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**IMAM KHOMEINI'S MESSAGE
FOR
(the 5 th of June / 15 th of Khordad)**



*Council for the Celebrations
of the Third Anniversary
of the Victory of the Islamic Revolution*

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Chapter One: Background

The phenomena of the people's arising on the 15th of Khordad '42 (June 5, 1963) hardly needs to be underlined. It was the basis for the Islamic Revolution which took place sixteen years later.

Two years after the Revolution, this most important moment in time has not been understood by the world outside of Iran. No one has studied the natural unfolding of the people's resentment through the great, decisive, uncompromising speeches, messages and declarations of Imam Khomeini. Without a glance at least, at them, the whole question of why people arise, what causes that spark to be lit, what causes that feeling of suffocation to overflow cannot be understood. It is not without evil intention towards the rights of human beings that Time Magazine, the organ of the American government, was to blatantly declare, after choosing Imam Khomeini as the Man of the Year in 1980, "(Imam Khomeini) has made it plain that every effort must be made to avoid the rise of other Khomeinis" (Time, January 7, 1980).

What had this man done to deserve such an opinion? His support of Islam led to the most significant, most profound event in the entirety of contemporary Islamic history. The impact of it has manifested itself in different ways and in different degrees throughout the length and

breadth of the Islamic world, from Morocco to Indonesia from Bosnia in the heart of Europe to Africa.

But we are moving ahead of ourselves. We must first study the spark for the heart of the issue lies there, the essence of the reason for a people to arise in spite of every effort being made to keep them under foot, to suffocate and pressure the feeling in such a way as to change the course of its direction. All opposition to the arising of a humanity was to no avail.

In accordance with the confession of nearly all of the American Presidents since 1952, the coup d'etat of that year in Iran was planned and carried out by the C.I.A. It prepared the way for the beginning of the widespread influence of America in Iran. The geo-political importance of Iran in addition to its vast natural resources caused America to spare no efforts in bringing the country under its domination. It was such that in the decade of the 70's, Iran was the strongest support of America in the third world countries.

With the strengthening of an American dominated Shah the imperialists began a new plan in order to penetrate further and improve their own interests with the intention of preventing or demolishing the freedom fighters and seekers of justice. Kennedy in his speech to the Congress in May 25, 1961 said that America could not just pay attention to the problems of underdeveloped countries from a military point of view. The 'dangers' which approach these countries must be understood in order to bring 'hope' to these people.

Based on this thesis of the then President Kennedy, the Shah was presented with an American conceived White Revolution - a revolution in words only whose content was completely lacking in relevance - to hide the ugly visage of exploitation and colonialism. The unbe-

lievable part is that the since deposed, deceased Shah actually allowed himself to be used to present this deceiving mask of his American masters. But then again, as they had installed him through the C.I.A. coup d'etat, he was not independent to begin with.

In order to prepare the groundwork and in order to study the Islamic forces, the regime of the Shah began with a proposal of the council of ministers entitled 'district councils'. The proposal was against the Constitution for such proposals were only allowed to be presented from the Parliament. The content itself was also against the Constitution for it did away with the requirement of being a Muslim. It was to be the beginning for Zionist factors (i.e. Bahais) to enter the political scene.

Imam Khomeini with complete attentiveness to the situation and with his insight saw the roots of the treachery. He gathered the *ruhaniyun* together and sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of that time. . . "In reference to the previous telegram, it is obvious that you pay no attention to the advice of the religious leaders of Islam who are the advisors of the people and sympathizers of the community. You think you can rise above the Holy Quran, the Constitution and public sentiment. The religious leaders of Qom, Najaf and other cities have informed you that your illegal proposal is against the Divine Law of Islam and the Constitution and the laws of Parliament.

"If you think that by applying force for a few days you can replace the Holy Quran with the Avesta, the Bible or books which mislead people and you are attempting to do away with the officiality of the Quran - the only great, heavenly Book of the millions of Muslims of the world - and you want to revive the dead and worship the ancient past, you are in great error . . . If you

think that with a false proposal which is against the Constitution, you can shake the foundations of the Constitution which is the guarantor of the rights of the people and the independence of the country, and in this way, open the road for the traitors of Islam and Iran, you are in great error. I once again advise you to swear allegiance to God, the Almighty, and the Constitution. Fear the perilous end of the violation of the Quran, the jurisdictions of the religious leaders of the people and the beliefs of Muslims and violation of the Constitution. Do not purposefully or unwarily throw the country into danger for the religious leaders will not withhold their opinion of you.”

Following this, a flood of opposition of the Muslim people caused the government a set back and a withdrawing of this proposal.

The American Shah, a few months later, presented a six point plan which was to paralyze the economy of the country handing it over to the imperialists and the zionists. The Imam and other religious leaders boycotted the referendum and recommended the people not to participate in something which would be against their interests and the independence of the country. Soldiers policed the streets for the January 26, 1963 (Bahman 6, 1341) referendum. Against the objections of the people only a few thousand voted for the deceitful referendum.

Struggling against the referendum, Imam Khomeini and other religious leaders declared that the New Year Festival (March 21, 1963/Farvardin 1, 1342, the day of the vernal equinox) was to be a time of mourning. The circular of the *marajie* was distributed among the people. It was called, “The ruhaniyun have no New Year Festival this year.” Thus in March of 1963, no New Year Festival was planned by the supporters of the ruhaniyun. The

activated ruhaniyun were alive and they refused to allow the puppet show to continue without pointing out the contradictions. Imam Khomeini realized that it was a good time during the few days holiday to awaken the people. It was because of this that he sent out his declaration calling for a time of public mourning for the people to show their disagreement with the political policies of the Shah.

The movement spread and fires of the Revolution were lit everywhere.

The Ruhaniyun Have No New Year Festival This Year

. . . as you know, the ruling group has arisen with all of its efforts to do away with the necessary precepts of Islam and following that there is something which will endanger Islam. Thus I declare this New Year Festival to be a time of mourning for the Imam of the Age (**عج**). I announce a danger to the people. It is best if the other gentlemen choose this way so that the Muslim people will become aware of the danger which has come to Islam and Muslims. Greetings and blessings of God be upon you.

Ruhollah al-Mousavi al-Khomeini

-March 14, 1963

-(Shawwal 16, 1382/Esfand 23, 1341)

Chapter Two: The Faiziyyeh Massacre

The Imam's cry awakened the people. He used the holidays to keep the movement alive. With his delcaration, he lit the flames of Islam in the hearts of the people. His words went out from Qom to the most remote areas of the country.

The government's position grew worse daily. They realized they had no opening among the masses. Only foreigners and the foreign influenced supported them.

The then Shah was worried by the widespread resistance of the ruhaniyat. They thought since Imam Khomeini was the leader of the movement and Qom was the center of the movement, they should plan their attack there. The since deposed Shah conceived of something which he thought would cause such fear in the ruhaniyun that they would not have the courage to interfere for seveal years.

His agents attacked the ruhaniyun at the Faiziyyeh Center of Learning in Qom. The despotic Shah thought a bloody scene would be the best way to destroy the foundation of the movement. People would be afraid. They would withdraw their support and they would become as a graveyard where all is silence.

On the 25th of Shawwal, 1382 which corresponded to March 22, 1963 (Farvardin 2, 1342 A.H.), the anniversary of the death of the sixth Shi'ite Imam, Imam

Jafar Sadiq (ء), a ceremony was to be held at the Faiziyyeh Center. Thousands of people went to Qom to spend their holidays near the shrine of Hazrat Fatima Massoumeh. The secret police of the Shah, dressed as the masses, moved among the people chanting, "Down with the Quran; down with Islam".

The Shah's booted forces fell upon the Faiziyyeh *hauziyeh* and began a massacre. On this historic day, while the courtyard of Faiziyyeh was filled to the length and breadth, where the gathering of the people was like waves upon the sea, and the religious leaders, one after another, went upon the pulpit to speak to the crowd, to make use of the opportunity to awaken the people, the agents of the Shah began to implement their ominous, treacherous plan to destroy Islam and the enlightening precepts of the Quran.

The quiet space full of spirituality of that great Islamic Center of Learning, which had to date only seen Islamic discussions and had only received heavenly benefits suddenly heard the cries of "Long live the Shah! Death to Islam. Death to the Quran!".

The agents of the Shah, armed with sticks and clubs, mercilessly fell upon the unarmed theological students and teachers. The soldiers of Islam, the *mujahidin* ruhaniyun, disciplined in the school of thought and action of the Quran were struck down so that their blood flowed upon the earth. They burned the Quran and any other book they could find.

The killers of the Shah, instead of logically and correctly answering the desires and objectives of the Muslim people who only asked for the severance of all political, military and economic relations with Israel, who had adapted to poverty and a diet of dates and dried bread in a country with enormous natural re-

sources, were met with death, torture and plunder.

The day of the 25th of Shawwal, the day of the martyrdom of Imam Jafar Sadiq, which has always been a day of mourning and sorrow, became even more so after the massacre of the armed agents of the regime.

Some of the people ran into the streets to tell the religious leaders about the attack. They found the door to Imam Khomeini's house open. When they went in and told him of the attack, he said:

“Do not be unhappy or worried. Do not become anxious. Remove fear and fright from yourself. You are followers of the leaders who persevered when confronted by difficulties and tragedies. That which we see today is nothing in comparison to what they suffered. Our great leaders who suffered a day like Ashura and the night of the 11th of Moharram, they suffered all of these difficulties for the religion of God. What do you say today? What are you afraid of? Why are you anxious? It is an imperfection for someone who pretends to follow Hazrat Ali and Imam Hosein to lose themselves when faced by these disgraceful acts of the ruling regime. The ruling regime made a disgrace of themselves by doing these crimes. They clearly showed their Chengis Khan essence. The tyrannical rule has made its defeat and destruction definite by committing this tragedy.

“We are victorious. We had asked God for this regime to disclose its essence and to disgrace itself. The great leaders of Islam were killed, imprisoned and made sacrifices in order to preserve Islam and the precepts of the Holy Quran. They persevered and passed the religion of Islam into our hands today.

“Today is our duty to be prepared to bear any kind of

difficulties when faced by the danger which awaits Islam and Muslims so that we can curtail the hands of the traitors to Islam, prevent their personal, selfish motives and their point of view.

--Shawwal 25, 1383

(March 22, 1962/Farvardin 2, 1342)

Imam Khomeini knew that the only purpose of the Shah for the spilling of blood, massacre, selling of the nation and his dictatorship was to destroy the struggle of the supporters and warriors of Islam. He knew that sacrificing upon the way of God and for God's creatures will consist of victory and defeat, respect and insults, whippings, martyrdom and hundreds of other difficulties. It could not be expected that a person who moves towards a high, sacred and pure goal in order to establish social justice and an Islamic system of rule when confronting oppressors in the battle of Truth against falsehood not face torture or harm.

He knew that this blood unjustly spilt in the courtyard of Faiziyyeh would boil up. The crimes and massacres of the Shah would not be forgotten. He knew that the despotic regime could not wash the innocent blood of these people from their hands.

Chapter Three: Response to Telegrams

The next day the agents returned to Faiziyyeh to continue their vicious attack. More people were killed. At the time of this attack, the Tabriz theological center was also attacked, the authorities using the pretext of Imam Khomeini's declaration. It became a blood bath.

The Shah thought that with this bloodshed he would be relieved of the opposition. But with a new circular of Imam Khomeini called, "Being pro-Shah is equivalent to plundering," in that suffocating atmosphere, the Shah was again attacked. This historic circular exploded like a bomb in Iran and it became a thing of wonder. It amazed not only the Shah but the ruling group as well as all the people and groups.

At every moment the possibility existed that the court of the Shah attack another religious center and kill the students or the leaders. Imam Khomeini showed no fear. He gave hope to the people.

He responded to the telegram of the ruhaniyun in Tehran, thusly:

To the Ruhaniyun of Tehran
Through Haj Seyyid Asghar Khoyi
In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate
The Return is to God

Your telegram of condolences for the great tragedy

which has occurred to Islam and Muslims is appreciated. The attack upon the spiritual center by the disguised commandos and security agents of the government in normal clothes and the support they received from the police department recalls the Mongols with this difference that the Mongols attacked a foreign country whereas they have attacked their own Muslim nation, their ulema and theological students who were present on the day marking the death of Imam Jafar Sadiq (ع). With the slogan, "Long live the Shah", they suddenly attacked the center of Imam Sadiq (ع) and his physical and spiritual children. In a matter of one or two hours, the Faiziyyeh School - the university of the Imam of the Time (ع) was plundered in a tragic way before 20,000 Muslims. They broke all of the doors and windows of the center. The theological students, in fear of their lives, threw themselves down from the rooftops. They broke their legs and fractured their skulls. (The agents) gathered the turbans of the students and the turbans of the Seyyids of the Prophet together and burned them. They threw down sixteen and seventeen year old children from the rooftops. I was told that they tore books and the Quran to pieces.

Now the religious leaders and students are not safe in this sacred city. Commandos and policemen have surrounded the homes of the ulema . The agents threatened that they would destroy the other centers of theology in the same way. The theological students, out of fear, have changed their religious clothes to disguise themselves. (The regime) has given orders to buses and taxis not to pick up theological students. In public gatherings, agents insult the ruhaniyun in general and specific ones, in particular. They call them indecent names. Policemen distribute insulting circulars with signatures of unknown

people.

With pro-Shah slogans they insult the religious people. Pro-Shah means plundering, insulting Islam, violating the rights of Muslims and violating the Centers of Learning. Pro-Shah means striking blows to the Quran and Islam, burning the symbols of Islam, obliterating the works of Islam. Pro-Shah means violating the precepts of Islam and misinterpreting the laws of the Quran. Pro-Shah means destroying the ulema and abolishing the religious treatises.

Do you gentlemen realize that Islamic principles are endangered? The Quran and religion are endangered with these acts. It is forbidden to use pious dissimulation (*taqiyyeh*) and it is necessary (*vajib*) to express the truth.

Now that there is no possibility for the *marajie* to place a complaint in Iran and because the will of the people of this country is being currently played in an insane way, I ask for the interpellation of the Prime Minister. With what authority did you attack the Tehran bazaar two months ago, wounding and injuring the religious leaders and other Muslims? With what authority did you drag scholars and (people of) other classes to prison to the extent that the prisons are now filled with these people? With what authority did you spend public money for a useless public referendum? The referendum belongs to the Shah and he is, thanks be to God, one of the wealthiest human beings. With what authority are the agents of the government paid salaries from the public purse and you oblige them to work for a personal referendum? With what authority did you plunder the bazaar of Qom two months ago. You violated the Fai-ziyyeh Center of Learning. You beat the students and imprisoned them. With what authority did you send commandos and security agents on the day of the death

of Imam Sadiq (ع) in disguise to the Faiziyyeh Center of Learning to create all these tragedies?

I have now prepared my heart for the spears of your agents but I am not prepared to tolerate your despotic, coercive talk and to bow before your tyrannies when confronted by your crimes.

With the Will of God, I will express the precepts of God whenever it is necessary to do so and as long as I have a pen in my hands, I will condemn any action which is against the interests of the country. Now, one (part of me) cries for Muslims and their world and the other (part) cries for their religion and your rule of the past few months with your celebrations (for the referendum related to the White Revolution)! You have endangered the economy, agriculture, technology, culture and religion of the country. From whatever point of view you look at it, respect has collapsed. Oh God Almighty, preserve Islam and Muslims in the shelter of the Quran.

Ruhullah al-Mousavi al-Khomeini
Shawwal 27, 1382/March 24, 1963/Farvardin 4, 1342

After this, the ruhaniyun announced a three day strike. When the three days ended, the agents of the regime prevented the bazaar from opening. People marched through the streets saying, "Imam Khomeini is victorious". The regime, in fear of its life, said that the attack on the ruhaniyun in Iraq, supposedly by the people, was because of these demonstrations in Iran. But it part of their fabrications.

Ayatullah Hakim, in Iraq, sent a telegram to the ruhaniyun asking them to migrate to Iran. Imam Khomeini consulted with other religious leaders in Qom and they all decided that to migrate would be to leave the field empty. Imam Khomeini replied to Ayatullah Ha-

kim's telegram in the following way:

Your telegram of condolences for the great tragedy is greatly appreciated. It is hoped that with *Unified Expression (vahdat-i-kalimah)*, the Islamic religious leaders and present *marajie* will preserve the independence of the country, curtail the hands of the foreigners, defend the honor of Islam and the Holy Quran and not allow the hands of foreigners to be extended towards the Islamic lands of Muslims.

We know that with a migration of the *marajie* and religious scholars of the great Shi'ite center, to ruined, distant areas, (the forces) will be further pulled by the influence of atheists and our brothers of faith will be tortured. We know that with the migration, great changes will take place from which we are afraid.

We are presently in the midst of this fire and we have patiently borne threats to our life. We defend the rights of Islam, Muslims, the honor of the Quran and the independence of the Islamic country and to the point that it is possible, we will preserve religious centers. We call for silence. We will remain calm unless the despotic government wants to take a way which obliges us to do something which requires us to seek refuge with God.

I extend the hand of sincerity to all Muslims, especially, the religious scholars and the great *marajie*. I beg of all groups to preserve the precepts of Islam and the independence of this Islamic country. I seek their help. I am certain that with *Unified Expression (vahdat-i-kalimah)*, Muslims will break the ranks of the enemies so that they never think about violating Islamic countries.

With the Will of God, we will continue to perform our divine duty. With the Will of God, we will benefit from the blessings of God by curtailing the hands of the

traitors who betray the honor of Islam and the Holy Quran, with the blessings of God. Whether we succeed or whether we die does not matter for we have done our duty. We have either curtailed the hands of foreigners from Islam and the Quran or we have achieved closeness to the Mercy of God. As Imam Hosein said, "Happiness is death and contempt is living with oppression."

The ruling tyrannical group is trying in every way possible to do away with the light of God.

—Ruhullah al-Mousavi al-Khomeini

This historic circular and epic making response to Ayatullah Hakim's telegram forced the Shah to play another card. He ordered all of the ruhaniyun in Qom to be drafted into the army on April 21, 1962 (Ordibehesht 1, 1342) Imam Khomeini sent a letter to those called up for military service. He said, "The great responsibility you now have is to enlighten and bring awareness to the soldiers and officers that you work with. It is necessary that you show no negligence in performing this sacred duty."

The agents of the regime with complete savagery rounded up all of the young ruhaniyun from the streets and alleys in Qom. They tore up their cards which had been provided by the Ministry of Culture and took them to the barracks.

Following the arrest of the ruhaniyun, some who were scholars at the Faiziyyeh Center of Learning like Shaykh Ali Akbar Hashimi Rafsanjani, who were then sent to the barracks, Imam Khomeini sent a message to the barracks.

"Do not be anxious. Do not let fear overtake you. Have courage. Raise your heads. Keep your spirits strong. Wherever you are, you are the soldiers of the Imam of

the Age (عه). You must perform your military service. The heavy burden which is now placed upon your shoulders is to enlighten and awaken the soldiers and officers who you relate to. You must not be negligent in performing this sacred Islamic duty. Learn your military lessons with complete seriousness and perseverance both physically and spiritually. Make yourselves strong. God forbid any weakness or trembling should be seen in you which might cause the humiliation of the ruhaniyun and for you it will have unpleasant effects . . .

In answer to telegrams from the ruhaniyun in Yazd, Imam Khomeini stated the following which is just one example of hundreds of such answers to the telegrams which made people aware of the deceitful and treacherous actions of the regime.

**In Answer to the Telegram
of the Ruhaniyun of Yazd**
*In the Name of God,
the Merciful, the Compassionate*

It is necessary to draw the attention of these gentlemen to the present and the past of the despotic rule. In the past, they insulted Islam and the Quran and they wanted the Quran to be like the books which lead one astray.

The things that the government does with evil intentions is to help more than 2000 people of a group who have gone astray (Bahais). They gave each one \$500, equivalent to a 1200 tomans reduction in their plane ticket with the intention that this group would gather in a place arranged for them in London which is one hun-

dred percent against Islam. On the other hand, for the pilgrims going to Mecca, they raise as many difficulties as is possible and charge them for everything imaginable.

The gentlemen must know this and be aware of the fact that many of the despicable things done in sensitive areas are done by this group (Bahais) who are really the agents of Israel. The danger of Israel is very near for Islam and Muslims. A contract is formed or about to be formed between Israel and an Islamic government. It is necessary that the religious leaders and orators awaken the people so that at the right time we can prevent it. Today is not a time when we can act by silence. With silence and retirement from events, we will lose everything.

We owe Islam a duty (Islam has a right over us). The Prophet of Islam has a right. At this time when their efforts are threatened, the religious leaders of Islam and those who are attached to a sacred belief must act according to their duty. I have decided not to sit back until the corrupt ruling group is put in its place or ask forgiveness at the sacred threshold of God, the Most High. You religious scholars of Islam should make a decision. Know that victory is with us.

Oh God, increase the greatness of Islam, Muslims and religious leaders. May the mercy and blessings of God be upon you.

Chapter Four: The 40th Day after the Faiziyyeh Massacre

In Islam, the 7th day, 40th day and the year after the death of a person is celebrated by lamentation ceremonies. It was on the 40th day after the martyrdom of the teachers and students in Faiziyyeh that Imam Khomeini gave the following eulogy. In the year 1342, the 40th day co-incided with the month of Dhihajjeh, the first ten days of which, the pilgrims are in Mecca performing the Greater Pilgrimage.

The Message of Imam Khomeini on the 40th day of the martyrdom of the religious students in Faiziyyeh

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

Forty days have passed since the death and the terrible, damaging blow to our dear ones. It is forty days that the family of those killed in Faiziyyeh are in mourning for their dear ones. Yesterday the father of Seyyid Yunis Rudbari, bent with age, whose face was torn in pain from the great calamity, came to see me. How is it possible to offer condolences to the mothers who

have lost their children? And fathers in mourning?

We must offer condolences to the Prophet of Islam (ص) and the Imam of the Time (عج). We received this blow because of them. We have lost our youth. Our crime is that we want Islamic precepts and the independence of Iran to be preserved.

We have been insulted because of Islam. We are not sitting awaiting prison, torture and execution. Let the despotic ruling group do whatever inhuman thing it wants to do. Let them break the arms and legs of our youth. Let them throw out the sick from our hospitals. Us object to threats of death and insults? Let them destroy the center of religion and learning. Let them have the pigeons of sacred Islam wander from their nests.

In these 40 days we were not able to even make a complete accounting of those killed, wounded and plundered. We do not know how many people are under the earth, how many are living in the black cells of prisons and how many are in hiding? In the same way, we still do not know, after many years, how many people were killed at the Gowhar Shad mosque in Mashad who were carried away by the truckful.

The problem is this. Whatever organization we turn to says that that which has taken place has been an order from the Shah and that they have no choice. From the Prime Minister to the head of the police department and the major of Qom all say: the orders are from the auspicious one! They say, "The crime of the Faiziyyeh Center of Learning was his order. He ordered the sick to be expelled from the hospitals. It is his order."

"If in answering Ayatullah Hakim they do something send commandos, attack women in your homes, kill

you and plunder your homes - it is a command of his Majesty". "It is his command that without any legal authority we take religious students and they wear military clothes." "It is an order of his Majesty if we fall upon the universities and beat up the students."

The agents relate all law breaking acts to the Shah. If this is correct, we must recite a eulogy for Islam, Iran and the law. If it is not correct, and they lie, relating law-breaking and inhuman acts to the Shah, why does he not defend himself so that the duty of the people becomes clear in relationship to the government, so that the people come to know who the criminals are and at a suitable time, punish them for their actions.

I have repeatedly said that this government has evil intentions and that it opposes Islamic precepts. Example after example of this can be seen - the Ministry of Justice with its programs and doing away with Islam. With the conditions for judges they once again showed their opposition to Islamic precepts. From now on, Muslims must object and interfere in the actions of this government because some of the members of the government are the cause for the doing away with of Islam. As long as this illegal government is here, Muslims will not have a day of joy.

All of this lack of culture and these crimes are for the oil in Qom. The Center of Learning in Qom must be sacrificed for the oil of Qom? Or is it for Israel? Do they know about the contract with Israel against Muslim governments?

At any rate, we must be obliterated. Islam, Islamic precepts and jurisprudents must be sacrificed. The despotic government thinks that it can cause us to deviate with its inhuman actions and pressures. (What we want is) to prevent oppression, selfishness, the breaking

of the laws. (We want to) preserve Islamic laws and the people and establish social justice which is the great goal of Islam.

We who are the soldiers of the children of Islam are not afraid. We have no fear. Let our young people go to the barracks. Let them train the soldiers and raise the level of their thoughts. Let it be so that possibly with the Will of God, Iran will be freed and full of honor among the soldiers of Iran.

We see that the leaders of the government of Iran, those with rank, and the army are one with us in seeking this goal and are willing to sacrifice themselves in order to bring respect and honor to Iran. I know that those with rank, with a conscience, are not happy with these crimes and savagery. I am sorry for the pressure which is put upon them.

In order to save Islam and Iran, I extend a brotherly hand to them. I know that their hearts are anxious when faced with this surrender to Israel. (I know that) they are not in agreement with the trampling upon Iran by Jewish boots.

I announce to the heads of Islamic states, Arab and non-Arab governments: The religious leaders and orators and the believing people of Iran are one and brothers with the army and Islamic government. Their interests and loss are one, shoulder to shoulder. They despise the contract with Israel, the enemy of Islam and Iran. I have expressed this openly. Let the agents of Israel end my life.

It is suitable that the Muslim population of Iran and outside Iran, recall, on the 40th day of the great tragedy of Islam, the terrible difficulties which have fallen Islam and the Center of Learning of Qom. If the agents of the government do not prevent it, they should

hold a mourning ceremony and curse those who caused
this tragedy.

-Dhihajeh 2, 1382-
(April 10, 1962/Ordibehesht 10, 1342)

Chapter Five: Moharram, 1383

At the beginning of the month of Moharram, Imam Khomeini gave a historic fatwa to all the ruhaniyun that now that the month of Moharram has arrived, they should speak out at the religious gatherings which will be held.

In his telegram to the ruhaniyun of Tehran, Imam Khomeini forbid any further use of pious dissimulation (*taqiye*) and he makes speaking the truth necessary (*vajib*). In this way, compromise in any form with the regime is forbidden. He closed the way for the pseudo-ruhaniyun of the court and those who lacked the courage to speak the truth, who lacked the merit for struggling against oppression. No one could now seek out the way of compromise or use pious dissimulation to save themselves. The use of this precept which must be used on only very special and limited circumstances was being misused at that time.

In order to prevent religious innovations, the furthering of the corruption which had taken root, Imam Khomeini spoke out against these possible dangers which would be foreseen and which would threaten the movement. He directly and decisively expressed the issue so that the close packed masses of Muslims would know their duty.

This historic *fatwa* was given at the beginning of

the month of Moharram, 1383. It is the ninth (*tasu'a*) and tenth (*ashura*) of the month of Moharram when lamentation ceremonies are held for the martyrdom of Imam Hosein and his followers. *Ashura* marks the day when they died on the plains of Karbala.

The Beginning of Moharram, 1383

Guidelines of the Imam to the Religious Leaders Orators and Ruhaniyun

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

At this time when the tyrannical government, from fear that those who speak from the pulpits in Muslim gatherings will explain the cruel and anti-human acts, the anti-religious and anti-nationalist acts, they have placed their hands on another disgrace by taking guarantees from the religious leaders and orators that they will not speak of oppression and that they will leave the ruling regime alone. It is necessary to remind everyone that these guarantees not only have no legal value and opposing them has no effect, but those people who got the guarantee are criminals and should be punished.

It is strange that the ruling system has fearlessly done this. It feels that the people are with them and the majority support them. In this case, in all cities, in all villages, people have fallen on their hands and knees in spite of the threats of suffocation. If this claim is correct, leave this nation to itself and see the results.

The agreement of (16) million people will become clear to the world. Otherwise, the continuation of these lies, ordered to influence public opinion are against Islam and the interests of the nation. They are a crime

and capable of punishment.

You gentlemen and the orators should remind people that it is necessary to implement their religious precepts in Muslim gatherings at this time. They must learn from the Master of the Oppressed (Imam Hosein) and make efforts to keep the Divine Law (*shariat*) alive. Do not fear days of prison and threats. You gentlemen must know that the danger today to Islam is not less than the danger of the Umayyids.

The despotic system cooperates with Israel with all its power and acts for Israel's interests. The ruling system has placed propaganda into their hands. Their hands are open in the courts. There is a place open for them in the army, culture and other ministries. They have given them sensitive jobs. Remind the people of the danger of Israel and their agents to the people. Recall the tragedies to Islam, the centers of jurisprudence and the religion. Recall the Companions and followers of the Divine Law in the eulogies of the (passion plays). Declare your hatred against the traitor government for sending and facilitating several thousand enemies of Islam, the people and the nation to London to participate in anti-Islamic, anti-national meetings.

Silence at this time is to confirm the despotic rule and it is to aid the enemies of Islam. Fear this. Fear the wrath of God. You are responsible before God and the Muslim people if a harm comes to Islam because of your silence.

Remember the religion of God. Know that victory is with God. He will help you achieve success. Do not be afraid of the police and their savagery. They, like you, are obliged (to do their job). Many of them are with you

and fed up with the system.

-The beginning of Moharram, 1383
(May 24, 1962/Khordad 3, 1342)

Following his declaration to the ruhaniyun, mourning ceremonies were held throughout Iran. His revolutionary message took the revolution to the people in even the most distant and remote areas of the country.

Each mosque became a barricade. The numbers who participated increased daily. They opened up the hand of the Shah. They repeated, "Preserve the Constitution; end dictatorship."

The ruhaniyun had no intention to have an armed revolt. They felt once the situation was made clear to the people, they would cause the government to fall because of their anti-constitutional acts.

Imam Khomeini with his continuous efforts and clear thinking and his insight into Islam, in the months preceding Moharram, changed the form, essence and purpose of the ceremonies usually performed for Moharram. It had become part of the ritual for the men to beat their backs with chains in a particular rhythm as they marched for Imam Hosein. Imam Khomeini had told the orators to break the silence by speaking out against the oppression of the regime with courage so that the *dasteh* or group march, instead of beating their chests and heads or crying for the valiant children of Hazrat Ali, take the form of great demonstrations and manifest the energy in a widespread resistance against the handpicked agents of colonialism and despotism within the country.

Instead of the usual stories and recollections of

Imam Hosein, the orators spoke of the principle issues of Islam and the problems that were before them such as the world view and living discussions of Islam. They spoke of the high spirit and purpose of Hosein with a new insight. They spoke of the principles he stood for.

With the total efforts of the activated ruhaniyun, great demonstrations of the people against the despotic regime attached to foreigners began. The 9th and 10th of Moharram, 1383, the *tasu'a* and *'ashura* of Hosein reached its peak. On *'ashura* the number of participants exceeded 100,000 people.

The demonstrators who filled the streets of Tehran like a great river shouted living slogans. They kept their order throughout the nine hours of the march.

On this day, the solidarity of all of the active groups of resisters could be seen who joined to save their country from the claws of foreigners and their domination. The demonstrators consisted of all strata of society - ruhaniyun, bazaaris, peasants, etc. The demonstration was organized and concluded by the activated clergymen but all valuable forces of the country marched shoulder to shoulder with one purpose.

Some of the slogans chanted that day were:

“Do not oppress nor accept oppression.
This is the desire of Hosein and the logic of religion.”

“Khomeini, destroyer of idols.
Islam wants you.
Khomeini, destroyer of idols.
The people want you.”

The demonstrators supported the Constitution. They said it could not be destroyed. “Do not comprom-

ise with Israel either economically, militarily or socially.”
“Human rights and the freedom of society have been
corrupted.” “Dependence upon imperialism must stop.”
“The public purse should not be sent abroad.”

It was announced that on that day Imam Khomeini would give an important declaration in Qom. Thousands of people had walked miles to participate. The regime turned off the electricity hoping to prevent his speech from being heard. The people were ready with batteries. When he began there was total silence as the people awaited his words.

The Night of the 12th of Moharram

*In the Name of God,
the Merciful, the Compassionate
I seek protection in God from Satan*

Sometimes when I recall the tragedy of the day of Ashura, the question arises for me, if the Bani Umayyid and the ruling group of Yazid, the son of Mu'awiyeh, only had a war with Hosein, what was the reason behind their inhuman savage behaviour on the day of Ashura whereby defenseless women and innocent children suffered? What fault did the women and children have? What had the six-month old child of Imam Hosein done? In my opinion, they were dealing with principles. The Bani Umayyid and the rule of Yazid were against the family of the Prophet. They did not want the Bani Hashim. Their intentions was to do away with this branch.

Here this question arises: If the despotic ruling group has a fight with the marjaie and they oppose the religious

leaders of Islam, what did they have against the Quran that they tore it to pieces in their attack on the Faiziyyeh Center? What did they want with their religious scholars? What did they want with our 18 year old Seyyid (Seyyid Yunis Rudbari who was killed in the tragedy in Qom)? What had our 18 year old Seyyid done to the Shah? What had he done to the government? What had he done to the despotic ruling clique?

We reach this conclusion that they were after principles. They oppose the principles of Islam and the religious leaders. They do not want these principles to remain. They do not want our young and old to remain. Israel does not want the Quran to remain in this country. Israel does not want Islamic precepts to remain in this country. Israel does not want this country to have scholars. Israel, hand in hand with their black agents, destroyed the Faiziyyeh center. They will destroy us. They will destroy you people. They want to destroy your economy. They want to do away with your trade and agriculture. They want to take your capital. Israel wants to do away with whatever is against their interests, (whatever) stands in the way. The Quran is in their way and must be done away with. The religious leaders are in their way and must be suppressed. The Faiziyyeh School and other centers are in their way and must be destroyed. "The theological students may later turn against us. They must be killed. Throw them down from the roof tops. Their arms and legs must be broken." In order for Israel to satisfy its interests, the government of Iran insults us according to the plans and conspiracies of Israel.

You people of Qom recall the day with that erroneous referendum, the disgraceful referendum which was held, that referendum which was against the interests

of the people of Iran, took place with pressure and the force of knives, when a group of bullies started clashes and caused disturbances in the streets and alleys of Qom, in the spiritual centers around the shrine of Fatima Massoumeh. They placed the ruhaniyun in cars and said, "Sponging has ended. Eating rice has ended."

Are these students of theology who spend all the nights of their life and happy moments in these rooms, who have no more than forty to one hundred tomans a month, spongers whereas those whom only a part of their income is thousands or millions of tomans are not spongers? Are we spongers when on the night of the death of Haj Shaykh Abdul Karim, his sons had no dinner? When Ayatullah Burujerdi died, he left 600,000 tomans debt for the running of the Center of Learning. Was he a sponger? But those who have stockpiled from the banks of the poverty-stricken, built huge palaces on top of palaces and still do not free the people and are still thinking of ways to put the money of the people into their pockets and the pockets of Israel are not spongers? The world must judge. People must judge as to who is a sponger.

I advice you Mr. Shah! I give you this advice. Stop these -acts. I will not agree to a day when your masters want to praise you in front of the people. I do not want you to become like your father. You have an awakened Iranian people. The old men, the forty year olds and even the thirty year olds remember that foreign governments attacked us during the Second World War. The Soviet Union, Britain and America ran over Iran. They seized our country. Peoples' property was threatened, the beloved of the people disrespected. But God knows, the people were happy that Pahlavi (Reza Khan) left. I do not want your fate to be as this. I do not want you to

be like your father.

Listen to my advice. Listen to the religious leaders. Listen to the religious leaders of Islam. They want what is best for the country. They want only the best for the people. Do not listen to Israel. Israel is not worth anything to you. You miserable creature! You poor thing! Forty-five years of your life has passed, have a little patience. Be tactful. Look into the future and see a bit of its results. Take some advice. Learn from your father. If they speak the truth when they say you oppose Islam and the religious leaders, if they dictate this to you, think about it. Why do you speak out impatiently?

Are the religious leaders unclean animals? If they are unclean animals why do people love them? Why do people feel the water they drink to be blessed? Are we unclean animals? God Willing the intention behind your saying, "They are like unclean animals", does not mean the religious scholars and leaders otherwise our duty towards you will become difficult and your duty will become more difficult. You will not be able to live. The people will not let you continue with such a situation.

Are the religious leaders really black reactionaries or are you a black reactionary? You have created a white revolution? What do you want with a White Revolution? You have made a White Revolution. Why do you deceive people so? Why do you threaten people so much?

Today they have told me that some of the orators in Tehran were taken by the security forces and threatened that they were not to mention three things: First, they must not speak badly about the Shah. Secondly, they must not attack Israel. Thirdly, they must not say that Islam is endangered. Otherwise, they are free to say

whatever they want.

All of our differences and difficulties are hidden in these three things. If we put these three things aside, we have no opposition. Let's see, if we do not say that Islam is endangered, will it mean that Islam is not endangered? If we do not say that the Shah is this or that, is he not this or that way? What relationship actually exists between the Shah and Israel that the security agents say, 'Do not speak about the Shah and do not speak about Israel as well.' Do the security forces think that the Shah is Israeli? Do the security agents think that the Shah is a Jew?

Mr. Shah, perhaps they want to introduce you as a Jew so that I will then say that you are an atheist, so that then Iran will throw you out and (take over) your duty. You do not realize that if one day you speak out, the tables will be turned and none of those who have surrounded you will be your comrades. They are comrades of the dollar. They have no religion. They have no loyalty. They are putting all the blame on you, you miserable creature. That person - I will not mention his name now, I will mention his name when I order his ears to be cut off - came to the Faiziyyeh center and blew a whistle. The commandos gathered around him and he gave the order for them to attack, destroy and plunder all of the rooms. They destroyed everything. When you ask him why he committed such crimes, he said, "The Shah ordered it." It is the order of His Imperial Majesty to destroy the Faiziyyeh Center. Kill them. Obliterate them!"

There is much to be said. There is more than you can conceive of. They are traitors. Our country and our Islam is endangered. That which our people will face in the future, that which is taking place has made us very

sorry and worried, the situation of Iran, the situation of this ruined country, these government leaders, the bandits who rule. We are very worried and we ask God, the Almighty for changes.

(the Night of the 15th of Khordad, 1342)

Chapter Six: The People Arise

The people were so moved by his inspiring words that they held a great demonstration the next day, the 11th of Moharram corresponding with the 14th of Khordad. The demonstration expanded and increased as it moved through the streets. The Islamic movement of Imam Khomeini grew moment by moment.

Imam Khomeini with these words, officially faced the Shah directly and began the struggle to bring down the regime. The plans of the Shah's regime were all defeated on the night of the 12th of Moharram, 1383 (Khordad 14, 1342). The struggle began with the ruhaniyun, many of whom were arrested.

On June 5, 1963, the 15th of Khordad (the 12th of Moharram) agents of the regime jumped over the wall of Imam Khomeini's home at 3:00 A.M. as he was making his ritual ablution for the morning prayers. He confronted them saying, "What is going on? Why have you behaved like this? Why did you not knock at the door?"

They took him away in a car to Tehran. They refused to allow him to say his prayers. They kept him in solitary confinement for 25 hours. They transferred him to the Qasr prison on the bloody afternoon of the 15th of Khordad. When news of his arrest in Qom spread, angry people gathered outside his home. With their slogans,

they expressed their hatred of the shameless acts of the regime. The religious leaders of Qom, after the giving of a declaration about the despicable act of his arrest and asking for his immediate release, invited the people to arise.

People began crying out, "Death or Khomeini". These words shook the city as the people moved towards the shrine. As they were leaving the shrine to march in the streets, they were met by the security agents of the Shah who then turned the machine guns on them. This not only did not frighten the people but even gave them the courage to attack the agents. Finally, the brave stand of the people of Qom which began at 7:00 A.M. on the 15th of Khordad, was defeated at 5:00 P.M. with the remains of hundreds of dead and wounded. Qom was like a destroyed city. Many of the families were in mourning. Children were without fathers and orphaned.

In Tehran, like Qom, the news of the arrest of Imam Khomeini spread. Stores closed. Anger spread throughout the city. Revolutionary students left the university shouting slogans. They took their demonstration to the streets. A flood of people from the bazaar, squares and university marched towards the Marble Palace to topple the regime. A few people tried to take over the radio station at Maidan-i-Arq. Another group attacked the homes of the military personnel. They burned government cars and buildings.

The total solidarity of the people reached its peak when the spilling of innocent blood began. As the angered people went towards the Shah's palace, machine guns were turned upon them. Hills were made of the dead bodies. The most tragic event of this day happened at Pol-i-Baghirabad where many villagers from Varamin were moving towards Tehran wearing the white shroud.

They were all killed by the security forces.

The regime of the Shah, in order to destroy the public opinion and to explain the inhuman killing, sent black agents of his own to set fire to stores, burn libraries and cars with fire dust to set off the national and Islamic arsing of the people of the 15th of Khordad as an uprising against humanity. But this was a lie which only they themselves could believe. The Commander of the Army of Tehran announced martial law to destroy the movement and silence the revolutionary spirit of the people. From 8:00 P.M. there was no movement in the city. The army entered the city in most of the maidans and sensitive centers. That very night they arrested and imprisoned many nationalists, ruhaniyun, well-known bazaaris and university students who were listening to the tapes about the Imam's imprisonment. But in spite of the military precautions, on the morning of the 16th, hundreds of people fell into the streets to support their beloved leader and they moved towards the palace with the slogan, "Either death or Khomeini".

Those who thought that seeing the deaths of the 15th of Khordad would so frighten the people that they would give up, gave orders on the 16th to shoot to kill. The number of killed filled the streets with blood.

Even though the people continued to arise throughout the nation, it was more spread out and lasted a few days. The least amount of movement and objection by the people was destroyed by the greatest amount of force by the agents. In this way the Shah was able to save himself for a time from destruction. In spite of the view of some ill-intended people who say the arising of the people on the 15th of Khordad was rootless, that is, a meaningless eruption, the 15th of Khordad in reality is overflowing with roots.

This day was the beginning of a new phenomena. This day is the day of victory of the Imam and the people who arose facing death without fear to oppose the Shah. The budding tree of the Revolution began to bear fruit. The agents of the regime, while torturing the spirit of the Imam in prison through multiple means, tried, with useless slogans and shameless lies, to quench the 15th of Khordad arising and show it to be a lie, show its essence to be other than what it really was. All efforts were useless.

The Shah was now defeated because of the pressure of public opinion inside and outside the country. They freed hundreds of religious leaders and innocent people who had been arrested on the Islamic arising of the 15th of Khordad.

They began to speak with the ruhaniyun. They realized that without freeing the Imam, it would not subside. The anger of the people throughout the country would continue. After speaking to the ruhaniyun, the agents decided they must release Imam Khomeini from prison and put him under house arrest in a house in the north of Tehran but they refused him any contact with the people.

On August 2, 1963, Imam Khomeini was taken to the home of Ayatullah Qomi. Imam Khomeini did not know of the events of the 15th of Khordad but when they told him, in great sorrow, he said, "The 15th of Khordad tore me apart. The people of Iran will not forget this great tragedy."

Chapter Seven; After his Release from House Arrest

In March, 1964, the regime decided to release Imam Khomeini for it was the time of the Pilgrimage to Mecca and it was not clear what would happen. He was freed on April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343). A few minutes after his arrival in Qom, people surrounded his home. They held celebrations for six days and nights. On the third night, Imam Khomeini thanked the people.

The authorities printed an article in the newspapers saying that the ruhaniyun and the people together support the revolution of the Shah and the people. The Imam on the 21st of Farvardin answered these lies at 8:00 A.M. at his home in Qom.

To University Students in His Home in Qom After his Release from House Arrest

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

Do not be saddened by the imprisonment of Hojjat al-Islam Taleghani and Mohandes Bazargan. Unless we have these things, nothing will work out. We will never achieve victory unless we have imprisonment. The goal is greater than the freeing of a few people. The goal

must be kept in mind. The goal is Islam, independence of the country, putting aside the agents of Israel and uniting with Islamic nations.

All of the economy of the country is presently in the hands of Israel. Agents of Israel have taken everything into their own hands in the economy of Iran. Many of the industries are run by them like the T.V., Arj and Pepsi Cola. Two airplanes which were supposed to take pilgrims to Mecca belonged to Israel. The Saudi government objected to this act. They were obliged not to do it. Today even eggs are imported from Israel. We must shorten our ranks. These people are the agents of colonialism. The roots of colonialism must be cut.

Gentlemen. Try to raise the flag of Islam in the university. Spread religious propaganda. Build mosques. Say congregational prayers. Do not pretend to say prayers. The unity of religion is necessary. It is religious unity which brings about this great society and compacts it. If you are interested in the independence of Iran, have religious unity.

Then the regime will see that it can not bear this disgrace any longer. When it pressurizes all Islamic and non-Islamic countries, it will sense the hatred Islamic countries have of themselves. The situation will be seen as dark inside and outside.

They brought me here at night so that I would reach here healthy! They said, "We must protect you." They were afraid the people would hurt me!! Do the Islamic people want to kill me? After their disgrace when they saw they (had lost respect everywhere), when they saw that all of the foreign governments do not have a good opinion of them, when they saw, in particular that now it is the time of the Pilgrimage and then the month of Moharram, and it is not clear what will happen at the

Pilgrimage and during Moharram, they freed me. But later they may decide to spread further poison.

They thought that they could bring about a separation between the people and the ruhaniyat.

I was freed a few days ago. I have had no time to study. (in prison, I had free time to study) They gave me the Etell'at newspaper of Tuesday, April 7, 1964 (Farvardin 18, 1343). (I have a complaint to make of these men as to why they did not give it to me sooner.) In this dirty Etell'at paper, they said in an editorial, entitled, "Sacred Unity", 'Agreement has been reached with the ruhaniyat. The ruhaniyun agree with the White Revolution of the Shah and the people.'

What revolution? Which people? This revolution does not relate to people and the ruhaniyat. Gentlemen, reach out to everyone at the university. (Tell everyone that) the ruhaniyat do not agree with this revolution. We do not have the means of distribution. All things have been taken away from us. The T.V. is in the hands of dishonorable people. The radio is in their own hands. Our media is dirty. The articles they write or things they say are immediately distributed to the furthestest regions of the country. Then the people without complete information think that the ruhaniyun are with them. The ruhaniyun have no friendship with these corrupt people. If the Etell'at newspaper does not deny this, they will be faced by a reaction from us. (One of the people present said, "Boycott them." He said, "Now is not the time. Everything has its moment.")

If they hang Khomeini, I still will not work with them. You cannot reform with bayonets. By writing, "Khomeini is a traitor", on the walls of Tehran, the country will not be reformed. Have you not seen you

made a mistake? Have you not seen you erred? Humble yourself before Islam and Islamic precepts. We will support you. If they have other plans for us, if they have other plans in mind, if they want to cause confusion, in the Name of God, go ahead (and do so).

On July 27, 1962, when they brought some news to the Qaitariyeh prison, they said (things), the sense of which was, "The ruhaniyat will not interfere in politics." I now announce the truth of the situation for you. A person came from among those who I do not want to name. He said, "Mister. Politics consists of lies, deceit and deception". In summary, "It is maliciousness! Leave it to us". As the situation was not right or suitable I did not want to debate with him. I said, "We did not enter this politics you talk about from the beginning."

Today, (as I am able to speak), I say Islam is not this. (I say) Islam is all politics. Islam has been poorly introduced. Modern politics stems from Islam. I am not of those *akhunds* to sit here and take up a *tasbih*. I am not the Pope to perform a ceremony only on Sundays and the rest of the time be a sultan for myself and have nothing to do with other affairs.

Here there is a base for Islamic independence. We must save this country from these difficulties. They do not want to reform this country. Foreigners do not want to cultivate this country. They did not even see to giving water to this country. The water which we use in Qom would not even be given to animals in Europe. If they speak the truth, find work for the unemployed. These young people (he points to a young student) want work after 20 years of study. Tomorrow when they graduate, they wander. If his livelihood is not provided for, he cannot preserve his religion. You think that that

thief who goes over the wall at nights with all those difficulties or a woman who sells her chastity is at fault? The situation of earning is bad so that all these crimes and corrupt acts which you read about day and night in the papers come into being.

When I was in prison they brought the news that in Hamadan the temperatures reached 43 degrees below zero. They said that 2000 people died of the cold. At that point, my hands were tied. What could I do?

This was in Hamadan. Of course in Tehran and other cities there were damages. What did the government do? In order to impress their masters, they bring flowers by airplane from Holland. They waste the money of the poor nation. They rent a plane to bring flowers from Holland for 300,000 tomans. Make up for your mistakes! Follow Islam.

When I was confined, I read an article in the Ettel'at newspaper about the economic situation and health of the people of the south of Iran. I was surprised that they allowed the article to be written. One of the reporters, after seeing the situation of the people of the south, said, "In the south of Iran, in the villages, there is no trace of a doctor or medicine. There is no water. In one village the majority of the people were blind. They lacked all basic necessities of life.

In a Conference where the representatives of the world gathered to think about the economics of the governments, all spoke of the economic difficulties they had, whether they be small or large countries. Iran claimed that the economic situation in Iran is perfect and it has no defect or problem.

Is the economic situation in England bad and in Iran good? The economic situation of India is bad with all its progress and that of Iran is good? Also Japan?

The gentlemen are sitting in their palaces and they speak about a progressive nation! This progressive nation is dying of hunger. The Amir of Islam, Ali (𐎧) ate barley bread. He did not hold a party for a master he did not have and spend 100,000 tomans or a million tomans or more and always speak of progress. By having a few women in Parliament does the country become progressive? The country will not be built with Israeli plans.

Islam brings precepts for the total life of human beings. From the day they are born until they enter the grave, there are precepts and rules. But these words do not have to suit these individuals.

After the previous government (Reza Khan's) fell, one person came to see me from prison. He spoke badly about the previous government and said this government had progressed. I said, "We have no personal grudges against anyone. We are concerned with the acts of people. Save the poor people."

Yesterday the families of the martyred on the 15th of Khordad were here. That which caused me pain was this that they had not told me about his until I was released from prison; they had not told me about this. I heard about it for the first time the afternoon of that day. I heard of the situation. The killings of the 15th of Khordad were worse than the acts of a soldier with a foreign country. They do not kill children, women.

Today celebrations have no meaning. As long as a nation has had life, it is unbearable to have had the tragedy of the 15th of Khordad. One of the public officials had said in a speech that the 15th of Khordad was a disgrace to Iran but I complete his words. The 15th of Khordad was a disgrace to the people alone because they brought arms and killed people with those arms

bought with the money of the people.

—Dhiqadeh 27, 1383

(April 10, 1964/Farvardin 21, 1342

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Chapter Eight: The Lunar Anniversary of the 40th Day of the Faiziyyeh Massacre

The second speech after his release from house arrest in Tehran was delivered at the Masjid-i-Azam and marked the year after the 40th day of the tragedy of the 15th of Khordad, 1342. It was held in the presence of thousands of ruhaniyun, people from the bazaar, university students and other groups.

Dhihajjeh 2, 1383

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

Until now, I have not felt incapable in my talks: But today I know myself to be incapable. I know myself to be incapable of expressing the unhappiness of the spirit which I have for the situation of Islam in general and the situation of Iran in particular and the events which in this last ominous year took place, in particular the affair in the Center of Learning.

I was not knowledgeable about the affair of the 15th of Khordad until my imprisonment changed to freedom and news of the outside reached me. God knows that the news of the 15th of Khordad destroyed me.

Now that I have come from Qaitariyeh to here, I am aware that I am faced by young children without a father, who have given up young mothers, with women who have lost their brothers, with amputated limbs, with depression, these are the signs of these men's civilization and our reactionarism.

Woe be unto us that our hands are curtailed from the world. Woe be that our sounds do not reach the world. Woe be to us that the cries of these mothers whose children are dead do not reach the world.

They introduce us as people who worship the past? They introduce us as reactionaries? They compare the religious leaders of Islam with black reactionarism? The foreign newspapers outside of Iran, those who are prepared with unbelievable budgets to destroy us, present us abroad as opposed to reform whereas Islam itself initiates that reform. They introduce us as opposed to progress!! They say, "The akhunds still want to ride on donkeys and go here and there on them." They say the akhunds say, "We do not want electricity. We do not want airplanes." "They are reactionaries. They want to return to the Middle Ages."

The akhunds oppose these dark days which is the lot of the country. Is this worship of the past? The religious leaders oppose these exchanging of blows, killings, bullying, dictatorship and despotism. This is worship of the past?

The ulema of Islam at the time of the establishing of the Constitution, stood against the black despotism. They got freedom for the people. They made laws, laws which are to the advantage of the people, to the advantage of the independence of the country, to the advantage of Islam. It was with laws of Islam that the freedom was gained with their own blood, with the tortures

they suffered, with the sufferings which came upon them. These akhunds are reactionaries!

Today, once again, the ruhaniyun have arisen. They have formed a movement. The people have formed a movement along the lines of the ruhaniyun. The Muslim peoples have awakened and formed a movement. The desires of the ruhaniyat is that acts be performed according to the laws of Islam. Is this reactionary? Was the Prophet of Islam (ﷺ) reactionary? The heavenly laws, the divine laws for which we receive great insults, for which we suffer, the invitation to act according to the laws of heaven, is this reactionary? Is God the Most High reactionary? Is Gabriel, the mediator of the divine revelation, reactionary? Is the Prophet reactionary? Are the Saints reactionary?

The religious scholars from the beginning of Islam up until today, who have nothing for themselves, they express the laws of Islam and the laws of revelation to the people. Is it reactionary to express the divine laws?

If you believe in the laws of Islam it is a law of Islam that the human being was created free. A human being is made firm by himself or herself and upon his or her soul and upon his or her regard for chastity. It says every person is free in their own home, all drinking and eating is legal which does not oppose the Divine Laws. They are free in their methods. It is a law of Islam that if one attacks the home of another, for that person who has been attacked, it is permissible to kill the intruder. Islam which is in agreement with this much freedom, is black reactionarism?

The religious scholars of Islam who have nothing for themselves, we who have nothing to say from ourselves, whatever we say we preface by, "As the Holy Prophet said", and the Prophet spoke from God, if we are reac-

tionary, it becomes clear that the Prophet is reactionary. If you know us to be worshippers of the past, we who do not speak from ourselves, we who say, "As God, the Almighty says . . .", we say, "As the Prophet says", then you know the Prophet to be a worshipper of the past. Curses upon this modernity.

If we accept Islam which we all follow and Islam is the source of all freedoms, all liberations, all greatness, all independences, if we accept Islam, this is a law of Islam. Where is it reactionary? Please, gentlemen, where are the laws of Islam black reactionarism? Please come and explain.

That which you say for yourselves and whenever the opportunity arises for you to speak you continue to say that we will destroy the worshippers of the past, we will do so and so, all talk, this cannot be. Come and sit and say, "That which the Prophet said is black reactionarism so that we can see if you speak correctly. So that we can prove that the goodness is not reactionary. We say, "Do not be lead by others with a ring through your nose. We advise you - you are in other words - the groups of Muslim jurists? Be dear. Be men. Be great. Preserve your independence. Withdraw your hands from being the rationality of another. Do not extend your hand for \$4. Every meeting which you hold you say, give us dollars. We oppose these things. If this is reactionary, we are reactionaries and if that is civilization, you are civilized.

If you believe in the laws of Islam, this is the law of Islam. If you lean upon the Constitution, the Constitution gave people freedom. The Constitution forbid this kind of force.

We say act according to the law. We will put the Constitution before us. You send a representative and we present a representative. You who say, "We are legal,

we are democratic"; you who say, "We have progressed, we are progressive"; this is our Constitution. We will place it between us and act according to the Constitution. We would say nothing. Act according to the appendices of the Constitution which the ulema of Islam gave their lives for at the time of the gaining of the Constitution and for the doing away with bondage of the people. Sit and act according to the Constitution.

The Constitution freed the newspapers. Will you free them? We are reactionaries who say, "Allow those acts to be done according to the Constitution. Let the newspapers be free. Let them write according to their own beliefs even if they are satanic, evil. With the totality of their crimes there is no need to spray so much poison.

Well, you people of Iran! Look at the editorial of the Ettl'at newspaper of Tuesday the 18th of Farvardin. See what they have drawn. They had seen that with force and bullying and by coercion and with the arranging of fifteenth of Khordads, by destroying the Faiziyyeh Theological School, with exiles, with firing people and imprisonment, they cannot move forward. Whatever they did, its rottenness appeared and he (the Shah) realized this. They saw that things were in a very sorry state. The world objected. The 15th of Khordad blackened the face of the government. We did not want to bring about this much black facedness.

The 15th of Khordad brought disgrace to this country which will not be removed until the end. History will record this event. They themselves said that the 15th of Khordad was a disgrace. I say, "Yes. It was a disgrace." But they forgot a point. I will make the point clear. It was a disgrace which trampled upon and destroyed Muslims with tanks, canons and guns which had been purchased with the wealth of this poverty-stricken nation

and they turned them upon these poverty-stricken people and these poor people were destroyed. Is there a worse disgrace than this where human beings of a nation are so trampled upon? What had these poor people done? What had they done?

We advised a whole series. Advice which did not have that much unhappiness. We have a logical and legal point. Do you not accept the Constitution? Then say so. Mr. Head of the Government, go to the Parliament and say, "We do not accept the Constitution." Very well. Let us return to the past to wherever they want. We say, "Act in accordance with the Constitution." We are reactionaries. It is you who collectively imprison people, exile them. Your prison cells are filled with prisoners, ulema, professors, respected people, religious people. Bandar Abbas is full of exiles because they said, "We do not want to be captives, captives of colonialism." You are not reactionary?

What do they finally say to us? We reactionaries who say, "Act according to the Constitution?" Put the Constitution between us and act according to it. We say, "Act according to religion." You say, "The Prophet of Islam is reactionary." God forbid. You may not express it as such but the meaning is clearly this.

The Constitution which you accept (although they used to be mutterings that this law belonged to fifty years ago), the Constitution does not relate to fifty years ago. The Constitution says, "People must be free. The people of the country of Iran must be free. The press must be free. No one has the right to prevent the pen from writing."

You saw what the Ettel'at newspaper wrote on Tuesday, the 18th of Farvardin (other magazines also wrote but Ettel'at has a wider circulation), "It is with

the best of luck that the religious group agrees with the government about the revolution of the Shah and the people.”

They went and objected, saying, “Introduce these ruhaniyuns.” Say, “It is Khomeini” so that we can say, “Curses upon him” or to other ulema. Introduce them. Show them. Our most respected ulema, there a few here. God preserve all. There are some in Tehran. May God preserve them. There are some in Mashad. May God preserve them, in Najaf, May God preserve them. There are some in other cities of Muslims, may God preserve them. They are the ulema of Islam. Then are these ulema who have a secret agreement with you in a world beyond? Very well. Give their names. If you are a man, give this name which says, “It was Khomeini and we visited him while he was imprisoned and he said, ‘Forget the past.’ ” Khomeini is damned wrong to speak in such a way against the religion of Islam. Can Khomeini compromise with oppression? He is damned wrong. Even when Khomeini was in prison, he preserved the glory of Islam, can he not preserve it? Islam which the Prophet suffered so much for, for which the Imams suffered such heart shaking pains, the religious scholars took so much pain for, can Khomeini and the likes of Khomeini say something which is against the good policy of Islam? We will throw Khomeini out of society.

They designed this plan that the ulema of Islam would be introduced to the people as being just like themselves (i.e. the government). They are the outcasts of society. They want to make us outcasts as well. Society does not accept them. They want them not to accept us as well. They want to make us the object of the hatred of society with their ominous plan so that with patience and ease, they can obey their masters. If it were

only obedience from their masters! They want to obey Israel. What calamity! Is it possible for me to speak of the corruption of this country with one, two or four Parliaments? I am not feeling well today. I slept very little last night. A series of general items must be stated today. Do we not have the right to defend ourselves?

They went to the head of Ettel'at asking, "Who wrote this article?" Tell us so that we will also know who this ruhani is. Where is this ruhani agent? Where is he who compromised with you and accepted your point which is opposed to the religion of Islam?

The poor man was so ashamed. He said, "I was not here. Tell so and so we are sorry, etc, etc." - a whole series of things like this. "My editorial is ready." He showed his editorial to that man saying, "We wrote this but orders were received from certain places that that must be written and the exact writing is attached to the file. What could I do?"

I will specify a duty for him and I will give another subject for ourselves. If the editor of Ettel'at is a human being who is sorry about this force (coercion), it must be said to him, "Very well. You, thanks be to God, are wealthy. You have no needs. Remove yourself from newspaper work and become a Minister. In this way, everyone will become Ministers. Become a Minister. Become a representative. Even though people do not (i.e. vote for you) it is not important. They (the regime) will make you their representative. There is no reason for people to choose representatives. Are people actually allowed to choose their representatives? They (the regime) will select you. If you are disgraced by this that something was forced upon you, the solution is simple. (People) will not oblige you to be a newspaper person. Remove yourself from it and find a better occu-

pation.

From another side, I have a message and this must be corrected. This must be retracted. Last night someone came and said, "I said to the regime, 'I cannot confront the people. I cannot confront the ruhaniyat. Think of something. I will fix a subject.' " The organization said, "This would make it appear weak." Very well. Are we reactionaries or you?

We are not dead that you attach a lie to us. We have a large number of ulema, thanks be to God. We have a large *marajle*, we have a large *marajle* of the highest station. In the cities, we have religious leaders. In the religious schools we have virtuous people. In the centers of learning, we have great theological teachers. We have students and, scholars of religious law. They will not just sit down. Listen. Let a journalist write in the newspaper, "Thank God they agreed." and we will cry out, we will shout, we will not allow it to be said. Very well. The person who said yesterday or last night, we will stop 'the worshippers of the past', know that it is not a 'worshipper of the past' who prevents your newspaper from being free and forces the Ettel'at newspaper to print something.

We have documents. Also, it is no longer a lie so that the gentlemen can say, "You have made a false accusation." What you wrote has been stapled and is in your office of the Ettel'at newspaper and you said this must be written and you did not allow it to be denied.

What we want to say is this. Act according to the Constitution. Free the press. Free the pen. Let them write articles, if you have a faith, act in accordance with it. If you feel religion to be reactionary, act in accordance with the Constitution. Let them write.

The Editor of the Ettel'at newspaper fell apart and I gave a message to him: I am not the kind of person who gives a law and then sits back napping. I follow through. If I were to see at one point that God forbid, the policy of Islam demands this and I should speak out, I would speak out and I would follow through. Thanks be to God, I am afraid of nothing and praise belongs to God, I have not feared anything. The day they took me away, they were afraid and I consoled them, "Do not be afraid."

If we are afraid because of the goal of Islam, the goal which the Prophets themselves put fire and water upon, the way of the great Saints who were killed, the ulema were burned because of it, heads cut off, imprisoned, exiled, imprisoned for long terms, if we fear because of this great goal, we have no religion. A religious person is afraid when their clothes are emptied in this world? this world?

If we believe in the world beyond this one, we must thank God when we are killed upon this way and we join the ranks of the martyrs. Are we afraid? What are we afraid of? Those should fear who have no other place than this world. God, the Almighty has made a promise to us which is 'if you follow My way, We have a good place' and we hope we will be able to follow that way. What should we fear? The final end point is that you will hang us, it will be the beginning of our comfortable life; we will leave all these dirty games of yours behind, we will be freed from all this sorrow and obligations. Hazrat Ali said, "I swear by God Almighty that the son of Abu Talib is more desirous of death than a baby to the breast of its mother." Of course we cannot claim such a thing because we are his partisans (Shi'ia). If we fear death, it means that we do not accept metaphysics.

We who say the press should be free, we are the worshippers of the past? Or those men who oblige the newspapers to write about this or that? They are progressive? Our sounds reach them very well through this microphone but their sounds reach from here to America. They spend the money of this country and in foreign newspapers they write articles against the ruhaniyat, against Islam, against the people and against everything we have.

It has occurred to me that they erred in freeing me. I said, "If you want me to have the same spirit, let me remain here. Is it correct to once again raise a ruckus?" Now we say again, "We are not reactionaries" in the sense that you mean it. We are not opposed to the effects of civilization. Islam is not opposed to the effects of civilization.

Islam was that which unsheathed its swords and took over half the world (to free the people from savagery). Is this Islam reactionary?

Islam was that which freed those lands which you have now put into captivity. Those who acted according to the laws of Islam, went forward in such a way that, of course, Islamic sovereignties until now, with the exception of one or two, did not act in accordance with the laws of Islam. Considering that by just placing themselves under the banner of Islam, just by knowing themselves to be attached to Islam, just by acting outwardly according to the laws of Islam, they found such power whereby twenty some thousand Arabs could take over this country in order to civilize it, make it human and they did.

This enlightened thought which exists among our ulema of Islam, in our great *marajie* is because of the light of Islam. These enlightened thoughts which exist in the ranks of the highest religious people, wherever it be, belongs to Islam. These rotten thoughts of the wor-

shippers of the past which those gentlemen have, where they obey all others, with minds and doors closed, who have given all of the treasuries of the country to others, are reactionary. May the spirit of these reactionaries blacken!

Yesterday they sent people on behalf of the Prime Minister saying, "Yes. Forgiveness is from you. There was a mistake. A mistake was made. A mistake took place. Forgive. Let there not be an uprising. Let there not be a change in the situation. What will happen? What will happen? What do we want to happen? We are obedient to this matter which is always said . . ."

We said, "Very well. The Ettel'at newspaper which says, 'We are innocent', and you who allowed this to take place and you who now say such and such, must become committed and you must promise that this matter will not be repeated so that we will not be obliged to open up the situation all at once and see it is these worshippers of the past or you? They say, "Do not put so much pressure on these people, these poor beggars."

This is a progressive country which made our hearts bleed this winter – in Isfahan, Hamadan, Tehran, Qom and other places, people died in the cold. Have you any thoughts about these people? They informed me that this year in Hamadan more than 2000 people died in 43°C below zero weather. Is this country progressive? Hey gentlemen who made the country progress, do you have any thoughts for these poor people?

We want our country to, in real terms, progress. Have some thoughts about these poor people. Do they have to remain in hunger as well as to be hit over the head? Walk barefooted while you crack the whip over their heads. We say, "Do not do this. This is reactionary. Do not put so much pressure on the people. Do not strike

them so much. Do not swear so much. This is reactionary.

You who are the agents of the despots who are forcing people with threats, placing them behind the point of spears and bullying in whatever way your hearts desire to act towards these poor people, have trampled all laws under your feet, ignored all of the laws of Islam, are you progressive and we who say act according to the precepts of Islam, act according to the Constitution, are we reactionaries.

It is really funny. The gentlemen want to establish an Islamic University. I've heard that a several million budget has been put aside for it. If your hearts bleed for Islam, very well, why did you destroy this Islamic university (indicating the Faiziyyeh School).

If you really are aware that the existence of Islam is necessary, the laws of Islam must remain, ulema of Islam must remain, we have no faith in your good works. Do not put evil upon us. Let the people serve. We will not, thanks be to God, spend one rial of the public money. We have adapted to this poverty and this situation.

Whoever wants to go and see the religious students of Islam, go to their places of living and see. Go and see the way they live. Go and see where they lived before the plunder (of the Faiziyyeh School). It was a plan to destroy them for an old *glim* is of no use to them. They wanted to bother them for otherwise a torn *glim* or broken down tin samavar is of no use to them.

Go and see. We have nothing to hide. Our schools all exist. Our homes exist. Come and see. If you saw that our entire year's budget which these Muslim people, this poverty-stricken nation with all of its sincerity were to be given to us to preserve the laws of Islam, it would not equal one party held for someone who comes from

abroad. Say, "We spit upon you reactionaries."

We say do not spend the public money in such a way. They give so many parties, is it reactionary when we say, "You esteeming-to-be-gentlemen, do not extend your hands before others in such a way. Do not spend so much so that you become dependent upon others. Do not spend uselessly."

These completely facilitated organizations that have been formed are not necessary. Find faith in Islam. All of us are part of your organization. All of the people are part of you. Did we give money to these countries that they are our friends? Did we give bribes to these countries that they are our friends? They want, they have understood and they have found faith in the sense that, these gentlemen, the *marjaie* of Islam, their student, Khomeini, the people want, the people love, they want the health of the state of the people. This belief is in the hearts of the people. Human beings are in obedience to the sentiments of their hearts.

You must listen to my advice. As I said to those people who come, "Have you not seen that you can not improve with sufferings, beatings, prison, torture, exile, insults, with all of these. You saw how the people become angry. You cannot keep a people under boots. You saw this? Come and change your direction a bit, learn from experience, you are a group who claim to be intelligent, then learn from experience. Bring that piece of paper forward and offer it to the people. Humble yourself before the people. The government belongs to the people. The country's budget belongs to the people. You are servants of the people, servers of the people. Therefore, do not say, "We are the servants of the people", and then turn around and hit them over the head and destroy the rights of your poor masters.

You are being nourished from the budget of this country. You are living from it. You are living exactly as you want to live. Let it be so. Your luxurious life is yours.

We cannot at all understand their way of life. Do you think you can understand how they live? Do you think we can imagine how they live? We cannot even imagine it. This matter has never even entered our minds - an airplane goes from here to Holland and brings back flowers for a party and the cost of renting the plane alone is 300,000 tomans. These are things I have heard. I have never owned a plane to know. These are things which are famous and are spoken about. We cannot imagine their kinds of pleasures.

Gentlemen, These things are yours. Did you not obtain your budget from this country, from the wealth of these people, from the sufferings of this worker, from the sufferings of the peasant? You whose hearts bleed so much for this peasant, for this worker, let some of what you expend flow towards these people.

In this past winter, with approximately one million tomans, it would have been possible to save these poor people. This sum is but a drop in relation to the ocean, a drop of all which these people have obtained. Spread it out so that the expenses for these organizations will not be necessary. Let them go after their work. Do not be so self-indulgent. Do not be such spongers. Sit there and eat. Can you not go and do something? You will remain secure. No one will bother you. Hearts will come to you then. Then just as I sit here and speak and people listen and believe, they will believe your words. Now whatever you say, they say, "Their words are meaningless." However much you repeat two plus two is four, they say, "It is clear that there is a mistake somewhere."

They came to me and said, "What was the government in the past to you? What did it do? We are sorry." Well, he has gone, thank God. He is gone. But now there is a new government which has come where many of the fathers of this group were religious scholars and they themselves are religious and etc."

I said, "We were neither enemies of that government nor do we declare brotherhood with you. We look at your actions. We are awake. If your actions are a repeat of their actions, in the same way that we opposed them, and still do until the Day of Judgement and their spirits have been blocked forever, we will oppose you and the same thing will happen to you. We are the same. We will object and oppose. If you change your spirit, we are all Muslims, we are all brothers."

Change your spirit. Become humble to the precepts of the Divine Law. Declare the illegal proposal which is against the Divine Law to be null and void. Be humble in respect to the Divine Law. Of course, this sentence, 'declare the proposal null and void', we say and have said, "Become humble in relationship to the Divine Law." If you also (in the same way that we are Muslims, you say you are Muslims) and are humble before the Divine Law, not only will we not oppose you, we will support you.

Do you think we are saying there should be no government? We say there should be a government but for the implementation of Islamic laws or at least, be humble before the Constitution. We are not saying there should be no government. We do not say that we want to live like the people lived thousands of years ago in caves. What ruhani said such a thing to you? What ruhani said that we are opposed to the manifestation of civilization?

You will bring a manifestation of civilization to Iran

when you change it from its natural state, when you change the legal and permissible to the forbidden. The devil is for this purpose which is now apparent in Iran. Television is for this purpose which they have begun. It is the same in other countries. The use of civilized countries from these new instruments is exactly like that which these men are making use of here.

Our country does not have correct discipline. Our culture is not such that it can manage the country and give strong and powerful youths to society who can stand against colonialism and raise their hands, die and in this way, save their country. This culture of ours is not a culture capable of such things.

They will break the nerves of the people by these means that they have placed here. With these programs which radio and television produce, they astound. Our press, newspapers, magazines and books are the same.

All of these things are in the hands of the colonialists which makes the newspapers so trite that they poison the thoughts of our youth. It is colonialism which so plans our cultural programs that our youth are not strong in this country. It is colonialism which so plans the radio and television programs so that the nerves of the people are weakened, give up their strength, their power. This is the work of colonialism. We are opposed to this manifestation of colonialism. Are we then reactionary and you progressive?

Our words are not illogical. They contain no war, no dispute. Gentlemen, sit down and speak logically. There is no room for swearing. Sit down and talk. Send intelligent people to talk with us, and see where we oppose civilization.

We are opposed to corruption. We say that your reform program, Israel will implement for you. Whenever

you want to plan something, you extend your hands to Israel. You bring military advisers from Israel. You send students from here to Israel. If you would only send them some place else. If you would only send them to England or America. You send them to Israel. We oppose this.

We say, "Gentlemen, all of the Muslim countries form ranks on one side, confronting atheism and Israel. You and the government of Turkey on the other side. you agree with Israel."

We say that this is not correct. Do not play such games with the feelings of people. It is harmful. All Muslims on one side and the country of Iran on the other? Then will the people of Iran be polluted? Then our Sunni brothers will imagine that Shi'ites worship Jews.

People of the world! Know that our people are opposed to the contract with Israel. It is not our people. It is also not our ruhaniyun. Our religion directs us not to become friends with the enemies of Islam. Our Quran directs us to not to form ranks with the enemies of Islam confronting the ranks of Muslims. We say these things. Are we reactionary?

Gentlemen. Come and sit with us. Let us see where this is reactionary. You who in your own words have a 2500 year old country and you rub these rotted bones over yourself to oppose Islam, you want to dig up the bones from under the earth, now at the end of your life come and confront the laws of Islam and confronting Muslims, you have joined with Israel?"

When we say, "Do not form contracts with Israel, who have joined? What have these young chickens brought? (An indication to the insults and useless things which the regime made use of to stain the movement). I spit upon this black logic. May your spirits blacken.

We say this. Where is this the worship of the past? We are at a high stage of civilization. Islam is in the high stage of civilization. The *marjaie* of Islam are in the high stages of civilization. Very well. Go and see them. They exist. They exist in Mashad, in Tehran, in Najaf. Go and see which one of them are reactionaries.

Religious scholars! You who fly here and there and then say the people should go with donkeys. Was it not this year that one of the *marjaie* went to Mashad. Do not the rest of the *marjaie* travel by car? This year the *marjaie* began to travel and all gathered in Tehran and I will thank them for it later. Did they go by donkey? Are they opposed to the effects of civilization?

We say: Do not do this. Why do you want to break us? We are freely in support of the country. We apply no force to your budget. We live with these blows, imprisonment, sufferings, insults, swearings, . . . We are a support for this country. If God forbid, a danger were to threaten this country, we would stand against it and we are not afraid. Ruhaniyun are always seeking for the independence of the country and all of the land and they hate the aggression upon the boundaries of the country and in their own situation, they will prevent it.

These gentlemen who said and say that we want to preserve the country. We are this way and so forth. You remember when the hypocrites came here, how they fled? These ridiculous people fled from Tehran to Yazd. See if you can find one akhund who fled, one akhund, one akhund.

That day when the planes fell from the skies of Tehran and they frightened the people, I was in Tehran. May God remember Shaykh Hosein Qomi. We were together on Shapur Street. With complete calmness (he waited). It was as if there was no news. I was just like

him, calm. It was as if there was no news. The poor military leaders and others who constantly say they are such and such and we will do such and such for the country. When the question arises as to their interests and the doing away of their benefits, and the basis for their applying pressure is done away with and the tables are turned, they are the first to flee, these ranked people and we are, thanks be to God, here to the end unless they come and arrest us and take us away. Even then, we still are here.

This Islamic university which those gentlemen want to establish, it is not that they have made up with Islam. No. There is a story where they placed the Quran at the end of spears before Hazrat Ali (ؑ). Mu'awiyah defeated Hazrat Ali with the Quran for if the war had continued for several more months, no trace of the Bani Omayyid would have remained. But they tricked him. They brought the Quran and said, "We are Muslims. You are also Muslim. There is no god but God. This is the Quran . . ."

However much Hazrat Ali tried to convince the Khawarjite fool, Muqadasin, the fool who did not know the Imam, he said, "Wait." They said, "No. We cannot do that. The Quran is between us. According to the Divine Laws it cannot be."

They wanted to kill Hazrat Ali. This very Khawarjite was a companion of Hazrat Ali, companion of Hazrat Ali. Mu'awiyah and his group played a trick. They placed the Quran at the end of their spears.

Hazrat Ali sent a person to his companions who were busy fighting who returned saying, "Give a chance. In another hour we will be victorious." Hazrat Ali said, "They will kill me. They have surrounded me. They have withdrawn their swords. If I do not agree, they will

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kill me or they will destroy Islam with the Quran.”

Can you defeat Islam with an Islamic university? Do you think we will let you establish an Islamic University? We will turn their backs on those who enter that University and they will be destroyed by society. Do you really think that you can place Islam, Muslims, the religious scholars under the guidance of the Minister of Culture? You are damned wrong if that Ministry of Culture were to interfere with religion and Islam. Do you think we will let this happen? Only if Khomeini were to die and the *marjaie* of Islam, God forbid, were to be destroyed.

When we go, then we have no duty but the people of Islam still exist. The Muslim people of Islam are still alive. Right now, life is taken from the top. The Muslim people are awakened. They will no longer sit back. Even if I change sides, the Muslim people will not.

Make no mistake! If Khomeini were to go to your side, the Muslim people would not do so. Make no mistake. We are in the same barricade that we always were. We oppose all of the anti-Islamic proposals you have made. We oppose all of the force you have used against the people. We oppose the imprisonment of innocent people.

We are reactionaries who say, “Do not send these poor people to Bandar Abbas. What had those poor people done who you executed. What had those people you sent to Bandar Abbas done? What had those people done whom you imprisoned? Other than these poor people having said, “Act according to the law. Let’s all act in accordance with the law.”

Their leaders said, “Act in accordance with the law. The younger ones who obey Muslims and Islam said,

we will suppose, one word. Suppose they said one word. Now with having said one word they have to spend the rest of their lives in Bandar Abbas?

Mister, change your ways a bit. Come out from your reactionary state a bit. Come out of your barbaric state a bit. Stop your medieval ways a bit. Do not be so reactionary. Be civilized. Help the country progress. Show respect to the people of this country. Do not raise the people in such poverty. Do not let your university be such that our youth be brought up badly. Bring up our youth to be strugglers, resisters. Bring up our youth in such a way that they are able to confront colonialism.

They reactionaries say this. If we are reactionaries, you 'progressives' are group by group doing away with our poor, our youths. The schools are not correct schools whereby the people can have certainty about them. The program is a program of colonialization. It is all games - football, etc. Are other countries this way?

Then who discovered the atom? Who made planes? These water pipes of this very Qom, these water pipes which were made for the drinking water of Qom, because they were made in Iran, are incapable of being used. This progressive country of yours has not progressed in making pipes. Razmara said, "We know nothing other than how to make pipes."

Is this a progressive country which for every little thing relies upon foreign countries? Experts come from Israel. They send people to Israel to learn. This year people went from this very Qom. They send them to learn something there, to learn cheating. They must learn deceit. What do they want them to learn?

Oh progressive nation. What do you say? What do you all say? Can there be reform or change with words?

Is progress achieved by sending four women to Parliament? Have the men you sent to Parliament brought progress that you now send women there to make changes?

We say sending them to these centers only brings corruption. Analyze it afterwards. See if after ten years, twenty years, thirty years from now, what results there will be? Send them. You will only see corruption.

We do not oppose progress for women. We oppose prostitutes. We oppose these erroneous acts. Are men free that women want freedom? Are freed men and freed women made from words? Are men free in this country? Are men free now? In what are they free?

I am incapable of thanking all of the Muslim people. I give great thanks to the great people of Iran, to all of the guilds, all classes, those who helped us, those who shared in our sorrows. The great *marjaie*, the religious leaders of the towns, orators, took great trouble to go to Tehran. There they saw only insults.

Marjaie of the cities gathered in the centers. They came from Mashad, Ahwaz, Qom. Our ulema went. Our *marjaie* went. Najaf worked with us. The one who was in Qom worked with us. All together joined hands and they made all understand that we are a living and an alive peoples. We are ready in every way possible to achieve the freedom of this country. One goes to prison. Another is tortured. One is insulted. Another is sworn at. We are ready for it all.

The *marjaie* of Qom are present. The *marjaie* of Najaf are present. The *marjaie* of Mashad and Tehran are present. Islam is not such that it has only one single individual or two people. All are soldiers of Islam. All the ulema give their lives for Islam. It cannot be otherwise. All are this. Thank God everybody joined hands - those

who believed action should be taken with calm and those who thought it should be taken with the greatest efforts. All of them are from us.

My tongue is too weak to be able to thank these great religious leaders, these orators. I cannot thank them enough. May God, the Most High, preserve them. May God keep them above our heads and above all Muslims. We are all one. They are one too many because votes are one. We are one. We are all one. Do not let anyone think that by throwing something poisoned among the religious leaders of Islam, they can separate them. There is no such possibility. We are all together.

We are all one in order to drive away that which opposes Islam, Iran, the independence of Iran and the world of Islam. We have one link. Do not let anyone think that, God forbid, there are differences among us.

I will give some advise to the religious students who have just come who are fiery and strong and that is this that beware, if someone insult one of the *marjaie* of Islam, between that person and God, the Most High, sanctity will be cut off. You may think it is slight. Swearing at a person of the *marjaie* is not a slight offense.

If by means of ignorance the slightest damage should come to our great movement, you are aware of God, the Most High, your repentance will be difficult to be accepted because damage will be made to the Mission of Islam. If someone insults one, should slap one in the face, slap my children in the face, I will not be happy or satisfied for anyone to confront them and defend. I am not happy with that.

I know that some people, ignorantly or knowingly, want to cause differences among this group. Causing differences among this group means that, God forbid, a vacuum has been created in Islam, and the colonialists

will reach their desire.

We must sacrifice ourselves for Islam. We must sacrifice our good and our desires for Islam. All of our *marjaie* was 60 and above. If among this group we are destroyed for God, there is still a blessing.

Thus all of the *marjaie* is 60 and above. Then can these people whose beards have whitened in Islam, God forbid, act against Islam? It cannot be.

If in this or other matters, like other minor problems, there be a difference of juristic opinion, the young people should not interfere. It is dangerous. The enemy is alert. Do not think that swearing is towards one person; it is, rather, to the Islamic society, an insult to Islamic society, and allowing indifference to effect all of the Islamic society.

I who am sitting here, kiss the hands of all of the *marjaie*, all of the *marjaie* who are here from Najaf, Mashad, Tehran and other cites. I kiss the hands of all of the ulema of Islam wherever they may be. The purpose and goal is greater than this. I extend my brotherly hand to all, to all the Muslim people, all of the Muslims of the world, in the East and West, wherever there are Muslims. I extend a brotherly hand from here to them and I shake their hands. We are humble before all of the *marjaie* of Islam. You must also be humble. All must be. All. All must be humble.

These are the words of advice I gave the gentlemen. Of course, I do not say it is a reality. (swearing at the ulema). God willing, not at all. Absolutely not. But they are young. Often they find anger from these matters.

We all are from one people, one country, one religion. We are all seated at God, the Most High's table. We must all be grateful for this benefit. We have such wonder-

ful jurists. Thank God that we have such outstanding people. We must all show our appreciation of them. Their greatness is the greatness of Islam. Insulting them is insulting Islam. Beware. Never allow an insult to be given to a Muslim, an insult to a jurist, an insult to a believer for God disapproves of this and I fear for the time when God the Most High takes this blessing from us.

The subject does not end with these words. They are many and I no longer have the strength to speak. I ask God for success for all of the Islamic leaders in their service to Islam. God preserve all of the religious leaders of Islam in His shadow of refuge. May they always be above our heads and that of all Muslims. Strengthen the religion of Islam. Curtail the hands of those who oppose the independence of our country, who play games with the economy of our country.

Chapter Nine: The Lunar Year Anniversary of the 12th of Moharram, 1383

On the 12th of Moharram, 1384, Imam Khomeini, Ayatullah Milani and Ayatullah Qomi gave the following message to mark the anniversary of the year after the bloody massacre of 1383.

The 12th of Moharram, 1384

*In the Name of God
the Merciful, the Compassionate
The Return is to God*

One year has passed since the bloody tragedy of the 12th of Moharram, 1383. One year has passed from the tragic death of those people. One year has passed for those who remain without families, for orphans who remain without fathers, women without husbands and suffering mothers.

The event of the 15th of Khordad was a great disgrace of the ruling system. This event is not to be forgotten. History has recorded it.

What crime did the Muslim nation commit? Women and children, what crime did they commit? Why were they machine gunned? What crime did the ulema of

Islam commit and the religious leaders? Their crime was the defense of truth, defense of the Holy Quran. They have been insulted, put in jail, their activities have been limited, made to suffer for the crime of 'good advice' and seeking what is right.

The ulama of Islam are obliged to defend the fixed precepts of Islam, support the independence of their Islamic country, express hatred towards oppression, express hatred of contracts with the enemies of Islam and Islamic courts, express hatred of Israel, its agents, the enemies of the Holy Quran, Islam and country, seek acquittal from pointless executions, group exiles, illegal trials, hatred of trials without legal cause. They are obliged to express that which is good for the country in any way possible. Is this a crime? Are they black reactionaries?

In this country, all of the misleading groups speak openly against Islam. They are free to hold gatherings. They have open meetings. The Christians in the Bible societies in Tehran have a center in Kerman, an official school and are supported by governments. It is free to print magazines against religion.

Only Muslims, people who propagate the religion and religious leaders of Islam are not free. The propagation of religion and expression of torture is known as 'black reactionarism' and is forbidden. Religious orators are obliged to get permission from the police and other organizations. The ceremonies for (Imam Hosein) must be limited and it is basically forbidden to say certain things.

We do not know what attachment they have to Israel and Israeli agents. Is it not a disgrace for an ancient nation like Iran to Israel say, "We support Iran." The great Iran is supported by Israel? Is it not against the

policy of the country that deceitful information is given by them without any basis in the hearts of the people? The media discusses it and then disclose the weaknesses of the government. Is this policy not wrong? Not dreadful?

They thought the country was asleep. We are prepared to defend Islam, our Islamic country and the independence of our Islamic country. Our program which is the program of Islam, is that of the *Unified Expression (vahdati-kalimah)* of Muslims, the uniting of Islamic countries, being brothers with all Muslim groups and in all areas of the world, pledging ourselves to Islamic governments throughout the world when confronting Zionism, Israel, and colonialist governments who confront the people to take the natural resources of a poor nation for gratis while our poor nation burns in the fire of poverty, without work and in wretchedness. They speak of progress and economic development in the presence of colorless faces, (faces which have lost color because of lack of food and wretchedness).

This bitter truth has put us under pressure. They make the ulema of Islam suffer. If this is black reactionism, be reactionaires. We are ashamed of the truth of the 12th of Moharram, the 15th of Khordad. The tragedy of the 15th of Khordad and the theological school of Faiziyyeh breaks our backs and the back of all zealous Muslims. As long as these people rule, what else could be expected?

The Islamic nation will not forget this tragedy. We announce that the 12th of Moharram is a day of public mourning. Let them call us reactionary, worshippers of the past. Have we shown fear from the beginning of their tyrannical acts? We know we have to advise the ruling group. We have (advised them) many times. We have

reminded them of the good and the bad. They have not followed our advice.

We know it to be a necessity that the government change its ways and not dominate over the organizations and political organizations of the oppressed nation, the ulema of Islam and respected orators. Prevent these illegal acts if they can. The love of the ulema of Islam with Islamic laws and precepts is inseparable from the love of God. We are agents from God to preserve Islamic countries and their independence. We know it to be a crime the leaving aside of advice and silence when faced with dangers that are foreseen for Islam and the independence of the country. We know it to be a great sin and a welcoming of a black death.

Our great leader, Hazrat Amir al-mu'minin Ali (ع) did not allow silence when faced by oppression. We also do not allow it. Our duty is to guide the people, guide the governments, guide all organizations. We will not stop, with the will of God, from our duty. At this time, silence against oppression is an aid to the oppressors. An Islamic duty is not ours alone. It is the duty of all groups. It is the duty of all marjaie of Islam. It is the duty of the ulema of Islam. It is the duty of the orators of Islam. It is the duty of all of the people. It is the duty of all Islamic governments and people. With the hope of certainty that Islamic peoples in the near future will dominate over colonialism. We, in our time, with the will of God, the Most High, will not be negligent towards any kind of sacrifice (we are asked to give).

We ask God the Most High for the correctness of the situation of Islamic peoples, Islamic nations and Islamic governments.

Ruhullah al-Mousavi al-Khomeini
Muhammad Hadi al-Hosseini al-Milani
Hasan al-Tabatabaie al-Qomi

Chapter Ten: After the Revolution

Imam Khomeini was exiled several months later for his opposition to the law of capitulation whereby the Shah sold out the country to the American imperialists. But this is another story which is beyond the scope of the present work.

The movement continued underground for the 15 years of Imam Khomeini's exile to Iraq. We include here the speeches of Imam Khomeini in the first and second year of the Islamic Republic of Iran after the glorious Revolution of the people.

Imam Khomeini's Message for the 15th of Khordad, 1358 (1979)

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

What was the origin of the 15th of Khordad? Why did it happen? What was its purpose then and now and in the future? Who brought about the 15th of Khordad? Who followed it and who is following it now? After this, in whom can we place our hope? What was the purpose of the 15th of Khordad up to now and in the future?

Know and understand the 15th of Khordad, who initiated it, who has continued its legacy. Know those

in whom there is the hope of maintaining it in the future. and know those who opposed the 15th of Khordad and their purpose.

The 15th of Khordad began from this place, the Faiziyyeh School. There was a great gathering on Ashura in the afternoon. Following the speeches, disclosures were made which, when pursued, led to the 15th of Khordad. The 15th of Khordad was for Islam and was in the name of Islam, and it came about because of this basis and the guidance of the ruhaniyun. It was the same classes who are now represented here that brought about the 15th of Khordad, the same classes and groups who were killed. These groups of Islamic people arose for Islam: Islam was their sole purpose. They brought about the 15th of Khordad. It is this same populace with the ideology of Islam, that has, until the present day, continued the 15th of Khordad, there is hope that they will bring our movement to fruition.

We must examine who this populace is - who brought about the 15th of Khordad, and, as evidenced, sacrificed 15,000 lives. What group of society were they who after the 15th of Khordad and other 15th of Khordads and after the massacre of the 15th of Khordad and other massacres, entered the battlefield? No one else has any rights. Those who brought about the 15th of Khordad, those who helped it, who were active in breaking the regime's barrier are from this very group, those who cried out *allaho akbar* (God is Greater). No one else has any rights.

Now to the topic of those who are deviating from the path of the people and who wish also to pull the people away from this path and to cause the Islamic movement to put aside Islam. There are groups that are ignorant and unaware of the circumstances, and there are groups

that are intentionally and actively opposing Islam. Those who are ignorant should be guided. They should be told, 'Do you think that there is anything but Islam which can take the movement forward in Iran? You who think that something other than Islam brought down the regime, who brought about the 15th of Khordad? Those who suggest the possibility that non-Muslims were influential in this, should study and examine the graves of those who gave their lives and were martyred on the 15th of Khordad. Who were they? If you find one tombstone of a non-Muslim, they also participated. If, from among the Muslims, you have one from the upper classes, they also participated. But you will not find one. All are from the lower classes, the peasants and workers, the merchants and Muslim tradesmen.

The committed clergy and those classes brought about the 15th of Khordad through following Islam, and by following it, they preserved and protected it. They are still doing this. Those who think that forces other than Islam could break down such a barrier are mistaken. Those groups who, because of their opposition to Islam, are against us, must be guided. Otherwise, they will be destroyed by the same fist that destroyed the regime (i.e., the people). Those who were outside of this rank have no rights. They have no rights in this movement.

From the 15th of Khordad to the present, what has come into being has been achieved by the activity of this class, and their blood and sacrifice. They have the right to vote on anything which must now come about. Those who were outside of the ranks and have now entered them have no rights to this movement. and their views carry no weight. The views of those people who brought the movement and broke the big powers and continued

the struggle, all rights belong to them. Your opponents were silent. The opponents of you oppressed people suffered no pain. They suffered no pain during the tyrant's time either, because they were obedient and they agreed or they were silent. Now that you have prepared the table, they join you for their own advantage. If only they would allow you to participate. But they say, 'Us, yes! You, no!' We and the ruhaniyun, no. We and other groups, no. They want everything for themselves. We and Islam, no.

Human rights want the rights of the super-powers. You westernized Iranians, you foreigners, you empty humans, come to yourselves. Do not westernize everything: observe the things that are in the West. Look at the human rights groups to see what types of people they are and what are their aims. Do they wish to preserve human rights or the rights of the super-powers? They follow the super-powers, and push for their rights. You lawyers, do not follow these western lawyers in their kind of human rights. You must apply human rights as did the struggling groups of uprising Iranians, since they strove for and worked for human rights. They provide peace and comfort to humans while you only talk. They put their actions into effect.

These workers, these peasants, are the true human rights groups. They put into practice and you write. None of you actively pursue the attainment of human rights. Those who are active in this very group arose today and arose on the 15th of Khordad. They are the ones concerned about humans, because they are Muslims and Islam is concerned with humanity. You whose path is not Islam, do nothing for humanity - you write and want to cause the movement to deviate. With your words you want to cause the movement to deviate. We have

no rights. From the 15th of Khordad until today, you have given blood. I who sit here, I have no rights. It is you who spilt your blood and went to the battlefield and struggled. We have no rights. We must serve you. We must not take advantage of you and give ourselves titles. Woe be unto me if I should take advantage of you or give myself titles, when you spilled your blood.

The members of the upper classes who played no active role, nor opposed them, have no rights, and should not have. If they now do their duty, though, they will earn the rights. If from now on, they serve, they will gain rights. Those who have devious intentions, those who want to commit treachery against Islam and this nation, those who know the Islam of 1400 years to be insufficient, they must separate their account with the people. In fact, it is separate.

From now on, we need you (the lower class). We need this class and no others. Today is the time when Islam must be established. If we don't apply Islamic laws in this revolution and this movement, then when will we apply them? When will such a movement come to fruition? If God forbid, this movement dies out, who can bring back Islam again? If today we do not follow Islamic laws, when will we follow them?

These people who say that we can not apply them now, should tell us when, then, we can. To these people it must be said, 'Then say no forever to Islam. Say the movement without Islam - Islam minus ruhaniyat means the movement minus Islam'. If, in this movement, Islam and Islamic laws are not applied to the letter, you will later regret it. Those who believe in Islam, those whose hearts beat for Islam, must be active today. The 15th of Khordad was for this. Before the 15th of Khordad, the uprising of the ruhaniyun was for Islam. The uprising of

the 15th of Khordad was for this. That which followed was for it. We do not want other than Islam. Islam is always - and, in particular, now - applicable.

Gentlemen, pay attention to your speeches. Pay attention to your writings. Islam freed you from bondage. Take heed, it was Islam that brought you inside the land from the outside. Take heed, it was Islam that brought you out from the corners of your homes, that freed your pens, that gave you freedom of speech. Yes, Islam freed you and you now oppose Islam. Can the Muslim tolerate the fact that Islam and the blood of Muslims freed you only to have you rise against Islam? This is to put aside blessings. God gave these blessings to you. Being grateful to the movement is for you to follow Islam. Repent from the words you say. Repent from the words you write. Incline yourselves towards Islam and the classes you regard as the lower classes, but who are better than you. These are the bright faces of Islam and Muslims. These are the faces which the Messenger of God will welcome. These are the faces of the pure of God. Join them. Become like them. Join your beliefs with theirs. You speak so much about the West. You want to compare the laws of Islam with those of the West. You want to compare the laws of Islam with those of the West. What a mistake this is! I warn you to remain loyal to Islam. Gratefulness for the benefits of God is to be loyal to Islam. I warn you to be loyal to Islam. I advise you. I also advised the Shah in this school. He did not listen and you are less than he was. The afternoon of Ashura, I told the Shah not to do anything which would make the people throw him out. He did not listen and he did things which made the people throw him out.

God, you know that I do not support the ruhaniyun

because I am turbanned. My support of this group comes because I know it can save the people - it is what the people want. It is the mosques which brought all of this about, which initiated this movement. In the time of the Prophet of God and afterwards for a long time, the mosques were the center for political gatherings and mobilization.

The *mihrab* (a place in the mosque from which speeches and lectures are given) means a place of war - war with evil and tyrants. These wars had their roots in the *mihrab*.

Preserve your mosques. People, preserve your mosques. Intellectuals, preserve your mosques. Do not be Western intellectuals. Lawyers, preserve the mosques. Go to the mosques so that the movement will come to fruition, so that your country will be saved.

Oh God, preserve these mosques for us. Oh God, may our people find happiness. Oh God, guide those who are against us to the truth.

**Imam Khomeini's Message
for the 15th of Khordad, 1359 (1980)**

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

The 15th of Khordad approaches. It is a day which our people should not forget and they will not forget. The 15th of Khordad is a peak in our history. Political activities began then. The ruhaniyun organized themselves from them. The 15th of Khordad, as I learned after being released from prison, was when the agents of the Shah killed people who had arisen in many cities. As they

told me, we had 15,000 martyrs.

We thought this to be a great number until the crimes of the Shah increased. We cannot conceive of the crimes which took place in this country at the hands of the Shah's agents and America's agents from the 15th of Khordad to Bakhtiar's leaving this country. We do not have the power to make them come alive. We can only express or conceive of a part of this crime. The importance of this crime is incapable of being understood. How can we account for the number of wounded on the 15th of Khordad. How can we know how many they were? They say there were 15,000 martyrs but how can we count the injured and maimed, those who lost their limbs in the events.

However, at the same time that the 15th of Khordad was a tragedy for our people, it was the source of movement as well. From then on and even before, the ruhaniyun had arisen and the movement began in Qom in the hands of the ruhaniyun. The 15th of Khordad was a reflection of that very arising of the ruhaniyat. They more or less arrested all of the ruhaniyun of Tehran and imprisoned them. For awhile the ruhaniyun of Tehran were put into prison. They were gradually released. It began there with movement and objection.

At the same time that the 15th of Khordad was a tragedy for us, it was a blessing, God the Almighty gave us, so that people were awakened and said, "La-baika". (I am here). This movement began with the sounds of the ruhaniyun (reverberating) everywhere throughout the country. The origin was the 15th of Khordad. Little by little it grew and then, developed the movement of the people, the movement of the people progressed, the movement of the people and their arising took over everywhere.

Thanks be to God the roots of foreigners were cut from our country. The former Shah left Iran even though America sheltered him and now he is being sheltered by America in Cairo - which is dominated by America - or in its outskirts. Thus the 15th of Khordad which was a tragedy, was a blessing for our country for it ended in a great command, in independence of our country and freedom for all the country. The gaining of freedom for us and our our country cost dearly but its value is more than this. Now, people who support America or the former regime, try to bring back the situation to what it was before. But these are vain thoughts.

Carter has recently said, "If none of the other governments support me, I will interfere myself (in Iran), for these people who are in Iran, protected and imprisoned, "I will interfere". This order is a crime for the President of a country who pretends to know human rights. It is bullying for someone to say, "I will interfere in another country". And he has interfered. This is a crime which must be tried. Carter must be tried in the public courts of the world. Where are those who pretend to officially recognize the independence of all countries? Where are they to confront Carter who says, "No matter what you do, I will interfere in the country of Iran alone." To interfere in the affairs of an independent nation is wrong. He sent his military forces and he wants to do it again. Where are they who say such a thing is criminal? Where do we complain to about these countries which follow America, are handpicked by America and follow America in the crimes that it commits? To what court or organization can we complain of these bullies and of those who have taken the affairs of these weakened, poverty-stricken nations into their own hands? It is clear that those countries who pretend to accept independence

follow them. They follow such a criminal. We must ask these governments what principle among the principles of the world, of the laws of the world says that economic sanctions should be applied to a weakened nation to pressure it? Is it other than because America has power? It orders you. This is enough reason for you. It is reason enough for you to place economic sanctions upon us? You think our nation will be defeated and will come humbly around with economic sanctions? You should know that the military intervention of America will have no effect on the will and decision of our people. The interference of the military forces of America, the USSR and all those countries connected to it, the interference of all of you in our country and our economic affairs, will have no effect upon the will and decision of our people.

You frighten us with economic sanctions, we who are a nation ready for martyrdom. You should frighten one who is afraid of death (not us). A people who are ready for martyrdom and have accepted martyrdom does not fear these things.

Thus the blessed day of the 15th of Khordad while we had many martyrs, is a blessing for our nation. I announce congratulations to all the people. I hope that just as to date from the 15th of Khordad, our country has continued its movement, it will continue to do so from here on.

May God cause hopelessness to appear in all the powerful from interfering in our country. We hope this movement will be exported to other Islamic countries. This school of thought and action is the school of thought and action of all Muslims as well as all of the deprived of the world.

God save the deprived from the claws of the arrogant. Thanks be to God, the vanguard of this that the arrogant must sit in their place has been found in the world. The deprived are being awakened and they are the majority. I hope that soon the system of oppression will be done away with.

Peace and the blessings of God be upon you.

The leader of the Islamic Revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic, Imam Khomeini, sent the following message to the nation upon the occasion of the 18th anniversary of the June 5th, 1963 arising of the people in Iran against the ex-shah under the leadership of Imam Khomeini. The message was read by the Imam's son, Ahmad Khomeini to thousands of demonstrators at the Tehran University campus.

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

June 5, 1963 coincided with the third day of the anniversary of the martyrdom of the greatest of all martyrs in history (Imam Husein). Although on that day, the fervent people of Iran were seemingly suppressed by the ruling regime, despite their great self-sacrifice and despite their giving some 15,000 martyrs, and although the executioners of the criminal Pahlavi regime thereby brought on themselves an everlasting disgrace to add to a hoard of other opprobriums with which the past regime was known for over a period of 50 years, still this set the opening chapter of the victory of Islam and of this Muslim nation.

As the martyrdom of the Seyyid of all wronged people (Imam Husein) and the supporters of the Quran

on Ashura (the tenth day of the month of Moharram), opened the first chapter of the renaissance of Islam and the eternal life of the Holy Quran, and as the martyrdom of Imam Husein and the captivity of God's men in the hands of the disbelievers eventually brought about the annihilation of the thrones of the Yazids (referring to the man who martyred Imam Husein and his companions at Karbala) for all time and which did away with the anti-Islamic wave of the time, so too did the dauntless people of Iran throw out of history the thrones of the Pahlavis and the Pahlavi legacy, which aimed at doing away with Islam under the name of Islam, and which aimed at installing in its place, the western culture and giving vogue to the vestiges of American social, cultural values as a substitute for the divine revelation.

In effect, the June 5th arising of the people served to pave the way for the victory of the Islamic Revolution on February 11, 1979.

But today, again the throwbacks and cast-offs of the past blood-thirsty regime are bent on gaining fresh life. In collaboration with outcast and also ran groups and also with the aid of the western and eastern-inspired writers, they are trying to shake the pillars of the Islamic Republic in and outside of the country by writing under the guise of pseudo-national colors. They intend to misrepresent our Islamic Republic in the world as being a tyrannical government worse than the past regime and seek to manipulate public opinion and thereby give legitimacy to an eventual foreign intervention in the internal affairs of our country. Under such claims that Iran is a country without the rule of law and that here is the rule of the jungle and also by claiming that in contradiction with all international laws, all institutions of the Islamic Republic are plundering the wealth of the people and annihilating the masses, they mean to pave the way for the coming here

of their masters, or of the eastern superpower, or perhaps of the western superpower and the capitalistic countries, and thereby cast dirt upon our beloved Iran in the name of freedom by which they mean social abandonment and eventually push our Muslim nation away from the scene.

What they in other words want is freedom to carry arms against the Islamic Republic and freedom to create convulsions. They want to be given the freedom to carry G-3's against Islam and the Islamic Republic and this is precisely the kind of freedom against which the Prophets, as much as the Muslim leaders throughout history, fought and an idea for which they were martyred. And just because we are followers of their (the Prophets) path we will continue to fight in the arena. But Islam is against the animal ideas of the western-oriented lovers of freedom who even approve of freedom in the conduct of sex relations in its most obscene form, as is practiced in the West and also of the existence of houses of prostitution.

They are against the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps and the idea behind it and are also as much against the Armed Forces. Our noble nation should remain at all times, vigilant and throw the tricks of the nation's enemies back into their own faces. They fear the glorification of the June 5th uprising since this historical date marks the opening of a blooming era for Islam and for independence and freedom. It is Islam under whose shadow we can see the realization of independence and freedom. June 5th is at once a day of mourning like that of Ashura and a day marking the epical renaissance of Islam and Muslims. To glorify this epoch-making day in our history would be to glorify the human values in all history. Just as to glorify the fateful day of Ashura is to glorify Islam and the Holy Quran, our nation, as well

as the whole Muslim world, for that matter, should not overlook these two days of God.

With its 'no' for an answer to the Yazids on the day of Ashura, Islam cast them away from the scene of all history and sent them to the grave and so too, our people sent the Pahlavis and the Pahlavians to the grave by their arising on June 5th, 1963. The glorification of June 5th and the people's rallies on this day would be a resounding cry against the oppressors by the oppressed people, and against those who have submitted unconditionally to the deviated and eclectic schools of the West and the East, by the people devoted to the progressive school of the Quran.

It is the duty of our noble nation to glorify these blessed days which are God-given gifts to our people and to attack great and small satans of the world with awareness and try to triumph over the problems and over the conspiracies laid by the West and the East. It is also their duty to equip themselves with the weapon of faith.

Likewise, our Armed Forces, including our Islamic Revolution Guards Corps and the Mobilization Corps and our combatants should consolidate their unity and make inroads into the heart of the enemy while they are inspired by God and shouting the slogan of *allaho akbar* (God is Greater) and imploring God to make them triumph over their enemies.

Our nation, too, should support the Armed Forces and not waiver in their attempts for aiding them and should also encourage our Armed Forces in their sacred enterprise, and feel assured that with the help of the blessed and supreme Lord, the eventual victory is near and that this nation will be dignified, while the enemies of this country and of Islam will be discredited.