him, and after he left Iran the United States wanted to keep Bakhtiar, but it failed even in this regard. That was a defeat for the U.S. government, but in comparison with the impending defeat, this was far less significant.

The mere act of giving refuge to a criminal person against the testimony of 35 million Iranian people is indicative of a political defeat. But Mr. Carter is unable to understand this because of the sickness which he has. Further, the leav-

ing behind of a group of people who are spies and the refusal of the U.S. government to extradite this criminal is an even greater defeat. Why? Because if Mr. Carter should refuse to extradite him, possibly these men here (the American hostages) will be tried, and if this should be the case, then Mr. Carter must understand what will happen.

At times Mr. Carter has threatened us with military measures and at other times he has threatened us with economic measures, but he knows better than anyone that all these threats are only a lot of hot air. He does not have the military capability nor the guts to carry out these threats nor will his men listen to him. This is just another symptom of the same sickness which I talked about; the sickness which afflicts the superpowers and which gives them the notion that they have all the countries of the world at their fingertips, or as though they were rings on their fingers. He (Mr. Carter) thinks that once he orders other countries not to sell wheat to Iran those countries will bow down to him and obey his orders. But he realised that even in his own country his men did not follow his orders. His own Secretary of the Department of Agriculture told him that such an order would be improper. But why should we need American wheat? We have oil. We are sitting on a sea of oil which ensures our victory.

You plundered our wealth and you took away our oil and instead gave us guns and war weapons – weapons which, at best, could serve only your purposes and not ours. We have oil. The world needs oil. The world does not need Mr. Carter. It needs oil. We have oil and for this same reason other countries of the world will respect us and not you, who are desperately trying anything to retain your presidency. All the anxiety of this person (Mr. Carter) boils down to his concern for being re-elected to the

presidency. But he is misled in his quest. He thought that if he threatened us with an economic blockade, that he would hurt our economy and his nation could clap their hands for him and hail him, and by doing so he might ensure his success in the forthcoming elections. But he realised that at the time being, a large group of his own nation – the black people – have detached themselves from him.

Recently a group of 500 Christian clergymen staged a demonstration in support of Iran. Other people will surely follow this group except perhaps for Mr. Carter's close friends. Now if by the world 'world' you mean the world that exists in reality, the world of the impoverished masses, the world of the deprived, and the world of the people who have long been subjected to injustice and cruelty, let me say here that this world does not approve of your actions. This world does not approve of the killing of people and the destruction of the world by a person who paradoxically, as it may seem, claims to be an advocate of 'human rights'. He claims to be concerned about the rights of human beings. Well, are Iranians not human beings? How come during your administration and for a period of 50 years before this, people were subjected to this much cruelty and injustice?

During this time, neither you nor your predecessors in office asked why Muhammad Reza was action against the nation. Why did you defend him? Why did you do your best to keep him in power? Ironically, during the climax of our Revolution, Mr. Carter said that he had given us 'a little too much freedom' and that this had produced an angry reaction.

At a time when our people shouted that they wanted freedom, Mr. Carter and his men grunted that we had too much freedom here. This type of judgement is a result of

---

the sickness which I just pointed out to you. Let Mr. Carter know that we will not withdraw even a single step from where we are not standing. This is our right. The whole world knows that a criminal should be repatriated and be tried in the place where he committed the crime. We want our offender repatriated. Once you extradite this criminal, and of course we will close down this place (the former compound of the American Embassy in Tehran) unless all acts of espionage are discontinued and they decide to have an embassy in the real sense of the word, then we will consider whether to retain relations which may ensure our legitimate interests. But as long as that man (the ex-Shah) is there we will not break off our relations. We must retain these people (the American hostages), for they are spies and not diplomats. It may well be as a result of his mental sickness that he (Mr. Carter) classifies spies under diplomats. These people – the people who have assumed this course of conduct with their nation – must change themselves. They must change their ideologies. There is no longer any demand for these kinds of ideologies in the world. These ideologies belonged to a time when the masses had now awoken. But now the people have opened their eyes and their ears to the truth. During the past two years the people's minds have changed radically. We have seen nations undergoing reforms; and these nations are not the same 'sleeping' nations which will utterly submit to your rule. It is now time that the leaders of the world countries change themselves, for if they should fail to do this at this juncture of history, the consequences will not be in their interest. They will be ruined.

I have at times said this to people who have come here from abroad. I have reminded them that the first problem facing governments is the problem of the people. There

are governments which consider themselves as having absolute rule. They do not give any rights to their own people, and for this reason they do not have the support of their people. In our country we saw this for ourselves during the time of the former government in Iran. The government considered itself as having absolute power over the people. If our people had been supporting that government it would not have collapsed. We had this Revolution because we wanted to substitute another form of government in the place of that system. Admittedly, what we have now is not a wholly Islamic government, but because it has brought forth a spirit of Islam, we now witness for ourselves that our government cannot consider itself as having absolute rule. The government can no longer issue warrants for arrest or assault or unlawfully confine our people. When governments abandon absolutism in their ruling the people they become their supporters. Now you witness that in our country whenever the government is faced with a problem, the people volunteer and step forward to overcome problems. Omitting the non-Islamic governments for the time being, I would like to remind the Islamic governments that the key to their problems is in their own hands. The case of Iran should serve as an example to them. The case of Muhammad Reza, past and present, should serve as an example to the Islamic countries.

---

## **IMAM KHOMEINI SPEAKS ON THE QUESTION OF THE SHAH AND HOSTAGES**

In connection with the issue of the hostages and the importance of the duties of the Islamic majlis, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, sent the following message from the Reza'iha Heart Hospital in Tehran.

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

The crimes of the former Shah are not and will not be forgotten by the nation. It is clear to all that Muhammad Reza made us dependent on the United States from all points of view – political, economic, cultural, military, spiritual and human – and that if he had the chance, he would deal an irreparable blow to Islam. His hands, like those of his father, are stained with the blood of our fellow countrymen, both great and small. Massacre, imprisonment, torture, and exile were common during the rule of this vile person.

With the support and encouragement of the U.S. government, the Shah committed these savage crimes and deprived our nation of its livelihood. The Iranian nation has not stopped, and will not stop, its righteous struggle against this foul dynasty, and the U.S. and its agents.

The Iranian government and the President should exert their utmost efforts to get back the treacherous Shah and

the properties of the Iranian nation; for the brave nation of Iran will not give up this righteous demand, and will not retreat one step.

One of the manifestations of this demand was the occupation of the 'den of spies', which was approved by the nation and which was nothing but a reaction to the crimes of the U.S. government. Now that the Commission to investigate the past interference of the U.S. government in the internal affairs of Iran through the tyrannous regime of the Shah has materialised through the President and the Revolution Council, their crimes will be proved. It is essential that on this day, the disabled and crippled of the Revolution be present at this assembly, and that the families of the martyrs should send a list of the crimes of the Shah and the U.S. to this Commission. As I have said repeatedly, we are asking for the extradition of the Shah and the properties of the Iranian nation. The Muslim and militant students who have occupied the 'den of spies' through their revolutionary act, have dealt a severe blow to the expansionist United States and achieved honour for the nation. But, in the near future, representatives of the nation will assemble in the Islamic majlis, and the release of the hostages and concessions to be gained in return will be decided by them, for it is the people who must participate in political affairs. Of course, until the formation of the majlis, the Revolution Council and the President will strive for the return of the Shah and the properties of the nation, and for the political action to pave the way for such demands. I pray to God Almighty for the victory of Islam, and the defeat of the enemies of Islam.

\_\_\_\_\_