

7577

~~SECRET~~

THE IMAM VERSUS ZIONISM



MINISTRY OF ISLAMIC GUIDANCE
THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

Title: The Imam Versus Zionism
Publisher: Ministry of Islamic Guidance
Circulation: 10,000.
second print: 1984.
Price: 70 Rials

CONTENTS

Foreword	7
Introduction	9
The Imam Versus Zionism	
Before the Victory of the Islamic Revolution	15
The Imam Versus Zionism	
After the Victory of the Islamic Revolution	35



The Imam Versus Zionism

(Excerpts concerning Zionism from the messages of
Imam Khomeini)

«It will not be long before, owing to the deadly silence of
Muslims, the Zionists will take over the whole economy
of this country with the help of their agents and destroy
the Muslim nation in every way»

Imam Khomeini



FOREWORD

*In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
Glory be to Him Who made His servant to go on a night
from the Sacred Mosque (Masjid al-Haram) to the remote
mosque (Masjid al-Aqsa) of which We have blessed the
precincts, so that We may show to him some of Our signs; surely
He is the Hearing, the Seeing.*

(Qur'an 17:1)

*The Islamic nation (ummah) of Iran under the highly
respected leadership of Imam Khomeini have for many years
considered the liberation of the oppressed people of Palestine
and Jerusalem (Quds). They have always viewed this struggle
against the regime occupying Quds and its master, America, as
a great duty.*

*What is presented to readers in the following compilation
is the effective, God-seeking and decisive position of the
leadership of the Islamic Revolution of Iran towards usurper
Zionism and criminal imperialism. It is a guidance for those
who seek the liberation of Quds and the independence and
territorial integrity of all Islamic nations, for those who
recognize Israel as an enemy trying to establish its control over
the Islamic lands and governments, and for those who consider
the struggle against Israel as an indispensable duty.*

For the realization of this struggle, the following points

should be considered:

- 1) the bases and reasons for the Muslims' weakness;*
- 2) the background and circumstances leading to the formation of the usurper regime of Quds;*
- 3) the malicious designs of the usurper regime of Quds and its great supporter, America;*
- 4) the anti-Islamic and subservient nature of the regimes ruling over some Islamic countries, and the urgent need for the people of these countries to rise up in order to establish governments relying on their own nations; and*
- 5) the need for co-ordination and unity of the Islamic nations around a common focal point of Islam and active armed struggle against the usurper regime of Quds as the only solution for the removal of this cancerous growth.*

In The Name of God, The Compassionate, The Merciful.

Introduction

Thirty-five years of the Zionists' oppressive occupation of the sacred land of Palestine have passed: long years of oppression, suffering and deprivation; long years of abjectness, slavery and captivity; long years of tyranny, treachery and breach of promise.

In this manner Palestine has endured the most painful years, and as Yusef Sadiq was being transferred from prison to exile and from one exile to another, he had cried out: «O Muslims, rescue the oppressed Palestine from the clutches of Zionists.» He is still crying this out and is asking for the liberation of Palestine from the clutches of Zionists and traitors.

Today, Palestine, having suffered under the oppressive rule of the Israeli criminals for years, is shouting at those who shamelessly call for silence in the face of oppression and occupation, and at those who smile at the bloodthirsty murderers who have killed innocent people, have made women and children homeless and have destroyed their homes.

O heart - broken Palestine, do not let the treacherous kings and their royal courts, who claim to be your friends, sell you off to the tyrants and oppressors.

O oppressed Palestine, many of your faithful children are preparing to fight against your enemy under the banner of

*Islam. So, welcome **them** and receive them gladly since they, undoubtedly, are coming to break the chains which have been placed on your hands and feet, and will rescue the blessed Quds and, God-willing, will purify it from the unclean presence of Zionists.*

Thirty-five years have passed since the inauspicious Balfour Declaration and the treacherous Sykes-Picot Agreement were concluded, yet Arab rulers still content themselves with fiery speeches and ostentatious interviews which have no useful effects for the issue of Palestine. However, there exist several groups of true believers who are fighting, virtually unarmed, against the rifles and machine-guns of the enemy. But their number is few and they are faced with problems and barriers: for example, they have no easy access to arms and their cause is not reflected favorably by the international media. Further, they are deprived of true, honest leadership. Nevertheless, the demonstrations they hold are inspired by their faith and conscience as they face deadly weapons with open chests.

During the past thirty-five years the Arab mass media has discussed the issue of the occupied lands using eloquent and subtle language. Whenever they have made an attempt to criticize, their approach has been compromising, devoid of suitable solutions to the problem of Palestinians. Some even took advantage of the issue in order to gain political position and prestige, while others utilized the issue to conceal their own mistakes and corruption. The issue of Palestine has also been brought up in meetings and conferences but only in order to push it aside and declare that the major problem is the Islamic Revolution of Iran and that the American and Arab peace plans can easily come up with a suitable solution to the problem of Palestine. So, in this manner, they have argued that the issue of Palestine is no big problem; the great task is to challenge the Islamic Republic of Iran.

But Imam Khomeini who realized the hypocritical approach of these authorities condemned them saying:

«How long should the sacred lands of Palestine and Lebanon and their oppressed Muslim inhabitants remain under the tyrannical rule of criminals while you remain silent and others fan the flames?»

«How long should one billion Muslims of the world and nearly hundred million Arabs remain silent in the face of the aggression of the Eastern and Western plunderers and their mercenaries, their atrocities and their oppressive rules?»

«How long should we remain silent regarding the governments' negligence, indifference and languor concerning their political activities and regarding their compromising attitudes towards the Superpowers and leave Israel alone so that it may commit more crimes and shed more blood? Why have all of these actions substituted for fighting against the enemies of Islam and attempting to rescue Quds through Divine and military power?»

«Do not the governments know that political negotiations with the oppressors and criminals of history will neither liberate Quds nor Palestine or Lebanon, and that they will even be considered crimes?»

Yes, Imam Khomeini is asking for a full-scale, uncompromising war and an honest Islamic challenge against world infidelity and its mercenaries; and is asking for 'jihad' in order to save Islam in the land of the prophets.

All nations must arise relying only upon God and Divine Power.

Arab countries have tried every single nationalistic way in attempts to annihilate Israel, but they have never succeeded. Such nationalistic attempts will never succeed. Now the time has come to try Islam as an alternative and follow the Islamic Republic of Iran, the country which is fighting both kinds of colonialism at its western and southern 'Karbala'.

Three years have passed since the inception of the Iran-Iraq war, and even though the aggressor Iraq is equipped with the most advanced American, Russian and French weapons, it has nevertheless ended up in an economic deadlock and is

searching frantically for a way out.

On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran is fighting with miraculous bravery and in doing so has actually diverted the course of history. This fact has even been acknowledged by the enemies of the Islamic Revolution who have confessed their own weakness and defeat.

Imam Khomeini, in order to prepare the ground for the liberation of Quds, has suggested that the last Friday of the month of Ramadan be designated as the Day of Quds. Such a proposal was not only made to save Quds but also for the liberation of all Muslims from the tyrannical policies of the Great Satan and other satans.

Imam Khomeini, on the occasion of the Day of Quds, said: «The Day of Quds is the day of Islam and the day of the revival of Islam. The Day of Quds is the day of the oppressed. The Day of Quds is the birthday of Islam. The colonialist plunderers must be revealed on the Day of Quds. Revive the occasion of the Day of Quds every year. All Muslims should be saved on this day.»

Imam Khomeini selected the Day of Quds from among the most auspicious days of the year. Friday is the day of the Muslims' largest weekly gathering, and such gatherings are for congregational prayers, sermons regarding purity, unity and jihad and for finding the solutions to social problems.

The Day of Quds is in the month of Ramadan, the month of prayer, the month of servitude and the month of 'jihad'. Also, the night of 'Qadr' (Power) is in the month of Ramadan.

It is relevant to note that the night of 'Qadr' is not fixed, but it is a common belief among Muslims that the night of 'Qadr' is one of the last ten nights of the blessed month of Ramadan. The Day of Quds is also among the last ten days of this month and is therefore considered to be one of these holy days.

Further, the month of Ramadan is an inspiration of victory for Muslims since it reminds them of the Battle of Badr (which was fought during this month), the Prophet's first war against the unbelievers which resulted in victory for the

Muslims.

«And God did certainly assist you at Badr when you were weak...»

(Noble Qur'an 3:122)

Imam Khomeini says: «On the night of 'Qadr' Muslims are, during the course of their prayers and supplications, liberated from the servitude of the jinn, both human and invisible, and turn towards the worship of God.

«It is hoped that on the Day of Quds all Muslims throughout the world will become liberated from the tyrannical rule of the Great Satan and other big powers and live under Divine rule.»

O Muslims of the world, O oppressed: arise and take your destiny into your own hands. How long are you going to remain silent and let Washington and Moscow determine your fate?»

Dear Readers,

The following are excerpts from Imam Khomeini's messages, addresses and statements regarding occupied Palestine and the usurper Israel. This publication is prepared on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Day of Quds.

This compilation consists of two parts: the first part contains the messages delivered by Imam Khomeini up to the time of the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The second part contains those messages delivered after the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran until present.

We sincerely hope that readers will study the Imam's messages carefully in an effort to understand what he requests of all Muslims throughout the world. Let us embark on the way to the liberation of Quds and other sacred lands from the yoke of the Great Satan and all oppressors. May God help us in our aim.

**The Imam Versus Zionism Before the
Victory of the Islamic Revolution**

**Excerpts from the Imam's Message Concerning Provincial Councils,
1962**

It should be realized that many sensitive positions are in the hands of Israeli agents. The danger of Israel to Islam and Iran is very real; a pact with Israel in opposition to the Islamic governments has either been made or will be made.

It is necessary for our distinguished religious scholars and respected orators to make the other classes aware so that we can prevent this in time. Today is not the time to act as before, and we shall lose everything by keeping silent and detaching ourselves.

The Imam's Response to the Yazd Ulema, 1342 (1963)

We are against these manifestations of colonialism. We are against corruption. We declare that your reform programs are planned by Israel and that even when you want to make some plans yourself you ask for Israeli help. You bring Israeli experts to this country and you send students to Israel.

We say that this is not advisable; do not oppose the people's sentiments so much. It is not to your advantage. People of the world! Know that our nation is against the Israeli pact. It is not even our nation or our clergy, but it is our religion which requires us to oppose the enemy of Islam. It is our Qur'an which requires us to break relations with the enemy of Islam which is in opposition to Islamic rule and

Muslims. This is what we are saying. What is so old-fashioned about this?

We are at the highest stage of civilization; Islam is at the highest stage of civilization.

Excerpt from the Imam's Statement at the A'zam Mosque in Qum after his Release, 2nd Dhu al-Hijjah, (1963)

This tyrannical regime is co-operating fully with Israel and its agents, the Shah's regime. The propaganda are in their hands and they have influence in the court. They have been given sensitive positions in the army, in the Ministry of Education and in other ministries. Make the people aware of the danger of Israel and its agents. Silence in these times is equivalent to approval of this tyrannical regime and to aiding the enemies of Islam. Be fearful of the consequences of this matter!

Excerpt from the Imam's Message to Religious Orators, 1342 (1963)

They (the Pahlavi regime) want to uproot the basis of Islam in this country, therefore Israeli agents crushed the Madrasah¹ and ourselves through their master.

They want to take possession of the economy of this country and to destroy our commerce and industry; they want no one among you to possess wealth. They have to destroy the only obstacle on their path; as the Qur'an is an obstacle, it too has to be defeated; as the clergy are obstacles, so they must be removed; as the Fayziah Madrasah is an obstacle, it has to be destroyed; theological students may later on also become obstacles, therefore they must be thrown off the rooftops and have their arms and heads broken so that Israel can secure its interests.²

The present government insults us in following Israel... By God, Shah, Israel will not be of any use to you! The Qur'an will be of use to you! Today I was informed that some of our orators have been taken to the 'Security Organization'³ and have been told: «You must not have anything to do with

these three things: Stay away from the Shah and do not speak about him. Do not interfere with Israel or say that religion is in danger.» If we are not to deal with these three subjects, what else is there for us to say? All of our problems concern these three subjects.

Excerpts from the Imam's Lecture at the Fayziah Madrasah, 13th of Khordad, 1342 (June 3, 1963)

I declare to the heads of the Islamic countries and to Arab and non-Arab governments that Islamic scholars, religious leaders, the pious nation of Iran and the noble army are brothers of the Islamic governments and share in their gains and in their losses. They would hold any pact with Israel, the enemy of Islam and Iran, in abhorrence. I proclaim this clearly and openly; let then the Israeli agents end my life.

Excerpts from the Imam's Proclamation on the Occasion of the Fortieth Day after the Qum Tragedy (1963)

It is the responsibility of Islamic religious scholars to defend the incontrovertible rules of Islam, to declare their aversion to any pacts with the enemies of Islam or of the independence of Islamic countries and to seek detachment from the enemies of the Holy Qur'an and the country-Israel and its agents... We are ready under any circumstances; our program is the program of Islam which means unity of the Word of Muslims, unity of the Islamic countries, brotherhood with every Muslim sect in every part of the world and concluding alliances with all Islamic governments in all the world against the Zionist, Israeli and colonialist governments.

Excerpt from the Imam's Message on the Occasion of the Anniversary of the 15th of Khordad, 1343 (June 5, 1964)

Israel is at war with Islamic governments, and the government of Iran behaves toward it in a friendly manner in

every way and makes provisions for their propaganda machines and for the import of their goods... It is not the Iranian nation which is compromising with accursed Israel; the Iranian nation is innocent of this great sin. These are governments which are not in any way supported by the nation.

The Imam's Message of the 21st of Farvardin, 1343 (April 10, 1964)

I say to the Islamic governments: Why fight over just a river?⁴ The goal is Palestine; expel the Jews from Palestine, you misfits. They are fighting amongst themselves. Palestine is the goal, and you are fighting over a river? While you were fighting over the river, the rule of Israel over Palestine was established. The defenseless Arabs were expelled and now about a million or more of them are hungry and miserable in the desert.

Should not the Islamic government object to this?

The Imam's Message of the 2nd of Jumada al-Ula, 1384 at the A'zam Mosque in Qum (1964)

They (the Pahlavi regime) well realized that if the influence of the clergy were to be exerted, Israel would not be able to take possession of Iran's economy and Israeli goods would not be sold in Iran duty free. If the influence of the clergy were to be exerted, they would not be allowed to impose such heavy loans on the nation of Iran... Today, all of our problems stem from America and Israel, and Israel is really part of America. These representatives and ministers are American and puppets of America too, otherwise why do they not raise their voices in opposition to Israel and America?

The Imam's Message of the 20th of Jumada al-Akhirah, (1964)

It is America which protects Israel and its sympathizers; it is America which empowers Israel to make Muslim Arabs homeless.... Today Iran's economy is in the hands of America

and Israel.

Excerpt from the Imam's Declaration in Opposition to the Law of Capitulation⁵

I have repeatedly cautioned governments, and especially the Iranian government, against Israel and its dangerous agents. This source of corruption which has settled in the heart of the Islamic countries under the protection of the great powers, and whose tenacles of corruption threaten the Islamic countries every day, should be uprooted through the efforts of Islamic countries and the great nations of Islam. Israel is engaged in armed aggression against the Islamic countries and it is incumbent upon the governments and nations of Islam to eradicate it. Helping Israel, whether through the sale of arms and explosives or through the sale of oil, is forbidden and in opposition to Islam. Having relations with Israel and its agents whether they be commercial or political is forbidden and in opposition to Islam. Muslims should refrain from using Israeli goods.

The Imam's Message of the 29th of Safar, 1383 Concerning Israeli Aggressions (1963)

Do not make a pact of brotherhood with Israel, this enemy of Islam and Muslims and the cause of the homelessness of over a million Muslims! Do not offend the sentiments of Muslims. Do not continue to allow Israel and its treacherous agents free access to Muslim markets; do not endanger the country's economy for the sake of Israel and its agents.

Excerpts from the Imam's Letter to Hoveyda, Muharram (1967)

I have warned before that the usurper government of Israel, with the plans it has for Islam and the Muslim countries, poses a great danger. There is reason to fear that if the Muslims give Israel respite they will lose their opportunity, and stopping Israel will become impossible.

Since this potential danger is to the basis of Islam, it is incumbent upon Muslims in general and Islamic governments in particular to repel this source of corruption in any way possible and not to refrain from helping the defenders.

They must use their religious consciences and the money from Zakat and other alms in carrying out this vitally important task.⁷ I beseech God, the Most High, to prepare the ground for the repentance of Muslims and their awakening, and to ward off the enemies of Islam from Muslim lands.

The Imam's Statement in Response to a Group of Palestinian Muslims Concerning the Necessity of Supporting Palestinian Muslims Against Israel, 3rd of Rabi' al-Thani, 1388 (1968)

One of the respected religious scholars of Shiraz has written to say that there is famine among the southern tribes, and that they are under such pressure from hunger and hardship that they are ready to sell their children. People in all parts of the country of Iran are having to deal with such calamities while the rulers of Iran are spending millions of tomans on celebrations for the anniversary of the establishment of the Iranian monarchy. In Tehran alone eighty million tomans have been allotted for this celebration.⁸

Israeli experts have been invited for this celebration, and, as I have been informed, the same experts are busy preparing for the celebration and this extravagance is to be planned and carried out by them. The same Israel which is the enemy of Islam and presently at war with Islam, the same Israel which destroyed al-Aqsa Mosque and set it on fire and whose crime the ruling power of Iran wanted to cover up, and the same Israel whose experts have now become the planners of the celebrations for the monarchy is getting oil from Iran, as was revealed in the Fedayin attack against an Israeli tanker.

Iranian oil is carried to Israel, and this is even

acknowledged by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Write to the heads of the Islamic governments and to those who want to participate in this inauspicious celebration in the blood of the Iranian nation, not to attend. Do not attend the celebration planned by Israel; arranged in Shiraz by the same Israel which has tampered with the Qur'an, which has recently ascribed unjust contents to the Noble Qur'an and has spread rumors in Germany that the cause of some illnesses are the teachings of the Noble Qur'an. Warn them that this same Israel is participating in the arranging of the celebration.

The Imam's Lecture Concerning the Imperial Regime, 28th of Rabi al-Akhir, 1390 (1970)

Devise a solution for freeing the Islamic land of Palestine from the grasp of Zionism, the stubborn enemy of Islam and of humanity. Do not neglect to help and co-operate with the devoted men who are fighting for the freedom of Palestine... It is the conflicts among the heads of Islamic countries which have created the Palestinian problem and which do not allow it to be solved. If the seven hundred million Muslims with their large and widespread countries were politically developed and would join together to form a united front, it would not be possible for the great colonialist governments, let alone for a small number of Zionist Jews who are the agents of colonialism, to penetrate their countries.

I consider it my duty to give some small indication of the problems of the oppressed people of Iran so that the Muslims of the world will know what is happening to the defenseless people of this Islamic country. The sad effects of colonialism are more obvious in this country than in other Islamic countries. Israel, which today is the recognized enemy of Islam and Muslims, and which has been at war with Muslim nations for some time, is interfering in all branches of economic, military and political life through the will of the evil government of Iran, and it must be said that Iran is an

Israeli, and, in effect, an American military base.

Excerpts from the Imam's Message for the Pilgrims to Mecca, 14th of Bahman, 1349 (February 8, 1971)

When you see the blood of your innocent brothers and sisters shed on the holy soil of Palestine, and when you observe our lands being destroyed by the criminal Zionists, there remains no way but that of Jihad. It is the duty of all Muslims to aid this holy Jihad both financially and spiritually: God is their Protector on this path...

The best procedure for the Muslim people of Iran is to strive with all the means at their disposal to completely sever all financial transactions with Zionists in Iran, both internal Zionists and others, and to render them financially and psychologically impotent. They can close off any means of livelihood available to them and engage in an economic war. They can fight the Zionists in other areas as well so that in the end they would be forced to sever their relations with Iran and with the Muslim people; as the result of which the Iranian nation would be able to avail the freedom fighters of all of its financial and spiritual possibilities.

These painful circumstances make it necessary for every Muslim to use all of his power for the liberation of the occupied land and to take vengeance on the occupiers. «**God is the Guarantor of success**». A point about which there cannot be any doubt is that the duty of every Muslim living in the farthest parts of the Islamic world is the same as that of the Muslim people of Palestine, as the **hadith** states: Muslims are as one hand raised against those other than themselves.

The Imam's Interview with Various News Agencies - 1392 (1972)

The only way to recover the past greatness and glory of Islam and Muslims is to accept the responsibility of being vigilant, uniting and being brothers in religion. The only guarantee for the independence of Islamic lands and the only way to rid them of any kind of colonial influence is through

devotion and self-sacrifice as a way of compensating for that which Muslims have lost, and are, unfortunately, still losing due to their conflicts and disunity. The great responsibility of Islamic governments to adhere to the rules of Islam, to free themselves from the slavery of colonialism and to direct their efforts exclusively towards serving the Islamic nations is today much heavier than in the past.

This is a time when the claws of colonialism have sunk into the Islamic countries; a time when colonialism has mobilized all its power and resources for the purpose of creating disunity among Muslims and the leaders of Islamic countries, and is trying with every means at its disposal to prevent the people from being devoted to and carrying out the teachings of Islam so that it can without any apprehension reach its inhuman goal - the colonization of the deprived.

In this age, colonialism has set its agents and followers to work in the Islamic world under the cover of alluring and deceptive - and sometimes even «Islamic» - slogans to separate the teachings and the culture of the Qur'an from the realities of the life of the Islamic community and in order to pave the way for the securing of the interests of their masters. Look at Iran and the destruction, the tragedies and the disasters taking place there.

And then, at the head of all of these disasters there is Palestine. The differences of view and the mercenary nature of certain leaders of some Islamic countries has not given the seven hundred million Muslims of the world the chance nor the possibility despite their wealth and mineral and natural resources, to stop colonialism and Zionism and to limit foreign influence. Selfishness, servitude and the surrender of some Arab governments to direct foreign influence has prevented the tens of millions of Arabs from freeing Palestine from the yoke of Israeli occupation and usurpation. Everyone must know that the goal of the great powers in creating Israel does not end with the occupation of Palestine.

They are planning, God -forbid, to make all the Arab countries share in Palestine's fate. And today we are witnessing the Jihad of the Palestinian fighters to deliver the destiny of Palestine into the hands of the Palestinians.

Today we are witnessing the struggles of those fighters who, taking their lives in their hands, have risen against occupation and aggression in order to gain the freedom of Palestine - and the occupied lands. We saw what the servants of colonialism did to these fighters in Jordan and we see what they are doing to them today in Lebanon.⁹ We are witnessing propaganda and various intrigues, all of which are instigated by the agents of colonialism with the aim of separating Muslims from the Palestinian fighters and diverting the struggle from strategic areas which offer a good opportunity for dealing a blow to the Israeli forces and Zionism.

Do not the Muslims and the heads of Islamic countries under these circumstances have a responsibility and obligation before God and their conscience? Is it just that only Palestinian fighters (Mujahedin) be massacred by the servants of colonialism in areas under colonial rule, while others are silent in the face of these crimes? Or that they even plot together to drive out this liberating Jihad from the most strategic areas? Do not the Arab governments and the Muslim inhabitants of these areas realize that with the annihilation of this Jihad the rest of the Arab countries will not be safe from the evil of this unclean enemy?

Today, in order to safeguard their own independence, it is incumbent upon Muslims in general and Arab regimes and governments in particular to devotedly aid and support this group of freedom fighters, and not to spare any effort in supplying them with arms, food and supplies. The fighting Fedayin must firmly and earnestly continue their efforts to reach their holy aim by relying on God and being faithful to the teachings of the Noble Qur'an. They should not despair because of the indifference or carelessness of some elements or let their liberating zeal be affected by them. It should be

emphasized that relations between these freedom fighters and the people of the areas where they are active must be based on Islamic brotherhood and good conduct.

I ask all awakened, vigilant and farsighted Muslims, especially God's pure servants and our distinguished religious scholars, to beseech God during these blessed days to help free Muslims from the unclean rule of colonialism. During the gatherings of the holy month of Ramadan and other great Islamic gatherings such as the Friday prayers and the Hajj, try to make these truths known to all Muslims and invite the people to follow the Qur'an, which calls for everyone to unite. Try to unite for the liberation of Palestine and the resolution of the urgent problems which the entire Islamic world is grappling with. I beseech God, Most Great, to put an end to foreign influence in Muslim lands.

Excerpts from the Imam's Announcement in Support of the Palestinian People, 3rd of Ramadan, 1392 (1972)

Today, there is a broader and more extensive plan in the making which reveals the true face of the agents of colonialism and the nature of their mission - plans through which they want to destroy the strongholds of anti-colonialism and turn them into the strongholds of pro-colonialism and pro-Zionism and of their agents...

Granting immunity to American military personnel and their dependents,¹⁰ shattering the country's prestige, destroying our judicial independence and putting the pillagers of America and Zionism in control of all military, political, commercial, industrial and agricultural affairs and of our markets are some of the other ominous results of this 'honorable' revolution of the tyrannical regime.¹¹

Excerpts from the Imam's Message to Religious Scholars, Orators and the Nation of Iran, 8th of Safar, 1392 (1972)

Israel was born through the collusion of the colonial governments of East and West for the purpose of exploiting

and crushing the Islamic nation, and it is today being supported by all colonialists. England and America incite and urge on Israel in its continuous aggressions against Arabs and Muslims and in the continuation of its occupation of Palestine and other Islamic lands by strengthening it militarily and politically and by supplying it with lethal weapons, and the Soviet Union guarantees the continued existence of Israel by preventing Muslims from becoming armed and through deceit, treachery and compromising politics.

If the Islamic governments and Muslim nations would observe and practice the illuminating and liberating teachings of the Noble Qur'an instead of relying on the Eastern and Western blocs, they would not be the captives of Zionist transgressors, terrified by the spectre of America and subdued by the opportunism and evil deceitfulness of the Soviet Union. It is the Islamic governments' neglect of the Noble Qur'an which has the Islamic nation face this abominable situation, and it has put the fate of the Muslim nations and the Islamic countries in the hands of the reformist politics of the colonialism of the Right and the Left.

Excerpts from the Reply of the Imam to Muslim Students Residing in Europe, America and Canada, 9th of Safar, 1393 (1973)

Now that the usurping government of Israel has begun to raise more disturbances in and to commit more aggressions against Arab lands and to fan the flames of war yet once again, and now that our Muslim brothers have taken their lives in their hands and are fighting at the war fronts on the front of honor - in order to root out this source of corruption and to free Palestine, it is incumbent upon all governments of Islamic countries, and especially the Arab governments, to mobilize all their forces with trust in God and reliance on His Everlasting Power, and to come to the aid of the devoted men who are fighting on the front-lines and looking with hope to the Islamic nation for help.

They (the Islamic governments) should join in this holy Jihad in order to liberate Palestine and to revive the honor, glory and greatness of Islam. They should avoid destructive disagreements and disunity, extend a fraternal hand, close ranks and organize themselves; they must not be afraid of the frail power of the defenders of Zionism and Israel and not be vanquished or deluded by the empty threats or vain promises of the great powers. They should avoid becoming weak or negligent, as this will lead to disgraceful defeat and dangerous consequences.

The heads of the Islamic countries should be aware that this germ of corruption which has been planted in the heart of the Islamic countries is not there just to crush the Arab nation, but that it is a danger to all of the Middle East. The plan is for the domination and supremacy of Zionism over the Islamic world and the further colonization of the rich lands and great resources of the Islamic countries. It is only through devotion, steadfastness and the unity of the Islamic governments that freedom from the evil of this black nightmare can be found; if one government fails to act as it should in this matter which is so vital for Islam, then it is incumbent upon other Islamic governments to persuade it to co-operate through reproaches, threats and severing relations.

It is the duty of the governments of Islamic oil-producing countries to use their oil and other resources as weapons against Israel and the colonialists, and to refuse to sell oil to governments supporting Israel. The nations of Islam are obligated on the basis of their human duty, brotherhood and rational and Islamic standards not to spare any self-sacrifice to root out this agent of colonialism. They should help their brothers at the war-front by giving them financial and spiritual support, as well as by sending them arms, blood, medicine and food. It is especially the duty of the noble and Islamic nation of Iran not to remain indifferent toward savage aggressions of Israel and the disasters now

facing their Arab and Muslim brothers, and to help their Muslim brothers to free Palestine and annihilate Zionism. They should persuade the government of Iran to break its silence and to rise up against Israel by joining the ranks of the governments of the Islamic nations. All freedom - lovers of the world must join with the Islamic nation in condemning Israel's inhuman aggressions.

Those governments which are presently at war with Israel should be earnest and strong of will in this holy battle; they should be persevering and steadfast and join together in adhering to truth, patience and constancy - which is a Divine command.¹² They should not heed the proposal - or order - for a ceasefire coming from certain organizations connected with colonial powers; they can be sure that through patience and perseverance and by putting into practice Islamic teachings, they will be victorious.

The Imam's Message to Islamic Governments and Nations, Ramadan 1393 (1973)

It is the Shah of Iran who has given Israel free reign throughout Iran and has put the Iranian economy in danger, and who is, according to some foreign newspapers, sending Iranian officers to Israel for training. It is the Shah who is selling Iranian oil to the enemies of Islam and humanity to be used in the war against Muslims and the heroic Arabs, and who, through the disgraceful contract which he has recently made and by raising the level of oil production, opposes those oil - producing nations who want to use their oil as a weapon against America. Finally, it is this pillage: the purchase of billions of dollars worth of arms and the continual and ruinous 'celebrations' of the Shah, which are causing the rise in the cost of living and the astronomical prices of goods, all of which is threatening Iran with a terrible famine. I fear that he (the Shah) will send the billions of dollars of arms purchased from his world-devouring masters to Israel - the same arms the purchase of which has pushed Iran toward

bankruptcy.

I fear that he (the Shah) will force the Iranian army to aim at the proud and zealous hearts of freedom fighters with the ammunition bought at the cost of hunger, famine and finally the blood of the deprived people of Iran. I sense danger for the Islamic world from this unquestioning servitude of the Shah toward America. It is now up to the noble nation of Iran to stop this oppressor from committing these crimes.

The Imam's Message to the Iranian Nation, 19th of Ramadan, 1393 (1973)

We were witness to how the Iranian government, by the Shah's order, recognized the state of Israel while Muslims were at war with these infidels. We were witness to the aid given to Israel by this black-hearted man (the Shah) while Israel was making Muslims homeless and shedding their blood. Oil, arms and other aid, the funds for which were secured through the blood and toil of the Iranian nation, were put at their disposal... Because I consider the Lebanese situation important and follow it devotedly, I fear that, just as Iran was made into an American colony, so also might Lebanon through the manipulations of the evil agents of the American Embassy there-and Israel could then put into operation its plans for the region with complete peace of mind. You must vigilantly keep watch on the operations of the Iranian Embassy - and prevent their tricks from succeeding.

I have always said what must be said-both in Iran and in exile - although whatever I have said represents only a small part of the nation's sufferings, but I must express once again my deep sorrow at the lack of unity of Word and harmony among the heads of Islamic governments, especially Arab governments. As soon as there is talk of unity and harmony, the agents of colonialism prepare the ground for disagreement and division, using their own special tricks.

Seven hundred million or more Muslims and one hundred million or more Arabs have not been able to gain real independence, to free themselves from the clutches of colonialism, and to expel the band of Zionist Jews in Israel who are threatening our people, history and inheritance.

I have spoken and written about these and many other issues for the past approximately fifteen years. It is your Islamic and national duty, in addition to your revolutionary duty, to make earnest and devoted efforts towards liberating Palestine, uniting the Arab governments and creating unity of Word amongst them. We shall not forget your devotion and your holy Jihad, and we ask God Almighty to grant you victory on the path to the greatness of Islam and Muslims. We hope for the curtailment of the influence of colonialism and other evil forces; our wish is that Palestine and al-Aqsa Mosque be cleansed of Zionists and that the Palestinian people return to their own land.

The Imam's Reply to Yasser Arafat's Condolences, 21st of Dhu al-Hijjah, 1397 (1977)

Today, the first «qiblah» (place toward which one prays) of Muslims has fallen into the hands of Israel, this cancerous tumor of the Middle East; today it (Israel) is with all its might shedding the blood of our dear Palestinian and Lebanese brothers. Today Israel is creating disunity with all the Satanic means at its disposal, and it is incumbent upon every Muslim to arm himself against Israel.

Excerpts from the Imam's Speech of the 17th of Mehr, 1357 (October 9, 1978)

The deplorable situation in Lebanon and the tragedies inflicted upon our brothers in religion in the south of Lebanon have caused us great pain and sorrow. Presently, tens of thousands from the criminal armies of Israel, this source of corruption, are in control of the lands of southern Lebanon - the centre of our brothers in religion - equipped

with arms, artillery, tanks and airplanes. They are driving the innocent inhabitants of this area out of their homes, destroying their dwellings and setting their crops on fire, while Islamic governments remain largely indifferent in the face of these crimes, sometimes even helping to carry them out or busying themselves with futile talks and leaving the heroic Palestinian freedom fighters who are bravely resisting Israel alone-perhaps this is the result of a plot among certain powers.

The Imam's Announcement Concerning Israel's Aggression Against Lebanon, 12th of Rabi' al-Thani, 1398 (1978)

The Camp David agreement and agreements like it are a plot to legitimize Israel's aggressions, which have altered the situation in Israel's favour and to the Arabs' and Palestinians' disadvantage. Such a situation will never, however, be acceptable to the people of the region.

From the Imam's Interview with Associated Press, 16th of Aban, 1357 (November 7, 1978)

Neither the Muslim nation of Iran nor any Muslim - basically no free person - recognizes Israel, and as for us, we shall always defend our Palestinian and Arab brothers.

The Imam's Interview with MIDDLE EAST Magazine, 1357 (1978)

We are on the side of the oppressed - anyone who is oppressed anywhere - and the Palestinians are oppressed; Israel has oppressed them and so we are on their side... We reject Israel and will not have any relations with it. Israel is a usurping government and our enemy, and if we come to power it will no longer receive any oil from Iran... I emphasize; no oil will go to Israel from Iran.

The Imam Versus Zionism After the Victory of the Islamic Revolution



We have talked and warned about Palestine for fifteen years; our view - point towards Palestine is still the same and after repairing the damages brought about by the Shah, we shall think more seriously about Israel.

From the Imam's Meeting with Yasser Arafat, Eight Days After the Victory of the Islamic Revolution, 30th of Bahman, 1357 (February 19, 1979)

If the Arab governments with their vast populations and groups were united, these disasters would not have occurred for Palestine and Quds. Unfortunately, however, the Arab governments did not heed our advice and did not pay attention to the differences created amongst them by the foreigners. These differences exist now too, and one of them is the difference created by the pact made between Egypt and Israel.¹³ Foreign hands fanned the flames of difference between Muslims and the Islamic governments, and as the latter are not politically developed, they could not resolve their problems, and thus surrendered to such crimes which resulted in increased differences between the Muslims and the Islamic governments. This is the cause of our great sorrow.

From the Imam's Address During his Visit with the Ambassador of Somalia, 18th of Esfand, 1357 (March 9, 1979)

We fought and defeated the Superpowers by the power

of our faith; if you wish to overcome your problems, if you wish to save Quds (Jerusalem), if you wish to save Palestine and Egypt, and if you wish to save the other Arab countries, the nations must rise up; the nations should not sit idle, as their governments will act on their own interests. The nations must know that the secret of victory is to long for martyrdom.
From the Imam's Meeting with Palestinian Political Leaders, Farvardin 1358 (March 1979)

The victory of the Palestinian nation is possible through the unity of the Word and the power of faith. We condemn Israel; Israel is a usurper and the Arab governments must unite in order to curtail Israel's hands from their countries.

From the Imam's Meeting with Bishop Cappucci, 14th of Farvardin, 1358 (April 3, 1979)

We express our deep sorrow over the actions carried out against Muslim countries, particularly against the people of Lebanon and our brothers, by the Zionists with the help of America. We hope that God, Most Blessed, Most High, Who is the Protector of the weak and the oppressed will help you and all of our brothers. We are fighting Israel and America by your side and hope that the forces of Truth will overcome the satanic and oppressive forces. Your troubles and sufferings are not new to the Ulema and the Muslims; the forces of oppression have always been against Islam and have opposed Muslims.

The Imam's Message to the Shi'ites of Lebanon, 19th of Khordad, 1358 (June 9, 1979)

The Day of Quds¹⁴ is the day of the uprising of the oppressed against the oppressors. The Day of Quds is an international day; it is not a day devoted to Quds alone: it is the day of the uprising of the oppressed over the oppressors. It is the day of the uprising of the nations under oppression by America and other powers against the Superpowers; it is the

day when the oppressed should arm themselves against the oppressors and rub their noses in the dirt; it is the day when the hypocrites shall be distinguished from the true believers. The believers know this day as the Day of Quds and to what must be done, and the hypocrites, those who are secretly affiliated with the Superpowers and are friends of Israel, are either indifferent towards this day or they do not allow their nations to hold demonstrations.¹⁵ The Day of Quds is a day when the oppressed nations should assert their existence and rise up and defeat the oppressors as Iran did, and will continue to do. They (the oppressed nations) must rise up and dispose of this source of corruption (Israel). It is the day when we must strive to save Quds and relieve our Lebanese brothers of these pressures. It is the day when we must warn the Superpowers to leave the oppressed alone and put them in their place. Israel, this enemy of mankind and humanity, which is creating disturbances every day and setting our brothers on fire in southern Lebanon, must know that its masters are no longer accepted in the world and therefore must leave the scene. Your hands must be curtailed from all of the Islamic countries. The Day of Quds is the day of Islam; it is the day of the revival of Islam, so let us revive it, and Islamic rules must be carried out in the Islamic countries. The Day of Quds is the day when the banner of the Islamic Republic must be raised throughout the countries of the world. On the Day of Quds nations must warn the traitorous governments. The Day of Quds is the day when we shall discover what individuals and what regimes are in agreement with the international conspiracies against Islam. Those who do not participate are against Islam and in agreement with Israel, and those who participate are committed, in agreement with Islam and against the enemies of Islam, at the head of which are America and Israel. We beseech God Almighty, Most High, to save our brothers in Palestine, in Southern Lebanon, in Lebanon, and anywhere they are in the world from the oppressors and plunderers.

The Imam's Message Concerning the Day of Quds, 25th of Mordad, 1358 (August 16, 1979)

If the Muslims united, and if each of them poured a bucket of water over Israel, it would be washed away; and yet they are weak vis-à-vis Israel. The problem is that even though they know this, still they do not turn to a sure remedy which is unity and alliance. Why do they not neutralize the conspiracies used by the colonialists to undermine and weaken them? When shall this problem be solved and who shall solve it? Who shall neutralize these conspiracies but the Islamic governments and the Muslim nations?

From the Imam's Meeting With the Syrian Foreign Minister, 25th of Mordad, 1358 (August 16, 1979)

I hope that a party under the name of the «Party of the Oppressed» will be formed throughout the world and that all of the oppressed will take part in this party in order to remove the obstacles in their path, to rise up against the oppressors and the plunderers of the East and West, to prevent the oppressors from tyrannizing the oppressed any longer and in order to actualize the promise of Islam which means the reign of the oppressed over the oppressors and their inheritance of the earth. Up until now the oppressed have been disunited, and nothing will be accomplished by disunity. Now that a demonstration of unity among the oppressed has actualized in the Muslim lands, this must be applied more extensively among all strata of mankind in history under the name of the «Party of the Oppressed» which is the same as the «Party of God» (Hezbollah).¹⁶ And it is in accordance with the will of God Almighty, Most High, that the oppressed shall inherit the earth. Together they must liberate themselves with firm common will, and any problems that arise anywhere and for any nation should be resolved by the 'Party of the Oppressed.' I must state with regret, that the governments and the nations of Islam, particularly the Arab governments and nations, made a mistake, and that we in Iran also made a mistake. The

mistake that all of the Muslims made, particularly the Arab nations and governments, was giving Israel the chance to prevent its own defeat. They made the mistake of not stifling the voice of Israel right from the beginning and allowed it to gain power. Unfortunately, their own individual motives prevented them from heeding our advice which has been, during the past twenty years or a bit less, to unify against Israel. They gave it the opportunity, and now we are at the stage where its tyranny has gone to the extent that it has set Southern Lebanon on fire and wants to push Palestine aside. We have repeatedly stated that Israel - this germ of corruption - will not content itself with Quds; it will not content itself with Jerusalem; and if it is given the opportunity it will endanger all of the Islamic governments. The past mistake must be rectified through the Muslims' unity and through the 'Party of the Oppressed' against the oppressors, at the head of which are the criminal America and its most corrupt servant, Israel. This was the mistake of the Islamic governments and the Arabs in particular, and they must rectify this mistake.

The Imam's Message of the 28th of Mordad, 1358 (August 19, 1979)

My brave brothers who have risen up to liberate your countries, warn your nations and wipe out the effects of several hundred years of propaganda and self-abasement from your minds vis-à-vis the West and the oppressors, and join our movement which is Islamic and a movement of the oppressed; as today, precious Islam is faced with blasphemy and logic is confronted by force. Our movement is Islamic before being Iranian; it is the movement of the oppressed throughout the world before belonging to any particular region. O Muslims of the world, O risen, oppressed and endless sea of human beings, rise up and defend your Islamic and national integrity! Israel took Jerusalem from the Muslims and encountered the governments' negligence. Now it is becoming apparent that America and its agent of

corruption, Israel, are planning to take over al-Haram (the Sacred House of God) and al-Nabi (the Prophet's) Mosques, as Muslims sit by and watch with indifference. We, in following the great Islam, support all of the oppressed; we support you and every organization in the world which has risen to save its country; we totally support the struggles of the Palestinian brothers and the people of Southern Lebanon against the usurper Israel.

Excerpt from the Imam's Message to the Liberation Movements of the World, 4th of Azar, 1358 (November 30, 1979)

Jews are different from Zionists; if the Muslims overcome the Zionists, they will leave the Jews alone. They (the Jews) are a nation like other nations; their life continues on and they cannot be rejected by Muslims.

From the Imam's Interview with West German Radio and Television, 19th of Aban, 1358 (November 10, 1979)

We will export our revolution to all of the world as it is an Islamic revolution, and until the sound of *la illaha illa-l-lah* (there is no god but God) and *muhammadan rasulu-l-lah* (Muhammad is the Messenger of God) is heard throughout the world, there will be struggle, and we will be on the scene anywhere in the world where there is struggle against the oppressors. We defend the defenseless people of Lebanon and Palestine against Israel. Israel, this germ of corruption, has always been an American base. I have, for nearly twenty years, warned of the danger of Israel; we must all rise up, destroy Israel and replace it with the heroic nation of Palestine.

From the Imam's Message on the Occasion of the First Anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, 22nd of Bahman, 1358 (February 11, 1980)

Even though there are a billion Muslims, should Quds and our governments be under the yoke of the Zionists?

The Imam's Message to the Committee Investigating the Imposed War, 14th of Esfand, 1359 (March 5, 1981)

We repeat that until the nations of Islam and the oppressed of the world rise up against the oppressors of the world and their progeny, especially the usurper Israel, their criminal hands will not be curtailed from the Islamic countries, and this cancerous tumor will not be removed from Jerusalem and Lebanon. The likes of Saddam and Sadat will continue their crimes and will bring about the ruination of Egypt and Iraq. The way to reject these oppressors is by turning to Islam and the Noble Quran committedly, and by rising up under the banner of *tawhid* (oneness) with unity and harmony.

From the Imam's Message on the Occasion of War Week, 27th of Ordibehesht, 1360 (May 17, 1981)

O Muslims and oppressed of the world, arise and take your destiny into your own hands. How long will you sit by and let Washington and Moscow determine your fate? How long should your Quds be trampled on by the scum of America, the usurper, Israel? How long should the land of Quds, Lebanon and the oppressed Muslims of those lands live under the yoke of criminals while you watch and some of your traitorous rulers fan the flames? How long should the nearly one billion Muslims of the world and approximately one hundred million Arabs with vast countries and endless resources bear witness to the plunder of the East and West and the injustices and inhuman massacres committed by them and their agents? How long will you bear the crimes committed against the Afghan and Lebanese brothers and not answer their call? How long should we neglect to fight with the enemies of Islam and to save Quds by means of weapons and spiritual and military power instead of wasting time on diplomatic maneuvers and on compromising deals with the Superpowers, giving Israel the opportunity to commit its merciless crimes and bearing witness to its

massacres? Do not the heads of nations know and have they not observed that diplomatic talks with the powerful diplomats and the criminals of history will not save Quds, Palestine and Lebanon, and that their crimes and injustices will increase daily? For the liberation of Quds, one should use machine-guns based on the power of faith and the power of Islam, leaving aside the political games which smell of compromise and which keep the Superpowers satisfied. The Muslim nations, particularly the Palestinian nation and Lebanon, must punish those who are wasting time on political maneuvers and not let themselves be overpowered by the political games which result in nothing but damage and loss for the oppressed nations. How long will the lying myths of the East and West confound the powerful Muslims and their empty propaganda loudspeakers terrify them? How long will the Muslims neglect the power of the great Islam?

The Imam's Message on the World Day of Quds, 10th of Mordad, 1360 (August 1, 1981)

We should investigate to find out where the problem in the Muslims' way of thinking has come from and what the solution is. Why are Muslims under the yoke of their governments and the Superpowers everywhere in the world, and what is the solution, so that the secret of overcoming all of the problems can be found and Quds, as well as Afghanistan and the rest of the Muslim lands, can be freed? The Muslims' problem is their governments; it is these regimes which have put the Muslims in this situation. Nations are not the Muslims' problem; nations with their innate peculiarities cannot solve the problems. However the problem is the governments; when you observe the Islamic countries, you can find a few places where their problems have not been created by their governments. It is the governments which, as the result of their relations with the Superpowers and their servitude to the powers of the Left and Right, have created

problems for us and for the Muslims. If this problem is removed, the Muslims will attain their goal, and the solution lies in the hands of nations. You witnessed that we had a greater problem than the others; the evil power of the Shah surpassed that of all of the others. Superpowers and all of the Muslim and non-Muslim governments sympathized with him. As you observed, the solution to this problem was not found by running to a country, a power or a superpower for help; the nation solved the problem; our nation was transformed.

From fear to courage, from despair to confidence, from selfishness to devotion to God, and from disunity to alliance, that miraculous change led us to resolve this very great problem; a problem that perhaps all of the world had thought impossible to solve. Do not believe that Iran had arms; Iran's arms were rocks, clubs and fists. However its spiritual arms were its faith in religion, its faith in God, Most Blessed, Most High, its reliance upon the source of Power and the unity of Word. The guns that you now see in the hands of our nation (i.e. civilians) are those which were taken as booty from those connected with the Shah; otherwise, there were no guns except for the (arsenal of the) nation's faith. From the heart of the nation to its borders, everywhere one went, one word was uttered. Even the small children were crying for Islam and an Islamic republic. The youth had the same reason; it was the same in the universities and the schools; women and men also had the same reason. We were awakened from the deep sleep which we were led into by the Superpowers. In any case, we had paid attention to all of the issues which we had to. Suddenly a light from God Almighty, Most High, appeared; it awakened us and solved this problem which seemed impossible to all. The problem was the deposed Shah and his entourage, and the solution to the problem lay in the hands of the nation itself. Not a gun came for our nation from abroad, and no foreign government helped us; in fact, they were against us. Iraq was steadfastly

against us; Kuwait was steadfastly against us; you know about Egypt and the governments of the other countries. While all of the powers were lined up on one side with our nation on the other, empty-handedly our nation attacked and broke down this obstacle which was thought to be unbreakable. Something had to be done so that the nations, wherever they were, would know what to do. If you and they, if the scientists and the Ulema of all Islamic countries and the universities of all Islamic countries want to solve the problem of Islam and the Islamic countries, they must awaken the people.

These people who were, after many years of propaganda, made to believe that one cannot go against America and the Soviet Union, and there are other nations which hold this belief at present, must be made to understand that this is possible. The best proof of its possibility is its occurrence, and this occurred in Iran. They (the people) had been brainwashed to think that they could not fight those powers. This brainwashing is one of the things carried out inside countries through their (the powers') own propaganda and by their agents. It is necessary for those who live for the nations, who have faith in Islam and wish to serve Islam, to each try to reach their nations and unite to find a way out of their difficulties. Whatever enters their minds such as the impossibility of fighting these powers, or that (the powers) will react in such and such a way, the impossibilities should be driven out of the nation's minds and replaced with possibilities. No, it is possible to do this. Nearly one billion Muslims possessing all of those possibilities, those vast lands and extensive underground resources and that Islamic, Divine guarantee should not keep thinking that it is impossible. This great satanic power, the Soviet Union, which wants to suppress Afghanistan with all its might has not been able to do so. If the nation truly wants something, it cannot be imposed upon; the nation must be awakened in order for it to realize its desires. Our nation was asleep prior

to twenty years ago; it was not paying attention. From twenty years ago onwards, the speakers, the Ulema and the university people began to speak up. Gradually it (the awareness) reached the stage of demonstrations and taking to the streets; gradually it reached the cry of **allahu akbar** (God is Most Great), and the great satanic powers were unable to stand up against this cry. I knew that everyone wanted him (the Shah) to stay; all of the powers wanted this servant, who was their indisputable servant, to stay in Iran so that they could secure their interests and plunder all of our resources. However, this is impossible when the nation does not want it. One must awaken the nation so that it will come to desire what it thought it must not desire, and that it will realize that what it thought to be impossible is possible. The nation should ask their governments to surrender; otherwise, what the Iranian nation did should be done in their countries in order to resolve the problem. The people who are blocking the way and preventing the resolution of the problem should be eliminated. Everywhere you go, all over the world, it is the heads of countries who prevent the nations from thinking and from spiritual and financial growth. It is the heads of governments who assign their own people to teaching positions at the universities, and the university teachers corrupt our youth. The obstacle is rooted in these governments; the governments, with differences in degree, have retarded the growth of our youth and the advancement of the Muslims. Those people that the great powers sent for several hundred years to do research on groups, people, even lands and forests -- everywhere in the societies -- found that it was Islam that could stand up to them. Therefore, what is at issue for them more than anything else is Islam, and what is obstructing Islam's path are these corrupt governments. Through the corrupt governments and their propaganda, racist attitudes and cliques developed among the Muslims. They played the Arabs against the non-Arabs or the Arabs against the Turks and the Turks against others; every race

against each other. When I repeatedly state that nationalism is the root of the Muslims' misfortunes it is because it sets the nation of Iran up against the other Muslim nations.

From Islam's point of view, all races and peoples are equal and none of them hold any advantage over the others; either Arab over non-Arab nor non-Arab over Arab, nor Turk over any of these; nor white over black or black over white; none of them are superior over others. Superiority is gained through piety; it is gained through commitment; that is, commitment to Islam.

We must not sit by waiting for our governments to do something for us. Our governments have their own interests in mind; the governments in the Muslim lands have no interests in Islam, and if they mention Islam it is only to deceive you. Until we revert to Islam, the Islam of the Prophet of God (upon him be peace), our problems will remain unsolved. We cannot solve our issues, nor the issues of Afghanistan or of other places. Nations must revert to the beginning of Islam; if the governments revert along with the nations there is no problem, but if they do not, the nations should detach themselves from the regimes and do to them what Iran did to its own government so that the problems can be solved. Otherwise, repeated celebrations of the Day of Quds, demonstrations, gatherings and talks by orators and mere words or slogans will not stop them (the governments); sometimes they might, but we do not rely on them. If all nations would rise up on the Day of Quds and cry out, those stupid governments would not be able to stop them; however only a small number rise up. If on the Day of Quds, all Islamic countries and nations would rise up and cry out for not only Quds but for all of the Islamic countries, they would be victorious. We ousted Mohammad Reza Khan by crying out; do you think we accomplished this with guns? With the cry of «**allahu akbar**» — we pounded their heads so much with «**allahu akbar**», that they lost their senses, ran away and left this country. Muslims should cry out and not think that

crying out and chanting slogans is useless. No, they are useful but only if everyone participates; my lone cry is of no importance. The cries should not be confined to one district or one city; as you can see, the cries that come from Iran now are not confined to Tehran, Qum or Ahwaz. When respected scholars of Qum say that on a certain day a demonstration should be held, the whole nation marches. Nations should become such that when a group of their social leaders tell them to take a certain action, they should consider this as an order issued from a higher authority and act on it. Our nation has become such now; we would like other nations to become like this. We who say we want to export our revolution, want to export this issue, this spirituality that has come into being in Iran. These issues that have been raised: this is all we want to export. We do not want to draw swords and attack. Iraq has been attacking us for some time and we are defending ourselves. Defense is necessary as we want to export our revolution, our cultural revolution, our Islamic revolution to all of the Islamic countries. And if this revolution is exported, wherever it goes the problem will be solved. Try to awaken your nations to the manner in which Iran made its revolution and is presently prepared (to confront) any issue. Those who feel regrets for Islam and for their countries should awaken their nations. This Divine change which occurred in Iran will also occur in those places and solve the problem. At that time, do not fear four corrupt people taking over al-Aqsa Mosque; do not fear at that time as the problem will be solved. Do not expect to overcome the problem with this kind of thinking and with this kind of government when each nation is broken up into two, ten or a hundred tribes each fighting the other and each other's governments, the governments being as repressive as they are. We should follow Islamic teachings and the order of Islam saying that all pious men, everywhere, are brothers and the order to 'hold fast by the covenant of Allah all together,'¹⁷ and the order not to disperse or fight amongst each other, otherwise you will be

overcome. Muslims can rid themselves of the Superpowers and of their corrupt governments when they respond to this order of God. This is a Divine invitation from the beginning of Islam to the end, respond to it. We cannot do anything if this invitation is not responded to. We can be effective when we think in Islamic terms and rely on the Qur'an and Islam and carry out the teachings of the beginning of Islam. I wish you dear people from all over the country success on this Day of Quds, and I wish all of the Muslims success. God-willing, all Muslims will be brothers to one another, all sources of corruption will be uprooted from the Muslims' lands, and this germ of corruption, Israel, will be driven out from al-Aqsa Mosque and our Islamic country. God-willing, together we will all go to Quds and pray the prayer of unity.

Excerpts from the Imam's Meeting with Participants of the Quds Conference, 18th of Mordad, 1360 (August 9, 1981)

They are accusing a country that has been against this detestable Zionist clan from the beginning and us, who before the Revolution and during the decadent Pahlavi regime constantly opposed that regime, of bringing arms from Israel. We do not consider Israel of any importance let alone consider having relations with it. One of our important problems ever since we became involved in these matters and this movement has been the annihilation of Israel... The brothers coming from abroad must investigate these issues and see whether we want to fight with arms from Israel or with the arms of faith.

Excerpts from the Imam's Historical Message to the Hajj Pilgrims, 16th of Shahrivar, 1360 (September 7, 1981)

Who does not know that throughout the Islamic Revolution and during the excitement of the demonstrations of millions, the Muslim nation of Iran proclaimed Israel, along with America, as its enemy, and cut oil shipments to them and showered them both with its fury and hatred? And

it comes as no surprise that this ominous tune¹⁸ is coming from the throat of America, Israel's mother, and Saddam, Begin's younger brother, and that their propaganda horns--especially America's -- have tried extensively to spread it. Muslims, particularly our Arab brothers, must know that the issue is not Israel and Iran; the main issue for the East and West world-devourers is Islam... Is it not a disgrace for the Muslims of the world to surrender to the yoke of the oppressive powers, the land and sea plunderers of the century, in spite of having all this human, financial and spiritual capital, such a progressive religion and Divine protection? Has not the time yet arrived to put aside personal desires and join hands as brothers in order to push the enemies of humanity out of the arena and put an end to their disgraceful existence? Has not the time arrived for the brave and militant nation of Palestine to forcefully condemn the political games played by those who claim to oppose Israel, and tear open the heart of Israel, this stubborn enemy of Islam and Muslims, using weapons? What response do the Muslims have to God the Most High's invitation to 'hold fast by the covenant of God all together'¹⁹ and to the command to refrain from disunity and discord? Do not they consider it their duty to support the nation and the government of Iran which, through holy Jihad has pulled down the banner of blasphemy and raised the great banner (of Islam)? I declare there is danger to Islam on account of this issue and this plan.²⁰ Those who proposed this plan are ignorant and under the influence of America and Zionism. Those who see positive points in this plan are also ignorant. There was no point in this plan except that Israel would be recognized and rendered secure; it was nothing but this. And if all the other points were positive they too were all illegal. Rendering Israel's security means that all Muslims render its security; Israel which has usurped the lands of the Muslims, has carried out massacres in Palestine, Lebanon and in other places, has driven the Muslims into homelessness, has endangered the lives and honor of the

Muslims and has subjected them to its evil designs. It means that if someone wanted to attack this usurper, this government which is a criminal and usurping government, all Muslims and all of the governments of the region are obligated to oppose him in order to protect Israel! We are all now obligated to safeguard and secure, as a reward, an Israel which has sucked the blood of the Muslims and Palestine, has put Palestine, Quds and Lebanon in this condition and has killed and plundered Muslims. Should we -- that is, the Arab countries -- recognize this corrupt, immoral and heathenous regime which has been, ever since it set foot in Quds and Palestine, a usurper? Reward Israel after all of those crimes? I warn the Islamic nations, particularly the Arab nations, the Islamic armies and the armies of the Arab governments, that allowing this plan without your nation's approval results in nothing but making you captives of Israel and its lifelong servants, and putting you at the service of Israel and America, blindfolded and with hands tied. It is nothing but this. There is no higher disgrace for the Islamic nations and for the Arabs than to surrender to this corrupt, one hundred percent anti-Islamic plan. It is a disgrace for the Arabs to accept Israel's mastery over them. I warn everyone that if this plan is approved, tomorrow Israel will take Mecca and Medina away from you. Oppose this heathenous and immoral plan... It would be better if we all perished than became abject servants of Zionism and America.... Whoever does not oppose this corrupt plan is a traitor to Islam; and know that if nations oppose something, then governments cannot carry it out.²¹

Excerpt from the Imam's Address to the Wounded and Disabled, 26th of Aban, 1360 (November 17, 1981)

If it were not for this plan²² and America's second plan drawn up by Fahd and the plans that will be proposed later, Israel would not have dared the annexation of the Golan Heights. The story of the annexation of the Golan Heights by the usurper Israel is only the beginning, and Israel will

continue to do whatever it wants under the protection of America.

Excerpts from the Imam's Meeting with the Alumni of the Military College, 28th of Azar, 1360 (December 19, 1981)

(Addressing the Islamic governments) Why do you not set Iran as a model, reach unity of Word and come to terms with your nations instead of opposing one another so that Israel can overcome you? You saw that Israel took control of the Golan Heights, did not listen to any of you and declared that no power could reverse its decision. Why should you, the masses, create disunity amongst yourselves instead of appealing to everyone to take a stand against Israel, the same Israel that is the enemy of Islam, humanity, you and the Arabs? You should take a stand against the government groups which create disunity. These groups are against Islam and against the Noble Qur'an. The Qur'an solicits unification and you draw yourselves toward disunity and opposition. You must set reason and Islam as your guide and all be humble before Islam; you must act as reason dictates. Reason and Islam state that you must unite, and no country can oppress you if you unite. Israel would not dare to stay in these countries and in the usurped lands if you unite altogether. Now that you have differences with each other, Israel cries out that no power can make it withdraw from the Golan Heights, as its protector is America. But our nations have God as their Protector; so what has happened that you are taking sides? Do you know that this taking of sides is of no benefit, but is damaging to you?

Excerpts from the Imam's Meeting with the Friday Congregational Prayer Leaders of Isfahan, 1st of Bahman, 1360 (January 21, 1982)

You observe these children who have come from Lebanon and Southern Lebanon, these children who are the successors of the Islamic martyrs; what response do we have

to give them? What response do Muslims and the living human conscience have to give these children who have come here with their little hearts and want to protect Islam, the children who are under the oppression of Israel in their own regions? It is stated in the honored hadiths of the great Prophet (upon him be peace) that if a Muslim cries «O Muslims» and no one responds to him, they are not Muslims. They are crying out «O Muslims» with me here. O Muslims of the world, governments claiming to be Muslim, Muslim nations of the world: come to the rescue of Islam. Come to the rescue of the innocent people suppressed by the great powers; come to the rescue of these little children who have lost their mothers and fathers; come to the rescue of these countries that are under attack by the Superpowers; come to your own rescue, to the rescue of your own nations. What has happened? What has happened to Muslims that they offer their honor to America what has happened to Muslims that they should offer the great Islamic treasures belonging to the weak, barefoot nations to America, while America, in response to this offering, takes the side of Israel and declares that it will not sell Israel off to them?

What has happened that some of the clergy of the Royal Court have accused Iran of heresy? The Qur'an stipulates that if someone claims to be Muslim, he must be recognized as Muslim and not be rejected. We cry out that we are Muslims and want to carry out the orders of the Noble Qur'an and the Great Prophet (upon him be peace) in this country. For over twenty years we have declared our opposition to Israel and America, and yet these magazine editors, the newspapers and these radio broadcasters accuse us of friendly relations with Israel. Are we friends of Israel, or are those who sit and watch what Israel is doing with Muslims? Israel has brought Lebanon to this state and is doing this with Syria, it has annexed the Golan Heights to its own country and has done even more. And yet you say that you want to recognize it and be its friend. For over twenty years we have been crying out

to you to consolidate and drive this cancerous tumor out from amongst the Muslims.

Take Quds back. Rid the Islamic countries of this cancerous tumor. You who want to recognize deceitful Israel, the one country opposed to Islam, and who want to be on the side of such a country the injustices of which are clear to the whole world, have the audacity to stand up before God, yet want to give reign to the enemy of God and the persistent enemy of Muslims. You want to give Israel its peace and you want to recognize it. But it does not recognize you. You are sitting idly by until Israel, God-forbid, shall rule over all of you.

O Muslim nations! O you oppressed nations of all Islamic countries, O dear nations under the reign of individuals who give away your treasures to America while you yourselves live in hardship and misery: wake up and arise! O oppressed of the world, arise and stand up against the Superpowers, because if you do they cannot do anything! You saw that the Muslim nation of Iran united and rose up unarmed against the great satanic powers of Mohammad Reza and the Superpowers which lined up behind him, and pushed them all aside. They drove out this corrupt government and this illegal monarchy by the power of their own faith and with the cry of **allahu akbar** (God is Most Great).

In political directives they give the order to kill those killing Muslims, and today Israel has stood up against Muslims and is fighting them, and Saddam, America's mercenary, has stood up against Muslims and is killing them. God has ordered to kill those who have risen up against Muslims or even a clan (tribe) of them.²¹

I hope you gentlemen who have come here from different lands will carry the oppressed voice of this nation everywhere, and make people understand that this is not a terrible country with the distorted face that American and Zionist propaganda have drawn.

The Message of Imam Khomeini to the Reactionary Arab Governments, 24th of Bahman, 1360 (February 13, 1982)

Know for certain that the likes of the Egyptian, Hosni Mubarak, and the Jordanian, Hossein, and the rest of their accomplices are of no benefit to you; they destroy your religion and your world. And if you want to revive the Camp David or Fahd plans, which are dead and which we view as a great danger to the Islamic countries, particularly to the two Holy Sanctuaries, Islam does not allow us to remain silent and I have discharged my Divine obligation before God, Most Holy.

Excerpt from the Imam's Message on the Occasion of the Khorramshahr Victory, 4th of Khordad, 1361 (May 25, 1982)

I consider supporting the plan of Israel's independence and its recognition a disaster for Muslims and suicide for the Islamic governments. I deem opposing it as following a great Divine precept (of Islam).

The Imam's Message on the Occasion of the Brutal Israeli Attack on Southern Lebanon

«Surely we belong to God and to Him we shall return.»
(Qur'an 2:156)

I use the blessed phrase, «Surely we belong to God and to Him we shall return», not in regard to Israel's crimes and the martyrdoms and losses of many innocent Muslims of Southern Lebanon, even though that too calls for it; I use the phrase not in regard to the cities and villages of that Islamic country which have been occupied and destroyed by the criminal Zionist and heathenous regime of Israel, although that too calls for it. I use the phrase not in regard to the homelessness of thousands of sisters and brothers of that oppressed Islamic region, even though that too calls for it. I use the phrase not in regard to the martyrdom of over 40 men, women and infants of Ilam²⁴ by supporters of the criminal, Saddam, while they were engaged in crying out anti-

American and anti-Israeli slogans, the wounding of over 200 innocent tribal Muslims, and the destruction of mosques, religious centers, hospitals and homes of the oppressed, even though these too call for it. I use the phrase for the indifference shown by the Islamic countries, namely their governments and I wish it were only indifference. I use «Surely we belong to God and to Him we shall return» in regard to the support given by many of the governments to Israel and Saddam, these two illegitimate children of America. Myself and Muslims everywhere must utter, «Surely we belong to God and to Him we shall return,» in regard to the financial and spiritual support given to America, this head criminal, to Israel and to the Aflaqi Ba'ath Party of Iraq, the latter being the means of executing the ruinous plans of America and international Zionism. Every ardent Muslim should utter, «Surely we belong to God and to Him we shall return», in regard to the suggestion for Jihad against a country that is opposing Israel, on the deceitful accusation of receiving arms from Israel. Every Muslim should say, «Surely we belong to God and to Him we shall return», in regard to the attempts made to recognize an Israel that attacked the Islamic country of Lebanon, and in regard to the martyrdom of thousands of innocent people in the south (of Lebanon).

Israel, the aggressor and criminal, needs to be recognized, and America, the head of the aggressors, requires financial help though the resources of the oppressed and needy Islamic countries, and politically and spiritually though the efforts of the mass media of the Islamic regions, while Palestine and Syria stand alone.

Saddam who is one hundred percent against Islam requires help propaganda-wise, financially and militarily in his aggression against Iran, in the killing and destruction of the Muslims of the Arab-occupied regions, while the Islamic country of Iran which has risen up to revive Islam and the Noble Qur'an must stand alone.

These and many other issues are disasters for Muslims who must all unite and declare, «Surely we belong to God and to Him we shall return». I extend my condolences for the enormous disasters which are going to occur for the innocent and defenseless brothers in Southern Lebanon and for the disasters which will occur for the oppressed of Ilam and the other war-stricken areas of Iran. I invoke God's blessings and forgiveness for the martyrs for their just defense of these two Islamic countries, and beseech God, Most High, to grant their family members patience and strength. I beseech God, Most High, to awaken these governments negligent towards the interests of the Islamic countries and indifferent towards Islamic countries and the orders of the Noble Qur'an, and to destroy the enemies of Islam and Muslims.

The Imam's Message on the Occasion of the Savage Israeli Attack on Southern Lebanon, 17th of Khordad, 1361 (June 7, 1982)

Once again we have turned to the Islamic governments, particularly the governments of the region, and request them and warn them firmly to rise up to the defense of the honor, lives and property of the Islamic nations, to unite with us, and the Palestinians, to defend honor, Islam and the Arabs in a united front, and to curtail the influence of these criminals from their countries and their rich natural resources forever. Do not lose this opportunity, as tomorrow will be too late.

Excerpts from the Imam's Meeting with the Ulema and Clergy of Tehran, 7th of Tir, 1361 (June 28, 1982)

On the commemoration of the Day of Quds for the year 1361, we are going through the saddest and most painful days; we are leaving behind the most pathetic and disastrous times. Our sadness and pain is not only on account of the innocent, defenseless martyrs of oppressed Lebanon; it is not on account of the extensive attack of criminal Israel, using cluster and fire bombs against the Arab inhabitants and the

Muslims of Beirut which have wounded and martyred thousands of young and old, men and women and innocent, defenseless children. Our sorrow is not on account of America, this supercriminal's, ominous schemes for the destruction of the base of Islam in Iran and in other countries; it is not on account of the psychological and material support given by Egypt and Jordan and their colleagues to the uncontrollable criminals, Begin and Saddam, who have rapacious and criminal natures, and whose very existence depends upon their aggression against the rights of nations and the oppressed of the world and who pride themselves in tyrannizing and suppressing the weak nations. Our sadness is not on account of the ruthless aggression of Aflaqi Saddam and the Ba'ath Party against the Islamic country of Iran, the murder of thousands of elderly men and women, and the turning of green, cultivated, Arab- and Persian-populated cities of Iran into ruins. Because this infidel Party cannot bear Islam, its plan is to overthrow Islam and its sympathizers.

The tragedy, sorrow and pain lie in the Muslims' being exposed to these self-sold agents of the Superpower, America; governments, which are indisputably at the service of the enemies of Islam and Muslims. Today that Israel has attacked an Arab Muslim country and is shedding the blood of Muslims, what excuse do they (these governments) have for their deadly silence? What excuse do they have for helping Israel and its criminal master before God, the Final Judge, and the Islamic nations? What excuse do they have for following the abject Camp David suggestion and the Fahd Plan? What excuse do they have for compromising with these inherent and professional bloodthirsty criminals? O God, Muslims of the region are struggling with such rulers as their master Ali Ibn Abi Talib (upon him be peace) struggled with the hypocrites who sent him to meet you, thus becoming relieved of his burdens.

O God, these ignorant men of power carry the load of

Israel's abjectness so that they can rule over Muslim nations for a few days. O God, these ignorant governments having all possibilities at their disposal for overcoming the Superpowers, approve of the crimes of America and Israel and are eager for strengthening the roots of blasphemy. Where should precious Islam, its honored Prophet (upon him be peace) its martyr of the altar²⁵ whose blood was shed for the redemption of the deprived on the blessed night of Qadr,²⁶ take their complaint? The complaint concerns the power-hungry rulers in Islamic lands who tell their people to suffer and not lament, to be crushed under the tortures of America, evil Israel and other powers and yet remain silent. The problems are many but what is the solution? The great nation of Iran, following the Noble Qur'an and the noble Islam, found the solution. It overthrew the American regime of Pahlavi, using clenched fists and teeth against tanks and machine-guns and with outcries and demonstrations. And it reduced the ambitious Saddam, claiming to be the 'Qadisiah' commander, to mendacity and abjectness..... Those who have bowed before the Zionists and their baseless clamor and propaganda, and who are engaged in setting up meetings and issuing decrees in order to strengthen the bases of their governments and of their lackeys such as Saddam who is on the verge of a disgraceful death, believe that governments relying upon God and the great nation of Iran will be easily affected, like a willow which quivers in the wind.

But the obligation of the nations on the Day of Quds and on the anniversary of the martyrdom of this great man of human history is this: to demand firmly, in their gatherings and their marches, that their governments rise up against America and Israel, using their military power and the weapon of oil. And if they (their governments) do not heed their demand and instead recognize the criminal Israel which threatens the whole region and the two Holy Sanctuaries, the depth of whose desires has become clear, they must force them into action through pressure, strikes and threats. In the

situation where Islam and its holy places are under the threat of aggression, no Muslim can remain indifferent. At a time when Israel is carrying out extensive transgressions against Muslim lands, shedding the blood of innocent, defenseless Muslims, what the governments of the region are doing is nothing but empty and compromising. And more disastrous than this is that they turn to America for protection against Israel, like jumping from the frying pan into the fire... I advise the Palestinian leaders to stop trying to negotiate and instead fight Israel to death by relying upon God, Most Great, the Palestinian people and their arms; as these negotiations cause the struggling nations to lose faith. You can be certain that neither the East nor the West are of any benefit to you; fight Israel with arms and faith in God.

The Imam's Message on the Occasion of the World Day of Quds, 25th of Tir, 1361 (July 16, 1982)

Our belief is that Muslims should unite and defeat America; they should know that they can do this, and they have many possibilities. America and the West's lifeline depends on this region's oil.



NOTES

1. That is, the Fayziyah School in the holy city of Qum, a place for studying Islamic subjects and acquiring an Islamic education. It is commonly known as 'Howzeh-ye Ilmiyah.'
2. In 1342 (1963), on the afternoon of the anniversary of the martyrdom of the sixth Shi'ite Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq (upon him be peace), a lecture was being held at the Fayziyah School, and as the Shah knew that he and his colleagues would be exposed in this lecture for their repeated crimes, he dispatched his commandos who wounded and martyred many of the theological students.
3. SAVAK, the cause of the torture and martyrdom of many of the Muslim youth of Iran, is meant here.
4. The first Conference of Arab Heads of State was held in Cairo on January 12, 1964. Israel's attempt to divert the course of the Jordan River was the reason for this meeting, and the Arabs decided to form a «United Arab Military Command.» This aggressive plan of Israel was aimed at securing for itself 540 million cubic metres of water from the Jordan River by drawing water from Lake Huleh (120 million cubic metres), changing the course of the Jordan in a place called Junabat Ya'qub in the demilitarized zone (340 million cubic metres), and channelling the waters flowing from Lake Tabariyah to San Qanawat (80 million cubic metres). Here the Imam is declaring that it is not only the River Jordan which should be contested.
5. In 1962 the Law of Capitulation, which granted legal immunity to Americans and their dependents, was ratified.
6. Hoveyda was Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's Prime Minister, a post which he held for thirteen years. He was trusted by the governments of both Iran and Israel and was very active in relations between the two. During his prime ministership he both concluded contracts disadvantageous to Iran and engaged in pillage.

7. One of the religious duties obligatory for Muslims is Zakat. This means that if one is in possession of certain kinds of wealth and the quantity of any of these reaches a particular level, one must give a certain amount to the ruling jurist, or someone selected by him, so that he may use it for the benefit of the poor in the best possible manner. Here, Imam Khomeini as the ruling jurist deemed it permissible to use money from Zakat for the vital matter of opposing Israel.
8. In 1971, the Shah celebrated 2500 years of Iranian monarchy. In fact, there were never 2500 years of continual monarchy in Iran, and the extravagance of the celebrations ended by making a mockery of the poor people of Iran.
9. The massacre of Palestinians by King Hussein during «Black September» of 1970, and the constant attacks of Israel against Palestinians in Lebanon, are meant.
10. That is, through the Law of Capitulation (see note 5).
11. That is, the so-called «White Revolution» of the Shah begun in the 1960's, a programme of ostensible reforms.
12. Qur'an, Surah 103.
13. That is, the Camp David Agreement.
14. The Imam declared the last Friday of the blessed month of Ramadan as the day of the victory of Right over Wrong. On this day, the marty-nurturing nation of Iran demonstrates its active enmity towards Israel by holding marches and demonstrations participated in by the millions. Also on this day, the Muslim nations of other countries unite with the Muslim nation of Iran, holding anti-American and anti-Israeli demonstrations. However, most of these demonstrations have been severely suppressed by the agents of America and their puppet governments. Indeed, the Day of Quds is the day of the victory of the oppressed over the oppressors.
15. Arab governments such as those of Iraq and Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the Persian Gulf States, Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon and Sudan are meant here. These countries claim to sympathize with Palestine and condemn Israel on the surface, however in practice, they have not and will not extend support to the Palestinians, whether financial or spiritual, and might even prevent their nations from opposing Israel.
16. These divine words of the great leader of the world's oppressed, Imam Khomeini, bring to mind the verse: «And we desired to bestow a favor upon those who were deemed weak in the land, and to make them the leaders, and to make them the heirs...» (Qur'an 28:5)
17. «And hold fast by the covenant of Allah all together and be not disunited...» (Qur'an 3:102)
18. Recently, the West's propaganda loudspeakers have broadcast the

disgraceful slander of Iran's relations with Israel and its purchase of Israeli arms.

19. See Note 17.
20. That is, the Fahd plan.
21. It should be mentioned that the Fahd proposal was defeated at the Fez Conference.
22. That is, the Camp David Agreement.
23. According to the Noble Qur'an, «... and those with him (Muhammad) are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves. » and «... slay the idolaters wherever you find them...» (48:29 and 9:5)
24. Ilam is a city in western Iran. On the 15th of Khordad, 1361 (June 5, 1982) after Friday Congregational Prayers, the Muslim people of Ilam engaged in crying out anti-American and anti-Israeli slogans. Unexpectedly, the jet fighters of Saddam's mercenaries flew over this city bombing the people and residential areas.
25. Imam Ali (upon him be peace), the first leader of the world's Shi'ites, is meant here
26. The period of the martyrdom of Imam Ali (upon him be peace) is **among** the Nights of Qadr. This period is from the 19th to the 23rd of the blessed month of Ramadan.
