

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficial, the Merciful

The Most Important Problem of the Islamic World

**Selected Statements by Ayatollah
Khamenei About Palestine**

نسخه الکترونیکی

**صرفاً جهت بهره‌برداری حوزه نمایندگی ولی فقیه
در امور حج و زیارت**



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Introduction

Palestine remains a burning issue for the Muslims of the world and from the beginning of the Islamic Revolution in Iran to the present time, the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran has emphasized the centrality of the Palestinian issue for the Muslim world.

Even prior to the Islamic Revolution, Palestine and the great injustice that was committed against the Palestinian people was a central theme in the revolutionary movement led by Imam Khomeini (r.a.). This tradition continues with the current Supreme Leadership of Iran, Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei who over the course of more than two decades has clearly explained and analyzed the issue of Palestine for the Islamic Ummah.

This book is a brief collection of some of Ayatollah Khamenei's statements about Palestine.

Part I

General Issues

Chapter 1

Importance of Palestinian Issue

The issue of Palestine: the most important problem of the Islamic world

The issue of Palestine is the most important issue of the world of Islam. No other international issue in the world of Islam is more important than the issue of Palestine because the domination of the occupiers of Palestine and Quds over this part of the Islamic Ummah is the source of many of the weaknesses and problems in the world of Islam.¹

Bait ul-Moqaddas: the main pivot

The main pivot of the al-Aqsa Intifada is Bait ul-Moqaddas [Jerusalem]. In other words, the spark that provoked the anger of the Palestinian people was the Zionists' affront to the al-Aqsa mosque. Having realized their great mission to safeguard the sanctity of one of the most sacred Islamic sites, the Palestinian people entered the arena of struggle against the Zionists. And relying on self-sacrifice, they started the sacred fire of struggle and resistance against the Zionist occupiers.²

Liberating Palestine: the goal of discussing the issue of Palestine

Regarding the issue of Palestine, the goal is to liberate Palestine and wipe out the Israeli government. There is no difference between territories occupied before and after the year 1967. Every inch of

1. Part of a speech delivered on June 4, 2002 at Imam Khomeini's (r.a.) shrine

2. Part of the inaugural speech by the Supreme Leader delivered on April 24, 2001 at the International Conference on the Palestinian Intifada

Palestinian lands is part of Muslims' homeland. Any non-Muslim and non-Palestinian rule over Palestine is illegitimate rule. As our magnanimous Imam Khomeini said, "Israel must disappear." If Palestinian Jews accept Islamic rule, they may live in Palestine. It is not a matter of anti-Semitism. The problem is that a Muslim homeland has been occupied. If the heads of Muslim countries were not under the influence of global powers, they could achieve this. Unfortunately, they failed to do so.¹

Palestine: part of the body of Islam

Of course, they are extremely angry about the conditions that have existed in occupied Palestine over the past three weeks – about the uprising of the youth, about the bravery of Palestinian men and women, about the firm determination and willpower of the oppressed and angry Palestinians – and they are constantly blaming different people for the uprising. The Palestinian uprising was not caused by the Islamic Republic. The Palestinian uprising was not caused by the people of Lebanon. The Palestinian uprising was caused by the Palestinians themselves. The Palestinian uprising and Intifada was caused by the sorrows and sufferings that had accumulated in the young generation who have stepped into the arena with hope and dynamism. Of course, we praise them. We consider them one of our own. We consider Palestine as part of the body of Islam. We feel that the Palestinian people and youth are our brothers. But they are the ones who push the Intifada forward.²

The relationship between Palestine and the destiny of non-Palestinians

This is the situation of Palestine. The issue of Palestine is not a joke. It is not something that can be treated lightly. Today the issue of Palestine is the most fundamental issue of the world Islam and it is intertwined with the destiny of non-Palestinians throughout the world of Islam. Government officials of Islamic countries should not think

1. Part of a speech delivered on December 4, 1990 in a meeting with the participants of the 1st Islamic Conference on Palestine

2. An excerpt from a speech to basijis delivered on October 20, 2000

that if they leave the people of Palestine in the brutal clutches of their enemies, Israel would leave Muslim governments alone after it swallows up Palestine – of course, such a thing will never happen.¹

Hajj can make the world of Islam conscious of its heavy responsibility. Hajj can make Muslim nations realize that presence on the scene and adopting a decisive position on this issue are intertwined with their own interests. Some people think that supporting the people of Palestine lies outside their national interests. This is a very big mistake. When a Muslim nation does not rely on other nations and their support, it easily becomes the target of the enemy's transgression. If the world of Islam were united, a Muslim nation would not be oppressed like this. The same thing might happen to other Muslim nations as well, just as it happened to certain nations in certain cases. Islamic solidarity would create problems for the enemies of the world of Islam, for the enemies of the regional nations and for international plunderers. Islamic solidarity would prevent them from attacking an Islamic nation whenever they want and whenever they decide to do so. Therefore, by supporting the Palestinian people, the world of Islam would actually be supporting each and every one of the Islamic countries and this would guarantee the interests of all Muslims countries. This is not a trivial thing. Hajj would provide Muslims with this knowledge, unity and determination. Therefore, the issue of hajj and making use of the entire potential of this great divine obligation is very important for improving the situation of all Muslims and Islamic countries throughout the world. Every effort that is made in this regard and every service that is rendered are valuable.²

The war on Palestine: a war on the existence of Islam

Today you can clearly see that an all-out war has been waged against the entire Islamic Ummah and not just a certain part of it. This war has economic, political, cultural, military and security dimensions and it is making use of modern and sophisticated propaganda tools.

1. Part of a speech delivered on November 26, 2001 in a meeting with government officials on the occasion of Eid ul-Fitr

2. Part of a speech delivered on January 23, 2002 in a meeting with hajj officials and officials in charge of the annual ten-day Fajr ceremonies

What you currently see in Palestine, Iraq or Afghanistan is not just a war against one nation and although they are fighting Palestinians, they are in fact fighting a war against the existence of Islam in the region. The reason why the arrogant powers are extending full support to the Zionist regime is because they intend to create serious obstacles to the power and integrity of the Islamic world. Conquering Palestine will provide a gateway to the conquering of the Islamic world. Iraq has currently provided another gateway. They want to dominate the Islamic world.¹

1. Part of a speech delivered on September 16, 2004 in a meeting with the participants of the 21st Quran competitions

Chapter 2

Islamic Republic of Iran and Palestinian Issue

Supporting the Palestinian nation: a general policy of the Islamic Republic

39- Improving the position, power and role of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the region and the international system in order to strengthen national security and promote national interests with an emphasis on:

... 39-6- Supporting Muslims and oppressed nations that have been kept backward, especially the Palestinian nation.¹

Preparedness of the Iranian nation for struggle

Of course, by Allah's favor, in Islamic Iran the throats of the people are active for Palestine, their fists are clenched and they are ready. But we do not think it is advisable for anybody other than Palestinians – who must be present on the scene – to go and fight alongside Palestinians. Something that must be done by a nation cannot be done by somebody else: it must be done by that nation itself.²

Palestine: non-negotiable

Our position on the issue of Palestine is a clear position. We support the Palestinian nation. We support the liberation of Palestine. We support the idea of putting an end to the transgression of the aggressors to the Palestinian lands. We say that the people of Palestine

1. Part of the general policies of the fifth development plan announced by the Supreme Leader on January 10, 2009

2. Part of a speech delivered on October 9, 1996 in a meeting with people from various social backgrounds

do not have security in their own homes. Islam is against such conditions and so are we, even if other countries sit at the negotiation table and sell Palestine to the enemies. But they should know that Muslim people and the Palestinian nation will never sell Palestine to the enemy.¹

Iran's enmity towards Israel: the reason why Iran is the target of negative propaganda

The Zionists and the usurping Israeli government are tools in the hands of America and basically America has established this usurping government in order to carry out its orders in the Middle East. News agencies and mass media affiliated with the Americans and the Zionists have broadcast high-quality negative propaganda in large quantities against the Islamic republic ever since the first day of the Revolution. They have said whatever that has come into their minds. For example, the issue of violating human rights – which some people in the world might really believe – is among their false claims.

They say, "Human rights are violated in Iran." And when we tell them to provide reasons and examples, they present a list and say, "You have executed these people." But who are the people who have been executed? Heroin and morphine smugglers. That is to say, people who had been sentenced to death, people who deserved to be executed more than once if it were possible to do so. Is this a violation of human rights? They say, "Iran is a terrorist state." When we ask them why they call Iran a terrorist state and why they say Iran is exporting terrorism, they say, "Notice what people are doing in Palestine and Lebanon." Well, what does this have to do with Iran? Of course there is no doubt that a number of people have awakened in Palestine and Lebanon and have been inspired by the Islamic Revolution. These people say, "Why did you bring the usurping and homeless Zionists and the fake Israeli state and make them dominant over Lebanon and Palestine?" How is this related to Iran? If a number of people defend their homeland, does it mean they are terrorists? And does it mean Iran has exported this so-called terrorism?²

1. Part of a speech delivered at Imam Ridha's (a.s.) shrine on March 21, 1994

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on February 3, 1995

Chapter 3

Zionism and Israel

The Zionist regime: much weaker than a few years ago

Thankfully, we have a solid position today. In contrast, the position of our enemies and opponents is precarious. As I said yesterday and the day before, today's America is not the America of 10 or 15 years ago. Also, today's Zionist regime is not the Zionist regime it used to be a few years ago: it has received a serious blow.¹

The hegemony of Zionism over the majority of news agencies

The Zionists are in control of the majority of the enemy's propaganda machines. The majority of the famous news agencies that exist in the world belong to the Zionists. Some of the famous radio stations in the world also belong to them. The Zionists are acting like a chained dog for the arrogant powers. Their role is to bark, bite and attack different people. They are not expected to behave in a different way. And of course, nobody cares about them. But if one were to take a look at their propaganda during different eras, one would notice amazing things.²

The hegemony of Zionism over the majority of global centers of power

Today we are faced with a great hostile camp which consists of the powers of the world. This camp has formed in international centers of

1. An excerpt from a public address delivered on November 12, 2006 in a meeting with the people of Garmsar

2. Part of a speech delivered on June 16, 1993 in a meeting with religious scholars, seminarians and clerics

power – the financial and economic superpowers – which are mainly controlled by the Zionists and great capitalists. This camp uses everything that is available to it in order to confront the Islamic Republic. And unfortunately, there are some people inside the country who are affected by them. Certain people join the opposing camp and try to deal a blow. Unfortunately, this is a fact. However, there is also vigilance, awareness and motivation among the people. They are present on the scene. They are pious. They are interested in the principles of the Islamic Republic and its foundations. These are truths that exist in the Islamic Republic. And we made progress. Thankfully, we have made progress over these years.¹

Backing down against Israel encourages more violence

The Iranian nation is aware of this truth and other nations should realize this. Thankfully, many of the Islamic and liberated nations throughout the world are more or less aware of these issues. What I want to conclude is that 45 years has passed since the occupation of Palestine and the more Arab governments and Palestinian organizations have backed down, the more insolent and violent the enemy has grown. The result is that the Palestinian nation has only one choice to liberate itself: militant and selfless struggle, which should be carried out inside and outside the occupied Palestinian lands. And the duty of all Muslims of the world is to contribute to this Islamic struggle.²

The enemy is taking advantage of Muslims' lack of vigilance

The Islamic Ummah must remain vigilant and it must not forget this duty. The enemy of God took advantage of Muslims' lack of vigilance, otherwise how powerful were the few hundred thousand Zionists who started this? And today their number has increased to a couple of million people with all the uproar they caused in the world. If the heads of Islamic countries were vigilant and if Islamic nations were vigilant, could America's support save Israel? Not at all.

1. Part of a speech delivered on February 25, 2010 in a meeting with members of the Assembly of Experts

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on March 27, 1992

Muslims fail to stay vigilant and this is why the enemy manages to show its power. The enemy is not very powerful: it is just that we are unaware of our power.¹

Israel's peace plot

Of course, today mentioning the appealing word "peace" is the trick that is used by the Zionists and their supporters – and America is their most important supporter. They say, "Make peace. What is all this disagreement about?" Yes, peace is a very good thing, but where and with whom? Imagine that somebody has broken into our house, has beaten you, has insulted your wife and children and has occupied two and a half rooms out of the three rooms you have and then he says, "Why do you keep complaining to different people? Why do you keep fighting? Let us make peace." Is this peace? Peace would be appropriate if the occupier left the house and then if they continued to have problems, others would intervene and make peace between them. You are sitting in our house. You have committed so many crimes in our homeland and you would not refrain from committing more crimes if you could. The Zionist regime is currently attacking the southern part of Lebanon almost on a daily basis. It is not attacking Lebanese soldiers, rather it is attacking villages and schools in southern Lebanon. A few days ago, the Zionist regime attacked a school in southern Lebanon and killed a number of young children. Those children had not attacked the Zionists and they were not carrying any weapons. Their nature is aggressive. The day when the Zionists entered southern Lebanon and massacred the people like that in Deir Yasin and other places, nobody had done anything to hurt them. At least, those people had not done anything to deserve that. Of course, a number of brave Arab youth were fighting them. And at that time, they were saying, "Why did you force your way into our homes and why are you doing these things?" But the people who were oppressed by the Zionists and were forced out of their farms and villages – through massacre – had not done anything. Therefore, aggression is part of this regime's nature. Basically, the Zionist regime is founded on coercion, violence and cruelty and it is moving forward

1. Part of an address delivered on October 24, 1990

on the basis of these characteristics. It could not, and will not, make any progress without cruelty and coercion, and yet you say Palestinians should make peace with this regime?! What peace? No one would fight them if they were not greedy – that is to say, if they returned Palestine to its real owners and went away or if they asked the Palestinian government to let some of them or all of them stay in Palestine. The war was started when they forced their way into the Palestinians' homes. They have forced Palestinians out of their homes and are currently treating them oppressively. They have also started spreading their oppression to other countries in the region. They are a threat to all nations now. Therefore, they want to make peace and use it as a stepping-stone for further oppression. If a kind of peace is established, it is just a break to prepare for another kind of aggression and transgression later on.¹

Zionists' failure to achieve their goals

Of course, the Palestinian nation has carried out its duty and resisted the way a brave and proud nation would. All of us should know that this oppressive and usurping Zionist regime has failed in its operations so far. It has not achieved any kind of success and it has been overwhelmed by the willpower of the Palestinians. The goal of these operations was to suppress the Intifada of Bait ul-Moqaddas. The goal was to make the Palestinians hold up their hands as a sign of surrender. The goal was to destroy the pride of the Palestinian people and their motivation for liberation. But what has been achieved is exactly the opposite. Today the determination of the people of Palestine has increased and their understanding of the issue of Palestine is more than the day they had not started the Intifada. Today the dimensions of the hostility, wickedness and brutality of this regime and its accomplice – America – have been revealed to the people of Palestine.

When a nation reaches a point where it realizes that it does not have any choice but a brave death, nothing would be able to stand in its way. Neither the power of the Zionists – which consists of tanks,

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on December 31, 1999

artilleries and other such weapons – nor the political and financial power of their supporter, America, can play a positive role. There was a day when the Palestinian nation would pin its hopes on sitting at the negotiation table and winning so-called concessions, but those days are over. It became clear that sitting at the negotiation table with the enemy is completely futile. Today the Palestinian nation has realized this and it is doing what it is supposed to do. Palestinian mothers, Palestinian youth and Palestinian women and men are present on the scene.

What is important is that the world of Islam should fulfill its responsibility. The world of Islam consists of Muslim people and governments. Governments might take certain limitations into considerations, but the people of nations do not do so. Religious scholars, intellectuals, political activists and those who can affect public opinion do not do so and they must take action. Their actions will help their governments, too. Today if Muslim people, particularly Arab people, clearly and constantly show their determination to support the Palestinian nation in their countries, this would be beneficial to their governments because their governments can use their support for the Palestinians as a tool in the diplomatic arena to pressure the enemy.¹

The security threat posed by Israel to the entire region

From a security perspective, Israel is a threat – not only to its own people, but to the entire region. That is because they have a nuclear arsenal and they continue building more nuclear weapons. The United Nations has warned them several times, but they have ignored their warnings. Of course, their disregard for UN warnings is mainly because of America's support. That is to say, to a large extent, the American regime is responsible for the crimes committed by the Zionists and the usurping government.²

1. Part of a speech delivered on May 30, 2002 in a meeting with government officials on the occasion of birthday anniversaries of the Holy Prophet (s.w.a.) and Imam Sadiq (a.s.)

2. Part of Friday prayer sermons delivered by the Supreme Leader on December 31, 1999

The economic threat posed by Israel to the entire region

From an economic perspective, Israel is a threat to the region. The Zionists who are ruling Palestine have proposed a thesis called “the new Middle East”. What does it mean? It means that a new Middle East should be formed around the axis of Israel and that Israel should gradually gain economic domination over Arab countries and other nations in the region as well as the oil-rich regions of the Middle East. That is the goal of the Zionists. Some of these governments are not vigilant. When these governments face criticisms, they say they did not form any relations with Israel and that they only let Israeli businessmen into their country. That is exactly what the Zionists want. They want Israel – backed by America and the dangerous Zionist arsenals – to take advantage of the unawareness and weakness of some governments. They want Israelis to enter those countries and take control of their economic centers and financial resources. That is a big threat to the region. That is greater than any other threat. May God prevent that day and He will. Muslim nations will never let such a thing happen. But their plan is to take control of all centers of power in different countries by relying on economic means. Therefore, from Islamic, humanitarian, economic, security and political perspectives, the existence of Israel is a great threat to the nations and countries of the region.¹

The enemies growing more serious after witnessing the Islamic movements

After the Islamic Revolution showed the effectiveness of Islam, the enemies of Islam and Muslims grew more serious. The Islamic Revolution created new anti-Islam camps just because it presented Islam to the world and showed that Islam is opposed to oppression. It promoted the idea that a genuine Muslim would refuse to give in to bullying and the global system of hegemony. This made the hegemons extremely angry and new camps were formed to confront Islam.

You can see the examples in all parts of the world. You can see what they are doing to Muslims and Islamic groups in Europe. You can see that in Africa these Christian missionary movements have

1. Part of Friday prayer sermons delivered by the Supreme Leader on December 31, 1999

only been launched to confront pure Islam. You can also see how Islamic movements are pressured in Muslim countries. These things exist everywhere in one form or another. You can see the manifestations in other countries such as India. The issue of the Babri Mosque is one of the issues that is about a mosque and it might appear to be an insignificant issue to some people, but it is not insignificant. It shows that the enemies of Islam would even incite a group of people to act against what is held sacred in Islam and to make life difficult for Muslims.

... In every part of the world, new hostile movements are launched against Islam. The conclusion that should be drawn from these movements is one thing: Muslims must defend Islam in a more serious way and they should consider themselves a soldier of Islam in the real sense of the word and fulfill the requirements of being a soldier. Undoubtedly, the enemy will not be able to do anything to confront this popular Islamic movement. And Islam and Muslims – who are determined to rise up and defend Islam – will definitely be victorious.¹

Israel's goal: beyond its current military conquests

From the perspective of those who have occupied Palestine, the issue of Quds is not over yet. Nobody should think that the usurping Zionists and their supporters in the world only wanted to occupy Palestine and establish a government. They should not think that they have already done these things and the issue is over. This is not the case. Israel, as we know it, cannot accomplish the original goal they were pursuing by establishing a usurping Zionist regime in Palestine. The goal is beyond these things. The goal is to establish a country that is vaster than what they have occupied so far, a country whose population is more than this.

You saw that as soon as the statistics gathered by the Israeli government showed that the population of Muslims in occupied Palestine is growing faster than the population of the Zionist immigrants, they increased their efforts – with the help of the powers and governments that support them – to implement their old plans of

1. Part of a speech delivered on December 4, 1990 at the 1st Islamic Conference on Palestine

encouraging Zionists to immigrate to Palestine. Therefore, the issue of Israel is beyond these things.¹

The American government and Zionists: faced with a dead end in Palestine

As for the Zionist occupation forces and their belligerent supporter, America, if somebody reflected more on the issue of Palestine, it would become clearer to him that the American government and the Zionists have reached a complete dead end in Palestine. They neither have a way forward, nor do they have the option of retreat. They are doomed to defeat. The young generation of the Palestinian people have awakened and they have realized that fighting is the only way to save themselves from the clutches of the usurping enemy. They have realized that attending international meetings and speaking in a way to please the occupiers and their supporters, is not the way to liberate Palestine. They have realized that they should rise up, make up their mind and make determined efforts and sacrifices to reach their goal. The Palestinian people are fully aware of this point. Therefore, they resist. When such a feeling originates from religion and having faith in monotheism – which is thankfully the case in Palestine – it will never cease to exist. I hope Allah the Exalted hastens the victory of the Palestinians as much as possible.²

Opposition to Israel and America: based on Islamic orders

The most important thing that has motivated hostility towards Islamic Iran since the time of our magnanimous Imam Khomeini (r.a.) is that in our country all policies are evaluated by Islamic standards. All policies are adopted or rejected on the basis of Islamic criteria. All political positions are based on the orders of Islam.

Muslim governments are prohibited from negotiating with the Zionists because this would mean displacing the Palestinian people from Palestine and allowing the enemy to occupy Palestine forever.

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's sermons during Eid ul-Fitr prayers on April 27, 1990

2. Part of Eid ul-Fitr prayer sermons delivered by the Supreme Leader on November 26, 2003

Iran supports the Palestinian nation and other oppressed Muslim nations because the Holy Quran has clearly said that it is necessary to support the oppressed: “And what reason have you that you should not fight in the way of Allah and of the weak among the men and the women and the children, (of) those who say: Our Lord, cause us to go forth from this town, whose people are oppressors, and give us from You a guardian and give us from You a helper.” [The Holy Quran, 4: 75]

Iran is opposed to the hegemony of America and its interference in the affairs of Islamic countries as well as all oppressed countries because the Holy Quran says: “O you who believe, do not take My enemy and your enemy for friends: would you offer them love while they deny what has come to you of the truth.” [60: 1] Iran has decided that divine command should be the source of laws and the criterion for legislation. This is because Iran believes that dignity, independence, welfare and material and spiritual perfection of a nation lies in implementing divine command.

The result is that – encouraged by the intervention of Zionist plotters – the leaders of the camp of arrogance consider Islamic Iran as their archenemy and they oppose it as much as they can.¹

The silence of Islamic and human rights communities in the face of Israeli oppression

Why does the world fail to react? Why do Islamic nations keep silent in the face of all these tragedies and crimes? What are Israel and the Zionist enemy depending on? Is America so powerful to strike fear into the hearts of the officials and politicians of Islamic countries? Nations should awaken and rise up. They see that today the so-called human rights, benevolent and humanitarian communities – as far as their name and title go – do not do anything and that all their claims have turned out to be false. Do they not see these things?

A usurping, oppressive and bullying government is killing a number of defenseless human beings and young adults, teenagers and children in the houses and streets that belong to the people who are being massacre, but the world is not showing any reaction. However,

1. Part of a message to hajj pilgrims issued on May 4, 1995

when a Palestinian youth reacts and kills two, three Zionists, people from different parts of the world turn around and express sorrow. What sorrow? He did the right thing and he deserves appreciation. A nation that cannot defend its rights must be prepared for humiliation. Since the first day, the Palestinians showed that they were not vigilant and this was why the enemies managed to dominate them. Today Palestine has awakened. Muslims have awakened in Palestine.¹

1. Part of a speech delivered by the Supreme Leader on October 24, 1990

Chapter 4

West, America and Zionism

The purpose of the arrogant powers that created Israel

Since the first day up until today, the arrogant and colonial powers of the world created and preserved the usurping Israeli regime as a tool to pressure Arab governments as well as the Islamic governments in the Middle East region. They are planning to keep this poisoned dagger in the heart of the world of Islam forever. And today the Great Satan is holding the leash of this trained dog. Therefore, it is not surprising that repeated and constant violations of international regulations and human rights in the worst possible way, repeated attacks on its neighbors, overt terrorist operations and kidnappings and daily stockpiling of atomic and similar weapons – which is considered a great event if it is done by any of the countries that are not in a subject-master relationship with America and the other superpowers – are acceptable from the Zionists. It is not surprising that these actions do not cause any serious objection by the arrogant network of the world, especially the Great Satan.¹

Western contradiction: efforts to save animals while keeping silent in the face of continued killing of human beings

Today evil and satanic powers – namely, the arrogant powers, represented by America – have risen up against humanity and human values. The lives of millions of people have no value for these people. You saw that Israel killed, injured, displaced and disturbed tens of thousands of people and left many people bereaved in 15, 16 days, but the arrogant powers of the world did not show any kind of reaction.

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's hajj message issued on June 16, 1991

These people deploy their organizations and spend money out of hypocrisy to save a cat that is stuck in the well of a certain house. Or sometimes they put on such a humanitarian face that even we who know them well start to wonder whether they are saying those things out of genuine sympathy or out of hypocrisy!¹

Double standards of western printed press regarding Israeli crimes

Of course, the conscience of the Islamic Ummah was truly provoked. Western printed press showed the highest level of indifference in this regard and they deserved to be blamed most. The radio stations and printed press of the Zionist regime are not expected to behave in a different way. They are murderers and murderers are not expected to condemn their own crimes. But why would the printed press of the so-called free world speak in support of injustice so much? Why would they keep so silent and regard the tragedies as insignificant?

Recently an Arab attacked a number of people in America with a gun and apparently he did not cause much damage and harm. Notice how much uproar the American press have caused in this regard over the past few days. All newspapers, all printed press and all mass media of the west reflected the news about the Muslim Arab's attack throughout the world. But they have kept completely silent in the face of that bitter event and even if they reflect the news, they distort the facts completely. They simply pin the blame for such a tragedy on a particular person. These are cases of injustice. The people who work for and manage the press in America and in the west – how prejudiced, cruel and non-liberal they must be to act with so much indifference in the case of this event.²

Western double standards regarding terrorism

The state terrorism of the fake Zionist state has been pressuring the people of Palestine for more than 50 years. The people of Palestine

1. Part of an address delivered on May 1, 1996 in a meeting with laborers and teachers

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on March 4, 1994

have been trampled upon under Zionist boots. The Zionists openly destroy houses, kill the Palestinian people and youth, arrest Palestinian men and insult Palestinian women. This is clear terrorism that even Israelis do not deny and they admit that they are carrying out acts of terror. These people ignore these things, but they label as Palestinian terrorism the actions of a young Palestinian who does something out of anger to defend his honor and his home and to confront in small measure those who have attacked his country. This is why we say they are supporting the anti-terror movement. This is what they mean by terrorism. The regional nations truly hate America and its European branch, England. This hatred is not limited to our people: all regional nations hate them. It is they themselves who have created this hatred. This hatred is caused by those who attack the rights, independence, honor, people and borders of a country. Why do they complain about being hated? Yes, we hate you.¹

... In spite of all the grand claims constantly made by the American government and the media affiliated with it regarding the need for global leadership, human rights and other such things, America is standing behind the Israeli government. It is really surprising how shameless certain statesmen of the arrogant governments can be. They think this is in defense of justice – the people who do not understand the meaning of justice. The American government does not understand the meaning of justice. Which of their actions were based on justice? They consider these crimes a just war and a war on terrorism. This is while they openly defend the worst acts of terror. They really make humanity blush with embarrassment.²

... Occupied Palestine is another example. The Israelis still occupy territories in front of the eyes of the people of the world and they imprison, torture, put on trial and exile people. They still drop bombs on cities. And the world is not showing any reaction. What is more surprising is that the world of arrogance criticizes those oppressed people and say, “Why do you defend yourselves?” The world of arrogance consists of America – which is more evil and wicked than the rest of them – and its followers.

1. Part of a speech delivered on July 30, 2003 in a meeting with the youth of Ahwaz

2. Part of a speech delivered on May 1, 2002 in a meeting with laborers and teachers

... Instead of telling the occupier, “Why did you occupy their homes?”, the world of arrogance is telling those who are defending their homes, “Why do you defend yourselves?” Notice what an evil new order has been established over the world. Is this what they call “the new world order”? Imagine that a bullying thug forces his way into the house of a group of orphans. He occupies the house, takes what is in the house, takes away the food and occupies the rooms. He occupies the house and locks up the children in the storeroom or creates certain limitations for them. And if the children find an opportunity to protest, the bullying usurper frowns immediately and says, “You always talk about fighting. What about peace? Go after peace. You are so bad-tempered!”¹

The rights of a nation were sacrificed at the feet of the Zionist immigrants who entered occupied Palestine. During its fifty-year life, the survival of this fake state has been based on constant suppression, killing, lying, deception and invasion of innocent people.

This is what Israel is. But then the American President – whose comments are really surprising – shamelessly tells global public opinion that they want to cooperate with Israel in order to prevent terrorism. One really wonders what to call this position. This is called lack of vigilance, injustice, arrogance and bullying. What is the meaning of what they say? Today the most dangerous and the most evil terrorists in the world are the same people who are ruling occupied and oppressed Palestine. You want to cooperate with these people to confront terrorism and terrorists? Which terrorists? The people who have been displaced from their homeland? The people who clench their fists and protest once in a while after so many years because they are frustrated by this pressure? Are they terrorists?

... I always tell those who feel weak, “Why would you be deceived by their propaganda? Why would you think when America speaks about human rights in Iran, it is really worried about violation of human rights? They do not care about humanity. They violate human rights more than anybody else. They are the same people who in broad daylight burnt eighty people to death in a building in one of

1. Excerpts from the Supreme Leader’s Friday prayer sermons delivered on February 18, 1994

the cities of America without feeling bad about it [reference to Waco massacre]. Do you think they care about humanity and human rights? What do they know about human rights?¹

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. It is not a product of modern times. But the introduction of dreadful weapons, which facilitated tragic mass killings, has made this reprehensible phenomenon a hundred times more fearsome and dangerous.

Another important and shocking point is the evil calculations of the hegemonic powers which have introduced terrorism into the cycle of their policies and plans as a tool to achieve their illegitimate goals.

The historical memory of the nations of our region will never forget how colonial governments organized ruthless terrorist organizations such as the World Zionist Organization and similar organizations and how they gave rise to the Deir Yassin tragedy and similar events in order to occupy Palestine and to force its oppressed people out of their homes.

Since its establishment up until today, the Zionist regime has openly continued its terrorist activities inside and outside Palestine and it has shamelessly announced them. Current and previous leaders of the Zionist regime openly take pride in their history of terror and - in certain cases - their participation in terrorist activities.

... This is while America and its European followers label as terrorists the Palestinian resistance groups who are fighting an unfair battle to save their homeland. This deceptive definition of terrorism is one of the main pillars of terrorism in the modern world.

From the perspective of the leaders of the order of domination, terrorism is whatever that threatens their illegitimate interests. They label as terrorists the resistance fighters who are defending their legitimate right of countering occupiers and interferers, but they do not recognize as terrorists their evil and mercenary centers which are threatening the life and security of innocent people.

One of the essential things that this conference can do is to present a clear and accurate definition of terrorism.²

1. Part of a speech delivered on March 23, 1996 at Imam Khomeini's shrine in a meeting with the people of Mashhad

2. Part of a message issued on June 24, 2011 to the International Conference on Global

From an American perspective, the Palestinians are terrorists and Israel is defending itself

The current American President defends the actions of the usurping Israeli government and says that Israel is defending itself. Israel carries out these killings and the US President says that Israel is defending itself. He declares that Israel is combating terrorism by doing these things. Killing women, children and youth and destroying Palestinian houses with bulldozers – is this self-defense? The people who are defending themselves are the Palestinian people. The people who are frustrated by the oppression of the usurping occupier are the Palestinian women and men who can no longer tolerate the oppression and who have come to the conclusion that the only way to save themselves is to step into the arena. Who would be prepared to let his young child go and die in a bloody event in one hour? This is why a mother holds her young child in her arms and kisses him, but she does not cry. She says that she is prepared to send her child [on a martyrdom mission]. Notice what they have done to this mother. Notice what they have done to a nation whose people are prepared to send their young children into the arena. Notice what they have done to a nation whose people say if they had a hundred young children, they would send all of them to be killed like that. What have you done to this country where 17- and 18-year-old girls are prepared to blow themselves up among the Zionist enemies? You have not left these people any option.

But then the US President says that the Israeli government is defending itself. Is this self-defense? Is this a logical comment? Is this comment appropriate for a president? Is this comment appropriate for a government that considers itself the leader of the world and says that the entire world must obey it? The people of the world are expected to support this cheap and weak reasoning? You have humiliated a nation. You have occupied their homes through deception and violence. You have made their life gloomy. You have humiliated them on a daily basis. When they travel from one city to another, they are controlled by foreigners in their own homes and in their own country. If they attack and kill a foreigner, the cabinet members of Israel sit down together and pass a law which allows Israelis to assassinate these

people whenever they see them. Where else do these things happen in the world? Other than the Zionists, who is doing these things? But then the US President labels this nation as a terrorist nation and in defense of the real terrorists who are violent and shameless, he says, "They are defending themselves." Is it possible for the American government to adopt a position that is worse than this? Israel started its actions after America's approval. If America had not sanctioned their actions, if America had not given them a green light, if America had not promised to support them, they would not have dared act like that. They count on America's illogical support and this is why they commit all these crimes. Therefore, America is an accomplice to all the crimes that are taking place in Palestine.

Pay attention! The Intifada of the Palestinian nation is the uprising of a nation. The Palestinian nation has started taking action. Do not blame this on other people. A nation has risen up. Its pride, honor, identity and awareness have made it step into the arena. And now you call them terrorists? Are these people terrorists? The Israeli government claims that it is faced with a small group of people, so why do they force their way into Palestinian houses? Why do they destroy houses? Why do they commit so many crimes in the street and in public places? Just go and confront the small group. What have women and children done wrong? Their logic is totally flawed: wrong premises, wrong conclusions. But then a president makes those comments in front of the people of the world and in order to increase his credibility, he also condemns this and that government – the government of Iran, Iraq, Syria and other countries. Such claims make the people of the world hate America. They are not paying attention.¹

Liberalism: disgraced in the issue of Palestine

There are a few things that are the most important weaknesses government officials suffer from. A few days ago I discussed them briefly at Imam Khomeini Square [in the city of Isfahan] and today I will discuss them more with you dear youth.

One problem is that the ideology of certain government officials and their revolutionary and Islamic faith are weak. These government

1. Part of Friday prayers sermons delivered on April 5, 2002

officials are intoxicated with political prescriptions of the west, prescriptions that have proven to be wrong. Western liberal democracy has disgraced itself. There was a time when liberal democracy was claimed to be the highest point of perfection that human thought and action could ever achieve. It was claimed that nothing could be better than liberal democracy. I believe these claims are a sign of being narrow-minded. It is wrong to claim that it is not possible for human beings to go beyond a certain achievement. No, human beings can accomplish infinitely better achievements. This liberalism is what has given rise to the issue of Afghanistan and the issue of Palestine. This fake humanism of the west is what has ignored the Palestinian nation for fifty years and is determined to wipe it out. They do not ask themselves whether Palestine existed in the world or it is just a myth. If you accept that there is a country called Palestine, where are its people? They wanted to wipe out a nation and a geographical entity off the face of the earth. Today their humanism, liberalism and democracy have reached a point of suppression where they are not even prepared to let a foreign news agency report the events of Afghanistan. This is what the west calls the free flow of information. This prescription has been disgraced and it has been proven wrong. This is while certain government officials in our country – who have gained dignity and respect thanks to the Islamic Revolution and who might inspire respect among a few people by announcing their support for Islam, Imam Khomeini and the Revolution – suddenly start to support western liberal democracy, which is exactly the opposite of Islamic democracy. Basically, Islamic democracy and Islamic freedom are totally different from western liberal democracy. There are a few such people in the country. Of course, I am thankful to God that our senior government officials are deeply committed to Islamic principles. The enemy has not been able to spread its intellectual and political influence over sensitive areas. Today the heads of the three branches of government and our senior officials are deeply committed to the ideals of Imam Khomeini and the Revolution. But there are a few such people in certain organizations, an issue which I briefly discussed a few days ago.¹

1. Part of a speech to the youth of Isfahan province delivered on November 3, 2001

America's animosity towards jihadi groups

The Americans openly announced that they were prepared to give money to any group that stands up against Hamas in Palestine and they did so. They also provided propaganda facilities. But despite this and to the great frustration of American officials and the Zionist usurpers, members of Hamas achieved victory in the election. If free elections are held today in any part of the Islamic world, the same thing will happen again and anti-America groups will win those elections because this is the political orientation of the people of nations and this is how they feel.¹

1. Part of an address to Air Force personnel delivered on February 7, 2006

Chapter 5

Israel and Muslim Governments

Negligence of Muslim governments: the reason why the enemy reaches his goals without compromising

Muslim countries and people must respond to the insolence of the arrogant powers and their agents with coordinated actions in a determined way so that Muslim nations can get rid of the plots of the arrogant powers. The negligence of Islamic governments in fighting the usurping Israeli regime encouraged America to start direct negotiations between the Arab nations and Israel. And unfortunately, certain leaders of the Arab countries accepted this humiliation without paying attention to the far-reaching consequences of the plot designed by the arrogant powers. As a result, the usurping Israeli government achieved its goal of being recognized by the Arab countries without compromising on their aggressive positions in the slightest way.

Besides plotting assassinations and kidnappings, occupying Palestinian and Lebanese territories, suppressing the Palestinians, carrying out massacres and committing other horrendous crimes, today the Zionists launch daily air raids on the villages in southern Lebanon and destroy them completely. Being confident that America and Europe will not pressure them in any way, they commit the most violent crimes against the people of that region. The Arab countries' negotiations with Israel have not even managed to stop the on-going Zionist attacks and crimes.

This is an example of the kind of retreat that makes the enemy more self-righteous and more insolent.¹

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's message to hajj pilgrims issued on June 3, 1992

The treacherous silence of Arab leaders and the disgraceful positions of self-appointed Palestinian leaders

The silence of the majority of the leaders of Arab countries – which suggests satisfaction with the status quo and is even accompanied by clear treachery in certain cases – and the disgraceful and treacherous positions adopted by those who claim leadership of the Palestinian nation, are the interconnected links of the chain of oppression, aggression and treachery that is designed to keep the Islamic Palestinian territories under permanent occupation and to keep its oppressed and harmed people imprisoned and displaced forever.

The fake uproar regarding the fight against Israel – which has been started by the heads of the Iraqi regime and is being discussed enthusiastically by the Zionist media of the west – is supposed to complement the plots of the arrogant powers and it is a means for covering up the treacherous silence of the Arab governments regarding the issue of Palestine. It is also a tool to overshadow the important issue of bringing the Jews of the Soviet Union to occupied Palestine.¹

Treachery of the Palestinian Authority

The treachery of those who act in the name of the Palestinians is more reprehensible and horrendous than all other treacheries that have taken place against Palestine. They neither did anything for the people of Palestine nor are they able to do so. An Arab Palestinian-American writer has written that Arafat's men have not even been able to collect garbage from the streets of Gaza, but they have managed to establish five security and intelligence organizations during this time in order to spy on the people. Is this a Palestinian government? Would this contribute to the return of the Palestinians? Is this an effort to claim Palestine's rights? How shameless these people are! When this person went through the first round of negotiations with the Israelis, I announced that he is both a traitor and an idiot. If he were a wise traitor, he would act better than this. I do not know this for sure, but I guess the Americans and intelligence organizations of Israel took advantage of their weak points. They have many weak points: they are

1. Part of a message issued on April 13, 1990 on the occasion of International Quds Day

materialistic. This is what happens when one does not rely on religion. During the years they have been in charge of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, God knows what financial, behavioral and moral problems they have been suffering from. And the Americans and Israelis have apparently focused on the same weak points. On the other hand, becoming tired and frustrated and giving up the ideals have dragged these people into this dreadful morass and this quagmire of perdition, misery and eternal damnation. Do you think there might be a Palestinian who is not cursing these people from the bottom of his heart? This is not possible unless he is among their agents and shares the same interests. Between 4 and 5 million Palestinians have been forced outside Palestine and around 3 million Palestinians have been displaced inside Palestine. One should see what these people think about Palestine. Their fists are tightly clenched and their hearts are seriously broken.¹

Persian Gulf states' treacherous recognition of Israel

Today some of the Persian Gulf states have committed the biggest treachery to their own history and the history of Arab countries: they approved the occupation and oppression of Palestine and they supported Israel, which has occupied an Islamic and Arab country. This is the same as recognizing Israel. They lift the sanctions imposed on Israel and this is a treachery to the Islamic and Arab nations and the biggest treachery to the Palestinian nation. Will the members of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council forgive this treachery? Will the people of these countries ignore the treachery of their leaders?

Political games and fleeting events cannot change the truths of this world. Palestine belongs to the Palestinians. The Zionist regime is a usurping and fake state. Israel does not have any citizens other than the native people of Palestine. Those who have come together from different parts of the world in order to occupy Palestinian homes will be forced by Muslim nations to return these homes to their real owners. This will definitely happen: it is just a matter of time.²

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on December 31, 1999

2. Part of a speech delivered on October 5, 1994 in a meeting with cadets

Part II

Victories and Defeats

Chapter 1

History of Occupation and Lessons

Occupation of Palestine: a long-held western wish

Certain western powers have always wished to occupy Palestine and holy Quds and the fact that they imposed the long Crusades on Muslims is a clear sign of their greed for this holy land. After the Allied Powers defeated the Ottomans and entered Bait ul-Moqaddas, some of their commanders said, “Today the Crusades came to an end!”¹

The colonial goal behind the establishment of the Zionist regime

Basically, there was a long-term colonial goal behind establishing a Jewish government – or, more precisely, a Zionist government – in this part of the world of Islam. The goal of establishing a government in this sensitive part of the world of Islam was to maintain the hegemony of the colonialist powers of the time, headed by the English government, over the world of Islam. This region is the heart of the Islamic world in a sense and it connects the western part of the world of Islam, Africa, to the eastern part, namely the Middle East and Asia. It is where Asia, Africa and Europe meet. The idea was that in the future, powerful Islamic governments – such as the Ottoman Empire during certain periods – had to be prevented from presenting an obstacle to colonialist powers such as England, France and others that wanted to enter this region. Therefore, they built a base for themselves. According to historical documents, establishing a Zionist government in that region was more a colonial demand by the English government than a wish cherished by Jewish people. There is

1. Part of a speech delivered on October 5, 1994 in a meeting with cadets

evidence that even at that time many of the Jews believed that there was no need for such a government. They believed that such a government would not benefit them, so they were unwilling to establish it. Therefore, this was not a Jewish idea and wish. It was more a colonial idea by the English. Of course, later on when America took over the advantage of global domination and arrogance from the English, this idea was among the things they inherited from the colonial era. The Americans made the best of this idea and they are still doing so. Therefore, saving Palestine and wiping out the usurping Zionist regime is an issue that is related to the interests of the regional nations, including our dear homeland, Iran. Those who made plans from the beginning of the Revolution to counter the infiltration and hegemony of the Zionists – they did so deliberately.¹

The goals of occupying Palestine

The occupation of Palestine was based on a complicated and multifaceted plan that was aimed at undermining the unity and solidarity of Muslims and preventing the re-establishment of powerful Islamic states. There is evidence proving that the Zionists had close ties with the German Nazis and the exaggerated statistics that were released on the number of Jewish victims during World War II were aimed at drawing public sympathy and preparing the ground for the occupation of Palestine and justifying the Zionists' crimes.

There are also some documents indicating that a number of non-Jewish hooligans and ruffians from Eastern Europe who were introduced as Jews were moved to Palestine on the pretext of aiding the relatives of the victims of racism in order to establish an anti-Islamic regime in the heart of the Islamic world and create a division between the eastern and western parts of the Islamic world after 13 centuries of integrity. At first, the Muslims were taken by surprise because they were not aware of the real nature of the plots of the Zionists and their western supporters.²

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on December 15, 2000

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's inaugural address at the International Conference on the Palestinian Intifada delivered on April 24, 2001

Three pillars of the Zionists' illegitimate domination

The illegitimate domination of the Zionists over Palestine was based on three pillars:

The first pillar was to treat Arabs in a brutal way. They treated the real owners of Palestinian lands violently and ruthlessly. They did not show any leniency with Arabs.

The second pillar was lying to global public opinion. Lying to global public opinion is one of those astonishing things. Both before and after occupying Palestine, they told so many lies through the Zionist media that some Jewish capitalists were arrested for spreading lies! Of course, there were many people who believed their lies. They even managed to deceive the French social philosopher and author Jean-Paul Sartre. When I was young, I used to admire this philosopher and people like him. He published a book and I read it 30 years ago. He wrote in his book "A land without a people for a people without a land". The author suggested that Jews were a people who did not have a land and who decided to immigrate to Palestine, a land without a people. The phrase "a land without a people" was meaningless. There was a nation that was working on Palestinian lands. There is a lot of evidence in this regard. According to a foreign author, the green farms of wheat across Palestine stretched to the horizon like a sea, as far as the eye could see. They pretended that Palestine was a derelict and poor land and that they were the people who developed it. That was a lie to manipulate public opinion. They always tried to present themselves as the victim. In American magazines like Time and Newsweek, which I refer to sometimes, if something bad happens to a Jewish family, they show pictures of the person killed, present every detail of his life and exaggerate the sufferings of his children. However, hundreds and thousands of cruel crimes are being committed against Palestinian youth, families, children and women inside the occupied Palestinian lands and in Lebanon, but they do not even mention these things.

... And today the main goal of Zionism is to establish "the great Israel". Of course, they rarely mention the idea these days. They try to deny it. Again, they are lying to public opinion. Why? Because at the present stage, they need to conceal their expansionist goals.

... The third pillar is to collude with others or what they call "lobbying". They negotiate and collude with different governments,

individuals, politicians, intellectuals, authors and poets. Their work has so far been based on these three pillars and they have managed to occupy Palestine by relying on these machinations. Moreover, foreign powers, especially England, assisted them in the process. Except in a few cases, they always enjoyed the support of the League of Nations – which was established to “promote peace” – and subsequently the United Nations. In the year 1948, the United Nations issued a resolution and divided Palestine without a reason. They said 57 percent of the Palestinian lands belong to the Jews, while they owned only about 50 percent of the Palestinian lands before the resolution. They formed a government and then those issues – including attacks on Palestinian villages, towns, homes and innocent civilians – took place. Of course, Arab governments were also negligent in certain cases. Several wars took place. In 1967, the Israelis managed to occupy some parts of Egypt, Syria and Jordan with the help of America and some other governments. Later on, they managed to win the war they started in 1973 with the help of those global powers and they occupied other territories.¹

Israel: faced with a legitimacy crisis

Sixty years have passed since the occupation of Palestine. During this time, all the tools of material power – ranging from money, weapons and technology to political and diplomatic efforts and a vast network of news empires – have been at the service of the occupation forces.

In spite of these wide-ranging and amazing satanic efforts, not only have the occupation forces and their supporters failed to solve the legitimacy problem of the Zionist regime, but this problem has also grown more complex over time.

The fact that the western and Zionist media and the governments that support Zionism do not even tolerate questions and investigations concerning the Holocaust – which was used as a pretext to occupy Palestine – is one of the signs of this decline and uncertainty. Today as far as global public opinion is concerned, the situation of the Zionist

1. Excerpts from the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on December 31, 1999

regime is worse than it has ever been in its dark history and questions regarding the purpose of its establishment have grown more serious. Unprecedented global protests against that regime from the eastern part of Asia to Latin America, popular demonstrations in 120 countries in the world – especially in Europe and England, which was the main origin of this evil tree – and the support for the Islamic resistance of Gaza and Lebanon during the 33-day war, show that a kind of global resistance has been formed against Zionism, resistance which has never been so serious and massive over the past 60 years. One can say that Islamic resistance of Lebanon and Palestine has managed to awaken consciences throughout the world.

This is a great lesson: both for the enemies – who have decided to build a fake state and nation through coercion and suppression and who have tried to turn this fake state and nation into an undeniable truth over time and make such an oppressive imposition normal in the world of Islam – and for the Islamic Ummah, especially brave Muslim youth and their awakened consciences. The lesson makes them realize that selfless struggle for claiming one's rights will never be futile and that God's promise will be fulfilled:

“Permission (to fight) is given to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed and most surely Allah is well able to assist them. Those who have been expelled from their homes without a just cause except that they say: Our Lord is Allah. And had there not been Allah's repelling some people by others, certainly there would have been pulled down cloisters and churches and synagogues and mosques in which Allah's name is much remembered. And surely Allah will help him who helps His cause. Most surely Allah is Strong, Mighty.” [The Holy Quran, 22: 39-40]

Allah the Exalted says, “Our Lord, surely You are the Gatherer of men on a day about which there is no doubt. Surely Allah will not fail (His) promise.” [The Holy Quran, 3: 9] “And Allah will by no means fail in His promise.” [The Holy Quran, 22: 47] “(This is) Allah's promise! Allah will not fail His promise, but most people do not know.” [The Holy Quran, 30: 6] He also says, “Therefore do not think Allah (to be one) failing in His promise to His messengers. Surely Allah is Mighty, the Lord of Retribution.” [The Holy Quran, 14: 47] And which promise is clearer than this divine promise: “Allah has promised to those of you who believe and do good that He will most

certainly make them rulers in the earth as He made rulers those before them, and that He will most certainly establish for them their religion which He has chosen for them, and that He will most certainly, after their fear, give them security in exchange. They shall serve Me, not associating aught with Me. And those who are ungrateful after this, they are the transgressors.” [The Holy Quran, 24: 55]¹

Israel’s defeat in the second Intifada

The Zionist fanatics had pinned all their hopes on the brutal fake state that is currently in power. They were hoping that they would manage to bring the rebellious Palestinian people to their knees and suppress the Intifada with their iron boots and fists and with their bayonets. But since the day this government came to power, the flames of the Intifada have been spreading on a daily basis. This was their last hope. There is a split between them. Those who had travelled a long distance to occupy this country and live a secure life are now thinking about returning. Many of them are already returning and others do not dare immigrate to Palestine. Their spirits are low. They feel weak. And there is a rift between them. They are hopeless about their future. They cannot imagine bright prospects for themselves. These usurping Zionists are panicked and their actions and comments show this. These events might be bitter and saddening to the Palestinian people, but they are far bitterer to their enemy. How well-expressed this holy ayah is: “If you suffer pain, then surely they (too) suffer pain as you suffer pain and you hope from Allah what they do not hope.” [The Holy Quran, 4: 104] If you suffer pain in this battle, the enemy also suffers pain. The enemy is hurt, too: even more than you. The difference is that there are bright prospects for the Palestinian nation, but there are no such prospects for the usurping Zionists. There are bright future prospects for the Palestinian people and they can achieve that future by making efforts.²

1. Part of a speech delivered on March 4, 2009 at the 4th international conference in support of the people of Palestine

2. Part of the Supreme Leader’s Friday prayer sermons delivered on April 5, 2002

The purpose of “peace talks”: erasing the issue of Palestine from memories

One of the issues that is raised today in order to erase the issue of Palestine from memories and prevent it from being raised by public opinion of the Islamic Ummah, is the so-called peace talks that are held between a group of Palestinians – namely, Arafat and his gang – and the Israelis: the issue of negotiations, the Palestinian “Authority” and other such things. This is also one of the most reprehensible tricks and machinations designed by the Israelis and unfortunately, certain Muslims and certain Palestinians have fallen into this trap.¹

Muslim nations hate those who negotiate with Israel

I do not think proud Arab governments would be prepared to tolerate this humiliation. The people of nations will not at all tolerate this humiliation. If the Americans think that the issue of the Middle East will be resolved in this way, they are making a mistake. They should know that any regime that sits at the negotiation table with the usurping Zionist regime will undermine its position among its own people and as a result, instability will increase in the region on a daily basis.

The people of nations follow their own path. The regimes that act against their own people will have the same fate as the Camp David negotiators.²

Two illusions: invincibility of Israel and the possibility of peaceful coexistence with it

Some people used to shout slogans in support of “realism” under the illusion that the Zionist regime was invincible and they surrendered and reached out to the occupation forces for concessions. Some others believed that the second and third generations of Zionist politicians would not commit the crimes that the first generation committed and they used to cherish hopes of peaceful coexistence

1. Part of the Supreme Leader’s Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on December 31, 1999

2. Part of a speech delivered on July 31, 1991 at the headquarters of the Islamic Republic of Iran’s Army

with the Zionists. Both of them must have realized by now that they were wrong. First of all, after the wave of awakening in the Islamic Ummah and after the blossoming of the sapling of Islamic resistance, that fake façade of power has crumbled and the signs of incompetence and frustration have appeared in the structure of the usurping regime. Second, the aggressive nature of the Zionist regime and the shameless crimes of those who run this regime are the same as the early decades of its establishment. And they will not refrain from committing any crimes whenever they are able to do so or whenever they feel they are able to do so.¹

1. Part of a speech delivered on March 4, 2009 at the 4th international conference in support of the people of Palestine

Chapter 2

Victories and Lessons

Palestinian uprising ruined all Israeli calculations

The second point that is very important is that this uprising has ruined all calculations of this usurping Zionist regime. This is because their calculations were based on the assumption that over time the Palestinian people would lose the energy and determination to fight back after those early pressures and after the exile of more than half the population of Palestine. These calculations have been proven wrong and this assumption has been disproved. When the thousands and thousands of people who are living inside Palestine – and not the Palestinians who are living outside the original borders of Palestine in Lebanon, Jordan or other places – are determined to fight the Zionist regime, the Zionists would no longer have the safe haven they thought they would build by bringing in non-Palestinian Jews from across the world. Today these calculations have been ruined. This was why their government was forced to resign. They had to do this: they had no other option. Of course, those who pressured the Zionist government to resign must have thought that it was necessary to take tough actions and install a more brutal government, but their calculations are wrong. The issue is not an insignificant issue. It is a major issue. The fate of the world of Islam and the fate of all Islamic countries – particularly, the countries that are close to this source of danger and this tumor of corruption – depend on the fate of Palestine.¹

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on December 15, 2000

The threat posed by each selfless Palestinian youth: as great as the threat posed by an army

The battle that has been started by the Palestinian nation is not a battle between two armies, so it is not right to say that one side has more tanks than the other. It is a battle by the bodies and souls of people who are not afraid of death. Each selfless youth that is fighting the usurping regime poses as much threat to the Zionists as an army would. It is not possible to confront such youth with tanks, missiles, warplanes and helicopters. When a person – even if he is completely alone – is not afraid of death and is prepared to make sacrifices in the way of God in order to fulfill his obligation, he turns into the biggest threat to unjust materialists. As a result, you saw that when the Americans were faced with Palestinian youth who were prepared for martyrdom, they adopted positions against them at the highest levels of government. I believe these positions are futile. The actions of the Palestinians are not suicide missions that are inspired by their sentiments: their actions are inspired by their faith in Islam, the Day of Judgment and the next life. Whenever there is genuine Islam, there is this threat against the arrogant powers. In order to dominate Palestine, the arrogant powers have to fight Islam. Fighting Islam is the same as fighting the world of Islam and this battle will not get them anywhere.¹

Message following the 22-day war on Gaza

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Dear mujahid brother, Mr. Haniya,

We salute you for your patience.

The patience that you and the brave and selfless people and mujahids of Gaza showed during the past twenty days in the face of one of the most tragic war crimes in history has raised the flag of grandeur in the Muslim world. You proved that the faithful heart of a Muslim that is full of faith in God and the Day of Judgment and the strong and dignified soul of a Muslim – who cannot tolerate humiliation and surrender to oppression and coercion – create such power that completely overwhelms oppressive and arrogant governments and fully equipped armies.

1. Part of a speech at Imam Khomeini's (r.a.) shrine delivered on June 4, 2002

The Israeli army which has been stuck in a quagmire behind the gates of Gaza and which has been disgraced in Gaza due to your sacrifices and enthusiasm for martyrdom is the same army which managed to take control of major parts of three Arab countries in six days. You should be proud of your faith, your reliance on God, your faith in divine promises, your bravery and patience and the sacrifices you have made because all Muslim nations are proud of these things today. Your jihad has disgraced America and the Zionist regime as well as their supporters. Your jihad has disgraced the United Nations and hypocrites of the Islamic Ummah.

Today not only Muslim nations, but many European and American nations sincerely acknowledge your righteousness. You have already won this battle and by Allah's favor, you will disgrace the anti-human enemy even more by continuing this noble resistance.

Remember that "Your Lord has not forsaken you, nor is He displeased" [The Holy Quran, 93: 3] and that "Soon will your Lord give you so that you will be well pleased." [The Holy Quran, 93: 5]. However, the bloody and tragic events which are happening in Gaza, especially the killings of Palestinian civilians and the innocent children of Gaza, have caused our hearts to bleed. The crimes committed by those who have occupied Palestine have filled the hearts of our people with grief. May God bless you and may He soon grant you victory. Know that God will keep His promise: "And surely Allah will help him who helps Him. Surely Allah is Strong, Mighty." [The Holy Quran, 22: 40] and "Whoever strives hard, strives for himself." [The Holy Quran, 29: 6]

The Arab traitors should know that their destiny is not better than that of the Jews of the Battle of the Trench. "And He drove down those of the People of the Book who backed them from their fortresses." [The Holy Quran, 33: 26] The nations of the world support the people and mujahids of Gaza. And those governments that do not support the people of Gaza only widen the rift between themselves and their people and their destiny is already clear. If they are concerned about their existence and credibility, they should remember these words by the Commander of the Faithful (a.s.): "You are dead as long as you are ruled by others. You are alive even if you get killed while fighting for freedom." [Nahjul Balaghah, Sermon 51]

I salute you and those fight in Gaza as well as all your oppressed

and resisting people. Besides all the efforts made by the Islamic Republic of Iran to support you, we pray for you day and night and we ask all the Exalted to bestow patience and victory on you.

Greetings and divine blessings be upon you and God's righteous servants.¹

Israel's defeat in the 33-day and 22-day wars: signs of steep decline

Two important events are Israel's unbelievable military and political defeat against the Lebanese Islamic Resistance in the 33-day war in Lebanon in the year 1427 of the Islamic calendar and the humiliating defeat of the Zionist regime in the 22-day war on the people and the legitimate government of Palestine in Gaza.

The usurping regime – which used to appear invincible and extremely powerful, relying on its army and weapons and on the political and military support of America – has been defeated twice by the resistance forces who are relying more on God and the people than military weapons. In spite of all that training and military preparation, in spite of the vast intelligence network, in spite of the full support by America and certain western governments, in spite of the cooperation of certain hypocrites of the world of Islam, the Zionist regime is heading towards decline and collapse and the signs of its incompetence are becoming clear against the strong wave of Islamic Awakening.²

1. The Supreme Leader's letter to Ismail Haniya, the Prime Minister of Hamas, on January 15, 2009

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's speech delivered on March 4, 2009 at the 4th international conference in support of the people of Palestine

Part III

Responsibilities

Chapter 1

Duty of Palestinian People

The duty of the Palestinians

The first way to continue the Intifada is for the people of Palestine to resist and thankfully, they have been resisting so far. These martyrdom operations are the peak of this resistance. The fact that a man, a youth, a boy, a girl is prepared to sacrifice his or her life for the sake of religion and national interests, is the peak of honor and bravery. This is what the enemy is afraid of. Therefore, you saw that everybody – including the American President and all the people who are speaking and acting throughout the world within America's framework – tried to put an end to the martyrdom operations through deception, condemnation and sophistry. No, martyrdom operations are the peak of the greatness of a nation and the peak of epic resistance. Are suicide operations nonexistent in a place where an army is defending its country in a completely selfless way? Are there no suicide operations when an oppressive army attacks a country and the people of that country stand up against it? Who would condemn such operations? Who would try to decrease the value and greatness of these operations in the eyes of just people? Martyrdom operations are the peak of their greatness. Some people might sit down together and say or write certain things to blame the people of a nation who have to lay down their lives to claim their rights simply because their older generations have been negligent and simply because the previous generation has ignored their long-term national interests. Would this affect the situation of the Palestinian nation? The Palestinian nation is awake and it is moving forward.¹

1. Part of a speech delivered on May 1, 2002 in a meeting with laborers and teachers

The reason why the Palestinians must start using guns

There was a day when the atrocities of the Zionists against the Palestinian nation were not met with any reactions, but that day is gone. Today if they harm the Palestinians, the Palestinians will harm them, too. Today if the usurping regime feels that it must deploy its forces against the Palestinian people, the Palestinian people also feel that they must deploy their forces against the Zionists. I do not know when this will happen, but I have no doubts that the Palestinian nation will not continue its resistance with rocks and bare fists. The Palestinian people will be forced to defend their existence, their honor, their property and their homes, even if it comes to taking up arms.¹

1. Part of a speech delivered on November 14, 2000 in a meeting with the people of Arak

Chapter 2

Responsibility of Islamic Ummah

Muslim governments' indifference to Palestine: unacceptable

Today all excuses that may be presented by Muslim governments to justify their indifference to the issue of Palestine are unacceptable. The usurping regime is engaged in extreme brutality and oppression and it has proven that it is prepared to commit any crime in order to reach its expansionist and dangerous goals. The Islamic uprising of the people of Palestine has provided everybody with the ultimate proof and it has shown that in spite of the comprehensive pressure by the enemy and in spite of the deception and treachery of the friends, the sapling of resistance is not dead: rather, it has developed more roots and produced more fruit. Therefore, it is necessary for all people and governments to sincerely consider the Islamic issue of Palestine among their primary issues and make as many contributions as they can.¹

The pillars of resistance

The only avenue to deliverance is resistance and fortitude, unanimity of the Palestinians and their faith in monotheism, which is an inexhaustible source of struggle. The pillars of this resistance are, on the one hand, the militant Palestinian groups and each and every one of the faithful and resistant Palestinians who live inside or outside Palestine and, on the other hand, Muslim governments and nations throughout of the world – particularly religious scholars, intellectuals, political figures and academia.

If these two pillars remain firmly in place, there is no doubt that in

1. Part of a message issued on April 13, 1990 on the occasion of Quds Day

every part of the world, awakened consciences, and hearts and minds which have not been transformed by the spells of the news empire of the arrogant powers and Zionism, will rush to the aid of the oppressed and those who have been denied their rights. And the arrogant powers will be forced to confront a storm of thoughts, emotions and actions.

All of us witnessed an example of this truth in recent days during the magnificent resistance of Gaza. The tears of the western manager of one of the international aid organizations in front of the cameras, expressions of sympathy by activists of humanitarian organizations, the large and sincere demonstrations at the heart of European capitals and American cities, the bold moves made by the heads of several states in Latin America – all of these things are signs that the non-Muslim world has not yet been fully subjugated by the forces of evil and corruption, which are referred to as ‘Satan’ in the Holy Quran, and that there is still room for truth to take over.

Yes, the resistance and patience of the Palestinian mujahids and people, coupled with comprehensive support and assistance for the Palestinians from all Islamic countries, will break the satanic spell of the occupation of Palestine. The great energy of the Islamic Ummah can solve the problems of the Islamic world, including the urgent and acute issue of Palestine.¹

The duty of all Muslims and all alert consciences

Now I would like to address Muslim brothers and sisters throughout the world as well as all individuals who have an alert conscience, irrespective of which country or nation they belong to. Make determined efforts to break the spell of impunity for the Zionist criminals. Bring to trial the political and military leaders of the usurping regime who played a role in the Gaza tragedy. Give them the kind of punishment that is commanded by reason and justice. This is the first step that should be taken. The political and military leaders of the usurping regime should be brought to trial. If criminals are punished, this will restrict those who are motivated and mad enough to commit crimes. Impunity for perpetrators of great crimes is itself a

1. Part of a speech delivered on March 4, 2009 at the 4th international conference in support of the people of Palestine

cause and incentive for further crimes. We would not have witnessed another Karbala in Gaza if after the 33-day war on Lebanon and those dreadful tragedies, the Muslim world had seriously demanded the punishment of the Zionists who had given rise to those tragedies. We would not have witness another Karbala in Gaza if this legitimate demand had been made after the massacre of wedding caravans in Afghanistan, after the Blackwater crimes in Iraq and after the Abu Ghuraib scandal and other cases involving American soldiers.

In these cases, we Muslim governments and people failed to fulfill our duty, as commanded by reason and justice and the consequences are what we are witnessing today.¹

Assisting the people of Palestine: a communal Islamic obligation

Comprehensive assistance to the people of Palestine and complete support for them is a communal obligation for all Muslims. The governments which criticize the Islamic Republic of Iran and certain other Muslim countries for assisting Palestine should step forward and bear the burden of this support so that others are relieved of this Islamic obligation. But if they lack the determination, capability and courage to do so, instead of criticism and obstructionism, they had better appreciate the responsible and courageous actions taken by others.²

The duty of Muslims

This is what we are trying to say today: from an Islamic point of view, the issue of Palestine is an essential issue and an Islamic obligation for all Muslims, including ourselves. All religious scholars – Shia or Sunni – have stressed that if part of Islamic territories is occupied by the enemies of Islam, all Muslims have a duty to resist so that they can restore the occupied territories. Everybody is responsible to contribute to resolving the issue in whatever way they can.

1. Part of a speech delivered on March 4, 2009 at the 4th international conference in support of the people of Palestine

2. Part of a speech delivered on March 4, 2009 at the 4th international conference in support of the people of Palestine

First of all, everybody is responsible from an Islamic point of view. The territories are Islamic territories: they have been occupied by the enemies of Islam and it is necessary to restore them.

Second, eight million Muslims have either been displaced outside the borders of Palestine, or they are living in the occupied territories and their situation is even worse than those who have been forced out of Palestine. They do not dare walk out of their homes. They are not allowed to have a voice. They are not allowed to elect a representative to play a role in running their own country. In many cases, they are even prevented from praying. The Zionists posed threats to Masjid al-Aqsa, which was the original kiblah of Muslims. They even set it on fire several years ago. Later on, they started a so-called excavation and they are doing unlawful things. They want to strip Masjid al-Aqsa – the original kiblah of Muslims – of its Islamic form. From an Islamic point of view, all these things place a responsibility on the shoulders of Muslims. No Muslim can avoid the burden of this responsibility. Every Muslim should fulfill this responsibility as much as he can.¹

The Islamic Ummah must rise up

The Islamic Ummah must rise up and the heads of Islamic countries must slap the face of the usurping regime with the rage of their people. The American government is also responsible for this bloodshed in Palestine. It is because of the support of that arrogant and uncontrollable power that the Zionists are shamelessly perpetrating these unpardonable crimes. Islamic nations and governments must inform the entire world of the oppression that is imposed on the Palestinians and they must awaken sleeping consciences. Do the American people know that their statesmen have sacrificed human honor at the feet of the Zionists? Do European nations know where their politicians have been led by the domination of Zionist capitalists over their countries?²

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on December 31, 1999

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's message to the Islamic Ummah issued on March 2, 2008 following the Zionist regime's brutal attacks on Gaza

The responsibility of nations towards building a new Islamic Middle East

The issue of Gaza is not about a piece of land. The issue of Palestine is not just a geographical issue: it is a human issue. It concerns the entire humanity. Today the issue of Palestine is the standard that distinguishes between commitment and opposition to human values and principles. This shows how important the issue is. And there is no doubt that America will be harmed in the process. Ten, twenty, thirty years is like a moment in history when compared against other events: it passes very quickly. Definitely the history and the future of America will be strongly influenced by the way the Americans have acted regarding the issue of Palestine over the past fifty, sixty years. The issue of Palestine will be a source of disgrace for America for many centuries. Palestine will be liberated. Do not have any doubts in this regard. Palestine will definitely be liberated and the people of Palestine will return to Palestine and establish a Palestinian government there. That Middle East will be an Islamic Middle East, just as the issue of Palestine is an Islamic issue. All nations are responsible towards Palestine. All governments are responsible towards Palestine, both Islamic governments and non-Islamic governments. Any government that claims to support humanity is responsible in this regard, but the responsibility of Muslims is heavier. Islamic governments are responsible and they should fulfill their duty. And any government that fails to fulfill its duty regarding the issue of Palestine will be harmed. This is because the people of nations have awakened and they are making demands of their governments. And governments have to give in to these demands.¹

Responding to the Palestinians' cries for help: a pre-condition for Islamic faith

At this historic juncture, Muslims of the world should feel responsible. They should understand the duties that their Islamic faith has placed on their shoulders. On the one hand, they have a duty to safeguard Islamic territories, which is a necessity in Islamic

1. Part of a speech delivered on February 27, 2010 in a meeting with leaders of the combatant Palestinian groups

jurisprudence. On the other hand, they have a duty to respond to an oppressed nation's cries for help.... The Holy Prophet (s.w.a.) said, "A person who hears a Muslim's cries for help but fails to respond, is not a Muslim.".... And today it is not just a single individual who is crying for help: it is an entire nation.¹

1. Excerpts from a message issued on October 17, 1991 to Muslim nations and religious scholars, writers, intellectuals and students of the Islamic countries in order to encourage Muslims to confront the evil plots of America and Israel at the Madrid Conference

Chapter 3

Quds Day

The duty of Muslims on Quds Day

What should the people of nations do regarding these three essential and sensitive matters [Israel's crimes, the resistance of the people of Palestine and the silence of international communities and governments]? They can take to the streets on Quds Day and shout slogans. They can clench their fists and show the resisting and mujahid people of Palestine: "We support you. Although our governments are not able to help you or prevent others from helping you, know that our hearts are with you." This will be a source of encouragement for them. It will be great help.¹

Quds Day: the symbol of the confrontation between truth and falsehood

First of all, I believe it is my responsibility to express my appreciation to the great Iranian nation for the greatness it showed to the people of the world on Quds Day. They have made many efforts over these years to undermine Quds Day, which is the symbol of the confrontation between truth and falsehood. Quds Day represents the confrontation between the camp of truth and the camp of falsehood, between the camp of justice and the camp of oppression. Quds Day is not just an occasion for Palestine: it is an occasion for the Islamic Ummah. It is the day when Muslims should clearly shout slogans against the deadly cancer of Zionism, which has been imposed on the Islamic Ummah by the aggressive hands of the occupiers, the interferers and the arrogant powers. It has a global message. First, it

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on November 5, 2004

shows that the Islamic Ummah will not give in to oppression even if this oppression is supported by the most powerful governments in the world. They have made many efforts to undermine Quds Day and this year, they have made more efforts than ever before. But Quds Day in Islamic Iran and in Tehran showed everybody what direction the Revolution and the Iranian nation are moving in. It showed the determination of the Iranian nation. It showed that their machinations, tricks, money and political malevolence have no effect on the spirit of the Iranian nation.¹

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's sermons delivered on September 20, 2009 at Eid ul-Fitr prayers

Chapter 4

Responsibility of Muslim Governments

The duty of Muslim people and governments

The Zionist regime cannot last long. The Zionists think that they have managed to dominate Palestine and that Palestine belongs to them until the end of time. No, this is not the case. One day, Palestine will definitely become an independent country. The Palestinian people have risen up for this goal. The duty of Muslim people and governments is to help the Palestinian nation get closer to this goal as much as possible.¹

Today all of us have a duty to extend spiritual and material support to the Palestinian people.²

The most important solution to the plot hatched by America lies within the borders of occupied Palestine and in the powerful hands of Palestinian activists. However, all Muslims have a duty to take part in this jihad and provide Palestine with financial, political, intelligence and military assistance. The Palestinian nation should not feel that it is alone. The Zionists and those who are responsible for torturing and killing Palestinian activists, should not be allowed to feel secure in any part of the world. Governments and the people of nations should establish funds and centers to help the combatant Palestinians in every part of the world. It is the duty of all Muslim governments to impose sanctions on the usurping regime and to refuse to recognize it. The people of nations should be sensitive to this issue.... It is necessary to use these techniques and all other techniques that are available to us to counter the current plot and to prevent it from having an effect. In any

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's speech delivered at Imam Khomeini's (r.a.) shrine on June 4, 2002

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on November 22, 2002

case, there is only one solution to the issue of Palestine: establishing a Palestinian government over the entire Palestinian lands.¹

The duty of Islamic governments: suspending oil exports in order to confront Israel

What we said about suspending oil exports for a month is a fundamental issue, which obviously cannot be approached superficially. Of course, this action is not merely a theatrical move either, with one government saying it will suspend oil exports without even specifying how it would do so. It is a real and serious issue and everybody must be involved in the process of making this decision.

Some people said that cutting off oil exports would harm oil-exporting countries. This is not true. This is a miscalculation. Cutting off oil exports would not harm the people of nations. It will prove beneficial to them in the end. Right now one day the price of oil is 24 or 25 dollars per barrel and within a few days, it comes down to 15 or 16 dollars. You can see that the people of nations are harmed because of the dramatic fluctuations in the oil price. This is because someone else is holding the reigns. By cutting off oil exports for a month, Muslim nations will demonstrate their initiative. Muslim governments and people will prove their ability to take action against international dictatorship and against the will of those bullies who only rely on the power of their bayonets. They must do this. This action is unavoidable.

Of course, certain governments adopted good positions on this issue. The Syrian and Lebanese governments stood firm in a brave way. All Muslim governments and oil-producing and oil-exporting countries must attach importance to this historic duty. History will judge these determining actions. Even today nations judge them. Today nations make decisions about their governments and about their governments' sincerity and sense of compassion on the basis of these actions.²

1. Excerpts from a message issued on October 17, 1991 to Muslim nations and religious scholars, writers, intellectuals and students of the Islamic countries in order to encourage Muslims to confront the evil plots of America and Israel at the Madrid Conference

2. Part of a speech delivered on May 1, 2002 in a meeting with laborers and teachers

It appears to me that one of the important things that Arab governments can do is to encourage oil exporters to use their oil as a weapon. The western argument that oil should not be used as a weapon is wrong. Oil belongs to nations and they should use it to their advantage. The Americans used wheat and foodstuff as a weapon and they still do so in many parts of the world. Why should Islamic and Arab countries not have the same right? For one month as a symbolic act, they should stop exporting oil to all countries which have good relations with Israel. Today the world depends on our oil for lighting, electricity and heat, which are three essential elements of life. If we do not provide them with oil, their factories will stop working and they will not have lighting and heat. Is this a trivial thing? Arab governments should do this for themselves. For one month – and not permanently – they should do this as a symbolic act in support of the Palestinian nation. The world will be shaken. This is among the things that Arab governments can do.¹

The duty of Muslim governments: cutting off relations with Israel

This is the duty of all governments. Today the Palestinian nation has certain legitimate expectations of the Islamic Ummah as well as Muslim governments. Today the great Islamic Ummah expects Islamic government – especially the Arab governments – to cut off their relations with the usurping, oppressive and insolent Zionists. Once again, Zionism revealed its true nature. Once again, it showed that it does not understand anything other than the language of coercion, the logic of coercion and the thought of coercion and bullying.²

Political, financial and propaganda assistance

Today the Palestinian nation has risen up. When the Palestinian nation was asleep, its destiny was what it was. But now that the Palestinian nation has awakened, its destiny is victory. This jihad

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on April 5, 2002

2. Part of a speech delivered on October 9, 2000 at a graduation ceremony of a group of police personnel

might last for a long time, but victory is unquestionable. If we refuse to help them, Allah the Exalted will inspire other people to help them. Today this is our duty and we hope we will be able to fulfill it. Today Islamic governments have a duty to assist them and provide them with political, financial and propaganda assistance. Thankfully, this year's Quds Day showed that the people of nations are firmly committed to this responsibility in the entire world of Islam.¹

Sense of responsibility among governments

I am truly grateful to our dear people for their powerful and enthusiastic presence in Quds Day rallies. Nations of the world express their hatred [towards Israel] as much as they can, but this must be translated into action by their governments. Muslim governments should feel that they are responsible in this regard.²

Avoidance of normalized relations with the Zionist regime: necessary for Islamic governments

A plot is being pursued by the Americans, the Zionists and some of their allies in order to make up for their defeat in Gaza. They are trying to convince certain Islamic and regional governments to normalize their relations with the Zionist regime, but these governments must not accept the humiliation. Islamic governments must not normalize their relations with the oppressive and usurping Zionist regime – which is a threat to the entire region and all nations and governments – under different pretexts in order to satisfy America. They must not smile at this regime because of America: this is a reprehensible act and the reason is that those who normalize their relations with the Zionist regime hide this from others, at least in the early stages. It is a reprehensible act, which is why they hide it. Instead of hiding reprehensible acts, it is necessary to avoid them. By Allah's favor, Quds Day rallies will be held with increasing

1. Part of a speech delivered on December 27, 2000 in a meeting with government officials on the occasion of Eid ul-Fitr

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's Eid ul-Fitr prayer sermons delivered on December 16, 2001

enthusiasm.¹

The duty of Arab leaders to respond to Israel's crimes

The Arab League will convene a meeting in the near future. I deem it necessary to remind the officials of the Arab countries of their great responsibility. Today the Islamic Ummah has certain expectations of the leaders of the Arab countries. During the Sharm el-Sheikh Summit, the Americans tried to eclipse the Arab summit. They must not be influenced. Today any decision that is made in the Arab summit will be judged forever in history. The leaders of the Arab countries can gain eternal honor at this summit. Of course, the issue of Palestine will not be solved through such summits, but these summits can present the demands of the Palestinian nation to the world.²

Resistance against Zionist malevolence: possible through utilizing the capacities of the world of Islam

The world of Islam should stand up and it can do so. The world of Islam has great potential for standing up against the actions that are inspired by malevolence and greed. Everybody's attention is suddenly turned to oil [whenever this potential is mentioned]: it is not an oil issue. Here is the center of the world. This region is a big market for western products. Their prestige depends on this region. The most important international waterways are controlled by the Islamic countries of this region. The survival of the world depends on the things that are controlled by Muslims. Muslims should make use of these things and they can do so. Apart from all these things, the logic of politics is effective in today's world. They can make use of this logic without having to make use of the other tools that are available to them. The determination of governments and people is a great lever in global events. Unfortunately, they fail to make use of this. They ignore this tool.³

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer address delivered in Tehran on October 21, 2005

2. Part of a speech delivered on October 20, 2000 in a meeting with basijis

3. Part of a speech delivered on April 5, 2000 in a meeting with government officials and scientific and political personalities

Chapter 5

Responsibility of Media

The duty of news networks

Regarding the role of the media and public relations, this battlefield is one that involves everybody. Throughout the world of Islam, each person has a responsibility to fulfill. Today's world is the world of the media, public relations and clarification. Today you are faced with the news empire of the enemies of the world of Islam, an empire which is mostly controlled by the Zionists. Today there is a one-way media road where news reports and analyses flow from news agencies towards global public opinion, especially public opinion of the Arab and Islamic countries. The Zionists went after news networks and public relations from the beginning. One of their policies was to take control of the global media. This is how it is today. From the beginning, they chose a propaganda technique which was very important and effective and it has proven to be effective up until today. That propaganda technique is to present themselves as the victim. They fabricated many stories. They started rumors and made non-stop efforts. And today the same propaganda is being pursued with utmost cruelty. That is to say, the most important thing that the Zionists are doing in the world of propaganda is that they present themselves as the victim. They raised the issue of Jewish concerns and said that they needed psychological security. In their negotiations with the heads of western countries and later on in their negotiations with the Islamic and Arab countries, the Zionists raised the issue of psychological security and said that they needed this security. They said that their psychological security had to be ensured. What is this psychological security? It does not have any specific meaning. They can stop all actions on the pretext of ensuring their psychological security if they decide that these actions run counter to their interests. They convinced many people in the world that they need

psychological security and that their psychological security had to be ensured.

Fulfilling Israel's need for psychological security is more difficult than giving up a territory. When you lose a territory, you know what you have lost. But when you want to fulfill Israel's demand for psychological security, you do not know much you have to give up and how many concessions you have to make. There is no end to these concessions. You must constantly make concessions. In this regard, Europe's experience is a lesson for us. The German government paid one hundred and fifty billion marks to the Jews in compensation, but Germany is still paying compensation. The Jews are still demanding more money. The Jews did the same thing – more or less – to certain other European countries such as Austria, Switzerland, France and even the Vatican. Everybody has to pay compensation. There is no end to this compensation.

On the psychological front, the Israelis took very important actions. All western politicians, journalists, intellectuals, officials and outstanding figures should pay homage to the monument that was built in commemoration of [Nazi] cremation furnaces. That is to say, everybody should highlight a story that has not even been confirmed and they should consider themselves responsible for promoting that story. These are methods that they use in their propaganda and all of these methods are based on the idea of presenting the Israelis as the victim.

Of course, in another part of the world, they attracted the support and sympathy of many Christians by citing the stories in the Torah that Palestine is the land that was given to the Children of Israel. According to the statistics I saw, they have managed to train millions of non-Jewish Zionists in certain countries – especially in America – relying on their propaganda and the support they receive from public opinion. They have been doing this propaganda work for many years and today they are continuing their work in the world in a very passionate way.

Of course, they have made the best of the events that have taken place – for example, the events that happened on September 11 in New York and Washington. And they have managed to sideline the issue of Palestine from among the issues of the world of Islam. In this regard, the Zionists were fully supported by America. But in countries

that claim to be free, nobody has the right to question and protest against destroying the life of Palestinian women and children. Nobody is allowed to speak about the atrocities that are committed against the Palestinian nation.

Considering this propaganda technique and the knowledge we have acquired about the psychology of the enemy, all Muslim officials and all those who work for the media in Islamic countries should develop a sense of responsibility and choose their path. This is a vital thing to do. Today this is a vital requirement and a heavy responsibility not only for the Palestinian nation, but also for the world of Islam.

I would like to discuss the experience in southern Lebanon as an example. During their great movement against the Zionists, pious Lebanese people and combatant Lebanese youth managed to use the lever of propaganda in the best possible way. They managed to present the element of resistance and self-sacrifice to the world of Islam in an appropriate way. This is how the enemy becomes frustrated. The entire world of Islam realized what the resistance forces were doing in southern Lebanon, what they were planning to do and what goals they were pursuing. They used propaganda techniques in a good and appropriate way in southern Lebanon. They raised the spirits of their friends and they frustrated the enemy and broke his spirits. This is what we should always do. The world of Islam is always involved in a battle and it is always the target of attacks. The occupied territories are a part of the world of Islam that are currently in the clutches of the Zionists. They attack these territories day and night. Therefore, it is necessary to make the best of the media in this regard.

It is necessary to develop a fundamental plan for the propaganda strategy against the usurping Zionists. Tactical mentioning of a portion of the Zionists' atrocities on particular occasions is not enough. It is necessary to jointly specify and implement a general propaganda strategy in the entire world of Islam.

We do not have the great media outlets of the world, but what we have is not insignificant. We must make the most of the potential and resources that belong to the Islamic world.

... We must not try to make the Palestinian nation surrender and give up hope. We must express the truth. The truth is that there is hope

and new horizons. The truth is that the Zionists are shaking with fear and that the supporters of the Zionists are panicked in the face of the popular movement of a nation, a nation that is moving forward by relying on its religious faith. A nation that moves forward in a unified way and relies on its religious faith – such a nation is invincible. We must clarify these truths in order to increase hope in the hearts of those who are in the middle of the arena and we must lay the psychological groundwork for resistance. The duty of the media is to lay the psychological groundwork for resistance.

... The media system of the Muslim and Arab countries should act in a way that does not suggest they are away from the arena. You are in the middle of the arena, whether you like or not. Today every one of our actions will affect the course of our history. Every one of our actions will go down in history. We hope that the world of Islam fully understands all dimensions of this issue and fulfills its duty.¹

1. Excerpts from a speech delivered on January 31, 2002 in a meeting with the participants of the Islamic World Media Conference held in support of the Palestinian Intifada

Chapter 6

Responsibility of Outstanding Muslim Personalities

The duty of outstanding Muslim figures

Everybody is responsible in this regard. Muslim intellectuals, politicians, poets, writers, artists and academia are responsible. They are influential people. They can feed the media in an appropriate way. The mere fact that you have gathered here is a great event. You can use this congregation as a pillar for a coordinated media movement in the entire world of Islam. This is possible. Why do we fail to use the tools that are available to us?

Many writers and intellectuals of the world of Islam criticize the leaders of certain Islamic countries and governments whose behavior towards the Zionists is not appropriate. They protest, "Why do you not use your oil, wealth and political facilities against the Zionists?" Of course, this criticism is valid. We believe this is a legitimate criticism, but it is possible to ask this question in the world of intellectuals, writers and academia: why do we fail to use our great scientific and intellectual assets the way we should? Sometimes a single poem is more effective than money and wealth. One day, a Palestinian poet recited a Qasida and instigated the Arab world: this happened in the year 67 or 68. Sometimes a good media technique or a coordinated propaganda move can be more effective than cutting off oil supplies.¹

You dear ulama, writers, intellectuals and students of Islamic countries, have a more urgent duty. You can make nations conscious of the magnitude of the tragedy that is being planned by America and

1. Excerpts from a speech delivered on January 31, 2002 in a meeting with the participants of the Islamic World Media Conference held in support of the Palestinian Intifada

Israel against the world of Islam. You can deploy a great national force to confront the tragedy. The governments that are preparing themselves to cooperate in this treachery should be aware of the danger posed by the anger of their people.¹

Of course, Muslim scholars and intellectuals throughout the world of Islam have special duties. Just because the Americans are dissatisfied with a certain movement should not encourage a certain religious scholar or mufti in certain Islamic or Arab countries to adopt a position that goes against Islam. Unfortunately, a couple of such cases have been witnessed in the world of Islam. Religious scholars, scholars of the world Islam, intellectuals of the Muslim world, poets, speakers, writers, artists and students throughout the world of Islam should all play a role in supporting the people of Palestine. This is their duty. Playing such a role is effective and it can assist this oppressed nation. Verbal support is not enough. Decisive positions that are adopted by the people are more important and more effective than many kinds of assistance. This is a responsibility and I hope Allah the Exalted will help us fulfill this responsibility.²

Today Muslim governments and people – particularly, Arab governments and people – have a heavy duty to shoulder. Of course, the responsibility of Muslim and Arab governments is far heavier and far greater, but the duty of nations – particularly, religious scholars, political figures, academic figures, intellectuals and other influential elements – is not less heavy than the duty of governments. This duty consists of helping, raising morale and helping this holy jihad continue. I pray to Allah the Exalted to help all of us fulfill this responsibility.³

1. Excerpts from a message issued on October 17, 1991 to Muslim nations and religious scholars, writers, intellectuals and students of the Islamic countries in order to encourage Muslims to confront the evil plots of America and Israel at the Madrid Conference

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on December 7, 2001

3. Part of a message issued on June 2, 2002 to a conference held in support of Palestine

Chapter 7

Responsibility of Islamic Organizations

The duty of hajj pilgrims: increasing political insight

Muslims who have come together from the four corners of the world - filled with enthusiasm of making tawaf and visiting the Holy Prophet's (s.w.a.) shrine - should make the best of this opportunity to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood among themselves, which is the remedy for many great maladies of the Islamic Ummah. Today we can see clearly that the hand of the ill-wishers of the world of Islam is fomenting discord among Muslims more than ever before. This is while the Islamic Ummah needs solidarity and unanimity more than any other time. Today the bloody clutches of the enemies are causing tragedies in different parts of the Islamic territories. Under the vicious domination of the Zionists, Palestinians are suffering from increasing pains and hardships. Masjid al-Aqsa is exposed to a serious threat. After that unprecedented genocide, the oppressed people of Gaza are still living in the most difficult conditions.

...On the one hand, the occupiers label as terrorist the resistance movements of the people of Palestine, Lebanon and other countries of the world. On the other hand, they mastermind and lead brutal sectarian and ethnic terrorism among the nations of this region.¹

The responsibility of hajj pilgrims towards the issue of Palestine

Hajj pilgrims and the brothers and sisters who will come together around the House of God from across the world, should try to make hajj ceremonies Abrahamic and Islamic by discussing the hardships and problems of Muslims, by promoting the essential teachings of

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's hajj message issued on November 26, 2009

Islam, by exchanging views on the great responsibilities of Muslims in the contemporary era and by trying to create unity and unanimity among Muslims – which is the main requirement of saving Muslims from the clutches of the empire of wealth, coercion and global hegemony.

The slogan of wiping out the cancerous tumor of Israel – which was proposed by our magnanimous Imam Khomeini (r.a.), the great Islamic leader – must be shouted loudly against the will of those who love political games and are willing to compromise. And this slogan should turn into Muslims' popular demand during hajj ceremonies.¹

The issues of the world of Islam must be discussed during hajj. After the need to get prepared to defend Islam and the collective identity of Muslims, the second biggest issue of Muslims is the issue of oppressed and combatant nations that have been overwhelmed and oppressed by the hand of transgression, kufr and arrogance. These nations have been forced to live in the most difficult conditions. The oppressed Palestinian nation is a clear example of such nations. The Palestinian people have been displaced from their homeland for 40 years or they are living as foreigners in their own country. This is a painful wound that was inflicted on the body of the Islamic Ummah many years ago. This wound was plotted by colonial and anti-Islam governments and was inflicted on the world of Islam by the criminal hands of the Zionists.²

The wound is opened up every day. And that was how international organizations, certain European governments and others behaved. Well, a group of Muslims are being oppressed there and they are waiting to be massacred one day. What should Muslims do in this regard? Is there any solution other than hajj? The factor that makes the arrogant powers tremble with fear is the masses. Otherwise, it does not matter if a few governments sit down together at a certain conference held in a corner of the world and pass resolutions. They do not care. Even if they issue a hundred resolutions, it would not make a difference. Is it not the case that many resolutions have been issued so far against the usurping Zionists? This means that resolutions are

1. Part of a hajj message issued on June 28, 1990

2. Part of a hajj message issued by the Supreme Leader on July 5, 1989

totally futile and useless. The factor that truly frightens and stops the arrogant powers is the presence of the people of nations. Which occasion is better than hajj? During hajj, two million Muslims come together from all Islamic countries. If you ask every one of them, “How do you feel about Gorazde?” they will say, “I want to go to Gorazde and defend the Muslims who live there.” Is it not a pity to lose such a community? Is it not a pity to lose such a good community that can have so many blessings and save the life of so many Muslims? But is this an effort to politicize hajj?¹

The responsibility of the Organization of the Islamic Conference: Defending Palestine

Today the Organization of the Islamic Conference – whose duty and philosophy of existence is to defend Palestine – has a duty to resist. It should mobilize the Islamic world against this deceitful move by the Zionists and their supporters. In spite of the differences they have, most of the arrogant western governments have one thing in common: they support the Zionist regime.²

1. Part of a speech delivered on April 20, 1994 in a meeting with a group of officials in charge of hajj affairs

2. Part of a speech delivered on April 6, 2010 in a meeting with government officials and scientific and political figures

Part IV

Crimes

Crimes in Gaza

On the other hand, the crimes which were committed by the Zionist criminals during the historic events of Gaza – the massacre of civilians, the destruction of defenseless homes, the impaling of young infants, the bombing of schools and mosques, the use of phosphorous bombs and other outlawed weapons, the blockade on supplies of food, medicine, fuel and other essentials of life that lasted for almost two years and numerous other crimes – proved that the savage and criminal nature of the leaders of the fake Zionist state have not changed in the least since the early decades of the disaster in Palestine. Exactly the same policies and the same brutal and ruthless nature – which gave rise to such tragedies as those of Deir Yasin, Sabra and Shatila – still rule the dark hearts and minds of today's taghut. Of course, technological advances have made such crimes grow far more varied and far more tragic.¹

Taking revenge on Hezbollah by attacking Palestine and fomenting discord

What is happening in Palestine is partially due to Israel's efforts to compensate for the disgrace it suffered in Lebanon. A major portion of these pressures, these daily killings in Palestine, these attacks on different places – whether on the east coast or in Gaza – is happening because of the disgrace they suffered and they are trying to overthrow the government formed by Hamas. I would like to attract the attention of our Palestinian brothers to the point that we and the people of Palestine as well as all Muslim nations should take care not to turn the confrontation between the people and the occupiers to a confrontation between the people and the people. This is what the enemy is trying to do. The enemy is trying to pitch Palestinians against Palestinians and Iraqis against Iraqis. Everybody should be careful in this regard. Today unity is the most important need of the people of Palestine,

1. Part of a speech delivered on March 4, 2009 at the 4th international conference in support of the people of Palestine

which is the case in other parts of the world as well.¹

Israel's purpose behind committing crimes

They want to make two things clear to the people of the world. One thing is that this cancerous tumor should be preserved at any price. Another thing is that they want to convince the world that it is faced with coercion and bullying and that they do not care what is said about them. That is to say, they want to convince the people of the world that no kind of reasoning and no kind of action will be successful against America's bayonets and military power.

Of course, they have been defeated so far and in spite of all these pretensions to power, they have not achieved their goals. Why? Because Palestine has not surrendered. They want to force the Palestinian nation into surrender by resorting to pressure, killings and brutality and by trampling on all manifestations of humanity. They want the Palestinian people to surrender unconditionally and forget their legitimate demands. But they have been unsuccessful so far. In spite of what America and Israel think, coercion does not work. It is the willpower and faith of human beings that has the final say on all issues and the same is true of this issue as well.²

Full support of the west for Israeli crimes

Of course, America and western countries are openly offering full support to Israel, which is blatantly violating international conventions. These countries are showing to the world that they use international conventions and organizations as a tool. They only use these international conventions and organizations to promote their own interests and goals and they have no respect for such conventions and organizations. There is no doubt that Israel would not be able to survive without the economic, political and propaganda support of the superpowers. Therefore, America is an accomplice to Israel in all its crimes.

1. An excerpt from the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on October 13, 2006

2. An excerpt from the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on October 13, 2006

Ever since the emergence of the cancerous tumor of Zionism in this region, western countries have been working in collaboration with the Zionist regime. Israel has been tasked with protecting the interests of western powers in this Islamic region. That is to say, Israel's duty is to keep Islamic countries constantly concerned by posing threats to their security so that they do not manage to unite and create a solid and harmonious coalition, thus preventing them from making use of their facilities, wealth and human capacities to promote their interests. And it has been the responsibility of western powers to do their best to keep this cancerous tumor in this region. Of course, today this latter role is being played by America for the most part.¹

Hosni Mubarak's mistake during the siege on Gaza

For example, the people of Egypt had to see the leader of their country commit the worst and most hideous crimes for Israel. If Hosni Mubarak had not cooperated with Israel in the case of the siege on Gaza, Israel could not have pressured the people of Gaza like that. Israel could not have committed those crimes without his help. But Hosni Mubarak stepped in and helped Israel to block the way to Gaza. Then they realized that the people of Gaza had dug tunnels under the ground. In order to stop the oppressed people of Gaza from using these tunnels, they built steel walls around them which ran 30 meters below the surface and cut through the tunnels. It was Hosni Mubarak who did this. The people of Egypt were watching these things and this was why their pride was hurt. Similar things happened in other countries as well.²

If Hosni Mubarak had not helped the Israelis in the issue of Gaza, they could not have besieged Gaza. The Palestinians were besieged in Gaza - and they have been under siege for four years now. During the 22-day war Palestinian men, women and children were burnt to death by the Israelis and their homes were destroyed. But they did not let aid convoys help these people. Not only the people of Egypt but also

1. Excerpts from a speech delivered on January 31, 2002 in a meeting with the participants of the Islamic World Media Conference held in support of the Palestinian Intifada

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's address delivered on March 21, 2011 at Imam Ridha's (a.s.) shrine in Mashhad

people from other countries - including people from our country - wanted to help them through Egypt, but Hosni Mubarak did not let them. This was the situation of Egypt, which frustrated the people. The people of Egypt feel humiliated because the current Egyptian regime supports Israel and blindly obeys America. This is the main cause of the movement. The Egyptians are Muslims.¹

The dependent Egyptian system deteriorated so much that the Egyptian people saw for the first time in their history that during the Israeli war against their brothers in Gaza their government was in the camp of Israel. They realized that not only their government was refusing to help the Palestinians, but it was also extremely active in the enemy's camp. History will never forget that Hosni Mubarak was a confidant and a collaborator of Israel and America during the appalling siege imposed on the people of Gaza and during the 22-day war when the women, men and children of Gaza were being killed. Just imagine how much the people of Egypt must have suffered during those days. National TV once showed footage from the strong feelings expressed by the people of Egypt. They were speaking with tears in their eyes about their situation and how they are prevented from helping their Palestinian brothers. How long could the faithful people of Egypt tolerate this? What we see today in Cairo and in other cities of Egypt is the explosion of the holy anger and the eruption of unexpressed emotions that had accumulated over many years in the hearts of liberated Egyptian men and women due to the behavior of the non-Muslim, treacherous and puppet regime.²

The world of Islam: busy with side issues

Of course, they try to keep the world of Islam busy. Today the events that are taking place in Palestine are due to the side issues that the world of Islam is busy with. Today real tragedies are happening in Palestine, Gaza and the West Bank. The events that happened in Mecca should not be underestimated. These are very important points. They force Muslims out of their bases and their homes just because they pray. Purging Islamic works from their Islamic qualities is one of

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on February 4, 2011

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on February 4, 2011

the dangerous things that is happening in front of Muslims' eyes in the world. Everybody is so busy with side issues and trivial matters that they do not realize what is happening in the world of Islam. This is a plot hatched by the enemies against the world of Islam.¹

The deadly raid by the Zionists on Gaza aid flotilla

The criminal and brutal attack by the Zionist regime on the Gaza aid flotilla is another link in the chain of the great crimes committed by that criminal and evil regime during the seventh decade of its disgraceful existence. This is another example of the blatant and merciless actions which the Muslims of the region, particularly the oppressed people of Palestine, have been faced with for several decades. This time, it was not an Islamic or Arab convoy. Rather, it was a convoy which represented global public opinion and human consciences from across the world. This criminal attack must have convinced everybody that Zionism is a modern, yet more violent, form of fascism which is supported by governments that claim to support freedom and human rights – especially, the American government.

America, Britain, France and other European governments which provide political, media, military and economic support for these natural-born murderers and which have always backed the tragedies caused by them, should answer for their actions. People with awakened consciences from across the world should seriously consider what dangerous phenomenon humanity is currently faced with in the critical Middle East region. A bloodthirsty, shameless and insane regime is currently ruling occupied Palestine and its oppressed and bereaved people. What is the meaning of the three years of food and medicine blockade imposed on 1.5 million women, men and children who live in Gaza? How can one justify the massacre, imprisoning and daily torture of youth in Gaza and the West Bank?²

1. Part of a speech delivered on April 5, 2000 in a meeting with government officials and scientific and political personalities

2. Part of a message issued on December 1, 2004 following the Zionist raid on the Gaza aid flotilla

Part V

Bright Prospects

Chapter 1

Solutions

Negotiation: forbidden and useless

The Palestinian nation should not, and cannot, seek its freedom and rights in conferences that are arranged by leaders of the Arab countries. These conferences – if not inauspicious – are at least useless and futile for the oppressed Palestinians. These leaders who have come together these days in the name of Palestine – if they were sincerely thinking about saving Palestine, they should have adopted a decisive and firm position against the hypocritical proposal by the American President and they should have decided to immediately provide weapons and financial and political assistance for the combatants who are fighting inside occupied Palestine. They should not have limited themselves to hollow slogans. And if this does not happen – which has not happened yet and will not happen in the future either, considering the current situation of the Arab world and its leaders – Palestinian combatants should rely on God and their popular and Islamic forces and they should know: “How often has a small party vanquished a numerous host by Allah's permission, and Allah is with the patient.” [The Holy Quran, 2: 249]¹

National faith: superior to nuclear power

They do not know that there is a kind of power is that superior to their nuclear power. This power is the power of the people of nations. A nation that believes in one ideological foundation and stands firm to defend it: no kind of power can be used to subdue such a nation, be it nuclear power or something superior or inferior to nuclear power.

1. Part of a message issued on May 31, 1990 on the occasion of the first demise anniversary of Imam Khomeini (r.a.)

They underestimate the power of nations and the power of Allah the Exalted who is behind the willpower, determination and actions of the people of nations. "All do We aid: these as well as those." [The Holy Quran, 17: 20] Allah the Exalted will help any group of people who work towards the goals they believe in. If a group of people have faith in God, then it will be ten times more difficult to engage in a fight with them and to defeat them. Is it easy to defeat such a group? Anybody who fights the power of nations and their people will be crushed. America will be crushed as well. These people want to break the resistance of the Palestinian nation, but they cannot do so.

Anyway, what will happen in the end? The event that has happened today has a surface and an inner aspect. The surface of the event is what I discussed previously: a group of people are pressuring women, men, old ladies, children and others, relying on coercion, bayonets, guns, tanks and America's political support. They kill these innocent people, destroy their homes, put handcuffs on them, humiliate them, force them out of their homes in an insulting way and displace families. This is the surface of the issue. The inner aspect of the issue is that this apparently dominant power is melting from within. The Palestinian nation has made up its mind. Combatant Palestinian organizations – including Fatah, Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah and others – have come together and made a decision. They have all come to the same conclusion and they have realized that the only way to save Palestine is to prepare for self-sacrifice. They have experienced martyrdom and they have realized that the enemy is helpless in the face of martyrdom, martyrdom missions and those who are not afraid of death. And Yasser Arafat has announced that he is prepared for martyrdom: this is a good decision. We hope that he does not reconsider his decision and stands by his word. A person who is martyred in the way of God remains alive: his thoughts and character stay alive. However, a person who does not voluntarily make sacrifices for the sake of his ideals, might stay physically alive for a while, but his character and identity die with his body. Martyrdom: this is what the people of Palestine have realized. We hope that the officials of the Palestinian Authority will stand by their word. We

hope that they will accompany their people on this path and will refuse to surrender. The enemy is growing weaker on a daily basis.¹

General guidelines for fighting the Zionist regime

The following should be the general guidelines for fighting the usurper regime:

a) Containing the usurper regime within the borders of occupied Palestinian lands, constraining its economic and political breathing space and severing its links with its surrounding environment.

b) Helping the Palestinian people resist and struggle within their own homeland and providing them with whatever they need until they achieve ultimate victory.²

Resistance of the people of Palestine: an obstacle in the way of Israel

Of course, the Palestinian nation is powerful: it has proven this. The Palestinian nation has proven that it has the power to resist. It has proven that it is highly motivated and that it will undoubtedly break the teeth of the brutal and blood-thirsty aggressor. With its resistance and steadfastness, the Palestinian nation has created a big and insoluble problem for the fake and usurping Zionist state, a problem that this fake state had not faced over the past 50 years. The pressure that the Zionists and their supporters exert on the oppressed people of Palestine is because their movement and their uprising have created such a problem for global arrogance and colonialism that all calculations have been ruined.

Of course, the world of Islam should consider this issue seriously. The world of Islam must keep the issue in mind. It must identify and fulfill its responsibility towards this issue. Then, things will be followed up in the right way and by Allah's favor, there will be bright future prospects.³

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered in Tehran on April 5, 2002

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's inaugural address delivered on April 24, 2001 at the International Conference on the Palestinian Intifada

3. Part of a speech delivered on November 26, 2001 in a meeting with government officials on the occasion of Eid ul-Fitr

The remedy for Palestine: Islam and unity

Thanks to Islam and unity, Afghan mujahids managed to force out the foreign army and if they continue relying on these two factors, they will manage to establish the kind of government that they want and deserve and they will manage to remove the current dependent regime from power. These two factors are the remedy to all the problems that Palestine and Lebanon are suffering from.¹

1. Part of a speech delivered on November 26, 2001 in a meeting with government officials on the occasion of Eid ul-Fitr

Chapter 2

Fallacies

Fallacy: the Palestinian issue is an Arab issue

Of course, Many Arab governments failed the test miserably in the case of Gaza and in the case of other issues that preceded the issue of Gaza. Whenever they had to comment on the issue of Palestine, they repeatedly said that the issue of Palestine was an Arab issue. And whenever it came to taking action, the issue of Palestine was completely eliminated from all their equations. Instead of helping Palestine and the Palestinians, instead of helping their Arab brothers, they all left the arena. If they do not believe in Islam, they should at least be committed to their common ethnic background as Arabs. They failed the test miserably. These things will go down in history. The rewards and punishments will not be delayed until the Day of Judgment. They will receive the rewards and punishments in this world as well, just as divine assistance for those who engage in jihad will not be delayed until the next world. In the ayah that was recited in this meeting – which was also repeated by Mr. Khaled Meshaal – angels say, “We are your guardians in this life and in the hereafter.” [The Holy Quran, 41: 31] Therefore, this assistance is not just for the hereafter. In this world, God’s angels and spiritual forces assist “those who say our Lord is Allah, then continue in the right way.” [The Holy Quran, 41: 30]¹

At times some people are heard to say that Palestine is an Arab issue. What does that mean? If it means that there is a stronger feeling of consanguinity among the Arabs, who are willing to offer Palestine greater services and do more struggle for its sake, that is something

1. Part of a speech delivered on February 27, 2010 in a meeting with leaders of the combatant Palestinian groups

desirable and we welcome it. But if it means that the heads of some Arab countries should refuse to pay attention to the cries of help of the Palestinian people which are addressed to all Muslims, if it means that they may collaborate with the ruthless usurper enemy in such an important case as the tragedy of Gaza while loudly condemning others who cannot remain indifferent to their call of duty to help Gaza, then no proud and conscientious Muslim or Arab will accept it or spare the speaker of disapproval and reproach. It is the same as the logic of Akhzam, who used to beat his father and shout at the people who interfered. After him, his son would beat the grandfather with his fists. The fable is the source of an Arabic proverb:

انَّ بَنَى رَمَلُونِي بِالْأَمِّ شَيْشِيَّةً أَعْرِفُهَا مِنْ أَخْزَمٍ¹

Fallacy: it is impossible to wipe out Israel

In the contemporary world, there have been countries whose governments were run for 50 or 60 years by those who did not belong to those countries. But the situation changed later on and the usurpers were pushed aside. Following the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, you saw that many countries were restored to their own people. Such things are possible and not unprecedented in the world: this happened in our times and before our eyes. The same thing should happen in Palestine and it will happen, sooner or later.²

Iran is opposed to both the usurping Zionist state and its people

A person announced his opinion on the people who live in Israel. Of course, what he said is wrong. It is wrong to claim that we are friends with the people of Israel, just as we are friends with the people of different countries. This claim is illogical. Who are the people of Israel? They are the ones who have usurped the Palestinians' homes, homeland, farms and business. The people of Israel are a tool in the

1. Part of a speech delivered on March 4, 2009 at the 4th international conference in support of the people of Palestine

2. Part of the Supreme Leader's speech delivered on November 4, 2005 in a meeting with government officials on the occasion of Eid ul-Fitr

hands of the Zionist elements to achieve their goals. A Muslim nation cannot be indifferent to the people who are being used as a tool in the hands of the archenemies of the Muslim world. We have no problems with Jews. We have no problems with Christians. We have no problems with followers of other religions in the world. But we have problems with those who have occupied Palestinian lands and it is not just the Zionist regime which has occupied Palestinian lands. This is the position of the Islamic Republic. This is the position of the Revolution. This is the position the Iranian people. Somebody made a wrong comment and there were some reactions. Well, it is necessary to put an end to this issue. Making different remarks here and there and provoking different reactions is not correct. This would cause tension in the country. A wrong comment was made, but that is that: it is over. The comment does not reflect the position of the Islamic Republic. Israel is different from other countries in that its people, unlike the people of other countries, are living on occupied lands. The Jewish settlements in Palestine are currently used by the individuals who are known as the people of Israel. They are the ones who have been armed by the fake Zionist state to fight the Palestinian people so that the Palestinians do not dare approach those settlements.¹

1. Part of the Supreme Leader's Friday prayer sermons delivered on September 20, 2008

Chapter 3

Promise of Victory

Divine promise: liberation of Quds

In spite of all the legitimate concerns that were expressed, by Allah's favor, many of you will see the day when Muslims regain control over holy Quds. We may or may not live long enough to see that day, but one day the people of Palestine and the people of the world will see the liberation of Quds.¹

Israel and America: doomed to annihilation

Our position on the issue of Palestine is clear. We believe that annihilation of the Israeli regime is the solution to the issue of Palestine. Do not say this is not possible. There is no such thing as "impossible" in the world. Everything is possible. Forty years has passed since the establishment of the Zionist regime and it might last another forty years, but annihilation is the destiny of the Israeli government. It is doomed to annihilation. Until a while ago, nobody would have thought that the eastern superpower would fall apart like that. Two years ago, if somebody said the eastern superpower would be annihilated, certain people would have accused him of naiveté in a philosophical tone. The day when Imam Khomeini (r.a.) wrote in his letter to Gorbachev that Marxism would be consigned to museums, certain people sneered. His prophesy was fulfilled in two or three years. Everything changed in less than one year after the demise of Imam Khomeini (r.a.). Why would such things be impossible?

America's power will decline as well. America will fall apart as well. This infernal power cannot be permanent. Israel will disappear

1. Part of a speech delivered on February 27, 2010 in a meeting with leaders of the combatant Palestinian groups

as well. This is what the people of Iran and the Islamic Republic say and it will happen. This will be possible thanks to your vigilance and thanks to the vigilance of Muslim nations. We must make efforts. It is our duty to make efforts.¹

Heroic defense of Palestine by young generations

This epic is the continuation of the legitimate struggle of the Palestinians, a struggle which benefits from the enthusiasm of a young generation which has been trained in revolutionary activities and jihad. This shows that the present generation has chosen the correct path to achieve victory, a path which the current generation is determined to follow decisively and resolutely.

I salute the entire Palestinian nation - particularly those who engage in jihad and follow the path of Intifada. I would like to tell you that your movement will receive increasing support from Muslims and revolutionaries. And by Allah's favor, you will eventually overwhelm the occupiers.

The Islamic Republic of Iran will proudly continue to support this holy movement and the most pious people of Iran will continue to pray for your success.

"If you help (the cause of) Allah, He will help you and make your foothold firm." [The Holy Quran, 47: 7]²

Victory: ensured by the Holy Quran

Dear people, the more the Iranian nation has moved closer to the Holy Quran, the more it has moved closer to dignity, deliverance, salvation and victory. The deliverance of all nations in the world depends on moving closer to Islam and the Holy Quran. The same is true of Palestine. Notice that for fifty years, a usurping government has been in power in Palestine. During this time, certain actions have been taken to confront this regime, but they have not achieved any results. Why? Because God's religion, Islamic faith and Quranic command were not the standard in these actions. Today the Palestinian nation is fighting the enemy in the name of Islam and this

1. Part of a speech delivered on July 30 1991 in a meeting with released Iranian POWs

2. Part of a message issued to the people of Palestine on October 4, 2000

fight has shaken the foundations of the enemy's camp.¹

God's promise to sincere mujahids

The current situation of Palestine shows signs of a definite future that God has promised for sincere and steadfast mujahids and this promise cannot be broken. The oppressive and brutal Zionist regime – supported by America, global Zionism and reactionary Christians – thinks that it will manage to defeat the Palestinian nation with the crimes and tragedies it causes. The Zionist regime thinks that it will manage to force Palestine to surrender. This is a big mistake and those who make this mistake will be severely punished in the future. The butchers of Tel Aviv have only managed to murder innocent people and destroy cities, but they have not managed to undermine the firm determination of Palestinian mujahids. The Intifada is a divine sign and it will punish the disgraced criminals severely.²

Promise of a unified Islamic identity

A glance at the present situation of Palestine – in which a government adhering to the indisputable principle of "liberation from Zionist occupation" has taken office – and comparing it with the loneliness, isolation and weakness of the Palestinian nation in the past... and a glance at the young generation in the Islamic countries, a thriving generation with an inclination towards Islamic values and with growing hatred of America and the west: A glance at all of these things would present a clear picture of the ill fortune and failed policies of the western arrogant powers, especially America. It would make one hopeful about the formation of a unified Islamic identity.³

Raising the flag of Palestine through resistance

I clearly see that in the near future, Palestine and its flag will attract the attention of the entire world against the will of America, the Zionists and compromised elements of certain regional countries. The

1. Part of a speech delivered on October 30, 2000 at the end of a Quran competition

2. Part of a message to an international conference in support of Palestine issued on June 2, 2002

3. Excerpts from the Supreme Leader's hajj message issued on December 29, 2006

requirement for this important future is that the people of Palestine should remain vigilant. They must not stop fighting for the sake of a life of humiliation. They must not refrain from expressing the truth for the sake of a short life of humiliation under the enemy's blood-stained sword. Thankfully, this requirement has already been met.

Members of the generation that handed Palestine over to the enemy are long gone and members of the generation that decided to negotiate – in the hope that they would get the basic essentials of life – are dying out. The current generation is determined to live up to what is expected of a Muslim nation by relying on Islam and its knowledge of the Holy Quran. These are the signs of the great task that they have undertaken.

The occupiers of Palestine should not constantly think of dragging different countries into the issue and claiming that the Islamic Republic of Iran is inciting the Palestinians. It is not necessary for anybody to incite them. Thanks to Islamic Awakening, Muslim nations are vigilant today. It is not necessary for anybody to encourage them or to tell them what to do. They do not need anybody to give them a pat on the back. They know what to do. Today Palestinian youth are present in the arena and the young generation has found the path of dignity, happiness and Islamic faith. Of course, the pure hearts of sincere people throughout the world of Islam beat for them. This compassion is not particular to Iran. If you go to Egypt, you will see the same thing. If you go to Africa, you will see the same thing. The same is true of Asia and the Middle East. If you travel to any Islamic country – regardless of what Islamic denomination the people of that country follow – you will see that their hearts beat for Palestine and its people.¹

1. Part of a speech delivered on November 8, 1996 in a meeting with people from various social backgrounds