

THE LAST MESSAGE

THE WILL OF

IMAM KHOMEINI (R.A.)

***THE GREAT LEADER OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION AND FOUNDER OF
THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN***

... Let me say at this point that this politico-religious testament of mine is not made with the noble people of Iran only. Rather, It is recommended for all Islamic nations and the oppressed peoples of the world regardless of religion or nationality ...

Introduction from The Imam Khomeini Cultural Institute

On Saturday evening, June 3, 1989 (the 13th of Khurdad, 1368 corresponding to the 28 of Shawwal of the lunar year 1409) Imam Ruhullah Khomeini (S.A.), the great leader of the Islamic revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, passed away and joined the high heaven. In Imam Khomeini's demise the world lost a great history making revolutionary and a matchless leader who awakened the Muslims, revived Islam and restored to it its pristine grandeur by his honourable life.

The beloved Imam was the true archetype and the perfect example of an Islamic leader. All of the words and messages of Imam Khomeini (S.A.), this magnanimous personality are instructive and inspiring, however, his divine and political last will and testament which he himself penned as a momentous spiritual legacy to the Iranian nation and to all Muslims of the world, will remain as an excellent and unique document in that it covers the important Islamic and revolutionary principles in a comprehensive form. We will study the complete text of this last will and testament in the following pages and listen to the final message of a man who devoted the 89 years of his blissful life to chastity, to self-purification, nearness to God, acquisition of knowledge, struggle for liberation of the oppressed masses from the shackles of the arrogant; in short, a man with a heart aflame with love for the true Islam of Muhammad (SAW) who, as a butterfly that sacrifices its life in the flames of lighted candle, let his love consummate his entire being. We shall then pledge ourselves in obedience to his exalted soul that we shall advance and safeguard the Islamic revolution, in the path that he has outlined, with steadfastness and dedication (God willing).

In The Name of God The Compassionate, the Merciful

The Messenger of God has said, "Verily I am leaving with you the two most valuable and weighty objects: the Book of God and my household (the Thaqaalain). Indeed these two shall not part with each other until they join up with me by the pond" (of Kowthar in Paradise on the Day of Judgement).

(The Prophetic Tradition of [Thaqaalain](#))

To Allah belongs all praise. Glorified is Thy Name, O God, bless Muhammed and his household who are manifestations of Your Beauty and Magnanimity and the secret treasures of Your Book, the Book that crystallises Your Oneness in all Your Names and Divine Attributes, including the one that none but Yourself knows. And let there be curse on those who oppressed the Prophet (SAW) and his household, those that belonged to the wretched pedigree.

At the outset to this prologue, it appears proper to briefly comment on the two most exalted and momentous objects of trust ([The Thaqaalain](#)), not on their transcendental, spiritual, or mystical aspects, an area into which pens such as mine are unable to venture as it is a domain of [molk](#), the cognition of which covers all circles of beings, from earth to heaven ([Malakoot-e-Aala](#)) ... (4) and beyond to His Divine presence ([Lahoot](#)) ... (5) including circles that lie beyond the comprehension of our intellects. Nor do I mean to comment on that which has befallen humanity due to its negligence of the true nature and status of the greater trust ([theql-e-akbar](#) ... (6) = The Holy Quran) and that of the great trust ([theql-e-kabir](#) = The Household of the Prophet (SAW)), which is greater than anything except the great trust which is great in the absolute (akbar-e-mutlaq). Also I do not intend to recount here all that has befallen these two most valuable divine trusts (The Thaqaalain) by the enemies of God and the treacherous followers of the tyrants = ([Taghootian](#)) as these are too many for me to enumerate, given my limited knowledge and time.

I thought that I might make a passing remark about what has happened to these two most valuable treasures. Perhaps the phrase, "... which will never part with each other until they join me by the pond ([Howz](#)) ... (9) ...implies that after the death of the Prophet (SAW), the Book of God and the household of the Prophet (SAW) shall receive similar treatment. Whatever is made of one, the other suffers the same until both descend on the Prophet (SAW) and unite with him by the Pond. Does this union, this pond, indicate [the merging of plurality with unity](#) ... (10) as the disappearance of drops in the sea? Or, does it mean something beyond the gamut of human intellect and cognition? Moreover the cruelty to which these two divine trusts, nay the entire humanity including the Islamic ummah (nation), were subjected by the followers of the tyrants and their stooges defy description by pen.

It should be mentioned that the Thaqalain [Hadith](#) ...(11) which is a mutawatir (an unbroken chain of recorded traditions) Tradition has been quoted, cited and adduced successively by Muslim ulema (foqaha, learned religious authorities or jurists), in both Shia and [Sunni](#) ...(12) denominations as proof positive for all mankind, especially for Muslims in all sects and branches. References to this Prophetic tradition are frequently made in such highly reliable Sunni sources like the famous 'Six Authentic Texts' ([The Sahah-e-Sitta](#)) ...(13) as well as in countless Shiite cogent texts. This hujjat or proof is binding on all Muslims who are accountable for it especially the foqaha (Muslim religious jurists) as they cannot claim ignorance of it. Let us now see what befell this book of God, this Divine Trust and the bequest of the prophet of Islam. The sad events for which tears may well be shed, began to take place following the martyrdom of [Hazrat Ali \(AS\)](#) ...(14). Selfish people, followers of taghoots (despotic, pagan rulers) abused the Holy Quran as a mean by which to establish anti-Quranic rules.

To achieve this they forced off the scenes the true interpreters of the Quran and others who had received all of the Holy Book directly from the Prophet (SAW) and whose ears still echoed with the voice of His Holiness Muhammad (SAW) as he had said, "... I am leaving with you the two most valuable objects...' Thus, the Quran, which was to be man's guide to moral and material life to the Last Day, was shelved and the rule of divine justice that was, and still is, one of the ideals of the holy Book, was all forgotten.

Perversion of the Book, of Divine Traditions and of God's religion reached a shameful stage, it became the rule. The more this warped and distorted condition advanced, the more the Holy Quran that had been sent down for the betterment of man, was forced into oblivion. The Quran was sent down by the Omniscient God to Hazrat Muhammad (SAW) to complete and seal such divine revelations ([Kashf -e Tomm-e Muhammadi](#)) ...(15), to unite humanity and advance him to his rightful station; to rescue this issue of the divine attributes ([Validah-e Eimul-Asmae](#)) ...(16) from tyranny and evil; to institute the rule of justice and equity and to confer sovereignty to the Infallible and divine authorities ([The Masoomeen](#)) ...(17) that they in turn hand over such divine sovereignty to qualified worthy persons, was removed from all areas as though it had had no mission to guide mankind. In the hands of oppressive rulers and wicked akhunds (muslim clergymen, sometimes used in a derogatory manner), who were more decadent than the taghooti (despotic) rulers the Holy Quran was abused as an instrument of oppression, cruelty and corruption and was distorted to justify acts of tyranny by the enemies of God.

Unfortunately, in the hands of conniving enemies and ignorant friends, the Holy Quran, this divine book that is empowered to decide man's destiny, has found no place anywhere except in graveyards and at the gatherings for the dead. The instrument, that

was to unite Muslims and all mankind and serve as scripture for their lives and salvation, was turned into an instrument of division and dispute among men or left the arena entirely. We all witnessed that whoever spoke of Islamic rule or of politics, which is the major role of Islam and its Prophet (SAW), or of the Quran and Islamic traditions, was regarded as one who had committed grave sins. The term akhund-asi, which means a political clergyman, came to denote a profane canonist. These circumstances are still extant.

In recent years major satanic powers have, through their puppet regimes who sham Islam, undertaken to reprint and publish the Holy Quran, distorting sacred verses to serve their devilish ends. Such Qurans are published with attractive calligraphy and binding and are distributed everywhere with the aim of eventually removing the Holy Book from all scenes. We all saw the Quran that [Muhammad Reza Khan Pahlavi](#) ...(18) had printed. He succeeded in deceiving some people including a few Muslim akhunds or preachers who, unaware of the aims of Islam, praised him for it. We note that each year [King Fahd](#) ...(19) of Saudi Arabia spends a good deal of the wealth of the people in printing the Holy Quran and considerable publicity and propaganda material in support of anti-Quranic ideas propagating the baseless and superstitious cult of [Wahhabism](#) ...(20). Fahd abuses the Quran, urges negligent people and nations to side with the superpowers. He uses the noble Islam and the Holy Book to destroy both.

We are proud, and our dedicated nation is proud, that we adhere to a faith in which the Holy Quran speaks of the unity of all Muslims and the oneness of mankind. We are proud that our faith has retrieved the Quran from the cemeteries and has saved this Holy Book as man's prescription for freedom from all physical, mental and intellectual bonds that push him deeper into slavery and nothingness. We are proud to be followers of a religion whose founder has been designated by divine commandment and in which Ali ibn Abi Taleb (AS), this servant of God, free of all bonds and shackles of servitude and serfdom, has been appointed to deliver mankind from all the chains of slavery and thralldom. We are honoured that the book [Nahjul-Balagha](#) ...(21), which is next to the Quran, is man's great manuscript for salvation, moral and material existence and the greatest instrument for just rule and government, has our Infallible Imam, Ali (AS) as its author.

We are proud to have had as our leaders [the Infallible Imams](#) ...(22), from Ali (AS) down to [Hazrat Mahdi \(AS\)](#) ...(23) who, by the grace of God, lives in occultation, and watches our doings.

We are honoured to have our Infallible Imams as authors of such exalted, superb and life-giving prayers of supplication (referred to as [The Ascending Quran \(Quran-e-Saed\)](#) ...(24), as [the Shabaniah prayer](#) ...(25), [the Arafat Prayer](#) ...(26) of [Imam Hussein](#)

(AS) ...(27), [the Sahifah Sajjadiah](#) ...(28), these psalms of [the Household of Muhammad \(SAW\)](#) ...(29), and [the Sahifah Fatimiah](#) ...(30) revealed by the Lord to [Her Holiness Fatima Zahra \(AS\)](#) ...(31). We are honoured to have had as [our fifth Infallible Imam, Baqer-ul-uloom \(AS\)](#) ...(32) (profound knowledge, a title given to the fifth Imam), this superlative world personality whose true station can be appreciated by none save Allah, His Prophet (pbuh) and the Infallible Imams (pbut).

We are proud to be followers of [the Jaaferi Faith](#) ...(33) (Religion) whose [fiqh](#) ...(34) (religious legislation and jurisprudence) is a boundless ocean. We are proud of all our Infallible Imams (the 12 innocent ones) and we are committed to follow them. We are honoured that our Infallible Imams (AS) suffered imprisonment, banishment and finally attained martyrdom in their efforts to advance Islam; to implement the teachings and commandments of the Holy Quran-of which the establishment of the sovereignty of justice is but one dimension - and; to overthrow the rule of the oppressors and of the arrogant. Today, we feel proud that we seek to re-institute the objectives of the Holy Quran and Tradition and that the various layers of our nation sacrifice their lives, properties and loved ones for this holy cause.

We are proud that our women, young and old, regardless of their status, are present and active, side by side with the men, often more active than men, in all scenes including cultural, economic and military areas. They strive, sometimes more effectively than the men, for the propagation of Islamic teachings. Women who are capable of fighting take military training, which is a major prerequisite for the defence of Islam and the Islamic state. Our women have extricated themselves from the deprivations imposed on them by the enemies of Islam and by the inadequate knowledge of friends of Islamic tenets. They have bravely discarded the superstitions created by enemies through some ignorant preachers. Those women who are unable to fight in the war fronts serve behind the front-lines with such ardour and courage that makes the hearts of their men tremble with delight and it throws fear in the heart of enemies and makes ignorant individuals who are worse than foes shake with anger and fear. Often we hear our women, in a manner like that of [Hazrat Zainab](#) ...(35), cry out loud saying that they have given children in the path of God and Islam and are proud of it. They realise that what they get in return is far above the blessings of Heaven, let alone the material things of this world.

Our nation, indeed all Islamic nations as well as the meek and oppressed are pleased to see that their enemies, who are the enemies of Almighty God, of Islam and of the Holy Quran, are indeed savages who do not desist from committing any criminal acts to promote their mean purposes and who are unable to tell a friend from a foe in achieving treacherous goals. The USA is the foremost enemy of Islam. It is a terrorist state by nature that has set fire to everything everywhere and its ally, the international Zionism does not stop short of any crime to achieve its base and greedy desires,

crimes that the tongue and pen are ashamed to utter or write. The stupid idea of a [Greater Israel](#) ...(36) urges them to commit any shameful crime. The Islamic nations and the mustazafeen (the meek, the oppressed) peoples of the world are pleased to have [Hussein of Jordan](#) (37) a professional, itinerant criminal, [Hasan of Morocco](#) ...(38) and [Hosni Mubarak](#) ...(39) of Egypt, fellow-mangers of Israel, as enemies. These are fellow-criminals with Israel and commit any act of treason against their own nations to serve the USA. We cheer to have [Saddam, the Aflaqi](#) ...(40) as an enemy whom friend and foe know to be a criminal, a violator of human rights and international laws and whose betrayal of the peoples of Iraq and of the Persian Gulf Emirates, has been no less than his betrayal of our country and people. We and the oppressed peoples of the world are delighted to be objects of criminal accusations by the superpowers through the international mass media under their control.

What can be a better source of pride than the fact that the USA with all its military might, its boastfulness, its claims, its mass media and its allies among puppet regimes, has been so dumbfounded and disgraced in its dealings with the dauntless Iranian nation and the land of His Holiness Baqiyatullah (a title of the 12th infallible imam, Hazrat Mahdi (AS) who is now in occultation) that it does not know which way to turn and who to turn to?!! This is not the work of anyone or anything except divine assistance that has awakened nations, particularly the Iranian Muslim nation and has guided it from darkness into light: The Light of Islam.

I now take this opportunity to advise the oppressed and noble nations, including our own, to stay firmly on this divine straight path that leads neither to the atheistic (Mulhid) East nor to the oppressive, pagan West, but to the path which the Almighty God has decreed for us. I further advise not to be negligent even for a single moment in being grateful for this blessing. Let no polluted hand of a superpower, or its agents, whether domestic or foreign, affect your determination and will. Know that the rowdier the Eastern or Western satanic power gets, the more proof it is for your divine support and God shall reward and punish the deserving ones in the best fashion in this and in the other worlds. "Truly, He is the Lord of all blessing and in His hand lies the dominion over all things".(The Quran, Sura 23, AI-Muminun, the Believers, verse 88).

I earnestly ask all Muslim nations to follow the practices and traditions of the Infallible Imams (AS) in respect of political, social, economic and military affairs and to sacrifice for their sake whatever may be required. Also, I would like to enjoin on all of you to safeguard and observe the Fiqh sunnati ([Traditional fiqh](#)) ...(41) or religious canons for these set forth the schools of prophetic mission and Imamate and guarantee the growth and development of the nations through their [primary and secondary decrees](#) ...(42)' both of which are schools of Islamic jurisprudence. My advice is that you do not deviate an iota from the teachings of both schools of Islamic fiqh and not

listen to the whisperings of the slinking (Satan) who are the enemies of religion and truth. Be sure that even a minor step toward deviation may be a prelude to the fall of the religion, of the tenets of Islam and of the divine rule of justice. Do not ever miss [the Friday mass prayers](#) ...(43) and [the daily congregational](#) ...(44) prayers (Salaat-al-Jumah and Salaat-al-Jamaat.). The Friday Congregational Prayer is one of the greatest divine blessings for the Islamic Republic of Iran, it reflects the political dimension of prayers. Also, never neglect [the mourning ceremonies](#) ...(45) commemorating the martyrdom of the Innocent Imams particularly that of the Master of All Martyrs his Holiness Abi Abdullah Hussein (AS), may God, His Angels, the prophets and saints bless his great, valiant soul!

Let all know that the decrees of the Imams (AS) regarding the observance of this great epic event of Islam and all the curses levied against the enemies of [Ahl-e Bayt \(the Household of the Prophet](#) ...(46) are, in fact, the heroic cries of nations against agents of tyranny throughout history. You should know that the damnation and curses against the then injustices of [the Bani Omayyads](#) ...(47), who were annihilated and cast into the Hell, reflect the cries of protest by the people against the oppressors of the world and it is the perpetuation of such cries of protest that shatters oppression. It is necessary that the crimes of the tyrants in each age and era be regularly condemned in the cries of lamentation and in the recitals of elegies held for the Infallible Imams.

In this age of oppression of Muslim nations is the work of the USA and the U.S.S.R and their local lackeys such as the Alay Saud (Family of Saud and rulers of Hijaz), these traitors to the House of God, the Great Divine Sanctuary, who deserve the most potent damnation by Allah, His Angels (Mala-eka) and

Prophets (SAW). We must all know that it is these political ceremonies (Friday Mass, the Hajj Pilgrimage, the Salaat ul Jama'at, etc) that give Muslims, particularly the 'ithnai Ashar ([the Shiite](#) ...(48) Muslims who accept and follow the 12 Infallible Imams (AS)), the unity they should enjoy; these also preserve the nationality of all Muslims.

Let me say at this point that this politico-religious testament of mine is not made to the noble people of Iran only. Rather, it is recommended for all Islamic nations and the oppressed peoples of the world regardless of religion or nationality. I humbly pray that Almighty God does not leave us and our nations to ourselves even for a moment. May He not withhold His blessings from the children of Islam and the cherished Muslim combatants.

Ruhollah Al-Musavi Al-Kbomeini

In The Name of God The Compassionate the Merciful

The significance of the glorious Islamic Revolution which came to be through the efforts of millions of worthy men and the blood of thousands of martyrs and disabled veterans ([living martyrs](#))...(49) and which is regarded as a source of hope and inspiration to millions of oppressed human beings, is so great that it defies evaluation by pen or tongue.

I, Ruhullah al Musavi al Khomeini, ever mindful of the Lord's bounty in spite of my shortcomings and having as provision for my hazardous course only my hope and trust in His Munificence; and, as a humble talaba (student of Islamic jurisprudence) who, like all other [brothers-in-faith](#),(50) have faith in this revolution and the everlastingness and perpetuation of its achievements and its fruition, undertake to present the following as my covenant and will with the present and future generations. I pray that God may grant me sincerity of purpose in making these remarks:

1- We all know that the great revolution which severed the tentacles of the tyrannical world-mongers from the face and form of Iran was made possible by divine grace only. It would have been impossible for the people of Iran to achieve this great feat in view of the following conditions that prevailed in the country at that time:

Immeasurable anti-Islamic, anti-clerical propoganda, particularly during the last century; creation of disunity and discord among the population by writers, poets, orators and the communication mass media; the establishment of so many centers of gambling, prostitution, narcotics consumption, bars and cabarets to drag the youth into indifference and vice, by the corrupt shah and his illiterate father; the imposition on the people of parliaments rigged up by the embassies of foreign powers; the use of teachers and professors with Eastern or Western leanings in schools and universities,-educators who were one hundred percent opposed to Islamic culture.

With all the above-mentioned issues and with scores of other problems such as the isolation of the clergy and perverting their minds with poisonous propoganda, it is nothing short of a miracle that the nation was able to rise up in unison with the cry of [Allah-o-Akbar \(God is the greatest\)](#)...(51). In every hamlet, village, town and city all over the country, by stunning acts of devotion and sacrifice, the nation drove out all domestic and foreign elements and agents of power and took the destiny of the country in its own hands. Therefore, without a doubt, the Islamic Revolution of Iran is singular and unique among all revolutions; unique in its emergence, in its fighting character and in its incentive for uprising and revolt. Certainly this was a sacred gift, a divine present from God to the oppressed and pillaged Iranian nation.

2- Islam and Islamic government are divine phenomena the utilization of which insures the happiness of man for all times in this and in the next world. They can put an end to injustice and corruption and help man achieve ideal perfection. Contrary to non-monotheistic schools of thought, Islam is concerned with and supervises man in all his individual, social, economic and military affairs. It does not overlook the smallest issue that affects the education and the moral and material progress of man and his society. Islam has pointed out the obstacles to social change and evolution of man and makes every effort to remove them.

And, now that by the grace of God, the Islamic Republic has been initiated in Iran by the mighty hand of its people and Islam and its progressive laws and tenets are the concern of this Islamic government, it is up to the nation to insure their implementation in all aspects of life and to safeguard them well as the preservation of Islam takes precedence over all else. All prophets from Adam (AS) to Muhammad (SAW) have consistently taken care of and made sacrifices for it (monotheism). After the Prophet of Islam the Innocent Imams strove hard for its preservation and some gave their lives for it.

It is now incumbent on the Iranian nation, as custodian of this divine trust that has formally been proclaimed in Iran, and which has given magnificent fruits in such a short time, to do all that is necessary for its enforcement and maintenance. It is to be hoped that this divine trust will radiate to other Islamic lands from Iran and all Muslim governments and nations may come to a common understanding of the issue, and as a result, they will thereby cut off the hands of the world-mongering super-powers and criminals of history and remove their hold on the oppressed peoples of the world.

AS I approach my last breath, I feel it is my duty to state some of the points that are involved in the preservation and perpetuation of this divine trust (the Sovereignty of Islam) and some of the things that endanger and threaten it, for the present and future generations. May God bless all with success and happiness!:

a) - Without a doubt, the secret of the survival of the revolution is the same as the secret of its victory. The nation knows this secret and the future generations will read about it in history texts. Its two essential components are the supreme divine purposes and aims of the sovereign rule of Islam and the coming together of all the nation in unity of word and expression for the sake of the same purposes and incentives.

My advice to all generations, present and future, is that if you desire God's sovereignty to continue and domestic as well as foreign colonialization of your lands and exploitation of your resources be curtailed, do not under any circumstance, abandon this divine incentive that the Holy Quran has emphasized. Forsaking this

theocentric incentive and goal, which is the secret of the victory of the Revolution and its survival, will result in dispute, disunity and a forgotten purpose and objective. It is because of this that trumpets of propaganda are sounding off everywhere sowing the seeds of discord and disunity by distortion of facts and outright falsehood and lies. Millions upon millions of dollars are being spent for such mean purposes by corrupt powers that own or control the mass media and by their local stooges. The constant visits by the enemies of the Islamic Revolution to the region has this purpose in mind. Among such visitors, however, one sometimes sees heads of Islamic states who can think of nothing but their personal interests, as well as pseudo-clergymen. These elements blindly hand themselves over to the U.S.A. That of which the Iranian nation and Muslims everywhere must be mindful of, now and ever after, is the importance of neutralizing the vicious disuniting propaganda. My advice to all is that you should react to such plots and, by all means possible, render your unity (of word and purpose) increasingly more solid and thus disappoint the heathen and hypocrites.

b)- One of the major plots of the century especially of the last few decades and particularly after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, which is clearly manifest, in the multi-dimensional propaganda launched, has the aim of disappointing Muslim peoples especially the Iranian nation with Islam. Sometimes with explicit but crude argument it is claimed that the laws of 1400 years ago can not efficiently administer the modern world. At other times they contend that Islam is a reactionary religion that opposes any new ideas and manifestations of civilization and that, at the present, no country can remain aloof to world civilization in its various aspects. Sometimes, in fiendish yet foolish propaganda jargon, they claim the sanctity of Islam and maintain that divine religions have the nobler task of purging egos, of inviting the people to asceticism, monkhood, morality and of admonishing them against the world of matter. They say that prayers bring men closer to the Lord; that politics and government are opposed to these great moral purposes and are contrary to the traditions of the great prophets.

Unfortunately, such propaganda has impressed some of the clergy and faithful Muslims who are not properly tutored in the teachings of Islam. This influence has been so marked that some simple-minded Muslims have considered involvement in government and politics a grave sin and evil. This is a calamity by which Islam is affected. The first group, it must be said, either knows nothing about government, law and politics or else they sham ignorance. The enforcement of law is based on equity and justice; on prevention of cruelty and dictatorship- on the extension of personal and social fair play; on prevention of vice, deprivation and perversion; on liberty, reason, independence, and self-sufficiency; on prevention of colonialisation, exploitation and serfdom; on penance and the limits punishment([hudood](#)...(52)

and [taazirat...](#)(53))- on [Qisas...](#)(54) or retaliation in kind and on the basis of implementation of justice to control corruption and vice in the world.

Politics and administration of a community according to reason, equity and justice, etc. is not something to wear away or erode in the course of history and man's life on earth. Claiming such a thing amounts to arguing that principles of reason and mathematics must be altered today and replaced by some other rules. It is absurd to say that social justice which was to be practiced from the beginning of creation and crimes and cruelties which were to be avoided can no longer be exercised in the age of atom. The contention that Islam is opposed to innovations is as foolish as Muhammad Reza Pahlavi's claim that "in this age they want to travel by quadrupeds".

This is nothing but an inane accusation because, if by innovations and new features of civilization is meant inventions, new discoveries, industrial progress and the like, let them consider the fact that neither Islam nor any other monotheistic religion has ever opposed such things. Rather, science and industry are very much emphasized in the Quran and Islam. However, if by modernism and civilization is meant, as some professional intellectuals claim, freedom of vice, prostitution and even homosexuality, then all divine religions, men of reason and learning are opposed to it, even though some individuals with pro-western or pro-eastern leanings may blindly promote these things.

However, the second category of the foes of Islam who entertain more vicious plots claim that religion and politics are not compatible and cannot be combined. These ignorant individuals must realize that the Holy Quran and the traditions of the Prophet of Islam contain more lessons, decrees and commands on the rule of government and politics than they do on any other issue. Indeed a good many Islamic laws concerning worship have political aspects as well. Neglecting such aspects has often resulted in catastrophes. The prophet of Islam founded a government just like any other except that it seeks to promote social justice and equity. The early caliphs of Islam enjoyed extensive rule. The sovereign rule of Hazrat Ali (AS) with the same objective, but on a much wider scale and dimension, is all too well known in history. However, after Ali (AS) gradually the rule of Islam became nominal. Even today there are many governments which claim to be Islamic but rarely pay Islam even a lip service.

In this my final will and testament I merely mention these points in passing and hope that historians and sociologists will make Muslims see their mistakes in this respect. The contention that the prophets and Imams have been only concerned with moral and spiritual issues and government, being concerned with secular or temporal matters, has been rejected by them is woefully wrong. Adhering to this unfounded contention leads to corruption of Islamic nations and opens the way for the blood-thirsty colonialist.

What is taboo is the satanic, dictatorial rule; domination, thirst for power and lust for wealth; in short all the worldly things that make man forsake the Lord. But, divine rule is in the interest of the dispossessed and oppressed and seeks to prevent cruelty and injustice. It establishes social justice as did [Sulaiman Ibn Davood](#) ...(55) and the Prophet of Islam (SAW). Maintenance of justice in the society is a duty in Islam and is regarded as a sublime act of adoration and worship. Wholesome and healthy politics that existed in the above rules are necessary. The alert Iranian nation must neutralize the plots mentioned above with Islamic thought and perception. Let writers and preachers rise and help the nation to defeat the plotting devils.

c)- One such conspiracy, a most vicious one, is the widespread rumor claiming that: "The Islamic Republic" has not done anything for the good of the people! Poor people! They made sacrifices to overthrow the despotic regime of the Taghoot (despot), little did they know that they would emerge with a worse regime. The arrogant have become more arrogant and the mustazaf in more oppressed. Prisons are full of youths who are our hopes for the future. Torture has become more inhumane and severe than before. Every day a number of men are executed, - all in the name of Islam. They had better not call this system "The Islamic Republic". Circumstances are worse than at the time of [Reza Khan](#)...(56) and his son. People are suffering hardships; prices are soaring to high heavens; authorities are leading the regime to communism; people's properties are being confiscated: freedom in all forms has been withheld from the people, etc. Such rantings are proof of planned conspiracies that are carried out daily in some form in some location, town or borough; in taxi cabs, in buses, at small gatherings, etc, and as one false rumor wears off a fresh one takes its place.

Unfortunately the clergy, unaware of the satanic plots, come in contact with agents of discord and think that their incantations are true. The fact is that many of those who listen to the rumors and believe them are persons who lack knowledge of world conditions, of world revolutions and of post-revolutionary events and their inevitable concomitant problems. They lack knowledge of the changes that have occurred in favor of Islam and so, when they hear such rumors they deliberately or by mistake, accept them. I urge everyone not to make hasty conclusion or damning criticism until you have done the following: made a study of world conditions and a comparison between the Islamic Revolution and other revolutions and the post-revolutionary problems in which those nations and countries had sunk; acquainted yourselves with the circumstances of the countries and nations before, during, and after their revolutions; considered the various serious problems brought about by Reza Khan and worse than that by his son Muhammad-Reza, problems including: dependencies of all kinds on foreign powers; bribery and dishonesty of government personnel; bankrupt economy; vice in all forms including prostitution; conditions in the various ministries and the army; cinemas, cabarets and houses of ill-fame; conditions in schools and universities; problems of the youth, the women, the dedicated clergy, the liberals and the chaste but oppressed women before and after the Revolution; conditions of the mosques during the time of Taghoot; the records of persons sentenced to death then and now; considered the circumstances of the collectors of wealth, of capitalists, of real estate manipulators; of the courts of justice and their records; made a study and comparison between the present and former judges and their rulings; compared the representatives of the Majles (The Islamic Consultative Assembly) before and after the Revolution; compared the work of the provincial

governors in both regimes; studied and compared the activities of [the Reconstruction Jihad](#) ...(57) in rural areas today with conditions that existed in such areas before the Revolution; considered the entire work of this regime in the span of last few years, with the years it spent at war, with the work of the former regime in more than 50 years of absolute rule having no refugee-problems, no war-torn towns, villages or cities and no problems of disabled veterans, no homeless families, no problems of an economic blockade, no plots by America or its local and alien agents, no multi-million number of [Afghan and Iraqi refugees](#) ...(58) no problem with a lack of experienced propagandists and religious judges in sufficient number; and considered the lawlessness caused by the perverts, the enemies and even by some untutored friends; and considered countless other issues and drawn comparisons.

Do not levy your tirades of criticism on anyone or anything unless you have made the necessary studies and comparisons. Have mercy on Islam, the Islam which has just re-emerged as a toddler, after centuries of suffering under despots, wrapped up in ominous covers provided by the animosity and opposition of local and foreign foes! Would it not be better if you could, instead of associating yourselves with anarchist and terrorist groups and siding with them indirectly, consider the families of the victims of terror among the dedicated innocent clergy and other innocent servants?!

I have never said, and do not say now, that today Islam is practiced in this Republic in All its dimensions and that no one acts against Islamic laws here either through ignorance, lack of discipline or because of some personal complex. But, I do say that the Legislative, the Judiciary and the Executive powers are doing all they can to Islamize this country and they are supported in their efforts by tens of millions of citizens. If this obstructionist, trouble-making minority would come along and, in the spirit of fair play, support such efforts, the realization of the objective shall come about much easier and faster. If they don't join up, they may rest assured that the masses are informed, alert and concerned and they shall defeat that minority. I dare say that today the Iranian nation is more righteous and upright than the people of Hejaz at the time of Muhammad (SAW) and the people of Kufeh at the time of Ali (AS) and Hossein (AS). When the Prophet (SAW) was still alive the people of Hejaz disobeyed him and feigned excuses for not going to the war fronts. For this God has rebuked them sternly in [the Sura Al-Tawbah \(Repentance\)](#) ...(59) of the Quran. They accused the Prophet (SAW) of lying so much that he damned them for it from the pulpit. The people of Kufeh mistreated and disobeyed Ali (AS) to the extent that his complaints against them is recorded in many books. The maltreatment of Imam Hossein by the people of Kufeh (AS) culminated in history's greatest epic event,

the martyrdom of Hossein (AS). And those who did not participate in the act of martyrdom of Imam Hossein either fled or sat by and watched the bloody crime take place. But, today, we see how the Iranian nation wholeheartedly supports its armed forces, [the Sepah](#)...(60) and [Basij](#) ...(61) recruits and volunteers. We see all these elements, including the tribal peoples and the militia, making unimaginable sacrifices at the war fronts as well as behind the lines. We are delighted to observe and enjoy the invaluable assistance rendered by our people from all over the country. We are proud to see the survivors of our martyrs and the disabled veterans and their meet all of us with open arms and such reassuring mien and words. All this is due to their unwavering faith in Allah and to their love for Him and Islam and to their assurance of the eternal life, while they are neither in the company of the Prophet (SAW) nor accompanying an Innocent Imam (AS). Their assurance and incentives are elsewhere, - in their faith in the unseen, the Invisible (ghaib). This is the secret of victory and success in their various dimensions. Islam should take pride in having raised and trained such followers and sons. All of us are proud to be in the presence of such a nation in such an age as this.

I hereby counsel those who, for any reason, oppose the Islamic Republic, the youth, the girls and the boys who are exploited by the perverts and the hypocrites, to maintain an open mind and then sit in judgment of the propaganda of those who wish to see the Islamic Republic collapse; to study the mode of conduct of such individuals toward the people, toward the governments and groups and toward their own supporters; to carefully observe the shifts in their attitudes and positions on various occasions and compare same with the conduct of the survivors of those who were martyred by the hypocrites, and then decide which group truly supports the oppressed and the deprived peoples in the community. Authentic tape recordings of both pro and con groups are on hand and will help you with your task of comparison and evaluation.

Brothers! You will not read these lines while I live, you may read them after I am gone and am no longer among you to want to say things to gain your favor and support.

But, as you are worthy young people I would like to see you spend your time in the path of God, for noble Islam and for the Islamic Republic, so that you may attain happiness in this and in the next world. I ask God to guide you to the straight path and to forgive our past deeds. I advise you to make the wish when in seclusion, for He is the Guide, the Merciful.

My counsel and recommendation to the noble Iranian nation and to all the nations who suffer under corrupt governments and are chained by great powers is this:

cherish as your most precious thing the blessing that you have gained by [your great jihad](#) ...(62) (crusade) and by the blood of your worthy young men. Guard it well and preserve it as a divine favor and great trust from your Lord. Make every effort to safeguard it, do not worry about difficulties if any should arise. Remember: 'If you help Allah, He will help you and make you strong" (The Holy Quran, Sura 47, Muhammad, Verse 7). Help the Islamic Republic with all your hearts and do your utmost to solve some of its problems. Consider the Majles (The House of parliament) and the government as your very own and protect them as you would your loved ones. Likewise, I recommend this nation to the care and attention of the Majles and government authorities who should serve the people well, particularly the deprived and oppressed who are our true benefactors. These are the people who made the formation of the Islamic Republic possible and insure its continuity. The authorities should regard themselves as belonging to the people and recognize the people as parts of their own beings. Always condemn the despotic rule of the UN cultured plundering bullies by humane methods worthy of an Islamic government.

My suggestion to the Muslim nations is that you consider the government of the Islamic Republic and the crusading Iranian nation as your examples. Do away with your own despotic governments unless, they bow to the demand of your own nations which is the same as the demand of the Iranian nation. The dependent puppet governments, who are either pro-East or pro-West are the cause of the misfortunes of the Muslims. I recommend with emphasis that you pay no attention to the propaganda sirens of the antagonists of Islam and of the Islamic Republic as they always try to force Islam to the sidelines so as to insure the interests of the super-powers.

d)- One of the satanic plots of the major colonialists and exploiters, that has been in force for many decades and reached its apex in Iran in the reign of Reza Khan and was continued by Muhammad Reza, was to isolate the clergy by different methods including pressure, suppression, imprisonment, unfrocking and various forms of abuse, insult and derision. Another technique is to create friction, disharmony and animosity between university circles and the clergy. Extensive propaganda was used to achieve such tension and it was effective because of the ignorance of both groups of the devilish plotting of the super-powers. Grade school, high school and university teachers, tutors, principals, instructors, lecturers, professors, deans, etc were selected from among persons with pro-Eastern or pro-Western leanings. These educators were religious perverts. Devout and virtuous educators formed a small minority. The purpose was to train the future authorities of the state from childhood through adulthood in such a manner as to hate religions in general and Islam in particular and to despise religious

enthusiasts especially the Muslim clergy. Muslim clergymen were accused of being British agents, supporters of capitalists, land-mongers and reactionaries opposed to civilization and progress. At the same time they threw the fear of students in the clergy and the "educated" university scholars with malicious propaganda accusing them of atheism, libertinism and opposition to all manifestations of religion. These conditions lined up the government authorities against religions including Islam and its clergy. The situation placed the clergymen and the religious masses, who cared for their religion and its clergy, against the government and all that was part of it. The deep gap between government and the nation, and between the university and the clergy opened the way to the exploiters and the plunderers so much that the fate of the people and the country's resources fell into their hands and pockets and the nation suffered as we all witnessed.

And now that by the grace of God and the sacrifices of all the nation including the clergy, the university people, the businessmen (the bazaar), labourers, agricultural and industrial workers and other segments, the fetters of bondage have been removed, the shackles of serfdom broken, the powers of arrogance repelled and the country virtually sequestered and saved from their clutches and from the clutches of their domestic puppets, I would like to recommend to the present and future generations not to slacken their efforts. Let the university men and the youth strengthen their links of friendship and mutual understanding with the clergy and the students of religious sciences. Never overlook the plotting of the perfidious enemy, provide counsel and guidance whenever you see someone trying to sow the seeds of discord and disunity. If your counsel to such individuals is not effective, turn away from them, isolate them and do not let their machinations and conspiracies take root as prevention is easier than cure. Students in both the theological schools and in the universities should be alert to the insidious propaganda diffused by their teachers and professors. As soon as you hear an instructor say or explain things in a manner that distorts the truth and tends to pervert the mind, reject him and turn him away from your classes. This suggestion is directed primarily toward the clergy and students of religious sciences in theological centres. Conspiracy in a university has a particular dimension and depth. Both categories of students, being the brains of the society, should beware such plotting.

e)- One of the most effective conspiracies that has, unfortunately, left an indelible mark on the nations, including our own, is the alienation of the peoples of colonised countries with their true selves. In other words "Westerners" or "Eastern block" peoples have become estranged with their own cultures and they have come to regard the peoples of the super-powers as being of races and cultures

superior to their own. They look upon the super-powers as their Qiblah (direction to which Muslims face when saying daily prayers, i.e., the Kaaba in Mecca) and think that affiliation with one of the two poles of power is indispensable to themselves. The question has a long, sad story and the blows we have received and are still receiving from it are devastating and fatal. A most unhappy point is that the colonialists have bared the oppressed peoples under their rule from all progress and have turned them into consumer nations.

The colonial powers have so frightened us through their satanic might and advancement that we dare not venture into any initiatives. Rather, we have submitted our minds to them and placed our fates in their hands and have become their followers with our own eyes and ears shut. This vacuity and artificial mental inanity has prevented us from trusting in and relying on our own knowledge and thinking; made us blind followers of the East or the West. And whenever and wherever we do have and make manifest our own initiative, our own industry and culture these can under such heavy barrages of criticism and ridicule by Communist or Westernised writers and commentators that the net effect was to suppress our native abilities. Foreign customs and ways, no matter how trite, hackneyed or redundant, were promoted and propagated and imposed on nations through actions, words and eulogies. For example, if books contain a number of foreign words and terms they are accepted right away with wonder and awe regardless of their meaning. The writer of such a book is deemed erudite and broad-minded. Whatever is tinted with Western or Eastern terminology is good, noteworthy and a mark of progress and civilization. If elaborated in native terms, it is regarded as decadent.

... Our children whose names smack of foreign Western roots are honored and progressive. If they carry traditional names, then they are looked upon as retarded. Streets, alleys, firms, drugstores, libraries, textile materials, and other commodities, if manufactured locally, should have foreign names so that people may be pleased with them and receive them well. Manifesting Western ways in all facets of life and in all aspects of social intercourse is cause for pride and is regarded as tokens of civilization and progress. Meanwhile, traditional modes of conduct and customs are deemed as retrograde and ancestor-worshiping. Going abroad for treatment of minor ailments that are easily cured at home is the thing to do, disappointing our own scientists and physicians.

Making a trip to England, France, U.S.A or Moscow enhances one's dignity while going to Mecca to perform the Hajj or visiting other holy shrines is considered backward and old-fashioned. Disregard for all that is related to religion and morality is a sign of open-mindedness and civilisation whereas commitment to these issues is a sign of being backward and antiquated. I do not say that we have

everything. In the course of recent history especially during the recent decades we have been deprived of any progress. The treacherous statesmen of the Pahlavi regime and their propaganda belittled every domestic product, created inferiority complexes in us and withheld all means for advancement. The importation of all types of goods and commodities from abroad provided channels for our young men and women and specially our youth to preoccupy themselves with such trivial things. They became engaged in childish competitions and pursuits with imported objects as toilet articles, and games of chance. At the same time they became consumers of such things as well as items of luxury which has a long, sad story. No effort was spared in diverting the attention and the minds of our youth from thinking about their own fate and the destiny of their country.

And, now that the Iranian nation is to a large extent freed from such traps and the deprived generations have risen to the occasion to create and build, at their own initiative commodities many examples of which we witnessed such as aircraft spare part that all thought could not be manufactured locally and all hands were extended to East or West for such items. This is because economic blockade and the compelling conditions of [the imposed war](#) ...(63) made their domestic production without assistance of foreign experts possible. Such items were produced more economically and they satisfied our needs. Our people have proved that they can do things if they want to.

Our people should be alert and watchful lest the East or West affiliated politician draw us back towards the international pilfers. Take decisive action to do away with all dependencies. Be sure that the Aryan or Arab races are in no way less endowed than the Europeans, American or Russian races. If we succeed in finding our true selves and not let despair overtake us and rely on ourselves and expect nothing of others, we shall be able, in the long run, to do and make everything. This is possible provided you rely c Almighty Allah and yourselves and sever all dependency(on others. Moreover, you should work hard to achieve a honourable life and escape the influence and domination c others. It is incumbent on the authorities both in the present and the future governments to cherish and appreciate their experts and specialists and encourage them through moral and material support to make initiatives. It is necessary that harmful consumer goods be not imported. Let the people (do with what they have until they can make everything themselves. I ask the youth, boys and girls not to compromise their freedom, independence and human values for luxury, pleasure-seeking and other vices that are(offered to you by the corrupt agents of the West or the East Experience has taught us that they think of nothing expect your degeneration, your indifference toward your own destinies and the fate of your country, control of your natural resources, your consumer potential, your dependence, in short

your colonisation and exploitation This is one reason they try to keep us in a state of backwardness and underdevelopment and, as they say, a semi-primitive men.

f)- One of their major plots, that was noted before, is to take over the education centres especially the universities whose trained output must have the control of the country, in their hands. Their methods with respect to the clergy and the schools of Islamic sciences is different from their method in respect of the universities and high school, Their plan is to remove the clergy from the scenes and to isolate them. During the time of Reza Khan considerable torture and persecution was used to achieve this but results were contradictory. With propaganda, false accusations, and devilish plans they tried to segregate the educated and the so-called intellectual layers during the Reza Khan's rule using torture and persecution. This was continued during the time of Muhammad Reza, viciously but without torture. As to the university, their plan is to alienate the youth with their own values and culture and draw them over to the East or the West and to select the statesmen from among them, institute these selected individuals in position of authority and do whatever they want with country, its resources and people by the hands of their puppets while the isolated, despised and defeated clergy looks impotently on. This is the best way to hold a nation in a backward state and to pilfer the countries under domination because, it is easy for the superpowers and is of no cost to them while all that there is goes to their pockets quietly through the national circles. And, now that the universities and teacher training colleges are being purged, it is necessary that we all help the authorities and not ever let these institutions deviate from the right course and take necessary action as soon as we notice a deviation step by an authority. This vital task must, in the first place, be carried out by the young men of the universities, teachers and colleges. Saving the university from deviation and perversion is saving the nation and the country. I urge all our youth and the young people in the first place and their parents and friends in the next place, and the statesmen and intellectuals who care for the country, to participate wholeheartedly in this important task that maintains the safety of your country, and to entrust the universities to the next generation. I also counsel the successive generations to guard the universities against defection to the East or to the West, as this necessary for the salvation of yourselves, the country and the beloved Islam. This humane, Islamic act severs the hands of the superpowers off the country and makes them lose all hope. May Allah bless and keep you!

g) The commitment of the representatives of [the Islamic Consultative Assembly](#) ... (64) is a major issue, we witnessed the damage that Islam and Iran suffered at the hands of the corrupt and perverted representatives of the former Majles: (House of Representatives) since [the constitutional regime](#) ... (65) was initiated in the country through the era of the Pahlavi rulers. Such Majles representatives were worthless individuals, servants of foreign powers and they betrayed the country and the nation. During the fifty years of the tyrannical rule of the Pahlavi regime, a sham majority of Majles representatives was forged which carried out the dictates of the U.S.S.R and England and of the U.S.A in recent decades. After the constitution was initiated in

Iran its major articles were almost always ignored. Before Reza Khan came to power, the country was in the hands of number of treacherous pro-Western feudal overlords. The'. came the bloody Pahlavi regime and its cruel agents.

Now that by grace of God and the determined an, spirited endeavors of the nation, the destiny of the country has fallen in the hands of the people, their true representatives are elected and sent to the Majles without foreign interference and without intervention of the government or feudal khans. It is to be hoped that with their dedication to Islam and the interests of the country, all sorts of perversion will be avoided. My recommendation to the present and future generation is that they choose virtuous, upright educated persons in every election. Let these be persons with commitment to Islam and to the Islamic Republic; persons who come mostly from the deprived middle classes of the society and are not perverted nor gone astray from the straight path; individuals who are aware of the problems of the day and of the policies of Islam. My advice to the honourable clergy, especially [the religious authorities \(Marajae\)](#) ...(66) is that they do not stay away from and show indifference to the elections of representatives to the Majles, nor to the elections of the President of the Islamic Republic. You all saw, and future generations shall hear, how the politicians, who were followers of the East or the West, forced out from active politics the clergymen who were greatly influential in laying the foundations of the constitution in the country and how the clergy were deceived by such politicians and came to regard involvement in the affairs of state and of the Muslims as being outside the parameters of their position and status. And, consequently they relinquished the realm (of politics) to pro-West or pro-East elements who did to the constitutional law, the country and Islam damages which takes a long time to remedy.

Now that, thanks God, the obstacles are removed no excuses remain. A free atmosphere is made available for involvement and participation in the affairs of state. It is an great sin to compromise the affairs of the Muslims. Each and everyone should be, to the extent possible, available for service to Islam and to the country. Everyone should, as much as he can, cheek and thwart the spread of the influence of the pro-West and pro-East elements and the influence of those who deviate from the great school of Islam. All should realise that the opponents of Islam and of Muslim countries, that is, the superpowers, the international thieves, infiltrate into our country and into our Islam states subtly and by degrees and manipulate the people. into colonialisation. You must all be alert and vigilant and as soon as you see such a state, act to resist an neutralize it. Give them no time! May God help and assist you!

I ask the present and future representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly not to honourable reject the credentials of any deviate delegate who captures the votes o his constituents through fraud and political intrigue. Let no sabotaging element work

his way into the Majles. I advise [the recognized religious minorities](#) ...(67) to learn lessons from the Majles sessions of the Pahlavi regime and elect(representatives who are dedicated to their own religion and committed to the Islamic Republic, persons who are not dependents of the world-mongering powers, persons with no leaning towards any deviations, forged or atheist' school of ideology. I ask all Majles delegates to treat or another with utmost goodwill and brotherhood and take care lest some enacted law contradict Islam. Be faithful to Islam one and all so as to attain to happiness in this world. and in the hereafter. My advice to [the Council \(Guardianship\)](#) ...(68) now and in the future, is to perform its Islamic and national duties with candor and take great care not to be influenced by any power and to cancel any law, rule or regulation that is opposed to Islam and [the constitutional law](#) ...(69) Also, the Council should be attentive to the exigencies of the country that must be dealt with sometimes by secondary decrees and sometimes by [the decrees of the Walayate-e faqih](#) ...(70) (guardianship of the Theologian or Jurisconsult). My advice to the honourable nation is that it participate actively in all areas relating to the elections, whether presidential elections, election of delegates to [the Majles or elections of experts](#) ...(71) to determine [the council of leadership or the leader](#) ...(72). The choice and nomination of such representatives must be based on solid and creditable criteria. For example, if, by oversight, election of experts to determine the council of leadership, or the leader, be not based on religious laws and standards, irreparable damage to the religion and the country may ensue, in which case all shall be responsible before God. Thus, non-participation in elections by the people from the Ulema (men learned in Islamic laws) and authorities (Marajae) down to other strata including the bazaar (business world), workers, farmers, office workers and others, indicates their irresponsibility toward the destinies of the country and Islam whether in the present or future generations. It is very likely that absence from the political arena and non-participation in the affairs of state and elections, in certain instances, may constitute a most grievous and [capital sin](#) ...(73)

Therefore, all must bear in mind that "Prevention is better than cure." If necessary action is not taken in advance, the control of affairs get out of all hands. This is a reality we have all experienced after the constitutional government was proclaimed in the country. No remedial action is better and more effective than the people nationwide performing the tasks and duties assigned them in accordance with the constitution and Islamic law and standards. In elections for president and the Majles delegates, voters must consult educated, open-minded persons. Such persons must be aware of the channels of action. They should not be dependents of a super-power They should be dedicated to Islam and the Islamic Republic and be renowned for their virtue. Such consultation must also be entered into with dedicated and chaste clergymen Care must be taken to insure that those elected as President of the Islamic state and as delegates to the Majles, are individuals who have felt and experienced the

circumstances of the deprived and oppressed classes of the society and are concerned with the well-being of these groups. The president and the Majles delegates should not hail from the high-ranking, land-mongering capitalists.. classes who are sunken in carnal pleasures and are unable I feel nor understand the bitterness and pains of the deprived (the barefooted and the oppressed human beings).

We must realise that if the Majles delegates and the president are competent, most difficulties will not emerge and if they do, they will be solved without delay. This applies to the election of Experts determine the Council of Leadership or the leader. If the Experts are elected by the nation with care and consultation with the prominent Ulema and religious authorities (Marjae Taqlid) of the time, if learned dedicated and virtuous persons go to the Assembly Experts, then, most of the major problems will not arise because of the selection of the most competent individuals as The council of leadership or leader and if they do, they'll be dealt with dispatch and exactitude. In view of [Articles 109](#) ...(74) and [110](#)...(75) of the constitutional law (of the I.R.1) concerning the grave duty of the nation in electing the "Experts" and the "Delegates" to determine the leader or the Council of Leadership it becomes clear that gross harm will accrue to Islam, the country and the Islamic Republic by the least oversight and negligence in their related elections. Because of the extreme importance of the probability of their incidence, their occurrence surely entails divine responsibility.

My advice to the leader and the Council of Leadership in this era which is the era of invasion and aggression by the superpowers and their stooges, domestic or alien against the Islamic Republic, indeed against Islam, and, to the future leaders and councils is to devote and dedicate themselves to the service of Islam and the mustazafin (the meek, the deprived and the oppressed) and of the Islamic Republic. Do not think that leadership (or guardianship) is per se a gift or an exalted position for you. Rather, think of it as a heavy and grave duty in which errors due to mean and lowly considerations will subject the perpetrator to life-long shame in this and to the wrath of God in the next world. I beg of the Lord and supplicate to Him that He admit us to His Presence having emerged from this trial with success. This danger exists, though to a lesser degree, for presidents, governments, and authorities, now and in the future, each in proportion to his responsibility. These, too, must be mindful of the presence of God and His watchfulness over their actions. May the Lord guide them and show them the right path!

h)- One of the major, essential questions is the issue justice for it is involved in the peoples' lives, properties and virtue. My advice to the Leader and to The council (Leadership is to do their utmost in the selection of high. qualified, deeply committed and dedicated persons (assignment as judges and other judicial positions. Such persons should be authorities in Islamic religious laws and in politics. I ask [the](#)

[Supreme Judicial Council](#) ...(76) to clear u the woeful conditions in which all legal and judicial matter had sunk during the former regime, to cut off from this sublime tribune the hands of those who play games with the people's lives and properties and those judges for whorl Islamic justice has the least meaning. Effect revolutionary changes in the judicial system and replace judges who lack Islamic qualifications with duly qualified judges who, God willing, should be trained by the theological seminaries especially by the Holy Theological centre of Qum an recommended for assignment to judiciary posts. It is to b hoped that soon enough Islamic Justice shall prevail everywhere in the country. I advise the present and future judges to keep in mind the ahadith (plural for hadith=tradition) ascribed to the Infallible Imams (AS remind yourselves of the instances in which justice has gone amiss and always bear in mind the importance c judgment and the dangers inherent in its abuse. Let those who qualify as magistrates assume the responsibility of the" great task and do not let it go and fall in incompetent hand Let all know that as the responsibility of adjudication hazardous and great, its rewards and excellence are also considerable and grand. All must know that assuming the position of a judge is [an incumbent religious duty \(wajib-e-kafae\)](#) ...(77).

i) My advice to the holy theological centres, as I often have said, is that opponents of Islam and the Islamic Republic are determined to uproot Islam in every devilish way possible. A major approach they make towards their ominous objective which is dangerous to Islam and the theological centres is to have saboteurs and miscreants infiltrate the theological seminaries. This, in the short term, poses the danger of casting aspersion on the conduct of the theological students, accusing them of having corrupt, perverted and unethical behaviour and character. In the long run, the infiltration of theological seminaries by such evil agents and their integration into the ranks and files of the students of these centres, poses the greater danger that some of them may attain to high positions through their machinations. With the help of their sham knowledge of Islamic laws and rules they may work their way into the confidence and hearts of the people and then, at the right time, deliver fatal blows to the theological centres, to Islam and the country.

We are aware that the superpowers have implanted in various communities agents in different disguises such as: "nationalists", ['pan-Iranists'](#) ...(78), "liberals", "intellectuals", "spiritualists" and "religious jurists". This last group if given the opportunity are the most insidious and harmful. Such agents live, sometimes for decades, among nations with patience, Islamic conduct and deportment, sham patriotism, spirituality and other designs and carry out their assignments at the most propitious times. During the short span of time since the triumph of the Revolution people have seen such agents under the titles "['mujahid-e-khalq'](#)" ...(79) (lit, fighter of the people), "['fad khalq'](#)" ...(80) (lit, sacrifice of one's life for the people), the "['tudeh'](#)" ...(81) (masses) and other such appellations. It necessary that all co-operate in neutralizing such conspiracies. All must be alert to the danger of these agents The purging of the theological seminaries takes priori This is the task of the honourable mudarresin (scholars a teachers of Islamic texts) and the well-known men theological centres with the approval of the Marajae authorities (marj'a=source, reference) of the time. perhaps the contention that "order lies in disorderliness" is one the vicious ruses of these plotters.

At any rate, my advice is that it is necessary in all ages especially in the present era, in which plots and intrigues have increased, to rise and bring order to the centres theology. Let the students, the scholars, and the instructs spend time and, by careful, sound planning, purge a preserve the major theological centres especially [the Qum Theological Centre](#) ...(82) It is necessary that the honourable Ulema and mudarresin prevent perversion and distorts from creeping into the teaching materials concerning Feqh (Religious jurisprudence). Let there be no deviation Feqh(the methods of the grand foqaha (plural for faqih, learned authorities of religious law) in the teaching of the principles of Feqh for, only in this way can the real Islamic Feqh preserved.

Efforts should be made for a daily increase in conciseness of views and investigative methods and research and creative work.

Traditional Feqh, which is the heritage of our worthy ancestors, must be preserved and maintained. Deviation from it weakens the foundations of research. Let research studies (in Feqh) pile up and develop into tomes. With respect to other sciences, to be sure, research programs should be arranged with a view to the needs of the country and Islam. Men should be trained to do research work at the highest levels and in as many areas as needed. Research, its learning, teaching and practice must be made available to all. Islamic moral sciences such as ethics, ego-purging, mystical experiences, etc. should be covered in the course of such educational research. This is especially necessary with the '[sayr-o-sulook-e-el-Allah](#)' ...(83) purification of the soul and the ego better known as [the jihad-e Akbar](#) ...(84) or the "greater crusade". May Allah help us achieve it!

j)- One of the areas that need purging, reform and care is the Executive Power. Sometimes beneficial and progressive laws are enacted by the Majles, seconded by the Guardianship Council (Shuraye Negahban) and communicated by the related cabinet minister to the proper administrative unit or department for implementation but is thwarted by bureaucracy, by incompetent personnel, by open violation of rules and regulations. Such actions are sometimes deliberately taken to create dissatisfaction and unrest in the community.

My advice to the concerned cabinet ministers, now and for the future, is that they and their employees are living on public funds and therefore must all be true public servants especially to the Mustazafin (the oppressed). Creating uneasiness for the public, not doing one's duties are interdicted and may incur the wrath of the Lord. You all need the nation's support, especially that of the oppressed classes. It was by their popular support that victory could be achieved and the hands of tyrants cut off from the country and its wealth. If you become deprived of this support someday, the oppressors shall turn you out just the way ousted the oppressive monarchical system. In view of the tangible facts you should make efforts to satisfy the nation thus and earn their confidence. Avoid inhuman un-Islamic conduct. With this motive I recommend that our future cabinet ministers take great care in the select of provincial governors and make sure that such men competent, wise, agreeable, dedicated to Islam and Islamic Republic and can get along with the people so 1 peace and tranquillity become the pervasive rule in country. It must be remembered that although every cabs minister has the responsibility of Islamization regulation of the affairs of his own area of responsibility'. yet, some of the ministries have special characterize Take for example, our embassies abroad:

Since the early days after the victory of the Revolution have often counselled the ministers of foreign affairs al the pro-taghoot (inclined towards the taghoot or tyrant leanings of our embassies abroad and the need for t purge and conversion into embassies worthy of the Islamic Republic. Some of them, however, either could not or did not want to take positive steps. But, the present minister is hopeful that this aim will be achieved by perseverance in due time, he has taken some steps in that direction. hoped that in time these efforts will bear positive rest advise the foreign ministers now and for the future your responsibilities are heavy indeed, whether in purging your offices, departments or embassies or in the area of foreign policy, preservation of our independence, securing the interests of the country and in the area of having good relations with the countries that do not intend to interfere in our affairs. Avoid anything that may indicate dependence in its various aspects and dimensions. Know that dependence on others though it may appear useful and even yield rich fruit now, in the long run, it will corrupt the country at the roots. Make every effort to improve relations with Islamic countries and to awaken their statesmen and invite all to unity and alliance for God is with you.

My advice to the Muslim nations is: do not wait for external help in reaching your objective which is the implementation of Islamic teachings and tenets. You yourselves must rise and undertake this vital work which will realise your independence and freedom. Let the grand Ulema (outstanding scholars) and the honourable preachers in the Islamic states call on their governments to extricate themselves from dependence on big foreign powers and come to an understanding with their own nations. In this way victory shall be yours. Invite the nations to unity and alliance. Avoid racism which is against the teachings of the holy Quran. Shake hands in friendship with your fellow believers in any country and from any race they may be for the great Islamic Faith has termed you all "brothers". If, by the grace of God, this spirit of brotherhood-in-faith be realized, you will one day see that the Muslims constitute the world's greatest power. God willing, this brotherhood may manifest itself soon.

My advice to the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance at all times, especially at the present, which has its own particular characteristics, is to act to propagate truth versus falsehood and to present the r(face of the Islamic Republic. Having severed the hand of the superpowers from our country we are n(subjected to the propaganda tirades and barrages of ; mass media affiliated with the superpowers. Consider the baseless accusations levied against us by the write and speakers of these mass media of communication(belonging to the superpowers. Regrettably, most of the Islamic states of the region, who should, by the command of Islam, show us brotherhood, have risen opposition to us and to Islam and placed themselves the service of the world-mongers for aggression an invasion against us from every side and quarter. And

our propaganda is weak while today the world revolves around publicity and propaganda.

The so-called intellectual writers are drawn to one or the other camp and their ambitions, selfishness and seeking exclusiveness do not let them think of the independence and freedom of their own country. These factors do not allow the writers to consider, even for a moment, the interests in their own nations and draw comparison between freedom and independence as enjoyed in the Islamic Republic today, with that which existed in the former tyrannical regime. Such writers and speakers do not stop to weigh and measure the worthy and honourable life in this country today, including the partial losses in comfort and physical pleasures, against and in comparison with that which they had in the former regime which was steeped in dependent servitude, praising and eulogising those nuclei of corruption and vice; otherwise, they would desist from bringing such false and totally inaccurate accusations against this newly born Islamic Republic and use their pens and speech against the taghoots in favour of this nation and government.

The issue of propaganda is not exclusively the business of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance. Rather, it is a duty incumbent on all writers, speakers, artists and scholars. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should see to it that the embassies are supplied with public relations literature to reveal the radiant face of Islam to all the world. If the real face of Islam, which the holy Quran and Tradition (sunnat) have invited all to its various dimensions, would emerge from under the veils (spread over it) by the opponents of Islam and be relieved from the misunderstandings of friends, Islam would overwhelm the whole world and its banner of honour would be unfurled everywhere. How sad it is that Muslims should be in possession of a most valuable gem, matchless the world over and be not able to present it, a most dear thing that each man, by his own intuition, is in search of and yet, its holders themselves are not aware of it, ignore it and sometimes even run away from it.

k)- One of the most important, destiny-shaping issues is the problem of educational institutions from kindergarten through the university. Because of its extraordinary significance, I repeat the matter with a passing remark. The pillaged nation must know that during the past fifty years all the devastating blows to Iran and Islam have come mainly from the universities. If the universities and other education centres were actively engaged in training, purifying and educating our children, our youth and our young men, armed with Islamic and national programs aimed at promoting the interests of the country, homeland would not have been swallowed first by England and then by Russia and America and such ruin agreements or treaties would not have been imposed on deprived nation. Nor would foreign advisors have been admitted to the country and our resources including black gold would not go down the pockets of the Satanic powers. Similarly, the Pahlavi family and its dependants could not have plundered the people's wealth and built themselves private parks and villas over the bodies of oppressed people at home and abroad. Foreign banks could not become rich with the wages of our deprived people: such Moines could not be spent by the taghoot and offspring and kinsmen on sex orgies and other carnal whims.

If the Majles, the government, the judiciary and other organs had come from Islamic national universities nation would not be facing these ruinous problems today, chaste personalities, with sound Islamic and national inclinations, not like that which is offered as Islam to were dispatched from the universities to the three centres of power, we would be in different circumstances and see different days and our homeland would be a different place; our deprived people would have been saved; cruelty and oppression of the monarchy had been foiled by the people much sooner as would the houses of prostitutes and other centres of vice one of which was enough to corrupt a whole generation of our young people, and would not be heirs to the odious conditions of narcotic addiction.

If our universities were Islamic, humane nationalistic, they would have trained, educated and presented to the society hundreds and thousands of mudarresin (teachers). How sad it was that these institutions were administered and our children trained and educated all, with rare exceptions, by people who were either Westernised or Easternised, persons who were put into vital positions and assigned by special planning and design. Our dear, oppressed and innocent children were, unfortunately, trained by such wolves affiliated with the superpowers and they occupied high legislative, executive and judiciary positions and carried out the orders of the tyrannical Pahlavi regime. However, the universities, thanks God, have been liberated. It is now and for ever after, up to the Islamic nation and government to prevent corrupt elements who are adherents of the pervert Eastern or Western ideologies, from infiltrating the teacher-training colleges, the universities and other education institutions. Such elements should be repelled as soon as they take the first

step so that difficulties do not set in later. My advice to the students of high schools, colleges, universities is that they themselves rise bravely and oppose all deviation and perversion so that the independence and freedom of the nation and themselves may remain safe and secure.

1)- The entire armed forces including, the army, the navy, the airforce, the Sepah, [the gendarmerie](#) ...(85), [the police](#) ...(86) men of [the revolutionary committees](#) ...(87) the Basij volunteers as well as the enlisted tribal militia, all enjoy special status. They are the mighty arms of the Islamic Republic and are border guards; they insure the safety of the roads, the towns and the rural areas. Indeed they provide peace and security for the nation and merit special attention by the nation, the government and the Majles. All m remember that armed forces, of any description, manipulated and taken advantage of, more than any other group or institutions by the superpowers and the destructive policies. It is by political intrigues through t armed forces that coup d'etats are arranged and carried o governments changed and regimes altered. The treacherous profiteers buy off some heads and commanders of such forces and, through them, work out their vicious conspiracies and take over or dominate a country or some innocent oppressed nation, putting an end to their freedom and independence. If military commanders be honourable and chaste, there can be no occasion for a military coup d'etat in a country, nor for its occupation and if one do occur, it will be defeated or neutralized by the dedicated commanders.

In Iran this miracle of the age was performed by the hand of the nation. The devout and committed armed fore personnel and their chaste and patriotic commanders had considerable part in it. But, today, the accursed war imposed by Saddam Takriti at the instigation, order a through the assistance of the U.S.A and other powers has; after two years, met with the political and military defeat the aggressive Ba'athist army, its strong supporters a allies. The armed forces, the security police forces, t public militia, the sepahis, with the unsparing help of the people have brought us honour at both the battlegrounds a behind the front lines. The internal intrigues and acts mutiny by the puppets of the East or the West aimed overthrowing the Islamic Republic, were defeated by the youth of the Revolutionary committees, by the Pasdaran .(Revolutionary Guards), by the mobilized volunteers, by the ,police and with the help of the nation. It is these zealous youths who stay awake at nights so that families may rest in ace, may Allah help and assist them!

Therefore, in these last few steps left to the end of my life my brotherly advice to the armed forces who love Islam, who give their lives at the war fronts for [the love of leqa-ullah](#) ...(88) (spiritual perception of or union with the Lord) and who carry out their devotional work everywhere in the country, is that you stay alert and be vigilant and beware the treacherous political ruses of the pro-West or pro-East elements at

play behind the' scenes! Rest assured that the cutting edges of their blades is, from every side, directed at you more than any other group. They want to make use of you, who have given your lives that the Revolution could triumph and Islam be revived. They want to overthrow the Islamic Republic and, by shamming Islam and service to country and nation, they mean to separate you from Islam and the nation and toss you down into the laps of one of the two world mongering poles and to cancel and void your efforts and sacrifices by political tricks and by their pretension to Islam and nationalism.

My emphatic counsel to the armed forces is to observe abide by the military rule of non-involvement in politics. Do not join any political party, group or faction. No military man, security policeman, no Revolutionary Guard or Basij may enter into politics. Stay away from politics and you'll be able to preserve and maintain your military prowess and be immune to internal division and dispute. Military commanders must forbid entrance into political ties by the men under their command. And, as the Revolution belongs to all the nation, its preservation is also the duty of all. Therefore, the government, the nation, [the Defense Council](#) ...(89) the Islamic Consultative Assembly are all charged with the religious and national responsibility to oppose, from the very beginning, any interference in politics or any action against the interests of Islam and the country by the armed forces, regardless of category, class, branch and rank. Such involvement will surely corrupt and pervert them. It is incumbent on the leader and the Leadership Council to prevent such involvement of the armed forces by decisive action so that no harm may beset the country. My loving advice to all the armed forces in these last days of my earthly life is to remain faithful to Islam, even as you are faithful to it now. Islam is the only true ideology of liberty and independence and Almighty God invites us all to attain to the exalted status of humanity by the light of Islam. Islam saves you, the country and the nation from the shame of dependency and leaning on powers that want only slavery for you and desire to keep your country and your cherished nation retarded and as a consumer market under the yoke of subjugation.

Prefer a humane life of honor with difficulties to the beastly comforts with slavery. Know that as long as you extend your hands begging for advanced industrial needs, the power of initiative and inventiveness will not bloom in you. An objective example we all witness concerns ourselves in the post-revolutionary period. Those of us who seemed to be unable to make or repair anything after the economic blockade was forced on us were impelled to use our minds and brains and succeeded in manufacturing a good many things-that met the needs of the army and the manufacturing plants. This war, the economic blockade and the expulsion of foreign specialists were divine blessings in disguise of which we were negligent. Now, if the government and the army would boycott the products of the world-mongers and make

more effort to increase inventiveness, the country may become self-sufficient and not have to beg anything of the enemy.

Here I must add that after such prolonged artificial backwardness our need for foreign manufactured goods is an undeniable fact. This, however, does not mean that we should become a dependency of one of the two poles in advanced sciences. The government and army should send dedicated students to countries that possess advanced technology but who are not colonizers or exploiters. Do not send students to the U.S.A or Russia or to countries that follow these two poles. Perhaps, God willing, the day shall come that these powers see their mistake and fall in the line of philanthropy, humanism and respect for the rights of others. Or, God willing, the oppressed peoples (Mostazafeen), alert nations and devout Muslims make them take their proper places. May that day come!

m)- Radio, television, the press, the cinema and theatres are the most effective means for stupefaction and corruption of nations especially the younger generations. During the past century, especially the second half of it, great plots were hatched and executed through these media against Islam and its faithful servants, the clergy. The mass media are used, also in the colonial propaganda networks of the East and West. They are used to create markets for goods, especially for the sale of luxury and decorative commodities. The media are focused to make people imitate others particularly in areas like clothing, consumption of alcoholic liquors, styles of architecture in housing and in many other things. To behave or "be" like a farangi (European) was the thing to be proud of. The "pseudo-Europeans" especially ladies in higher or middle income groups imitated the westerners in all forms and manners, in attire, in talking, in deportment, in all facets of behavior and social intercourse. Foreign words and terms were used in speech and writing in such a way as to be difficult to comprehend by most people, even by the peers of their user. Television films depicting eastern or Western products made young men and women stray from the normal course of their work, throwing life and industry into oblivion in respect of themselves and their personalities and produced pessimism in people vis-à-vis their own beings, their country and culture and about highly valuable works of art and literature, many of which found their way into the art galleries and libraries of the East and West through the treachery of middlemen and collectors.

Pornographic magazines printed pictures and wrote articles detrimental to morality. Newspapers took pride in guiding the youth towards East or West by publishing anti-Islamic and anti-indigenous culture and articles. Extensive publicity promoted centres of vice like houses of prostitution, gambling, casinos and lotteries. Large retail stores sold luxury goods, toilet articles, paraphernalia for games of chance, alcoholic beverages, etc. All this came to the country financed by the sale of oil, gas and other

valuable minerals. If the Pahlavi regime had survived, before long, our youths, these children of Islam and the country, who were the nation's hope for the future would have been lost to Islam and the nation by the Satanic conspiracies of that corrupt system and through the mass media and pro-West or pro-East liberals and intellectuals. Or, the youth would have ruined their own lives in the centres of vice or turned stooges of the superpowers and destroyed the country. Almighty God has, by His mercy saved us from the mischief of evil-doers.

My advice to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, to the Presidents, to the Guardianship Council, to the Supreme Judicial Council and to the governments, now and in the future, is to maintain the news agencies, the press, and the magazines in the service of Islam and the interests of the country. We must all know that Western style freedom degenerates the youth, and it is condemned in Islam's view and by the intellect. Propaganda literature, written articles, speeches, books and magazines that oppose Islam, public morality and the interests of the country are taboo (=haram = interdicted by religion) and it is incumbent on all Muslims to prevent their printing and distribution. Harmful liberties must be checked. If all that is "haram" and against the path of the nation and the Islamic state and contrary to the prestige of the Islamic Republic is not decisively controlled, then all are to be held responsible. If any one, including a Hizbullah (lit, the party of God) youth meet with a violation of these rules, they must report it to the appropriate authorities and if they fail to act then the people themselves must take preventive measure. May Allah, the Exalted One, help all!

n)- My advice to the bands, groups and persons who are actively opposing the Islamic Republic and Islam, and to their sons abroad or at home, is that long experience in conspiracy in different ways, in asking foreign authorities and states for support, must have taught you, who regard yourselves wise and knowing, that the course of a self-sacrificing, dedicated nation cannot be altered by acts of terror, sabotage, explosion of bombs and spread of miscalculated lies. No state or government can ever be toppled by such inhuman and illogical methods, particularly a nation like that of Iran whose youth, old men, women and children all sacrifice their lives in the path of the Islamic Republic, the Holy Quran and the religion. You know (and you'll be thinking naively if you don't) that the nation is not with you and the army is against you and if you assume they were with you, your crude moves, and the acts of crime perpetrated by you, have separated them from you and you've gained nothing but the enmity of others. As a well-wisher, my advice to you at the close of my days is that: you are fighting an oppressed nation that has, after 2500 years of suffering under the tyrannical rule of the shahs freed itself, by sacrificing the lives of its finest children and youth, from the yoke of the oppressive Pahlavi regime and the world-mongering East and West. How can the conscience (no matter how wicked) of a man allow him to behave so cruelly and mercilessly with his nation and country for consideration of a doubtful position!? I advise you, give up such useless and unwise actions, be not fooled by the world-mongers. If you have not committed any crime, come back home from wherever you are and get into the fostering lap of Islam. Repent for Allah is the Most Forgiving One! And the nation and the Islamic Republic may, insha-allah (God willing) pardon you! If you have committed a crime for which divine punishment is decreed, return to Him from the middle of the way and repent. And if you have courage, accept your punishment and thereby save your soul from the 'Painful Scourge!' Do not waste your lives longer, change your attitudes and do something else. That is best to you.

I inquire of the supporters of these groups, whether domestic or foreign: why ruin your lives and youth for these people who, as has been proven, are in the service of world powers, follow their designs and, unknowingly, have fallen in their traps?! What incentive can you have? Why do you wrong your own nation?? What for, and who for?! You have been manipulated and deceived by them!! If you live here in this country you can see with your own eyes that these multi-million strong masses are faithful to the Islamic Republic and are dedicated to it. You can see that the present government and regime are most sincerely serving the people and the needy. Those who falsely claim that they are of the people or are mujahed (strugglers, crusaders) or fadais(those who sacrifice their lives) for the people, have actually risen in opposition to God's men. They have deceived you, young boys and girls, to serve their own aims or the aims of one of the two world-mongering poles,

while themselves live in pleasure in the arms of one of these two poles of crime. Or, they live in luxury and comfort in elegant 'team-houses' or residential villas and continue their crimes for which they sacrifice your lives.

My loving advice to you, the youth, who live in this country or abroad, is to give up the wrong path. Return and join up with the deprived peoples of the society who are serving the Islamic Republic with all their hearts. Act to serve the free and independent Iran so that the country and the nation may be rid of the enemy's sedition and mischief. Live in honours one-and-all and altogether. Why and how long do you want to listen to the commands of people who fight their own nation, with the support of superpowers, who think of nothing except their own personal gain and sacrifice you for their wicked aims and ambitions. In the interim period since the victory of the Revolution you have noted that their words and deeds are two different things. Their claims are made to deceive pure-hearted youths. You know you have no power vis-à-vis the torrential movement of the nation and your actions can result only in the loss of your own lives. I have discharged my duty to provide counsel and advice for you. I hope you will listen to it when it reaches you after my death when there can be no question of personal gain on my part and thus deliver yourselves from the painful scourge decreed by the Lord. May the Beneficent God guide you to the straight path!

My advice to the groups such as communists, peoples guerrillas (fadai-yan-e-Khalq) and other leftists is this: Without prior study of various schools of ideology, without going to and obtaining the views of authorities on Islam, how could you bring yourselves to embrace an ideology that is already defeated and defunct. What was your incentive? What made your hearts settle for "isms" that are already ruled null and void by the researchers? What is your purpose in wanting to draw your country to the lap of the Soviet Union or China? What makes you fight against your own nation in the name of love for the masses, or plot against your own people for the benefit of foreigners?? You see very well that those who claimed and adhered to communism since its inception, have been and still are the most dictatorial, power-hungry, hegemonistic peoples and governments. How many nations have been crushed under the Soviet Union's pressure and ceased to exist? Yet, the Soviets claim they are supporters of the masses. The Soviet nations, Muslim or non-Muslim, are all struggling and writhing under pressure by the communist party under a strangulation worse than anything on earth.

[Stalin](#) ...(90) was one of the so-called bright faces of the party. We all saw his entrance and exit and the accompanying aristocratic ceremonies. Even now that you deceived individuals are ready to sacrifice your lives out of love for the party, the deprived soviet peoples and the peoples of its satellites such as the people of

Afghanistan, etc. are perishing under the Soviet regime's cruelty. Meanwhile you, who claim to be siding with the people, hurt and harm the people (of Afghanistan) in any way you can, wherever you can. You committed unthinkable crimes against [the respectable people of Amol](#) ...(91) whom you had erroneously regarded as your staunch supporters and, by deception, sent a good number of them to fight the government and the people with the result that many of them were killed. You, who claim to be supporters of the people, want to hand over the innocent and deprived peoples of Iran to the Soviet dictatorship and for this you disguise yourselves as 'Fadai-yan-e-Khalq (those who sacrifice their lives for the people) and supporters of the oppressed. This is being carried out now by the Tudeh Party and its cohorts through plotting and intrigues under the guise of supporting the Islamic Republic and by other groups of leftists by means of arms, terror, bombings, etc.

I advise all (political) parties and groups who are known as leftist although indications point to their affiliation with American communists, whether fed and inspired by the West; or those who in the name of 'self -rule' and support for [the Kurds](#) ...(92) and [the Baluchis](#) ...(93), have taken up arms and ruined the lives of the deprived people of [Kurdistan](#) ...(94) and other localities, and have thus thwarted the Islamic governments efforts to present educational, medical and economic services as well as reconstruction activities in those provinces, such groups as [Kumulah](#) ...(95) and [the Democrats](#) ...(96), I advise all of these groups to (forsake this path) and join the nation. Their experiences show they have done nothing but harm and have brought nothing but misery to those areas. These are the things they (the leftists) can do and nothing more. Therefore, it is in the interest of themselves, their nation and their provinces, that they co-operate with the government, avoid insurgency, serving the foreigners and doing treason to the country. Rather, let them participate in the country's reconstruction and rest assured that Islam is better for them than the criminal West or the dictatorial East and can better fulfill man's wishes.

My advice to the Muslim groups, who have mistakenly acquired 'Eastward' or 'Westward' leanings and sometimes supported the hypocrites (monafiqeen), whose treason was proven and who unwittingly cursed those who opposed the enemies of Islam, is that they do not persist in making such mistakes. Let these groups and individuals show Islamic courage and admit their mistakes and, to please the Lord, line up behind the government, the Majles, join the people, and, altogether rescue history's mostazafeen from the mischief and wickedness of the arrogant people. Remember what that [great Muslim jurist, Mudarres](#) ...(97) said at a sad Majles meeting of his day: "Now that we must be destroyed, why do it ourselves". In memory of that great martyr of God I say to you today that it is much better we be

eradicated from the face of earth with honour at the treacherous hands of the U.S.A and U.S.S.R and meet our God in glory than to live in comfort under the Red Army of East or the black army of the West. Such has been the practice of God's great men of religion and this is the line we must follow. We should make ourselves believe that if a nation wants to, it can survive without any dependency and that world powers cannot impose anything on a nation against that nation's wishes. A lesson must be learned from Afghanistan where the usurping government and the leftist parties have been and still are with the U.S.S.R but have not been able to suppress the people.

Moreover, today, the deprived nations of the world have awakened and soon enough their raised consciousness shall result in uprisings, movements, insurgencies and revolutions. They shall emerge from the domination of the arrogant oppressors and you, Muslims, who care for Islamic values can well see that separation from the East or West is revealing its blessings. Native intellects and minds have become active and are moving in the direction of self-sufficiency. All that the treacherous specialists of the East or the West pretended to be impossible for ourselves to achieve is markedly achieved by the hands and brains of the nation. God willing the trend shall continue in the future. Alas, this revolution took place late! Had it taken place even as late as the beginning of Muhammad-Reza's rule, this pillaged country would have been something else today.

My advice to the writers, orators, intellectuals, fault-finders and to those with complexes is this: Rather than spending your time pursuing a course contrary to that of the Islamic Republic and doing all you can to vitiate the Majles, the government, and other public servants with your pessimism and ill-will, thereby pushing your country into the path of the superpowers, sit one night in seclusion with your God, and if you do not believe in God, sit in seclusion with your conscience and study your inner motives, of which people are often unaware, and think of the reason why, and, by what standards of fairness do you ignore the blood of all these mutilated bodies of youths strewn everywhere on the battle-fields and in the town and city streets?! Why do you start a war of nerves with a nation that has shaken off its neck the pressures of foreign and domestic oppressors and plunderers and has paid dearly for its freedom and independence with the blood of its children and now wants to preserve these with further sacrifice??!! Why do you reopen the way for the arrogant oppressors by treacherous plotting and by creating discord and disunity?! Is it not better if you would guide the government, the Majles and the nation by your pen, word and your minds in order to preserve your homeland? Are the deprived not worthy of your assistance? Is it not better that you help in the establishment of the Islamic government?? Do you regard this Majles, this President, this government and this judicial system worse than what we had in the

former regime? Have you forgotten the cruelty with which the former regime treated this oppressed nation? Did you not know that this Islamic country had become a military base for the USA at that time and was treated by her as a colony, or, that the Majles, the government and the military forces were in their hands? Did you not know that foreign specialists and advisors and industrialists played havoc with this nation and its resources? Have you forgotten the spread of prostitution nation-wide, centres of vice and saturnalia, including gambling, bars, night-clubs, liquor stores, cinemas, etc.,? Each one of these was a major agent of corruption of the youth! Have you forgotten the pornography which was promoted by the corrupt mass media during the former regime?

And, now that the vice markets do not exist, the trial of several young men, mostly from deviant and pervert groups, who had acted to defile and tarnish Islam and the Islamic government and the execution of a number of those who had revolted against Islam and the Islamic Republic and were sentenced to death, make you cry humanity!! At the same time you befriend individuals who have frankly and overtly condemned Islam and have risen against it with the 'sword' or with their pens and tongues which is more woeful than armed uprising. With people such as these you enter into bonds of brotherhood and shake hands!? You call individuals whom God has declared "mahduruddam" (Lit, = whose blood it is lawful to shed) the "sight" of your eyes (i.e., a highly cherished person)! You sit beside these 'actors' who created [the 14th of Esfand](#) ...(98) (March 5, 1981) calamity in which youths were beaten up, and watched the carnage! You then call such acts Islamic and ethical! But, when the government and the courts of justice try and rightly punish the enemies, the atheistic perverts, you cry, 'humanity!', you cry "Innocence!". I feel sorry for some of the brothers of whose records I am aware. I am interested in some of you, not in those who were insurgents disguised as well-wishers and wolves in lamb's clothing for they were actors who made game and fun of all and meant to destroy the country and the Nation because they were servants of one of the two plundering poles.

Those who, with their own unclean hands, martyred the youth, valuable young men, the cherished Ulema and educators, instructors of the community and showed no mercy toward innocent Muslim children, have forfeited everything before Allah and have no way of return as they are governed by the nafs-e-ammara (carnal soul). But you, mo`men (believer) brothers why don't you aid the government and the Majles that are trying to serve the deprived, the oppressed, the barefooted, hatless people who are deprived of all things? What is your complaint? What ails you? Have you thought of measuring the amount of service rendered by this government and by the various foundations of the Republic? This was accomplished in spite of the disruptions that any revolution necessitates, despite the

imposed war with all its damages, destruction, its millions of local and foreign refugees, with all the acts of sabotage in this relatively short time (compare this) with the development programs of the last regime. Did you not know that the development programs and works in the former regime were confined, almost entirely, to the cities and within a city, to the better quarters, those of the well-to-do? The poorer classes had little or no part of it, whereas the present regime and the Islamic foundations wholeheartedly serve the deprived groups. You believers, support the government so that projects get done faster. Thus, when you perform appear in the Lord's Presence you do so wearing the Badge of Service to His servants.

o)- One, of the issues that require comment is this: Islam does not support oppressive and uncontrolled capitalism which deprives the masses. The Book and the Tradition seriously condemn this type of capitalism and regard it as opposed to social justice. Although some have thought, wrongly, that Islam favours unbridled forms of capitalism, that is not true! Such reasoning veils the shining face of Islam and prepares the way for biased attacks by the enemies of Islam, who consider it as a capitalist regime on the order of the U.S.A, England and other Western plunderers. Relying on such baseless accusations and wrong understanding, the enemies, without referring to Islamic sources for clarification of the point, rise to challenge Islam. Nor is Islam a communist or Marxist-Leninist regime which opposes private ownership and advocates, or advocated, communism in all things including sexual relations and homo-sexuality. That would be a destructive dictatorship. Rather, Islam is a balanced and moderate regime that recognises ownership and respects it in a limited form of (production) and consumption. If this is implemented, a sound economy and social justice will result from it, for social equity is a prerequisite to the health of a regime.

Here, too, a number of unaware and illogical persons with no knowledge of Islam and its (ideas for a) healthy economy have risen in opposition to the first group. By resorting to some Quranic verses and citing phrases from the Nahj-ul-Balagha, (they) consider Islam as being in agreement with the deviations in schools of ideologies such as that of [Marx and his peers](#) ...(99) Such men do not pay attention to the (other) parts of the Nahj-ul-Balagha and the Quranic verses and, as a result of their inadequate comprehension, have risen to follow a communistic faith. They ignore the inherent atheism, dictatorship and strangulation of human values-by a minority party treating human masses as animals!!

I counsel the Majles, the Guardianship Council, the Government, the President and the Supreme Judicial Council to be humble before the commands of God and not be influenced by the inane propaganda of the cruel, rapacious pole of capitalism and the atheistic pole of communism and to respect ownership and private capital within Islamic limits. I advise you to reassure the nation so that private and creative initiative proliferate in order to make the country and government reach self-sufficiency in all areas including light and heavy industries. I advise those who lawfully acquire wealth to invest their justly earned gains for innovative development works in agriculture, rural development and industries. This in itself is commendable worship. I advise all to make every effort for the welfare of the deprived classes. This is good work in this world and in the hereafter as these groups have suffered throughout the long and oppressive feudal and monarchical history. How nice it would be if the wealthy classes could voluntarily provide housing and other relief items for the slum dwellers, as it would be a blessing to

them on earth and in the next-world. It is far from fairness that one person own scores of buildings while scores of other people (of his community) lack a single room in which to live.

p)- My advice to those clerics and to the pseudo-clerics who oppose Islam for various reasons and devote their time to uproot it and aid other enemy plotting and political intrigues and, as is said, donate to them sumptuous sums from Moines they receive from Godless capitalists, is this: You have gained nothing so far from your wrong-doings and, I think, you will not achieve anything if you continue. Thus, if you do all this evil for the sake of this world, God shall not let you gain anything. It is better for you, then, to repent while there is a chance; beg for the Lord's forgiveness and join ranks with the oppressed nation and support the Islamic Republic which has come to be by the sacrifices of the nation, although I do not think you will repent.

To that group who mistakenly or deliberately commit errors and oppose Islamic laws and decrees and are against the Islamic Republic and act, for God's sake, to overthrow it and think this regime is worse than monarchy, or is one like it, I say: think about the Islamic Republic with sincerity in seclusion. Make a fair and impartial comparison between it and the former regimes and consider that world revolutions have all entailed disruption, riots, confusion and disturbances and opportunists wanting to take advantage of such conditions for their own selfish aims. Consider the fact that the Islamic Republic faced all these things and, besides, had to withstand false accusations, propaganda, lies, armed attacks from the outside and within its borders and had to fight the unavoidable infiltration of corrupt, anti-Islamic elements, who were trying, in all state and government organs, to create dissatisfaction and unrest. Moreover, most of the public servants in the regime were inexperienced and many old-timers were dissatisfied because their unlawful incomes were curtailed. Thus, they showed their resentment by spreading lies and baseless rumours. All of this, plus a shortage of judges, strenuous economic entanglements, difficulties in purging corrupt personnel and a shortage of qualified, competent personnel and many other problems had to be and were dealt with. On the other hand, biased monarchists, with immeasurable capital acquired by usury, foreign exchange manipulations, profiteering, exorbitant commodity prices, extortionist rates of services, smuggling, hoarding and similar evil acts, place the deprived classes under extreme pressure and draw the society to vice and disintegration. Men of this category come to you with deceptive purposes. To make you believe what they say they sham Islam sometimes even pay [the "sahm-e-imam" \(Imam's portion\)](#) ...(100) and shed crocodile tears. They enrage and incite you to opposition. Many of these individuals 'sponge the people's blood" or exploit them

by some illegitimate ways and means and make the country's economy go bankrupt.

My brotherly, humble advice is that you, honourable people, be not influenced by rumours. Support and strengthen this republic for the sake of God and for the preservation of Islam. Be sure that if this Republic falls, a republic acceptable to Baqiyyatullah (the Gha`em or Mahdi = titles of the last (12th) Innocent Imam, now in occultation but whose advent is expected) and obedient to you shall not be realised. Rather, a regime acceptable to either one of the two power poles will replace it much to the disappointment of the world's deprived peoples who have turned to Islam and the Islamic government. Islam shall for ever become isolated and you will regret your conduct someday when it is too late! If you gentlemen expect all things to be Islamised overnight, you are making a mistake. Such a miracle has never happened in all the history of man.

And, when the great Musleh (Reformer) appears do not think that a miracle will take place and the entire world will be put aright in a day! Rather, it is by hard work and sacrifices that the oppressors will be done away with. And if you think, as some misguided laymen do, that for the Mahdi (AS) to appear, the world must be entirely overwhelmed with cruelty and injustice therefore, to have him appear sooner, cruelty should be promoted, then let us all chime our own death knells. (From God we are and unto Him we return.)

q)- My advice to all Muslims and oppressed peoples of the world is this: you should not sit and wait till your own authorities or rulers, or some foreign power act to make a gift of freedom and independence to you. During the past one hundred years we have observed the infiltration of the world's major powers into all Islamic countries and into smaller lands. Reliable history has related this for us. None of the rulers of any of these countries has been concerned with the freedom, independence and welfare of his nation and none is, even today. Rather the majority of such rulers have been themselves cruel oppressors who tried to strangulate their own people. Whatever good they did was to benefit themselves or was in the interest of some special group. or, such rulers, promoted the welfare of the upper already well-to-do classes but never did a thing to benefit the deprived groups and slum-dwellers. These last groups were deprived even of their daily bread. The miserable, deprived groups were taken into the service of the profligate Epicureans or they were made puppets for big powers, doing their best to make their countries more and more dependent on foreign powers. The rulers of such countries, who were rulers in name only, secured the interests of their Eastern or Western masters, turned their countries into markets for the consumption of the manufactured products of their overlords, kept their own lands in an undeveloped condition, and are doing so even

now.

O Mustazafeen (deprived, oppressed) of the world! O Muslims and Muslim Countries of the world! Arise and wrest your rights by your teeth and fingernails! Never mind the rigmarole and propaganda cries of the superpowers and their puppets! Drive out from your lands your wicked rulers who hand over your wages to your enemies and the enemies of Islam. Yourselves and the dedicated public servants should take charge of the affairs of your country. Gather together, all of you, under the proud banner of Islam and fight the enemies of Islam and of the deprived peoples of the world. Advance toward an Islamic sovereign government with so many free and independent republics. If you realise this, the arrogant powers shall retreat to their rightful positions and all the Mustazafeen will come to inherit the earth and attain to guardianship over it. Look forward to the day when God's promise shall be fulfilled!

r)- At the conclusion of this testament once more I say to the honourable Iranian nation that in this world the amount and volume of one's pains, sufferings, devotion, deprivations, and sacrifices is commensurate with the greatness of one's cause and its value and station. That for which you crusading, noble nation have risen and follow and give of your life and wealth for, is the noblest, the most sublime and the most valuable cause that has been put forth since time began, nor will a similar cause be ever presented again. That cause is the 'school of divinity' in its broad sense and meaning. It is the idea of 'Tawhid' (the oneness of God or Monotheism) in its supremely lofty dimensions whose ultimate creative foundation lies throughout the expanse of the world of being and at the levels and degrees of Occultation and Presence (Ghayb and Shuhud) as made fully manifest in the School of Muhammad (SAW), and, for the realisation of which the prophets (SAW) and the 'Oulia' or divine guardians (AS) worked hard. Absolute perfection and utmost glory and beauty cannot be attained except by it, - the Supreme Divinity who has exalted the earthly man above the heavenly beings. That which accrues to the earthly man from progression in His path does not accrue to any other being perceptible by the eye, or veiled.

You, Mujahid (crusading) nation, move under an emblem and banner that is waving everywhere in the moral and material world! Whether you are aware of it or not, you are treading in a path that is the path of all prophets and is the only path to happiness and bliss! This is the incentive or motive of the prophets in accepting and embracing martyrdom. This is what makes martyrdom to them sweeter than honey. Your youth have experienced this at the battle grounds and it has made them live in ecstasy ever since. It is reflected in the souls and conduct of their (the martyrs') brothers, sisters and parents. We must truly say: "We wish we were with

you (the martyrs), perhaps we, too, could be blessed with a great success'. May they enjoy the breeze that delights the heart and the "sight' that sets fire to it. We should know that a fragment of that "sight' or "epiphany" is made manifest in the hot, cultivated fields; in enervating factories, workshops; in industrial centres of research, development and inventions; in the nation on the whole; in the bazaar, the streets and rural areas; and in all who serve Islam, the Islamic Republic and work toward progress and self-sufficiency. As long as this spirit of Ta'avon (co-operation) and Ta'abod (dedication, commitment) prevails in the society, our country shall, God willing, be immune to worldly woes. Thank God, the theological centres, the universities and the young generation in education institutes, have all been blessed with the divine spirit. They have control over all these agencies which, God willing (insha'allah) are safe from encroachment by the saboteurs and perverts.

My advice to all is to advance towards self-awareness, self-sufficiency and independence with the remembrance of God. Without a doubt His helping Hand is with you if you be with Him and continue in this spirit of Ta'avon (co-operation) for advancement of the Islamic country. I pray that all that I see in the noble nation of alertness, intelligence, commitment, devotion, spirit of resistance, and courage being employed in the path of God, shall, by His Grace, be transmitted to the successive future generations with increased momentum. With a peaceful mind, a certain heart, a happy spirit, and a conscience hopeful for God's mercy, I take my leave of all brothers and sisters to journey to the eternal abode. I need your prayers and I beseech Almighty God's pardon and forgiveness for my inadequacies and my faults. I hope, the nation, too, will forgive my shortcomings and failings, and move ahead with power and determination. Know that the departure of one servant shall not leave a scratch on the steel shield that is the nation. Worthier servants of greater stature are in service and Allah preserves the nation and the oppressed people of the world.

(Wassalam-o-Alaikum wa Ala Ibadillah-e-salehin.)

Ruhullah Al-Musawi AL-Khomeini

(Bahman 26, 1361 Jamadi-al-awwal 1, 1403 February 15,1983)

IN HIS MOST EXALTED NAME

[MY son Ahmad](#)...(101) will read this will and testament to the people after my death. If he has an excuse for not doing so, the President of the Islamic Republic or Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly or President of State Supreme Court shall kindly accept the task and if they too, are excused, let one of the Foqaha of the

Council of Guardians accept the trouble. Ruhullah Al-Musawi AL-Khomeini

IN HIS MOST EXALTED NAME:

I should like to add at the end of this 29-page will and testament with its prologue the following points:

1- While still here with you, I would like to declare that certain false statements have already been imputed to me and which may increase after I am gone.

Therefore, I hereby declare that nothing imputed, ascribed or attributed to me has my confirmation unless it is in my handwriting, has my signature, is in my voice, with the affirmation of the experts, or what I have said on the television of the Islamic Republic.

2- Some individuals have claimed, even while I am alive, that they have been writing my statements. This is hereby denied. All such statements have been prepared and written by myself only.

3- Apparently some claim to have arranged my going to Paris, France. This is a lie. After I was turned back from Kuwait, I chose Paris in consultation with Ahmad for it was probable that Islamic states would decline admission for they were under the Shah's influence but Paris was not.

4- In the course of the movement and the revolution I spoke favourably of certain individuals who had pretensions to Islam but later realised their deception. My favourable comments were made at a time they pretended to be committed to the Islamic Republic. Such matters should not be taken advantage of. The criterion for everyone is his current conduct.

Ruhullah Al-Musawi Al-Khomeini