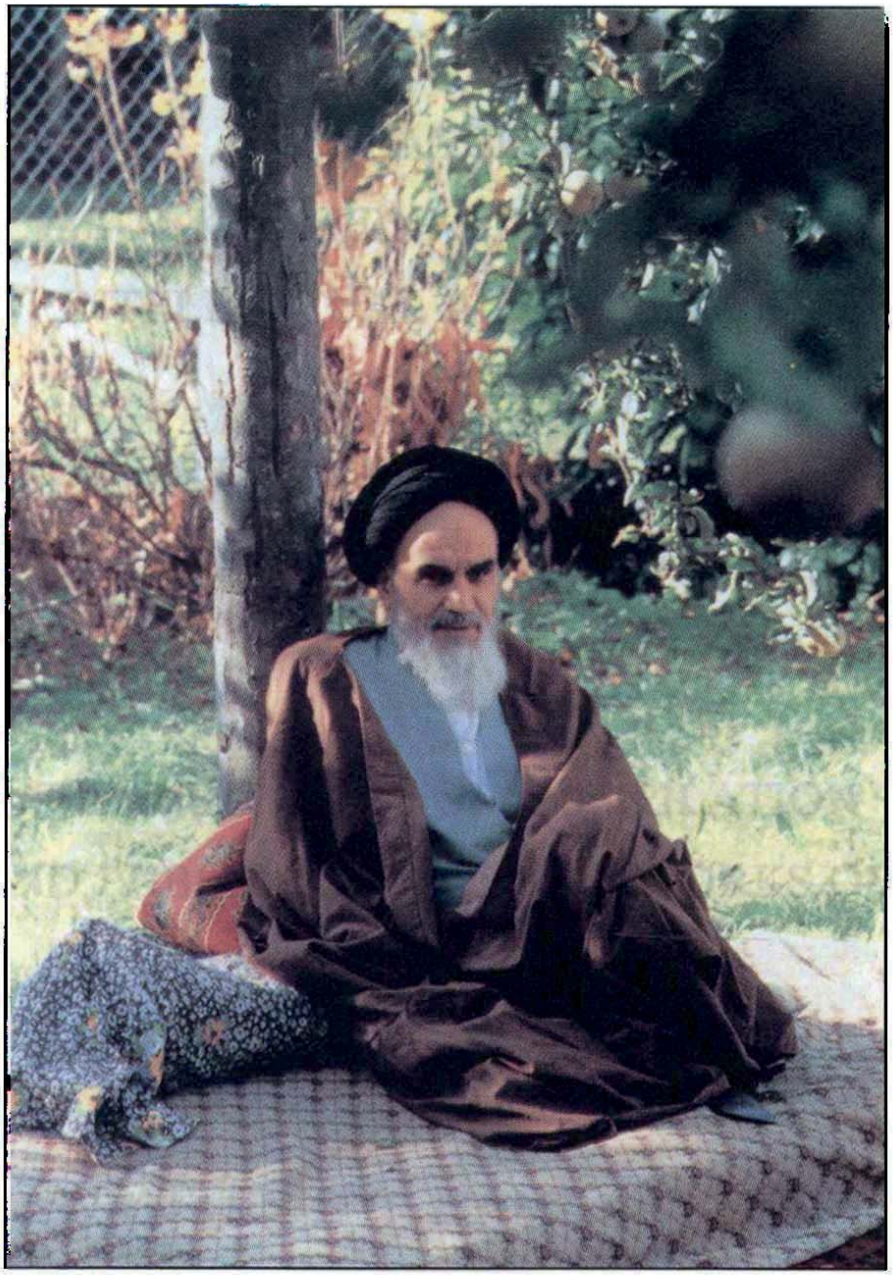
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

IN THE NAME OF GOD
THE COMPASSIONATE,
THE MERCIFUL



THE NARRATIVE OF AWAKENING

A GLANCE AT
IMAM KHOMEINI'S IDEOLOGICAL,
INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL
BIOGRAPHY
(FROM BIRTH TO HEAVENLY DEPARTURE)

THE INSTITUTE FOR COMPILATION
AND PUBLICATION OF THE WORKS OF
IMAM KHOMEINI
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□ *PREFACE*

In this book, some of the outstanding and important events in Imam Khomeini's life--from birth to his heavenly departure--are briefly outlined, however analytically. Describing the dimensions of Imam Khomeini's personality and explaining the periods of the life history of such a great man in a single essay or a book-length volume, is like pouring the waters of a vast ocean into a single jar. However, we shall try to accomplish this task to the best of our ability. This, specially for the reason that the Imam's lovers in other countries repeatedly demand a history of the ideals, the works and the noted events in the life of His Holiness. In fulfilling this task, detailed accounts of such events and producing documents or conveying his quotations--except where necessary--are being omitted. At the same time efforts are made not to

omit those important events in the life of the Imam, which are somehow related to him or have provided grounds for his movement and/or are related to His Holiness's stand on important issues--however in the passing.

In explaining the process of events in the life of Imam Khomeini, emphasis has been placed on originality of his thoughts, precedence of refinement and cultivation as well as the influence of Imam Khomeini's spiritual and scholarly dimensions throughout the course of his life and his campaigns.

Imam's comprehensiveness, the integrity of his personality and solidity of his school of thought are what account for an interpretation of his uprising and the Islamic Revolution far beyond a country's or a society's problems and reforms. Therefore, a mere sectional or dimensional survey of his personality would not be sufficient for a thorough understanding of such a great man's thoughts and his ways. Rather, one should recognize

that great man throuh the entirety of his ideas, faith, and deeds throughout the whole period of his life. This writing is a transitory look at that arena of vastness and sublimation.

All efforts are made to present a conclusion of the events and an analysis of the individuals as well as the political and ideal trends based on and deduced from His Holiness's directives. However, it is but natural that this writing may not be without its flaws. It is, therefore, expected that the devoted historians and those familiar with Imam's ideology and his life would kindly point out any dificiencies, shortcomings and probable errors they come across in this book.

Hamid Ansari

Azar 1373 [December 1994]

It was the "Day of Kowthar" ("Kowthar" is a river, pond or fountain in Paradise). As midyear 1320 AHL/late 1983 passed by, a child was born in Iran who later on changed the destiny of Iran and that of the world of Islam by his divine uprising. He led a revolution against which the world's entire dominant powers and all enemies of freedom and independence of nations, lined up since its inception, and rushed to the arena to suppress it. But, thank God, so far they have met with failure in their efforts to combat his grand achievements, his thought and the school that he proclaimed.

That day no one knew that he would be the one whom the future will know as "Imam Khomeini"; one

who, once began his uprising, will resist against the greatest world powers and defend the independence of the country and the dignity of the Islamic nation *(ummat)* and will become the reviver of God's religion in an era when values have undergone a metamorphosis.

□ *HISTORICAL BACKGROUND*

The 20th of Jamadiyolthani is the "Day of Kowthar". After the death of the children the noble Prophet of Islam (pbuh), the Qoraysh polytheists rejoiced and made taunting remarks claiming that the progeny of the Prophet (pbuh) will not survive! Just then, this judgment came from God, the Creator; "***Surely, we have given thee "the Kowthar", i.e. abundance. So, pray unto thy Creator and sacrifice. Surely, thy foe is the one who shall be of no posterity***" (The Holy Qoran, sura Al-Kowthar [Abundance], verses 1-3). That very great day the nectar of Guardianship and Imamate streamed on the earth and the Lady of Chastity and Faith, Her Holiness Seddiqeh Tahereh (pbuh) was born destined to be consort to our eternal Imam of justice and humanism, Ali (pbuh) to produce together a generation of which the eleven stars of imamate standing on the high road to salvation are but one example. A generation

whose peace and wars; whose prayers and silence; whose patience, knowledge, and life of constant resistance and pain and martyrdom and finally the awaited Occultation, all reveal divine expediencies. All this prove that God's servants are not left to themselves during periods of descension and caged in the fences of time and nature. Furthermore, the seekers of truth and those who stride in the path of guidance always have a pathfinder and the earth is never without signs of God. The period of Occultation began while the struggle between the good and the bad continued. Generation after generation, the rebels, mammonists and carriers of vice stood up in their dark front; and on the opposite side, stood firm the faithful believers and the pious men and pure nobles gathered in their lighted plane. The lights of inspiration were cast upon the world, and Islam, conquesting the hearts of God's good servants, was extending its domain, advancing to the Far East on the one side and to the heart of Europe on the other. A great, unprecedented civilization was in the offing and mankind was witnessing a wonderous leap and evolution in areas of science, literature, culture, arts and all signs of true civilization based on a solid foundation of faith and motives.

The awakened intuitive approaches toward the

salvation message of the trusty Prophet (pbuh) was so deep and widespread that even the weakness and cruelty of the incompetent rulers could not stop the advancement of God's religion. Europe was aflame in the barbarism of the Middle Ages and the materialists ruling over the oppressed servants of God had taken up offensive position behind the holy cross to prevent the message of him--whose advent, Jesus Christ (pbuh) had heralded--from reaching their dark world. So they did to prevent the medieval church-shop, devoid of the spirit of the ideology of Jesus and censorship-ridden of opinions or inquisition--which is indeed a stain on history of man's reputation--lose currency. How surprising and woeful it was that exactly at the time they had gotten ready to do away with the religion of the last divine Prophet, the fires of friction, power-seeking and ruinous factionalism were being kindled on this front.

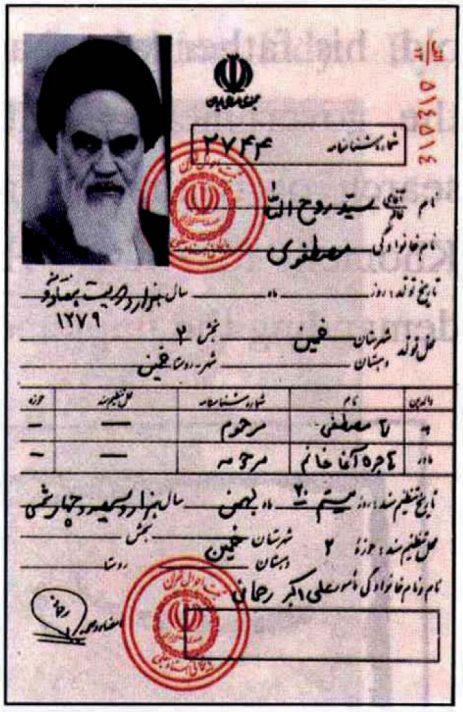
It was at this same time that a variety of causes and elements prepared the grounds for scientific and industrial changes in Europe when machinery and technology fell into the hands of the enemy's might and their governments. The spread of new sciences and techniques, the development of which Islam had a major decisive part in, gave prosperity to the stagnant and primitive European community. Instead of

seeking a remedy, the rulers and leaders of Muslim lands accepted the shame of negligence and backwardness rather than toil of struggle and crusade. Consequently, the enemies (of Islam) became stronger day after day, extending their possessions. Parts of the Islamic territories were practically and painfully colonized by colonialists. The bitter story of the rule of might and capital, and challenging the Almighty God as well as overt and covert interference of the colonialists in the destinies of the Islamic lands continued for several centuries.

In Iran, monarchical dynasties came to power one after another. In spite of constant oppression over the hard-working nation of Iran--a nation that had very early voluntarily accepted the call to monotheism--remained for a long time the vanguard of Islamic civilization and culture. But tyranny by the monarchs and schism by the neo-colonialists increased, especially now that the enemy had entered the scene under the disguise of development and progress. The treason of the Qajar monarchs[1], their loyalties to the foreigners and their concomitant rule with the era of Anglo-Russian interference in Iran, had produced the most painful circumstances. Embassies of colonial powers directly involved themselves with and interfered in all aspects of the

country's affairs, even in appointments and dismissal of ministers of state, courtiers and military commanders. It was at this juncture, filled with affliction and pain, that wide stretches of Iranian territories and Islamic homeland were ceded to foreigners by shameful agreements or treaties. Within the country, too, insecurity, injustice and governmental corruption were devastating. The Tobacco[2] Boycott Decree in the form of a fatwa by the great clergyman, the Grand Ayatollah Shirazi, the reformist cries and calls of Seyyed Jamaloddin Asadabadi[3] and the uprisings of the ulama in Iran and Najaf against the British colonialism had revealed the might of the Islamic clergy. The British government had recognized the source of danger. Because of this, a wave of anti-clergy challenge and of separation of religion from politics, started using various ruses and tricks. Amid all this, the Freemasons and the queer "Westernized" elements were, under assumed intellectualism, fanning the fires inside the country. Mozaffaroddin Shah[4] Qajar, not seeing a foothold for himself among people, had courted the Anglo-Russian support for the fulfillment of his wishes and hopes, and surely, other Islamic countries were bogged down in similar regrettable conditions.

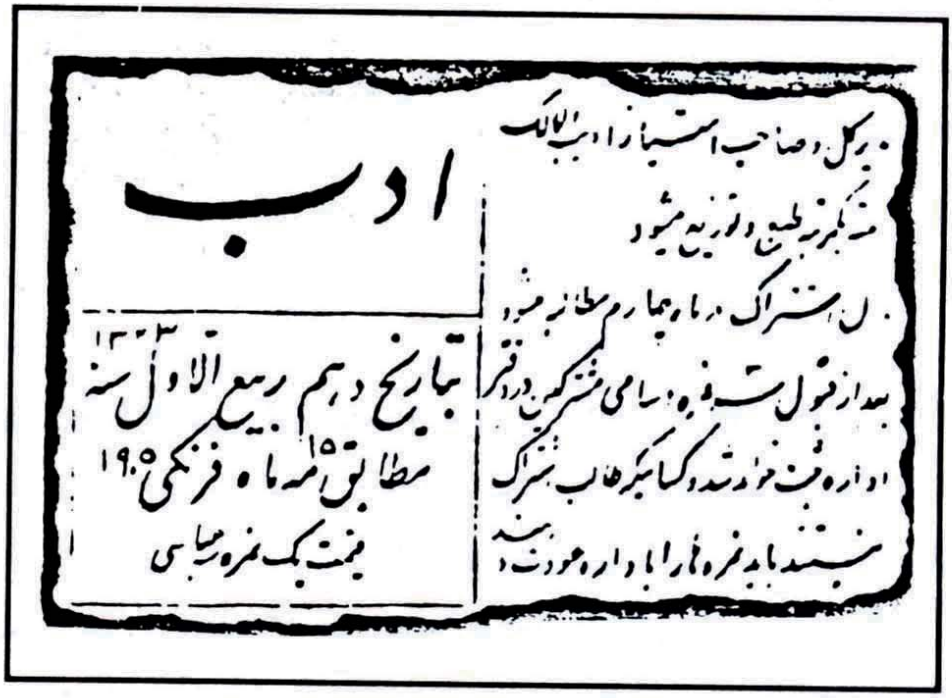
□ *IMAM KHOMEINI: FROM BIRTH TO MIGRATION TO QOM*



Under these circumstances, on 20 Jamadiyolthani 1320 AHL/30 Shahrivar 1281 AHS/24 September 1902, a child was born in Khomein--a town in the central province of Iran--to a devout family educated in theology and devoted to migration and jihad and the progeny of Her Holiness Fatemeh al-Zahra (pbuh). The child was named Ruhollah al-Moosavi al-Khomeini.

He was heir to a heritage of sound ancestral characteristics that included guidance of the people and acquisition of divine knowledge. The father of Imam Khomeini was the late Ayatollah Seyyed Mostafa Moosavi, a contemporary of the late Grand Ayatollah Mirza-ye Shirazi. After acquiring considerable Islamic knowledge during several years of his stay in Najaf, and obtaining the license to practice religious *fegh* (jurisprudence), Imam Khomeini's father returned to Iran and became a

religious guide and a support for the people of Khomein. When Ruhollah was barely five months old, his father who had risen against the tyranny of the government agents in response to his call in search of truth, was martyred while traveling from Khomein to Arak. His relatives moved to Tehran demanding the implementation of the divine edict of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retaliation in kind *(qesas)* and persisted until the murderer was executed and justice done.

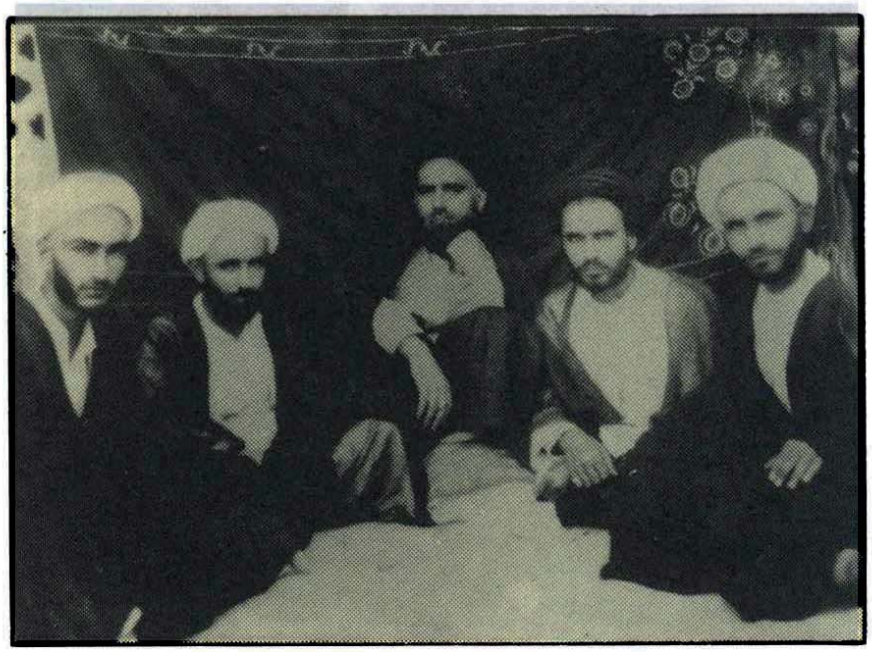
Thus, from his childhood, Imam Khomeini (pbuh) had become familiar with the meaning and the pain of orphanage and the concept of martyrdom. His childhood and youthful years were spent under the supervision of his devout mother (Banoo Hajar)--herself coming from a family of knowledge

and chastity, a grand-daughter of Ayatollah Khonsari (author of Zobdatol-Tasanif)--also with his noble aunt (Sahebeh Khanom), a brave, truth-seeking lady. By

the age of 15, the young Khomeini was deprived of the supervision of these two beloved personalities.

From his childhood and early in his youth, Imam Khomeini (pbuh) learned, by the grace of his superlative intelligence, a great deal of the conventional sciences and acquired a considerable amount of preliminary knowledge on the level of the theological assemblies. These included Arabic literature, logic, feqh and principles. For learning these, he had instructors such as Aqa Mirza Mahmood Eftekharol-Ulama, Mirza Reza Najafi

Khomeini, Aqa Sheykh Ali Mohammad Boroojerdi, Sheykh Mohammad Golpayegani, Aqa Abbas Araki, but basically his own elder brother Ayatollah Seyyed Morteza Pasandideh. In 1298 AHS, the Imam set off for the Theological Assembly of Arak.



□ *MIGRATION TO QOM FOR PURSUING COMPLEMENTARY LESSONS AND TEACHING ISLAMIC SCIENCES*

Shortly after migration of the Grand Ayatollah Hajj Sheykh Abdolkarim Haeri Yazdi[5] to Qom, in New Year of 1300 AHS/Rajab 1340 AHL, Imam Khomeini also migrated to Qom and took complementary lessons with the scholars of the Theological Assembly of Qom. These lessons included lengthy book of Motavval on Rhetorics

[Maani va Bayan] taken with the late Mirza Mohammad-Ali Adib Tehrani; completion of the "Level" studies with the late Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Taqi Khonsari, but mostly with the late Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Yathrebi Kashani; Jurisprudence and principles (feqh) with the master of the Qom Assembly, Ayatollah Hajj Sheykh Abdolkarim Haeri Yazdi.

The sensitive and searching spirit of Imam Khomeini could not settle with just Arabic literature and lessons in feqh (jurisprudence and principles). He was interested in other sciences as well. Therefore, along with learning jurisprudence and principles (feqh) from the *foqaha* (jurisconsults) of the time, he took lessons in mathematics, astronomy and philosophy from the late Hajj Seyyed Abolhassan Rafii Qazvini and continued taking the same lessons in addition to spiritual sciences and mysticism *(erfan)* with the late Mirza Ali-Akbar Hakami Yazdi. The Imam also took lessons in prosody and rhyme as well as Islamic and Western philosophies with the late Aqa Sheykh Mohammad-Reza Masjed-Shahi Esfahani. The Imam then took lessons in ethics and erfan with the late Ayatollah Hajj Mirza Javad Maleki-Tabrizi and further studied the highest levels of theoretical and practical erfan for a period of six years with the

late Ayatollah Aqa Mirza Mohammad-Ali Shahabadi.

After the demise of Grand Ayatollah Haeri-Yazdi, the efforts of Imam Khomeini and a number of other clergymen of Qom bore fruit and Grand Ayatollah Boroojerdi[6] proceeded to Qom Theological Assembly in the capacity of the leader of the assembly. By this time, Imam Khomeini had been recognized as one of the teachers and jurisconsults with authority in feqh (jurisprudence), principles, philosophy, erfan (mysticism) and ethics. His asceticism, chastity, and devotion were proverbial among the elite and the lay as well. It was these exalted characteristics acquired after religious asceticism, and the principles and concepts of mysticism in the innermost of his personal and social life; also the political strategy of His Holiness, the Imam which stressed the preservation of the mastery of the theological assemblies, the might of the clergy and the sovereignty of the religion as the only refuge for the people in those perilous days, that made Imam Khomeini constantly use his knowledge as well as his efforts, notwithstanding other merits, to serve the strengthening of the newly-found Theological Assembly in Qom and to remain, as a mighty defender, by the side of the Grand Ayatollahs Haeri and Boroojerdi.

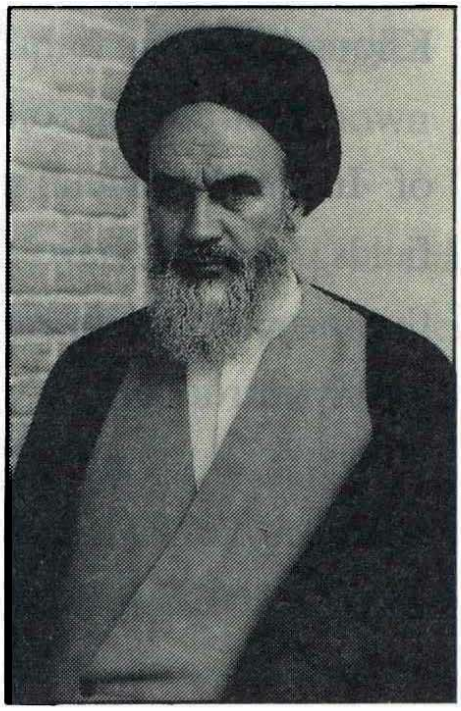
When Ayatollah Boroojerdi died, there was widespread approach to Imam Khomeini, by the students-clergy, and ulama, and by the Muslim community, as a Religious Authority *(marja-e taqlid)* but he was careful not to do anything that might smack of ambition and position-seeking. He also counseled his friends to avoid being ambitious and mind such issues. Even at a time when the well-informed men of the Islamic society had gathered around him as the precursor of the true and genuine Islam and saw their hopes reflected in his virtue, knowledge and awareness, there appeared no change in Imam's conduct. He would frequently say: "***I regard myself a servant and soldier of Islam and the nation.***" Yes, this is that same great man who answered: "Naught!" when asked how he felt on returning home on the 12 Bahman 1357/1 February 1978, with tens of millions of people gathered to welcome their leader, their Imam. The press correspondent who had asked that question must have figured that, like all political leaders, Imam Khomeini would be highly excited to see such welcome signs and ceremonies. But the Imam's answer proved he was of a different kind. For Imam Khomeini, as he often declared, considered gaining the consent of God and fulfillment of duty as a criterion for all his moves and conducts and his

doings were nothing but performance of divine duties. Thus, to him who did things for God's sake, power or imprisonment, jail and deportation were things of little consideration. As a matter of fact, several decades prior to his triumphant return, while in the stages of practical mysticism *(erfan-e amali)*, he had abandoned the world and all it contains and was striding in the path of annihilation and union with his God. Perhaps a better and worthier answer to that question can be traced in the following verse composed by the Imam himself:

"Opting the Tavern; Parted from all People,
The Heart has laid its Hopes in destiny;
All else is naught."

For many years, His Holiness Imam Khomeini taught feqh, jurisprudence and principles, mysticism and Islamic ethics in Qom theological schools including the Feyziyeh, the A'zam Mosque, the Mohammadiyeh Mosque, the Hajj Molla Sadeq School, the Salmasi Mosque, etc. He also taught feqh and the knowledge of the Ahl-e-Beyt (the Household of the Prophet--pbut), at the highest level, at the Sheykh Ansari Mosque in Najaf Theological Center for 14 years. It was at Najaf that Imam Khomeini (pbuh), included for the first time in his lessons on feqh, the theological foundations of

the Islamic government. His students declared his lessons and his classes among the most credible in the Theological Assembly of Najaf. Some of his classes at Qom had as many as 1200 students, which included scores of established jurisconsults *(mojtahedin)* who benefited by the Imam's school of feqh jurisprudence and principles. The blessings of Imam Khomeini's teaching included training and education of hundreds, better yet--considering the length of his teaching--thousands of learned men and scholars, each of whom is currently illuminating a theological assembly. Today's jurisconsults (mojtahedin) and prominent gnostics have been among Imam Khomeini's students in Qom or at other centers of learning. Outstanding thinkers such as the great scholars Martyr Motahhari[7] and the oppressed Martyr Beheshti[8] felt honored to have benefited by Imam Khomeini's teachings. Today, the prominent clergy who guide the Islamic Revolution and system of the



Islamic Republic in all civil affairs are all among those educated by the school of feqh and politics of Imam Khomeini.

With regard to the dimensions of characteristics of Imam Khomeini's school of science in various fields, we shall have more to say towards the end of this article and in conclusion of the article we will briefly introduce his works.

□ *IMAM KHOMEINI IN THE STRONGHOLD OF CHALLENGE AND UPRISING*

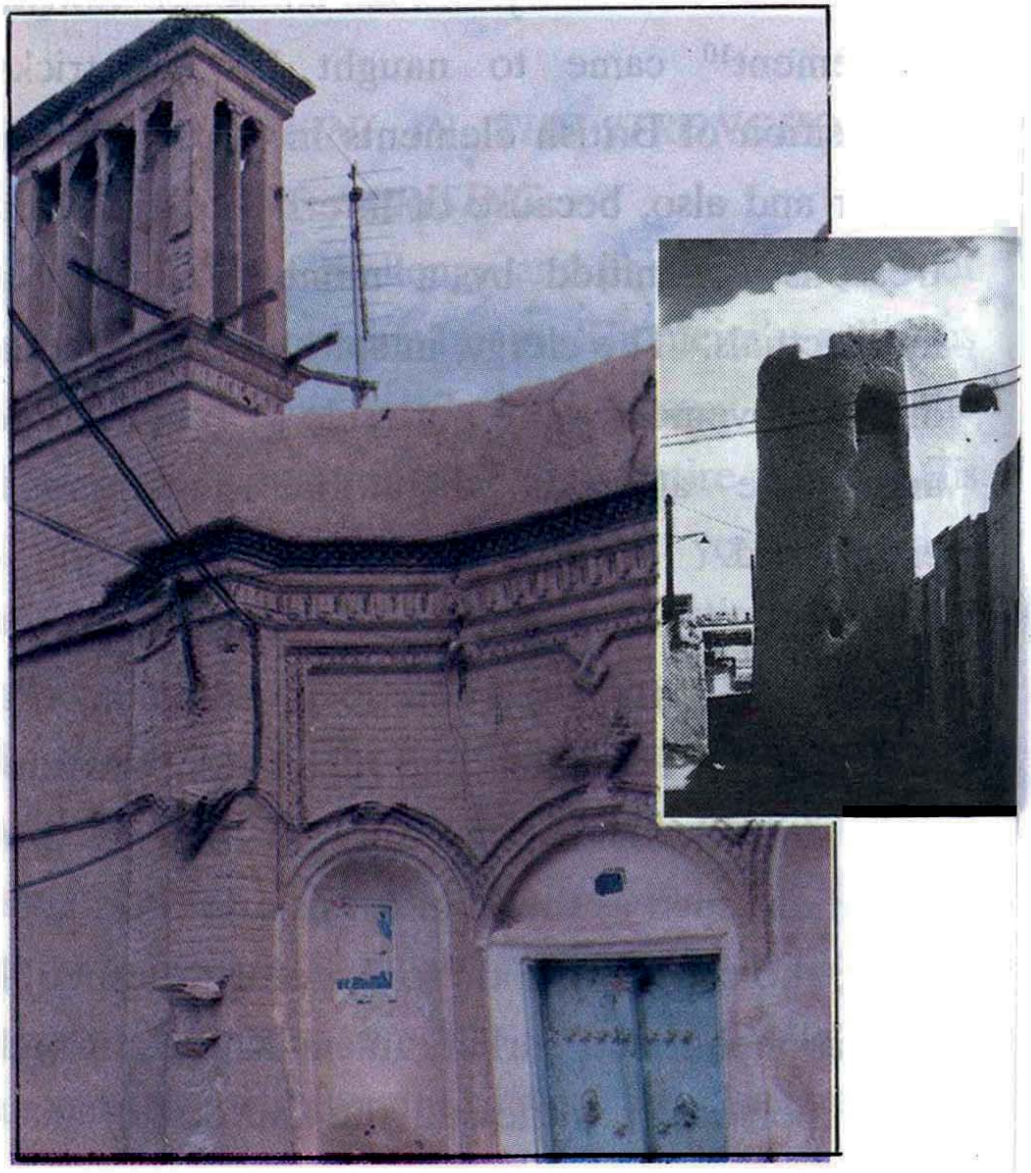
The spirit of challenge and jihad in the path of God, had its roots in Imam Khomeini's religious background, in his family environment and in the sociopolitical conditions of his entire life. His challenges began when he was a youngster and gradually evolved and reached perfection alongside his spiritual and scientific maturity on the one side, and along with the evolution of sociopolitical conditions of Iran and of the Islamic society, on the other. During 1340-41 AHS/1961-62, the disputes over town and city councils[9] presented an opportunity for Imam Khomeini to act as the leader of the clergy. Thus the all-inclusive uprising of the clergy and the Iranian nation on 5 June 1963 (15 Khordad 1342 AHS) was characterized by two outstanding features,

i.e. the sole leadership of Imam Khomeini and the all-Islamic motives, mottoes and objectives of the movement, marked a new chapter in the struggles of the Iranian nation which later came to be known as Islamic Revolution worldwide.

Imam Khomeini (pbuh) was born at a time when Iran was going through one of the hardest periods in its history. The so-called Constitution Movement[10] came to naught by the tricks and opposition of British elements in the Royal Court of Qajar and also, because of internal frictions, and the treasons committed by a number of Westernized intellectuals. The clergy, in spite of their leading role in this movement, were put aside by ruses and deceits, and once again a dictatorial government was established. The clannish nature of the Qajar monarchy, and the weakness and impotence of its rulers, had germinated the socio-economic chaos of the country. The khans and rebels were afforded free hand to destroy the security of the people. In conditions such as these, in towns and cities and other areas, the clergy were the only refuge the people had and, as mentioned earlier, Imam Khomeini had, as a child, personally witnessed the murder of his noble father while he was defending the genuine rights of himself and those of the people of his country against

the khans and agents of the government of the time. The family of Imam Khomeini had been used to migration for a long time.

Imam Khomeini (pbuh) has described his momoirs of World War I when he was only 12 years old, in the following words: "***I recall both World Wars. I was attending elementary school. I used to see Soviet***



troops in a center we had in Khomein. In the First

World War, we were often subject to raids." Somewhere else, the Imam, relating the names of the khans and the rebels who, under government protection, were pilfering the people and trespassing on the chastity of the women, says: "***I have been warring since childhood,...we were invaded by the*** *Zolqis* ***and the*** *Rajabalis*[11] ***and we had gun ourselves. When I was in the early years of my adolescence, we used to visit the bunkers to help. The ruffians meant to raid and rob us....***" Imam adds: "***We used to build bunkers wherever we were in Khomein. I, too, had a rifle but I was only a child. By the age of 16 or 17, we were given rifles and we learned and taught how to use them. From the bunkers we could fight off the attackers. Chaos had overtaken everything and every place. The central government was powerless. They once took a borough of Khomein but the people fought them off. People took up guns and we were on their side.***"

The coup d'etat of the 3 Esfand 1299/1920 by Reza Khan[12] Mir-Panj was, according to reliable historical accounts, arranged and supported by the British. Although it ended the Qajar's rule and somewhat limited the medieval system of the scattered khans and rebels, but it generated such a dictatorial system in which a 1000-family clan ruled over the oppressed nation's destiny and the Pahlavi family replaced the former khans and insurgents.

During his 20-year reign, Reza Khan got hold of about one half of all fertile lands of Iran and had the ownership deeds and documents officially issued in his own name. He set up an organization much larger than an ordinary huge ministry, for preservation and protection of the Special Royal Estates. He went so far as to have scores of legislative bills passed by the puppet Majles legalizing the transfer to himself, of lands, even of the religiously endowed lands. The accounts concerning royal estates and jewels, usurpation of commercial firms and industries by Reza Khan, forms a major part of his biography written by his friends and foes. The domestic policies of Reza Khan centered around three points: "Rough and tough police- and military-rule"; "all-inclusive fight against religion and the clergy"; and "Westernization". These policies lasted and were enforced throughout

his entire period of monarchy.

In conditions mentioned above, the Iranian clergy who, after the events of the Constitution Movement, were constantly plagued with assaults by governments of the time and British elements, on the one hand, and by animosities of hired intellectuals, on the other, took actions to preserve Islam and themselves. On invitation from the ulama of Qom, Grand Ayatollah Hajj Sheykh Abdolkarim Haeri migrated from Arak to Qom and, a short time later, Imam Khomeini who, by the grace of his extraordinary talent had completed the preliminary studies at various levels in the Arak and Khomein theological assemblies, migrated to Qom and became active in strengthening the newly-founded Theological Assembly of Qom. Soon he came to be regarded as an outstanding scholar of mysticism, jurisprudence and philosophy.

As pointed out earlier, at such times, the preservation of the clergy and religious authority *(marjaiyat)* was an imperative necessity to challenge and curb the anti-clergy policies and objectives of Reza Khan and his son. Therefore, His Holiness Imam Khomeini, in spite of differences of his views with those of Ayatollahs Haeri and Boroojerdi with regard to the mode of opposition and approach by clergy and

religious authorities to the new conditions and the role of the clergy in connection therewith, consistently remained a staunch defender of the power of the religious authority during the active incumbency of both religious authorities mentioned above and was at their service.

Imam Khomeini was very much interested in following up the social and political issues. After securing his monarchical rule, Reza Khan, in early years of his reign devised and began to carry out an ambitious program for eradication of the effects of Islamic culture in the Iranian society. In addition to imposing censorship on the clergy, by issuing official circulars, he instructed all lamentations and mournings for the martyred Imams *(rowzeh-khani)* to be stopped. Religious sermons were also banned. The teaching of religion and Qoran in schools and performing daily namaz was banned. He began preliminary talks on unveiling of Iranian Muslim women. Before Reza Khan had revealed his aims and objectives to the public, the dedicated clergy were the first stratum of the society who, with awareness of the behind-the-scene policies and plans of Reza Khan, rose to show their protest. In 1306/1927, the dedicated clergy of Esfahan, led by Ayatollah Hajj Aqa Noorollah Esfahani, staged a protest migration to

Qom and took refuge there. This move was seconded by the ulama of other cities. The 105-day migration of the clergy to Qom (21 Shahrivar to 4 Dey 1306) and their search for sanctuary there resulted in a feigned retreat by Reza Khan, and Mokhberolsaltaneh, the then Prime Minister, was committed to accept and carry out the terms proposed by the refugee-ulama. In Dey 1306/December 1927, with the martyrdom of the leader of the uprising by the agents of Reza Khan, the asylum came to an end.

The above mentioned adventure presented an opportunity for a young, talented and challenging student-clergy, named Ruhollah Khomeini, to become better acquainted with the issues and the modes of challenge and the mechanism of the clergy's fighting against Reza Khan. In Nowrooz 1306/March 1927, a face-to-face encounter between Reza Khan and Ayatollah Bafqi in Qom led to the siege of this city by military forces and the beating by Reza Khan of this great challenging Ayatollah and his exile to Rey. This event and similar happenings as well as the Majles proceedings of those days, especially the challenges of the famous clergy and Majles Deputy, Ayatollah Seyyed Hassan Modarres[13], left their indelible impression on the sensitive and inflamed soul of the Imam.

When Reza Khan, in order to destroy the Qom Theological Assembly, issued a word of command that all clergymen should take a state-administered examination, Imam Khomeini began to reveal the behind-the-scene objectives and to oppose them. He gave warning to those simple-minded ulama who had considered the command as a reformative step. Unfortunately, in those days, the Iranian clergy, in the wake of massive propaganda by the government, the new conditions and the post-constitution movement frictions and disputes, were led into isolation. Even the learning and teaching of such fields as mysticism (erfan) and philosophy--that ultimately enlighten and awaken the minds and consciences, and end in discussing daily problems and sufferings--were considered obsolete and rejected by the crook-minded and pseudo-clergy lazy individuals. The conditions were such that Imam Khomeini was placed under pressure to close down his courses on philosophy, mysticism (erfan) and ethics. He was impelled to change places and teach in secrecy. The outcome of such efforts was the training of such personalities as the *Allameh-ye Shahid* (martyr savant), Ayatollah Motahhari.

As a result of resistance by the ulama and the people, Reza Khan, in spite of all his efforts to

destroy Islam, to unveil the women and to ban performance of religious rites and ceremonies, faced defeat to a great degree and was, in many instances, forced to retreat.

After the death of the Grand Ayatollah Haeri (10 Bahman 1315 AHS/10 January 1937), the Qom Theological Assembly was in the danger of collapse. The dedicated ulama tried to think of a remedy to prevent this. For a period of 8 years, this Theological Assembly was supervised by Grand Ayatollahs, Seyyed Mohammad Hojjat, Seyyed Sadreddin Sadr, and Seyyed Mohammad-Taqi Khonsari. In this interim, especially after the fall of Reza Khan, conditions became favorable for realization of the high religious authoritativeness. Grand Ayatollah Boroojerdi was the outstanding religious-scientific personality who was fit to succeed Ayatollah Haeri and save the magnificence of the assembly. This proposal was expeditiously followed up by students of Ayatollah Haeri, including Imam Khomeini. The Imam made personal efforts for inviting Ayatollah Boroojerdi to migrate to Qom and accept the responsibility of directorship of the assembly. Imam Khomeini, who had carefully surveyed the political conditions of the society, and the conditions of the theological assemblies, possessed up-to-date information and was

fully informed through studying current books, magazines and newspapers and by commuting to Tehran and paying regular visits to such grandees as Ayatollah Modarres, had realized that the only way to overcome the abject conditions imposed after the defeat of the constitution movement--especially after Reza Khan came to power--was the alertness of the theological assemblies and their security as well as spiritual links between the people and the clergy. During the migration of Ayatollah Boroojerdi to Qom, Imam Khomeini, who was himself a well known religious jurist and lecturer *(mojtahed and modarres)* of Qom Assembly, worked hard to fortify Ayatollah Boroojerdi's position as religious authority, and--in the words of Imam's students, the Imam attended the lectures of Ayatollah Boroojerdi in jurisprudence and principles for this very purpose.

Pursuing his own valuable objectives, in 1328/1949, Imam Khomeini, in cooperation with Ayatollah Morteza Haeri, prepared a plan for essential reform of the structure of the Theological Assembly and presented it to Ayatollah Boroojerdi. The plan received emphasis and support by the students of the Imam and the enlightened students-clergy of the assembly.

As the proposal was about to be accepted and

the Theological Assembly was going to perform its role as a scientific organization, the same pseudo-clergy individuals--who realized that the implementation of the plan would jeopardize their quiet, secluded daily lives--began to oppose it. Opposition reached a point at which Ayatollah Boroojerdi, contrary to his initial views and personal inclination, declined its performance. Ayatollahzadeh Haeri was moved by this event and migrated to Mashhad for some time. Notwithstaning, Imam Khomeini, despite the dire conditions and his discontent with the decision and similar incidents, went on expecting future awakening and movements by the Theological Assembly.

Eight years before this event (Shahrivar 1320), during the Second World War, Iran was occupied by the aggressive troops of the Allies. The dictator who, by expending huge sums of money for 20 years, had equipped the army to help smother his own people, submitted to the occupationists' skirmishes and his soldiers--as admitted by his own son, Mohammad Reza--fled the scenes after firing some training shots and before encountering the aggressors. In spite of all his braggings, Reza Shah was abjectly dethroned and exiled. The paradoxical story of the deep national chagrin about the country's occupation and

the immense public pleasure for the fall of a dictator whose movable assets--amassed at the expense of general poverty of the people, and years of robbing national resources--amounted, at that time, to 680 million rials, has many lessons to learn from.

The British Embassy, with a green light from another ally, the Russians, issued a decree in the name of Mohammad Reza to replace his father. A new chapter, replete with toil and ennui began, marking 37 years of sold independence and forfeited honor for the nation. In the first two years of the Shah's shaky reign, there was an opportunity to breathe. Individuals and parties began to declare their objectives and mottoes. Some claimed nationalism which, perchance, was in agreement with the young monarch's views. Others settled with infiltration in government agencies and parliamentary elections. Struggling scholars (ulama) such as Modarres who could, under these circumstances, be a pillar of uprising, had been previously martyred by Reza Khan's agents. The communists and dependent political parties adjusted their stands according to instructions received from Moscow and elsewhere.

The theological assemblies, as was already mentioned, had crept into isolation by attacks from Reza Khan and were unable to make serious entry

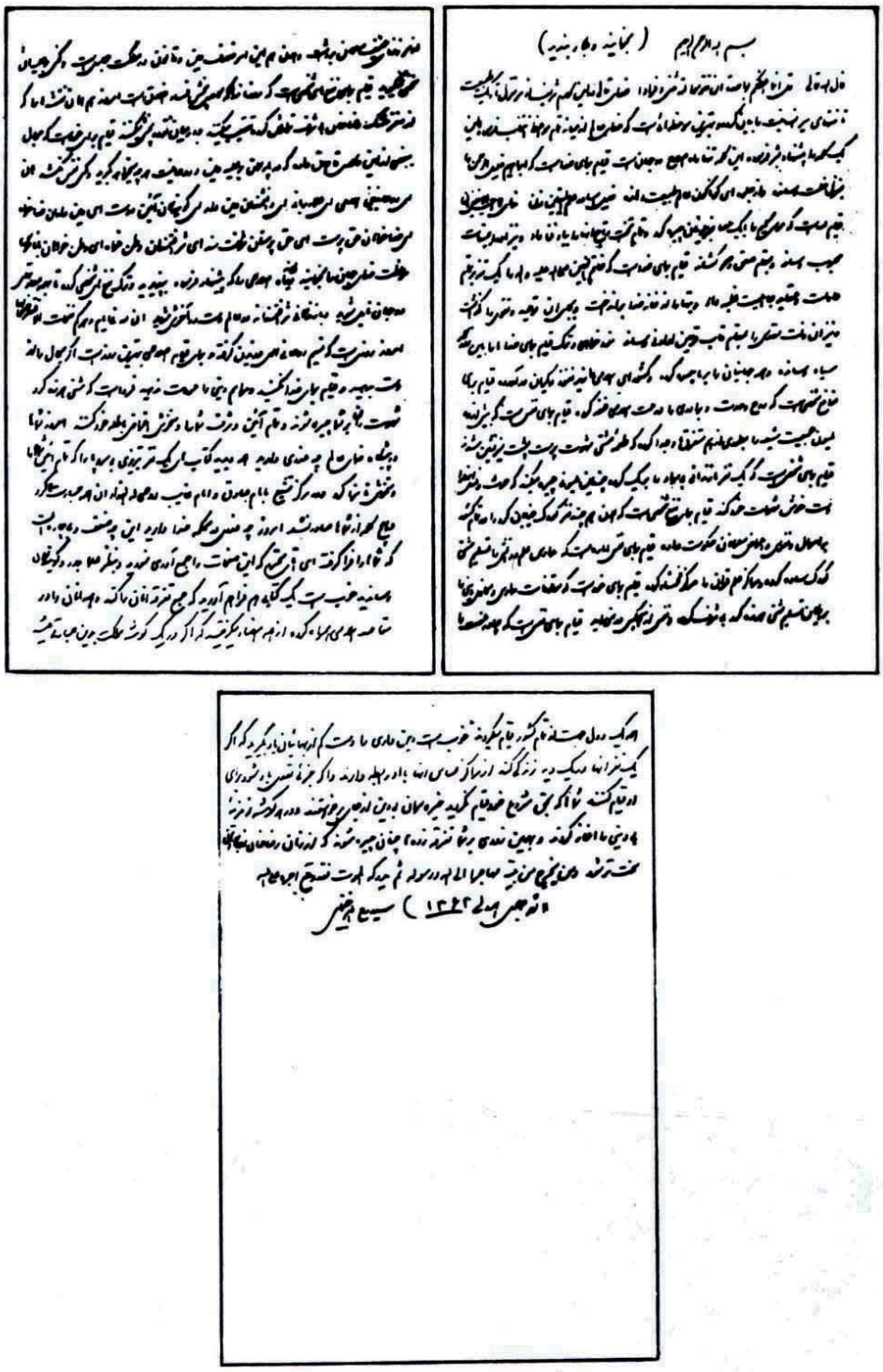
into the area of social responsibilities. Of course, even under these conditions, there were staunch challengers, like Navvab Safavi[14] and his friends who studied to find the future path for armed challenge and for the institution of an Islamic government.

In describing the loneliness of the challengers during the strangulation years imposed by Reza Khan's rule, Imam Khomeini had penned, during that same time, the following verse:

"Where can we seek recourse from Reza Shah's tyranny; Whom do we cry to from this Devil's doings. When there still were breathing voices, they were cut off. And now, there's no breath by which to cry."

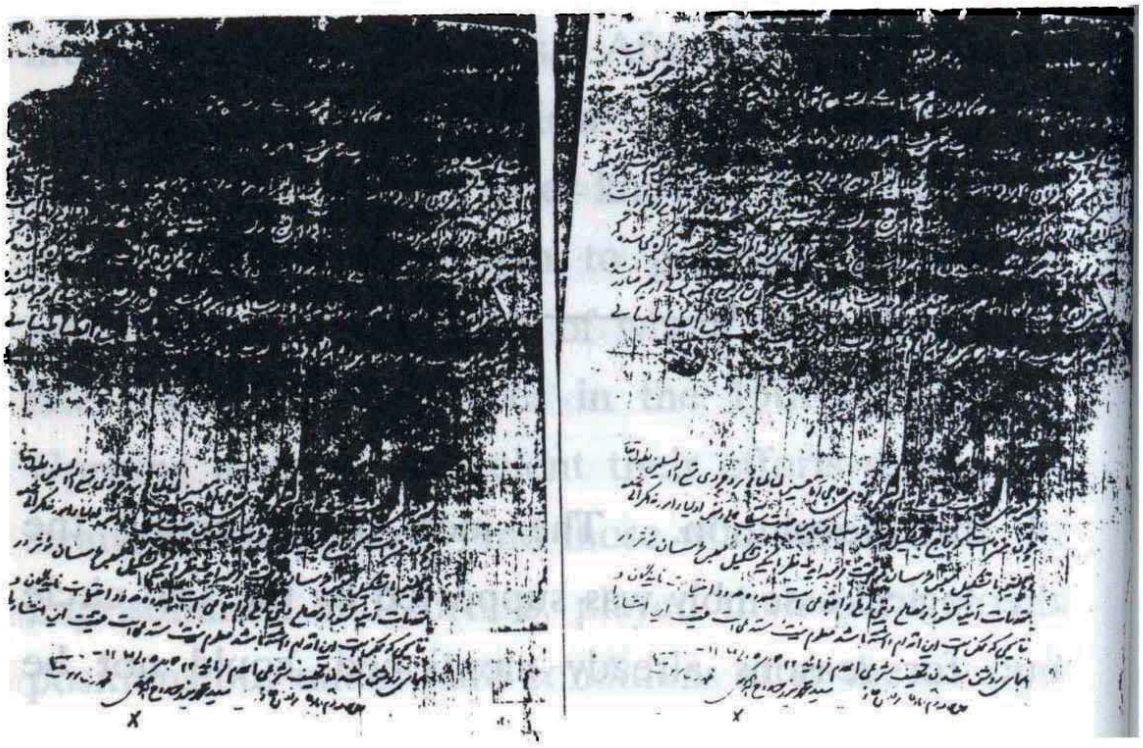
At that very time, Imam Khomeini took advantage of the opportunity and compiled and published the book, Kashfol-Asrar [Revelation of Secrets] in 1322 AHS and revealed the atrocities of the twenty years of the Pahlavi rule. Defending Islam and the clergy, Imam Khomeini responded to the doubts and skepticism of those gone astray and, in

that book, he elaborated on the idea of the Islamic government and the need for its establishment. The next year (1323 AHS) in Ordibehesht, Imam Khomeini's first political declaration was issued. In it, the Imam called on the Islamic scholars and the Muslim society for a general uprising. The content and the tone of the composition of this declaration and its addressees clearly show that, in those sorrowful days and conditions of the theological assemblies, the Imam had not contemplated a speedy uprising. Rather, it was published as a warning to awaken the young students-clergy. As was expected, the Imam did not receive a suitable reponse to his call but diffused some rays of hope to the hearts of students-clergy who had gathered around him and found his classes as a warm meeting-place for the intimate minds and hearts. After these last efforts, the personality and political position of Imam Khomeini came to be better known. Thus a circle of sympathetic friends began to gradually take shape among his students, most of whom were those who later sacrificed their lives in the 15th of Khordad Uprising and did not relent their efforts during the strangulation period. And those who survived imprisonment and torture, played their parts in key positions but under hard conditions after the triumph



of the Revolution. The idea of reforming the theological assembly was supported by the said circle but, for reasons already mentioned, could not be

materialized in the status quo ante. According to available documents and memoirs, during the entire period of Ayatollah Boroojerdi's leadership, Imam Khomeini--apart from his research work, his classes and lectures in various fields--devoted his efforts to advocate the power of the religious authoritativeness (marjaiyat) and the theological assemblies and to convey the sociopolitical information, and his own evaluations of the daily issues, serving timely warning about the aims of the Shah's regime and to prevent the infiltration of crooked and lazy elements. At the same time, the Imam maintained his contacts with "reputable" political figures in Tehran and such unparalleled personalities as Ayatollah Kashani. The Imam further kept an eye on the process of the



current affairs by constant perusal through the proceedings of the National Consultative Assembly (the Majles) and reliable press and newspaper accounts.

When rumors spread with regard to the holding of a Constituent Assembly session in 1328/1949, to amend the constitutional law and give carte blanche to the Shah, it was rumored that Grand Ayatollah Boroojerdi was supporting the changes and had had meetings with government authorities about the amendment. Imam Khomeini was angered by this rumor and warned others through personal meetings and by writing an open letter signed by himself together with some of the ulama and religious authorities, addressed to Ayatollah Boroojerdi, requesting him to reveal the truth. In a statement, Ayatollah Boroojerdi denied his endorsement of the case. At the same time, Ayatollah Kashani, issued a statement from his exile in Lebanon, emphasizing the necessity to resist the Shah's new decision.

During the 16th parliamentary elections, Ayatollah Kashani was elected as a delegate from Tehran. Cooperation and alliance between the challenging spiritual (clergy) wing of Ayatollah Kashani and the "National Front" *(Jebheh-ye Melli)*, imparted greater weight to the supporters of the oil

nationalization movement, to the detriment of the Shah. The *Fadaiyan-e Eslam* (Sacrificers of Islam) who enjoyed the support of Ayatollah Kashani, meted out severe blows, in the course of several unprecedented operations, to the puppet governments. Dr. Mosaddeq, the leader of the National Front, utilized these supports and became prime minister. The uprising of 30th Tir 1331[15]/21 August 1952, was arranged in Tehran. Iran was jubilant over the victory of nationalization of oil industry which had been longed for. However, before long, disharmony

appeared within the alliance. The disputes among the

Fadaiyan-e Eslam, Ayatollah Kashani and leaders of National Front, reached the point of face-to-face confrontation and encounter. Ayatollah Kashani insisted on his opposition to paying Britain compensation for the nationalized oil industry. He maintained that Britain must compensate Iran for the oil pilfered by them during 50 years. He had forewarned Dr. Mosaddeq and even threatened him with respect to related negotiations and his compromise.

Ayatollah Kashani was also opposed to the replacement of the British by the U.S. and American firms in the oil industry and other areas of economy, while many of those who made up Mosaddeq's government were openly in favor of such an idea.

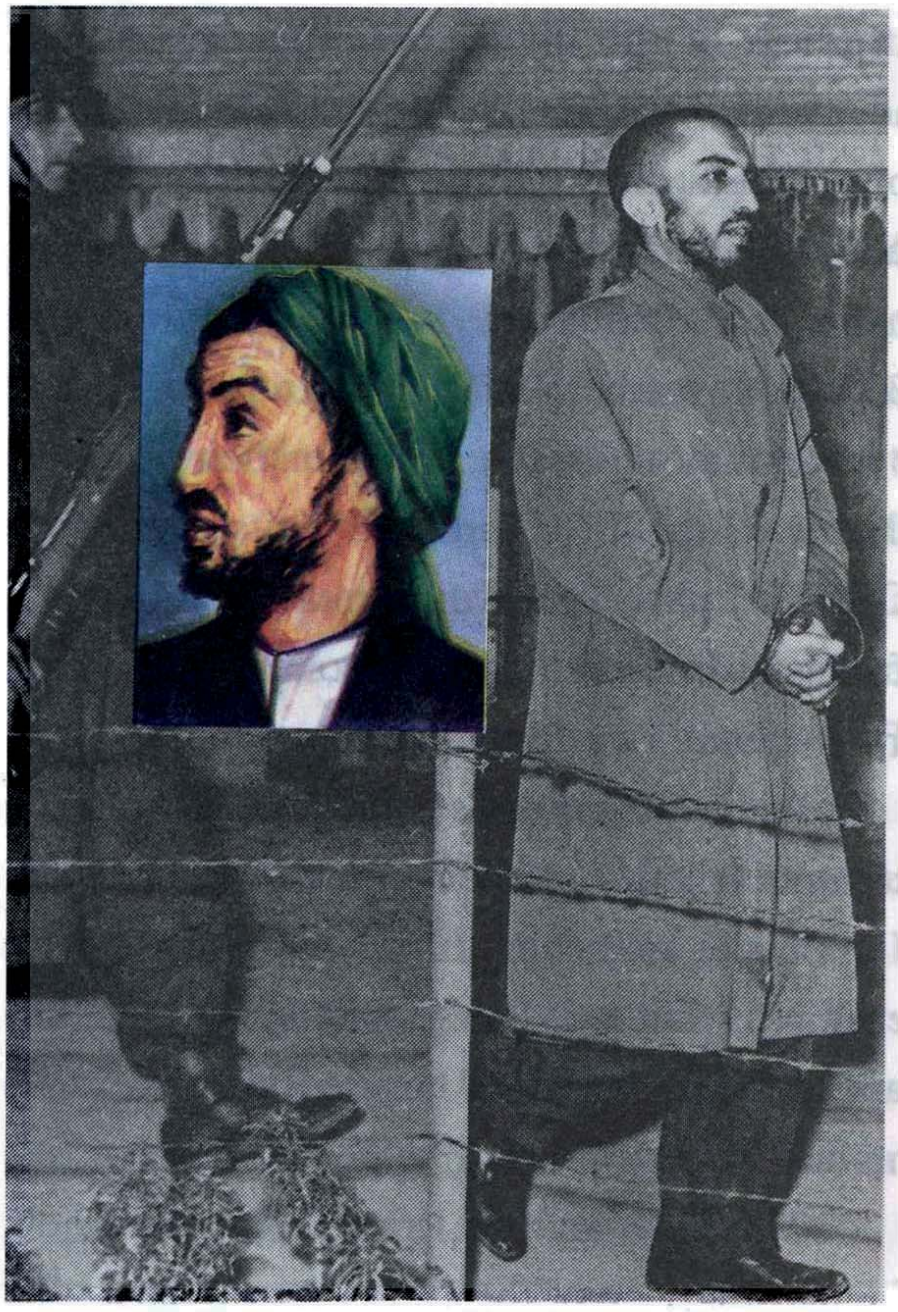
Dangers inherent in participation of non-religious elements in the movement and trusting the *Tudeh* Party were other points of disagreement. As the Prime Minister's authority, and the influence of elements mentioned above, increased in the "national" government, calculated anti-religious propaganda, too, increased. The treason of the Tudeh Party climaxed and the religious wing of the movement was isolated. The U.S. made best use of this opportunity and by the coup d'etat of 28 Mordad 1332/19 August 1953, suppressed the opposition and secured the

unchallenged rule of the Shah.

All that can be concluded from Imam Khomeini's subsequent messages and speeches in relation to the National Movement is that, from the very beginning, he was aware that it would not last long. The National Movement had gained remarkable victories in its anti-colonialism objectives. However, the nationalization of oil industry had some inherent seasonal and time limitations, and could not guarantee the continuity of the movement in the long run.

The nationalistic wing of the movement did not count much upon the mottoes and objectives of the religious wing, which were backed by the people. In addition to the American intrigues and other foreign pressures, there were other obstacles that made it impossible to continue the movement. Among those were a lack of united, or single leadership, influence and infiltration by dishonest elements, and a lack of common political and cultural objectives to guarantee, in the long run, the general support of the Muslim Iranians. The National Oil Movement was, on much smaller scale, a replica of the sociopolitical conditions of the Constitutional Movement, and of its weak and strong points, and met the same fate. Even the religious wing lacked unity and popular support. The

activities of the Fadaiyan-e Eslam and the efforts of Ayatollah Kashani were not, for certain reasons, confirmed by Ayatollah Boroojerdi, the then Grand Religious Authority. In addition, wide differences of views also existed.



Under such conditions, open support by personalities like Grand Ayatollah Khonsari in Qom, and tacit support of persons like Imam Khomeini, could not effect any change in the process of affairs.

All in all, before the Iranian people could taste the sweetness of the National Oil Movement, the bitterness of the effects of disputes and subsequent sad events, and finally the unpleasant taste of the coup d'etat of 28 Mordad were poured over the palates. Fadaiyan-e Eslam did not let up on their challenge. However, two years later (25 Aban 1334/16 November 1955), in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Hosseyn Ala, the then prime minister, who was about to proceed to sign the Baghdad (CENTO) pact, they were arrested and their leaders, after trial in secret military courts, were sent to the firing squad (Dey 1334/December 1955).

Imam Khomeini's efforts and other ulama's attempts failed to prevent these executions.

These unfortunate and sad events affected the sensitive spirit of Imam Khomeini but they were valuable experiences to be used in the next stages of the challenge.

The Shah and his Royal Court were now at the complete service of the U.S. after the coup d'etat, but under different conditions from before. The British

government ceded its position to the U.S. The formation of Savak[16] in 1336/1958, suppression of opponents, and increased strangulation were speedily pursued, to provide favorable social conditions for American reform. During the decade of 1330-1340, Americans poured down the Persian Gulf area in order to take over the former position of the British. The cold war and the bitter rivalry between the U.S. and the USSR had enhanced the sensitivity of the strategic Persian Gulf area. The White House had glued its eyes on the oil resources of Iran and the region, and gave preference to Iran over others to be the gendarme in the Persian Gulf area and protect the interests of the West. The U.S. had another purpose in establishing links with the Shah and supporting his regime. Confrontation of Islamic states with usurper Israel seemed unavoidable. The dependence nature of the Pahlavi dynasty and the Shah's mental character presented favorable grounds for creating friction in the Islamic world. Oil, too, had an essential role in the adventure. In case of war between Muslim states and Israel, the ensuing energy shortage would be an impending menace and a cause of anxiety for the West. Development of oil exploration and exploitation in Iran and the stability of the Shah's regime were sure to reduce the crisis

under these conditions.

The social texture and the traditionally agricultural economy of Iran were deemed a major obstacle to American reform in Iran. Under conditions prevalent then, Iran was not prepared to absorb the oil revenues, which were mainly for the purpose of procuring American military equipment, and for the consumption of American goods.

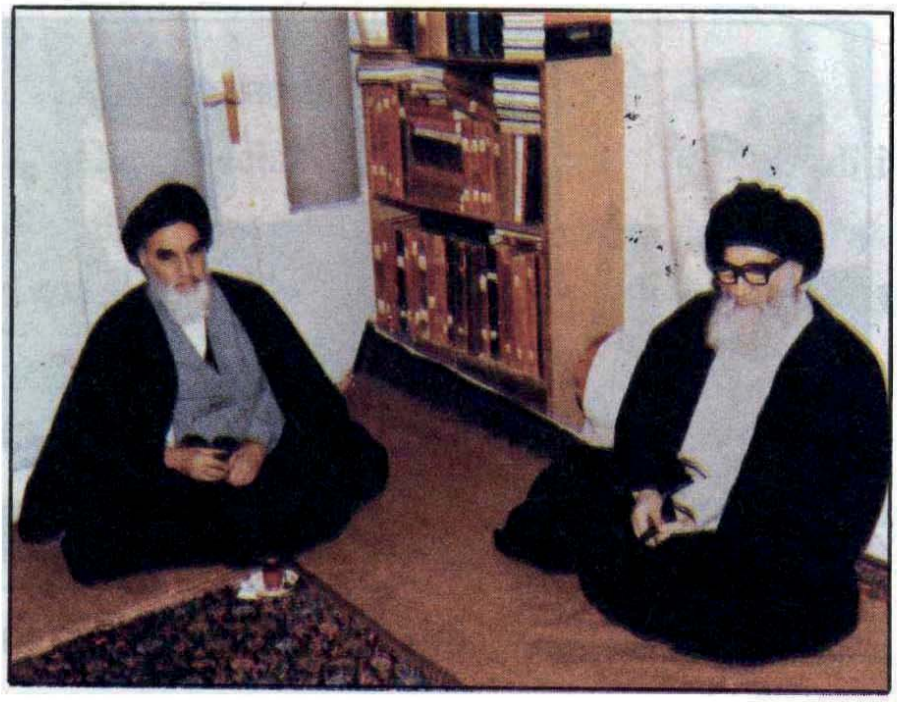
Bills, plans and projects for changing the condition of Iran trickled down to the Senate and the Consultative Assembly. According to frank confessions made later by the regime's magnates, and as revealed in documents of the American spy den in Iran, the contents of many of such bills were prepared in the U.S.A. or in its embassy in Iran.

The land reformation[17] plan was an experimental step to prepare grounds for approval of the principles of the so-called White Revolution. It was a calculated step. Land reformation was presented with such a huge propaganda and mottoes like "Combatting the khans, feudal lords, division of lands among the farmers and increased productivity".

Oppositions to the behind-the-scene aims of land reformation were regarded as supporting large land owners and were suppressed. The U.S.'s new moves and those of the Shah in 1340 coincided with

two unhappy events. On 10 Farvardin 1340, the Grand Ayatollah Boroojerdi passed away. His valuable services as well as his scientific personality once more, posed the marjaiyat (religious authoritativeness) as the most important religious recourse in the social life of the people.

This position per se had been a great obstacle to the objectives of the Shah's regime. The Ayatollah's loss was regarded irreparable. In Esfand of that year, the crusader clergy Ayatollah Kashani, whose name once made the Shah tremble with fear, passed away. After the heavenly departure of Ayatollah Boroojerdi, Imam Khomeini, as on previous occasions and notwithstanding the appeals by the people and the theological assemblies, did not take the least step for his own position as religious authority. He even resisted the proposals and actions of his own friends, whereas his decrees concerning the



entire chapters of the book, Orvatol Vosqa were completed five years before the heavenly departure of Ayatollah Boroojerdi. During these years, the Imam's marginal observations about the book, Vasilatol-Nejat was written as a practical treatise. Imam Khomeini's ascetic outlook toward the world, and the worthlessness of the world's "credential" stations can be understood from the profound ethical and mystical arguments embodied in his works, The Forty Narratives, Serrol-Salat and The Rites of Prayers, all of which were written long before. After the death of Ayatollah Boroojerdi and the dissolution of the station of grand religious authoritativeness *(marjaiyat-e ozma)*, the Shah's regime proceeded with greater haste to implement the reforms devised by Americans and to transfer the

issue of authoritativeness to a point abroad.

But, the regime had erred in its calculations. The bill concerning town and province councils which would delete the candidates and voters election conditions of: "Being a Muslim, swearing on the Qoran and being a male", was approved by the cabinet of Amir Asadollah Alam (16 Mehr 1341/8 October 1962). The right of women to be elected was a cover to conceal other plots. The deletion and alteration of the first two conditions were aimed at legalization of the presence of Bahai elements in key government positions. As mentioned above, one of the U.S.'s conditions for its support of the Shah, was the Shah's support of Israel and the enhancement of relations between Iran and Israel. The infiltration of the followers of the colonialistic ideology of Bahaism into the three forces would ensure this condition. Immediately after the broadcast of this news, Imam Khomeini, accompanied by the grand ulama of Qom and Tehran, exchanged views and began to protest the approval of the bill.

The Imam's role in defining the real purposes of the Shah's regime and pointing out the grave mission of the ulama and the theological assemblies were highly effective under the status quo. The telegrams and open letters of protest, sent to the

Shah and the Prime Minister Alam, generated a wave of support in various strata of the population. The tone of Imam Khomeini's cables to the Shah and his prime minister was sharp and warningly. One of these cables read: "***I once more advise you to obey God and follow the Constitution and beware of violating the Qoran and the decrees of the nation's ulama, the Muslims' grandees and the Constitutional Law. Don't endanger the country deliberately and for no reason. Otherwise, the Muslim ulama will not desist expressing their views about you.***"

At first, the Shah's regime began its threats and propaganda against the clergy. In a radio broadcast, Asadollah Alam declared: "***The government will not withdraw its program of reformation.***" Still the uprising increased daily. The bazaars closed down in Tehran and Qom and some other cities and people gathered together in mosques, in support of ulama's movement. Some six weeks later, the government retreated one step and by written reply from the Shah and prime minister attempted to appease the ulama and justify themselves. The Shah's regime, with due awareness of the inflexible personality of the Imam, deliberately did not write to him directly. Some of the theological assembly's ulama thought the government's position convincing and demanded an

end to the uprising, but Imam Khomeini declined unyieldingly. His Holiness, the Imam was of the opinion that the government must openly and formally repudiate the County and Provincial Councils Bill and publicize its news. In a statement issued in response to a question posed by the Qom's merchants

and traders guild, the Imam clearly revealed that by approving this bill, the government intended to let Bahai elements and Israeli spies enter Iranian governmental organizations. He declared with utter frankness: "***The Muslim nation will not become quiet until these dangers are obviated. And, if anyone remains silent, they shall be responsible before God and will be condemned to destruction in this world.***" In this statement, Imam Khomeini warned the Senate and the House members about the passage of this bill, and wrote: "***The Muslim nation and ulama of Islam are alive and lasting. They shall sever any hand that betrays the foundation of Islam and trespasses on the chastities and virtues of the Muslims.***"

Finally, the Shah's regime admitted defeat and on 7 Azar 1341/28 November 1962, the government annulled the previous approval, and duly informed the ulama and religious authorities in Tehran and Qom. At a meeting with the ulama of Qom, Imam Khomeini persisted on his positions and did not consider the behind-the-closed-door cancellation of the bill sufficient, and declared that the movement will continue until the news of cancellation is publicized by the mass media. The next day, news of the cancellation of Provincial Councils Bill appeared in the state newspapers, and people celebrated their

next great victory after the movement for nationalization of oil industry.

During these days that the nation was jubilant, Imam Khomeini said: "***Superficial defeat is unimportant. What is important is spiritual defeat. He who has links with God never experiences defeat. Defeat belongs to those for whom this world is the ultimate ideal. God cannot be defeated. During the past two months, there were nights when I had only 2 hours of sleep....If again a devil from abroad threatens the country we are what we are and the government is what it is...advice is imperative; from the Shah down to these gentlemen and so forth to the last one in the country; the ulama must counsel and advise them all.***"

Thus the issue of provincial and county councils was a victorious and valuable experience for the Iranian nation, especially for the reason that along its course, they came to recognize the specific characteristics of a personality who was a worthy leader for the Islamic community. Notwithstanding the Shah's defeat in the issue of the said councils, American pressure to effect the contemplated reforms continued. In Dey 1341/January 1962, the Shah enumerated his six principles of reform and called for a referendum. At this time the nationalist parties, using the slogan, "***Reform, yes. Dictatorship, no,***" gave

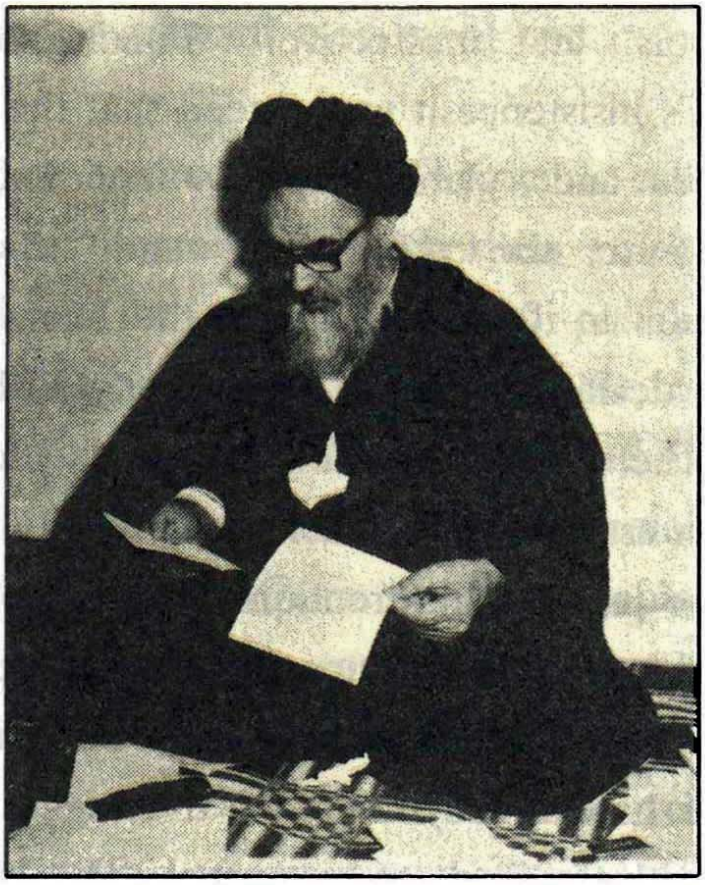
it the green lights. The communists, too, by analyzing that the royal reform expedites the process of dialectic change of the feudalistic system into industrial capitalistic system, declared, in conjunction with Moscow radio, the principles of the White Revolution as progressive. These were the same ones who had termed the 15th of Khordad Uprising as a reactionary, backward movement and in favor of the feudals.

Once more Imam Khomeini called for a meeting of the religious authorities *(maraje)* and the Qom ulama for consultation and possibly a fresh uprising. An uprising was not desirable in the minds of those who regarded the religious authoritativeness (marjaiyat) merely a medium to quietly deal with the ordinary religious affairs of the people and not holding responsibility towards the problems and difficulties of the Islamic community. Although behind-the-scene objectives of the reform and referendum were apparent to the person of the Imam and, confrontation was an unavoidable necessity, the consensus at the meeting was to discuss the matter with the Shah and find out about his motives. Messages of the two sides were exchanged through delegates in several stages. The Shah, at a meeting with Ayatollah Kamalvand, had threatened that the

reforms must be effected regardless of cost, even if it necessitated bloodshed and destruction of the mosques.

At the next meeting of the ulama of Qom, His Holiness, the Imam asked for formal boycotting of the Shah's referendum, but the coservatives in the meeting regarded confrontation as "playing with edged tools" and ineffective. Finally, on Imam Khomeini's insistence it was agreed that the religious authorities and ulama openly announce their opposition to the referendum and boycott any participation in it. His Holiness, the Imam issued a pounding declaration on 2 Bahman 1341/22 January 1963. The bazaar of Tehran closed down and policemen assailed any gathering of people. On the eve of the imposed referendum, people's opposition to it heightened. To reduce the span of opposition, the Shah perforce went to Qom on 4 Bahman. Imam Khomeini had already opposed the higher clergies' meeting with the Shah on his arrival. The Imam even boycotted the coming out of the people from their homes on the day of the Shah's arrival in Qom. The effect of this boycott was so great that not only the clergy and people but even the trustee or custodian of the holy shrine of Her Holiness Ma'soomeh, that was considered the highest government position in this

city, did not go out to receive the Shah as he arrived and this cost the custodian his position. At a gathering of the agents who had accompanied the Shah to Qom, the Shah expressed his anger in foulest language against the clergy and the people. Two days later the unlawful referendum was held while no one



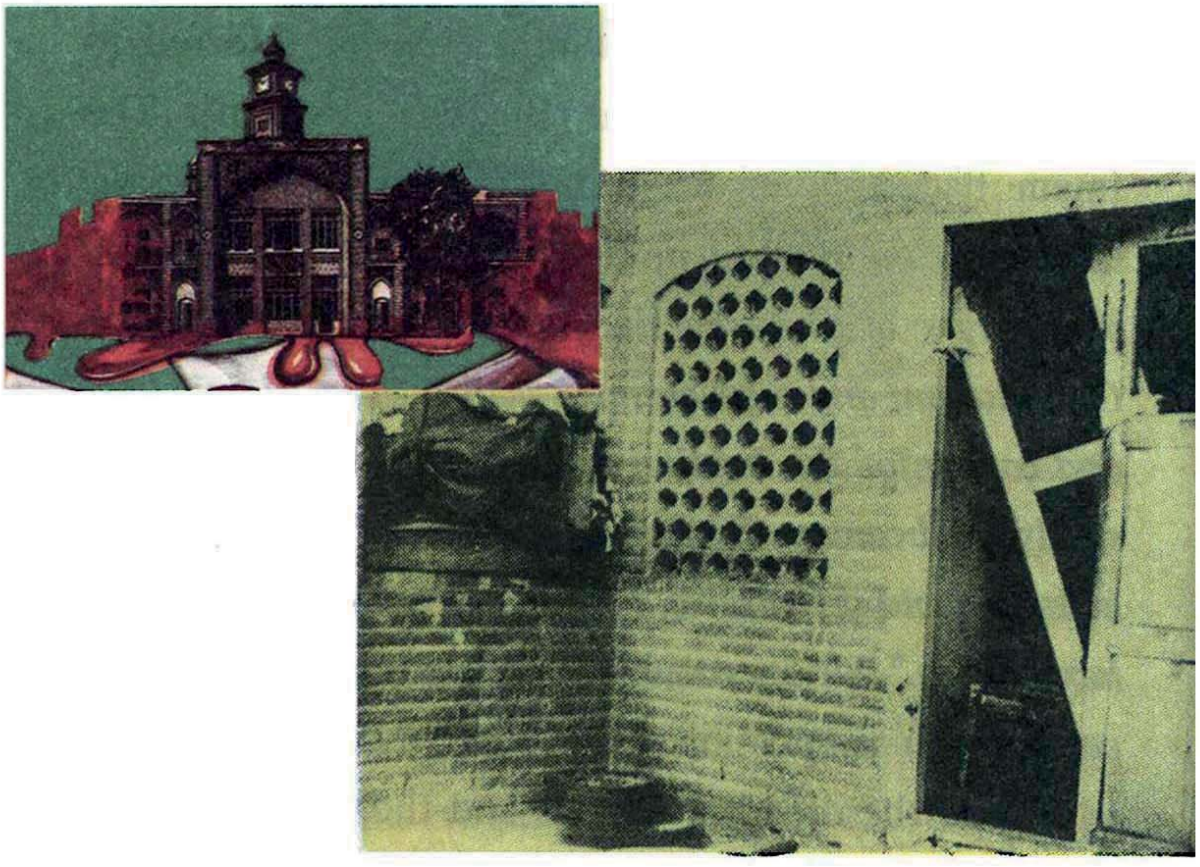
attended except the agents of the regime. The regime's mass media, by repeatedly announcing the cables of congratulations from American and European government authorities, tried to conceal the disgrace of the people's non-participation. However, by his regular speeches and statements,

Imam Khomeini went on revealing the truth. One of these statements came to be known as the "nine-signature manifesto". It was sharp and well-reasoned. While revealing a number of the illegal actions by the Shah and his puppet govenment, the manifesto envisaged the decline of agricultural idustry and the fall of the independence of the country as well as promotion of corruption and prostitution as the conclusive results of the "Royal Reforms!".

As proposed by Imam Khomeini, the traditional festive of Nowrooz 1342 was boycotted as a protest to actions of the regime. In the said manifesto, which also revealed the Shah's alignment with the objectives of the U.S. and Israel, Imam Khomeini referred to Shah's White Revolution as "Black Revolution". The Imam had announced in his manifesto: "***I see the solution in the stepping down of this despotic government on charges of violating the precepts of Islam and the Constitution; and a government dedicated to Islamic laws and caring for the Iranian nation to replace it. O God! surely I did convey--By God, I have already delivered Thy message--and if I survive, I will, God willing, perform my next duties.***" Understanding the significance of such statements is possible, only by those who have witnessed the dreadful prisons and the atmosphere of

strangulation of those days in Iran when, the tiniest criticism would entail torture, imprisonment and exile.

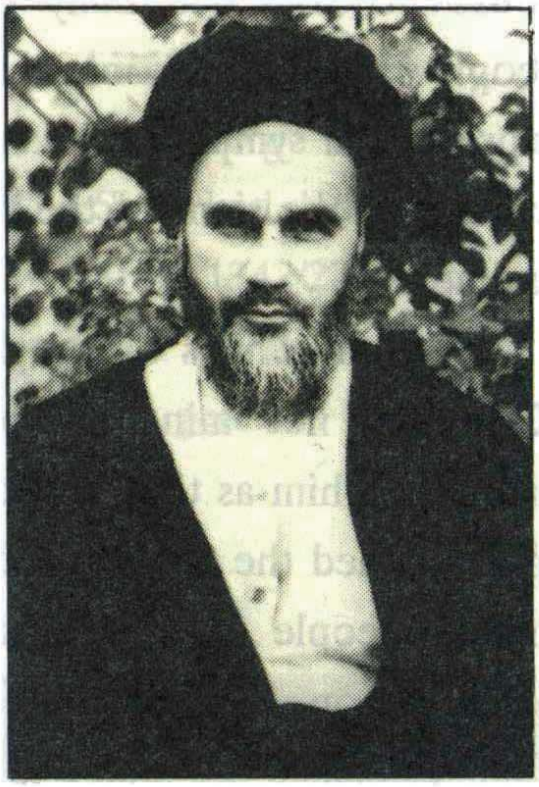
The Shah had assured the American authorities in Washington as to the readiness of the Iranian society to perform American reforms and had named the reforms "White Revolution". The opposition of the ulama to those reforms was a heavy load for the Shah to shoulder and made him initiate a very widespread propaganda against the clergy and the person of Imam Khomeini. The Shah had decided to suppress the uprising. On 2 Farvardin 1342/22 March 1963--coinciding with the martyrdom of His Holiness Imam Ja'far Sadeq[18] (pbuh)--armed agents of the



regime, in civilian clothes, upset a gathering of the students-clergy *(tollab)* in the Feyziyeh School. Police forces, fully armed, poured in and began to beat and butcher the students-clergy. At the same time the Talebiyeh School in Tabriz was raided by government agents. Following these incidents, Imam Khomeini's house in Qom was daily host to crowds of angry people and revolutionary forces who gathered to express their sympathy and support for the ulama, and to observe the signs of the crimes perpetrated by the regime.

At gatherings of people in the mosques, Imam Khomeini, not minding the person of the Shah, mentioned him as the real activist of the crimes. The Imam named the Shah as a confederate of Israel, and invited people to rise against him. In a speech delivered on 12 Farvardin 1342/1 April 1963, the Imam criticized the ulama in Qom, Najaf and in other Muslim regions, for their silence in the face of the recent crimes of the regime and said: "***Today, silence means cooperation with the court of the tyrant.***" The next day (13 Farvardin/2 April), the Imam published his famous statement, entitled: "***Being a Royalist means being a Plunderer.***" In this statement, which was one of the most abrupt political announcements of the Imam, the Shah's regime was taken to trial, and at the

end it said that dissimulation is forbidden and stating the facts is incumbent (come what may!). It is in this statement that the Imam, addressing the Shah and his agents, has written: "***I have now readied my heart for the bayonets of your agents but I am not ready to accept your bullying nor bow to your tyranny.***"



Imam Khomeini had chosen his path with awareness. Behind him was a pack of bitter-sweet political experience and challenge; before him lay horrible events and a hazardous path. But he submitted neither to the past nor to the future. He was mindful of his religious duty *(taklif)* and his slogan was "Perform your duty; come what may!"

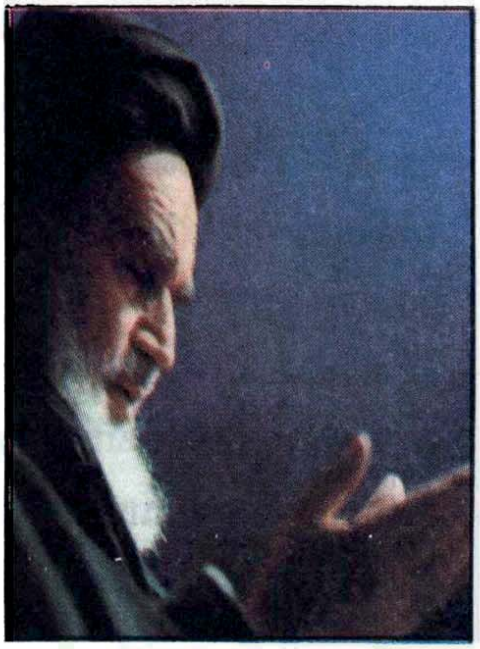
In Imam's logic the meaning of defeat and victory is something other than what is customarily defined by the professional politicians.

Many world famous crusaders and political figures enter a challenge arena--for whatever motive or reason--and then consider their own role, and their

personality take shape in the course of struggle. Contrary to such figures, Imam Khomeini entered the role of leadership of Islamic Revolution in 1342/1963, while years before he had completed the various stages of purification of the ego, the greater crusade *(jihad-e akbar)*, acquisition of moral excellences and true knowledge on the highest levels. He regarded a priority for man's inner development, and interior jihad over his exterior challenges. In connection with this, the Imam has said: "***Learning various sciences, even the science of monotheism, will be nothing but a veil and will not lead to the truth unless achieved in conjunction with self- or ego-purification.***" The Imam's harsh words in the statement dated 13 Farvardin 1342 and in similar announcements--which are abundant in his works--were not mere politics, designed to oust the rival from the scene. Rather, they were facts that emerged depth of a personality who regarded the world as the Presence of God. He had no personal animosity towards the Shah, Saddam, Carter, Reagan and others whom he had challenged during the period of his struggle. Imam Khomeini had in mind the reform of the human society, release of mankind from domination of Satanic agents, and the return of man to his natural innate indentity which is divine. This is the angle from where he viewed the challenge. He

believed in these principles himself and acted accordingly before he invited others to do the same. The secret of Imam Khomeini's success must be found in his long challenge with his ego *(nafs)* and his attainment of intuitive gnosis *(ma'refat-e shohoodi)*. Understanding the motives and objectives of Imam Khomeini's political challenges is not possible without consideration of stages of the perfection of spiritual, moral and scientific personality.

The world has had many outstanding revolutionary challengers but what makes Imam Khomeini's achievement outstanding and distinguishes his revolution and links it to the movements of the divine prophets is the fact that the personality who undertook the Islamic Revolution in the twentieth century, according to all those who have been associating with him, did not miss a single *rak'at* of his daily namaz and supplications, let alone his necessary religious duties. He is the man who cut short his interview with all press agents who had come, from all over the world,



to participate in his last interview before leaving Neauphle-le Château[19] for Iran, because it was time to say a daily namaz.

The secret of the wonderous effect of Imam Khomeini's message and his word on the soul of his addressees, which bordered on sacrifice of lives, must be sought in the originality of his thought, the soundness of his opinion and his pure truthfulness and piety.

Announcement of specifics of his policy lines for each challenge, adoption of clear and unchangeable positions, and decisiveness in following up the objectives, as admitted by friends and foes, are among the most salient features of Imam Khomeini's movement. The study of the Imam's proclamations and his political stands during the entire period of his

challenging the Shah and the U.S. and a comparison of his positions with those of other spiritual persons and parties towards their positions very vividly reveal the difference between Imam Khomeini's attachment and adherence to his objectives and his resolution to continue the movement, and those of the others. Historical papers and documents testify as to how in the beginning of the uprising in 1340-42, prominent religious and political personalities entered the arena, in some cases holding the most stringent positions, but retreated on their first encounter with the Shah's regime; some chose isolation and silence for long periods, lasting until the days the uprising climaxed in 1357 and the Revolution gained its victory. Others, quickly moved away from the leadership level positions, and instead of fighting against colonialistic interfering policies of the U.S. and opposing the existence of monarchical system and the Shah's regime that were used as tools for foreign domination, they busied themselves with such slogans as "Free-election" and "Implement the Constitutional monarchy". It is no secret to those aware of the issues of the Iranian contemporary history that, in the atmosphere of those days, voicing such slogans could yield nothing but deviation from the course of people's uprising in challenging the real agents. For

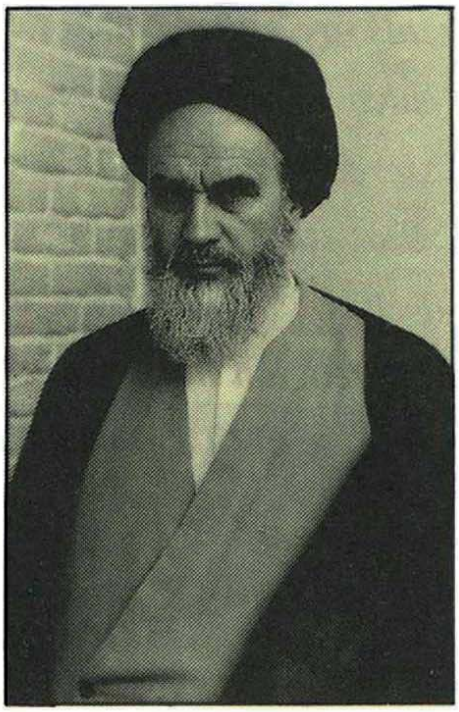
this reason, the Shah's Savak undertook to support such currents and trends. And, amid all this, only Imam Khomeini and his friends who believed in him and his path, neither retreated nor gave up their positions during the entire course of the challenge. In spite of difficulties, each of which could be a justification for changing positions and resorting to silence, they persisted on those objectives and made sacrifices as they had promised to do so at the beginning. Such steadfastness is not possible except by having faith in principles and truth, far above the sociopolitical expediencies of the day.

The year 1342 began with a boycott of the Nowrooz ceremonies and got its color from the blood of the oppressed innocent men in the Feyziyeh School. The Shah insisted on carrying out American reforms and Imam Khomeini persisted on enlightenment of the people and making them rise against American interference and the treachery of the Shah. On 14 Farvardin 1342, Grand Religious Authority Ayatollah Hakim, in cables from Najaf, addressed to the ulama and religious authorities, asked them all to pack up and make collective migration to Najaf. This proposal was made to protect the lives of the ulama and to secure the theological assemblies. The Shah's regime, by taking

certain actions, showed its anger at the support of ulama of Najaf and Karbala and of Ayatollah Hakim for the uprising of the ulama of Iran. The Shah's regime, in order to create fear and prevent a response by the ulama to the Ayatollah Hakim's cables, dispatched troops to Qom, and simultaneously sent a mission to the homes of the religious authorities to announce the Shah's message of threat. Imam Khomeini declined to receive this body. A short time later, Imam Khomeini, in his speech (of 12 Ordibehesht 1342), pointed to this matter, and by referring to the Shah as "mardak" or little guy, said: ***"This little guy sends his chief of police, a chief of this wretched government, to the homes of the ulama. I did not let them in; I wish I had, so I could give them mouthfulls of teeth then and there. They send agents to the homes of the ulama to advise them that His Majesty has said 'if you say a word about such and such matter, your houses will be blown down on your heads; we kill yourselves and transgress upon the chastity of the female members of your household'."***

His Holiness, the Imam, ignoring these threats, responded to Ayatollah Hakim's cables emphasizing that collective migration of the ulama leaves the theological assembly empty and unattended, and is not advisable. In his reply cables, Imam Khomeini

had said: "***We shall, God willing, perform our divine duty and attain to one of the two good things: either we sever the hands that betray Islam and the Qoran, or we shall join up with the Creator.***" *"Verily, I see death as nothing but bliss, and life with the oppressors as nothing but annihilation."*[20]

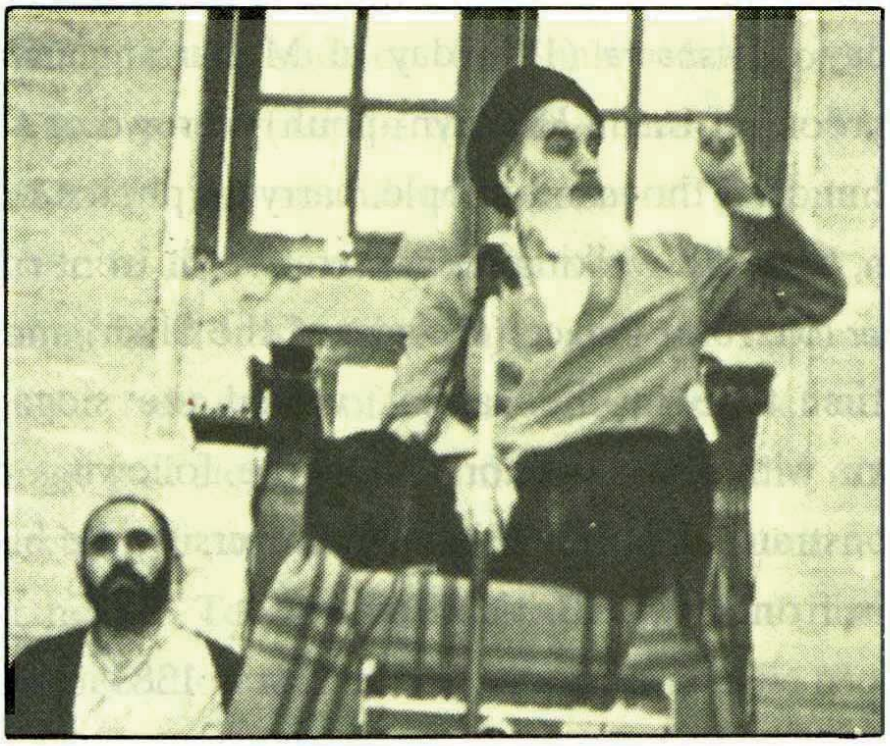


In a message dated 12 Ordibehesht 1342/22 April 1963, on the occasion of the 40th day observance of the Feyziyeh School calamity, Imam Khomeini emphasized that the ulama and the Iranian people should cooperate with the heads of Muslim and Arab states to confront, oppose and condemn the pacts between the Shah and Israel. Thus from the start of his uprising, the Imam demonstrated that the Islamic movement in Iran is not detached from the

interests of the Islamic community (ummat). Rather, his uprising is a reformatory movement in the entire Islamic world and is not confined to the geographic boundaries of Iran. In a letter to the ulama, His Holiness, the Imam wrote: ***"The danger of Israel for Islam and Iran is very close. Treaties with Israel against Muslim governments are either concluded or will soon be completed...with silence and withdrawal we shall lose everything. We are obliged to Islam and to the Prophet (pbuh). Now that the efforts of the Master (the Prophet), face decline, the Muslim ulama and those attached to the holy religion must meet their obligation. I have decided not to rest until I make this corrupt system take its place..."***

□ *IMAM KHOMEINI'S ARREST AND THE UPRISING OF THE 15TH OF KHORDAD (5 JUNE)*

The month of Moharram, coinciding with Khordad 1342, came about. Imam Khomeini made

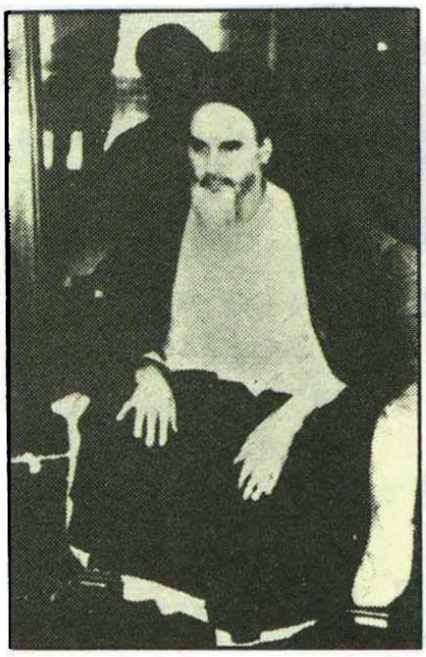


good use of this opportunity to incite the people to

rise against the dictatorial regime of the Shah. On the day of *Ashoora* (10th day of Moharram and the martyrdom of Imam Hosseyn--pbuh) a crowd of about one hundred thousand people, carrying photos of the Imam, staged a walking demonstration in front of the *Marmar* (Marble) Palace (the seat of the Shah) and, for the first time in the capital, voiced the slogan of "Down with the Dictator!" On the following days, demonstrations were held in the university, the bazaar and in front of the British Embassy.

In the afternoon of Ashoora 1383 AHL/13 Khordad 1342/June 1963, Imam Khomeini delivered his historical speech at the Feyziyeh School which marked the start of the uprising. A major part of the Imam's speech was about the harms of the Pahlavi monarchy and revealed the hidden relations between the Shah and Israel. In this speech, Imam Khomeini, addressing the Shah, said: "***O Mister, I advise you. O Mr. Shah! O Your Excellency the Shah! I advise you to stop your actions. Mister, they fool you! I don't want to see the people be thankful for your departure if some day they make you leave. If something is being dictated for you to read, think about it...accept my advice...what is the relation between the Shah and Israel that makes the Savak say: 'Do not speak of Israel...' Is the Shah an Israeli or what?***"

The words of the Imam fell like a hammer blows upon the soul of the Shah, whose pharaonic pride was proverbial for all. The Shah issued orders to put out the sound of uprising. First, a large number of the Imam's friends were arrested in the evening of 14 Khordad and at 3:00 A.M. of 15 Khordad, hundreds of commandos, dispatched from Tehran, laid siege to the Imam's house and arrested him while he was saying his overnight namaz. They took him to Tehran in a hurry and placed him, first under detection in the Officers Club, and in the evening they transferred him to the Qasr Prison. The news of Imam's arrest spread very rapidly in the city of Qom and its suburbs. Men and women from the suburbs and those in the city left their homes and villages and flocked to the house of the Imam; their main slogan was: "Either Khomeini or Death!" Voices chanting this slogan could be heard from every corner of the city. People's anger was so vehement that it made policemen flee the scenes in the beginning; they



returned after being fully equipped. Reinforcements from garrisons around Qom were dispatched to the city. As soon as the flood of people came out of the shrine of Her Holiness Ma'soomeh (pbuh), they were showered with volleys of machine gun bullets. Severe encounters followed lasting several hours. Bloodbath ensued. Military aircrafts took off from Tehran and broke the soundbarrier in the sky of Qom to create more fear. The uprising was controlled by use of force. Military trucks quickly cleared the streets and alleys of the slain bodies and the wounded, and

trucked them to unknown places. That evening, the city of Qom had a sad, war-beaten atmosphere.

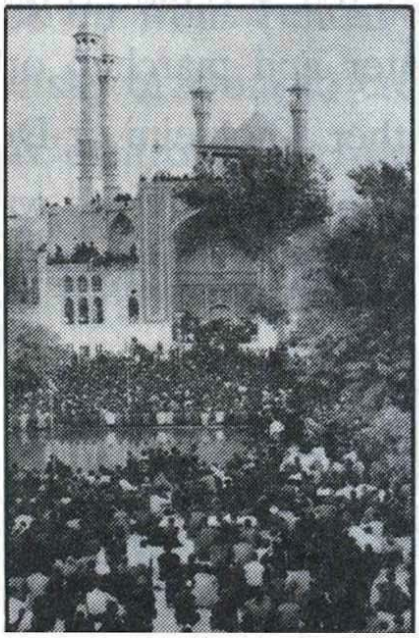
In the morning of 15 Khordad, news of the arrest of the leader of the Revolution reached Tehran, Mashhad, Shiraz and other cities and a

situation similar to that of Qom ensued. The people of Varamin and the surrounding towns were on the march to Tehran. Military forces, equipped with tanks, met the marchers at a fork in the Varamin-Tehran road and engaged them, and many marchers fell in their blood. A large crowd had gathered around Tehran's bazaar and at the city center and marched on the Shah's palace chanting: "Either Khomeini or Death." From south of the city, the population flood walked up to the city center led by Tayeb Hajj Rezai and Hajj Esmail Rezai[21], two

later arrested and on 11 Aban 1342/1963, met the firing squad, and their supporters were exiled to

Bandar Abbas.

The closest person to the Shah, General Hosseyn Fardoost[22] writes in his memoirs about the employment of the experiences and cooperation of the U.S.'s choice of political and security agents in

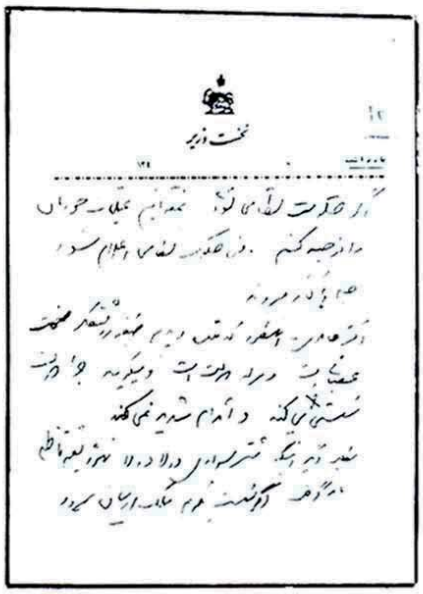


suppressing the uprising. Also an account is given in said memoirs about the confusion of the Shah, his Royal Court, the army generals and Savak members. It is narrated that the Shah and his generals were madly issuing orders to suppress the uprising. In describing the graveness of conditions, General Fardoost writes: "***I told Oveysi, commander of the Special Guard Army, that the only thing to do is to arm all cooks, cleaners and armorers.***" At last, military forces and the Shah's police, by the use of all the weapons they had, and by firing point blank at the people, were able to overcome the uprising. In his memoirs concerning this day, the then Prime Minister Asadollah Alam, addressing the Shah, has written: "***If we had retreated, the unrest would have spread to all four corners of Iran and our regime would have met a shameful fall. I even begged you to say that if I am removed from my office, you can always save yourself by condemning and executing me as the perpetrator of all that has happened.***" Martial law was declared on 15 Khordad in Tehran and Qom. In spite of this, however, extensive demonstrations were staged the following days, all ending in bloodshed.

The 15th of Khordad 1342, was the start of the Islamic Revolution of the Iranian people. After 19 days of imprisonment in the Qasr prison, the Imam

was transferred to a jail in the Eshratabad Military Base.

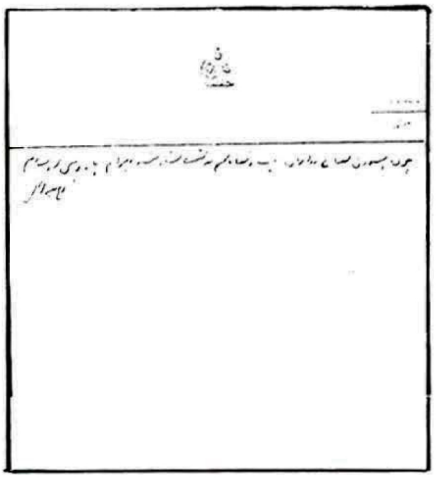
Two days after the 15th of Khordad Uprising, the Shah called the people's revolution "a savage rioting, resulting from the union of the black and red reactionary agents" and tried to ascribe it to agents abroad; to persons like Gamal Abdel Nasser[23]. The shallowness of the Shah's repeated claims was not unknown to anyone. Left wing elements and communists had no part, whatsoever, in this uprising.



Moreover, the Tudeh Party and other Iranian communists used Moscow radio accounts of the uprising in their writings in order to justify their positions. The Soviet Communist Party regarded the 15th of Khordad Uprising as "a blindly reactionary move against the Shah's progressive reforms." The Shah's other claim, the involvement of Egypt, was not believed by anyone in spite of the Savak's intrigues. The integrity of the 15th of Khordad Uprising was so apparent that such labels could have no effect on it.

With the arrest of the leader of the movement

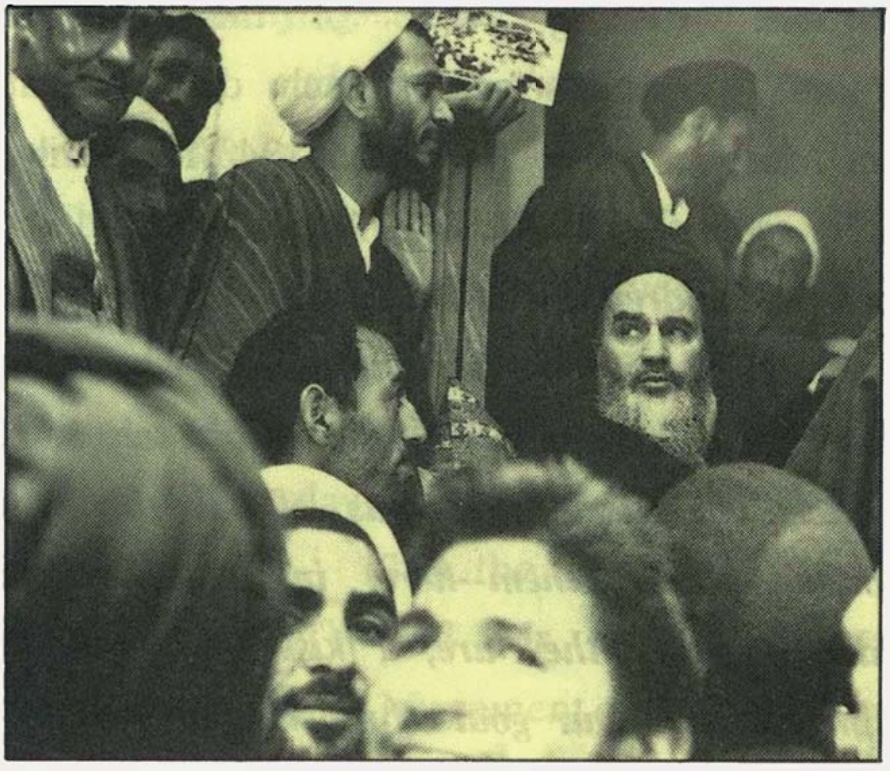
on the 15th of Khordad and the savage killings of people, the movement was seemingly suppressed. In prison, Imam Khomeini couragingly refused to answer the investigators, charging them and the judicial system illegal and incompetent. In solitary confinement in Eshratabad prison, the Imam took advantage of the opportunity to read. He studied books on contemporary history, including the history of the Iranian constitution and a book by Jawaharlal Nehru. Following Imam Khomeini's arrest, waves of protest by the clergy and various strata of the



whole Iranian population poured into the capital demanding the liberty of their leader. Some of the outstanding ulama migrated to Tehran from other provinces in protest. Fear of attempts on the life of the leader of the Revolution generated widespread reaction by the people. Some of the migrant ulama were arrested in raids and imprisoned for some time. The Shah, considering the 15th of Khordad events as

injurious to his stability and to the guarantees given to the U.S., tried to underestimate these events and portray the conditions as normal and under control. On the other hand, people's anger at the prolonged detection of the Imam increased daily. Hence, the regime was compelled on 11 Mordad 1342, to transfer the Imam from prison to a house in Davoodiyeh to be kept under surveillance by the armed forces. On hearing this news, the people of Tehran rushed down to Davoodiyeh. A few hours later, huge crowds had gathered around the detention house of the Imam, and the regime was forced to scatter the crowds and the military troops laid open siege to the house. In the evening of 11 Mordad, the regime's newsletters and papers published a false news that the religious- and regime-authorities had come to an understanding. It was not possible for Imam Khomeini to hear the false news so as to deny it, but the ulama, by issuing announcements, denied any understanding whatsoever. Of all these, the statement by Ayatollah Mar'ashi Najafi was particulrly sharp and revealing and very effective. Following these events, Imam Khomeini was taken, under protection by agents of the regime, to a house in Qeytariyeh in Tehran, where he remained until his release and return to Qom on 18 Farvardin 1343/7 April 1964.

In early 1343/1964, the Shah's regime, under an impression that their rough treatment in the events of 15th of Khordad had been a lesson to the people and had silenced the adversaries, was trying to picture the events of 1342, as forgotten. In the evening of 18 Farvardin 1343, Imam Khomeini was released without prior intimation or notice. He was immediately taken to Qom. Upon hearing the news, the city of Qom became jubilant from end to end. Festive celebrations were arranged for several days in the Feyziyeh School and elsewhere. Three days after he gained his freedom, however, Imam Khomeini's speech proved the regime's imaginations and propaganda baseless. In his speech, the Imam said: "***Today, celebration is***



meaningless. As long as the nation survives, they mourn the 15th of Khordad." The leader of the Revolution, in his speech, elaborated on the dimensions of the 15th of Khordad Uprising and in reply to a question about the rumors concerning "understanding with the regime", said: "***The story was headlined that there has been an understanding between the clergy and the 'White Revolution of the Shah and the People,' and the nation has agreed of it! Which revolution? Which nation?!... Khomeini will not come to an understanding even if he is hung. Reforms cannot be carried out at the point of a bayonet.***"

After Imam Khomeini regained his liberty, Savak planned to reduce the power of challengers by creating friction between the ulama and the religious authorities. Being aware of this plot, Imam Khomeini, in his hisorical speech, delivered at the A'zam Mosque on 26 Farvardin 1343/15 April 1964, said: "***If someone insulted me, slapped me in the face, slapped my children; by God, I do not wish anyone to rise and defend. I know certain individuals want to create friction in this assembly, whether deliberately or out of ignorance. I kiss the hands of all the religious authorities--all of them--here, in Najaf, Mashhad, Tehran, wherever they are; I kiss the hands of all Muslim ulama. Our goal is much greater than such***

things. I extend a hand of brotherhood to all Islamic nations, to all Muslims of the world, in the East, in the West..."

In this speech, Imam Khomeini also spoke against the secret relations between the Shah and Israel. Imam cried out: "***O people of the world, be aware that our nation is opposed to the pact with Israel. That wouldn't be our nation, nor our clergy. Our religion calls on us not to have agreements with the enemies of Islam.***" Imam Khomeini referred to the Shah as the little man; addressing him, he said: "***Make no mistakes. Even if Khomeini comes to terms with you, the Muslim nation will not! Make no mistakes. We are in the same strongholds that we held before. We oppose all bills that have been approved and are against Islam. We oppose all bullyings....This dear nation hates Israel and its agents and hates those governments that compromise with Israel.***"

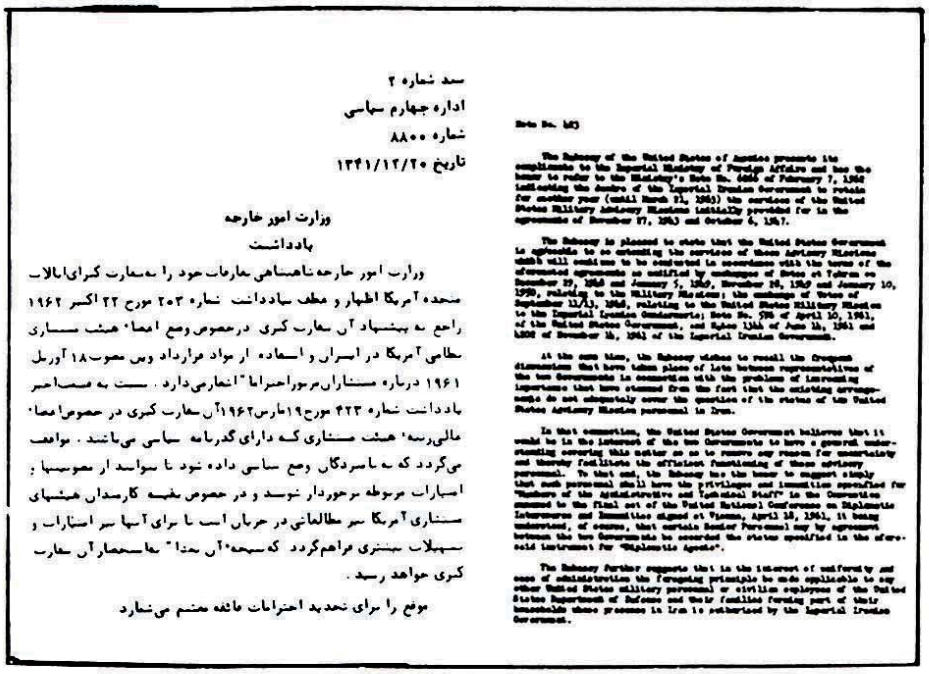
The first anniversary of the 15th of Khordad Uprising in 1343/1964, was observed with a joint communiqué by Imam Khomeini and other religious authorities and separate statements by the theological assemblies. That day was called the day of general mourning. In Tir 1343, the great challengers, Ayatollah Taleqani[24] and Mr. Mehdi Bazargan[25], heads of the Freedom Movement of Iran who had

supported the uprising of the 15th of Khordad, were tried by a military court and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Imam Khomeini issued a statement in which he warned: "***The voters must await a harsh fate.***" He also proposed regular weekly meetings of the clergy all over the country to follow the objectives of the movement and guide the nation's uprising.

□ *IMAM KHOMEINI'S RISE AGAINST CAPITULATION AND HIS EXILE TO TURKEY*

On the other hand, the Shah, with his usual vanity and thinking that the killings, arrests and trials had removed the major resistance force persisted, under pressure from the U.S., on carrying out the White-House-dictated reforms. These reforms were eventually to result in multi-faceted influence of the U.S. in Iran and the direct presence of agents of U.S.

in various areas, including the economy, the army and other organs of the Shah's regime. Therefore, a first step in this direction was to remove all legal obstacles to the



سند شماره ۲
اداره چهارم سیاسی
شماره ۸۸۰۰
تاریخ ۱۳۴۱/۱۲/۲۰

وزارت امور خارجه
یادداشت

وزارت امور خارجه شاهنشاهی بمارمات خود را به سفارت کبرای ایالات متحده آمریکا اظهار و عطف بیادداشت شماره ۲۰۳ مورخ ۲۲ اکتبر ۱۹۶۲ راجع به پیشنهاد آن سفارت کبری درخصوص وضع اعضاء هیئت مستشاری نظامی آمریکا در ایران و اضافه از مواد قرارداد وین مصوب ۱۸ آوریل ۱۹۶۱ درباره مستشاران مرحوم احتراما" اشعار می دارد . نسبت به قسمت اخیر یادداشت شماره ۴۲۳ مورخ ۱۹ مارس ۱۹۶۳ آن سفارت کبری در خصوص اعضاء عالیرتبه هیئت مستشاری که دارای گذرنامه سیاسی می باشند . مواقف می گردد که به نامبردگان وضع سیاسی داده شود تا بتوانند از معونیها و امتیازات مربوطه برخوردار شوند و در خصوص بقیه کارمندان هیئتهای مستشاری آمریکا نیز مطالعاتی در جریان است تا برای آنها نیز امتیازات و تسهیلات بیشتری فراهم گردد که نتیجه آن بعدا" بحاسبحمار آن سفارت کبری خواهد رسید .

موقع را برای تجدید احترامات فائقه مغتنم می شمارد

Note No. 583

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs and has the honor to refer to the Ministry's Note No. 2203 of February 7, 1963 concerning the desire of the Imperial Iranian Government to provide for another year (until March 21, 1964) the services of the United States Military Advisory Mission initially provided for in the agreements of December 27, 1943 and October 4, 1947.

The Embassy is pleased to state that the United States Government is agreeable to an extension of these Advisory Missions which will continue to be conducted in accordance with the terms of the aforementioned agreements as modified by exchanges of Notes at Tehran on December 27, 1943 and January 5, 1947, December 26, 1949 and January 10, 1950, relating to the Military Missions; the exchange of Notes of September 13/13, 1954, relating to the United States Military Mission to the Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie; Note No. 596 of April 10, 1961, of the United States Government, and Notes 1144 of June 18, 1961 and 1200 of December 18, 1962 of the Imperial Iranian Government.

At the same time, the Embassy wishes to recall the frequent discussions that have taken place of late between representatives of the two Governments in connection with the problem of increasing importance that have stemmed from the fact that the existing arrangements do not adequately cover the question of the status of the United States Advisory Mission personnel in Iran.

In this connection, the United States Government believes that it would be in the interests of the two Governments to have a general understanding covering this matter so as to remove any reasons for misunderstanding and thereby facilitate the efficient functioning of these advisory personnel. To that end, the Embassy has the honor to suggest simply that such personnel shall have the privileges and immunities specified for "Members of the Administrative and Technical Staff" in the Convention annexed to the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities signed at Vienna, April 18, 1961. It being understood, of course, that certain Senior Personnel may by agreement between the two Governments be accorded the status specified in the aforesaid instrument for "Diplomatic Agents".

The Embassy further suggests that in the interest of uniformity and ease of administration the foregoing principle be made applicable to any other United States military personnel or civilian employees of the United States Department of Defense and their families forming part of their households whose presence in Iran is authorized by the Imperial Iranian Government.

presence of American armed forces in Iran and to guarantee their security and absolute freedom of action. Revival of Capitulation (diplomatic and consular immunity for American citizens in Iran) entered the program. The approval of the Capitulation Bill in the puppet Majles and the Senate was the final shot at Iran's dying independence. Severe suppresion of the challengers, their

imprisonment, exile and the Shah's martial law silenced all and none dared oppose. In this adventure, too, Imam Khomeini, insisting on his own historical mission, undertook another uprising. The fourth of Aban, Shah's birthdate--where huge sums of money were spent every year for celebrating the Shah's birthday--was selected as the revelation day, and its news were dispatched by the Imam in the form of letters and messages to the ulama in the cities. To prevent a speech by the Imam on this date and as a threat to him, the Shah sent a representative to Qom. The Imam did not receive the Shah's representative. The Shah's message was delivered to Ayatollah Hajj Aqa Mostafa (Imam's eldest son).

Notwithstanding, on said date, Imam Khomeini, not heeding the threats of the regime, made one of his longeat speeches at a large meeting of the clergy and common people from Qom and other cities. This historical speech was, in fact, a trial of the unlawful interference in Islamic Iran by the White House and revelation of the Shah's treasonous acts. The Imam's speech opened with the following sound and firm sentences: "*.... Our honor has been trampled on. Iran's grandeur is smeared. They took to the Majles a bill whereby we were joined up to the Vienna Pact....All American military advisors and their families, their*

technical and administrative employees, and their servants...are exempt from trial for any crime they commit in Iran....Mister! I am warning of danger. O Army of Iran! I declare danger! O Iranian statesmen, I declare danger! By God, whoever refrains from crying out, sins; he who does not cry out, commits mortal sin. O heads of Islam. Save Islam! O ulama of Najaf; O ulama of Qom, Save Islam."

It was in this speech that Imam Khomeini voiced his famous statement as follows: "*....U.S. worse than England; England worse than Soviet Union, and Soviet worse than the other two!! Each worse than the other; each wickeder than the other....But today, we are engaged with them; with their impurities; with these depicable characters, with the U.S. Let the U.S. President know that he is the most hated person by our nation...all*

of our troubles are from the U.S. and this Israel which is

itself a part of the U.S.!!"

On this day (4th of Aban), Imam Khomeini issued a revolutionary announcement, and in it he said: ***"Let the world know that all the troubles the Iranian nation and the Muslim nations have, are from the U.S.; from the imperialists. The Islamic nations hate imperialism in general, and the U.S. in particular. It is the U.S. that supports Israel and its friends. It is the U.S. that empowers Israel to make Muslim Arabs homeless...."***

The revelation of the Imam against approval of the capitulation bill, put Iran on the verge of another uprising in Aban 1343. But the Shah's regime, making use of the experience of the 15th of Khordad event, and suppression of the uprising, acted quickly. On the other hand, at this time, a large number of prominent religious and political figures, who had defended Imam's uprising, were either in prison or in exile. Some of the religious authorities (maraje), who early in the uprising had entered the challenge, gradually deemed it expedient to remain silent and leave the scenes--a condition that lasted until the victory of the Revolution in 1357/1978. On the other hand, according to documents published after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, persons like Aqa Shariatmadari made use of their influence at this time

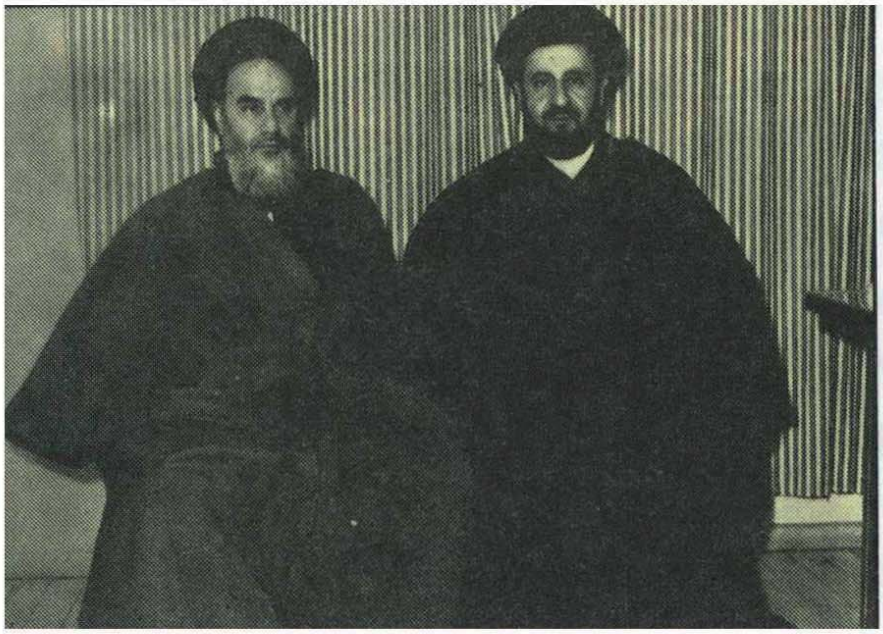
(Aban 1343), and tried to make their supporters assume silence, and decline their support for Imam's call. The essential danger to the Shah's regime was Imam Khomeini, whom they failed to silence, in spite of all their tricks. He now was the beloved leader known to all challengers and he was also a religious authority *(marja)* to many people. Past experience had showed that his detention inside the country had a 100-fold increase in the difficulties of the regime.

An attempt at his life was evaluated dangerous, as it would have paved the way for an uncontrollable uprising throughout the country. Eventually, it was decided to exile him.

At dawn of the 13 Aban 1343, once again the commandos, dispatched from Tehran, laid siege to Imam Khomeini's house in Qom. Surprisingly, as it

happened the year before, they arrested the Imam while he was saying his overnight namaz and invocations. His Holiness, the Imam, was taken directly to Mehrabad Airport, put on board a military aircraft, and flown to Ankara under military cover and protection. That afternoon, Savak announced in the newspapers the Imam's exile on charges of actions against the national security. Notwithstanding the atmosphere of strangulation, a wave of protest in the form of demonstrations in the Tehran bazaar, lengthy closure of theological assemblies classes, dispatch of letters and messages to international agencies and religious authorities was carried out.

On the same day that Imam Khomeini was exiled, his eldest son, Ayatollah Hajj Aqa Mostafa Khomeini, was arrested. He was jailed and after sometime, on the 13 Dey 1343, was exiled to Turkey, where the Imam was. The Imam's exile period in Turkey was hard and shattering. He was even forbidden to wear his own clergy attire. But neither spiritual nor physical pressures could make him compromise. The Imam's first residence was room No. 514, 4th floor, at Hotel Boulevard Palace in Ankara. Next morning, in order to keep his whereabouts secret, he was moved to another place

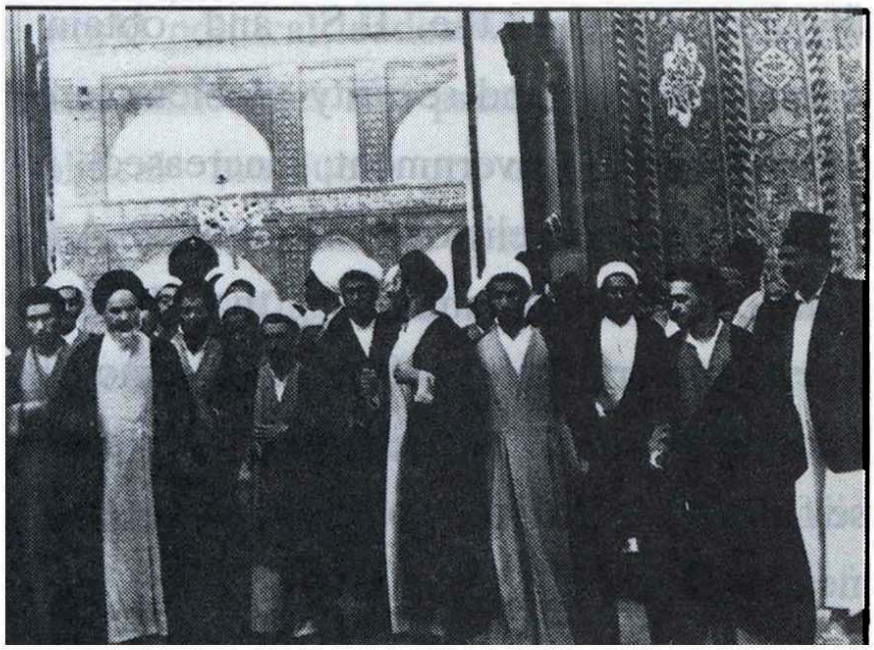


on Avenue Ataturk. Several days later, on 21 Aban 1343--to make him even more isolated, and to sever all his communications--the Imam was taken to the city of Bursa, located 46 kilometers west of Ankara. During this period, the involvement in political activities was not possible for Imam Khomeini as he was constantly under direct surveillance by agents from Iran and by Turkish security men.

The stay of Imam Khomeini in Turkey lasted 11 months. During this period, the Shah's regime ruthlessly smashed the last vestiges of resistance in Iran and, in the absence of Imam, they hurriedly effected the reforms that the U.S. desired. Under people's pressure, the regime was, at several times, compelled to let representatives of the ulama go and

visit the Imam, to be assured of his sound health. Meanwhile, the Imam wrote letters to his relatives and to the ulama in the theological assembly, and by signs and hints and hidden clues, in the form of prayers, reminded them of his steadfastness in carrying on the challenge, and made a request for books on prayers and feqh. The forced stay of the Imam in Turkey gave him the opportunity to compile and edit *(tadvin)* the voluminous book, Tahrirol Vasileh. In this book--which contains the jurisprudential decrees of the Imam--were discussed for the first time in those days, the decrees concerning jihad, defense, interdicting evil and enjoining to good, and other daily problems, as forgotten religious duties. However, it must be noted that the jurisprudence and principles were embodied in various works of Imam years before the heavenly departure of Ayatollah Boroojerdi. Reference will be made to these works later herein, in

the section introducing the works of the Imam.



□ *IMAM KHOMEINI'S DEPORTATION FROM TURKEY TO IRAQ*

On 13 Mehr 1343/13 October 1965, His Holiness Imam Khomeini, accompanied by his son, Ayatollah Hajj Aqa Mostafa, were deported from Turkey to their second country of exile, Iraq. Explanation of the motives and causes for this transfer is beyond this brief work. However, they can be mainly listed as follows: The constant pressures of the religious community and the theological

assemblies and the efforts and actions by foreign Muslim students for the Imam's freedom; the attempts by the Shah's regime to show the conditions of the country normal and show its power and stability; to appease the U.S. and obtain more support; the mental and security problems presented for the Turkish government; increased internal pressure by Turkish religious community. And more important of all, the thinking of the Shah's regime that the silent and anti-confrontation atmosphere in Najaf and the condition of the ruling body in Baghdad by itself, would be a great obstacle in limiting Imam Khomeini's activities.

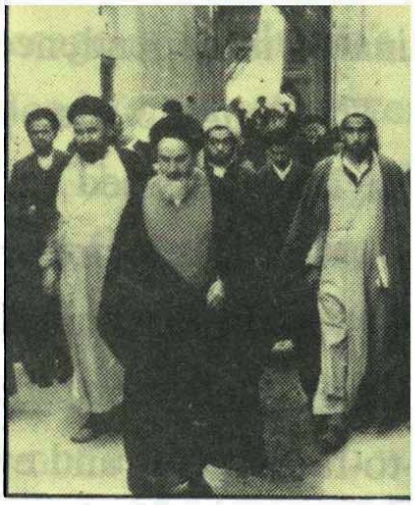
Upon arrival in Baghdad, Imam Khomeini went on pilgrimage to the holy shrines of the Infallible Imams in Kazemeyn, Samaria and Karbala. A week later, he moved to his residence in Najaf. The tumultuous welcome of Imam by the people in these cities indicates that, contrary to what the Shah's regime had imagined, the message of the Imam's 15th of Khordad Uprising had indeed found supporters in Najaf and all over Iraq, too. The brief talk of the Imam with the representative of Abdul-Salam Aref, President of Iraq, and the declination of a proposed radio and T.V. interview by the Imam proved, from the very beginning, that he is not a person who would

make a scapegoat of his divine challenge to the ruling regimes of Baghdad and Tehran. This fast and stable policy was pursued by the Imam during his entire stay in Iraq, and for this reason Imam Khomeini is indeed a rare world political leader who, even at the height of political difficulties and pressures, did not enter in any political intrigues or collusions that were customary then, nor did he compromise on his ideals and principles. When strifes between Iraq and Iran were at their peak, the showing of a minor green light by the Imam, would make available to him, all kinds of possibilities to fight the Shah. Not only he did not do that, but he was fighting in two fronts simultaneously, and at several stages he advanced to the point of engaging the Baghdad regime in heated skirmishes. Undoubtedly, were it not for the Imam's intelligence, the Islamic Revolution would have ended up where other Iranian movements, political fronts and parties had often landed, and would have terminated in dependence and defeat.

The long 13-year period of Imam Khomeini's stay in Najaf, started in conditions, when seemingly there was no direct pressure and limitations as hard as there was in Iran and Turkey. However, the opposition and obstructions and taunting by the face-to-face enemy and even by the pseudo-clergy and

the worldly men disguised in religious vestments, were so widespread and harmful that the Imam, in spite of his well-known patience had, several times, recalled and mentioned its bitterness. Nonetheless, none of these hardships and difficulties could dissuade the Imam from the path which he had chosen with awareness. He knew, beforehand, that talking about challenge and uprising in that atmosphere was pointless. He knew he had to start from the same

point as he had taken in Iran, including the Qom Assembly long before the 15th of Khordad Uprising, that is, with gradual reform and change of conditions and training



a generation who could comprehend his ideals and messages. Therefore, in spite of all obstacles and oppositions, Imam Khomeini began his lecture teachings in jurisprudence at the Sheykh Ansari Mosque in Najaf in Aban 1344/November 1965, and continued these classes until his migration to Paris, France. Imam Khomeini's firm fundamentals in jurisprudence and principles (feqh) and his proficiency in Islamic sciences were such that after a short time, in spite of all the impediments, his teaching classes came to be known as the most outstanding theological assembly in Najaf, both qualitatively and quantitavely. A large number of students-clergy of Iran, Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan, India and other countries of the Persian Gulf region attended his classes daily. Those of the Iranian theological assemblies attached to the Imam wanted to make collective migration to Najaf, but desisted at the recommendation of the Imam, since it was deemed necessary to keep the theological assemblies in Iran active. However, a large number of those deeply attached to Imam Khomeini had already reached Najaf and, gradually, a center of revolutionary figures, who believed in the path of the Imam, was formed in Najaf. It was this very group that undertook the responsibility of conveying the

Imam's challenging messages in those years of strangulation.

Since his arrival in Najaf, by sending letters and couriers, Imam Khomeini maintained his contact with fighters in Iran, and at any opportunity, called on them to resist and remain steadfast in pursuing the objectives of the uprising of the 15th of Khordad. It is a wonder that in many of these letters, clear indication of an imminent, sociopolitical explosion in Iran was given and the society of the Iranian clergy was called upon, to get ready to assume responsibilities in the guidance of the Iranian society in the near future. Those predictions were made at a time when, apparently there was no hope for changing the conditions, as the Shah's regime, more powerful than before, had broken up every resistance.

The Shah's darkest period of police rule, began with the exile of Imam Khomeini and severe suppression of opponents. Savak was the tool and instrument of absolute power, so much so, that the hiring of a petty employee, in the most remote areas had to be confirmed by the Security Organization (Savak). Of the three constitutional branches, nothing had remained but a name. The Shah, personally, with a few male and female courtiers had everything in their hands. However, the confessions

of the Shah in his last book, his interviews and the writings of other members of the Pahlavi family, those of army generals and the regime's authorities that were published after the fall of the monarchy in Iran, and the documents that were available in the American Embassy, all make it impossible to doubt that the Shah and the Royal Court were merely tools and agents, with no will of themselves. These documents also reveal that the activities and current affairs of the Royal Court and the regime, and even the appointment of cabinet members, army generals and the arrangement of sensitive legislation bills all were decided and written out in American Embassy in Tehran and sometimes in the British Embassy. Here, we will do with only two cases of confession by the Shah. He writes: "*...American and British ambassadors told us at any meeting we had: 'We shall support you'. During the fall and winter of 1978-79, they encouraged me to develop an extremely open political atmosphere....Whenever I received American diplomats or emissaries, they invariably suggested that I should remain firm and resist, but when I asked the American Ambassador about this, he said he had not received such instructions....Several weeks before, when I received the new CIA representative in Tehran, I was amazed at the triteness of his words. For a moment, we spoke of the*

open political atmosphere, and I observed a smile on his face....All in all, those who were our faithful allies for years, had other amazing suprises reserved for me...."

It is interesting to note that, in this book, the Shah has tried to ascribe the fall of his regime to these same unreal and surprising factors. He has stated that General Rabii, Chief Commander of the Air Force, had told the judges before his execution that: "***Like throwing out a dead rat, General Huyser threw the Shah out of the country!***" Although such saying is the distortion of history, and per documentary evidence available and, more telling than all, in his book, Huyser himself has confessed

that he had come to Tehran to save the fading monarchy in critical conditions and arrange a coup d'etat and not for throwing out the Shah. But, assuming such a claim is acceptable, the Shah, contrary to the title he had chosen for his book, did not provide history with an answer, that--in spite of such claims like "O Cyrus! Rest assured; We are awake!"--how has the Shah treated the independence

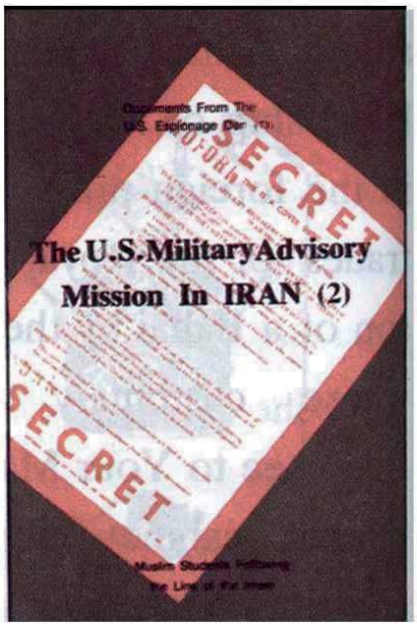
of his country during his 37 years of reign; that a second-rank American general, after only a couple of days stay in Tehran be able to throw him out like a dead rat?!!

At any rate, after suppression of the 15th of Khordad Uprising and exile of Imam Khomeini, the Shah saw no further obstacles before him. The country was in such a condition that the Royal Court women were dismissing and appointing the cabinet ministers, House deputies and the judges. The Shah's sister, Ashraf Pahlavi, whose moral scandals and leadership of narcotic smugglers were reflected even in the foreign press, had been called the "Jack of all trades" of the Royal Court. The appointment of the son of a Bahai by the name of Amir Abbas Hoveyda, whose customary humiliating compliment was "Devotee to Your Majesty", and whose heading of the puppet cabinets for 13 years, meant that the constitutional power and "democracy" did not exist in the country even on the lowest levels.

The Shah was riding a galloping horse towards his imaginary grand civilization; a civilization whose pillars were based on promotion of foreign culture; on promotion of debauchery; on pilferage of national resources by hundreds of American and European companies; ruining the relatively independent

agricultural structure of Iran; making the population productive forces move to city suburbs, as idle consumers and workmen; development of non-essential, dependent, assemblage industries; equipment of military bases for eavesdropping and spying by American military in Iran and the Persian Gulf region at the expense of the Iranian nation.

Only between 1970-1977, about 26.4 billion dollars of oil revenue was spent on importing military hardware from the U.S. In 1980 alone, the Shah had ordered from the U.S.A, 12 billion dollars worth of military equipment, whose foremost and ultimate aims--according to White House policy--were to be spent on protection of American interests in the sensitive Persian Gulf region. The management and utilization of these armaments were assigned to 60 thousand American advisors, exclusively.



At the zenith of his stability, when he felt no foreign pressures or problems, the Shah produced 6 million barrels of oil per day, while the Iranian

population at that time was below 33 millions and the price of oil--for reasons such as the Arab-Israeli war, the struggle of the West to horde and store more and more, to combat probable oil boycotts, and the closer unity of the oil-producing Islamic countries--had surpassed 30 dollars a barrel. Yet, in spite of all this, many of the basic highways of Iran lacked asphalt and a great part of the country was without electricity and elementary healthcare and welfare facilities. Even, at a time when tens of presidents, prime ministers, and other heads of states had traveled to Iran to attend the legendary festival celebrating the 2500-year Iranian monarchy, tens of thousands of the Iranian productive forces of yesterday and the then unemployed stranded men, had converged on the peripheries of the country's capital, in cave-like hovels, hutments, and tin-towns *(halabi-abad)* next to the Tehran airport, and other locations to the south, east and west of the metropolis, living in poverty and under dire conditions.

The sight of such extensive tin-towns presented such an eerie spectacle that during the festival, the regime concealed them from the sight of foreign guests by painted walls so that these signs of the "grand civilization" may not be seen! At the time of the festival, many districts in the south and west of

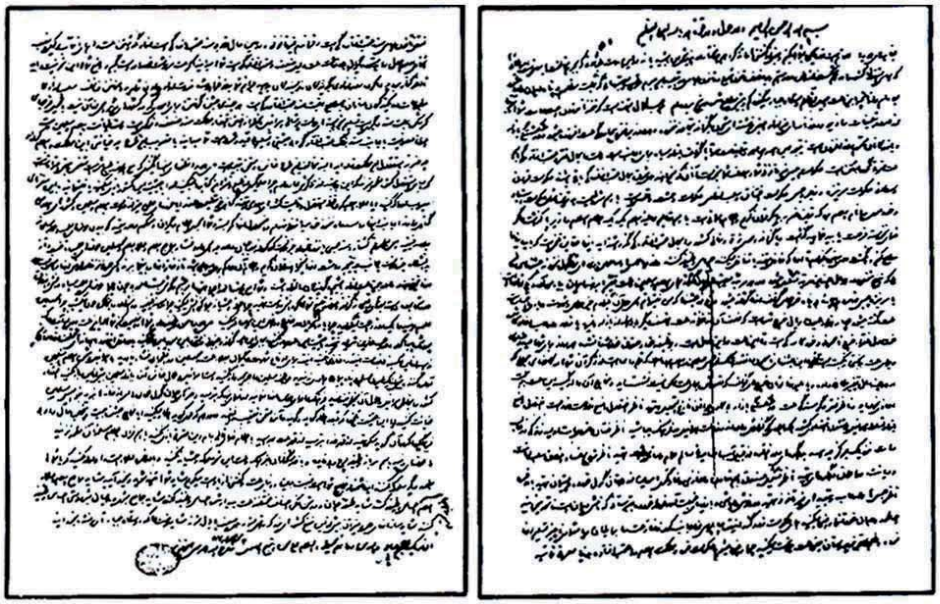
Tehran still lacked potable water and every several hundred families had to obtain their drinking water

from a single water faucet. In 1355/1976, illiteracy rate was 52.9% for the population of 7 years of age and up. By the time the Shah fled the country in 1357/1978, 15 years had passed since the implementation of the White Revolution and American-style reform. During this period, in spite of haphazard production and sales of oil and other

resources and support by foreign governments, Iran could not escape dependency. In addition, everyday the country became more and more dependent on foreigners economically, agriculturally and industrially, and along with this, dire economic conditions, general poverty and inequity increased. Politically, the Shah had turned Iran into a country most dependent on the West, particularly on the U.S.A.

In the entire period following Imam Khomeini's exile, in spite of countless difficulties, he did not relent his challenge and kindled the light of hope for victory in the hearts through his speeches and writings. On 27 Farvardin 1346/16 April 1967, in a message to the theological assemblies, the Imam wrote: "***I assure you ulama, and the Iranian nation, that the regime will meet defeat; their forefathers were slapped by Islam...they, too, will be slapped....Stand firm; do not submit to oppression; they shall be gone, and you shall remain....These dull and borrowed swords shall be put back into their sheaths!***" On this day, Imam Khomeini wrote an open letter to Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the Prime Minister. In it, the Imam recounted the tyrannic acts of the regime and warned Hoveyda regarding the conduct of the Shah vis-a-vis the Islamic governments, in the following words: "***Do not enter into pacts of brotherhood with Israel, this enemy of Islam and***

the Muslims, who has turned more than one million Muslims homeless. Do not hurt the feelings of the Muslims. Do not open any more, the hands of Israel and its treacherous agents, into the markets of the Muslims. Do not threaten the economy of the country for the sake of Israel and its agents. Do not sacrifice the culture for whims and desires....Beware of the anger of God; the anger of the nation.... "*Verily, your God looks out for the enemy.*"[26] The Shah took no heed of the Imam's warnings. Although the Muslim countries were on the threshold of war with Israel, Israeli goods, enjoying special privileges, had a very good market in Iran, and all kinds of Israeli fruits and foodstuff such as Israeli eggs and chickens were abundantly found in Iranian markets at price lower than domestic prices.



In a message dated 17 Khordad 1346/7 June

1967, on the occasion of the 6-day war between Israel and the Arabs, Imam Khomeini issued a revolutionary fatwa interdicting any kind of political and commercial relation with Israel and the consumption of Israeli goods in Islamic communities. This fatwa was a damaging blow to the expanding relations of the Shah with Israel. The Iranian ulama and students-clergy by issuing announcements, placed the Shah's regime under pressure. The regime took revenge by raiding Imam Khomeini's house in Qom, plundering all his books and documents, and by raiding the Islamic schools in Qom and ransacking the works and pictures of the Imam. During this raid, Imam Khomeini's son, Hojjatol-Eslam Hajj Seyyed Ahmad Khomeini, and Hojjatol-Eslam Hajj Sheykh Hassan Sanei and the late Ayatollah Eslami-Torbati (The Imam's canonical proxy) were arrested. Their efforts, and those of other revolutionary supporters, had frustrated the Savak in its hope to cut off sending the Imam's stipend and the lawful monies of the people to their religious authority. Sometimes before this, Hojjatol-Eslam Hajj Seyyed Ahmad Khomeini, who had gone to Najaf to receive the Imam's messages and orders about administration of activities of the Imam's house in Qom, on return in early 1346, was arrested at the border by the Shah's security agents, and was

imprisoned at the Qezel Qal'eh prison for some time. During these years, the Savak's major effort--according to Savak's documents--was to sever the connection of the Imam with his followers in Iran, and to prevent the remittance of Imam's stipend to him. Meanwhile, the efforts of Imam's canonical proxies such as Mr. Eslami Torbati, Hajj Sheykh Mohammad Sadeq Tehrani (Karbaschi) and Ayatollah Pasandideh (Imam's elder brother) which, in spite of the regime's threats, arrests and exiles, were continuously carried on, as well as the activeness of the Imam's family *(ahl-e-beyt)* in Qom--that had been recognized as the core of the 15th of Khordad Uprising, and was administered by Imam's son--were major obstacles to the fulfillment of the regime's objectives. Savak was so sensitive to the revival of Imam's name and his remembrance and to the activities of his family in Qom, that for a period of 4 years, it had stationed police force and security agents from morning until few hours past sunset, to control the residence of Imam's family preventing the frequentation of Imam's followers to the place. Yet, even in these years, the Imam's supporters would get together in the house at midnight hours, and after the agents had left, handled the business relating to contacts between the Imam and the people. It was at

this time (Khordad 1346) that the intention of the regime to transfer the Imam from Najaf to India was aborted by the revelations and efforts of the struggling internal and external political groups.

With the coming to power in Iraq (17 July 1967) of the Baath Party, and its animosity with Islamic moves, further obstacles appeared before the movements of Imam Khomeini. Yet, His Holiness did not relent his challenge. His sojourn in Najaf, and more of the Islamic world in the Arab-Israel war presented an opportunity for Imam Khomeini to pose and discuss his ideals on a much wider scale which meant the revival of faithfulness and belief, in an anti-religious era, and the recovery of Islamic grandeur, identity and unity. This was not limited to challenging the Shah in Iran.

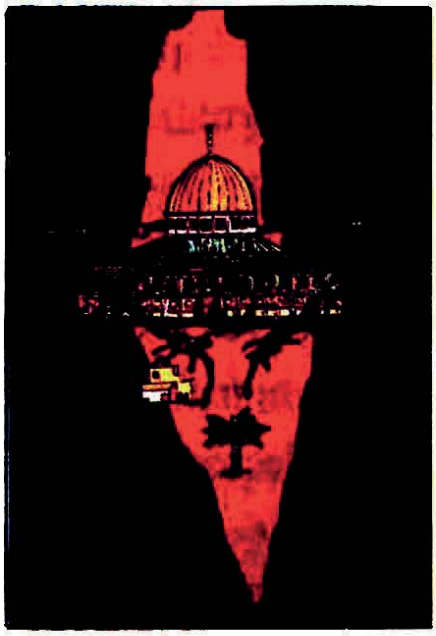
On 19 Mehr 1347/9 October 1968, Imam Khomeini, in a talk with the representative of Al-Fat'h Organization of Palestine described his viewpoints about the problems of the Islamic world and the jihad of the Palestinian people. During this interview, the Imam issued a fatwa on the necessity of allocating a portion of religious alms funds to Palestinian fighters.

Early in 1348, the dispute between the Shah's regime and the Baath Party of Iraq over the river

borderline, heightened. The Iraqi regime expelled

from Iraq, in dire conditions, a large number of Iranian residents of that country. The Baath Party tried hard, under these conditions, to take advantage of Imam Khomeini's enmity with the Iranian regime. On the other hand, the Shah sought the slightest available opportunity and excuse to present a distorted picture of the integrity of the Imam's movement. But Imam stood up to and resisted the intrigues very wisely. Ayatollah Hajj Aqa Mostafa Khomeini made formal delivery of the Imam's

message, opposing the deportation of the students-clergy and other Iranians and rejecting any compromise between His Holiness and the Baath Party in Baghdad, to Hassan al-Bakr, Iraqi President, and others who were present at the meeting.



On 30 Mordad 1348, a part of the Masjedol Aqsa was burnt down by the extremist Zionists. The Shah, who was under pressure by public opinions, proposed to pay the expenses of reparation and thus came to assist Israel and palliate the anger of the Muslims. In a message, the Imam revealed the ruses of the Shah, and made a counter-proposal: "***Not until Palestine is freed, should the Muslims repair the said Mosque. Let the crime of Israel remain exposed to the Muslims and be a cause for a move to liberate Palestine.***"

Four years of teaching, effort and enlightenment by Imam Khomeini had somewhat changed the atmosphere of Najaf Theological Assembly. Now, in the year 1348, in addition to countless internal challengers, there were very many

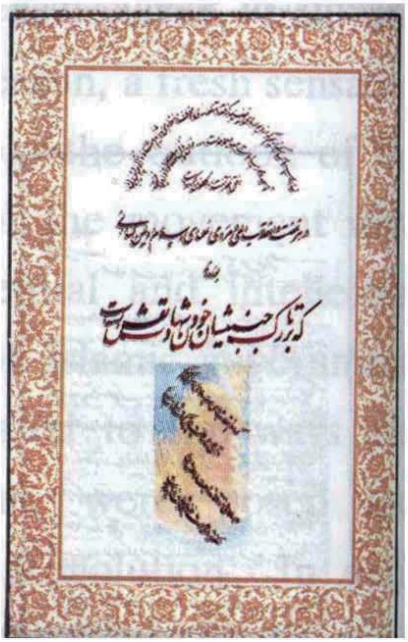
people in Iraq, Lebanon and other Islamic lands, who considered Imam Khomeini's movement as their adopted mode of action. Imam Khomeini began the series of his lessons about Islamic government or the guardianship of the jurisconsult in Bahman 1348. The publication of a compendium of these lessons in book form entitled Velayat-e-Faqih [Islamic Government] imparted, In Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon and during the Hajj season, a fresh sensation to the challenge. In this book, the outlook of the challenge and the objectives of the movement were drawn up, and the jurisprudential and intellectual fundamentals, and principles of Islamic government, and theoretical arguments related to the ways and modes of Islamic government, were posed and discussed by the leader of the Revolution. In April 1970 (Ordibehesht 1349), the America announced the arrival in Iran, of a mission of prominent American capitalists head

Rockefeller. They had arrived there to study the return to the U.S. of the Iranian oil revenues that were on the increase from this year on, and the mode of participation of the American corporations in this spread tablecloth. From months before, the Savak had announced many of the clergy, attached to Imam Khomeini, forbidden to preach from the pulpit. Yet, the pro-Imam Khomeini dedicated clergy figures, who were delighted after studying the opinions of the Imam about Islamic government, began revealing and opposing further extension of American influence in the country. One of the most ardent supporters of Imam Khomeini was Ayatollah Saidi. In April 1970, he was arrested and, after 10 days of savage torture by agents of Savak, was martyred in the Qezel Qal'eh

شهید سعیدی در زندان با سر برهنه

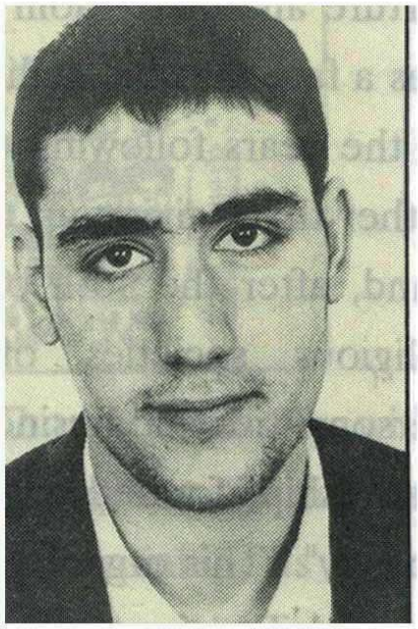
prison. His challenge was praised by Imam Khomeini, who said in a message: *"Ayatollah Saidi is not the only person who succumbs to torture in the corner of a prison!"* Imam's message also revealed that: *"Giant American experts and capitalists have rushed to Iran, aiming at the strangulation of this nation under the guise of the largest foreign investment....Any agreement entered into with American capitalists or with other colonialists, is against the wishes of the Iranian nation and the precepts of Islam."*

□ *POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPS (FROM 15TH OF KHORDAD UPRISING TO THE VICTORY OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION)*



The main active political movement and challenge of the Iranian people after 15th of Khordad Uprising, that lasted until the triumph of the Revolution, was the non-partisan, self-propelled movement of the clergy, who believed in the path of the Imam. They conducted the challenge by using their own religious base among the

masses and, through the relation they had with various strata of the population--both in the cities and in rural areas; they carried out the challenge



according to the modes and forms that Imam Khomeini had devised at each interval. There were bans on preaching from the pulpit, repeated exiles to faraway places, frequent imprisonments followed by torture and martyrdom in the Shah's prisons. All this was a fate that the dedicated Iranian clergy welcomed, in the years following the 15th of Khordad Uprising, rather than giving up their objectives. On the other hand, after the 15th of Khordad 1342, a number of religious societies of Tehran (mainly religious personalities and business guilds), who believed in the leadership, formed a group called "Islamic Coalition Society". This organization's military branch acted the way the Fadaiyan-e Eslam did. The assassination of Hassanali Mansoor, the Prime Minister, whom the passage of the capitulation bill had put to shame, was carried out by this coalition society. The Shah's regime arrested and executed several highly effective figures of this society and other members of the group were sentenced to long-term imprisonment. The membership of and adherent to this society had an effective role, throughout the challenge period, in printing and distribution of Imam Khomeini's announcements, and in arranging the protests of the bazaar and the guilds and, toward the end of the regime's life, they had a worthy share in arranging

protest demonstrations and strikes. The Islamic Nations Party was formed by the university clergy and

other strata, after the 15th of Khordad Uprising, with the motive to do armed fighting against the regime, and began collecting arms and training its men. However, after some time, their organization was exposed by the effort of the Savak. Some of the authorities of the party went into hiding in mountains north of Tehran, but with massive military siege, they were at last arrested and imprisoned.

Of the political groups whose organization dated to the years before 1342, mention can be made of the Tudeh Party, the National Front Organization and the Iranian Liberty Movement. The communist Tudeh Party that was accused by public opinion, of treason, had since some time before the Uprising of 15th of Khordad, actually moved out of the scenes in challenging the Shah. It had transferred its

organization to a point abroad, and was constantly entangled with inner party disputes while some of the heads of this party, after being arrested, rolled over to the Shah's side and advanced to highly sensitive posts within the organs of the Shah's regime. The Tudeh Party practices were direct and identical copies of the Moscow policies. In the last 25 years of the Shah's reign, the Kremlin's policy was to preserve relations with the Shah's regime and maintain the economic positions it had gained. The activities of the Tudeh Party in this period was confined to issuance of political statements and to having a radio station abroad, and these were utilized as a pressure lever by Moscow to advance the (former) Soviet Union's aims. The National Front, in spite of the position it had gained in the movement of oil nationalization after the Shah's coup d'etat of the 28 Mordad, was drawn into isolation and were encountered with schism and dispute. Scattered propaganda activities and the supporters of the National Front, were mainly limited to student groups abroad. The religious and university supporters of this front, in spite of the positions of their heads, sided with Imam Khomeini's uprising. The Iranian Liberty Movement, which enjoyed the support of such challenging personalities as Ayatollah Taleqani, supported the Uprising of the

15th of Khordad. The base of the Liberty Movement was confined to religious and university figures inside the university and abroad. It lacked the political organization necessary to enable it to organize the process of the challenge.

The Organization of People's Combatants or Mojahedin (hypocrites) was formed in the years 1344-46/1965-67, with the aim to do armed fighting against the Shah's regime. This organization was trapped in eclecticism because of the superficial understanding of Islam by its leaders, and although it declared itself an Islamic organization, it secretly taught its members Marxism as the science of economy.

Imam Khomeini declined to confirm this organization, when its ideological deviation had not been made public, and when the organization's delegate went to Najaf to request the Imam's support, His Holiness, restating their mental deviations, reiterated his non-support position.

The Khalq Fadai Guerrilla was another organization made up in 1350 by two smaller communist groups. This organization declared armed conflict as its policy. The forming of this group was due to the disillusionment and inferiority complex of the Iranian communists arising from the conditions of

the Tudeh Party and, its betrayals on the one hand, and the pioneering acts of clergy and Muslim figures in the 15th of Khordad Uprising, on the other.

Both organizations spent the first few years attracting some members and training them. Next, by undertaking several limited and scattered actions, they were identified by Savak and, with the arrest of their leaders, their organization collapsed. Except for a few of the responsible members of this organization who were executed, the rest wrote letters of repentance and committed themselves to cooperation with the Savak and thus saved their lives. Although Savak, from its humiliating television interviews with the members of this group, somewhat succeeded in confusing the public opinion about the real challengers, yet these interviews and the shocking confessions shown, revealed the ethical and religious deviations and the bloody in-group purges of this organization. While in prison, some of these elements were spying for the benefit of Savak. Victims of such spying were political prisoners who had faith in Imam Khomeini's movement.

In addition to the Islamic Coalition Group and the Islamic Nations Party, there were other Muslim challenging groups who took to armed conflict in support of Imam Khomeini's movement. Among

these, mention can be made of the Septempartite Groups who later entered into a united organization, and the group of the challenging clergyman Martyr Seyyed Ali Andarzgoo.[27]

In the years following the 15th of Khordad 1342 Uprising, another group by the name of Anjoman-e Hojjatiyeh (Hojjatiyeh Society) whose establishment record dates back to previous years, was also active. Activities of this group centered around intellectual opposition to Bahaism in Iran. Although on the surface, the objectives of this group conflicted with the aims of the Shah's regime, who supported the Bahais. Yet, it was not so in practice, because the nature of the organization of the Hojjatiyeh Society, and of its leaders demanded, as a pre-condition, non-interference in politics. This created favorable conditions for the regime, whereby a large number of zealous religious forces were deprived of challenging the essential cause of corruption, that is, the puppet monarchy, and became busy with the effect in a non-effective manner. For this reason, the Hojjatiyeh Society was able to expand its organization, without any trouble by Savak, and in some cases were even supported by Savak. Many members of this Society, following revelations by Imam Khomeini, especially on the eve of the victory of the Revolution, severed

their ties with the said society, and joined Imam's movement. The said society followed its opposition to Bahaism by means of educational and training courses while, in recent decades, both in Iran and abroad, Bahaism had come to be known as a political party affiliated with Israel, and under protection by the Zionists residing in the U.S. and naturally, a real challenge to them should be conducted via the same channel.

In the years following 1348, the series of lessons and lectures given by persons such as Professor Motahhari, Dr. Mofatteh, Dr. Bahonar, Mr. Bazargan and Dr. Ali Shariati had focused the attention of many religious intellectuals and university Muslim figures on the religious centers of Tehran, such as the Qoba Mosque, the Hedayat Mosque, the Towhid Center and especially the Hosseyniyeh-ye Ershad. Professor Motahhari, as an outstanding philosopher and jurisconsult (religious jurist) who, for years had received lessons and instructions from Imam Khomeini and after his migration to Tehran, from Allameh (savant) Tabatabai, devoted his main efforts to explaining the fundamentals of Islamic faith, in the language of the day, and to enlightening the young generation about the deviations of eclectic and atheistic schools. The efforts of Dr. Mofatteh and Dr.

Bahonar, as spiritual and scientific faces were along the same line. After the martyrdom of Professor Motahhari, his entire works were termed invariably useful, and his long and valuable services were adequately praised by Imam Khomeini.

The attractability of Dr. Ali Shariati's works at that time was, apart from his literary style of writing and diction, in the fact that as an educated intellectual, he viewed and presented the religious, historical and social accounts of the Iranian religious society, critically and radically. In those conditions, the young generation of Iranians was badly missing such arguments.

An impartial study of the recently published documents, letters and arguments exchanged between Dr. Shariati and the Savak, proved that the Savak, realizing Dr. Shariati's works; had prevented leftist, communistic tendencies from developing among the young generation. Imagining that his regular, vehement attacks on the traditionalist clergy of Iran,

provide grounds for casting disputes in the front of religious elements, Savak did not control his activities for several years. However, in 1352/1973, the Shah's Savak was compelled to close the Hosseyniyeh-ye Ersahad and arrest Dr. Shariati.

The letters and works of Professor Motahhari explaining the cause of his withdrawal from the Hosseyniyeh-ye Ershad activities, indicate that he was of the opinion that the sociocultural revolutions must be based on and followed by pure religious thought and the essentiality of Divine Revelation. Thus Professor Motahhari believed that, any novel work and revolutionary interpretation of religious issues not based on said fundamentals and, lacking in intellectual expertise and comprehension, are short-lived. And these, in the long run, will pave the way for eclecticism, and mixup of religious accounts with disharmonious and non-inspirational views, giving way to the admission of Western philosophoical and sociological views.

After the triumph of the Revolution, cardinal elements, pretending to defend Dr. Shariati, stayed vis-a-vis the clergy and the leadership of the Revolution. However, on the other side, many individuals who had leaned toward Islamic-political issues played parts among the defenders of the Islamic Revolution, a truism that cannot be denied, regardless of how their works be interpretend or judged. In view of the said reasons, differing judgments have been made of Dr. Shariati's role and personality. Some see him, to a practical extent, as having served the cultural objectives of the regime. Many others regard him as a Muslim revolutionary thinker and maintain, on the basis of his recent writings, that Dr. Shariati himself had declared the necessity of reediting his writings, and removing or deleting superficial and incorrect interpretations and statements. At any rate, Imam Khomeini's position in this connection was very wisely chosen, and lasted until his heavenly departure.

His Holiness, the Imam undertook, in many of his speeches and messages in those days, to defend the historical pioneering role of the Shiite clergy, and to support the great faces of the ulama and clergy, and he has responded to the doubts that had emerged. In his letters to the Muslim students associations in foreign lands, Imam Khomeini has

frequently warned them of superficial, non-expertise and unsound approaches to Islam. Meanwhile, the Imam had expressed his appreciation and praise for the services of enlightened Muslim scholars and had warned them against pseudo-clergy and followers of petrification. He deemed the posing issues that lead to disputes and factionalism, under any name, as detrimental to the Revolution.

□ *IMAM KHOMEINI AND THE PERPETUATION OF THE CHALLENGE, 1350-56/1971-77*

During the second half of 1350, the disputes between the Baathist regime of Iraq and the Shah climaxed, and ended in expulsion and homelessness of many Iranians residing in Iraq. In a cable to the President of Iraq, Imam Khomeini harshly condemned the action of the Iraqi regime. In protest to the emergent conditions, Imam Khomeini decided to leave Iraq, but the rulers of this country who were aware of what would happen if the Imam migrated, did not let him leave.

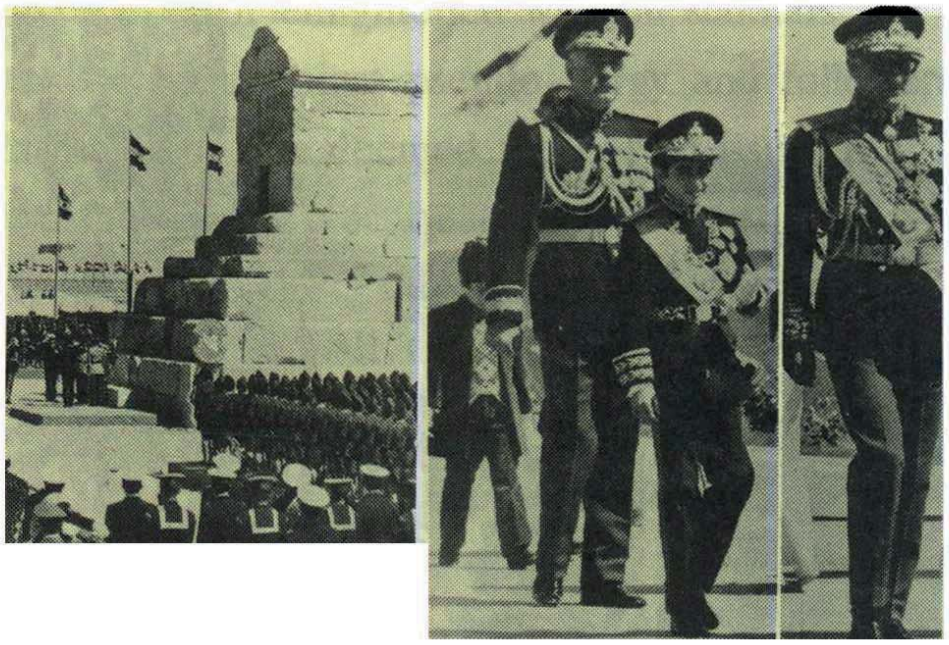
On the other hand, simultaneous with the increase in oil production and prices from 1350 on, the Shah felt stronger and so the suppression of the opposition was accelerated. The regime of Iran madly began to purchase American military equipment and

consumer goods; to build military bases in the country

for Americans; also to increase commercial and military ties with Israel. The legendary and unprecedented festival, celebrating the 2500-year[28] anniversary of Iranian monarchy, in the presence of many heads of states, and its enormous cost imposed on the nation, was a show of power and stability of

the Shah's regime.

In numerous messages, Imam Khomeini condemned the imposed celebrations, revealing the

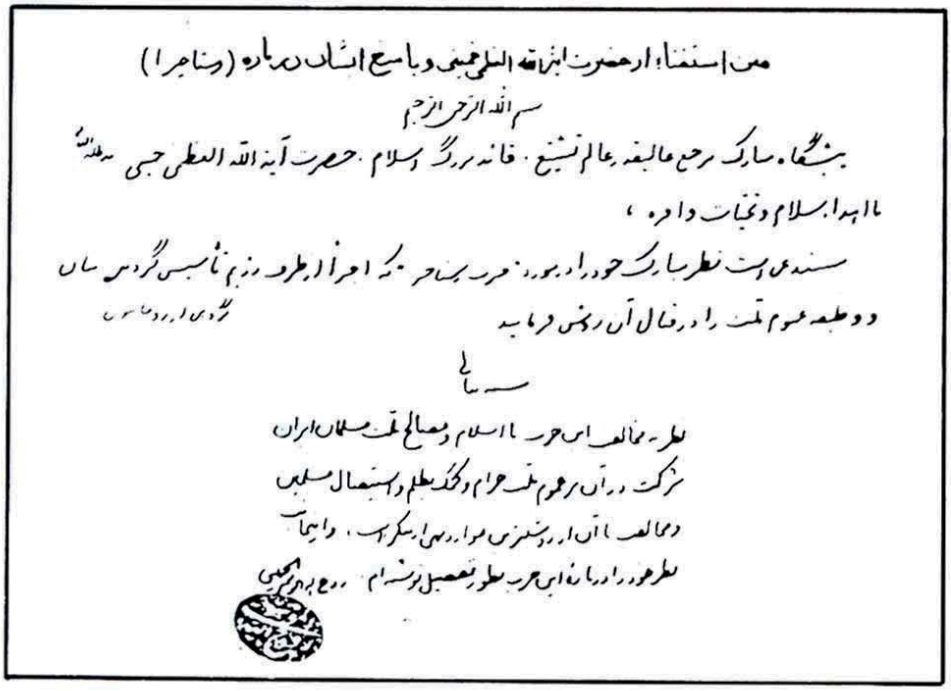


retardedness of the country and the bitter facts of life ruling over the Iranian society.

During the 4th Arab-Israeli war, while the Shah was considered as Israel's strong support, Imam Khomeini, in a message (Aban 1352/November 1973), urged the Iranian nation to rise against the aggression of the Zionist regime. In this message, it was decreed that moral and material aids by Muslim nations to Palestinian fighters are incumbent on all. Donating blood, medicine, arms and food staples was also decreed. In another message, Imam Khomeini emphasized: ***"The Islamic nation, will not have a cheerful and restful day until it can first uproot this***

corruption nucleus (Israel), and Iran will not have a day of liberty as long as this disgraceful dynasty (Pahlavi) remains in power."

By the end of Esfand 1353, the Shah, by forming his Royal Court party, the Rastakhiz, and setting up a one-party system, heightened his autocracy and proclaimed on a T.V. broadcast, that

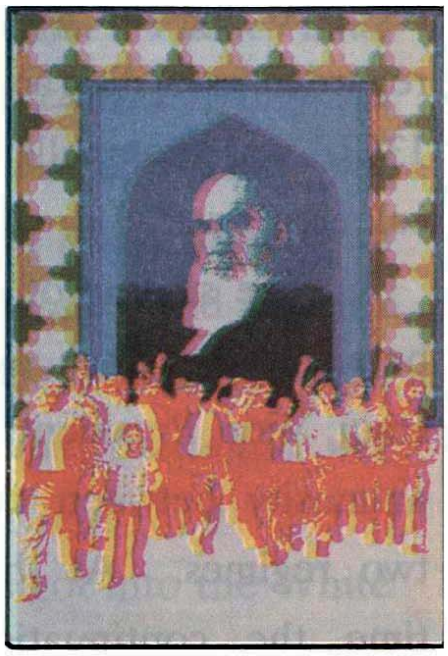


the entire nation must become members of this party, and those opposed may get their passport and leave the country. In a fatwa, Imam Khomeini immediately declared: ***"In view of the opposition of this Party to Islam and to the interests of the Islamic nation of Iran, participation in it means giving aid to cruelty and oppression of the Muslims and is hereby interdicted on the entire nation, and opposition to it is one of the most***

evident instances of interdicting the evil." Imam Khomeini's decree and that of other ulama of Islam were effective. Several years later, the Shah's regime, in spite of massive propaganda, formally declared the defeat of the Rastakhiz Party and dissolved the party. In that same message, Imam Khomeini had written: "***Here, in this corner of isolation, I am suffering by the woeful conditions of the Iranian nation. How good it would have been, if I could be with them under these sensitive circumstances, and cooperate in their holy challenges to save Islam and Iran!***"

On the anniversary of the 15th of Khordad in 1354, the Qom Feyiziyeh School was once again witnessing the uprising of the revolutionary students-clergy. The cries of "Praise unto Khomeini and death to the Pahlavi dynasty", continued for two days. The guerrilla or partisan organizations had already been disbanded and the challenging religious and political personalities were prisoned by the regime. This revolutionary move cost the Shah and his Savak dearly. Police agents laid siege to Feyziyeh School and, in a cruel attack beat up the students-clergy and arrested all protestors and sent them to jail. On this occasion, Imam Khomeini gave glad tidings: "In spite of all calamities, the wakefulness of the Iranian nation inspires hope. The opposition

of the universities everywhere in the country, as acknowledged by the Shah, the opposition of the grand ulama, of the student class and of the various strata of our population, all make up a herald to our liberty and riddance from the bonds of colonialism.



In a message dated 2 Mehr 1354, Imam wrote to the Annual Congress of the Islamic Societies of the U.S.A. and Canada: "***What gives me hope toward the end of my life, is this wakefulness and alertness of the young generation, and the movement of the intellectuals, which is rapidly growing and, God willing, will result in severing the hands of the foreigners and expanding Islamic justice.***"

In Esfand 1354/February 1975, the Shah, in continuation of his anti-religious policy, shamefully changed the official calendar of the country from its base, the migration of the Holy Prophet (Hejira), to the start of the Achaemenian reign. In a sharp and vehement reaction, Imam Khomeini interdicted the use of the baseless calendar year of Achaemenid. Like

the ban on the Rastakhiz Party, the ban by Imam Khomeini on the use of this calendar, was well received by the people and both incidents were regarded as a disgrace for the Shah's regime who, in 1357, was compelled to cancel the Shahanshahi calendar date.

The signing of the Algeria Agreement in 1975 between the Shah and Saddam Hussein (the then Iraqi Vice President), put a temporary end to the animosity between the two regimes. At that time the continuation of the tensions between Baghdad and Tehran was considered harmful to the stability that the U.S.A desired in the Persian Gulf.

Therefore, an accord was gained by the intercession of the Algerian President and Anwar Sadat, the Shah's close friend. Friendship between the rulers of Baghdad and Tehran, meant harder conditions in the path of Imam Khomeini's challenge, but none of these obstacles could dissuade the Imam from the jihad he had undertaken. About this time, the Iranian ambassador

in Baghdad, had written to government authorities in Tehran: "***Ayatollah Khomeini is not sitting idle in Iraq, and severely acts against the regime. Please issue instructions so that our task can be cleared.***" Angry at this, the Shah had written: "***I said several times, 'put out this voice!'***" Little did the Shah know that divine destiny had designed a different mission and fate for Imam Khomeini. *(The infidel seek to extinguish the light of Allah with their false words, but Allah will maintain His perfect light.)*[29]

In 1355/1976, the Democrats got into the White House. The Shah's financial assistance to the Republicans had not helped them in the elections. Jimmy Carter had won using the mottoes of the human rights and reduction of arms export. These mottoes and slogans were meant to prevent development of anti-American sentiments in countries like Iran, and to provide cover for the economic depression within the U.S. and to place more pressure on (former) Soviet Union for ceding concessions in nuclear arms control (SALT) negotiations. In the wake of the policies of the American Democrat Party, the Shah declared the "open political atmosphere in Iran" and effected surface changes, shifting several key position holders. American policies with respect to Iran, drawn up by U.S. Deparment of Foreign

Affairs and the CIA, and sent to American Embassy in Tehran, were later published with the collection of documents in the U.S. spy den, indicate that no change was made in the all-inclusive American support procedure for the Shah. As before, the Democrats considered the Shah the essential element for protection of American interests in the Persian Gulf area and for this reason Iran was exempted from limitation on American arms export. Carter's and his wife's trip to Tehran, and his words on the White House's unconditional support of the Shah indicated that the "Open Political Atmosphere" was only a transient show.

□ *CLIMAX OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION AND PEOPLE'S UPRISING, 1356/1977*

Imam Khomeini, closely observing the current changes in the world, including Iran, made the best use of the opportunity that was presented. In Mordad 1356/August 1977, he announced in a message: ***"The***

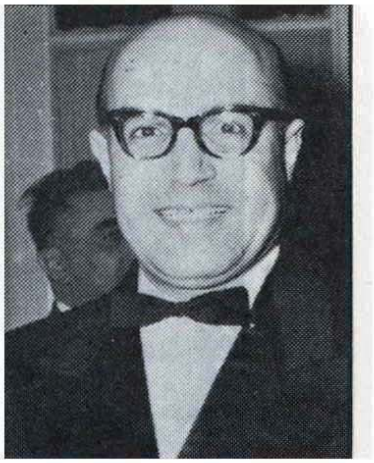
internal and external conditions and the reflection of the crimes of the regime in foreign press and circles, have presented an opportunity that must be utilized at once by the academic and cultural societies, by patriots and students, both at home and abroad, and by Islamic associations, to rise to the task at hand." This message further states: "***Ignoring the rights of several hundred millions of Muslims, and appointing a number of***

ruffians to rule over them, and allowing the illegitimate Iranian regime and the puppet Israeli government, to usurp the rights of the Muslims, destroy their liberties, and perform medieval treatment, all this are crimes that will go down, fully registered, in the records of American presidents."

The martyrdom of Ayatollah Hajj Aqa Mostafa Khomeini[30] on 1 Aban 1356, and the gala ceremonies

arranged in Iran, was a starting point for renewed uprising by the theological assemblies, and the rise of the Iranian religious society. In a wonderous manner, Imam Khomeini, had termed this event, at that time, "a divine blessing in disguise". The Shah's regime took revenge, by publishing an insulting article in the Ettelaat Newspaper.

Protests to this article resulted in the 19 Dey 1356/9 January 1977 Qom uprising, in which a number of revolutionary or students-clergy were butchered. Again, the uprising started in Qom, and in a very short time, and in conditions quite different from those of the 15th of Khordad 1342 Uprising, and it became the common thing all over the country. The 3rd-, 7th-, and 40th-day mourning ceremonies, honoring the martyrs of this recent uprising, generated repeated uprisings in the cities of Tabriz, Yazd, Jahrom, Shiraz, Esfahan and Tehran. During this period, the Imam's messages and recorded tapes of his speeches--in which he urged the people to keep up the fight until the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of an Islamic government--were reproduced and distributed by his supporters everywhere in the country. The Shah, in spite of mass killings, could not put out the lighted flames. The political maneuvers and ruses of the Shah were

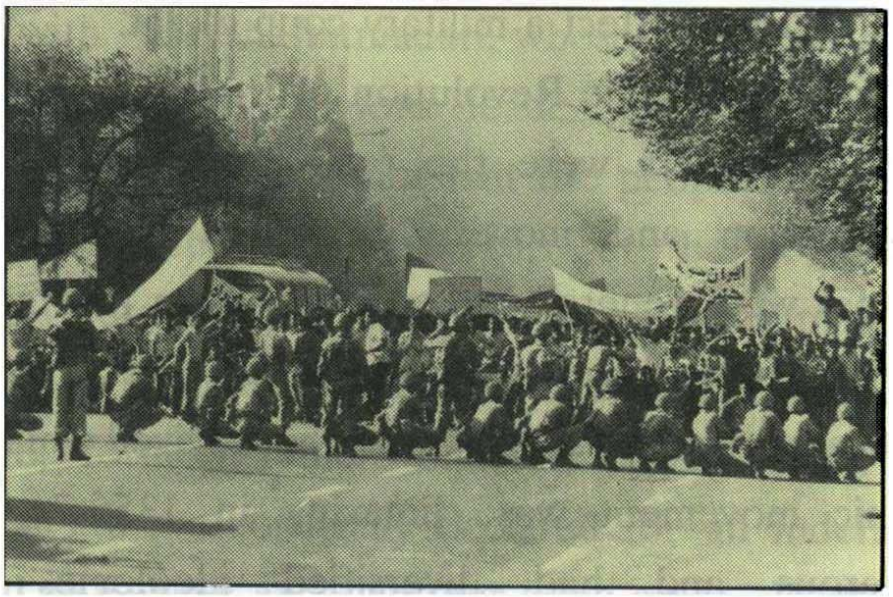


neutralized, before they could affect the people's anger, by the revealing statements of the Imam and his instructions as how to carry on the challenge. Replacement of Hoveyda, the Prime Minister for 13 years, by a Westernized technocrat, Jamshid Amoozegar, did neither help solve any problem nor diminish the crises. Ja'far Sharif-Emami, a precurser of the freemasonry colonial movement in Iran, came

to power with the slogan of "National Reconciliation Government." His deceptive moves and his talks in Qom with Aqa Shariatmadari, whose name was again mentioned as a religious leader amid the recent changes in Iran, could not halt the people's fight. It was during Sharif-Emami's turn at the helm that ruthless butchering of innocent people took place by the military forces at Meydan-e Shohada (Martyrs' Square, formerly Jaleh Square) on 17 Shahrivar. Martial law was officially declared for an indefinite period in Tehran and 11 other large cities. However, receiving the Imam's instructions, people refused to heed the martial law rules and extended their day-and-night demonstrations. Cries of *Takbir*, i.e. *Allah-o-Akbar*, "God is Great", "Down with the Shah" and "Greeting to Khomeini" were heard at all hours, and with them, the sounds of manchine-gun volleys from all lanes and alleys.

From the start, Imam Khomeini led his movement on the basis of the holy verse: "***Surely God does not alter what concerns a folk unless they alter their innermost selves.***"[31] The Imam emphasized the priority of the cultural revolution, to be followed by social changes and revolution by the people. He also deemed useless the parliamentary and party challenges and armed conflict in those days, without support of the people. He regarded military mobilization and armed jihad as the last resort should the U.S. try to effect a military coup d'etat.

In the Islamic Revolution of Iran, mosques and religious centers were the real bases for people's congregation and moves. People's slogans and mottoes were generally taken from Imam Khomeini's religious instructions and guidance. The Iranian political parties and associations that revived while the Islamic movement was climaxing in 1356-7, were numerous and had diversified ideologies and tendencies, and were hard-pressed in the number of their supporters and followers. Because of all these factors, those parties were never recognized as effective currents in deciding or changing the course of the challenges of the Iranian nation, and perforce had to follow the very widespread and hasty moves of the people. Also, at this time, there were active

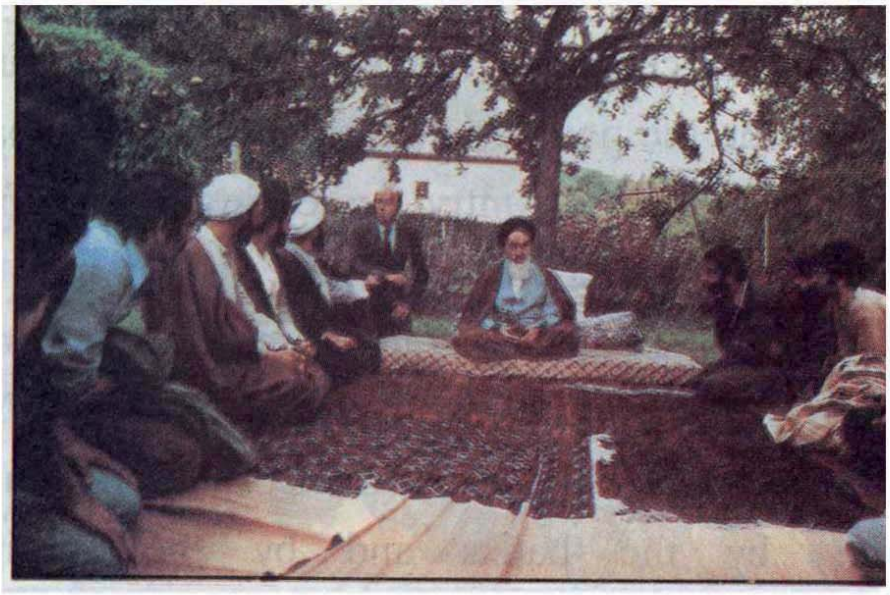


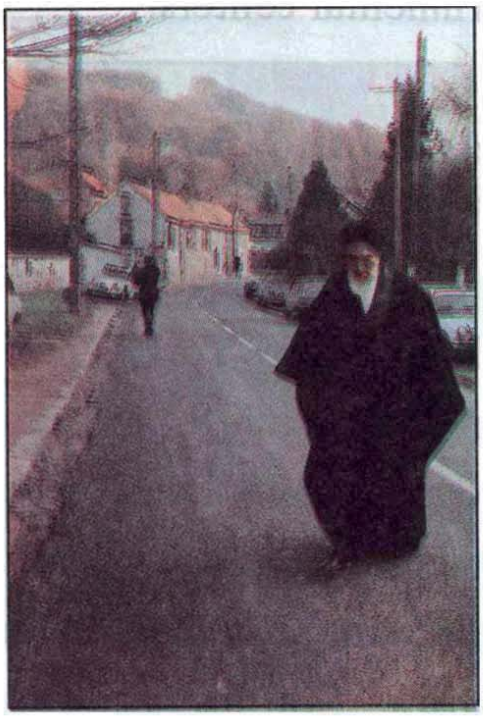
organized and armed groups of people who had Islamic objectives, and believed in Imam Khomeini's path and whose armed moves were recognized not as an independent challenging process, but as supporting and enhancing moves for the recent uprising of the nation.

Of the successful ways of Imam Khomeini in advancing the challenge against the Shah's regime, was to call on the people to go on strikes and expand such strikes. Cross-country strikes in the last final months of the Shah's regime were drawn into the organs of the regime: to governmental ministries, administrative departments and military centers. Final blows were meted out by the strikes of the oil industry workers, by the banks and by the sensitive governmental centers.

□ *IMAM KHOMEINI'S MIGRATION FROM IRAQ TO PARIS*

At a meeting of the foreign ministers of Iran and Iraq in New York, a decision was made to deport Imam Khomeini from Iraq. On 2 Mehr 1357/24 September 1978, Iraqi troops laid siege to Imam Khomeini's house in Najaf. The news of the siege angered the Muslims In Iran, Iraq and in other countries. In his visit to Imam Khomeini, Iraqi security chief, had indicated that if Imam wished to stay in Iraq he must give up his challenge and politics, and the Imam had strongly replied that, due to the responsibility he felt for the Muslim ummat, he was not willing to remain quiet nor was he willing to make a compromise.





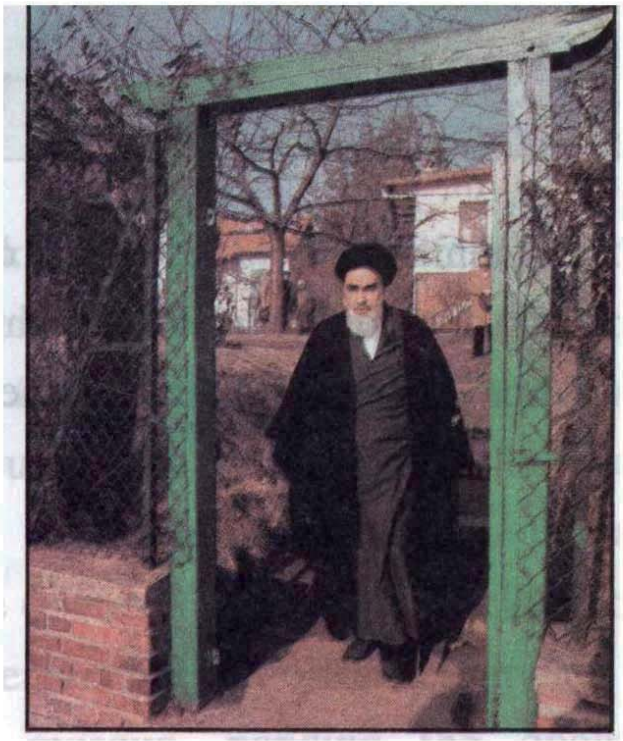
On 12 Mehr, Imam Khomeini left Najaf for the border of Kuwait. The government of Kuwait did not let the Imam in on a hint by the Iranian regime. Previously, there was talk of Imam's departure for Lebanon or Syria. However, after consulting his son (Hojjatol-Eslam Hajj Seyyed Ahmad Khomeini), the Imam decided to migrate to France and on 14 Mehr, he entered Paris and two days later, he was stationed in the house of an Iranian, in Neauphle-le Château (a suburb of

Paris). Officials of the Palais de l'Elysée apprised the Imam of the views of the French President, that the Imam must not indulge in politics. The Imam's sharp reaction and answer was that such limitation contradicts the France's claim to democracy, and that he would rather, commute between airports, from one country to another than give up his objective. Giscard d'Estaing, the then French President, has expressed in his memoirs that he had issued order that the Imam be expelled from France, but at the last moment the diplomatic delegates of the Shah, who were despondent in those days, advised Giscard d'Estaing of the danger of a vehement and uncontrollable reaction by the people, and had declared themselves exempt from the repercussions of such reaction, in Europe and in Iran.

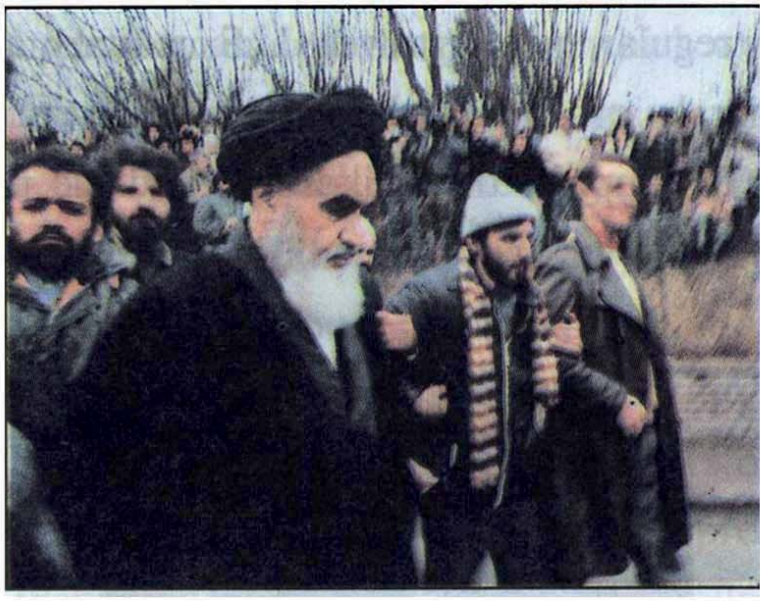
During the four-month stay of Imam Khomeini in Paris, Neauphle-le Château was the most important news center in the world. Imam Khomeini's various interviews and his visits revealed to the world, his views of Islamic government, and the future aims of his movement. Thus a larger number of people of the world became familiar with the Imam's thought and his uprising, and it was from this stage and station that he guided the most critical period of the movement in Iran.

The Sharif-Emami's government lasted no more than two months. The Shah bestowed chairmanship of the cabinet to Az-hari's military government. Killings were accelerated, though they did not effect the people's uprising. The desperate Shah asked the American and British embassies for a solution but none of their former plans had been useful. Multi-million-man demonstrations, which were termed "people's informal referendum against the Shah's monarchy", were held on the days of Tasooa and Ashoora (9th & 10th of Moharram), in Tehran and other cities. Shapoor Bakhtiar, a National Front topman was the U.S.'s last dice to be introduced to the Shah as the Prime Minister. Leaders of the four industrial nations at Guadalupe had expressed their joint views in support of Bakhtiar. Following this, General Huyser, Deputy Commander of NATO, made a trip to Iran on a secret mission for two months. He later revealed in his confessions, that his mission was to secure the support of the military forces for Bakhtiar, to organize his government, break up the strikes and prepare a coup d'etat for returning the Shah to power--similar to what had happened on 28 Mordad 1332. But, Imam Khomeini's messages about the necessity to continue the fights, made all Huyser's plans fall through. In Dey 1357/December

1978, Imam Khomeini established the Revolutionary Council. The Shah fled the country on 26 Dey, two days after calling to meeting the Council of Monarchy and obtaining vote of confidence for Bakhtiar's cabinet. News of the Shah's departure delighted the people in Tehran, and then all over the country people poured out in the streets, singing and dancing. Huyser's regular meetings with U.S. military advisors and generals of the Shah's army, could not help Bakhtiar to suppress the strikes and end the people's uprising.



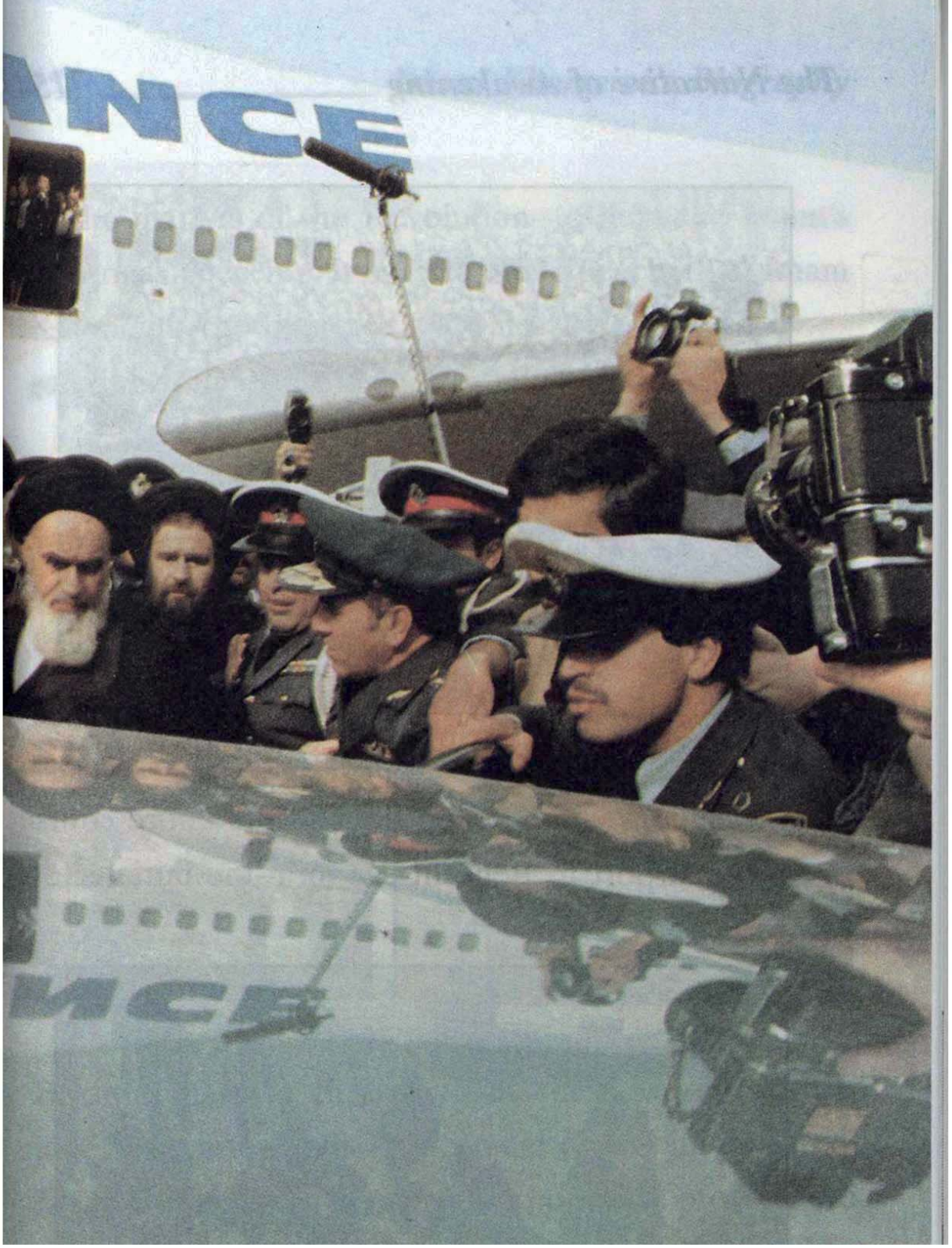
□ *IMAM KHOMEINI'S RETURN TO IRAN AFTER 14 YEARS IN EXILE*



Early in Bahman 1357, the news concerning Imam Khomeini's decision to return to the country, was spread. Whoever heard this news, shed tears of

joy. The people had been waiting for 14 years. However, the people, including the friends of the Imam were worried about his life, for the Shah's puppet government was still in power, and martial law still in force. Therefore, the Imam's friends suggested the postponement of his return until conditions were secured. On the other hand, the Imam's presence in those conditions among a multi-million congregation of risen people, in the U.S.'s view, meant the certain end of the Shah's reign. Various actions such as a threat of sabotaging the aircraft or a coup attempt were voiced to make the Imam postpone his return. Even the French President had interceded. But, Imam Khomeini had already made his decision and had told the Iranian people through a message, that he wished to be among them in those grave and destiny-making days. The Bakhtiar government, in coordination with General Huyser, closed all airports to foreign flights. A huge crowd from all over the country poured into Tehran and millions of people took part in the demonstrations, demanding that airports be opened. A number of clergymen and political personalities took sanctuary in the Tehran University mosque, pending the opening of the airports. After several days, the Bakhtiar government, being unable to resist, accepted the people's demand.

Finally, in the morning of 12 Bahman 1357/1 February 1978, Imam Khomeini arrived in his homeland after 14 years of exile. The unprecedented

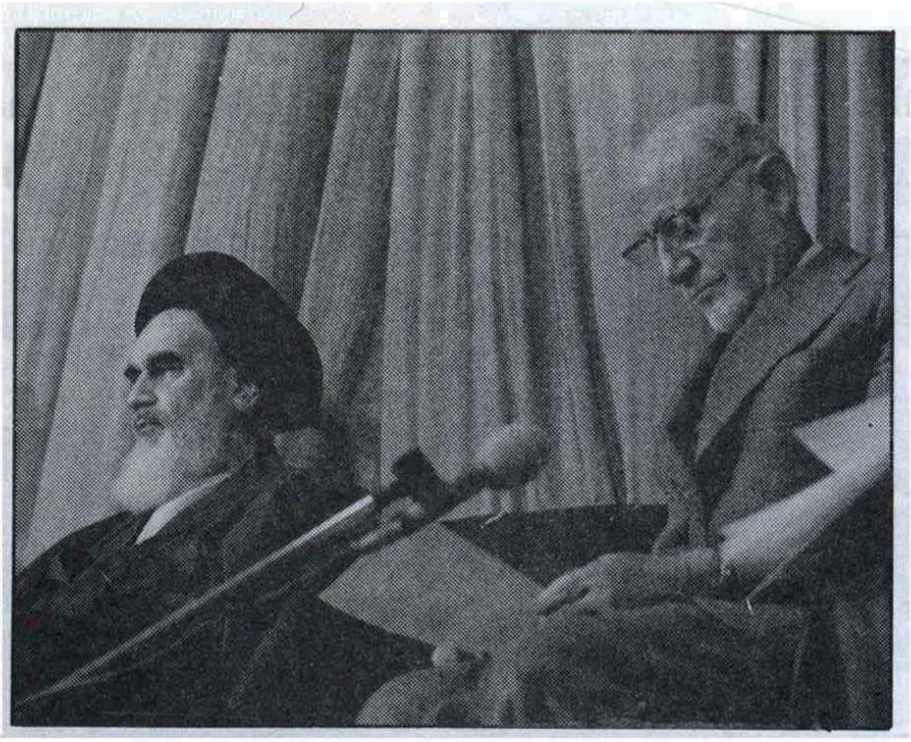


that the Western news agencies, too, had to confess to it and estimate the number of welcomers between

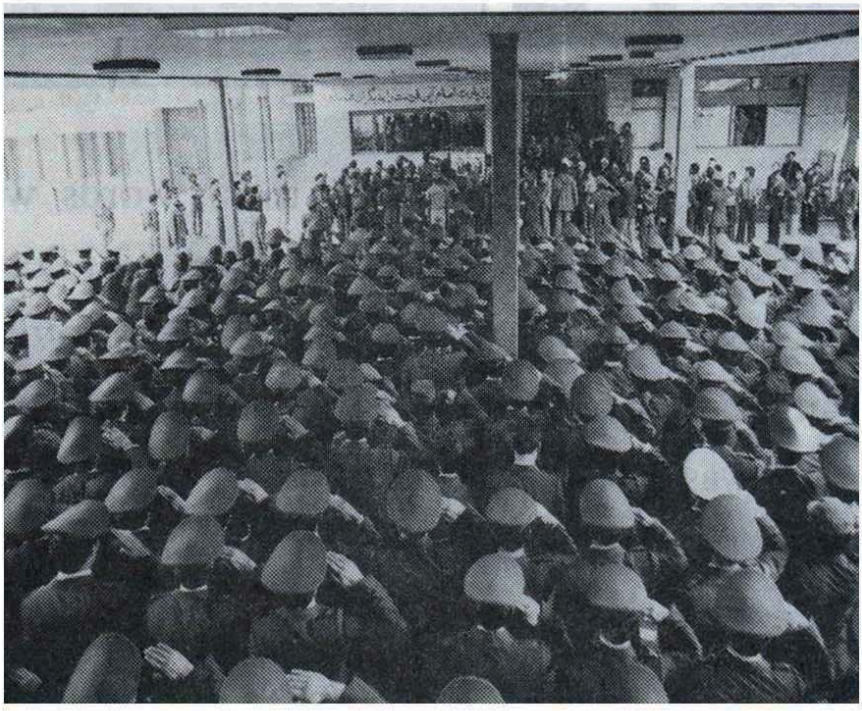
4 to 6 millions. Population flooded the entire course from the airport to Behesht-e-Zahra--the burial site

of the martyrs of the Revolution--to hear the Imam's historical speech. It was in this speech that Imam Khomeini rose his voice and said: "***I designate a government by the support of this nation!***" Shapoor

Bakhtiar had, at first, thought these words were a joke. But a few days later, Imam Khomeini declared Mr. M. Bazargan as premier of the protempore Revolutionary Government (16 Bahman 1357). Mr. Bazargan was a religious man with a record of challenge against the Shah's regime. In the movement for nationalization of the oil industry, he was involved and had gained experience. He was recommended by the Revolutionary Council for the post of Prime Minister. In his appointment decree,



Imam Khomeini had specified that Mr. Bazargan was made Prime Minister without regard to party politics, so as to make preliminary arrangements for the

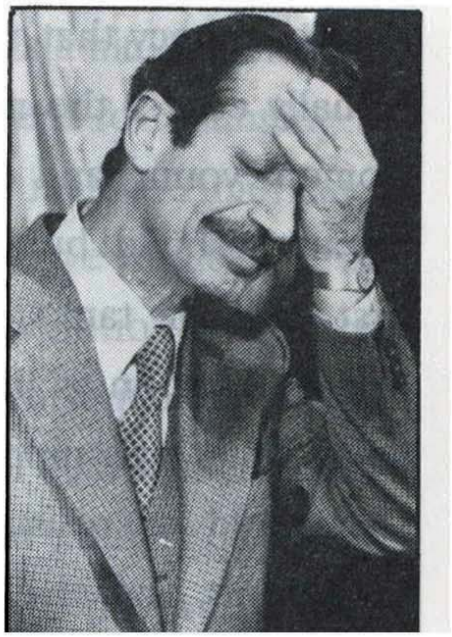


referendum and elections. His Holiness, the Imam asked the people of Iran to express their opinion about his choice. People all over the country rose and demonstrated their support about the decision of the Imam. Political groups and parties, whose heads and small number of members were freed from the regime's prisons in several stages by the blessings of the people's revolution were, at the threshold of the nation's victory, voicing their heirdom to the revolution and demanding additional portions. It was in these days that lining up against the Islamic Revolution, in a spectrum of those attached to Shah's regime, members of Savak, Communists and people's Mojahedin (Monafeqin/hypocrites) was started.

□ *OVERTHROW OF THE MONARCHICAL SYSTEM AND TRIUMPH OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION (THE YOWMOLLAH, GOD'S DAY) (22 BAHMAN/2 FEBRUARY)*

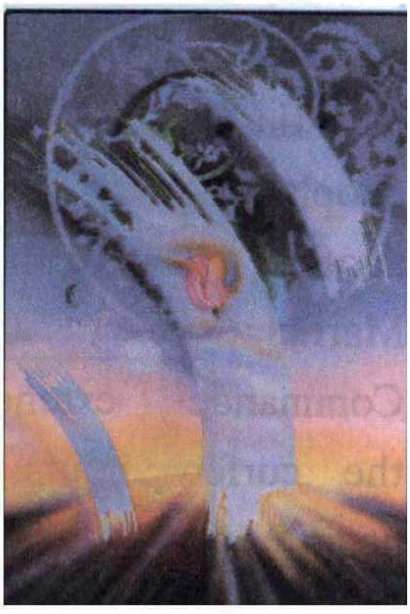
On 19 Bahman 1357, Air Force personnel swore allegiance to the Imam at his residence (the

Alavi School in Tehran). Shah's army was on the verge of total collapse. Many faithful soldiers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) had already deserted their military bases by the decree of Imam Khomeini, and had joined the people's ranks.



On 20 Bahman, the "Homafaran" rose up at the most important air base in Tehran. Royal Guard was dispatched to suppress them. The people entered the arena in support of the revolutionary forces. On 21 Bahman, police stations and government centers fell into the hands of the people, one after another. The Tehran Martial Law Commander, extended the curfew hours to begin at 4 P.M. Bakhtiar called a

Security Council meeting, and issued the firman of the coup d'etat, arranged by Huyser to take place. Meanwhile, Imam Khomeini, in a message, asked the people of Tehran to dash into the streets, to prevent the conspiracy that was about to take place, and to actually cancel the martial law. A flood of men, and women, young and old, poured into the streets and began to build bunkers. The people disbanded the first row of tanks and detachments of motorized brigade as soon as they moved from their bases. The coup d'etat was nipped in the bud. And so, the last stronghold of resistance of the Shah's regime was broken up, and at dawn of 22 Bahman, the radiating sun of victory of Imam Khomeini's movement and the Islamic Revolution dawned and the end of the long-standing system of oppressive monarchy was declared.



□ *FORMATION OF THE ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT AND THE COLONIALISTIC GOVERNMENTS' CONFRONTATIONAL ATTITUDE*

The materialization of Imam Khomeini's promises, and the triumph of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, was not a mere internal event for changing a political system. Rather, as many American, European and Israeli statesmen have indicated in their momoirs of those days, the Revolution was, from their points of view, a devastating earthquake for the Western world. Not only did the U.S. lose a most favorable geographic, economic and military position in one of the most sensitive areas of the world that has long borderlines with its rival (Soviet government), but the waves of this great outburst severely shook and demoralized the West-affiliated regimes in the Islamic and Arab lands. The essential message of the Islamic Revolution had a cultural nature, and was based on religious thought and moral values. The victory of the Islamic Revolution meant dessimination and promotion of its message and values, and the setting off of a wave of liberating moves in the Islamic and Third World countries. Simultaneous with Iran situation, the U.S.-dependent regime of Nicaragua collapsed. In Afghanistan, the Soviet government was obliged to effect a bloody

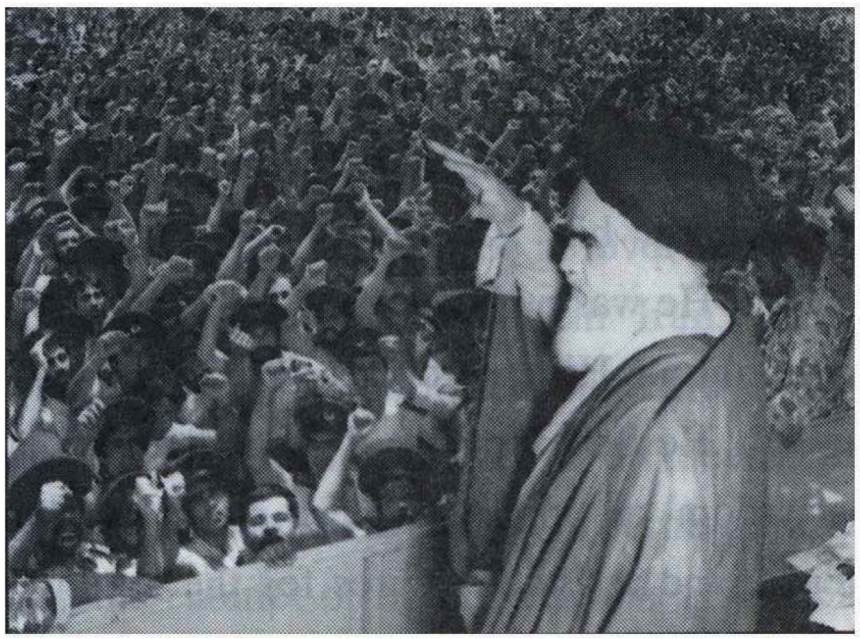
coup d'etat, military expedition and occupation of the country in order to thwart the Islamic move. Peoples of Lebanon and Palestine celebrated the victory of the Iranian Revolution and reactivated their jihad on lines inspired by the Islamic Revolution. Islamic movements were revived in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

After World War II, a cruel and unfair order imposed its rule on the world. The various areas of the world were divided between the two prevailing powers of the East and West, and NATO and Warsaw military organizations were protectors of this new order. No movement and reform could be realized in the Third World, outside this framework, and without attachment to either one of the two superpower poles. Now a revolution had occurred in the contemporary world, and had triumphed in the secured zone of the West, while this revolution's basic motto was: "Neither East Nor West." The Imam's movement in Iran, directly challenged the American imperialism and imposed defeat on it. This reality disarmed the Communists in their anti-imperialism claims. For the first time in modern era, religion was posed as a move-producing factor at the expanse of the challenges of nations.

In spite of all incredibilities and the efforts

which were made on international levels to preserve the Shah's regime and prevent the success of Imam Khomeini, the Islamic Revolution triumphed in its early fights, and it seemed more of a miracle than an ordinary change. Except for the Imam and innumerable people who, apart from common analysis, believed whole-heartedly in the words and promises of the Imam, all political analysts and all those who were involved in the events and happenings of Iran, thought the victory of the revolution, even in the last days of the life of the Shah's regime, would be impossible.

And, so it was, that from early morning of 22 Bahman 1357, animosity toward the newly-established Islamic System was set off on a wide scale. The opposition front, led by the U.S. and the British and



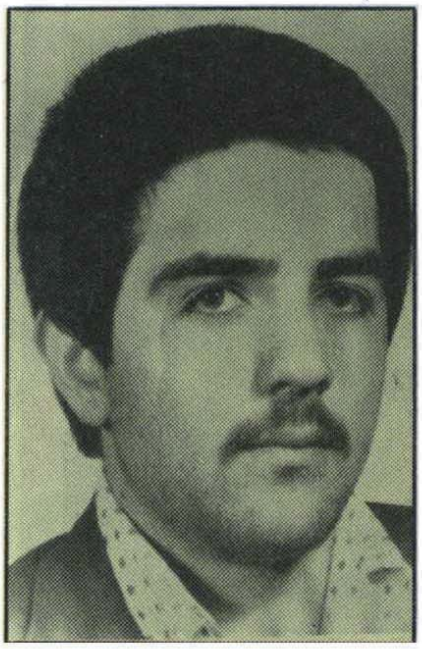
several European governments and all regimes attached to the West, were active participants. The (former) Soviet Union and its satellites, displeased with what had happened in Iran that had resulted in the sovereignty of religion, sided with and supported Americans in their hostilities. Outstanding examples of this unified opposition can be seen in the union of the left and right anti-revolutionary forces inside the country. Documented evidence of their association with the USSR and USA embassies were later revealed. More evident than that, was the full coordination of both of these countries in arming Saddam and supporting him in his war against Iran. However, Imam Khomeini advanced with the logic he had used years before, during his solitary period, to start his movement. He was now using the same logic to guide the Revolution. His motto was: ***"The blood wins over the sword."*** He believed that if a community believes in martyrdom as man's highest stage of spiritual excellence, and resists pressures for the sake of God,

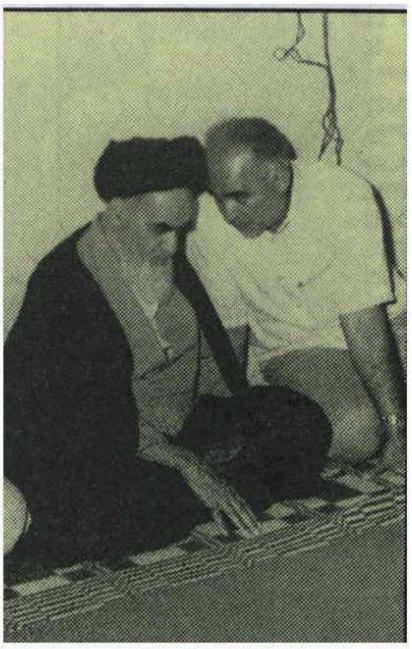
he will surely succeed. Imam Khomeini meant to present to the world an example of building a country with an advanced and healthy Islamic society by mobilizing the entire nation. The jihad of the nation began under the name of jihad-e-sazandegi (jihad for reconstruction). Thousands of specialists and revolutionary forces poured into the deprived areas of the country, and executive operations for building roads, health centers, and water and power supply stations began on large scale. However, in a few days, the waves of alien intrigues and pressures heightened. The U.S. was trying, by use of its fifth column, to entangle the Islamic System in internal problems, and by fanning disputes, to provide an opportunity for its overthrow.

Rossi, with pistol, after Genoa murder (1971)

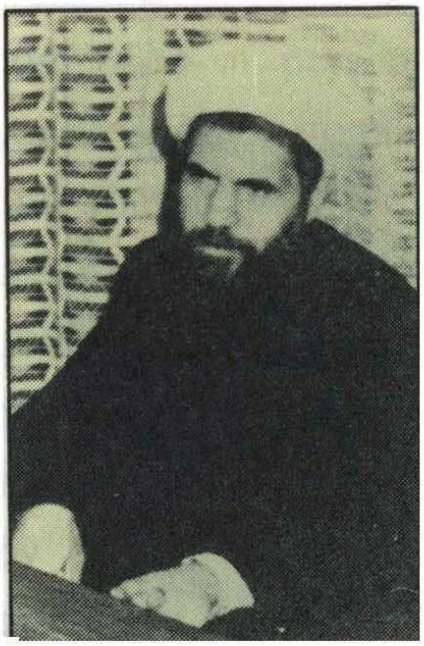
The American Embassy in Iran, was actively trying to gain a foothold in the protempore government for its future moves by means of certain elements. They had succeeded in some instances. The provisional cabinet of Mr. Bazargan's government was

composed of persons, the majority of whom were conservative nationalists. They were unable to digest and comprehend the conditions and requirements of the revolution nor to understand the expedient guidance of Imam Khomeini. The infirmity of the provisional government and its spirit of condescension made the anti-Revolutionary groups quickly organize by use of foreign aids, and begin to create disturbances in Gonbad, Kordestan and other areas. The Iraq's Baathist regime, frightened by the victory of the Islamic Revolution much more than other Arab regimes, began mobilizing anti-revolutionary Kordestan. The U.S. Embassy, and Soviets, by aid of Savakis and remnant members of the Shah's regime, instigated communistic groups, and Mojahedin-e Khalq (hypocrites) to take molesting measures against the Revolution. The terrorist Forqan group assassinated Allameh (savant) Morteza Motahhari on 12 Ordibehesht 1358; Ayatollah Qazi Tabatabai on 10 Aban 1358; Dr. Mohammad

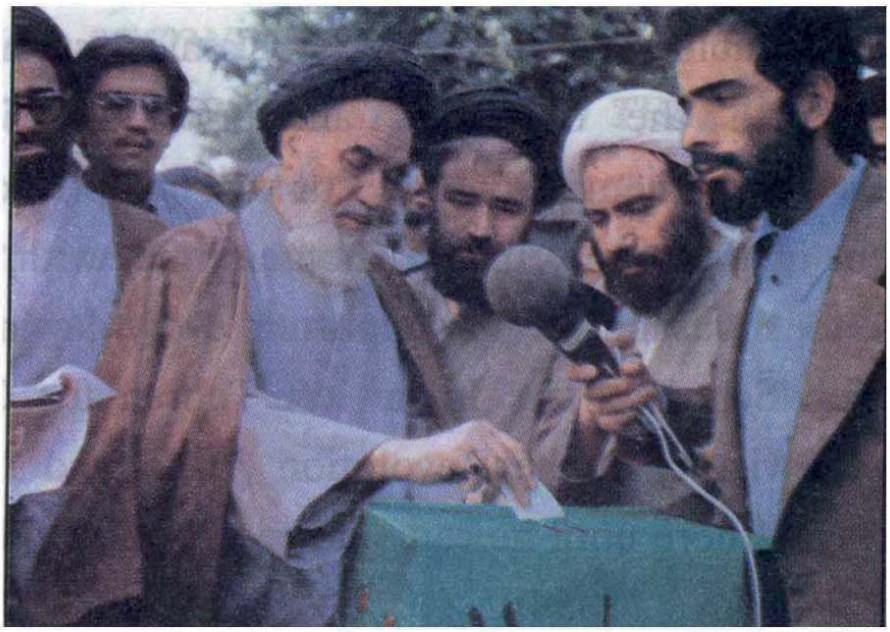




Mofatteh on 28 Azar 1358; Hajj Mehdi Araqi and his son on 4 Shahrivar 1358, and General Qarani--Chief of Army Staff--on 3 Ordibehesht 1358. The group failed in its attempt on the lives of Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Mr. Moosavi Ardebili. Imam Khomeini, aware of the intrigues behind the scene, was of the opinion that anti-Revolutionary groups be forcefully confronted with and suppressed in Kordestan. But the provisional government with its useless negotiations in Kordestan and lenient conduct with seditious groups, lost all opportunities, and thus prepared grounds for further seditious acts. On the other hand, the inherited economy was entirely dependent on the national wealth, that is, oil revenue. Aware of this, U.S. and Europe, with aid from Saudi Arabia and its allies in the OPEC, gradually reduced



oil prices several times, and disrupted Iran's oil market considerably. In spite of all such difficulties, Imam Khomeini was not willing to compromise, or even take a single step backwards. Rather, by formation of revolutionary institutions, the Imam remedied the weakness of the provisional government and took other measures to guarantee the continuation of the Revolution. The Iranian people stood firm in the arena of the Revolution. Two months had hardly passed when



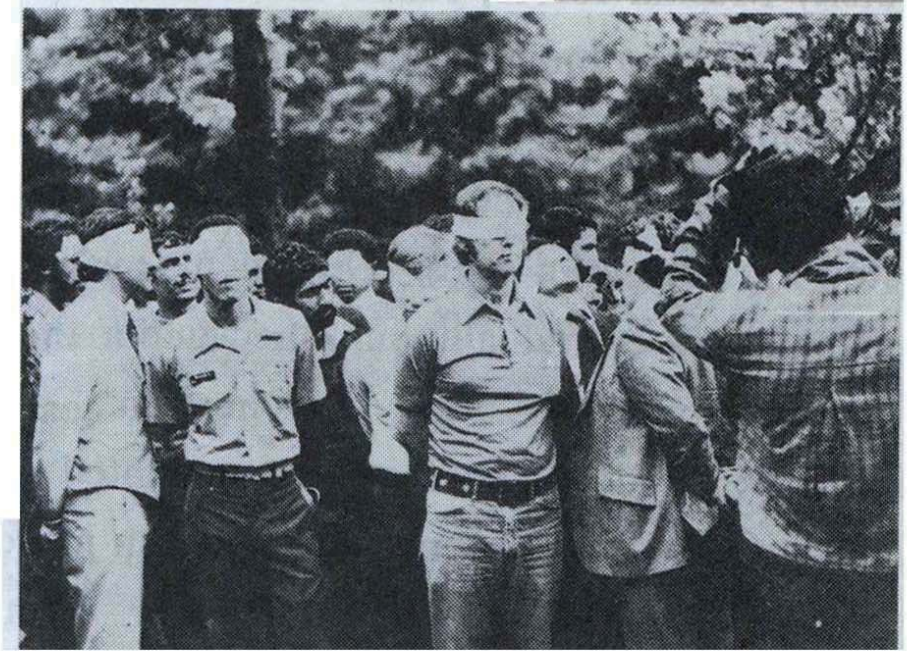
98.2% of the voters in the referendum held on 12 Farvardin 1358--one of the most liberal elections in the history of Iran--voted for the establishment of the Islamic Republic System. Following this, other elections were held for the writing and approval of the Constitution and for electing representatives to the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

To stablize the organs of the Islamic System and to set forth the objectives and priorities of the Islamic government and to encourage people to be present in the arena, Imam Khomeini met with, and spoke to, thousands of his supporters every day in the Feyziyeh School. The Imam left Tehran for Qom after the victory of the Revolution (10 Esfand 1357) and stayed there until he came down with heart illness (2 Bahman 1358).

Following 39 days of treatment at the Tehran Heart Hospital, His Holiness, the Imam temporarily lodged in a house in the Darband suburb of Tehran and then, in Ordibehesht 1359, he moved, on his own volition, to a small house belonging to a clergyman by the name of Hojjatol Eslam Seyyed Mehdi Emam-Jamarani in the borough of Jamaran where he lived until his heavenly departure.

□ *THE SECOND REVOLUTION: THE TAKE-OVER OF THE AMERICAN SPY DEN IN TEHRAN*

Successful elections and extensive participation of Iranian people made U.S.A. give up the hope of an imminent fall of the Islamic regime, the news of which

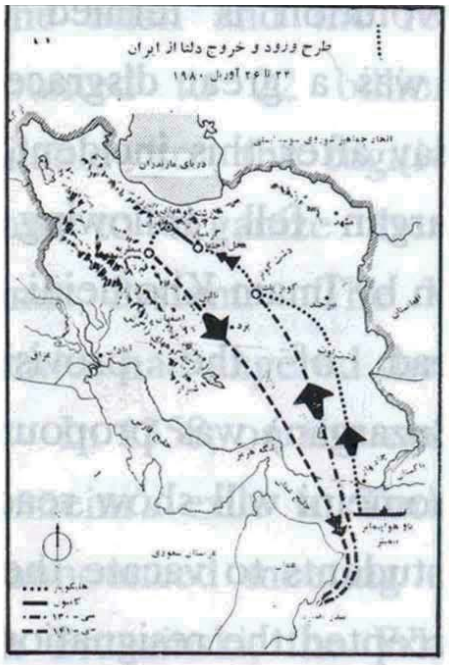


was regularly voiced from Western mass media and in statements by internal anti-revolution agents. The U.S. and Europe not only ignored the lawful demand of the Iranian nation and government for expatriation of the Shah and the return of blocked assets that amounted to 22 billion dollars, but they made available to the fugitives of the regime, extensive means to organize themselves abroad against the Islamic System. The White House intrigues and enmities had angered the Iranian nation.

In 1358, on the eve of the anniversary of Imam Khomeini's exile to Turkey (13 Aban), news of the un-announced meeting of Mr. Bazargan in Algeria with Brzezinski, the White House national security advisor, reached Iran. On 13 Aban, a number of university Muslim forces, called the "Muslim student followers of the Imam's line", occupied the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and after breaking the resistance of American riflemen who were guarding the embassy, arrested the American spies. Documents available in the embassy were gradually published under the title of "Documents of U.S. Spy Den in Iran". These incontrovertible documents, which amounted to 50 volumes, revealed interference by American meddling and spying activities in Iran and other countries worldwide. They also revealed the names of many

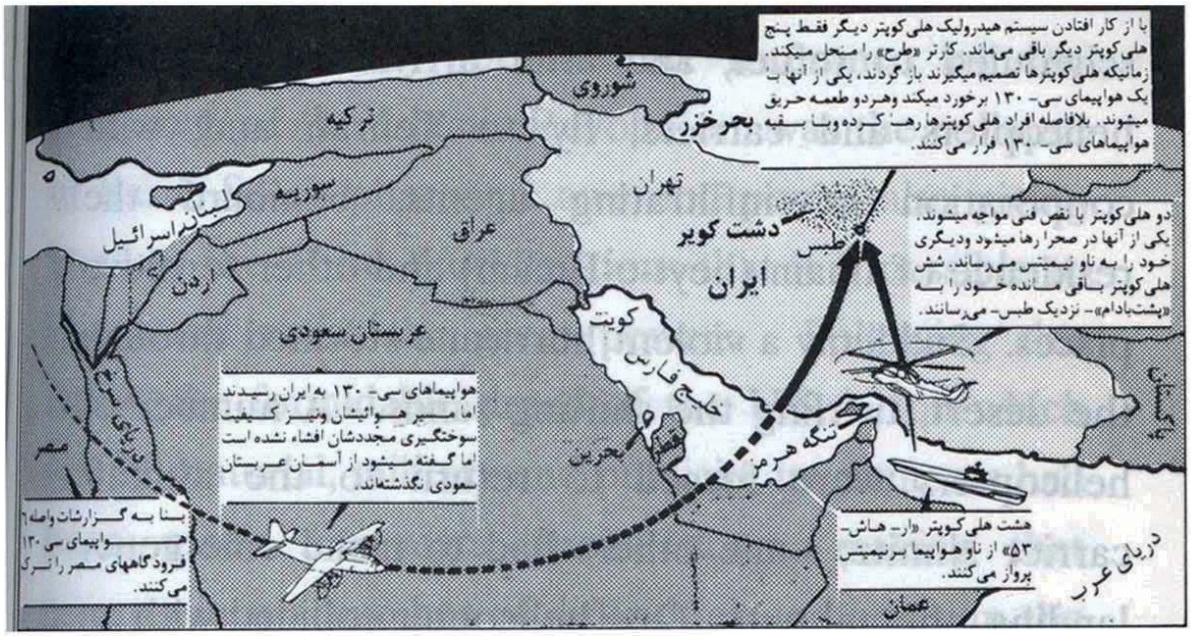
spying links and agents of the U.S.A. and various methods of spying and political activities of this country in various parts of the world. The occupation of the U.S. Embassy which, in the vocabulary of Islamic Revolution is termed "The Occupation of Spy Den", was a great disgrace for U.S.'s ruling body. One day after this incident, the government of Mr. Bazargan fell, following the acceptance of his resignation by Imam Khomeini. This rash resignation by head of the provisional government (Mr. Mehdi Bazargan) was propounded in the hope that Imam Khomeini will show reaction and puts pressure on the students to vacate the US Embassy. But the Imam accepted the resignation at

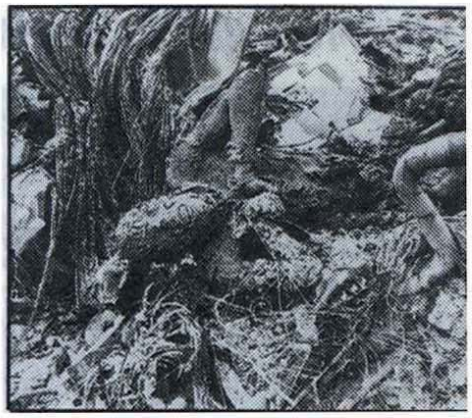
once, and thus did not lose the opportunity to endorse the authority of the revolutionary forces and to sever the hands of the conservatives who, by their inadequate measures during their short rule, exposed



Iran to anti-Revolutionary riots and uprisings.

Imam Khomeini supported the revolutionary act of the students and called it "a revolution greater than the first one." This was true. In the Revolution that climaxed on 22 Bahman, the U.S. openly supported the Shah, in opposition to the Revolution. But now, documents revealing secret plots by the U.S.A and its aides were being publicized. After this adventure, the Americans used every means possible to make Iran surrender. The Islamic Iran was formally boycotted by the U.S. and its satellites and an economic and political blockade was imposed on Iran. The people





of Iran, inspired by the messages of Imam Khomeini, began their hard period of blockade, but did not cave in. The plan of operations to liberate the spies failed with the wonderous happening in the plains of Tabas. On 2 Ordibehesht/22 April, six U.S. military C-130 aircrafts descended in a former U.S. military base, in a desert, in east of Iran. This happened when Bani Sadr was the President of Iran. The aircrafts were

scheduled to refuel, and after arrival of 8 tactical helicopters and carriers, fly to Tehran and, with cooperation of infiltrating agents, bombard the residence of Imam (beyt-e-Emam) and other sensitive places. Suddenly a violent hurricane stormed through the desert, twirling the shifting sands. A number of helicopters were forced to return to the aircraft carrier Nimitz; some others had to make emergency landing thereabouts. One helicopter collided with an already landed aircraft and both exploded. 8 American aggressors were killed in this incident. Jimmy Carter, the then U.S. President, ordered to abort this out-balanced unsuccessful attack and called off the operations.

The Shah's death on 5 Mordad 1359 in Egypt, actually made null and void one of the conditions of Iran which was to return the Shah as the principal criminal for slaughtering the people. At last, after 444 days, the spies were freed by the intercession of Algeria and by the approval of representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and according to agreement of Algeria signed between Iran and the U.S.A., in which the U.S.A. committed itself not to interfere in the internal affairs of Iran and to release the Iranian blocked assets, which the U.S. never acted upon. The most important result of the occupation of

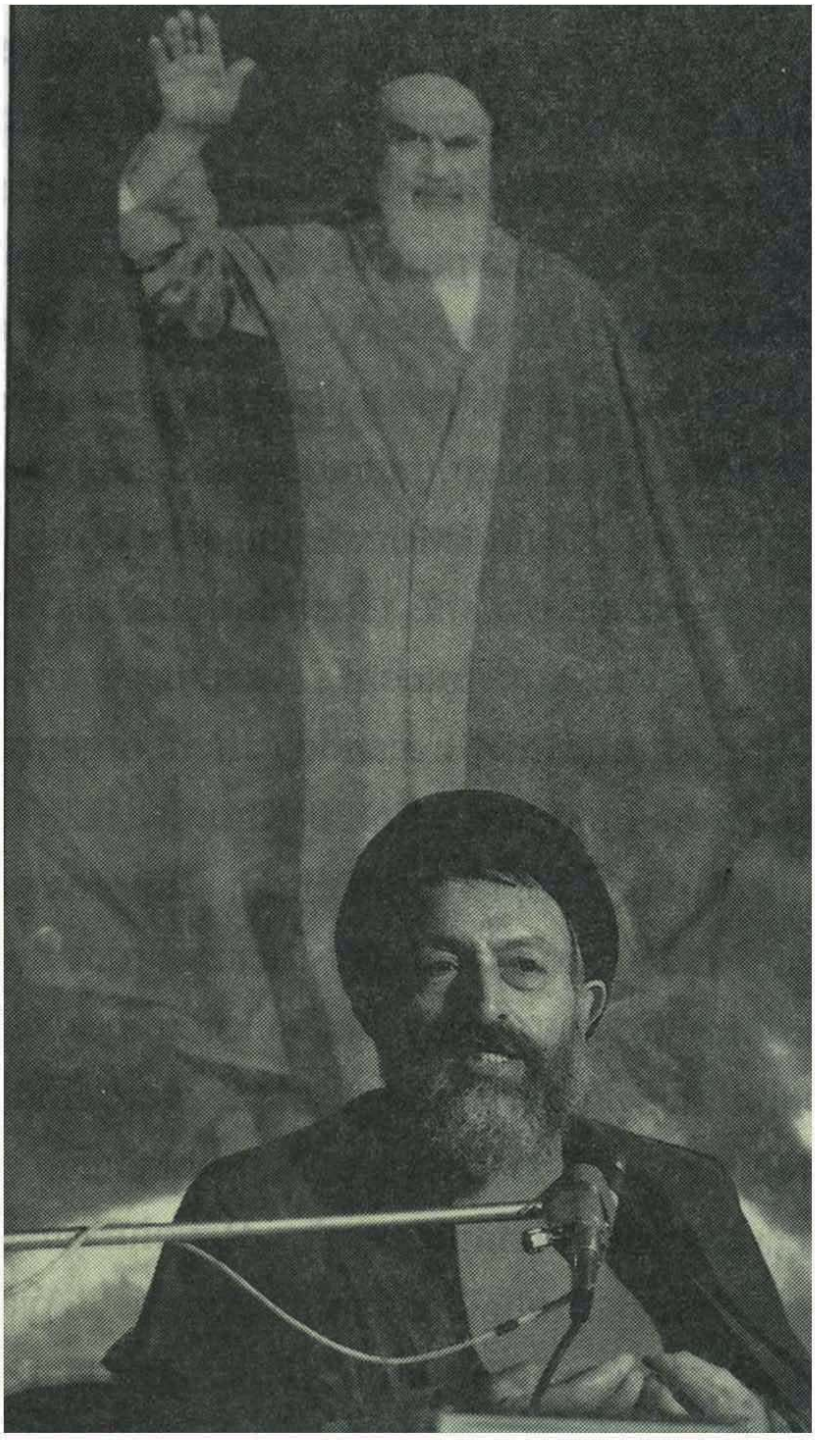
American Embassy, besides an assurance of the continuity of the Islamic Revolution, was the collapse of the U.S.A.'s pharaonic awe and pomp; also giving hope to the Third World nations that it is possible to stand and resist the great powers. Following this event, the formidable dread of the U.S.A., on which lots of material, military and publicity investments had been made for years, broke down, making that country face a number of difficulties and crises in the control of the Third World.

During the first presidential election of Iran (5 Bahman 1358/25 January 1979), while Imam

Khomeini was hospitalized in the Tehran Heart Hospital, Mr. Abol-Hassan Bani Sadr moved ahead of his rivals. He had returned to the homeland when the Revolution was about to triumph, portrayed himself

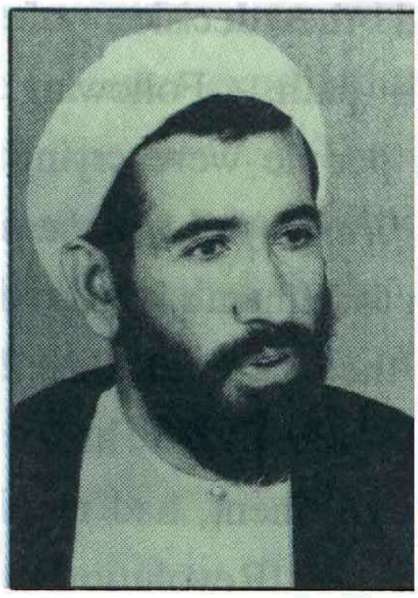
as a religio-revolutionary person and an outstanding economist by presenting his books and making speeches. In the ceremonies for confirming his being elected as President, Imam Khomeini said: ***"I want to point out to Mr. Bani Sadr and to all others, to bear in mind one thing: 'Love of the world is the gravest sin."***[32] Alas, a personality cult that had surrounded Mr. Bani Sadr, and his hunger for power, prevented him from using this advice. Proud with the number of votes he won in the elections, Mr. Bani Sadr started his work with disagreement with the line of Imam faction and opposing the clergy from the beginning. Like the provisional government before him, he believed in compromise and political wheeling and dealing with powerful countries. In his domestic policies, Bani Sadr began to eliminate religio-revolutionary forces and replacing them with elements affiliated with anti-revolutionary groups. During his incumbency, the Iranian territory was occupied through aggression by Iraq. Elements attached to the President who figured their survival was geared to increased difficulties and crises of the Islamic System, using Bani Sadr's position as commander-in-chief of all military forces, sabotaged the affairs related to defense and repellence of the enemy. They attempted to prevent mobilization of people's forces and the Sepah-e

Pasdaran-e Enqelab-e Eslami (Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps). National unity was endangered by Bani Sadr's sowing of discord. Eventually, in a brief order dated 20 Khordad 1360, Imam Khomeini removed him from the post of Commander-in-Chief of all forces, and in the wake of this, the Islamic Consultative Assembly ruled him as incompetent. With the fall of Bani Sadr, members and supporters of the Mojahedin-e Khalq (Monafeqin--hypocrites) who, after the victory of the Revolution, had taken advantage of the government's weakness and Bani Sadr's support, and had expanded their organization, and committed bloody riot in 30 Khordad 1360. In a few hours, the people of Tehran suppressed the insurgents and arrested some of them. From this date on, the Monafeqin openly began their deracinating acts while their heads and leaders were hiding in "team-houses". The Islamic Republic Party was formed after the triumph of the Revolution by the efforts of such religious grandees as Ayatollah Khamenei, Dr. Beheshti, Dr. Bahonar, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Mr. Moosavi Ardebili. The aim was to organize those faithful to the path of the Imam so as to counteract the tricks and moves of the anti-revolutionary political groups. This Party, being morally supported by Imam Khomeini, very soon



found great many supporters all over the country and was regarded as a major obstacle to anti-revolutionary agents. On 6 Tir 1360, a bomb was exploded in the

Abazar Mosque of Tehran, in which Ayatollah Khamenei was wounded during his speech. The next day, a great calamity took place: 72 of the most efficient figures of the Islamic System and Imam Khomeini's friends, including Head of the Supreme Court (Dr. Beheshti), a number of cabinet ministers and representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, a number of members of the judicial branch, a number of thinkers, writers and revolutionary force members were martyred by a bomb explosion at the headquarters of the Islamic Republic Party. The powerful bomb was planted there by infiltrating agents of the Monafeqin. Two months later, on 8 Shahrivar 1360, Mr. Mohammad-Ali Rajai, a popular figure with the



Iranian people who, after dismissal of Bani Sadr, was elected by popular vote as President of the Republic,

and Hojjatol-Eslam Mohammad-Javad Bahonar (The Prime Minister), were martyred by a bomb explosion in their office. The quick decisiveness by which Imam Khomeini expeditiously selected replacements for Rajai and for other martyrs who were taken away from the management of the System, was very effective in rearranging the affairs and disappointing the enemy, and had surprised the world news agencies and political circles.

Were it not for the faith, and the wonderous firmness of Imam Khomeini and the alertness of the faithful people of Iran, each one of these events could overpower the Islamic System. However, the soothing messages and speeches by Imam Khomeini right after each event, made it possible to withstand the catastrophes, and cemented the decision of the people to continue in their path. Following the martyrdom of Dr. Beheshti, people were crying out loud: ***"What does U.S. think? Iran is full of Beheshtis!"*** This slogan was derived from the Imam's words which revealed the hidden hand of the real enemy, i.e. U.S. in these terroristic acts. On the other hand, the Imam, from the start of his movement, had regularly taught the people that the Islamic Revolution is not dependent on individuals, no matter how effective and high-ranking they might be. The protector of the

Revolution is: *"God and the faith of God-seeking people."*

One of the major successes of Imam Khomeini was the enhancement of people's awareness, an understanding and a sense of responsibility, as well as their ability to analyze daily political problems. For years, the Western mass media had been stating in their analyses that disintegration of the Islamic System is inevitable after the death of the Imam. Such views had been taken up, argued and confirmed even in the analytical seminars of Western thinkers and, in the political negotiations of their statesmen, while the internal anti-Revolutionary groups had prepared themselves for such a time. But the world witnessed that, after heavenly departure of Imam Khomeini there was no sign, whatsoever, of materialization of the enemies expectations and their hopes were gone with the wind. The reason is exactly as already pointed out. Imam Khomeini revived and retrained a generation that in the past had turned hopeless and indifferent as a result of the autocracy and the 50-year treasons of the Pahlavi reign. The Imam achieved this aim in such a way that this generation were able to change their past long-lasting anti-value social customs and relations that had penetrated deep in the corners of their lives, to the new ideals in a short

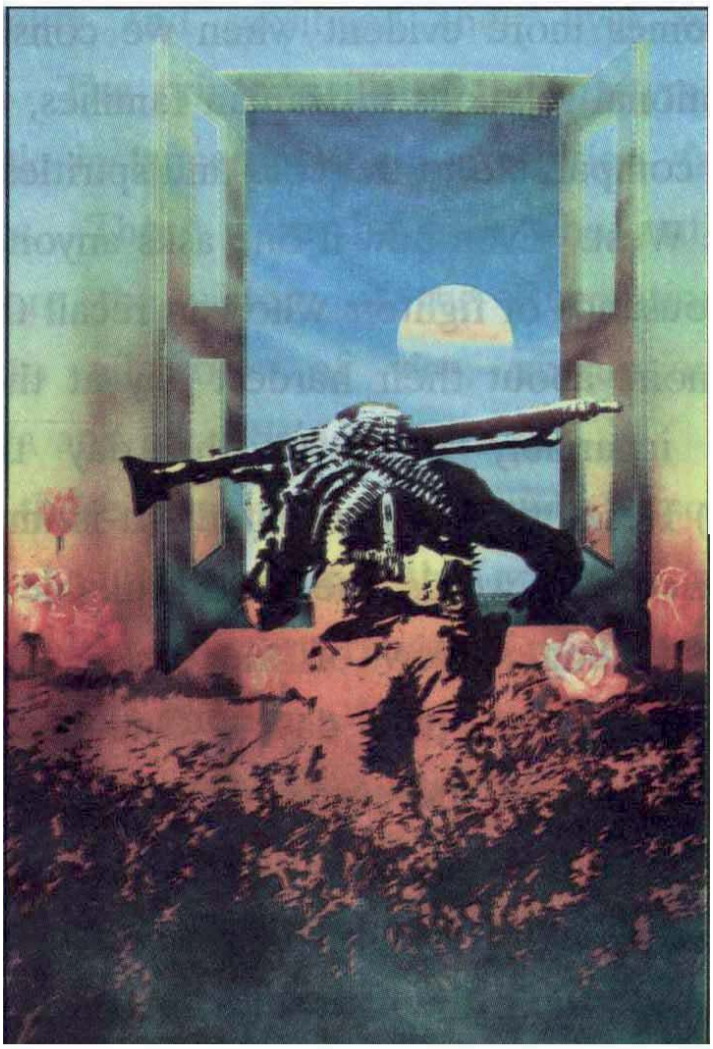
time. Proofs of this are the several hundreds of thousands of youths who, for 8 whole years, voluntarily fought the Iraqi aggressors in a high state of spirituality and sacrificed their lives with full awareness. The printed wills of the martyrs contain innumerable instances of their perception, faith and intelligence. These were the ones who, until a few years before the victory of the Revolution, were exposed to all sorts of vice, corruption, false propaganda and narcotizing attractions.

For those who have not sensed the society of the Imam Khomeini's time, the assertion of these points may seem an exaggeration of realities and they may ascribe it to excessive love for Imam Khomeini. Whereas, there exist so many live witnesses and self-evident documents that make needless any debates and argumentations to prove the point. In the culture of the religious society of Iran those who have given their sons in support of Imam Khomeini's ideals are being congratulated, even today, rather than being offered condolences. There are still many parents in Iran who have given several sons in the path of the Imam and, when asked about their feelings, they regard their sacrifices as a great honor for their families and as belessings from God. It may seem unbelievable to the Westerners how parents

may divulge the hiding places of the anti-Revolutionary elements and Monafeqin terrorists to law enforcing agencies. The significance of this point becomes more evident when we consider the deep emotional relations in Iranian families, which is in no way comparable to the cold and spiritless family ties in the West. Even now if one asks anyone of the tens of thousands of fighters who can recall their war front memoirs about their hardest day at the front, they will invariably point to the day the UN (ceasefire) Resolution was accepted. It is impossible to fully describe in words, the uncontrollable feelings and heart-rending sorrow of the *basijis* (mobilized civilian fighters) on that day. One must have personally witnessed the scenes in order to believe them. They felt that way because of this incident "the door of martyrdom garden" is closed on them and they lose the hope to join the caravan of martyrs.

Effecting such spiritual change on the level of a society, and generating waves of Islamism in the soul of a great ummat, is no easy ordinary task. Lebanon and the epic event of the *Hezbollah* (the Party of God) of that country is another example of the change mentioned above. Contrary to Western propaganda, it wasn't the involvement of and support by Iran that caused such resistance, because U.S., Europe and

(former) Soviet Union had had direct and extensive presence in that country. American



University of Beirut has been active for years. U.S. and Europe sent troops to Lebanon when conflicts and fights happened in Lebanon. Until lately, Lebanon was called the West's great political market in the Middle East. What made the population of Lebanon--though bordering Israel and wholly surrounded--and numerically less in comparison to

that of its enemies, and with insignificant defense means of this small country put up such a resistance that Western military forces formally fled the scenes and were compelled to vacate that country? And now, in spite of dire economic straits and frequent attacks and bom-bardments by Israel, the Hezbollah

has imposed its identity on the West and continues its resistance. The reason is that Lebanese Muslims, due to their cultural and religious background, came to know Imam Khomeini and understand his message, much earlier than did other Islamic lands. Next, we

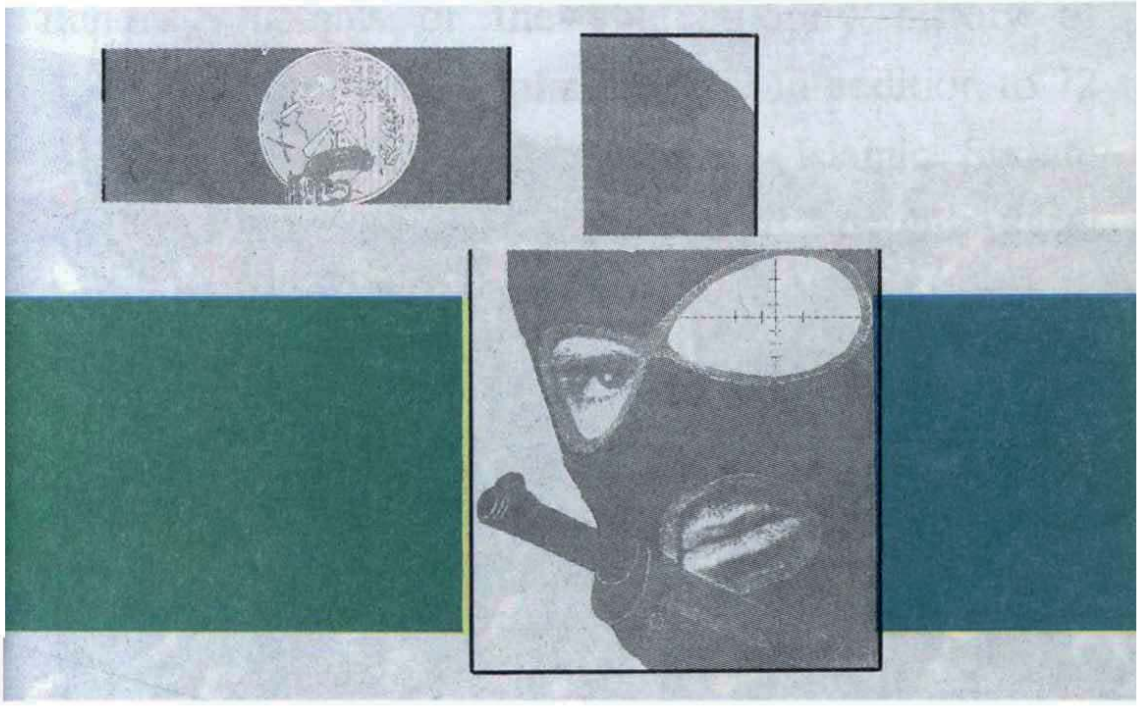
observe the same signs in Palestine with the emergence of the Hamas Movement and the revival of Islamic moves in other Islamic countries. In all these lands we witness the effects of Imam's thought and message directly.

Such changes are not only the result of Imam Khomeini's political thoughts and his method of challenge. The Imam's humanistic sociology and his educational school have been at work preparing the grounds for these political changes. Unfortunately, the dimensions of Imam's views and outlook on mankind, and on the society and history, and his educational issues, have not yet been recognized and edited. The Imam Khomeini's educational and sociological schools have nothing in common with all that is taught under these titles in the universities of the Third World and in Islamic countries.

Imam Khomeini's movement is based on the conduct of the prophets. It is that system, which makes outstanding personalities like Aboozar and Salman from isolated, oppressed slaves, and from men of the pagan society; it develops pioneers of Islamic culture and civilization. This method has been forgotten in the present age. What we know today, as human sciences, is a definition of mankind and his relations within different categories, from

non-inspirational points of view of Western liberalism and humanism which, in itself, is a development of the renaissance and the result of self-ignorance and adoption of the essentiality of materialism and rule of machine over man.

Let us go back to the main topic which is the circumstances of guidance of the Revolution in the post-victory turbulent years. After the tragedy of the 7th of Tir 1360, and the martyrdom of scores of Imam's friends and authorities of the system of Islamic Republic, heads of the Monafeqin group, accompanied by the deposed President, fled to Paris, disguised as females and aided by infiltrating agents at the Tehran airport. Their pilot was the one trusted by the Shah who piloted the Shah's airplane on his last escape from the country. In sharp contrast with its

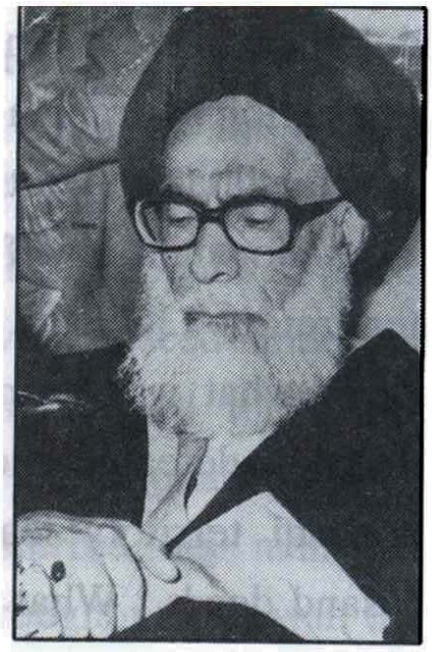


claim to human rights and anti-terrorism, the French government gave refuge to those who formally accepted the responsibility of terroristic operations including explosion of bombs in public places. Henceforth, the Monafeqin were placed under the protection of European countries and the U.S.A. During Iraq's war with Iran, the Monafeqin, by a special deal with Saddam, transferred their main base of operations to Iraq, and throughout the war they formally acted as spies and hired hands, and made their facilities available to the Baathist army. Their main job was to gather information from Iranian war fronts and hand over such information about missiles that were aimed at Iranian residential areas in cities

and other sites. They also participated in the interrogation of Iranian prisoners of war (POWs) and in Iraq's military operations.

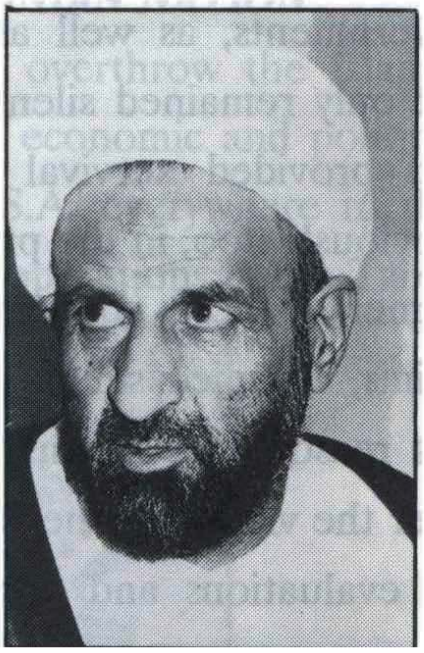
Major military efforts by the Monafeqin to enter Iran in 1367, and after peace between Iran and Iraq, in what was termed the "Mersad Operations", were badly defeated and the hired migrants fled back into Iraqi territory leaving behind more than one thousand deads. What is propagated in the world by agencies affiliated with the U.S.A., in the name of violation of human rights by Iran, is mainly echoing the claims of this group and is meant to justify the protection given to them by the Western governments.

In the eyes of the people of Iran, the Monafeqin--whose crimes have surpassed those of the famous criminals of the contemporary history of Iran--are the most hateful criminals. In addition to 72 most popular personalities of the Islamic System killed in the explosion of the Islamic Republic Party headquarters and the martyrdom of the President and Prime Minister of Iran, other outstanding personalities, too, were taken away from the people of Iran by terroristic acts of Monafeqin. These, including the assassination of Ayatollah Sadooqi, the Imam Jom'eh of Yazd (11/4/61); the assassination of



Ayatollah Ashrafi Esfahani, the Imam Jom'eh of Kermanshah (23/7/61); the assassination of Ayatollah Dastgheyb, the Imam Jom'eh of Shiraz (20/9/60); Ayatollah Madani, the Imam Jom'eh of Tabriz (20/6/60); Ayatollah Qoddoosi and General Dastjerdi (14/6/60); the assassination of Hojjatol-Eslam Hashemi-Nejad (7/7/60); and scores of other spiritual personalities each of whom ruled in the hearts of the people in some vast area of Iran, and all key persons in the Imam Khomeini movement. In addition to political-religious figures and authorities of the Islamic System, many people of the streets and the bazaar--whose only guilt was defending and guarding their Revolution--were martyred by terroristic acts and explosions, which the Monafeqin committed in public places. (The last case was the

killing of two Christian priests. Also the explosion of a bomb on the Day of Ashoora by the side of the



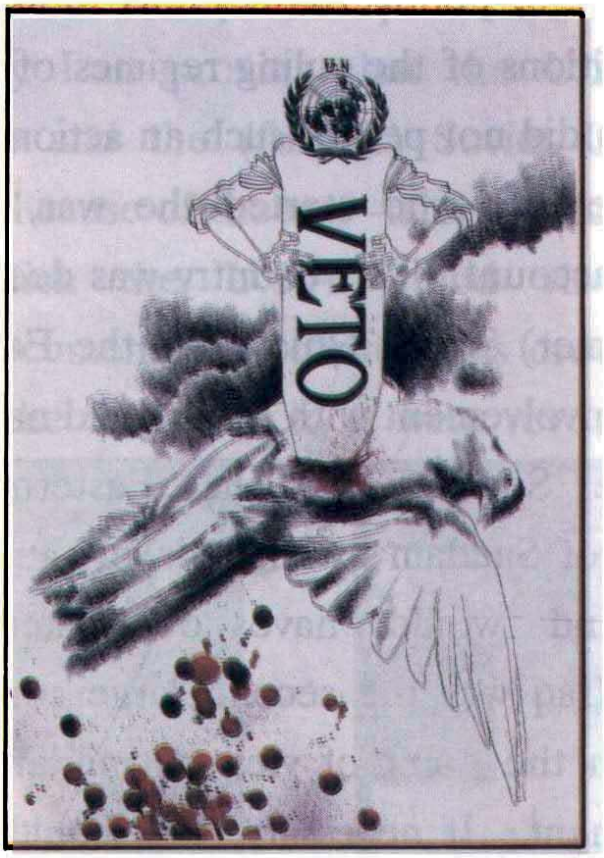
shrine of His Holiness Imam Reza--pbuh--in 1373).

It is interesting to note that in the face of all these tragic events, the U.S. and European governments, as well as international organizations, not only remained silent, but sheltered the terrorists and provided survival means for these criminals. Previously, too, in the process of killings by the Shah's elements, these governments had, contrary to their claims, assumed similar position. It was exactly for this reason that Imam Khomeini, neither before nor after the victory of the Revolution, placed the basis of his evaluations and positions on judgment of alien governments on the positions assembled by the international agencies. He often stated that the United Nations Security Council, and the Human Rights Organization are nothing but tools at the service of international dominant powers. Just as the claims of Communists and (former) Soviets, about liberalism and challenge against imperialism are only voiced for the same purpose. Imam Khomeini even presented to the authorities of the Islamic System, an interesting criterion on the basis of these realities, saying that: "***The day when such societies as the U.S.A. and the Western world praised you and voluntarily accepted your existence and your Revolution, that is the day you must doubt the wholesomeness of your path and***

the rightfulness of your positions."

□ *THE IMPOSED WAR AND THE 8-YEAR DEFENSE BY THE IMAM AND THE IRANIAN NATION*

The failure of plans to overthrow the Islamic Republic System by means of economic and political blockades pursued by the U.S.A. everywhere in the world, and the defeat of its operations in the Tabas

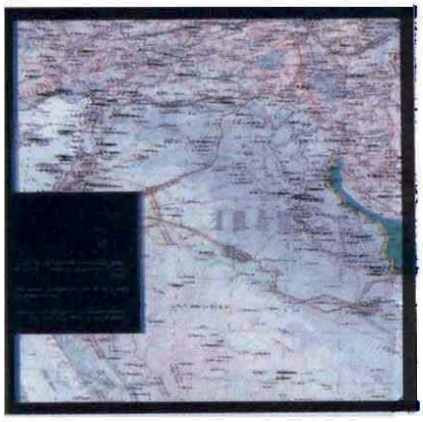


Desert following the occupation of the Spy Den, and failure in Kordestan attempts, made the ruling body of the U.S.A. to consider a full-scale military course of action in 1359/1980. Power-balance between East and West was a condition that prevented unilateral action by the U.S.A. On the other hand, the world

public opinion that had become acquainted with the activities of Imam Khomeini in France, and with post-Revolutionary events of Iran, had become familiar with Iran's problems and the rightfulness of this nation. All this had effected a kind of sympathy with the people of Iran and thus conditions for the U.S.'s direct military campaign against Iran were not justified. Also, political conditions of the time and shaky conditions of the ruling regimes of the Persian Gulf region did not permit such an action. Declaring Iraq as the one who started the war, was a well calculated account. This country was deemed an ally of the (former) Soviet Union and the Eastern Block and Iraq's involvement with Iran would naturally have placed the Soviets and the Eastern Block in supporting of Saddam by the side of the U.S.A. and Europe, and would have obliterated probable tensions. Iraq was the second large country in the region from the point of view of military personnel and equipment. If necessary, Iraq could manage to fight and carry on a war with Iran for a long time, depending on its national wealth and the help of reactionary Arab states, without the presence of American and European forces. In the initial plans of U.S.A. and Saddam, a long-drawn war had not been proposed and it was expected that, in the first few

days of fighting, Iran and its Revolution would have met their fate.

The power-hungry spirit of Saddam and former border disputes between the two countries, too, presented ideal conditions to U.S.A. to show green lights to Saddam for aggression and military occupation of Iran. If during the years of fighting, the world could not accept the proof and documents presented by Iran--proving that the U.S.A, in-line with Europe and the (former) Soviet Union have been the real cause of the war--later on, during the oil war, in which the U.S.A. stood vis-a-vis Iraq, published documents and confessions drew aside the curtain and the concealed facts were revealed.



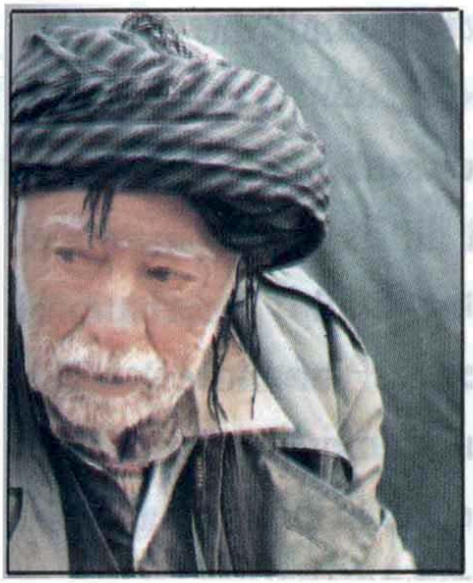
At any rate, on 31 Shahrivar 1359, the Iraqi army started its expansive aggression against Iran. All along the 1280-Kilometer borderline from the northern point to Bandar Khorramshahr and Abadan, Iraqi forces moved in and occupied Iranian territory. The Iraqi military aircrafts bombarded the Tehran

airport and other sites at 14:00 hours the same day. Saddam's war machines that had been readied long since by the help of French government, and the ammunition manufacturing consortiums of the U.S.A. and England as well as Russian military equipment, trespassed upon Iran, and rapidly advanced kilometers inside the Iranian territory and occupied vast areas all along in 5 provinces of Iran. The brave initial resistance of bordermen was soon defeated for lack of information and preparedness and for lack of equipment and military force. The Baathist army men were ruthless and savage-like in breaking the

resistance. Cities, towns and villages in the occupied areas were quickly razed down to the ground. Hundreds of thousands of people were made homeless wanderers.

The Iranian army being seriously damaged as

the result of the revolution events was



undergoing the first stage of its rebuilding. Thousands of foreign military experts, mainly Americans who, during the time of the Shah, had made the army severely dependent on themselves in all areas, had left during the Revolution. Many of the complicated instruments and modern aircrafts and advanced missiles that were purchased with Iranian people's money, were in the last few days of the Shah's reign transferred to U.S. with a two-month effort by General Huyser. Newly formed *sepah* (army) of the Revolutionary Guards Corps formed by the order of Imam Khomeini, was at its early stage and lacked power, equipment, and sufficient experience. During the early days of the war, Saddam Hussein, utilizing the information given by U.S., France and the fifth column agents, was very well aware of these weak points and, therefore, had even prepared maps for a greater Iraq, in which, Khoozestan in its entirety and parts of western provinces of Iran were included in the new map of Iraq! Saddam was certain that the

Islamic System could not resist such a military expedition and would soon fall, and the arrogant world will support him.

The broadcast of the news about the outbreak of Iraqi war against Iran with all its importance, met with death-like silence by all international organizations and world powers of note. This meaningful silence and spiteful animosity of the world powers against the Islamic Republic of Iran and the interior realities of the country and the wide military abilities used by the Baathists, all in all, created conditions that made decision-making very difficult. Iran was facing a fait accompli, and had but two alternatives to choose from: either resist in an unequal war with dimensions and out- comes that seemed dark and confused, or submit to American desires in order to get them make Saddam vacate the lands and retreat, and in the end, forsake the Revolution and Islam.

These conditions, however harsh, were insignificant in making Imam Khomeini hesitate or

doubt about his duty. He believed intuitively, in: "*Many a small corps has, by Allah's will, vanquished a huge army. Allah is with the steadfast*" (Qoran 2: 249)[33] and had gone through the spiritual stations of "annihilation in God"[34], years before he assumed leadership of the ummat. He had taught the theory of the "*Asfar-e Arbaeh*"[35] (the four peripatetic journeys) on the hejira or migration of the perfect man, and had actually experienced these journeys himself completely. Imam Khomeini has included in the texts of his "Practical Code" the decrees of jihad and defense as inviolable divine duties. Anyone acquainted with the Imam's life and the gradual perfection process of his personality, can guess beforehand, which course he will select at this junction and with what outlook!

The early reactions of Imam Khomeini and his first messages and lectures in relation to Iraqi military aggression, do much to demonstrate his personality and the mode of his command. However, this is not a place to elaborate on those points, nor to touch on their delicacy and special exclusive features. The Imam immediately ordered resistance. In his early analyses, he declared U.S.A. the real perpetrator of the war, and supporter and instigator of Saddam. The Imam frankly assured the people that, if they defend

for God's sake and regard it a religious duty to do so, the enemy will surely be defeated, although all visible parameters point otherwise. The day after the start of Iraqi invasion, in a short but thorough seven-paragraph statement to the Iranian nation, Imam Khomeini, drew up the techniques for managing the affairs of the war and of the country in war-time. He next, in several messages to the Iraqi nation and army, sent an ultimatum and, henceforth, began the guidance and supervision of the difficult task of the long 8-year war with an unprecedented management.

During the first days of the war, tens of thousands of people's force and volunteers went to the fronts per Imam Khomeini's message, to assist the regular military forces there. In the first instance, the advance of the enemy was halted by the sacrifices of Islamic fighters. The fight was incredibly unequal. As ever, Imam Khomeini's reliance was on God, and on God-seeking men. With a series of speeches and repeated messages, he prepared the people for a hard and long war. According to Qoranic teaching, His Holiness, the Imam believed in continuation of defense until cessation of aggression and punishment of the aggressor. A few days after the start of the war, addressing Muslim ambassadors to Iran, the

Imam said: "***We are defenders of Islam, and a defender of Islam defends with his life, assets and dear ones, and never desists!***" At this meeting and by letters and messages to the heads of Islamic states, the Imam asked them, that even if they consider the irreligious Saddam a Muslim, they must obey the decree of the Holy Qoran, which requires Muslims to fight an aggressor until they return to the command of God and stop aggressiveness.

□ *WHY DID THE WAR CONTINUE?*

Saddam had promised his troops to win a victory in three days after the conquest of certain areas, and then the termination of war. The Iraqi army had seen no need to prepare for a war of attrition. Iraqi troops met with the defense of the Iranian people and were stopped before achieving any of their objectives. The efforts of Iraqi troops to break the defense lines failed several times, each time leaving heavy casualties. The uncalculated and bitter realities gradually became clear to the U.S.A. A new round of political pressure aimed at Iran and led by the U.S.A. was brought about through the international agencies and Arab states. Rather than condemning this apparent aggression, they put pressure on the Islamic Republic to accept a proposed

ceasefire. Accepting the ceasefire then, was tantamount to offering prizes to Saddam and making him and the enemies of Islam, achieve the things they had failed to gain fully by military attack. Iran had not started the war, so as to be required to stop it then. Iran defended the advance of the enemy in most difficult conditions while the enemy had occupied tens of towns and hundreds of villages, and wide expanses of oil fields territories, in the west and southwest of the country, and several thousands square kilometers of Iranian territory had been occupied. War was not being waged on both sides of the borders, so that the invaded party seek a ceasefire. Even assuming that Saddam did not need a ceasefire to refresh his forces for another attack to gain his basic aims, acceptance of ceasefire by Iran meant that Iraq, the aggressor, could stay deep inside the Iranian territory. This also meant that thereafter the Islamic Republic make concessions for every square meter of its occupied territory for years, and at the same time keep asking the international agencies, and political brokers and ultimately the real perpetrator of war, i.e. the U.S.A., and beg for the vacation of its occupied lands.

This was no logic that a zealous liberal could accept, let alone Imam Khomeini and a people who

had just emerged from the arena of uprising against the most despotic king of the region.

Moreover, in none of the proposals, did Saddam pledge himself to a withdrawal to the borders. Rather, he officially claimed that the vast occupied lands, and other lands not yet occupied, must belong to Iraq! A

similar claim by him we heard several years later in his aggression against Kuwait. He termed Kuwait the 19th province of Iraq. The fact is that none of the countries which--after it became clear that Saddam could not overthrow the System of the Islamic Republic--spoke proudly of ceasfire but pressed Iran for it, were peace enthusiasts. Rather, they knew before hand that no country would accept a ceasefire under such conditions. They used their peace-seeking slogan as a lever by which to isolate Iran. More

significantly was the motive of the reactionary Arab governments in insisting on ceasefire and peace. Theirs was voiced only because they were pressed by their people who wanted to know why their governments, so fully supported such a notorious aggressor as Saddam, and even that against a country that was using its entire being in defense of Islam!

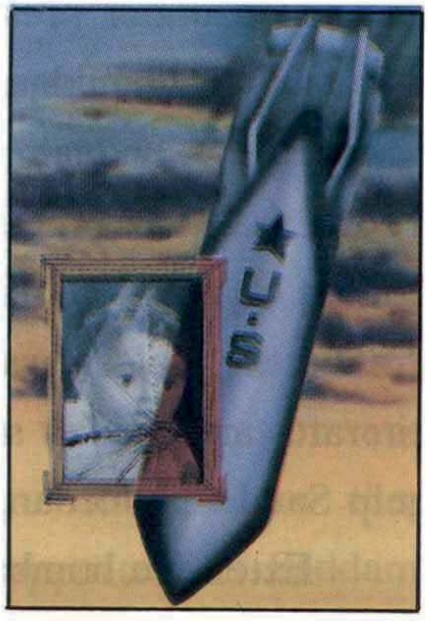
The U.S., European governments and Arab states were not truthful in their claims for peace-making. Best proof for this that makes further documentary evidence unnecessary, is that after the first victory of Iran in a series of operations during the second year of war, Saddam could no longer continue nor resist vis-a-vis Iranian forces for another single month without the flood of money extended to him by the Arab Sheykhs and without receiving western modern armaments. Had those governments been truthful in their claims, all they had to do was to stop their supplies to Saddam instead of their persistence on their weapon-, economic-, and oil-boycott of Iran. Iran's only guilt was that it was defending itself against an enemy which had occupied Iran's territory and had butchered thousands of its innocent people during the early days of the war, and made several hundreds of thousands homeless. Although the Arab countries expressed regrets and apologized to Iran after Saddam

had occupied Kuwait, that does not remit their responsibilities and sins for siding with Western governments and Saddam, who were responsible for the prolongation of the war.

Imam Khomeini, citing the proofs already mentioned, advised the delegates arrived for talks, of his unflinching decision to continue the defense until enemy is pushed back to recognized borders and has made reparation for damages he has done. But the tumult of the propaganda of the West was so widespread and loud, that the voice of innocence and rightfulness of Iran could not reach any ear. Gradually they distorted the facts, so much so, that Iran seemed to be the perpetrator of the war, and Saddam was portrayed as a peace-loving victim! Such pressures and untrue justifications, did not in the least

affect Imam Khomeini's firm decision, nor did it affect the Iranian people. After deposal of Bani Sadr and the sovereignty of the line of Imam over the executive organs of the country, a series of operations were accelerated by the army of Islam to liberate the occupied areas.

Before this, the Imam's command for general mobilization and formation of a 20-million-man army, had met with great enthusiasm among the youths; the revolutionary youths, who rushed to get trained were dispatched as basijis to the fronts, and their presence had given the country a different atmosphere. With the repeated victories of the fighters of Islam, signs of defeat began to appear in the fronts of the Baathists. Gradually, the U.S.A. and its European allies, began to show their true faces that were concealed behind the curtain of War. All kinds of advanced weapons not easily obtainable--even in peace time--and requiring several years of negotiation

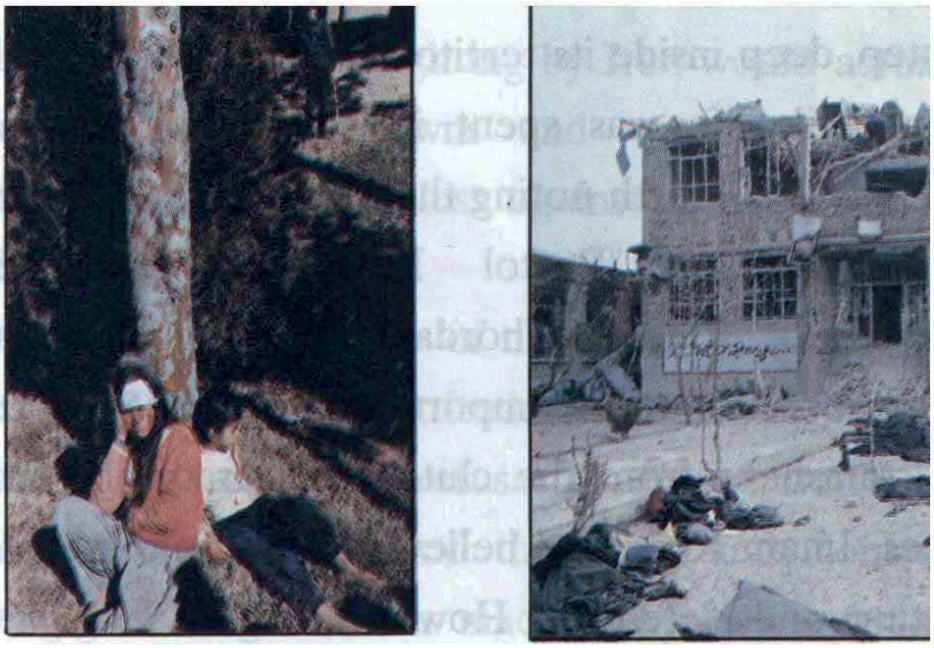


and granting concessions, were quickly given to Saddam. Exocet missiles and French super-standard aircrafts were supplied. Medium-range Oscad missiles, Mig 29 aircrafts and other Russian armaments were freely given, empowering Saddam's war machine. Even such technology and raw materials necessary for manufacturing and enhancement of the effective range of missiles, and production of chemicals were donated by the U.S.A. and European governments and companies to enable Saddam to overcome the forces of the Islamic Republic.

In the meantime Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, U.A.E. and the Arab states bordering the Persian Gulf were compelled under pressure from the U.S.A. to secure Saddam's war budget. These aids were officially revealed by Saddam in his occupation of Kuwait. Today, Iraq owes these countries more than 80 billion dollars on account of the assistance he had received during the 8-year war. Egypt sent, in addition to aircrafts and pilots, several thousands of soldiers to help Saddam. Jordan, too, followed a similar path.

Extensive bombardment of cities, towns, villages and economic centers, and shelling of residential areas with destructive missiles, form another ring of crimes committed by Saddam on which, countries and societies claiming support for human rights, not only

closed their eyes, but made available to Saddam the means to do it. These bombardments took the lives of several hundreds defenseless women and children.



Imam Khomeini was conducting the holy national defense, in conditions that the Islamic Republic was boycotted by the U.S.A. and Europe for arms; and to find a given aircraft spare part, several months of search was necessary. Many countries, either remained silent vis-a-vis this aggression and participated in putting pressure on Iran, or they formally entered the rank of supporters of Saddam. Most of the industrial and military powers of the world, both in East and in the West, practically supported Saddam. Iran was alone and defended itself alone. Only faith in God and belief in the

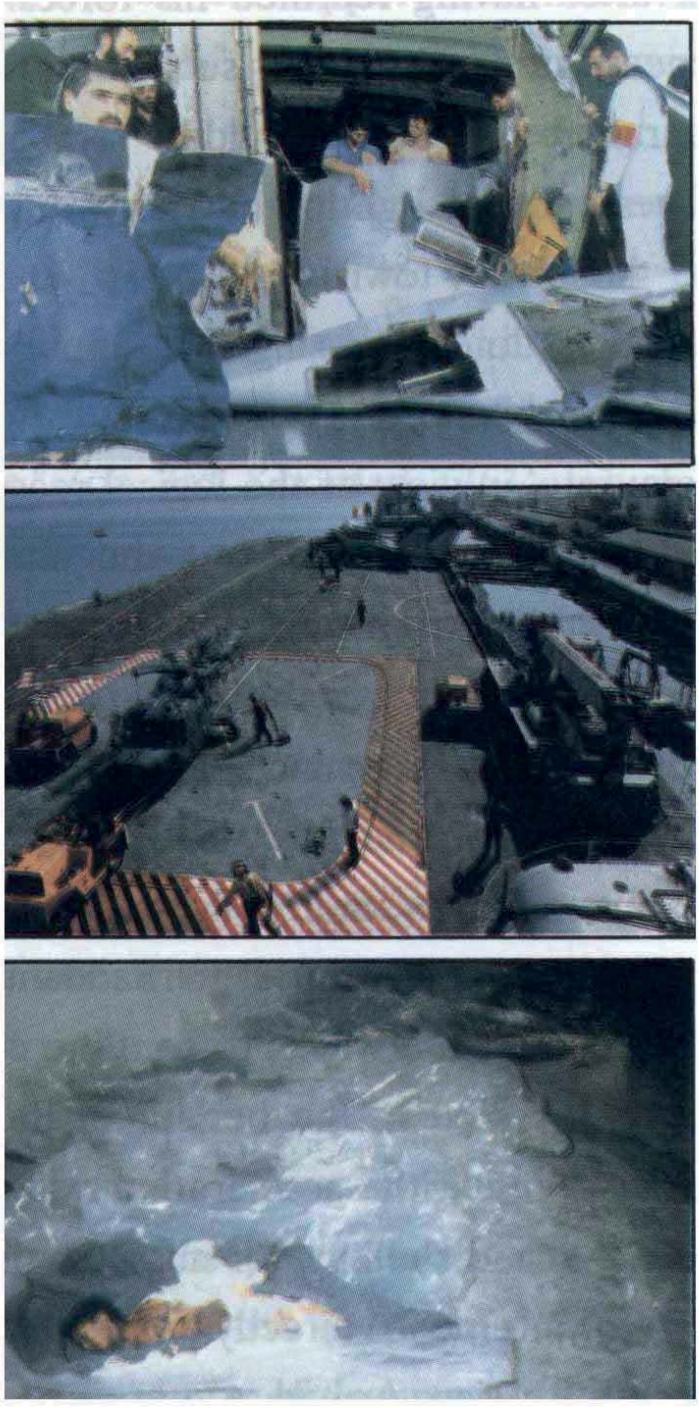
invisible divine assistance, and the guidance of a divine man, was all the support Iran had. And oddly enough, this "lonely" and oppressed innocent front was the final victor, and drove the enemy back, step by step, deep inside its territory. Eight years of Imam Khomeini's life was spent in conducting this holy defense. It is worth noting that during the 3rd year of war, following "Beytol Moqaddas (Jerusalem) Operations," (on 3rd Khordad 1361), which resulted in the liberation of the important and strategic port of Khorramshahr from the clutches of Iraqi aggressive forces, Imam Khomeini believed in putting an end to fighting and defense. However, high ranking and dedicated authorities of the Islamic Republic, including military commanders and political authorities met with the Imam and put forth their views as to the necessity of continuation of the defense until favorable conditions for a lasting peace could be provided. This was done after making a thorough study of the political and military conditions of the country and of the war fronts. Their reasoning was that certain parts of Iranian territory were still occupied by Iraq and Saddam, in spite of the disgraced defeat he went through in the liberation of Khorramshahr was not ready to give up his aggressive aims and, reinforced by unsparing support of the

world's great powers was contemplating resumption of aggression after having rearmed his forces. He did not have peace in mind. Under such conditions there was no guarantee that peace could be established, and unilateral cessation of fighting by Iran would actually make the liberated towns and vast stretches of borderline lands defenseless against future invasions by Iraq.

At any rate, in view of the logical reasons given above, and the unjust attitudes of the international organizations and their refusal to accept Iran's fair terms for termination of the war, and constant rearming of Saddam's war machine by major powers, the Iranian nation and its leadership had no alternative but to continue their holy defense.

The all-around assistance to Saddam did not affect the process of the war and frontline conditions that rapidly progressed to the benefit of the soldiers of Islam. Along with acceleration of bombing residential areas, and shellings of missiles, the U.S.A. was forced to intervene directly. French, British, American and Russian Armada entered the Persian Gulf. The U.S.A. considered internationalization of the war crisis, and direct involvement of other countries as the only way that remained. They started a war known as the "war of oil tankers". The mission

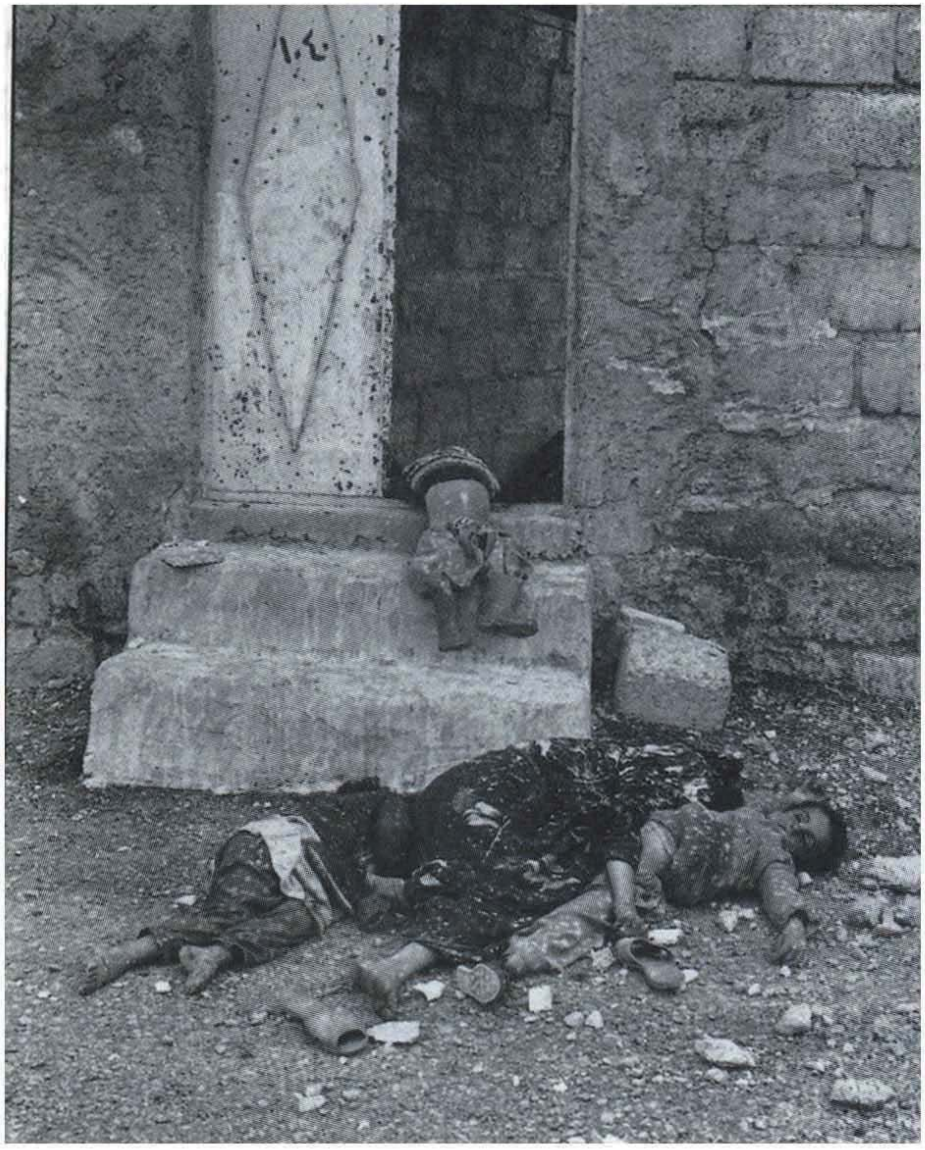
of the dispatched forces was to prevent exportation of



oil from Iran, seizing and inspecting of commercial ships and preventing the export of essential merchandise to Iran. In this adventure, numerous

commercial ships and tankers carrying Iranian oil, were attacked by missiles and bombarded from the air. The Iranian oil wells in coastal waters, were set on fire. In its last aggressive act, the U.S.A. committed a dastardly crime. On 12 Tir 1367/3 July 1988, it shot down an Iranian airbus (flight No.655) carrying on board 290 children, women and men, killing all the passengers aboard. This occurred in the clear sky of the Persian Gulf by a volley of two missiles from aircraft carrier Vincent. The world of might and coercion, alien to truth and veracity, ignored this crime which was committed against a people whose call and cry was "Islam". This was apparently an unforgivable sin in view of the "civilized" Westerners! It is the same sin for which the innocent Bosnians are being butchered these days in Europe. Saddam, too, ended the record of his horrible crimes, unmatched in the history of mankind, with the chemical bombardment of the city of Halabcheh in which over 5000 old men, women and children met a painful death by suffocation. The United Nations and its Security Council felt no responsibility about this dreadful tragedy. The military expeditions of the Westerners to the Persian Gulf, and all that took place in the last few months of the 8-year-old war, were all due to the fact that at that moment the army

of Islam had the upper hand, was in a superior position, had driven the enemy behind all its borders and was about to uproot the germ of sedition from the region. The fall of Saddam by the hands of Islamic soldiers meant the defeat of several major world powers vis-a-vis the Islamic Revolution. At this stage, the entire efforts of the U.S.A. and the Security



Council were used to prevent the advancement of the Iranian fighters and the fall of Saddam. The Security Council Resolution 598 was approved. This Resolution had accepted the major part of the views and conditions that Iran had insisted on for cessation of fighting ever since it started its defense; but international agencies had refused to accept this, hoping that Saddam would win. The adoption of this resolution on the one hand, and the criminal,

inhumane actions taken during the last months of fighting by the perpetrators of the war, on the other, caused the issuance of Imam Khomeini's decree, by which a body of committed Iranian military, political and economic experts made a survey of the new

conditions. At the end of the survey, the group unanimously expressed its opinion that conditions were favorable for proving the rightfulness of the Islamic Republic in its 8 years of holy defense, and for cessation of hostilities on the basis of Resolution 598 contents.

Imam Khomeini's message, known as "Message of Acceptance" (24/4/1367; 20 July 1988), is a masterpiece of Imam Khomeini's guidance and leadership. In it, the record of the imposed war and its dimensions are clearly set forth, and future policies of the Islamic System and Revolution in all contexts, including confrontation with the superpowers, and persistence on the ideals and objectives of the Revolution are clearly drawn up. Imam Khomeini's interpretation of accepting the Resolution as the "cup of hemlock" contains untold facts and many subtle points, revelation of which is beyond the scope of this writing. Here, reference will be made to just one nutshell of the Imam's message: "***As to the acceptance of the Resolution, which was really a bitter and unwholesome issue for all, especially for me. Until a few days ago, I was of the opinion that the same defense method and position that was maintained during the war be held. I regarded its implementation beneficial and expedient to the System, the country and the Revolution.***

But for events that I will not indulge in now but, God willing, will become clear in due time, and considering the views of all the country's high ranking political and military experts in whose devotion and truthfulness I have full faith, I agreed to accept the Resolution and the ceasefire. And, at the present stage, I regard it expedient to the Revolution and the System, and--had it not been for the motive that all of us, our honor and credibility must be sacrificed in the path of all that is expedient to Islam and the Muslims--I would have not consented to it, and death or martyrdom would be much more enjoyable for me. But, what is there to do? All must submit to the consent of Almighty God, and surely, that is how the brave nation of Iran has been and will be...."

As Imam Khomeini had often warned, Saddam's claim to peace-seeking was to deceive public opinions. After acceptance of the ceasefire by Iran, he resumed aggression, and in the south, he occupied further land sites. The publication of the exciting and sentimental message of the Imam, once more, caused general mobilization all over the country. Fighters and Revolutionary forces from everywhere hurried to the war fronts and by imposing another defeat on the Baathist elements made them escape. No road was open to Saddam except to admit defeat. And now, God willing, as the Imam had promised, the nation,

on whom an unwanted war had been imposed was, by offering innumerable sacrifices of many of its dear ones, and by creating epic events--the kind of which can be cited only in Islam's wars of the early days--is in a position to impose peace on its formerly vainglorious and presently miserable enemy. By the U.S.A.'s nod, Saddam had come to divide Iran and put an end to the Revolution, but now, to save his own life and rule over the innocent people of Iraq, had no alternative but to accept the terms put forward by the revolutionary nation of Iran.

Of the marvelous happening noteable during Iran's long holy defense period was that, in the whole duration of war, the Iranian nation never desisted from construction and repairing the ruins inherited from the previous regime. Rather, they succeeded, in addition to efficient management of the war fronts, to

carry out enormous projects, such as dam buildings, road constructions, oil exploration and exploitation plans, development of power stations, improvement of agricultural concerns, increasing the number of universities and research centers, as well as following up other national development activities. The Iranian nation owe their achievements, aside from the wisely guidance of Imam Khomeini, to grandees from among Imam's friends and other men of efficacy, such as Ayatollah Khamenei (the then President), Mr. Mir Hosseyn Moosavi (Prime Minister), Mr. A.H. Rafsanjani (Speaker of the Parliament), Ayatollah Moosavi Ardebili (Head of Judiciary Branch) and their colleagues in the three branches of the government, as well as the cooperation of the Imam's trustworthy consultant, Hojjatol-Eslam, Hajj Seyyed Ahmad Khomeini.

And thus the 8-year-long imposed war came to an end. Those who started the war did not achieve any of their objectives. Not only the Islamic Republic System did not collapse, but in the light of national unity of the Iranian people, it wrapped up the fifth column agents within the country, and stabilized its sovereignty over all internal domain. Internationally, the Islamic Republic System established its presence

as a secure, stable and unbeatable power, and proved its rightfulness despite 8 years of vicious propaganda by the Westerners, and conveyed its message. And, to be sure, in this holy path, it paid the heavy price necessary. *"If you help God, God will help you and make steady your strides."*[36]

The greatest sin and treason of Saddam and all the pseudo-Islamic and Arab governments who supported him and encouraged his aggression, is the wasting of great manpower, as well as the economic resources of both countries of Iran and Iraq. In addition, the imposition of this unwanted war, indefinitely delayed the unity of the Islamic ummat and the Islamic world revolution, whose realization conditions were all favorable after the overthrow of the Shah. Moreover, Muslim lines were broken and the brotherhood handshakes that Imam Khomeini had extended, in all his speeches and messages after 22 Bahman, to Islamic governments and his positive response to calls for unity for the solution of the problems of the Islamic world and for liberation of the Qods all went unanswered. Instead, these governments stood by the side of the heads of atheism the result of which was nothing but disgraceful compromise with Israel, admission of the existence of this cancerous tumor, receiving pagan forces in their

countries, making available the facilities of their countries and territories to U.S.A. to make its den in the heart of Islamic countries and in the land of divine inspiration. Saddam's frenzied attack on Kuwait, setting fire to all the assets of this country, its bitter mishaps that followed and entailed the destruction of the Iraqi national possessions and the permanent presence of the enemies of Islam in the area, all are the outcomes of that unforgivable sin. "*Learn your lesson, O men of insight!*"[37]

Following the establishment of a relative peace, in a message on 11/7/1367, Imam Khomeini outlined a

9-point policy and a course of action for reconstruction of the country, for the authorities of the Islamic Republic. A careful study of this directive is enough to get some idea on the depth of Imam Khomeini's foresightedness and at the same time, the validity of values from his point of view. Meanwhile, after ten years of experience with the system of the Islamic Republic, in order to reform and complete the organizational fundamentals of the Islamic System, in a letter dated 4/2/1368 to the then President, (His Holiness Ayatollah Khamenei), decreed the appointment of a body of authorities and experts to study and amend, as deemed necessary, the constitutional law, on the basis of 8 points specified in his letter. The amendments relating to the conditions for leadership, concentration on the executive and judiciary branches and radio-television, the duties of the league for recognition of expedients of the system, were among the major issues specified in this letter. The amended articles of the constitutional law were submitted to referendum on 12 Azar 1368 (after the Imam's heavenly departure) and approved by an absolute majority votes of the Iranian nation.

□ *PREDICTION OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE WORLD MARXISM POLE IN IMAM KHOMEINI'S MESSAGE TO GORBACHEV*

Gorbachev, the last Head of (former) Soviet Union, had undertaken certain changes and reforms in the world's Communist pole. Yet, the political analysts and leaders of the Western world were doubtful and pessimistic about the reforms. None could believe that the changes would uproot the 70-year old system of atheistic communism in the (former) Soviet Union. The most that could be supposed to occur under those conditions, was that Kremlin leaders might ignore some of direct links between the Eastern block countries and the (former) Soviet Union. This, in order to reduce the internal economic difficulties and develop a new order from the communist camp with limited Soviet leadership and more undertakings by the (former) Soviet Union's satellites themselves. But, Imam Khomeini,

with an insight incomrehensible to the materialist reckoners, as early as 11/10/1367 (4 January 1988), in a letter addressed to Gorbachev, presaged as follows: "***From now on, Communism may be looked up in the museums of political history of the world!***" In his letter, Imam Khomeini also presented the most profound analyses of the current Soviet changes and interpreted them as "***the sound of bones of Communism breaking up!***" It is a wonder that in this letter another forecast is documented with valid warnings that reveals Imam Khomeini's keen acumen for evaluation of the political conditions of that day. His Holiness, the Imam has been explicit in warning that the Russians were rolling over to the pseudo-green garden of Western capitalism, and being deceived by the U.S.A. By referring to the failure of the communists in their anti-religion policy and by posing deep philosophical and mystical issues, Imam Khomeini urged Gorbachev to approach God and religion instead of placing hope in the materialism of the West. The Imam had specified: "***The basic problems of your country is not the issue of ownership, economics or liberty. Your problem is a lack of true faith in God; the same problem that has driven, or will drive, the West to worthlessness and dead end!***"

Unfortunately, Russian leaders did not take

these warnings and advices of the Imam seriously. American and European corporations turned the modern Russia into their economic aspirations and a new type of exploitation is forming up, the future prospects of which, is nothing but darkness and dead ends, unless the people of this country wake up!

It is interesting to note that at the time of deliverance of Gorbachev's response to Imam Khomeini, Shevardnadze, Soviet foreign minister was surprised to see that the man who had warned and sent a message to world's number 2 nuclear power, was sitting in a 3x4 meter room of a small adobe house in Jamaran, with utmost simplicity and without the least vestige of ordinary ceremonies, and quite calm and, as solid as a mountain with a Qoran, a namaz rug and rosary by his side, plus some newspapers and an ordinary radio. Shevardnadze's astonishment increased when he noticed that a second wooden chair was not available for the high ranking Russian who accompanied him, and perforce he had to experience sitting on the floor, if it were only for one time! Perhaps, when an old pious man who was serving the Imam handed, as the only catering to the guests, a cup of tea and two cubes of sugar to Shevardnadze, the Foreign Minister of the World's Eastern Pole, he may have thought that all this was

uncommon and intentional; but that was not true. During his entire life, whether alone, in estrangement or in exile or, during his religious and political leadership, until the moment of his heavenly departure, the Imam did not abandon his simple and pure living, and never thought of changing his way of life in respect to this world's high positions, no matter how great these might have been.

□ *DEFENDING THE PROPHET OF ISLAM (PBUH) AND THE RELIGIOUS VALUES: IMAM KHOMEINI'S LAST STANCE ON THE WEST (THE DECREE THAT REGARDED SALMAN RUSHDIE AS A HERETIC)*

At the conclusion of the Iraq-Iran war, the political leaders of the West began a new offense against Revolutionary Islam. In previous years, during the Iranian defense, and in confronting the Hezbollah of Lebanon, the Islamic Movement of Palestine, and Islamic Jihad of Afghanistan, and after the death of Anwar Sadat by the hands of the Muslim revolutionaries of Egypt (14/7/1360; 4 October 1981), those leaders had realized that the advancing Islamic movement could not be smashed by weapons and military action. The new front was one of psychological, cultural and ideological type. The

dispute between the Sunnis and Shias had faded away by the alertness of Imam Khomeini and the authorities of the Islamic Republic. Those leaders had to attack the religious fundamentals and sacred things, the love of which had generated the unity of objectives and modes of recent Islamic moves. The account of Salman Rushdie's obscene book, The Satanic Verses, whose publication was officially supported by the Western governments, was a prelude

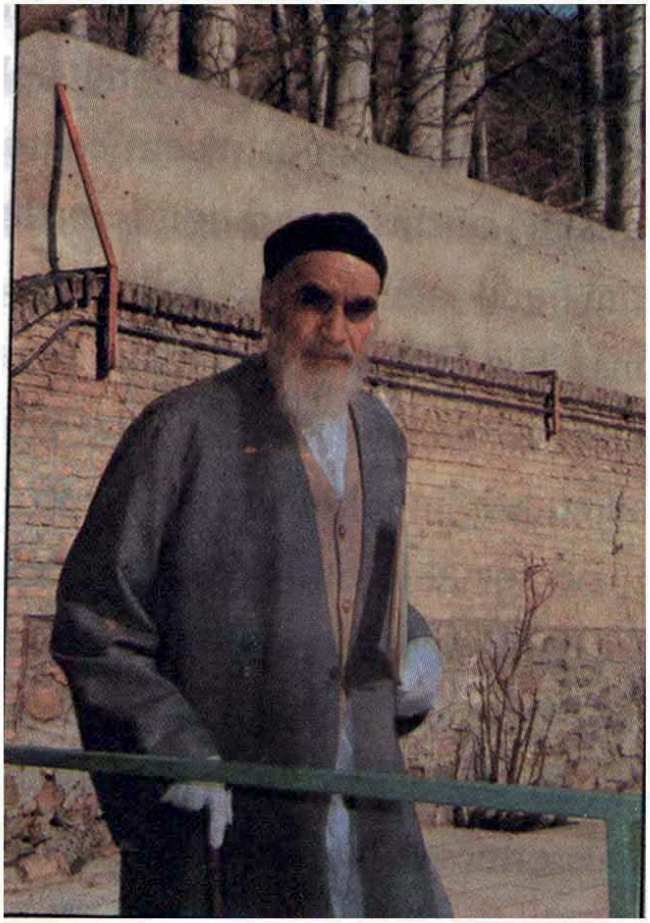
to cultural attack. Had the Islamic society not resisted and protested against the insults of this book made to the great, dignified Prophet of Islam (pbuh), the enemy would have conquest the first stronghold. Next, the sanctities and fundamentals of faith that have produced in Islamic societies, the belief in supernatural and moral values, would have come under attack by subtle ruses. It is these sacred things that form the identity of religious thought as well as

the identity of the Islamic unity, and by throwing doubt upon them, the world of Islam and Islamic movements would lose their identity from within and will be disarmed when confronting Western cultural and ideological invasion.

With due consideration of above proofs and realities, on 25/11/1367, in a few short lines, Imam Khomeini decreed a death sentence for Salman Rushdie and the publishers who were aware of the blasphemous contents of this book, and thus the Imam set off another revolution. The lines and files of Muslims, regardless of their beliefs, languages and countries, opposed the West in unison. The outcomes of this event established the existence of the Islamic Society as a single united ummat. It showed that in spite of internal disputes and lateral differences, if properly led, the Muslims can, as pioneers in reviving religious values, assume a decisive role for the future of the world. Similarly, this decree destroyed the supposition of Westerners that, in accepting the Resolution 598, Imam Khomeini has forsaken his revolutionary objectives.

□ *THE FINAL YEARS OF IMAM KHOMEINI'S LIFE AND THE SORROWFUL EVENTS*

Imam Khomeini's kin have recorded in their memoirs, accounts of the conditions and states of mind and soul in which the Imam was during his last years of life. Their accounts show that His Holiness, the Imam seemed to have realized that the moment of joining the Beloved was at hand. Aside from the Imam's mystical or gnostical states during these last years, his messages and sermons, and his political



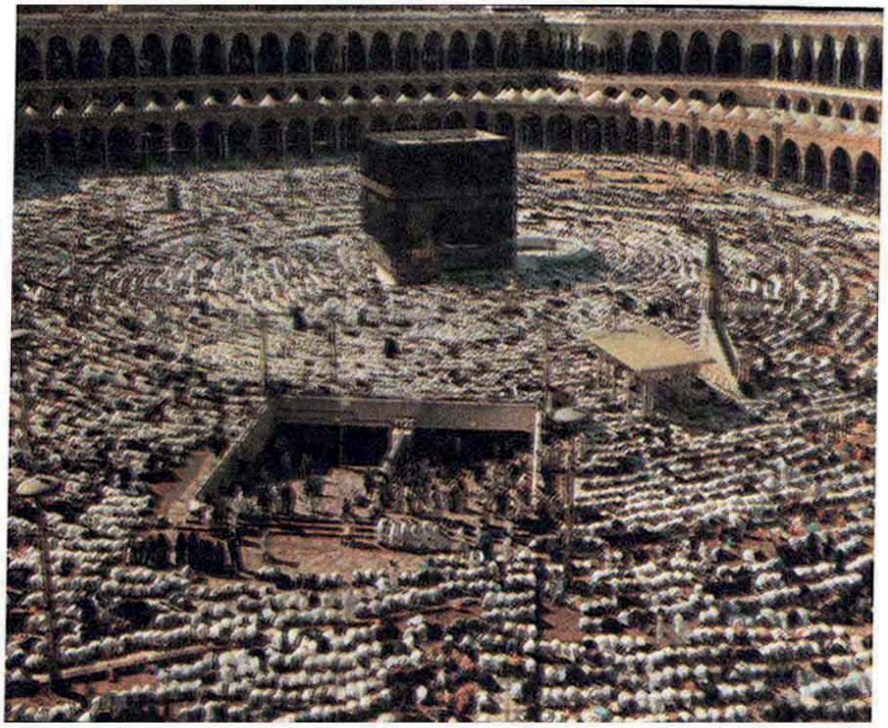
positions and attitudes, had such qualities that made them quite distinct from those of the past; examples of these will be given later herein.

Several incidents occurred in these days that weighed heavily on the Imam's soul and memory. One was the martyrdom of the Hajj pilgrims by the side of Ka'beh, during the 1366/1987 Hajj season. On the strength of hundreds of the clear Qoranic verses, on the basis of the conduct of the Prophet (pbuh) and the religious grandees, and on innumerable quotes from the Infallible Imams, Imam Khomeini strongly believed that politics is a part of religion. He further believed that separation of religion and politics has been the work of colonialism in recent centuries, and the ominous results of this separation is evident in the world of Islam, and among the followers of other divine religions. His Holiness, the Imam regarded the religion of Islam as the doctrine for the guidance of mankind in all stages, in all dimensions and in all eras of individual and social lives, and that social relations and politics are inseparable entities of human life. Therefore, in the opinion of Imam Khomeini, that Islam which is confined merely to devotional aspects and individual ethics and bar the Muslims from intervening in their own destiny and in social and

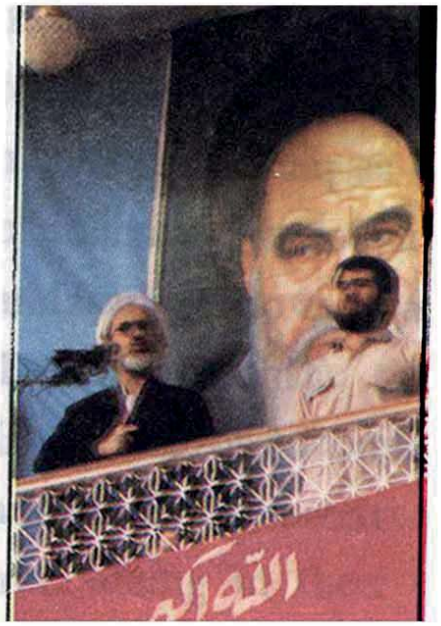
interpretation, it is an "American version of Islam". The Imam had founded and conducted his movement on the basis of inseparability of religion from politics.

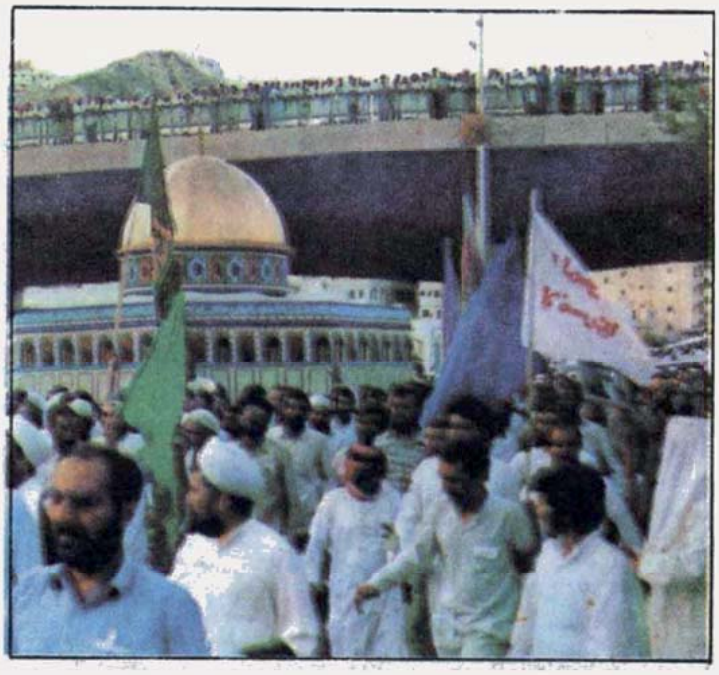
After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, in addition to forming the Islamic government on a style completely different from modern political systems, a style whose foundations and principles are drawn up in the constitution of the Islamic Republic, undertook the revival of the Islamic laws and rules, including Friday Mass namaz rites, and special namaz on major Islamic holidays all over the country. These he revived as politico-devotional duties; posing and discussing the problems and difficulties of the Islamic society within the country and abroad, in the Friday Mass sermons, and in religious holiday ceremonies. Changing the tempo and contents of the mourning ceremonies are some examples.

One of the most outstanding works of Imam Khomeini is the revival of the Hajj as performed by Abraham (pbuh). Before the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the annual ceremonies of Hajj was performed faraway from its real spirit. This was due to the types of attitudes and attachments of governors in the Islamic lands, particularly those of Saudi Arabian rulers.



Muslims performed the Hajj rites while they were utterly ignorant about the philosophy of the distinction of this greatest annual religious congregation in the world. By the explicit text of the Qoran, the Hajj pilgrimage is defined as the focus of people's uprising, and the most prominent

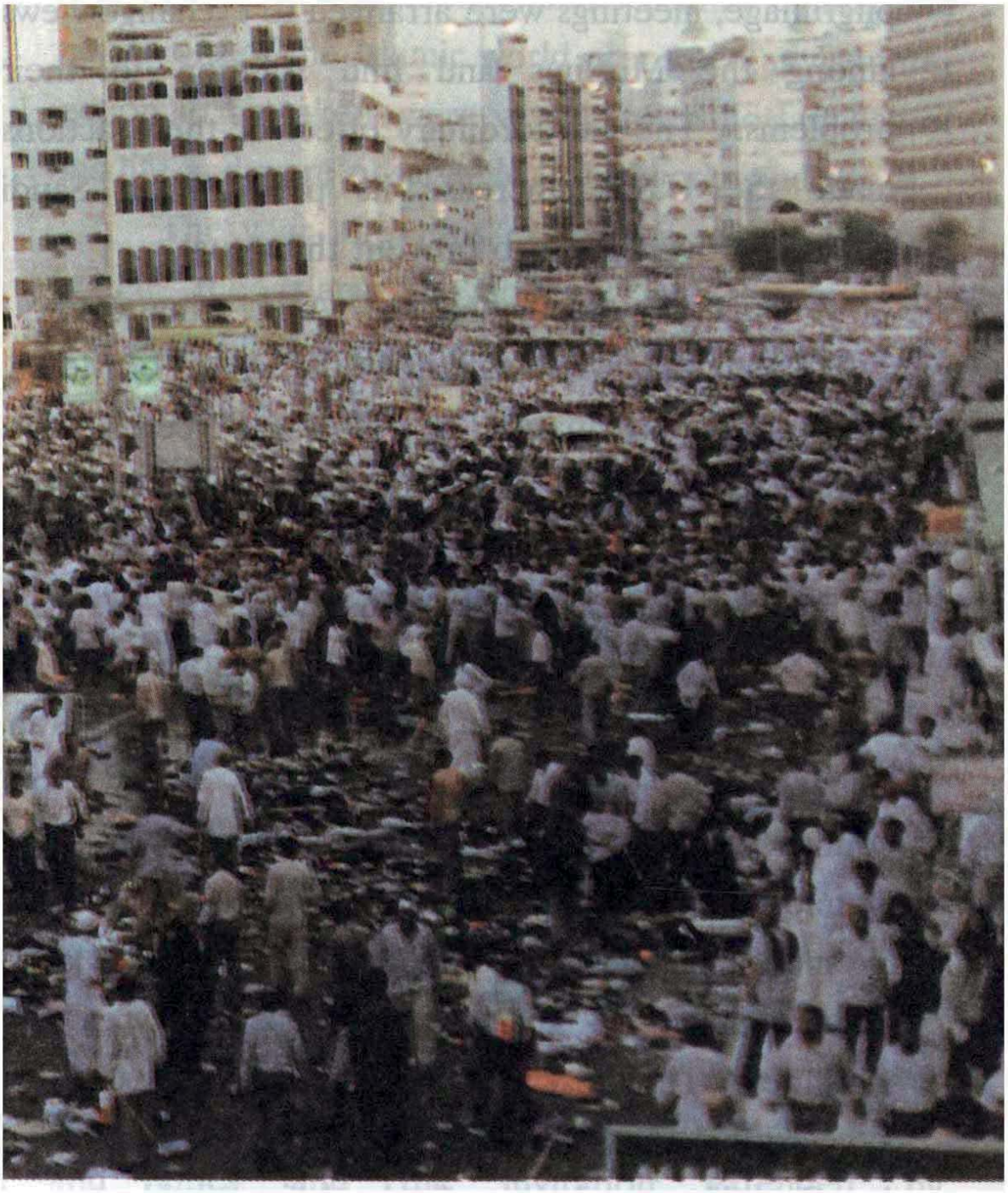




demonstration of avoiding the polytheists *(baraat-e moshrekin)*.

However, no trace of posing the problems of the Islamic world, nor of avoidance of polytheists was seen, while at the same time Islamic societies were living in harshest conditions, and under attack by colonialists and Israel. After the victory of the Revolution, by issuing annual Hajj messages, Imam khomeini emphasized, the necessity of attention to be paid by Muslims to the political issues of the Islamic world and avoiding the polytheists as the Hajj pillars as well as to the duty of the Hajj pilgrims in connection therewith. Gradually the great Hajj congress was acquiring its real form. Each year the ritual of avoiding the polytheists was observed by tens of

thousands of pilgrims from Iran with participation by revolutionary Muslims of other countries. In the course of a magnificent march slogans declaring



aversion to the U.S.A., Soviet Union and Israel, as prominent models of the world paganism and polytheism, were sounded and voiced, inviting

Muslims to unity. Coincidental with the Hajj pilgrimage, meetings were arranged to exchange views among the Muslims and find solution to their problems. The extraordinary effect of these actions made the U.S.A. increase its pressure on Saudi Arabian Government to prevent this ritual.

On Friday 6 Zihajjeh 1407 AHL, when over 150,000 pilgrims were walking in the streets of Mecca, intent on participation in "avoiding" ceremonies, Saudi's overt and covert agents, with prior readiness, and having blocked the central path to movement, all of a sudden attacked the demonstrators with fire arms and cold weapons and suppressed the movement. In this tragic event about 400 pilgrims from Iran, Lebanon, Palestine, Pakistan, Iraq and other countries were martyred and about 5,000 were wounded and some innocent ones were arrested. Women and elderly people, who were unable to escape, made the majority of those martyred and wounded. They lost their lives because they chanted slogans, including takbir or glorification of God, "God is Great!" as they voiced their avoidance of ploytheism. More importantly the reverence and honor of God's secured sanctuary had been defiled on a Friday, during the holy season of Hajj pilgrimage and within a reverened month. Imam Khomeini's

anger at this impudent act and his deep grief--for the reason that the expediency of the Islamic ummat and conditions of the Islamic world prevented any counter action to be taken--were with him to the last day of his life and were observable in his works and deeds.

The year after this event, for reasons already stated, the Islamic government of Iran and the government of Iraq signed the Resolution 598 and the imposed war was over. The sacrifices of the fighters, the epic resistance of the Iranian nation during 8 years of holy defense, the making of enemies of the Islamic Revolution meet with failure in all their aims for which they had imposed this war on Iranian nation, the expulsion of the aggressors from towns and villages and occupied areas in an uneven war and the termination of the war in victory for the army of Islam, all entailed honor and joy. However, the atrocities committed and conditions developed before the end of war including the massacre of the people of Halabcheh by chemical bombardment, and the mass killings of the innocent people in Iranian towns and cities and the invitation extended by pseudo-Islamic governments to the U.S.A. and Europe to send naval forces to the Persian Gulf to support Saddam, and exploding Iranian passenger airplane over the Persian Gulf by American military

units were all painful issues. All this made the heart of every zealous Muslim throb with pain, let alone a man like Imam Khomeini who had given up all he had, and had dedicated his life to the good and the expediencies of Muslim ummat and to uprising, to regain the past glory of the Muslim peoples.

Imam Khomeini felt great pain observing that many governments ruling over Islamic countries, ignore the wishes of their people and side with the spiteful enemies of Islam and support the aggressor. Particularly, because the Imam could see the losses that resulted from such supports, and had often declared that, confronting the Islamic System and supporting the Baathist rulers, not only solves no problem of the world of Islam, but in the near future, themselves will be caught in the fires they have concealed under ashes. A sample of this amazing presage by Imam Khomeini, can be seen in his speech made 8 years before Saddam's attack on Kuwait (26/2/1361) that appeared the same year in the book, Sahifeh-ye Noor (vol. 16, p. 150). On that day, Imam Khomeini, addressing the Arab States that supported Saddam, said: "***These governments of the region must realize that they are being made to perish themselves for the sake of U.S.A. or for some other block. We have often warned them that they are tools in the***

hands of the superpowers. They should realize that if Saddam is saved and regains power, he is not the kind of man to appreciate them. He is mad with self-aggrandizment, and this mania makes him fight those who provided him with the support he needed." The year before, Imam Khomeini, in his speech on 11/9/1360, had also warned: ***"I advise all the governments of the region to stop supporting Saddam, and beware of the day that Almighty God may show them His anger!"*** Not long after this pious man's demise, his presage came true and those who regarded Iran as a war-monger and the aggressor as a peace-seeker, became victims of the same aggressor, with the difference that, contrary to the conduct of the Iranian nation and government, they took refuge in those who had set ablaze, the fire of those seditions and insurgencies of the past and present.

The indifference of the Islamic governments vis-a-via Israel's invasion of Southern Lebanon, the atrocities of the Zionists in that country, the crue suppressionl

of the rising Palestinian Muslims and, worse than these, the approach of Arab governments to Israel for compromise, and desisting from the aim to liberate the Qods, all were toils that weighed heavily on the heart of the "Old Man of Jamaran". From the start of his movement, Imam Khomeini had cried out against Israel and its principal supporter, the U.S., for the liberation of Islamic lands from the clutches of the Zionists and for so doing, he was exiled out of his homeland for 14 years. After the triumph of the Revolution, he had spared no material and spiritual support for the sake of this objective. But now he was seeing that, while the waves of wakefulness and Islamism among Palestinian youths and throughout the Islamic world had changed the conditions to the detriment of Israel and the U.S.A., heads of Islamic governments and of Palestinian organizations were preparing themselves to sign the document of submission. These issues, too, beset the Imam's soul with gnawing pains. Surley, during the last few years, a part of Imam Khomeini's nocturnal prayers with his God, must have been spent in, plaintively asking for a change of the conditions.

In the arena of internal issues, too, the conditions that resulted in the removal of the deputy leader by the Imam (8/1/68) was another

unwholesome event. One of the most advanced principles approved on the basis of Imam Khomeini's views and embodied in the constitution of the Islamic Republic, is the formation of the Council of Experts for appointment of the leader and to lay down the qualifications for leadership of the Islamic System. The experts *(Khobregan)* are jurisconsults and authorities in feqh, who are elected directly by the people, and so the people through their votes for electing the experts, have a part in the supervision of the highest affairs relating to the destiny of the Islamic society.

The first meeting of the Council of Experts in Tir 1362/July 1983, chose Ayatollah Montazeri as Deputy Leader. Ayatollah Montazeri was one of the excellent students of the Imam and was a jurisconsult who had active participation in the 15th of Khordad

Uprising and in the events that followed, and because of this he, like Ayatollah Taleqani and other Revolutionary clergy, had experienced long terms of confinement in the Shah's prisons.

In his last letter to Ayatollah Montazeri which resulted in accepting his resignation and removal from the deputy leadership position, Imam Khomeini had specified that, he had disagreed with his appointment as Deputy Leader from the outset and had regarded him as lacking the stamina *(taqat)* necessary for acceptance of this important, arduous and grave responsibility.

It is specified in the said letter that Imam Khomeini had not opposed the selection of Ayatollah Montazeri to the position of deputy leader by the Council of Experts because he did not want to interfere in the lawful duties of the Council. This point is highly important from the viewpoint of Imam Khomeini's type of leadership, for it indicates the Imam's respect for and attachment to the rules of Islamic System and to the vote of people. This goes so far, that even in most critical issues, he had been unwilling to implement his personal view although such intervention would have created no problem, considering his popularity and acceptability among the people.

In continuation of the said letter and, expressing his interest in Ayatollah Montazeri, the Imam had indicated that he thought it expedient for Ayatollah Montazeri to avoid past errors and keep his homestead clear of incompetent individuals and the traffic of those opposed to the Islamic System, so that the people, the System and the theological assemblies may benefit from his jurisprudential views.

It is to be noted that, following the election of the Council of Experts, with regard to the deputy leader, not only the Imam had not expressed his opposing view, but he acted to strengthen his deputy and improve his weak points. Moreover in order that the deputy may acquire experience and readiness for accepting the grave responsibility of leadership, the Imam devolved to him many important tasks. But, unfortunately that reality which was "lack of necessary stamina for bearing this heavy mission" gradually began to show itself; incompetent agents infiltrated the house of Ayatollah Montazeri. Television confessions by these agents revealed their ominous past and future objectives. These agents took advantage of this weak point and went so far as to ignore Imam Khomeini's counsels and kind advices and insisted on continuing their past acts. Imam Khomeini had, for several times, by letter or in

audience, emphasized the necessity of eliminating these elements and cooperating with the System's dedicated authorities.

To understand the subtle points of this event and the bitterness of its effect on the soul of the Imam, and at the same time, to get some idea about the extent of the Imam's attachment to the expediencies of the Islamic nation while ignoring his personal and emotional relations vis-a-vis more important objectives, we quote below the text of the Imam's address to the Consultative Assembly (Majles) delegates and the government cabinet on 21/1/1368 (10 April 1989) that is self-explanatory: "***I have heard that you are not aware of the affair relating to His Excellency Mr. Montazeri and do not know what it is all about. Know then, that 'your old man'*** [Imam's reference to himself] ***has been trying for two years by messages or in statements, to no avail, to prevent the matter from reaching this stage...on the other hand, my religious duty called for a decision to be taken to protect the System and Islam. Therefore, with bleeding heart, I removed the fruit of my life*** [reference to Ayatollah Montazeri] ***from his office*** [as Deputy Leader] ***for the safeguard of the Islam and the System....***"

Thus one of the worries relating to the future of the Islamic System was obliterated by the able hands

of the Imam. The performance of such difficult tasks was only possible by a man of the Imam's caliber. With regard to others, the Imam had said: "***The Revolution owes nothing to any group....I have often declared that I have entered in no brotherhood pact with anyone, regardless of their position or status....The framework for my friendship, lies in the honesty and veracity of each individual.***" As regard himself the Imam, in his famous message to the theological assemblies, had written: "***God knows that I do not consider myself entitled to any immunity right and/or privilege. If I err, I am ready to be taken to task.***"

As already mentioned, Imam Khomeini's messages, lectures and sermons during the last years of his life have an essential difference from those of his earlier years. His recent messages reveal his foresightedness, and a sense of responsibility vis-a-vis the era after him. Imam's earlier statements were aimed at guidance of people and authorities in respect to daily issues of the community and assuming proper positions against problems from which the country and the world of Islam were suffering. However, his recent messages more markedly show a summary of past and present problems, and a view of the future and specify Muslims general duties vis-a-vis future responsibilities. This indicates that the Imam

cherished a feeling of departure (from this world) and in view of it, he attempted in his last years to recall or review the total values, ideals and objectives for the realization of which the Movement had been organized, and to draw up the Islamic world revolution on the basis of those ideals and values.

In his messages, by presenting his own evaluation of the factionalism that exist within the country, and throughout the world of Islam, and by his analysis of the dominant rules and orders in the contemporary world, Imam Khomeini had tried to pave the way for future generations to distinguish and choose and to set forth the duties of each stratum (of population) for prevalent conditions when he is no longer among them.

Imam Khomeini had penned his detailed divino-political will or testament dated 26 Bahman 1361/15 February 1982, several years before his heavenly departure. His testament is based on above motives. This last testament of the Imam, already translated and published in various languages, is Imam Khomeini's eternal message and contains the principles of his thought, and ideology and it will, forever, be a guide for his followers. The writing of such a will, on such a level, scale, and dimensions, is an unprecedented undertaking among the Shiite jurisprudents and religious authorities. It shows the Imam's deep awareness of the current and future needs of the Islamic societies and of his own responsibility in connection therewith.

Imam Khomeini's recent messages are, in fact, a description and an interpretation of the values, well defended in his testament or last will and of the political issues described therein. A special feature of these messages is the Imam's emphasis on the necessity of paying attention to two types of antithetical understandings of Islam. On the strength of countless historical evidences, Imam Khomeini believed that Islam and other divine religions have, from the earliest times, been presented in two contradictory features. On the one hand, there is the

distorted Islam which is at the service of despotic colonial rulers and has been developed by lying pseudo-clerics. On the other, there is the pure, Orthodox Islam that has survived through the ages by the blood of crusaders and the ceaseless effort of the religiously dedicated ulama and has remained immune from superstitions, distortions and embellishments. One of the secrets of Imam Khomeini's success in making the Islamic society rise and move has been his ability to clarify those perpetual antithetical understandings of Islam and the characteristics of each.

Imam Khomeini believed that carelessness and a lack of recognition of this historical reality, have been the cause of infiltration by colonialism in Islamic countries and the Muslims staying away from the eras of their own great and famous civilization and culture resulting, ultimately, in getting bogged down in the present dire conditions as we all witness. Unfortunately, the Islamic governments whose mottoes once were: ***"Islam is the supreme and nothing is superior to it."***[38] and that ***"God will not let the unbelievers triumph over the faithful"*** (Qoran 4:141[39]) are today, even for the safeguard of their borders and their own beings begging help from the enemies of Islam, the heathens and the pagans.

Imam Khomeini has defined the two different perceptions of Islam as: the "Pure Islam" and the "American version of Islam". He believed that that Islam in which the definite Qoranic decrees and the traditions of the Prophet (pbuh) regarding social responsibilities are ignored; that Islam in which the decrees and chapters regarding jihad, enjoining to good and interdicting the evil, Islamic justice and decrees relating to social and economic relations is ignored and abandoned; that Islam in which Muslims are barred from participation in politics and their own destiny and in which religion is viewed merely as a number of personal prayers and individual devotional acts without regard to their philosophy and real spirit, is fabricated and formulated by the U.S.A. and its affilliates.

To prove his analysis, His Holiness Imam had telling historical proofs and evidences of the conditions prevalent in Islamic countries. He believed that neo-colinialism is the result of the efforts made by the former colonialists. Their previous efforts to change the faith of the Muslim peoples by means of Christian missionaries had failed, and from then on, they have aimed their efforts at neutralizing the progressive decrees of the religion of Islam, and to render this religion ineffective from within, whose

results is quite clear. Today, in most Islamic countries the systems of government, the constitutional laws, political and social legislations, and legal procedures are all derived from anti-religious Western laws and processes which, in their real essence, are not compatible with laws derived from divine inspirations. It is the Americanized Islam that permits the Western culture with its moral corruptions and degenerations infiltrate deep into Islamic communities and threaten the seed and race of the Muslims. It is the American version of Islam that shields puppet governments and empowers them, so they in the name of Islam confront the true Muslims and at the same time, plan submission and compromise with the U.S.A. and Israel--the enemies of Islam.

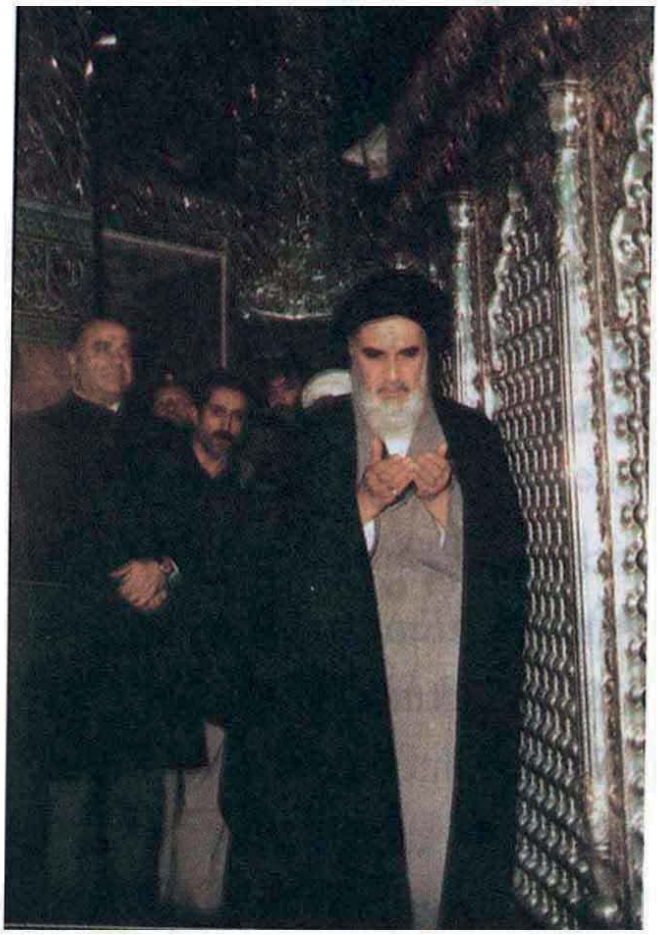
In his recent messages, Imam Khomeini has emphasized with greater clarity, the fact that mankind's only way out of present dead ends is their return to the era of religion and religionism. The only way open to Muslim countries, to rid themselves of the present deplorable circumstances is a return to the Orthodox Islam and to their independent Islamic identity.

□ *A GLANCE AT IMAM KHOMEINI'S BELIEFS, IDEOLOGIES, AND OBJECTIVES*

Now that this article, in pursuing the course of Imam Khomeini's life, is approaching the last few days of his life, it is proper to have a look, though quick and short, at some of the more important aspects of his thoughts and ideologies. Obviously, a clear and complete picture of the Imam's religious fundamentals and objectives, can be gained by study of his entire written and spoken words and paying attention to his actual conduct.

Imam Khomeini was a Shiite Muslim who solidly believed in the unity of Islam (regardless of its schisms). He believed that this unity is necessary vis-a-vis colonialists and the enemies of Islam. Call to unity forms an important part of Imam Khomeini's messages and speeches.

His Holiness, the Imam has ruled out any move that would break up the lines of the Muslims and lead to domination by colonialists. By issuance of unique decrees and his support of the "Unity Week" in the Muslim world and by his repeated messages, he shows the practical ways for unity between the Sunnis and Shias denominations. During his leadership, he opposed any move that would end in division and dispute between these two major sects of Islam.



Imam Khomeini believed that faith in the oneness of God, and in the mission of the Prophet of Islam (pbuh), and faith in the Holy Qoran as the eternal charter for guidance, and acceptance of mottoes and decrees, such as the namaz, fasting, giving alms, Hajj and jihad are solid pillars for all the followers of various Islamic sects to come together in unity and stand up against the polytheists.

The reformist rise of the Imam and his messages are not meant only for Iranian society. He believed that man's intuition is based on monotheism,

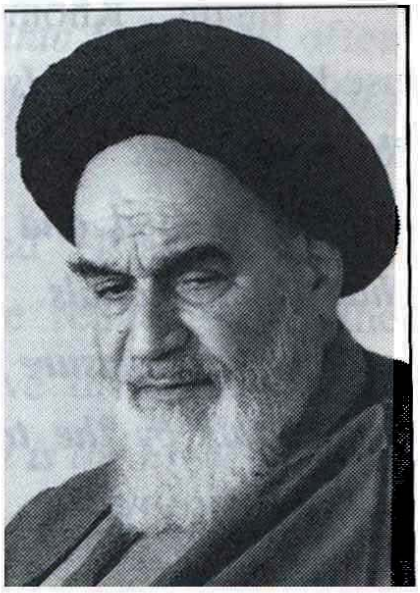
charity, search for truth and justice and, if general awareness increases and the evil of ego *(nafs-e ammareh)* and the outside satans be harnessed and weakened, then every human society will take to God-seeking and live in environments rich in justice and peace. For this reason, in all his public messages, the Imam has urged the Third World captive nations and the oppressed peoples to rise against the arrogant world. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, openly posed the idea of forming the "Party of the Oppressed Peoples" and defended it. The first universal gathering of international liberating movements convened in Iran during the Imam's leadership.

He often emphasized that the Islamic Revolution is enemy to the domineering objectives of the heads and of ruling bodies of the U.S.A, the West and (former) Soviet Union and not to the nations of these countries, who are themselves victims of neo-colonialism. Imam Khomeini's motto was fighting the oppressor and defending the oppressed and he used to say, ***"We are neither cruel nor do we tolerate cruelty"***.

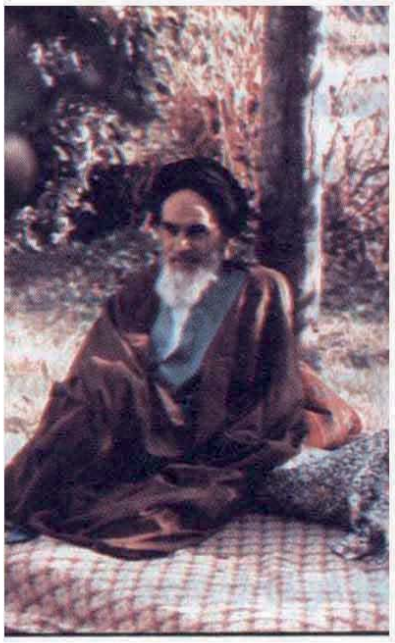
To get a better idea of the religious beliefs of Imam Khomeini, it would be better to read his answer to a London Times correspondent who had

asked questions about them from the Imam.

"My belief and that of other Muslims are the same issues that the Qoran contains or those that have been uttered by the Prophet of Islam (pbuh) and by rightful authorities after him. The root and essence of all those beliefs which are our dearest and most valuable beliefs, is monotheism. According to this principle, we believe that the Creator of the world and of all beings in the universe, including mankind, is the one and only Exalted God Who knows all and is capable of all things and to Him belongs all things and objects. This principle teaches us to be submissive only before the power of God and to obey no man unless obeying him is tantamount to obeying God. On the basis of this principle, no individual has the right to force any other man to submit to him. Furthermore, this principle of faith teaches us the principle of human freedom, that is, no man has the right to deprive an individual or community of liberty, to legislate for them, to regulate their conduct according to his own understanding of it which is generally defective, or regulate the conduct of others according to his wishes or desires. Still more, from this principle, we come to believe that legislation for man's progress is with God alone, just as the laws of creation and being are willed by him. Man's happiness and perfection and those of the communities, are dependent on obedience to divine laws.



of which mankind is informed through the prophets (pbuh). Man's degradation and fall is due to deprivation of his rights and his submission to other human beings. Therefore, man must rise against these fetters and chains of bondage and to challenge those who invite us to servitude, and to liberate ourselves and the community, so that we may all be servants of God and submit ourselves to Him. It is for this reason that our social rules and regulations begin with opposition to despotic and colonialistic powers. Also, from this principle of faith, and belief in monotheism, we get the inspiration that all men are equal before God, Who has created them all, and all are His creatures and servants. This is the principle of equality of men and that man's only distinction and preference to one another rests in their virtue and freedom from distortion and guilt. Therefore, all the things that upset this equality, and institute vain and nonsense distinctions in the community must be fought against."



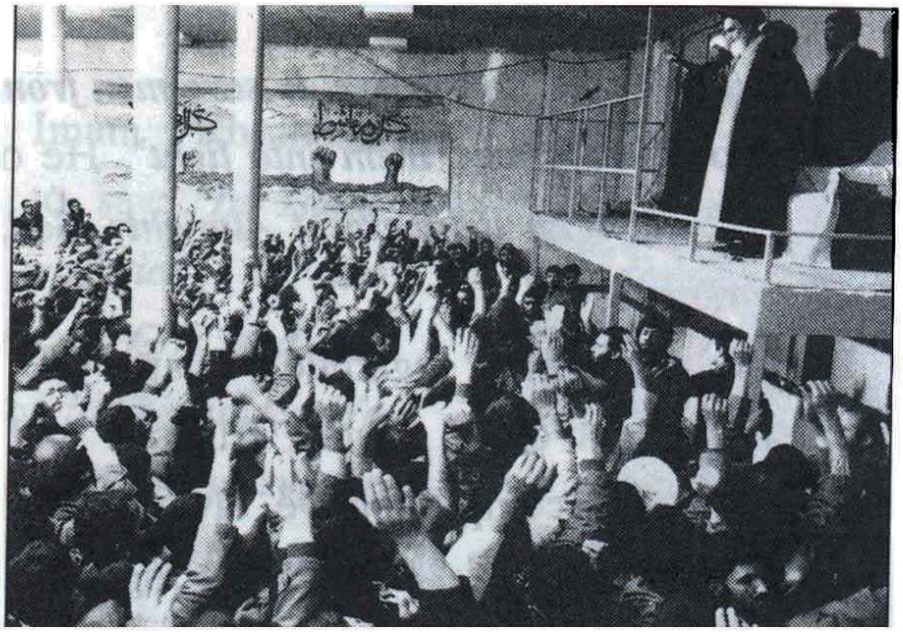
Imam Khomeini used to say: "***In Islam the yardstick is the consent of God and not that of individuals. We weigh and measure the individuals by the truth and not vice versa. The yardstick is the rightfulness and truthfulness.***" His Holiness, the Imam regarded men's nature and intuition as kneaded and inbred in love for the absolute perfection, which belongs to God exclusively. It is He Who is the source of all perfections and powers. The Imam often reminded his followers that: "***The universe is God's Presence; so, do not sin in the presence of God!....Fear none except God and put your trust only in God.***"

His Holiness, the Imam considered the philosophy of the prophetic missions as a means by which men are led toward theosophy, to activate man's perfection-seeking power, in negation of all darkness, in reformation of the society, and in establishment of equity and justice, as he has said: "***A prophetic mission's aim is to salvage from darkness, people's character, their ego, their soul and their bodies.***

It aims to put aside, all darknesses, to save men from the abyss of darkness, and lead them into light". He often lectured: "*There is no light except Almighty God, the rest is all darkness!*"

Imam Khomeini regarded Islam as the complementary seal of all divine religions and the most excellent and comprehensive divine school of guidance. He emphasized: "*Islam is the highest degree of civilization....The Islam laws are progressive, comprehensive and complementary....In Islam there is only one law, and that is the divine law.*" The Imam regarded Islam as the religion of worship and politics and often remarked: "*Islam itself has been one of the founders of world's great civilizations.*" He advised his followers: "*Be careful never to confuse the Holy Qoran and the salvational religion of Islam with one of these false, man-made and deviant schools!*" Elsewhere, Imam Khomeini has said: "*The major difficulty of the Muslims is that they have put aside the Holy Qoran and have gathered under the banners of others....Shiism which is a revolutionary school and is the continuation of the Prophet's true Islam, as the Shias themselves are, has always been under mean attacks by the despots and the colonialists.*"

With regard to his motives and objectives of his uprising and challenge, Imam Khomeini often

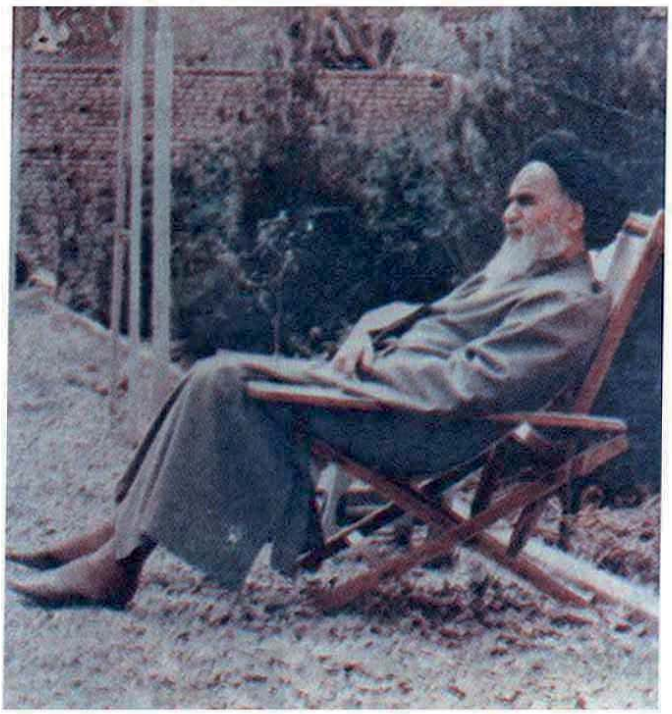


emphasized that: ***"Our entire aim is Islam."*** The Imam regarded the Islamic Revolution as a radiation of the eternal rise of Imam Hosseyn[40] (pbuh) on the day of Ashoora, which was made to save Islam from the clutches of the cruel corrupters. He emphasized that: ***"Islam is not the religion for a particular nation; it recognizes no difference between Turks, Iranians, Arabs or non-Arabs. Islam belongs to all regardless of race, tribe, language or color which do not count in this religion. All are brothers and equal. Honor is in virtue and chastity and in superior character and good conduct."***

Imam Khomeini saw martyrdom in God's path, as eternal honor, the pride of the saints, the key to happiness and the secret of victory. He saw seeking martyrdom as the result of love for God. About martyrdom and its essence and value, the Imam has

said: "*How ignorant are the mammonists, and the uninformed ones who seek the value of martyrdom in the chronicles of universe, and look for its description in songs, epics and poetry, and for its discovery they seek assistance from the art of imagination and the tome volume of thoughts!....Far from it; the solving of this puzzle is not possible except through love!*" It was with such a logic that the Imam has said: "*I tell you, faithful brothers, if we get wiped off the face of the earth by the treasonous hands of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, and with our red blood, meet our God in honor, it is far better than living lavishly under the red flag of the red army of the East or the black army of the West.*"

Imam Khomeini was a divine philosopher and mystic, a jurisconsult, a religious authority (marja) and at the same time the leader of the Islamic Revolution, and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He was acquainted with the principles of Western philosophy, and was well-versed in the principles and arguments of logic and Islamic philosophy, in both,



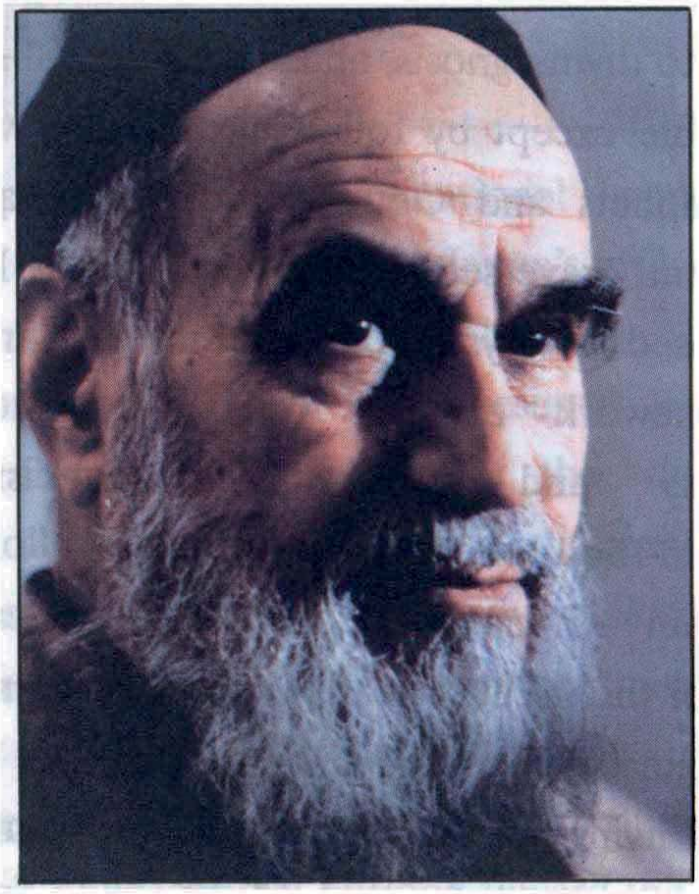
the peripatetic and illumination approaches. Perhaps it is safe to say that the Imam's philosophical insight was somewhat leaning toward illuminationalism (Eshraqi and Presentativeness) or somewhat close to eclectic style of the divine hakim Molla Sadra[41] with some differences and distinctions: Imam Khomeini taught philosophy on highest levels for 15 years. He followed philosophy as a path for recognition of the stage and the step taken to perceive the realities of existence and of creatures, and thus his philosophical outlook toward the truth of existence and pantheism and its stages, is deeply influenced by his school of mysticism.

Imam Khomeini's mysticism (erfan) is based on Qoranic verses, hadiths of the grandees of the religion

and the whole knowledge of the prophets, within the framework of the holy religion of Islam. He was opposed to negative mysticism which restricts the faith and religion in some recitals and cantations, and encourages living in isolation, avoiding sociopolitical responsibilities. The Imam believed that knowing oneself is the basis of theology and that purging oneself of ethical corruption and vices and acquisition of excellences are prerequisites to knowing God; and attaining to divine gnosis, and exalted moral stations is not possible except by following the path which the great prophets and God's "proofs" on earth have learned and traversed. Therefore, Imam Khomeini was opposed to ways and asceticisms that are outside the framework of the religion, and despised sanctimony and hypocritical mysticism, and holier-than-thou attitudes.

Imam Khomeini believed that in the risky breadth of the greater jihad or jihad-e akbar (fighting mean inclinations of the ego), and in the ways and means of living, and in peripatetic trips enroute the Four Journeys (Asfar-e Arbaeh), one must seek assistance from the real guides and true possessors of discoveries and miracles and not of those who feign such powers. Furthermore, one must clutch onto the grand guardianship *(velayat-e-ozma)* that is the salvation

boat and anything otherwise is entirely astray. Imam Khomeini's pure soul, his exalted spirit and his successful passage through the practical stages of spiritual traverse are best proof for the rightfulness of this passage. In this course or passage, Imam Khomeini reached such a moral station and experienced such an intuitive comprehension and annihilation in God that he, even vis-a-vis the



Hallaj-like[42] claims of "I am the Creative Truth", would become upset, not because the simple-minded ones alien to mysticism had excommunicated such claimers. Rather, because in the expanse of existence,

they witnessed things besides Haq and claimed self-assertion "anniyat" and intercession. Whereas in the view of the Imam, only Almighty God is light *(noor)* and other things are all darkness, and darkness is non-existence of light and non-existence has no being, and existence is all but manifestation of God *(Haq)* and nothing but Him.

In addition to being highly versed in philosophy, mysticism, exegesis, ethics, and theology, Imam Khomeini was an outstanding jurisconsult with full knowledge of feqh and principles which he taught for 30 years on highest level. Presently, apart from the numerous books written by the Imam on feqh and principles, scores of lessons and courses taught by him have been compiled by his students and are available. Of the special features ascribed to Imam's school of feqh or jurisprudence, one is that he believed that feqh and principles enjoy special genuineness. In the deductive stage of the precepts, he avoided associating philosophical, mystical and theological views with the decrees of feqh. Imam Khomeini regarded the searching quality of feqh and principles as a prerequisite to having a deductive *(ejtehadi)* view, and he maintained that the factors of time and place have a determinant role in independent reasoning in Islamic law *(ejtehad)* and ignoring them results in an

inability to understand and answer the daily emerging issues. He further believed that the searching action of feqh does not mean rendering infirm, the deductive procedure of the conventional ejtehad. He therefore emphasized that the theological assemblies ought to adhere to the traditional feqh as a safeguard of the ways and methods of the competent ancestors in deduction of decrees, and deviation from this way lead to heresy, and pose major dangers. His Holiness, the Imam wanted the theological assemblies to reform and change within this framework which he pioneered. By issuing revolutionary decrees, the Imam opened the way to change the angle of perception and its extension to vital and essential problems of the society and thus revived the forgotten chapters of the feqh, and actually proved the unavoidable intervention of the factors of time and space.

Imam Khomeini has said: ***"In the views of a true jurisconsult, government is the practical philosophy of the entire feqh in the entire span of man's***

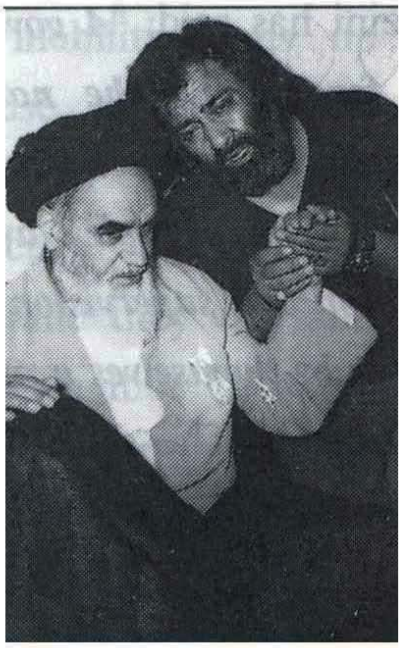
life. Government represents the practical aspects of jurisprudence in confronting the whole gamut of social, political, military and cultural difficulties. Feqh is the real and thorough theory of management of man from the cradle to the grave."

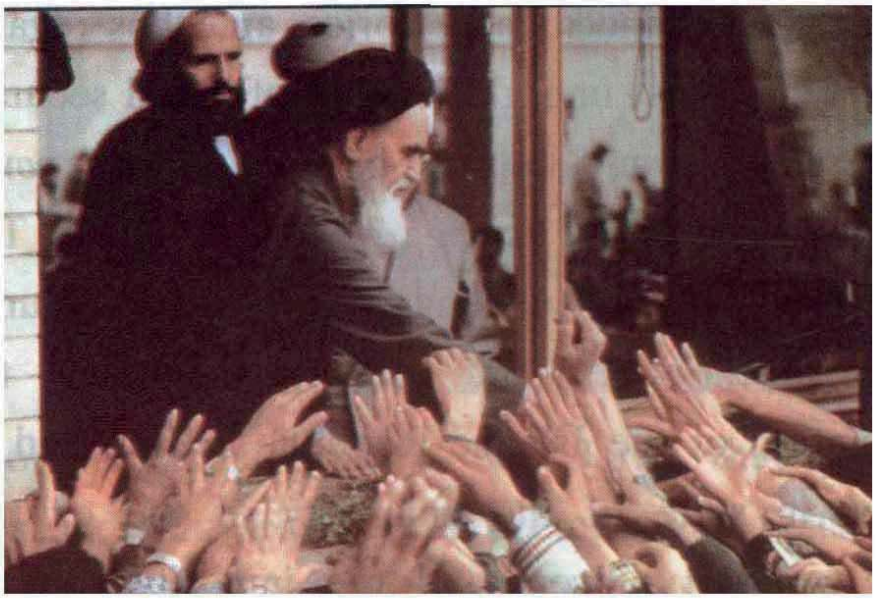
On the basis of such viewpoint, Imam Khomeini has expounded the theory of "Formation of the Islamic Government on the basis of the guardianship of the *faqih* during Occultation", and tried for years for its realization. Although the theory of guardianship of the jurisconsult *(velayat-e faqih)*, apart from the difference of viewpoints that has existed about the authorization extent of the *Vali-ye Faqih*, has enjoyed the consensus of opinions of the Shiite jurisconsults, yet its dimensions had not been adequately explored and its practical implementation not met in the past because conditions had not been ready for it. Thus Imam Khomeini is the first person in centuries who has succeeded in establishing a religious government on the basis of leadership by a fully qualified mojtahed or jurisconsult. Of the prerequisites for such leadership are: self-purification and preservation, integrity, ingenuity for public administration, audacity, justice and expertise in Islamic jurisprudence and divine laws. The Imam used to say: *"Islamic government is the rule of the divine law over the people."*

In the Imam's perception, the Islamic government, apart from the substantial difference of objectives and ideals from the organizational point of view, has also basic differences with contemporary political system. According to this viewpoint or theory, the "majority" becomes lawful on the basis of "truth" (haq), and in the wake of this the necessity to enforce *velayat* or guardianship depends on the presence of its conditions including public acceptance, which is realized via direct natural selection, or through election by the experts of the nation.

Therefore, the link between the people and the leadership and the Islamic government is deep and faithful and because of this, Imam Khomeini could institute and conduct one of the most popular types of governments. In this type of government, contrary to all the world's existing political systems, the people, after determination of leadership and carrying out elections, do not disavow responsibility, nor are they left to themselves. Rather, their presence in the scenes of management of the Islamic society and participation in the destiny of the Islamic System is guaranteed as an incumbent religious duty. According to Imam Khomeini, the pillar of Islamic rule is based on reciprocal love and trust between the people and competent leadership. In this connection, the Imam

has said: "*Any faqih who acts dictatorially, will be dismissed from guardianship....Leader and leadership in the divine religions, including Islam, is not in itself something grand to make men proud and self-conceited.*" It was such a viewpoint that made Imam Khomeini to say: "*If they call me a servant, it is better than being called a leader. Leadership is not what matters; What matters is*



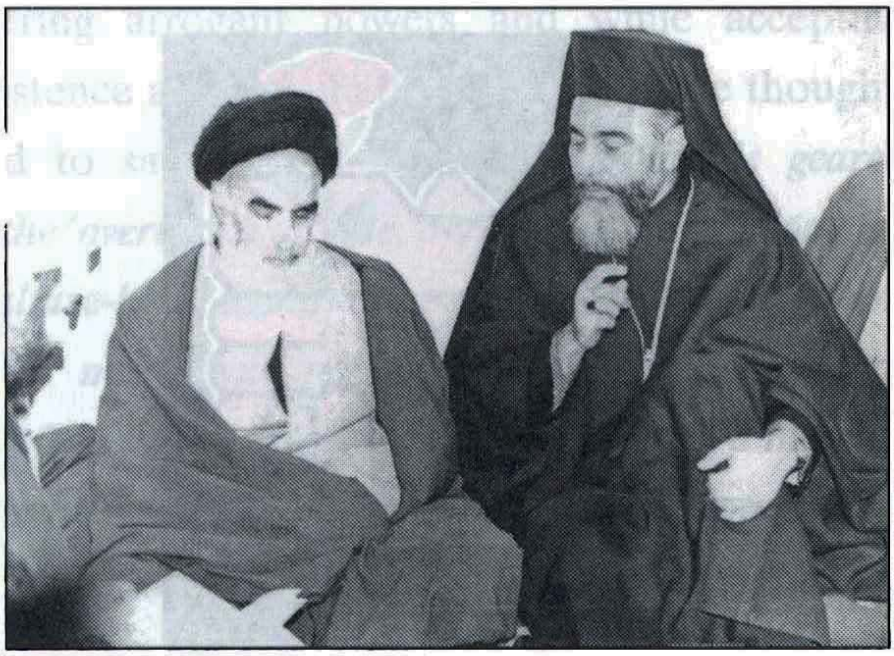


service; Islam has made it necessary for us to serve!....I am a brother to the Iranian people and regard myself as their servant and soldier....In Islam, one thing rules and that is the law. Law also ruled during the time of the

Prophet (pbuh); the Prophet was the implementer." Addressing governments that regard themselves as absolute rulers, and superior to their people, Imam Khomeini has said: "***A government is a small group of people for serving the nation. Such rulers do not understand that government must serve the people, not rule over them....People's awareness, their participation, cooperation and supervision of the government chosen by them, are by themselves a major guarantee for protection of the society.***" The difference between this theory of national sovereignty and social security and, the theory that defines government and sovereignty--even in most democratic political systems--only within the span of "power" and its accessories, and thus regards power as the most important pillar of social security, is quite clear. Imam Khomeini has said: "***A great power cannot stand without having a national base.***" The disintegration of the seemingly powerful Communist system, on the one hand and, on the other, the perpetuation of the Islamic Republic in Iran and its stability, in spite of the animosity of the existing world's greatest powers and the imposition of an 8-year war, all these are best proofs of the rightfulness of the Imam's theory.

It is obvious that Imam Khomeini's view about Islamic rule and people's position in it, have nothing

to do with the so-called "nationalism" in the political culture of the world. Rather, it is the exact opposite of it. Nationalism, when it appears as an ideology, apart from its practical inability, ends up in an antithesis of value. Because, in such a view, if the nationalistic imaginations of each nation are introduced as defensible facts, it means that there are no stable facts and values, and they vary and change constantly, according to the number of nationalities,



geographic and political boundaries that are being changed. So are the interpretations of facts, values, and issues such as justice, peace and freedom, just as well, numerous, changeable and antithetical. Naturally, in such conditions, the nation which, for any reason, possesses more power instruments or tools, regards imposing its domination over weaker

nations as its lawful right. Because extreme nationalism is nothing but superiority of race, color, language, and geographic and historical position. On the basis of historical documentary evidence, Imam Khomeini believed that, promotion of "nationalism and ethnocracy", institution of movements such as Pan-Arbism, Pan-Turkism, Pan-Iranism and the like, in the Third World and in Islamic countries, is the result of studies and efforts by colonialists to divide

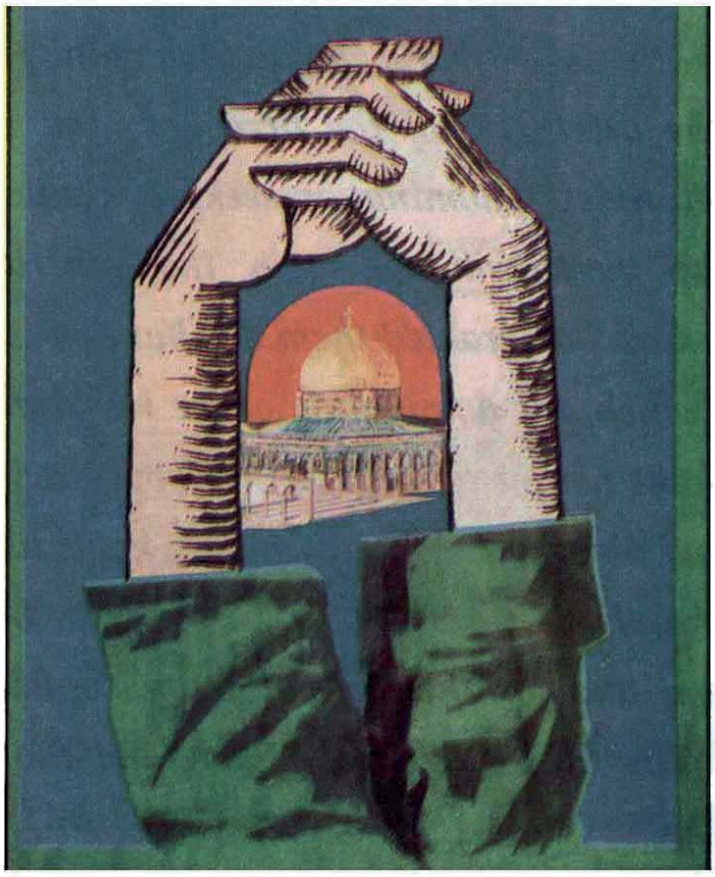
the countries, to sow dispute and to impose their domination. The Imam used to say: "***The plan of the great powers and their affiliates in Third World countries, is to set up these Muslim strata against one another and to divide these believers, to whom God***

Almighty has granted the spirit of brotherhood, and to call them by their ethnic names, i.e., Turkish nation, Arab nation, Kurd nation, etc, and even make them enemies of one another. This is exactly the opposite of Islam's course, and contradicts the Holy Qoran." And so it was that Imam Khomeini said: ***"Our Movement is Islamic before being Iranian."***

In Imam Khomeini's view, the establishment of real peace in the world with the presence of the domineering arrogant powers and while accepting their existence and domination is but a crude thought. He used to say: ***"World peace and sanity is geared toward the overthrow of the arrogant, and as long as these culture-less, domination-seeking bodies exist on earth, the meek will not gain the inheritance that Almighty God has granted them.... That day is a blessing to us, in which, the domination of the world-monger over our innocent nation and over other oppressed nations is broken and removed, and every nation holds its destiny in its own hands....The U.S.A may defeat us, but not our Revolution, and for this reason I am confident of our victory. The U.S.A does not understand the concept of martyrdom!"***

Concerning the true nature of the usurper Israeli government and its roots, the Imam has said: ***"The U.S.A., this essentially terrorist, is a government***

that has set the whole world on fire, and its ally is world Zionism which, to achieve its greedy objectives, performs crimes that pens and tongues are ashamed of uttering....From the viewpoint of Islam and Muslims and by all international criteria, Israel is an aggresseor and usurper....I regard the plan for independence of Israel and its recognition, a catastrophe for the Muslims and an explosion for Islamic governments." After the victory of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini called the last Friday of the month of Ramazan, the "Qods Day"



and urged all Muslims of the world to hold annual demonstrations on this day as long as the Qods

remains in the hands of the enemies of Islam, and thereby show their support for the Palestinian fighters.

In Imam Khomeini's opinion, the only way to liberate Qods is to believe in God and approach the school of martyrdom and armed jihad until complete annihilation of Israel.

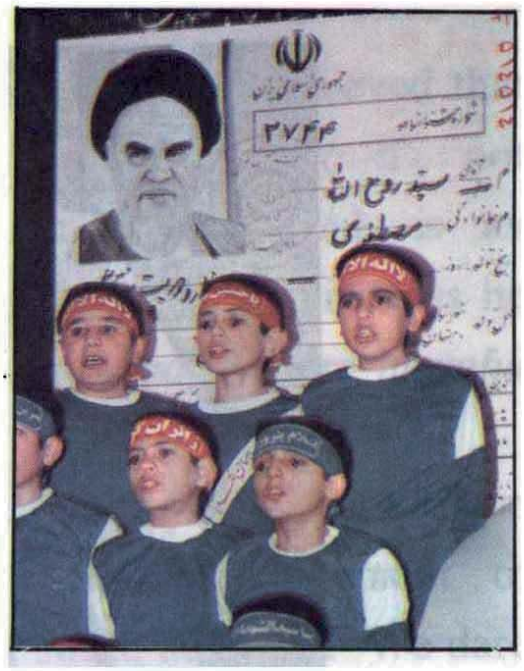
With regard to Communism, Imam Khomeini has said: "***From the first day of its emergence, communist rulers have been and are the most dictatorial, power-seeking and monopolistic rulers in the world.***" In respect of the progress of the Western world, he has said: "***We accept their progress but not their corruption of which they themselves complain.... Western education has removed mankind from his humanism....We are not opposed to civilization; we oppose imported civilization; we want a civilization based on honor and humanism.***"

His Holiness, the Imam has emphasized the infrastructural role of culture and has often said: "***Culture is the origin of all happiness or misery...what builds the nations is an authentic culture....The belly, and the bread and water are not the focus; the main issue is the human honor....Man is not human and cannot achieve his humanistic aims as long as he seeks to continue living in the shadow of machine guns, cannons and tanks....You must try, by your words and***

pens, to shelve the machine-guns and open the arena to pen, knowledge and science." Imam Khomeini negated and considered worthless the arts that are at the service of colonialism. He also negated "art for art's sake." He used to say : "***In Islamic mysticism, art is a clear description of justice, honor and fairness. It is the reflect of the affliction of the hungry people, who are anathematized by power and pelf.***"

In the area of education, Imam Khomeini was both a theoretical and practical master. By his educative methods, he had been able to set up, as pioneer of the great religious movement, a society whose culture and values had been until then trampled by the treachery of the Pahlavi dynasty and its affiliates. As a result, this society had become inclined towards indifference. It is said that during the 15th of Khordad 1342 Uprising, in those sorrowful conditions of social strangulation, Imam's friends had asked him with what force did he want to rise and form the rule of justice? The Imam had pointed to the cradle of a baby. Oddly enough, 15 years later the Iranian Muslim youths were the main performers in the arenas of the uprising.

Imam Khomeini considered self-consciousness and its regular purging of all develish and carnal desires throughout one's life, as a prerequisite for



attaining to the true perfection *(Kamal-e Haqiqi)*, and he believed that fostering or from childhood and even at fetus life, and so, he says: *"No occupation is as honorable as motherhood....A child's*

first school is its mother's lap." Addressing the community teachers, Imam Khomeini has said: *"Pay attention. Elementary school teaching is more important than that of the university, because the mental development takes place in childhood....Teachers are trustees who, besides other things they have human*

beings entrusted to them....All prosperities and miseries have their roots in school, and teachers have the keys." Imam Khomeini regarded teaching as the profession of the prophets and considered the guidance of the community towards Allah, as the most important occupation of teachers apart from formal sciences.

Imam Khomeini has called mankind, the essence of all beings in the universe. He has said: "***Man is a wonder that can develop into, either a heavenly or a devilish creature....By proper training and education of mankind, the entire world becomes reformed.***" He regarded upbringing and purification as having

priority over classroom instruction. He believed that science--with all its exalted position--if not accompanied by purification of the soul, is an instrument in the service of devilish objectives; as he said: ***"Knowledge in a vicious mind is more harmful than ignorance!"***

One of the major outcomes of Imam Khomeini's movement was the reinstatement of women's part in the span of social activities. We dare say that, at no time in Iranian history had women gained as much general and political awareness as in this decade, nor have they been involved in their own destinies as today. During the climaxing days of the Revolution, the women were present, shoulder-to-shoulder with men, and sometimes even ahead of men, in all scenes. During the imposed war, Iranian women's part in providing supplies for the war fronts, their encouragement of their husbands and brothers to participate in the defense of Islam and the Revolution, even their actual participation in providing supplies for the fronts, has been unprecedented in contemporary wars.

Right now, women are very active, along with men, in all social activities: in education, in universities, and in health and medical organizations as well as in government offices and other arenas.

Whereas, before the Islamic Revolution's triumph, due to the unfavorable and polluted atmosphere that the Shah's regime had created, most of Iranian Muslim women had, perforce, resorted to the atmosphere within the four walls of their homes. Many girls, especially in counties and rural areas, were deprived of schooling, and those who, in large cities, could participate in social activities defended their virtue and honor in most difficult conditions, and many felt impelled to give up education or quit their

jobs.

The change that has occurred in the Iranian women society has been, more than anything else, the result of Imam Khomeini's regard for the personality of women, and their station, and his defense of their rights. The Imam used to say: ***"In Islamic system, women enjoy the same rights that men do: the right to study, to work, to ownership, to vote and to be elected.... From the viewpoint of human rights, there is no difference between men and women, for both are human beings, and women are entitled to interfere in matters that concern their destiny just as men do....What Islam do oppose and regard as forbidden are corruption and vice, be it on the part of women or on the part of men.... We want women to stand on their lofty human station and not be toys....Islam does not want women to be playthings or dolls in the hands of men. Islam wishes to protect women's personality and develop them into serious and capable human beings....Women are free, as men are, to choose their own destinies and activities....Freedom in its Western form which corrupts the young girls and boys is condemned by Islam and by wisdom."***

Imam Khomeini's economic positions and recommendations were generally based on justice and giving priority to the rights of the deprived and the

oppressed members of the community. He called service to the deprived the highest worship and referred to them as the benefactors of the society and of himself. Most of the recommendations of Imam Khomeini to the employees of the Islamic System are about care for the indigent and abstain from developing palace dwellers temperament. He believed that the government, and its employees and managers are servants of the people and a servant has no right to demand for himself circumstances better than that of the public. The Imam used to say: "***One strand of the hair of the slum-dwellers and those who gave martyrs, is far superior, in honor, to all palaces and palace-dwellers of the world....Those who are with us to the end of the line, are the ones who tasted pain, deprivation and oppression....The day a government***

becomes palace-minded, that is the day we must toll the death knell of the government and of the nation."

One of the outstanding characteristics of Imam Khomeini is that his words were all based on belief and truthfulness and he, before others, practiced what he taught. The life style of the Imam was a perfect example of asceticism, contentment and simplicity, and this style was not confined to his pre-leadership period. Rather, he believed that a leader's standard of living must be on a par with or even lower than that of the commonest stratum of the population. He was attached to ascetic living all his life. Although some volumes have been written and published about this aspects of the Imam's life, still the dimensions of his attachment to asceticism and simple living remain a great deal unexplored.

To get an idea of the Imam's simple living and his belief that extreme care must be taken in spending the *beytolmal* (Muslim treasury), it is enough to note that, it was according to his view and emphasis that in article 142 of the constitution of the Islamic Republic, the Supreme Court is charged with investigating the assets of the leader and that of the upper strata of responsible authorities of the Islamic System, prior to and after their incumbency or assignment, to ensure that no unlawful increases have been made. Imam Khomeini was the first person to submit a list of his meagre assets to the state Supreme Court (24/10/1359; 14 January 1979). Immediately after the Imam's heavenly departure, his son, in a letter that appeared in the press, requested the judiciary branch to investigate the assets of the Imam again in accordance with the constitutional law.

The result of the investigation was published in a statement dated 11/4/1368 (2 July 1989) by the Supreme Court. This statement revealed that during the lapse of time, not only nothing had been added to the Imam's assets, but a plot of land that was inherited from his father was given to the indigent people of the place during his life and by his order.

The only immovable property of Imam Khomeini is his old house in Qom, which, since his

exile in 1343/1964 has actually been and is available to the objectives of the Movement and used as a center for gatherings by students-clergy and public visitors and it actually lacks the nature of personal property. The said list of assets that was prepared in 1359 and at the time of the Imam's heavenly departure, after lawful control, revealed no change but reduction. It was mentioned that the deceased had no personal assets except some books. The few rudimentary utensils necessary for simple life that were in the house, belonged to his wife. The two second-hand rugs were not personal property and ought to go to the needy *Sadat* (plural of Seyyed, the progeny of the Prophet of Islam). Personal cash was zero; if anything there was, it was religious alms belonging to the people left with the Religious Authority for religious expenses, and the heirs could not touch such funds. And so the remaining assets of a man who had spent about 90 years of his life in utter popularity, included eye-glasses, finger-nail

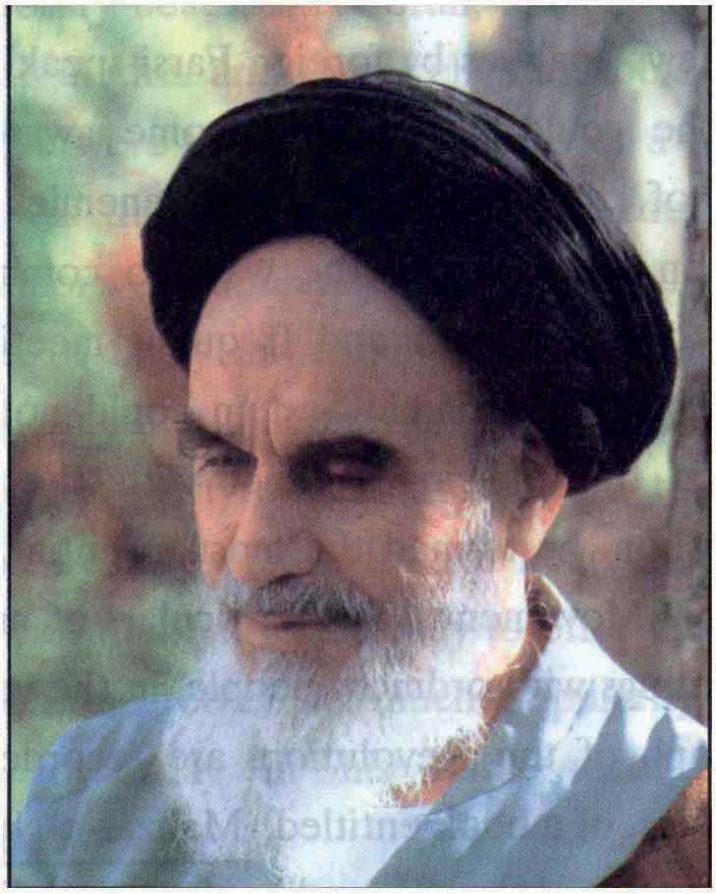
clippers, rosary beads, the Qoran, namaz-rug, turban, clergymen's clothes and some religious books.

Those were the list of all assets of a man who not only was the leader of an oil-rich country with tens of millions of population, but one who ruled over the hearts of many more millions, the people who, when he issued a mobilization order, lined up as candidates for martyrdom. These were the people who, upon hearing of the Imam's heart illness lined up at the hospital entrance ready to offer their hearts to him. The secret of so much popularity may be searched for, only in his faith, asceticism and truthfulness.

Imam Khomeini favored or, rather, believed deeply in programming and discipline in life. He used to spend specific hours of each day and night in worship and devotion, prayers and recitation of the Holy Qoran. Walking while invoking God and thinking were other features of his daily program. Reaching 90, he was still one of the hard working political leaders of the world. He would not forgo the exhilaration of service in the path of exalting the Islamic community and solving their problems, even in most vehement circumstances. In addition to daily reading of major news and official press reports, and scores of bulletins, listening to radio news and local

television, Imam Khomeini listened several times a day, to news analyses by foreign Farsi-speaking radios so that he could personally become aware of the process of the propaganda of enemies of the Revolution and contrive the ways to combat them. Pressing daily activities and frequent meetings with authorities of the Islamic System could not prevent the Imam from having contact with the common people, whom he termed the most essential assets of the Islamic Movement. The particulars of more than 3700 meetings with ordinary people, in the years after the triumph of the Revolution, are recorded in the two volumes of a book entitled, Mahzar-e-Noor [The Presence of Light]. This goes far to indicate the Imam's deep interest in and relation with the people of his time. He never made a decision affecting people's destiny unless he first faithfully discussed it with them. He regarded the people as most trustworthy for knowing the facts.

Imam Khomeini had a kind and determined face. His looks were solemnly appealing and replete with spirituality. Any crowd before him would involuntarily be attracted by his spirituality, and many would shed tears unconsciously. The people of Iran had a right in their various slogans, to pray to God to take their lives and add instead, a moment to that of



Imam Khomeini's. The world, alien to spirituality, may not believe this but those who had grown up with the Imam, appreciated every moment of the life of this lovable person, whose entire life was devoted to God and to serving the people.

Notwithstanding, the arrogant world and Western mass media have done great injustice to Imam Khomeini, more so to humanity. For years their widespread propaganda has aimed at blemishing the visage of the Imam and the Islamic Revolution. Even now, several years after his heavenly departure, scores of radio and television stations are day and

night, in increasing volume, broadcasting in Farsi, messages against the Revolution and the Imam's ideals. The U.S. and most European countries make avialable extensive facilities to anti-Revolution groups, including pro-monarchy, the leftists, and the Monafeqin. Each year tens of books and hundreds of articles and periodicals are published with the intention of distorting the facts surrounding Imam Khomeini's Movement. But, the sun of truth will break through the dark clouds of tumult and deception. The Western world whose existence had been based, since several centuries ago, on domination and exploitation of other nations and on deception of public opinion, has diagnosed the danger correctly. Which broad-minded person is there who, on becoming acquainted with the life and the awakening messages of Imam Khomeini, is not attracted to his path? And not rise against this cruel system that dominates the world.

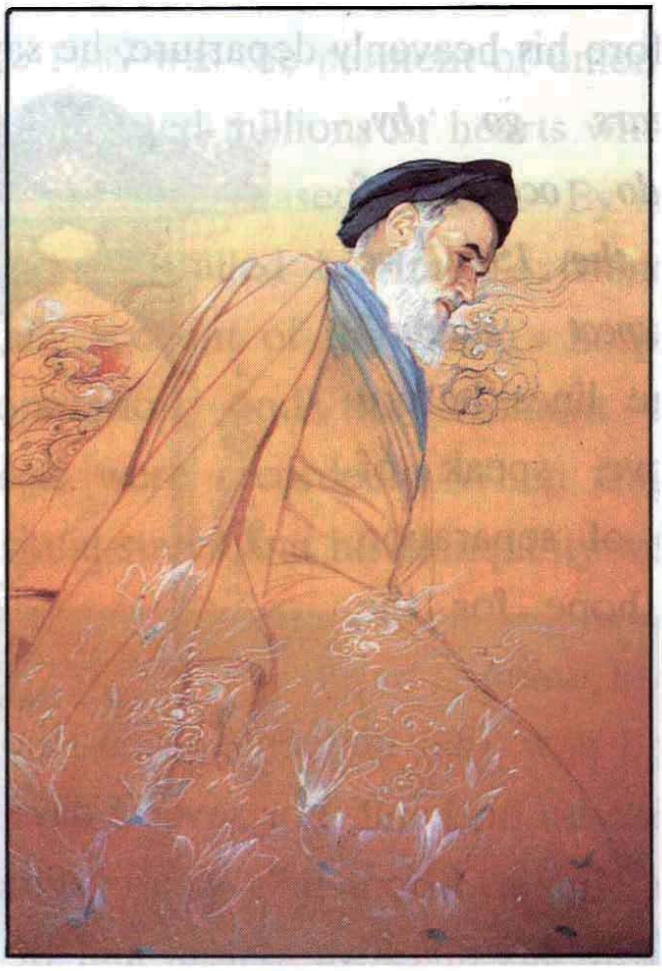
By the way, why is the publication, distribution and study of Imam Khomeini's Last Message (Will) forbidden in most Arab- and Islamic-countries whose governments are dependent puppet regimes? Why is it regarded as a crime? Such extensive mobilization of facilities and alliance, by heads of states, to curb the thought and movement of Imam Khomeini; what is it

all about?! Is it anything but the fact that he was defending certain truths and values, for the lack of which, humanity has been burning for centuries? For those who are acquainted with Imam Khomeini's immaculate life and have heard his message and known his personality, there is no doubt that the torch which the Imam has lit, shall not die out amid all this hostile rigmarole and the ruinous storm of distortions. *"Allah will complete His light, much as the unbelievers may dislike it."*[43] (Qoran 61:8)

□ *IMAM KHOMEINI'S HEAVENLY DEPARTURE: UNION WITH THE BELOVED; SEPARATION FROM FRIENDS*

Imam Khomeini had said all that there was to say about his objectives and ideals and, in practice, he utilized his entire being for their realization. Now, about mid-Khordad 1368/June 1989, he was getting prepared to meet the Dear One, for Whose consent he had spent all his life. He had bowed to none save Him; his eyes shed tears for none save Him. His mystical songs all bespeak of the pain of separation, and of thirst for the moment of union. Now, that glorious moment was nearing, much to the chagrin of his followers and unbearable to them. Imam himself has written in his Last Message: "....***With a heart that is***

calm and confident; with a joyous soul and a conscience hopeful of God's Graces, I take my leave from brothers and sisters, and journey to the eternal abode, and I very much need your good prayers. I ask the Benevolent God to accept my excuses for inadequate services, and I ask the nation to accept my excuses for my shortages and inadequacies and to move forward with force, determination and will."



When people stand by his holy shrine, in answer to these humble remarks by the Imam, they whisper: "O Imam! What shortcomings are you talking about?

As long and as far as we and our fathers have seen and heard, you have been all goodness, purity and light. *"I bear witness that you maintained the namaz, paid your alms, enjoined to good and interdicted the evil and crusaded in the Path of God, in their fullest sense.*[44]

It is strange and a wonder that Imam Khomeini had presaged the 15th of the month of Khordad eventful to himself. In a lyric poem he composed years before his heavenly departure, he says:

"Years go by, events do occur; of Khordad the 15th, we may expect succor."

The lines before the above, speak of hardship of separation and of hope for the moment of union.

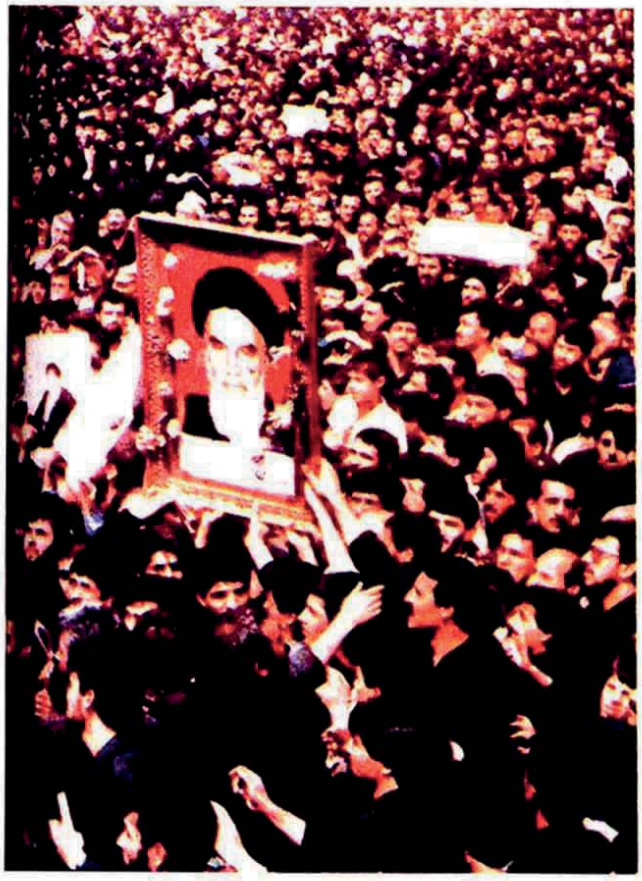
And now, that moment in mid-Khordad of the year 1368 was on hand. For several days people had heard of Imam Khomeini's heart ailment and of trouble with his digestive system and of his surgical operation. The mental condition of the people during these days, the praying ceremonies held in every city, town and hamlet, street and borough all over the

country, and by his lovers abroad, is beyond description. One could hardly find an individual who could successfully conceal his sorrow. Tears poured down peoples' cheeks, and faces all turned towards Jamaran. Time went by very slow and Iran was all prayer. The medical team did all it could, but divine edict had ordered something else. *"O serene Soul! Return to your Creator, joyfully and pleasingly."*[45]

Hour 22:20 Saturday night the 13th of Khordad 1368/3 June 1989 was the moment of union. A heart that had enlightened millions of hearts with the light of God and morality, ceased to beat. By means of a hidden camera installed by Imam's friends in the hospital, daily account of the Imam's hospitalization and his operation, and the Moment of Union *(lahzeh-ye leqa)* were recorded. When fragments of Imam's spiritual states and his tranquility were

broadcast on the television, hearts were rent asunder, so much so that words cannot describe; only by being present on the scene, can one get an idea of the spectacle. Lips moved constantly reciting God's Name. During his last night, while he had tolerated several major surgical operations and when several intravenous feeding needles had been attached to his body, the Imam was reciting superogatory prayer *(nafeleh)* and the Holy Qoran. His last hours were spent in heavenly calmness and repose, and constantly uttering testimony to the oneness of God, and the prophetic mission of God's Messenger Mohammad (pbuh). In such a state it was that his soul flew away to high heavens. His migration left incurable burns on all hearts.

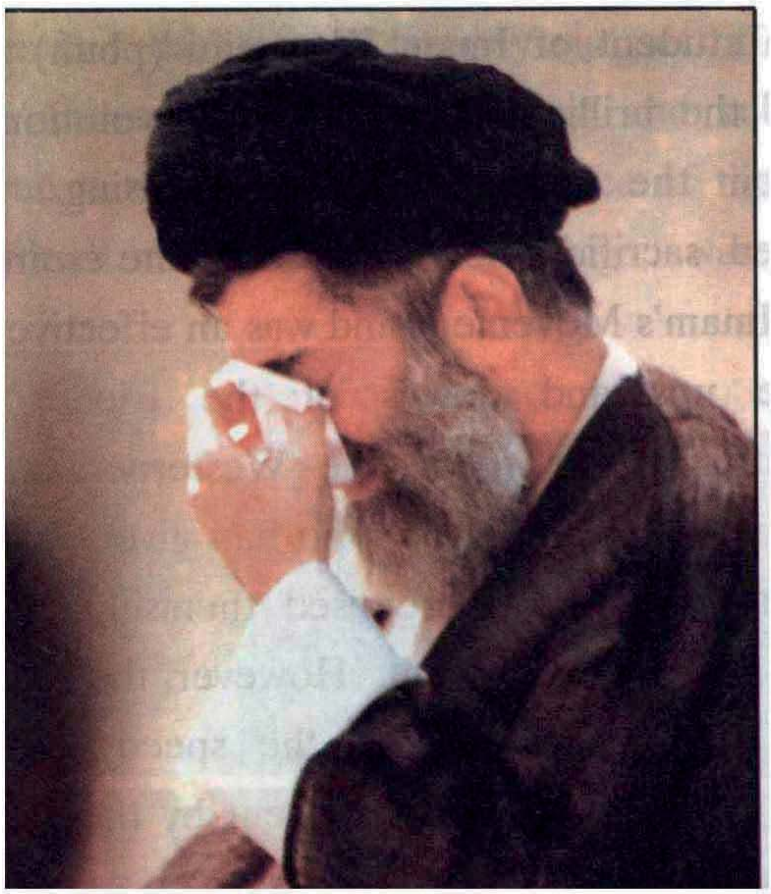
When the news of Imam Khomeini's heavenly departure was broadcast, it was as though a dreadful earthquake had occurred; people all over the country and in all places of the world, where the name and message of Imam Khomeini were known and heard, burst into tears and hands came down on heads and in chest beating. No pen and no tongue can fully describe the feelings of the people, nor the dimensions of the tragedy. Waves of lamentation were uncontrollable. The people of Iran, these revolutionary Muslims, had a right to weep the way



they did, and generate scenes unprecedented in all history. They had lost someone who had restored to them their trampled dignity; a man who had saved them and their homeland from the hands of American and Western pillagers; had revived Islam and showered the Muslims with honor; had established the Islamic Republic; had stood firm confronting all hellish and devilish powers and had resisted, for years, against hundreds of plots, plans for coup d'etat, internal rebellions and insurgencies, and had commanded an 8-year defense while facing him was an enemy who was openly and fully backed by both superpowers of the East and the West. People had

lost their beloved leader, their Religious Authority and the herald of true Islam.

Perhaps those who cannot understand and digest the above concepts, observe the mental and emotional state of the people as reflected in films of farewell scenes, and funeral and burial rites and services; and if they can hear the news of the sudden deaths of scores of people who succumbed to death--because they could not stand the pain and agony of their loss--and bodies of those who had lost consciousness and were carried to the nearest clinic; they would become helpless in interpreting these realities. But those who know what love is and have experienced it, will have no difficulty comprehending those realities. Truly, the people of Iran were in love



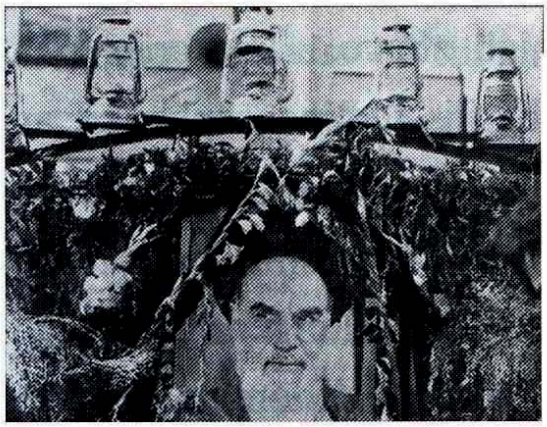
with Imam Khomeini, and what a charming slogan they have chosen for the anniversary of his heavenly departure: "To love Khomeini is to love All that is Good!"

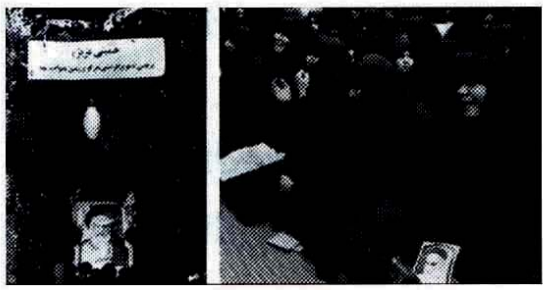
On the 14th of Khordad 1368, the Council of Experts convened, and after recitation of the Imam's Last Will by His Holiness Ayatollah Khamenei, which took 2½ hours, discussion and interchange of opinions to determine a replacement for the deceased Imam, began. After several hours, at last Ayatollah Khamenei (the then President of the Republic) was elected by unanimous vote. Ayatollah Khamenei had

been a student of Imam Khomeini (pbuh) and was one of the brilliant faces in the Revolution, and a helper in the 15th of Khordad Uprising. He had rendered sacrificial services during the entire period of the Imam's Movement and was an effective hand in all the ups and downs of the friends of the Revolution. For years, the Westerners and their agents inside the country, who had given up hope of defeating the Imam, promised themselves with the coming death of the Imam. However, the intelligence of the Iranian nation and the speedy and highly worthy selection of a replacement by the Council of Experts, and the support of the Imam's children and followers, gave to the winds, all the hopes of the anti-Revolution elements. Not only the Imam's heavenly departure was not the end of the road, but the era of Imam Khomeini had begun on a much wider domain. Do thoughts, goodness, spirituality and truth perish?

On the day and night of 15th of Khordad 1368, millions of Tehrani residents and other mourners who had come from other towns and villages, gathered at the Tehran's grand *mosalla* (congregational namaz site). They had gathered to pay respects and say their last farewell to the man who by his uprising, had straightened the bent postures of values and

moralities in a dark era of tyranny and set off in the world, a movement of God-seeking and returning man's true nature. There was no trace of the inane conventional ceremonies; everything was basiji,





humanly and lovingly. The pure figure of the Imam's corpse, clad in green, was placed on an elevated platform in the center of a multi-million human circle of mourners, where it sparkled like a gem. Everyone shed tears while speaking with their Imam in their own jargon. The entire length of the highway and all the roads leading to the mosalla were filled with black-dressed mourners. Mourning flags were on the walls, on buildings and everywhere in the city and Qoran recitation could be heard everywhere, as were

produced from the mosques, offices and homes. At night, thousands of candles were lit in the hills and open spaces around the mosalla in memory of the light and torch that Imam Khomeini had lit. Mourning families sat round about the candles, their eyes glued to the light high above. The cries of *Ya Hosseyn* [O Hosseyn] of basijis feeling orphaned and beating themselves on head and chest, had given the air an atmosphere like that of the Ashoora. The belief that they would no longer hear the heart-warming voice of Imam Khomeini in the Jamaran *Hosseyniyeh* was unbearable. The people spent the night by the side of the Imam's corpse, and in the early hours of the 16th of Khordad, the multi-million crowd of mourners recited the funeral

namaz under Imamate of Ayatollah Golpayegani.

The massive gatherings and the splendor of the epic of people's presence at the arrival of the Imam to the country (12 Bahman/1 January) and the repetition of this epic in the funeral procession of the Imam are among the wonders of history. Official world news agencies put the number of welcomers in 1357 at 6 millions and those attending the funeral of the Imam at 9 millions. And, this was while, during the 11-year sovereign rule of Imam Khomeini, because of alliance of Western and Eastern countries in opposition to the Revolution and the imposition of an 8-year war, and hundreds of other conspiracies, the people of Iran had suffered innumerable problems and hardships, and had sacrificed the lives of many beloved ones and

should, naturally, be wearied and disappointed. But, this was never the case. The generation trained in the Imam's divine school, had complete faith in the following words of the Imam: "***The volume of tolerance of toils, pains, troubles, sacrifices and deprivations in this world, is proportionate to the volume and greatness of the objectives, and their value and loftiness of position.***"

The funeral procession from the mosalla to the Imam's shrine, adjacent to *Behesht-e-Zahra*, the graveyard of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution, was set off. Children, women and men moaned so hard and loud, that one might think they were being taken away from their souls. Hours passed by but proceeding of the funeral was halted by the expression of uncontrollable feelings of the people. At long last, the Imam's corpse was flown to the site of interment by helicopter. As soon as the helicopter landed, all surrounding obstacles were broken down. The burning flame of separation was kindled in the hearts, and the feeling of separation had made the accompanying crowds so restless that, in spite of all the efforts of officials, interment was impossible. These scenes were all directly broadcast on television (films are available). Finally, the coffin containing the pure body of the Imam was taken away from hands and arms that regarded "Khomeini" as all of their own

beings and belongings and was flown back to Jamaran.

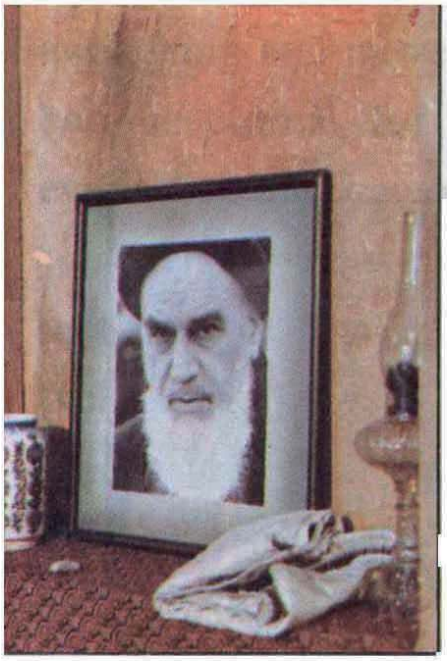
Those who, in the West, or in the shadow of their Western oulook, see the life and the world from a materialistic and lust point-of-view, and in the chaos of machine life and its deafening noise, and have forgotten the validity of love and values, cannot understand the meaning of what they see in the films of Imam Khomeini's burial. If distortions and the deafening rigmarole of the poisonous propagandas of the enemies of truth permit, and they only study the will or just one message of the Imam without prejudice and in fairness and on the basis of the call of their conscience and intuition, then their judgment would certainly change.

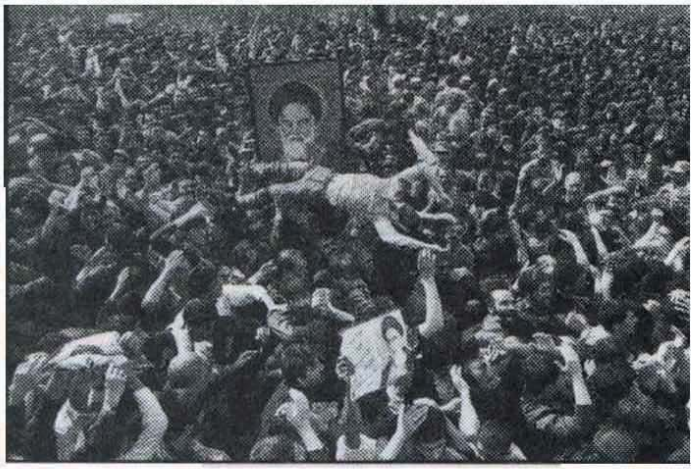
When burial could not take place because of the tenseness of feelings and emotions of the mourners, people were advised in an announcement on the radio: "Go back home; the burial ceremonies have been postponed. The time will be announced later." Authorities had no doubt that as time went by more and more mourners from faraway towns would come to join the burial procession. Therefore, the burial ceremonies were performed in the afternoon of the same day amid all that passion play feelings and difficulties. Parts of the ceremonies were relayed to the world by news reporters.

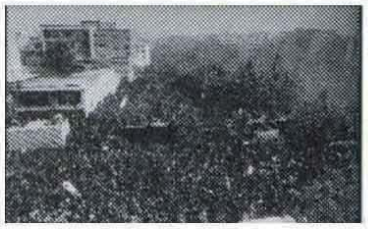
Scores of poetry volumes composed and published by Iranian and non-Iranian poets during the days following Imam Khomeini's heavenly departure, describe the feelings of the people in those days. Among these elegy material, there are pieces that

certainly are masterpieces in the history of contemporary Iranian literature.

Ceremonies for the third-, the seventh- and the fortieth-day are being held in the first year, and thereafter, regular anniversaries. And at this writing, five burial anniversaries have been held with splendor on 14th day of the month of Khordad. By the zeal of the lovers of Imam, a magnificent mausoleum was built with an unbelievable speed, to show the appreciation of the Muslim society for their spiritual leader, and as a token of the eternality of the Imam's memory. His holy tomb is a popular rendezvous for countless number of pilgrims and his lovers from Iran and the Muslims of other countries who visit the shrine every day, in particular on religious occasions. The red flag that waves in the air high above the







mausoleum, is a memento to the red banner of the Master of Martyrs, His Holiness Imam Hosseyn ibn Ali (pbuh). It indicates that Khomeini's Ashoora-like movement, as the uprising at Karbala will, forever, inject in the veins of the zealous religious-believing

people the blood of honor, humanism, and steadfastness in the path of God.

And thus the heavenly departure of Imam Khomeini became, like his life, the start of a new awakening and movement, and his path and memory became eternal, for he was the Truth and Truth is everlasting and immortal.

The Imam was a manifestation of the "Kowthar" (a spring in Heaven) and "Kowthar" of Guardianship (velayat) is forever current on earth.

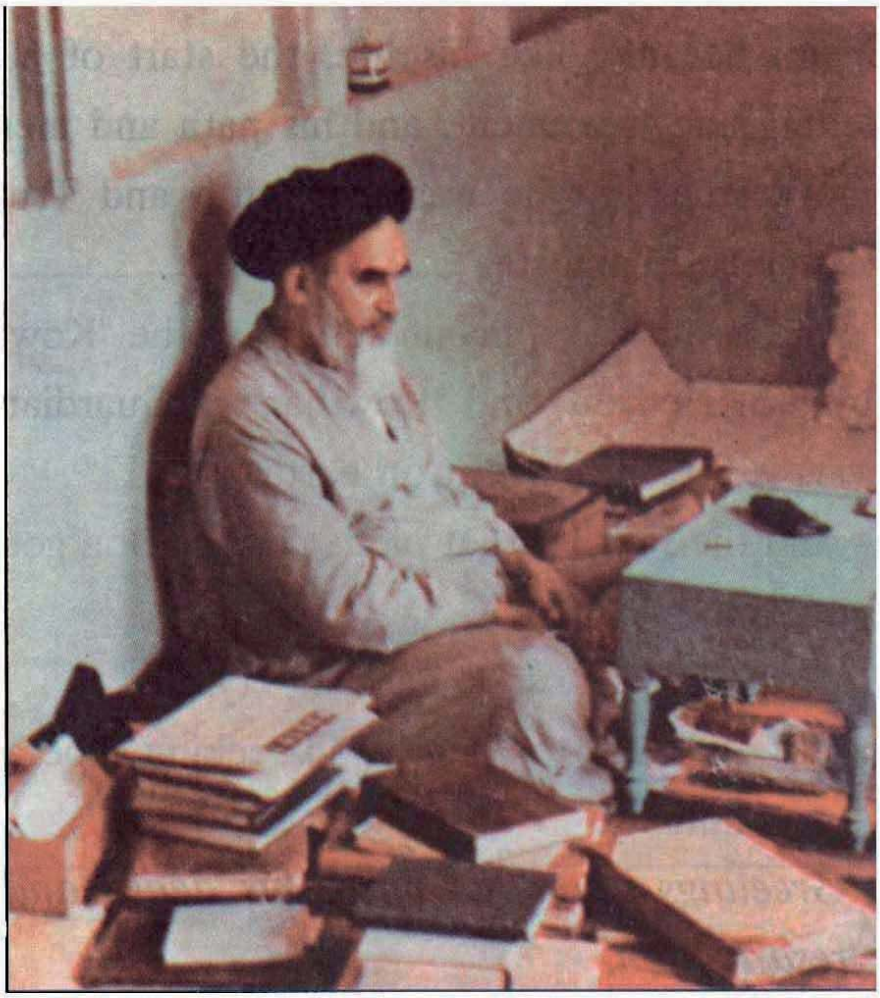
And the story of that pious man of God goes on and on and on...

"If there is any soul who can cry life,"

It's all due to that God-seeking liberator's magnanimity.

Greetings upon his birth, his death and his resurrection.

□ *IMAM KHOMEINI'S LITERARY WORKS AND COMPILATIONS*



Imam Khomeini had penned scores of books on ethics, mysticism, jurisprudence, principles, politics and social issues, many of which have been already published. Unfortunately, a number of most valuable treatises of the Imam have been lost in the process of changing rented homes, and by Savak agents' raids on his home and library.

Imam Khomeini wrote in an elegant hand. He

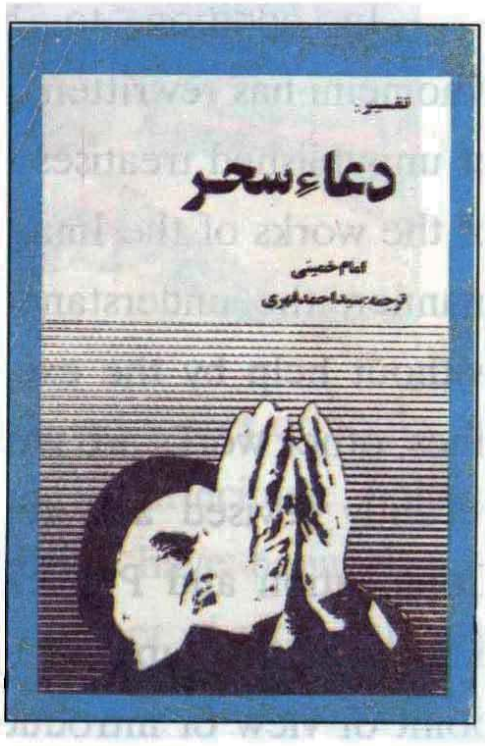
observed traditional rules, the order of writing, summarization, and avoidance of verbosity. The fluent prose, use of literary arts, charming composition and innovations in the political and religious messages of the Imam, formed a basis for evolution in Iranian religious and political literature. Already the effect of particular terminology and composition used by the Imam have entered into new Farsi literary texts, even in the ordinary spoken language of the people. Some of Imam Khomeini's works such as feqh (principles) and erfan (mysticism) are in Arabic language; others are in Farsi.

In addition to his scientific works, Imam Khomeini has rewritten, in a beautiful hand, a number of unpublished treatises by other learned men. Some of the works of the Imam, are written in a specialized manner, the understanding of which is not possible without help by the exegesis of the experts in those lines; other works are written in a simpler style. Books recently revised and reprinted by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini, are superior to previous editions, from the point of view of introductions, explanatory footnotes, compendium of guide indices and care in the accuracy of texts and presentation of sample pictures of manuscript pages. Also, in past few years some of the

Imam's works have undergone their first printing by this institute. As yet, there are unpublished works which will be published in due course following completion of footnotes, explanatory notes and related indices.

Below we will review a list of the works of Imam Khomeini in choronological order. Obviously, each one of these works deserves separate detailed introduction, and so far, several books and articles have been written in this connection.

□ *DESCRIPTION OF THE DAWN PRAYERS*

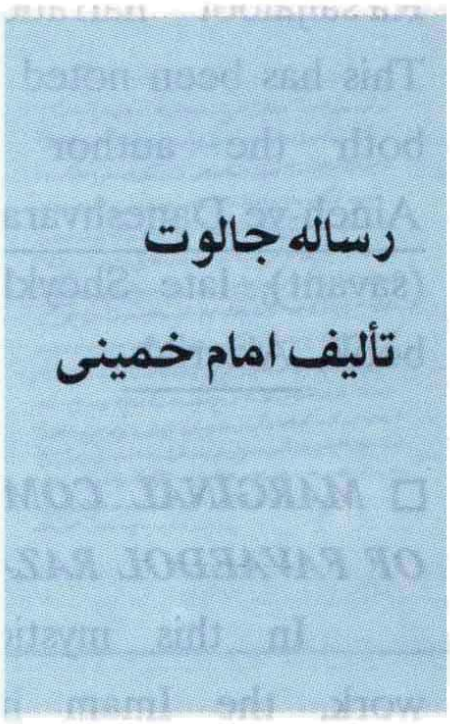


This book contains a description of deep mystical points of philosophy and kalam, and was written in Arabic in 1307/1928. It is based on Qoranic suras and narratives by the Ahl-e Beyt (Prophet's Household). It is about the famous Mobahala Prayer, also known as the Dawn Prayer. Mr. Seyyed Ahmad Fehri has translated the book and it has undergone reprints.

Last printing by: The Ettelaat Institute of Tehran, 1370/1991. 239 p.

□ ***DESCRIPTION OF THE RA'SALJALOOT TRADITION***

This is Imam Khomeini's version of the Ra'saljaloot narration (Argumentations of His Holiness Imam Reza--pbuh), with authorities of other religions, including Ra'saljaloot, the Jewish religious authority, written in 1308 AHS/1348 AHL. The author of the book, Aineh-ye Daneshvaran (published in 1353 AHL/1313 AHS/1934), has made mention of this work of Imam Khomeini.



□***IMAM'S MARGINAL COMMENTARY NOTES ON THE RA'SALJALOOT TRADITION***

In addition to Imam's independent

description of this narration, he has written a subsequent commentary on the description of the late Qazi Said Qomi (a mystic *(aref)* of 15th century AH) on the Ra'saljaloot narration. This has been noted by both the author of Aineh-ye Daneshvaran and the renown Allameh (savant), late Sheykh Aqa Bozorg Tehrani in the book, Alzariah.

□ *MARGINAL COMMENTARY ON DESCRIPTION OF FAVAEDOL RAZAVIYAH*

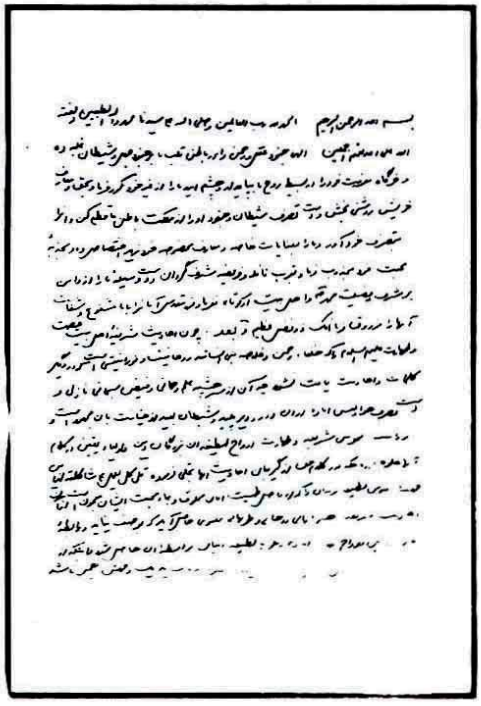
In this mystical work, the Imam has expressed his opinions as marginal commentary on the book Sharh-e Favaedol Razaviyah by the late Qazi Said Qomi.

This book will

soon be published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini.

□ *DESCRIPTION ON THE ARMIES OF WISDOM AND IGNORANCE (JONOOD-E AQLI VA JAHLI)*

This is a valuable book by the Imam on ethics. The theological (kalami), ethical and mystical opinions of the Imam are more clearly expressed in this book and, like his book, the Description on Forty Narratives, it can benefit more strata of society.



Currently, the Research Section of the institute (Qom Branch) is editing the explanatory footnotes and is preparing the related indices and other research works on the book, which will be published in two volumes of over 800 pages.

□ *MESBAHOLHEDAYAT ELAL KHELAFAT VAL VELAYAT*

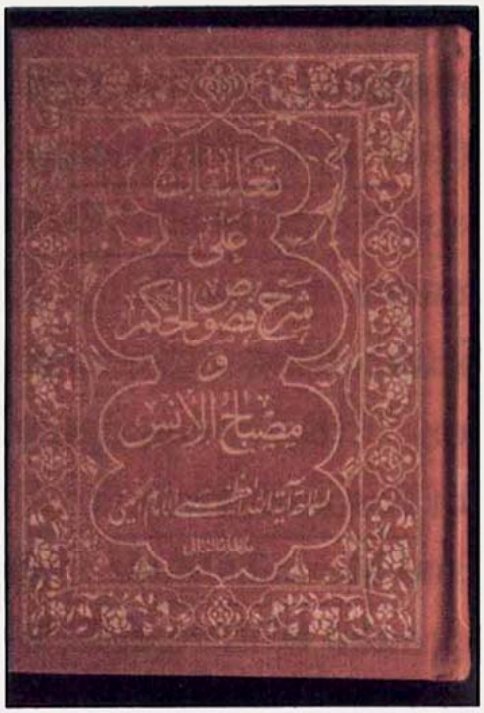
This book is one of the deepest and most brilliant works on Islamic mysticism in recent eras. Imam Khomeini finished its writing in 1349 AHL/ 1309 AHS/1930, when he was 28 years old. Last printing by the Institute in 1372/1993, contains the text plus an introduction by Prof. Jalaleddin Ashtiani. 315 p.

□ *MARGINAL COMMENTS ON THE DESCRIPTION OF FOSOOSOL-HEKAM*

The book, Fosoosol-Hekam, by Sheykh Akbar Mohiyoddin Arabi, a renowned world mystic has had many descriptions writ- ten about it. The Description by Qeysari is recognized as one of the best.

In 1355 AHL/1315 AHS/1936, Imam Khomeini completed his commentary on Qeysari's Description of Fossoosol Hekam in Arabic.

It demonstrates the writer's domination over the

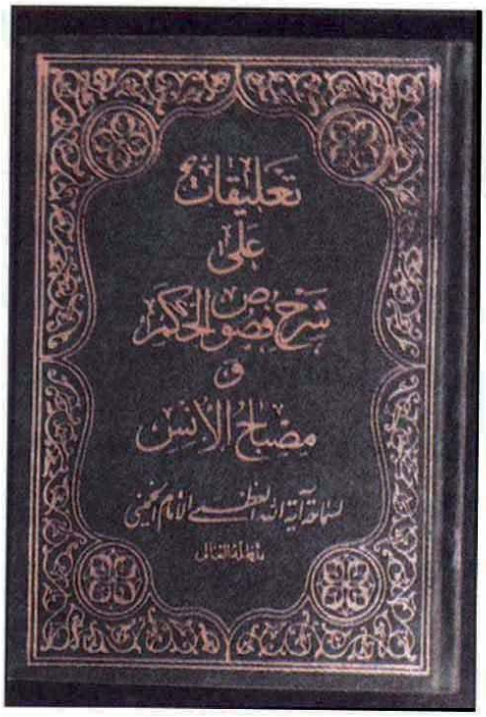


opinions of authorities on mysticism such as Sheykh Akbar, Qoonavi, Molla Abdolrazzaq Kashani, Forqani, Araqi, and Qeysari. This treatise is printed together with the next entry in one volume.

□ ***MARGINAL COMMENTS ON THE MESBAHAL-ONS***

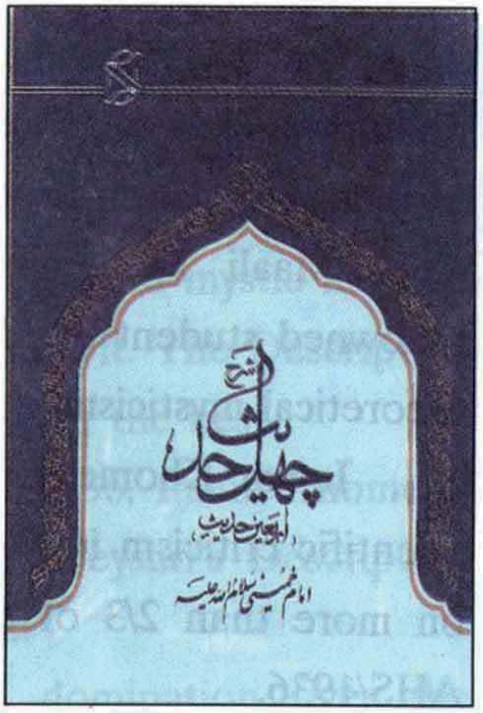
The book, Mesbahal-Ons Beyn-al-Ma'qool val Mashhood is a description by Mohammad ibn Hamzah ibn Mohammad Qanari on the book, Meftah-al-Gheyb, by Abol Maali Mohammad ibn Es-haq Qoonavi, a renowned student of Mohiyoddin Arabi. It is about theoretical mysticism.

Imam Khomeini has written his opinions and scientific criticism in the form of marginal comments on more than 2/3 of this book, in 1355 AHL/1315 AHS/1936.



The above two marginal comments (on Fosoosol-Hekam and Mesbahal-Ons) under the heading of subsequent comments on the description of Fosoosol-Hekam and Mesbahal-Ons was printed in 329 pages, by the Institute of Pasdaran-e Eslam in Qom (1365 AHS/1986).

☐ ***DESCRIPTION ON THE CHEHEL HADITH (FORTY HADITHS)***



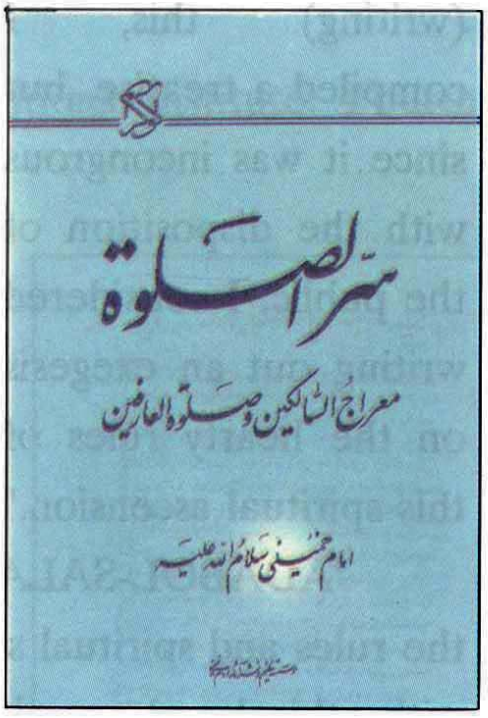
Arbain Hadith [Description of Forty Hadiths], is one of the most valuable ethical and mystical works of Imam Khomeini, written in Farsi in 1358 AHL/1318 AHS/1939. In this work, 40 hadiths, narrated by leaders of

the religion, taken from the book,Osool-e-Kafi (the first 34-hadiths-except hadith 11, on ethical issues and the last six hadiths on points of faith) have been described in lengthy manner and a charming diction.

Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini. Latest print, 1372/1993. 900 p.

□ ***SERROL-SALAT (SALATOL AREFIN VA ME'RAJOL SALEKIN):***

This is a profound book in Farsi on mysticism explaining the ethical and mystical secrets of the namaz, written in 1358 AHL/1318 AHS/1939 by the pen of Imam Khomeini. Domination of the Imam over theoretical mysticism and going through its practical stages and stations can be understood from the depth of discourses of this book and of the above mentioned works.

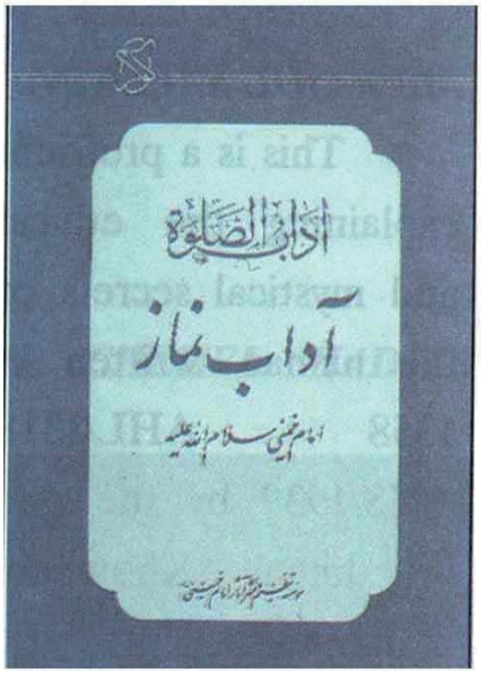


Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and

Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini. Latest printing, 1369 AHS/1990. 266 p. Includes a preface by Ayatollah Javadi-Amoli, the text, guide-indices and a complete picture of the manuscript copy.

□ *RULES OF NAMAZ (ADABOL-SALAT)*

This book was written in 1321/1942, following the compilation of the book, Serrol-Salat . Imam Khomeini, in the beginning of this book, has written:



"Sometime before (writing) this, I compiled a treatise, but since it was incongrous with the disposition of the public, I considered writing out an exegesis on the hearty rules of this spiritual ascension."

"ADABOL-SALAT" is a detailed account of the rules and spiritual secrets of namaz and is replete with ethical and gnostical points (in Farsi). Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini. Latest printing, 1372/1993. 836 p. Includes a preface, text, guide

indices and a complete picture of the manuscript copy. Another printing consists of 421 pages with no picture of manuscript copy.

□ *THE LEQAOLLAH TREATISE*

رسالهٔ لقاءالله

ازفقه فقه و عرفان

آیةالله حاج میرزا جواد ملکی تبریزی قدس سره

به ضمیمهٔ مقالهٔ مستر نشده در

لقاءالله

از:

حضرت امام خمینی دامت برکاته

با

مقدمه، ترجمه، توضیح، تعلیق و اضافات

از:

سیداحمد فهری

This is a short treatise in Farsi by Imam Khomeini. It is about mystical issues and is an addendum to the Leqaollah Treatise by Ayatollah Hajj Mirza Javâd Maleki. Printed by the Feyz Kashani Publications Institute. Fourth printing, 1370/1991.

□ *ANNOTATION ON ASFAR*

For years His Holiness, the Imam had taught the valuable book, Asfar-e Arbaeh, written by the famous philosopher, Sadrol Moteallehin, in Qom. The Imam wrote marginal comments on

some of its discourses. Unfortunately, the copy in question has not been located yet. It is hoped that this Institute will derive a selection of the Imam's philosophical views and opinions from the contents of his lessons in philosophy written down by his students, some of whose texts are already in the hands of the Institute. This is expected to be made available soon for use by the Islamic society.

□ ***KASHFOL-ASRAR***

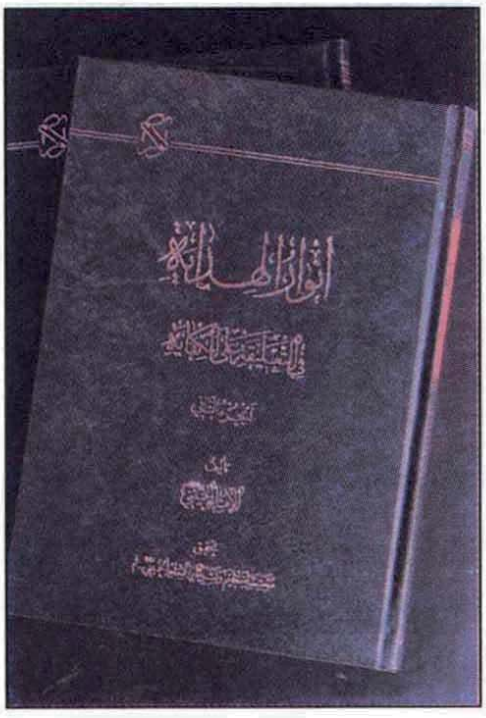
This book which is a political, religious and social work, was written in 1364 AHL/1323 AHS/1944, that is, two years after the removal of Reza Khan from the throne. In this book, the Imam has given answers to the doubts and anti-religion, anti-clergy propaganda contained in the pamphlet, Asrar-e Hezar Saleh [A Thousand-Year Secrets] written by a vahhabi. While adding to historical facts, and criticizing the opinions of ancient

Greek philosophers, the Islamic philosophers and the contemporary philosophers of the West, the book has emphasized the rightfulness of the Shiism and the role of the clergy and the guardianship of the jurisconsult (velayat-e-faqih) during the Occultation period. The book also reveals, in detail, the laic, anti-nationalistic policies of Reza Khan and his contemporary co-thinkers in Islamic countries.

Qom: Azadi Publications, [n.d.]. 334 p.

□ ***ANVAROL-HEDAYAT FEL TA'LIQAT ALALKEFAYAT***

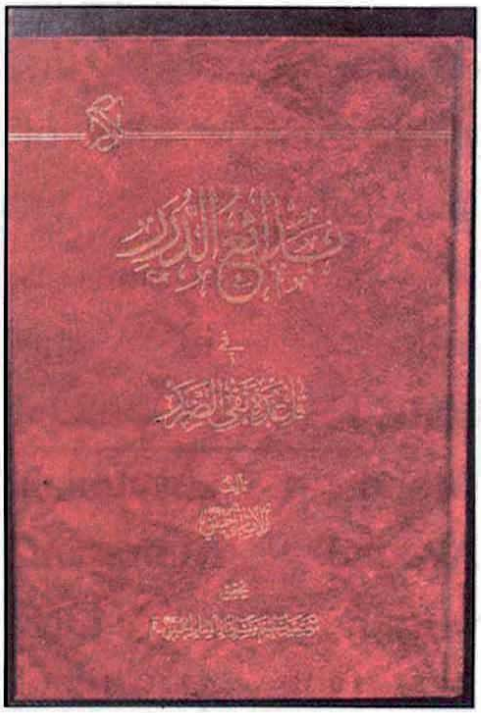
This is a work in Arabic on rational discourses of the science of the principles of jurisprudence (feqh), in the form of marginal comments on the said discourse as reflected in the book, Kafayatol Osooby Grand Ayatollah Akhond Khorasani, written in 1368 AHL/1328 AHS/1949. This valuable work on issues of principle, as well as the



book, Manahejol Vosool and the independent treatises of the Imam serve, to a large extent, to introduce the opinions of the Imam and his school of principles.

This book was published for the first time in 1372/1993, in two volumes, by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini.

□ *BADAYE-OL DORAR FI QAEDAH NAF-YOL ZARAR*

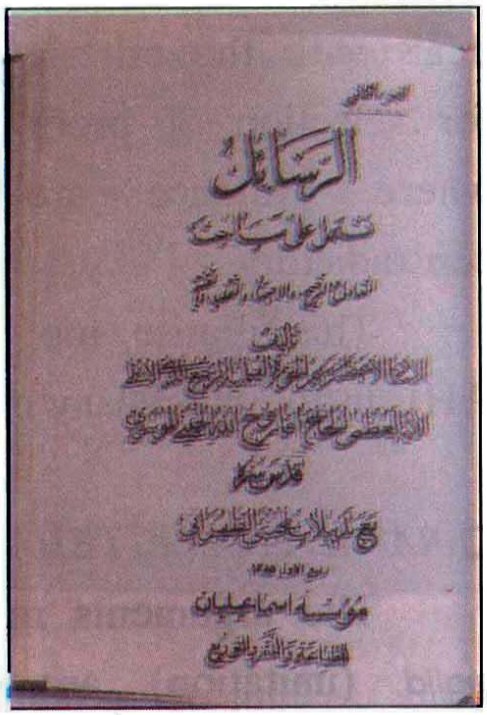


This is a research and jurisprudential treatise in Arabic that deals with the "Qaede-ye Lazarar" (No-Damage Rule) which is an important rule in feqh. Imam Khomeini wrote this treatise on the first day of the month of Jamadiyol Oola 1368 AHL/Esfand 1328/February 1949. This treatise, together with other treatises of

Imam on principles, under the title of Al-Rasayel was printed in 1358 AHL/1344 AHS/1965 in Qom. Recently, in 1372/1993, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini published the book together with related addenda and indices as an independent work under the title given above.

□ ***RESALTOL ESTES-HAB***

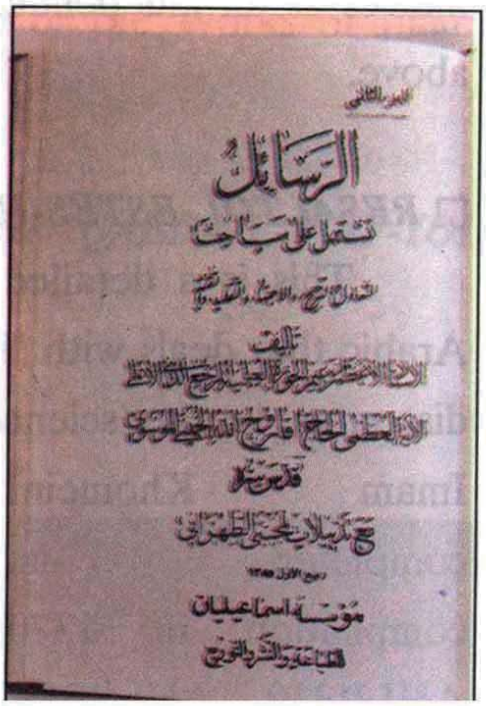
This is a detailed treatise on jurisprudence in Arabic that deals with "Estes-hab", a highly important discourse in the science of the principles of feqh. Imam Khomeini completed its compilation in 1370 AHL/1330 AHS/1951. This work was printed in Qom in 290 pages in 1385 AHL/1344 AHS/1965, under the title of Al Rasayel. A new edition of this treatise will soon be published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini with an independent title



and with several distinctions from the previous editions.

□ *TREATISE FEL TAADOL VAL TARAJIH*

Imam Khomeini compiled this work in 1370 AHL/1330 AHS/1951.Taadol va Tarajih is among the supplementary discourses to the science of principles of jurisprudence which deals with the criteria for selection of proof where evidence are contradictory.

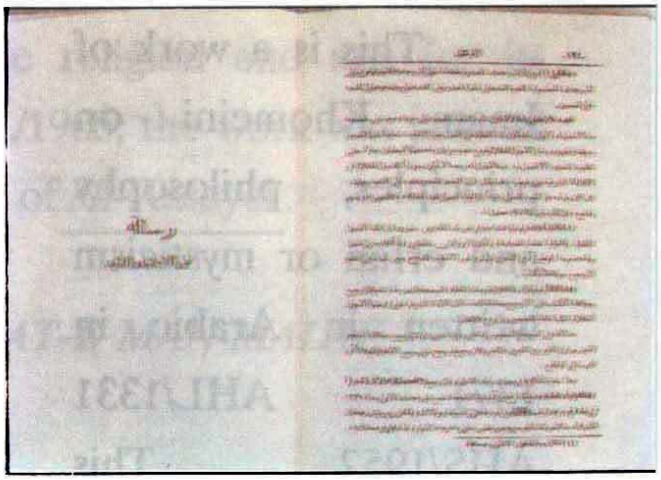


This treatise, too, was printed in Qom in 1385 AHL in the miscellany of the Al-Rasayel.

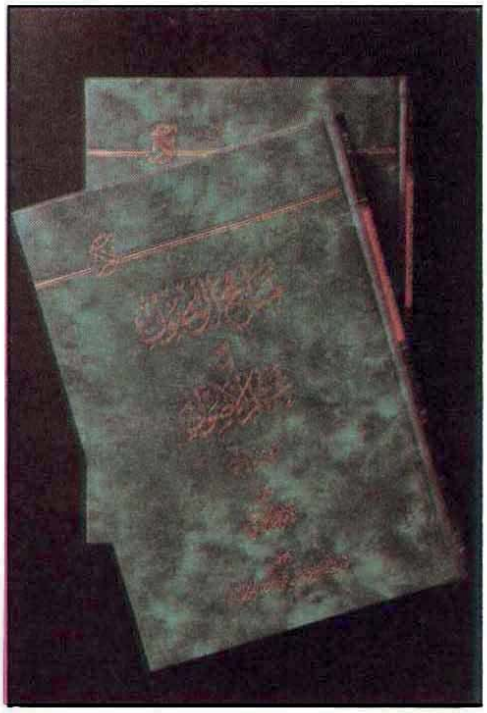
□ *RASALATOL EJTEHAD VAL TAQLID*

The arguments relating to jurisprudence and *taqlid* (imitation) are among the supplemental discourses on the science of principles of feqh. In this jurisprudential treatise, His Holiness Imam Khomeini has presented his opinions with firm proof. The book

is dated 1370 AHL/1330 AHS/1951. This treatise, along with a number of other treatises of the Imam on principles are printed in the book Al-Rasayel.



□ *MANAHEJOL VOSOOL ELA ELMOL-OSOOL*

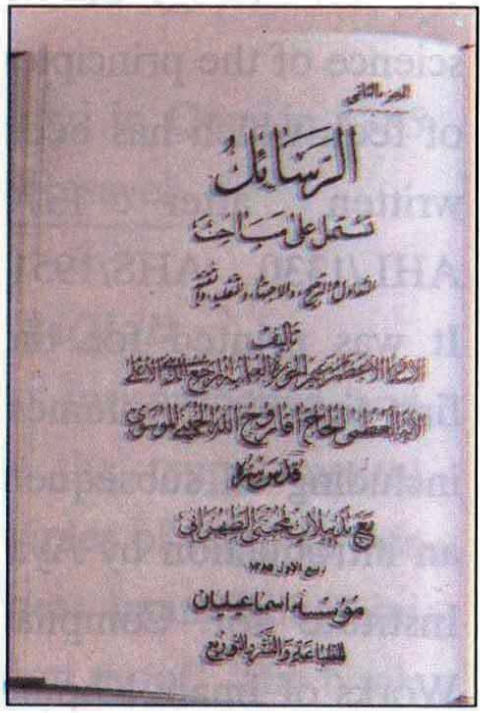


This is a research and jurisprudential work (in Arabic) by Imam Khomeini. It covers the discourse on the terminology of the science of the principles of feqh which has been written after 1370 AHL/1330 AHS/1951. It was printed for the first time, in 2 volumes, including all subsequent addenda, guide indices, and an introduction by Ayatollah Fazel Lankarani, by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini.

□ *TREATISE ON TALAB VA ERADEH*

This is a work of Imam Khomeini on principles, philosophy and erfan or mysticism written in Arabic in 1371 AHL/1331 AHS/1952. This treatise, together with a Farsi translation in 157 pages, were printed in Tehran by the Center for Scientific and Cultural Publications, 1362 AHS/1883.

□ *TREATISE ON TAQIYAH*

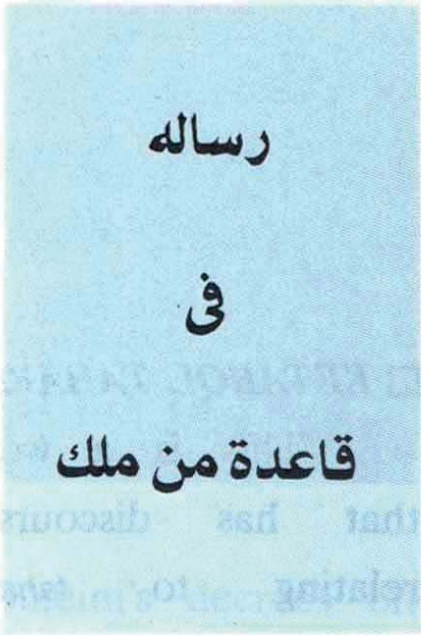


This is a treatise on feqh and ejtehad or jurisprudence by Imam Khomeini. It deals with *taqiyah* (dissimulation) and was written in Arabic in 1372 AHL/1332 AHS/1953. It is proven in this

treatise that the philosophy of the necessity of taqiyah is for preservation of the religion and not for its eradication. In 1385 AHL/1965, the work was printed in Qom, in the miscellany of Al-Rasayel.

□ ***RESALEH FEE-QA'EDAT-E MAN-MALAK***

A treatise on the Rule of "Man Malak":



This is a jurisprudential treatise about the feqh rule called the "Qaedeh-ye Man Malak". The author of Atharol Hojjat (published in 1373 AHL/1333 AHS/1954), has referred to it in his works.

□ ***TREATISE FI-TA'YINAL FAJR FI LIYALI AL-MOQMARAH:***

This is an argumentative and jurisprudential work

about determination of the hour of dawn during "moqamarah nights". It was printed under this same title in Qom in 1367 AHS/1988.

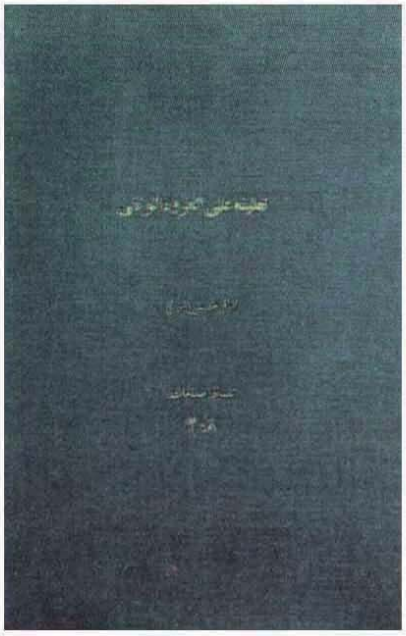
□ *KETABOL TAHARAH*

This is a work that has discourses relating to *taharat* (cleanliness). It is a chapter of feqh or jurisprudence written by Imam Khomeini in 4 volumes in the Arabic language, between 1373 and 1377 AHL/1333-1337 AHS/1954-1958.

It is penned in the argumentative and jurisprudential style. Two volumes of this book were printed in Qom

in 1367 AHL, and the other two were printed in Najaf in 1389 AHL. 1202 p.

□ *ADDENDUM TO ORVATOL VOSQA*



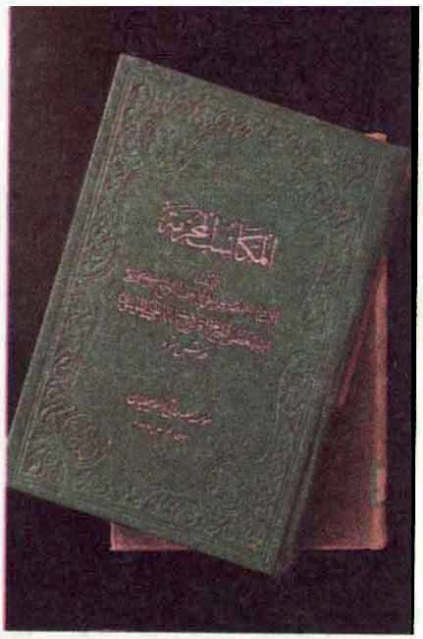
This book is Imam Khomeini's marginal comments on the entire issues of the book, Orvatol Vosqa, the well known work of Grand Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Kazem Tabatabai Yazdi, written in 1375 AHL/1335 AHS/1956.

The book contains Imam Khomeini's decrees on various jurisprudential issues. It has undergone several printings so far, both as an independent work and as an addendum to the Orvatol Vosqa.

□ *MAKASEB-E MOHARRAMEH*

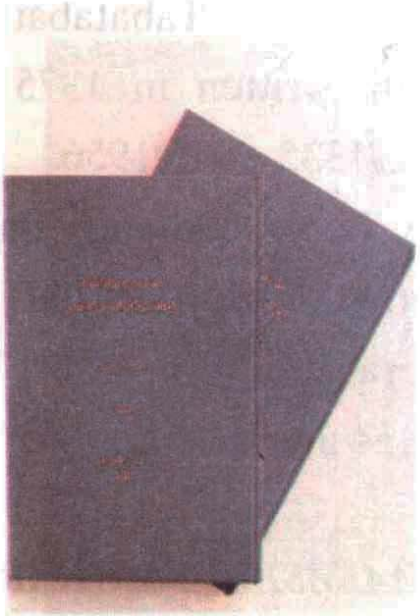
This is a jurisprudential work on argumentative feqh about the various types of interdicted occupations and related issues, by Imam Khomeini. This book was written in Arabic, between 1377 and 1380 AHL/1377-1340 AHS/1958-1961. It was printed

in 1381 AHL in two volumes with a total of 612 pages. This book contains interesting discussions about decrees concerning music, singing, painting and sculpture.



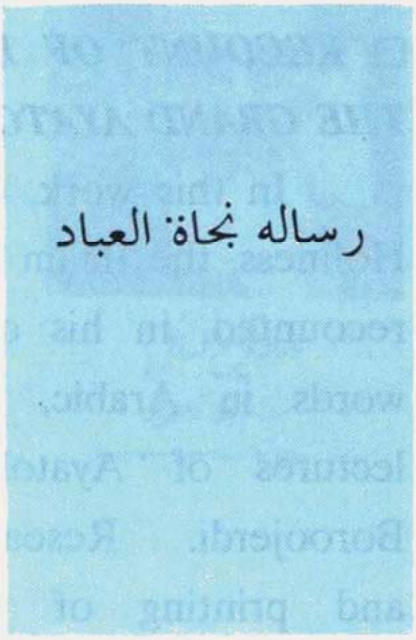
☐ ***ADDENDUM TO VASILATOL NEJAT***

This is a marginal commentary by Imam Khomeini. It contains his feqh decrees written as marginal comments on the book, Vasilatol Nejat by Grand Ayatollah Seyyed Abolhassan Esfahani.



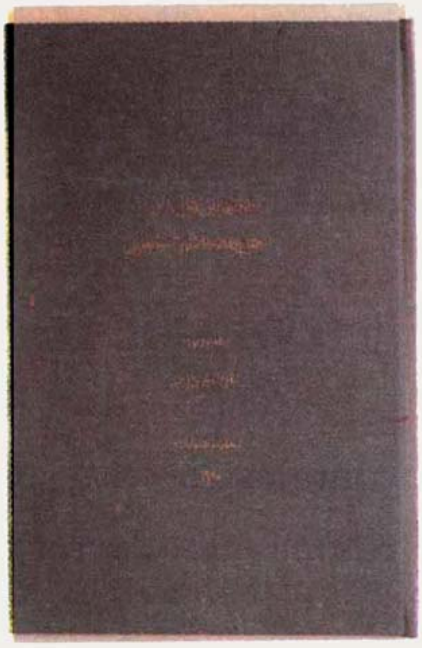
□ *THE NEJATOL EBAD TREATISE*

This treatise contains Imam Khomeini's jurisprudential decrees. It is written in Farsi, apparently in 3 volumes. Volume 2 of the book was printed in Qom in 1380 AHL/1340 AHS/1961.



□ *ADDENDUM TO THE TREATISE ON INHERITANCE*

This book is a marginal commentary containing the Imam's feqh decrees on inheritance, as an addendum to the Treatise on Inheritance by the late Hajj Molla Hashem Khorasani, author of the Montakhabol Tavarikh. The addendum was printed in Farsi together with the original treatise, in Qom,



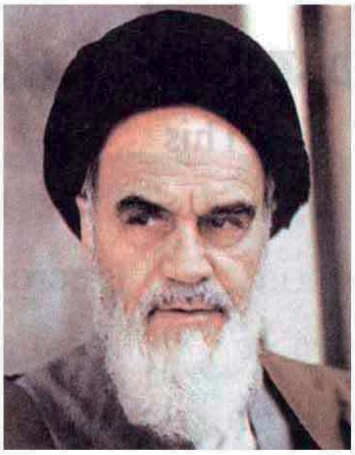
apparently after 1340/1961.

□ *RECOUNT OF LESSONS ON PRINCIPLES BY THE GRAND AYATOLLAH BOROOJERDI*

In this work, His Holiness, the Imam has recounted, in his own words in Arabic, the lectures of Ayatollah Boroojerdi. Research and printing of this work are under way for the first time by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini.

□ *TOWZIHOL MASAEL (PRACTICAL TREATISE)*

This book contains Imam Khomeini's decrees on various chapters of feqh, in Farsi. It is regarded as the Imam's practical treatise and



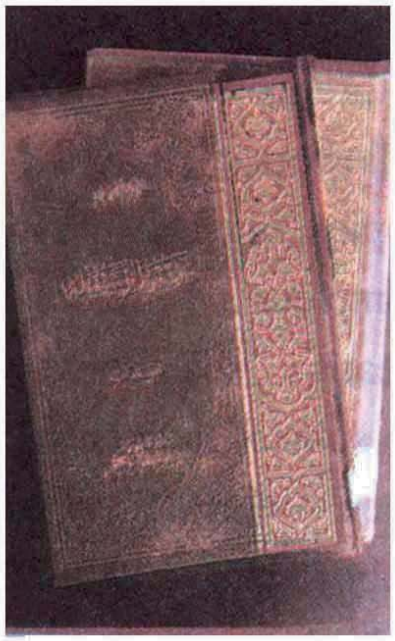
رسالهٔ توضیح المسائل
حضرت امام خمینی قدس سره

has been used as a reference by his followers. Millions of copies in the form of complete practical treatise, selections, or by subject indices, have been printed and published by different publishers, before and after the triumph of the Revolution.

□ *MANASAKOL HAJJ*

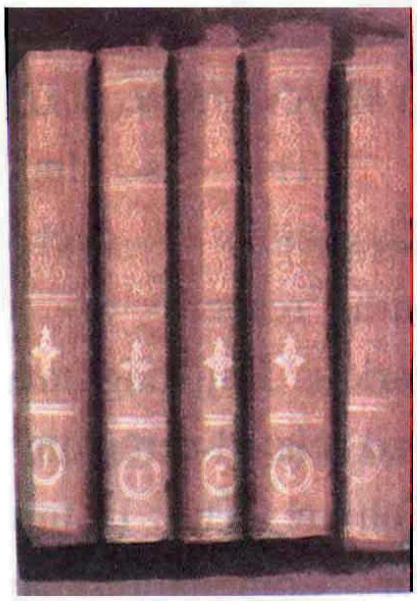
مناسک حج
مطابق با فتاوی آیة‌الله العظمی
امام خمینی سلام‌الله علیه
بضمیمهٔ ترجمهٔ بعضی از مسائل حج
تحریرالوسیله و حدود ۵۵۰ مسألهٔ جدید

This is Imam Khomeini's decrees with respect to the various Hajj pilgrimage and related ceremonies. Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini, 1370/1991. 272 p.



□ ***TAHRIROL VASILEH***

This book contains Imam Khomeini's decrees, in Arabic language, written while the Imam was in exile in Turkey, 1343-44 AHS/1964-65. Printed for the first time in Najaf, in 1309 pages. The book has had numerous reprints in Najaf, Beirut and Iran. (2 volumes).



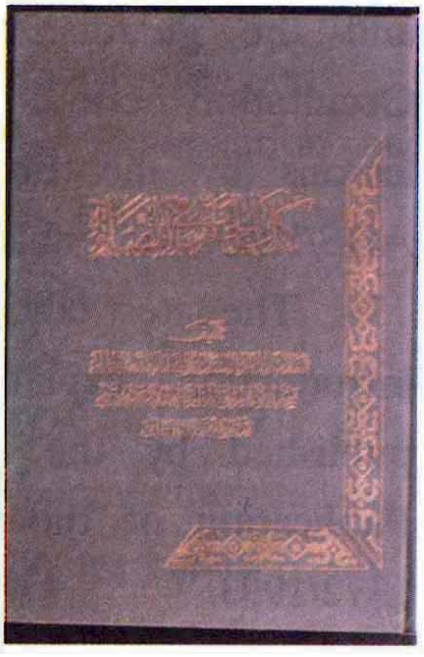
□ ***KETABOL-BEY'***

A valuable work by Imam Khomeini in various chapters on deductive feqh. It deals with business and commercial matters and was written between AHS/1961-76, mainly in Najaf. 5 volumes. 2371 p.

☐ *TAQRIRAT (LECTURES) OF IMAM KHOMEINI'S LESSONS*

In addition to Imam Khomeini's compilations in various discourses in feqh and osool (principles), a number of his lectures have been written up by his students, some of which have already been printed, and a number of others are in the hands of this Institute (Qom branch) and will be gradually published.

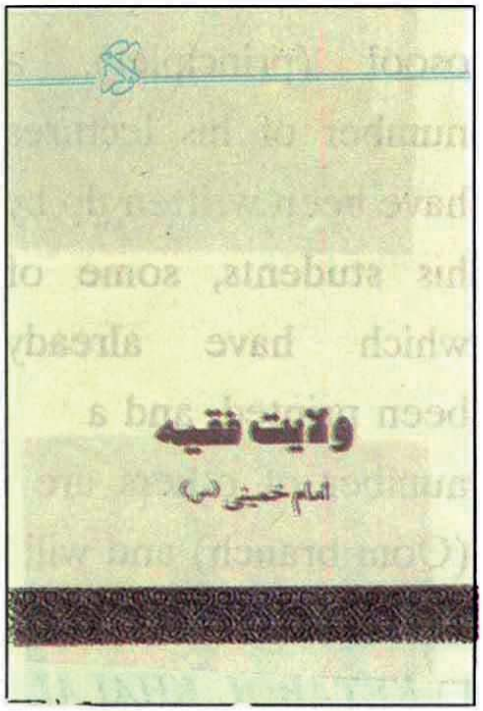
☐ *KETABOL KHALAL FEL SALAT*



This is a work in Arabic language that contains the jurisprudential and argumentative opinions of Imam Khomeini. It deals with jurisprudential decrees concerning impediments occurring

in the namaz, written in the last years of Imam's sojourn in Najaf. It has been printed in Qom. 314 p.

□ *ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT OR VELAYAT-E FAQIH*



This book is in Arabic and Farsi and has undergone numerous reprints before and after the triumph of the Revolution. It contains Imam Khomeini's jurisprudential decrees about Islamic government, the inseparability of religion and politics, and the guardianship of the faqih during the Occultation period. It is in the form of a series of lessons by the Imam, taught in Najaf in 1348 AHS/1969, and published later on.

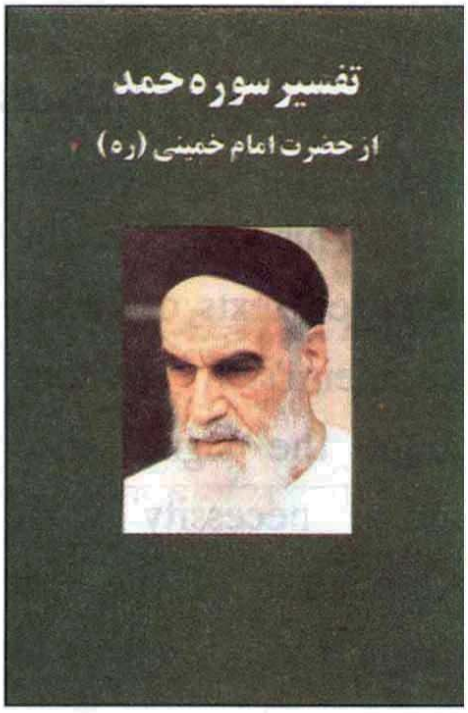
The latest edition of this book--together with an introduction, explanations and guide indices--was published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini, in 1372/1993.

☐ ***THE GREATER JIHAD (CHALLENGING THE EGO)***

This book is the recorded texts of Imam Khomeini's lessons about the significance and necessity of purification of the ego *(nafs)*, rendered in Najaf. This treatise, however short, contains many ethical, educational and political points, and has previously undergone several reprints as an addendum to the book, Velayat-e Faqih. Latest print was put out in 1372/1993, together with an introduction and related explanatory comments, by the Publications Department of the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini.

☐ ***A COMMENTARY ON THE SURA HAMD***

This work is a mystical commentary on "Fatehol Ketab", the sacred sura Hamd

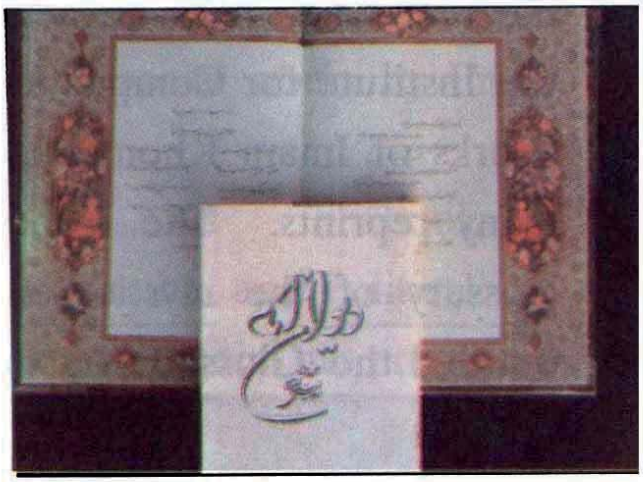


that His Holiness, the İmam has rendered in the course of several speeches in 1358/1979. It has undergone many reprints under this title and in book form, by various publishers.

□ ***ESTEFTAAT (INQUIRIES INTO DECREES)***

A compendium of decrees issued by Imam Khomeini in response to religious questions by the people on various topics of feqh, especially in respect of current issues. So far, two volumes have been printed by the Publications Section of the Society of Teachers of the Qom Theological Assembly: 1336 & 1372/1957 & 1993.

□ *DIVAN OF POEMS*



Imam Khomeini has composed mystical, political, and social poetry since his adolescent years. Unfortunately, a great deal of these poems have been lost in the process of changing residences, or in raids by Savak agents on the house and library of the Imam, and/or by other reasons. Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Imam has composed poems in the form of lyrics, quatrains, rubai couplets, etc.

A collection of the Imam's recent poems, together with a number of older poems that had survived, were published in a book entitled Divan-e Emam. Before this, a number of the Imam's compositions had been published under titles of Mahram-e Raz [The Confidant], Rah-e Eshq [The Path of Love], and Noqteh-ye Atf [The Turning Point].

In the Introduction to the divan, comprehensive information is given about the mode of composition of verses and their styles and dates. In the addendum to the divan, the technical and literary arts and

particulars are given. This work was published, for the first time, in an attractive form, in 1372/1993, by the Institute for Compilation and Publicationn of the Works of Imam Khomeini, and has since undergone many reprints. The Institute has also published a glossary of the mystical expressions of the Imam, entitled the Glossary of the Imam's Divan.

□ *MYSTICAL LETTERS*

Imam Khomeini had written letters to his kin containing ethical reminders, and mystical and educational points, samples of which have appeared in the books, The Confidant, The Way of Love and The Turning Point, all published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini. "Mystical Letters" was also published in a book entitled, Divine Graces, by Bonyad-e Shahid [The Martyr's Foundation].

□ ***KOWTHAR [MESSAGES, SPEECHES, INTERVIEWS, DECREES AND LETTERS]***

(A collection of political and social works by Imam Khomeini in 22 volumes).

In addition to his books, Kashfol-Asrar, Islamic Government, and Political and Divine Testament, Imam Khomeini has presented his opinions, political, social, and religious guidelines in hundreds of sermons, messages, decrees and letters in the course of years of challenge before and since the victory of the Revolution. These guidelines have been published in various forms under scores of different titles.

The 22-volume Sahifeh-ye Noor, plus one volume entitled, Key to the Sahifeh are the most comprehensive and thorough books so far published. In these volumes, the aforementioned works are arranged chronologically. There are, as yet, many unpublished letters, decrees and statements that will take several volumes in print.

The most complete edition of the political and social works of Imam Khomeini will soon be published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini. There exist, up to now, 1126 speeches, over 470 decrees and commands, 367 letters to political and religious personalities abroad, 420 letters to local political and religious personalities, and more than 350 messages, which will be gradually published in collections under the general title of Kowthar together with descriptions and explications for each work. Of this collection, so far, five volumes, amounting to 3200 pages (including Kowthar--summary of the Imam's statements from the beginning to his heavenly departure--in two volumes; and Kowthar--description of the Islamic Revolution's events from the start to Esfand 1357/March 1978--(in 3 volumes) have been published. Meanwhile, the magazine Hozoor, Year 1371/1992, Nos. 5 & 6 in an article on Imam Khomeini's bibliography, has given the particulars of more than 230 titles of the works of the Imam and of works related to Imam's life and challenges, as well as an introduction to his thoughts.

□ *THE DIVINE AND POLITICAL TESTAMENT*

This is the most everlasting message of Imam

Khomeini addressed to the present and future generations. In it, Imam Khomeini, while stating his

rightful opinions, has penned down his most important views, opinions and warnings about the political and social problems of the Islamic communities and of the human society, in the form of supported documentary analyses and well-wishing reminders. This work has, so far, been published in millions of copies by various publishers, organs, revolutionary institutions and foundations, and the followers of His Holiness, and it has also been translated into different languages.

The most recent edition of the testament has

been published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Works of Imam Khomeini which, in addition to complete text of the Will, and complete photocopy of the original Farsi manuscript some explanations about the history of the writing of the Will and a review of its contents, together with topical classification of the contents and guide indices are printed under the title, A Review of the Political-Divine Testament by subject matters.

☐ ***Footnotes:***

1. The Qajar dynasty kings ruled over Iran from 1193 AHL/1774 A.D. to 1344/1925, for a period of 151 years. During the reign of this despotic dynasty, the Iranian people fell behind the caravan of civilization of their time in all social, political and cultural areas. The degrading agreements signed during this period with the pówerful countries of the time are among the things that have darkened the pages of Iranian history. The groundwork for infiltration of Western colonization in Iran was laid in this period of time.

2. The Movement that took place in Iran during 1308-09 AHL/1891-92, in opposition to granting an English firm the tobacco monopoly rights. This was the first successful movement by the people of Iran in the contemporary history of the country. It resulted in the defeat of the government and he triumph of the people and the protestors in their demand for a total cancellation of the concession. The fatwa to boycott the consumption of tobacco, issued by the then religious authority (marja-e taqlid), His Holiness Ayatollah Mirza-ye Shirazi, made the ulama and the people more determined and steadfast in their unity

for the movement they had started. The ruler of the time, Nasseroddin Shah, noticing the ever-increasing protests of the people, was compelled to cancel the agreement and pay compensatory damages to the company, which was a party to the agreement.

3. Seyyed Jamaloddin Asadabadi was a thinker, reformist, freedom-seeker, and liberal man with philosophical, political and social thoughts and opinions. He supported the establishment of democracy in Eastern countries and unity among Muslims and formation of a union of the Islamic governments. He fought the despotism of the kings of Iran, Ottomon Empire and Egypt, and challenged the colonization policy of the British Government all along his life. He toured the Orient and the Occident frequently. In Paris, he published the newspaper, Orvatol Vosqa and attacked the British policy in the East. He injected freedom-seeking thoughts and ideas to the people in Cairo, Istanbul, India, and Afghanistan, through his sensational speeches. In 1306 AHL/1889, he was exiled for a second time by the order of Nasseroddin Shah. He went to London where he published the newspaper Ziyaol-Khafeqeyn in English and Arabic. He was pursued again, and perforce left Europe for

Istanbul where he was imprisoned first and poisoned later on.

4. Mozaffaroddin Shah was the 5th monarch of the Qajar dynasty. He ruled ll years. His incompetency and incapability had a bad effect on the country's affairs. He made several trips to Europe. To secure the heavy expenses of his journeys, he borrowed money from the Russians twice, in lieu of which he ceded to them the Customs of the North, and the Caspian Fisheries. Next, he borrowed from the British, for which he gave them the revenues of the Customs of the South. As a consequence, the country went bankrupt and this resulted in the Constitution Revolution. Due to the freedom-seekers' insistence, he signed the Constitutional Firman in 1324 AHL/1906, and after signing the constitutional law that had been approved by the Majles, he died in the same year.

5. Grand Ayatollah Hajj Sheykh Abdolkarim Haeri Yazdi (1276-1355 AHL) was a great jurisconsult and a religious authority of the 14th century AH. After studying the preliminaries, he went to Najaf and Samaria, where he attended lectures and lessons given by outstanding scholars. In 1322 AHL, he went to

Arak and in 1340 AHL, he went to Qom and at the insistence of the grandees of the religion, he took up permanent residency in this city and founded the Qom Theological Assembly. Under his tutorship, many outstanding scholars received their training, prominent among them was His Holiness Imam Khomeini.

6. Ayatollah Seyyed Hosseyn Tabatabai Boroojerdi was born in Boroojerd in 1929 AHL. After studying the preliminaries in Boroojerd, he went to Esfahan where he studied jurisprudence (feqh) and philosophy. He then went to Najaf and taught there for 8 years and after that he returned to Boroojerd where he became a resident. In 1324 AHS/1945, he went to Tehran and then to Mashhad. Upon return, he went to Qom where he resided until his death in 1340 AHS/1961, following which he was declared the Religious Authority (marja-e taqlid) of the Shias. His works include books on philosophy, logic, feqh and *elmol-rejal*.

7. Martyr Professor Morteza Motahhari, an outstanding challenging clergyman who did ample service to awaken the revolutionary generation in the university and in the assemblies. Although many

years have passed since his martyrdom, his writings still convey novel ideas that render the youths dedicated and guided. In 1357, at the apex of the fighting of the Iranian people against the Shahanshahi regime, Professor Motahhari was appointed by the great leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini (pbuh), as President of the Islamic Revolutionary Council. This Islamic philosopher and researcher scholar, was assassinated in Ordibehesht 1358/April 1979, at the hands of agents of world arrogance, and attained martyrdom.

8. Martyr Dr. Mohammad Hosseyn Beheshti, is reckoned among the fighting clergymen and scientific political figures of the Islamic Revolution. His management in organizing the Revolutionary forces in the framework of an organization named "The Islamic Republic Party" was highly effective in neutralizing the enemy's plottings during the first few months after the victory of the Revolution. Martyr Beheshti was the first person to be assigned Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court by the Imam to revamp the judicial organization of the country. This scholarly highly efficient political personality, gained martyrdom in the explosion of the Islamic Republic Party's headquarters in Shahrivar

1360/September 1981, together with a large number of the authorities of the Islamic Republic System, by an infiltrating hypocritical group known as "Organization of Mojahedin-e Khalq". A great number of his literary works have been published.

9. On 16 Mehr 1341/8 October 1963, the Iranian government had approved a bill which was to remove "the faith in Islam" as a prerequisite for voting or being elected in the elections of the Majles, and the phrase of "swearing to the Qoran" to be replaced by the phrase "swearing to the Divine Book". This issue was severely protested by His Holiness, the Imam and it laid grounds for the nation's protests against the government.

10. The chaotic condition of Iran during the late 19th- and early 20th-century, put the people out of patience with the injustice of the agents and rulers of despotism, weakness and incompetency of Mozaffaroddin Shah vis-a-vis the daily increasing of people's awakening and their wakefulness and the uprising of the ulama and the clergy caused the emergence of a revolution known as the "Constitutional Movement". After long fighting by the people, finally, in 1324/1906, the movement

triumphed. This movement, though not conducted in correct channel, effected considerable changes in the social organization of Iran; in breaking up class privileges; in shaking down the power of the courtiers and landlords; and in the institution of justice and law. However, the constitutional movement did not attain results because of the influence of the Westernized elements and removing the clergy from the political arena and rulership, and by the coup d'etat of Reza Khan, the system of hereditary monarchy was reinstated.

11. Names of two rebellious and cruel tribes and khans who, during the chaotic rule of the Qajar monarchy, were imposing themselves on the people, pillaging their assets in the central province of Iran.

12. Reza Khan (the father of the ex-Shah of Iran), staged a coup d'etat in 1299 AHS/1920, according to a British plan, and in 1304 AHS/1925, ascended the throne. Before the coup d'etat, he was the commander of a cossack brigade in Qazvin. One of the first things he did after ascending the throne was to ban the teaching of religious instructions and the Qoran, the saying of namaz in schools, and observance of religious rites throughout the country.

13. Seyyed Hassan Modarres (1287-1357 AHL), was a highly prominent figure in the contemporary political and religious history of Iran. He had his elementary studies in Esfahan and the supplemental studies in Atabat-e-Aliyat (Karbala Najaf, Kazemeyn, and Samaria) attending the sessions held by such prominent scholars as Akhond Khorasani. After acquiring the degree of ejtehad (jurisprudence) he returned to Esfahan and began teaching feqh and principles there. In the second parliamentary elections (1327 AHL), he was selected by the grand religious authorities and the ulama of Najaf as one of the five jurisconsults to the Majles, to supervise the process of legislation. During the 3rd term of elections, Modarres was elected to the Majles. During the coup d'etat by Reza Khan, Modarres was arrested and exiled. However, after his freedom, he was re-elected to the Majles by the people. In the 4th legislative course, Modarres was the leader of the opposition majority. Modarres opposed Reza Khan's efforts to convert the form of government from monarchy to republic during the 5th and 6th legislative courses and made the Majles revoke its approval. Modarres strongly resisted Reza Khan's autocracy. Consequently, the Shah assigned someone

to assassinate him. He escaped but was then exiled to Khawaf and Kashmir. Eleven years later, on 27th day of Ramazan 1357 AHL, the Shah's agents poisoned him and thus a superior political and religious figure of Iran attained martyrdom in the path of the truth. Modarres enjoyed outstanding characteristics and in spite of his politico-religious influence, led an utterly ascetic life. Imam Khomeini always held him in the highest regard. On the occasion of rebuilding the shrine of Modarres, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution wrote: "At a time when pens were broken, tongues were tied, and throats were choked, he [Modarres] did not withhold stating the truth and negating the falsehood....This feeble old clergyman had a mighty soul replete with faith, truthfulness and pureness, and with his sharper-than-the-sword-of-Damocles tongue, stood up against them; he cried out the truth, revealed the crimes, cornered the notorious Reza Khan and his agents, and made their lives miserable for them. And in the end, he gave his pure life in the path of Islam and was martyred by the hands of a despotic Shah's executioners and joined his noble ancestors."

14. Martyr Seyyed Mojtaba Navvab Safavi, was the founder of the Fadaiyan-e Eslam Organization. This

organization, established in 1323 AHS/1944, was among the religious parties and organizations having the longest record of sound faith in Islam and in the role of the clergy in leadership of the people. The assassination of Abdol-Hosseyn Hajir and General Razmara (Shah's Prime Ministers) were some of the militant undertakings of this group. The now martyred clergyman Navvab Safavi and other members of this group were arrested by the government agents in 1344 AHS/1965, and were expeditiously tried and executed.

15. During Mosaddeq premiership, enemy-plottings were increasing daily. The Royal Court that was atop all internal plotters did all it could to impede Mosaddeq's doings. Seeing these plottings and in order to have a better command over the affairs of the country, Mosaddeq asked the Shah to entrust him with the ministry of war, but his request was ignored and Mosaddeq resigned on 25 Tir of the same year (1331). The Shah immediately appointed Qavamol-Saltaneh as Prime Minister, but the people rose in opposition to this, and Ayatollah Kashani, in a declaration, openly announced his explicit opposition to the appointment of Qavam. In an interview, Ayatollah Kashani declared: "If Qavam is not removed

within 48 hours, I shall decree jihad and shall personally don the shroud *(kafan)* and walk up in front of the marchers and challenge the measure." Following this decisive assumption of position by Ayatollah Kashani and the close-down of the bazaar and shops on the 30th of Tir, the people poured out into the streets and demanded the removal of Qavam. By order of Qavam, people were machine-gunned and many were martyred. Quickly, representatives of the government and the Shah went to visit Ayatollah Kashani to appease him and have him pacify the people. But, this religious leader turned down the request with utter frankness and emphasized that if Qavam was not removed, he would declare jihad. The Shah, seeing his position untenable, agreed to put Qavam aside. Thus with the sacrifices of the people, and support of the clergy, Dr. Mosaddeq, once again, became Prime Minister (30 Tir 1331) and this day was the culmination day of the presence of people on the scene and of cooperation between religious and national forces of that time.

16. State Organization for Security and Information (SAVAK) was officially established in 1336/1957 by the order of Mohammad Reza Shah. Savak was charged with the suppression of any opposition to the

regime and to counteract the Islamic challenges. Savak had close relation and cooperation with the CIA (of the U.S.) and Mossad (of Israel). The callosity and cruelty of Savak in torturing political prisoners was on such a level that in 1354/1975, the Secretary General of the Amnesty International Organization declared: "No country in the world has as dark a record of Human Rights as Iran does!"

17. "Land Reform" was one of the major principles of neocolonization policy, and was implemented almost uniformly through the local governments in countries from Latin America to Asia and Africa. In 1341 AHS/1962, the Shah, to attract the confidence of American capital investments, and to demonstrate his agreement and cooperation with the new strategy and to open up new market for Western economy, on the one hand, and on the other, to reduce the chaotic domestic conditions and to curb the spread of popular dissatisfaction that was on the verge of social explosions, got into acting.

He implemented the program of land reformation as the first principle of the six-point principles of the so-called "Revolution of the Shah and the People" and thus steered the Iranian economy to bankuptcy. In Iran, "Land Reform" that accompanied foreign

investments, mainly American, in commerce and dependent industry, delivered a severe blow to Iranian agriculture, so much so, that the country, within a few years, came down from a wheat exporter position to a major wheat importer country. Moreover, as a result of the migration of rural population to the cities and their recruitment as cheap labor force by the industries and the service sectors, in the span of 11 years (1345-1356/1966-1977), more than 20,000 rural areas were vacated.

18. The role of His Holiness Ja'far ibn Mohammad Imam Sadeq (pbuh) (83-148 AHL), the 6th Imam of the world of Shias, in reviving genuine Islamic teachings and in organizing numerous teaching centers and educating faithful forces was exceptional, due to the conditions of his time, so much so that Shiism has been ascribed to him and called the Ja'fari sect.

19. When the flame of the Revolution was ablaze in Iran, the Monarchical regime of Iran and the Baathist regime of Iraq, in cooperation with each other, decided to create limitations and difficulties for the Imam. The Iraqi Security Organization besieged the Imam's residence and prevented his contacts with the

clergy and the people. Such limitations made the Imam, who was not willing to take a single step backward, leave Iraq. He set out for Kuwait but the government of Kuwait prevented Imam's entry to that country, and the Imam perforce headed for France and took residence in Neauphle-le Château, a suburban village, 25 kilometers from Paris. Two small houses were available to the Imam and his entourage. In House No. 1, which was very small, the Imam and his family members lived. House No. 2, located across from House No. 1, was for the gatherings, the Iranian students, and office members. Here, the Imam performed congregational- and evening-namaz. In the meantime, a place was leased as a hostel for students and visitors to rest. This place was run by now martyred Mehdi Araqi. Due to lack of space, often as many as 20 to 30 people slept in one room. Imam's visitors could stay in this place for upto 48 hours. It is worth indicating that the Imam was so keen on the expenditure of religious funds, that he did not allow the lease money for the place to be reimbursed from the Imam's portion. The Iranians who were well off, paid the rent so that students would not face undue hardship.

20. This narration is ascribed to Imam Hosseyn

(pbuh), the second Imam of the world of Shia.

21. These two men were dedicated fighters who were executed on 11 Aban 1342/2 November 1363, on charges of participation in the 15th of Khordad Uprising. In the 15th of Khordad Uprising, Tayeb dispersed the group of the followers of Sha'ban Ja'fari, known as "Sha'ban Bimokh" (Sha'ban the brainless) who supported the Shah by gathering a group of rascals in the street. By mental and physical torture, the regime wanted the two aforementioned men to declare that they had received money from Imam Khomeini. Eventually, noticing their steadfast denial, they were murdered through torture. When the news of the martyrdom of these two men spread, the Theological Assembly and religious instruction classes closed down and on the 7th day of their martyrdom, a number of prominent religious personalities of the business and bazaar areas, under the banner of "Coalition Islamic Associations" issued a statement, part of which read: "At dawn on Saturday, two of the bravest sons of Iran who suffered the most inhumane tortures but did not agree to accept the untruths that Savak had forged and meant to impose on the clergy, were machine-gunned by the bloodthirsty lackeys of foreigners. These two were

guilty of love for their religion. However, their names bedecked, forever, the pages of the history of anti-foreign challenges." With regard to those who were exiled to Bandar Abbas and those imprisoned in Tehran, let it be known that those arrested in the Tayeb and Hajj Esmail adventure numbered 17 for all of whom the Royal Court Ministry's prosecutor requested the penalty of death by hanging.

22. Hosseyn Fardoost entered the special class in the military grade school since his childhood. This was a class that Reza Khan had arranged for his heir apparent Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Thus Fardoost was the most intimate friend and confidant of Mohammad Reza. On departure of the crown-prince to Switzerland, Fardoost was officially sent along with the prince and was his intimate friend during the years he resided in Switzerland. Upon Mohammad Reza's ascending the throne, Fardoost continued to remain by his side. This relationship continued in such a way that the Shah introduced him as his friend everywhere. General Hosseyn Fardoost served as Mohammad Reza's eyes and ears. As the head of the most important information organ of the Pahlavi regime, the "Office of Special Information" that was regarded as the Shah's personal information agency,

Fardoost supervised the entire political and information systems of the country, even that of Savak. Thus he would establish the Shah's personal relations with the most important information organs of equal standing.

23. The popular President of Egypt, who came to power in 1333 AHS/1954 and in 1335 AHS/1956 nationalized the Suez Canal and by partaking in the 6-day war, started a war of attrition against the usurper regime occupying the Qods. However, he died in 1354 AHS/1970. Nasser's tomb is an ordinary simple building; He is burried in the office where he worked.

24. Ayatollah Seyyed Mahmood Taleqani (1289-1358 AHS/1910-1979), a highly learned and dedicated clergyman, with a prominent role in fighting, along with the Muslim nation of Iran, against despotism and colonization. He studied Islamic sciences in Razaviyeh and Feyziyeh schools of Qom and in 1317 went to Tehran to teach and promote Islamic sciences. In 1318 AHS/1939 on charge of opposition to the Pahlavi regime, he was arrested and imprisoned. From 1327 on, his classes were held in Hedayat Mosque of Tehran, which was the

congregational center for the intellectual religious figures and the national forces, which later resulted in the formation of the Freedom Movement. During 1330-1331/1951-1952, he traveled to Transjordan and Egypt. He took part in the struggle for nationaliztion of oil industries. After the coup d'etat of 28 Mordad/18 August, he was arrested on the charge of hiding in his house Navvab Safavi, Fadaiyan-e Eslam leader. Among the political activities, mention can be made of the "Freedom Movement" that was founded in 1339/1950 by Ayatollah Taleqani and others and was, in fact, a branch out of National Front. The founders and prominent members of the Freedom Movement were arrested before the 15th of Khordad Uprising and tried after the 15th. Some received sentences of ten years; others received less imprisonment terms. Ayatollah Taleqani was freed in 1346/1967. In 1350/1971, he was exiled to Zabol and later to Baft in Kerman, and in 1354/1975 he was arrested because of a treasonous act of Monafeqin and was sentenced to ten years imprisonment. On 18 Aban 1357/1978, he was released together with Ayatollah Montazeri and a group of political prisoners. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Taleqani was appointed President of the Revolutionary Council, and was elected to

membership in the Council of Experts. In Mordad 1358/August 1979, he led the first Friday Mass Namaz at the University of Tehran by the order of Imam Khomeini. Ayatollah Taleqani has had many works in the exegesis of Qoran, in Islamic education as well as in social and political issues.

25. *Mohandes* (Engineer) Mehdi Bazargan (1286-1373/1907-1994) held numerous positions in the government of Dr. Mosaddeq, including those in Tehran Water Organization, NIOC; and educational positions, including university professorship, and as the Dean of the College of Technology. Mr. Bazargan was instrumental in founding the "Freedom Movement of Iran". He spent some years in the Shah's prisons. When the Islamic uprising was at its zenith in 1357 AHS/1979 he, along with several aides, assumed responsibility to investigate the strikes of the NIOC workers. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the supervision of the provisional government was assigned to him. One day after the occupation of the U.S spy den by Muslim student followers of the line of Imam, he resigned as Prime Minister. He was elected to membership in Islamic Consultative Assembly in the first legislative course. He died of heart attack at the age of 87. Mr.

Bazargan has had many literary works including Notes on Industrial Thermodynamics, Purifiers in Islam, Road Traveled, The Infinitely Small Ones, Religion in Europe, and Marxism As Science.

26. Qoran 30:14.

27. Martyr challenger Seyyed Ali Andarzgoo -- better known as Sheykh Abbas Tehrani -- was a most significant, most pure and most clean figure of Iranian armed challengers. He started fighting along with the Fadaiyan-e Eslam and was closely acquainted with the late Navvab Safavi, leader of the Fadaiyan. Andarzgoo was an official member of the "Coalition Islamic Association" which started armed jihad with the assassination of Hassanali Mansoor, the element of the infamous capitulation agreement. Martyr Andarzgoo was one of the planners and executors of the revolutionary assassination of Hassanali Mansoor. Andarzgoo disappeared after killing that traitor, and was condemned in absentia and sentenced to death by a court. His running away was a prelude to 13 years of secret challenge which reached its apex during the years of police rule by Mohammad Reza. Andarzgoo's life and escapes were, according to his friends, more

of a mythical nature. At a time when the Savak and all security and police forces were everywhere searching every street, alley and borough in every town, city and hamlet for an armed fugitive and saboteur by the name of Seyyed Ali Andarzgoo (known as Sheykh Abbas), he was moving about. This he did with the confidence that a brave, faithful person can have, taking steps to carry out his tasks, deceiving the police and escaping their traps. His escapes had become a riddle for his friends and foes. Whenever police were able to find a trace of him, he would be gone before the Savak raids. Most of the time he fled taking his family with him. Martyr Andarzgoo may well be declared as the most experienced, oldest, purest Muslim guerrilla fighter in the history of Iran's recent challenges. Of late, he was termed the Sheykh Carlos of Iran. He had over 23 valid identification cards and several passports. For him, leaving frontiers and boundaries was--as confirmed by his friends and foes--as easy as winking. He can be termed a moving archive of the Islamic activities of the Muslim guerrilla groups from the day the Coalition Islamic Association began (the assassination of Mansoor) until the last day and hour of his life and martyrdom. There was no Islamic guerrilla group that Sheykh Abbas had not served or

helped in the same way and not made facilities available to them. The Savak was unable to apprehend him and had declared a prize for his delivery--dead or alive. If arrested, he could be a source of valuable information. But, he had told his friends and helpers and had emphasized that he would not be trapped by the enemy, alive. "They shall meet my dead body!" And this is exactly how it happened. In the afternoon of the 19th day of Ramazan 1356, while he was fasting, he joined the *Leqaollah* (Presence of God) and his name was added to the roster of the martyrs of the Islamic Revolution.

28. After the arrest and exile of His Holiness, the Imam in 1342 AHS/1963, opponents of the regime began an underground activity. From 1345/1966, the Shah, in order to demonstrate his station and might and divert the minds of the people, arranged several festivals; the most significant of them was the celebration of the 2500-year anniversay of monarchy which came to be known as the greatest festival of the age; a town with most expensive decoration was built at the Persepolis. Nine kings, five queens, twenty-one princes, and a large number of presidents, vice presidents and prime ministers from different countries took part in it. The guests were served most

expensive meals from Maxim's International Restaurant. Dining services, dishes, drinking glasses and cups, tea services and other dishes were among the world's most expensive sets. Amid the desert, were built thousands of mobile palaces and tents equipped with most luxurious furniture while most of the people of Iran lacked such basic facilities as water, power and physicians. In its 4 August 1980 issue, the Time Magazine wrote: "Even the tale-teller Shahrzad could not reproduce the magnificent scenes of Iran's 2500 monarchy festivities at the ruins of the Persepolis, within the frame of her tales, A Thousand and One Nights." When the Shah held the gala festival of "Jamshid's Throne" (The Persepolis), he imagined himself as heir to the world's most ancient regime of monarchy that would last for centuries or even to the end of history. Which one of his high ranking guests could imagine that the 2500-year history of the Iranian Empire would end in Mohammad Reza Shah himself?!

29. Qoran 61:8.

30. Hajj Mostafa (1306-1356 AHS/1927-1977) was the first son of Imam Khomeini. At the age of 15, Aqa Mostafa began to study Islamic sciences. At 27, he

reached the stage of ejtehad (religious leadership). When quite young, Aqa Mostafa became expert in most fields of Islamic sciences. His teachers included the Imam, the late Ayatollah Boroojerdi and the late Hajj Seyyed Mohammad Damad. On 13 Aban 1343, he was arrested by the order of the regime and spent 58 days at the Qezel Qaleh prison. When released, he went to Qom. The people and the clergy arranged a gala reception for him. He, like his noble father, had an uncompromising spirit and believed an all-inclusive uprising was needed to overthrow the Pahlavi rule. He worked hard to this end. But, Iraqi Security Agency that was on the look out, arrested him in 1348/1969 and took him directly to the President's palace in Baghdad. Hassan Al-Bakr, Iraqi President, who was aware of Aqa Mostafa's secret visits with Ayatollah Hakim, threatened Aqa Mostafa and then proposed that he enters the fight against Iran with the help of the Baathist regime of Iraq. He declined the offer. But back in Iran the Shah's regime was busy spreading rumors against him claiming that Aqa Mostafa was cooperating with Iraqi government. Hajj Aqa Mostafa was martyred one year before the victory of the Revolution of Iran, at the age of 47.

31. Qoran 13:11.

32. A narration ascribed to His Holiness Imam Sadeq (pbuh), the 6th Imam of the world of Shia.

33. Qoran 2:249.

34. *"Fana"* (non-existence) is a mystical term and means annihilation of *abd* (slave; servant) in *Haq* (Truth, God). It means extinction of one's human aspects into Sovereignty of God *(Roboobiyat)* which is the ultimate passage of the abd toward God. After Sovereignty of God, it is the turn of submission to God *(Oboodiyat)* to which abd confesses. Therefore, the wayfaring of the abd from the status of essence *(zat)* toward perfections begins until abd attains the status of gnosis of all divine attributes or names *(asma)* except those names which Almighty has reserved unto Himself and when the abd reaches this status, his quiddity, his attributes and his deeds become extinct or are absorbed in the Quiddity, Attributes, and Deeds of Haq, and it is at this stage or status that annihilation from annihilation which is the concealed status of annihilation, is gained by him (i.e., the abd).

35. The book, Asfarol Arbaah, meaning the four

journeys, is one of the works of Sadrol Moteallehin. In this book, Sadrol Moteallehin divides the philosophical issues into four categories by relying on the validity that is claimed for thought as a kind of wayfaring *(solook)* though a mental one.

1) Issues of problems that are the base and preliminary discussions to monotheism *(towhid)* and are in fact the wayfaring of thoughts from creature to the Creator (Haq).

2) Discourses relating to monotheism or oneness of God, to theology and to the Divine Attributes (wayfaring by divinity within divinity).

3) Discourses about Divine acts, the overall worlds of existence
(journey from Creator to creature by the Creator).

4) Discourses of the soul and resurrection journey within the creation by the Creator.

This is a popular book and is taught in the theological assemblies.

36. Qoran 47:7.

37. Qoran 59:2.

38. Narration.

39. Qoran 4:141.

40. Imam Hosseyn (pbuh), the third Shiite Imam, is the son of Amirol Mo'menin Ali (pbuh) and Fatemeh (pbuh), daughter of the Prophet (pbuh). He was born in the 4th year AHL/625 A.D. in Medina. His initial training was in the laps of the Prophet (pbuh), the teachings of his noble father, and his prolonged presence in the plitico-military events of early days of Islam had best developed his distinguished personality. In 61 AHL, Imam Hosseyn, with the small number of aides he had, rose up against Yazid's rule. Confrontation with Yazid's l0,000-man strong army occurred in a land known as Karbala (in Iraq). In this sanguinary epical event, Imam Hosseyn and his men totalling 72, including his sons, all were martyred and their families were taken captive by Yazid's army.

41. Sadrol Moteallehin Shirazi, also known as Molla Sadra (d. 1050 AHL), was the founder of *hekmat-e motealliyeh* (transcendental philosophy or sophia). The

phrase "hekmat-e motealliyeh" had been used by Boo Ali (Avicenna) in his book Esharat but Boo Ali's philosophy did not come to be known by this term. Sadrol Moteallehin, formally termed his philosophy "hekmat-e motealliyeh" and it became known by the same name. Molla Sadra's method is similar to the school of the illuminationist, that is, it believes in the same argumentation, intuition and revelation but differs from it principally and, conclusively. In the school of Molla Sadra, many points of illuminative and peripatetic philosophy were solved. Also the difference between the philosophy itself and mysticism and differences between philosophy and "kalam" were forever solved. Sadrol Moteallehin's philosophy is not an eclectic one. Rather, it is a particular philosophical system in the emergence of which various Islamic methods of thinking were effective; yet, it must be regarded an independent system of thought. Molla Sadra digested all that was handed down in the area of philosophy from ancient Greeks, especially Plato and Aristotle and all that had been explained by such Islamic philosophers as Farabi, Avicenna, Sheykh-e Eshraq, and/or by their own initiative, had been added to the philosophy, and all that the great mystics, by their inner intuition and the power of mysticism had discovered. Molla Sadra

then devised a new foundation from the beginning and based it on steadfast and impregnable rules and principles. From the viewpoint of argumentation and proof, he gave the philosophical problems--like those of mathematics--such an order that they can be derived and adduced from one another and, in so doing, brought the philosophy out of the scattered ways of reasoning and argumentation.

42. Hosseyn ibn Mansoor, known as Hallaj, is one of the mystics of the 3rd century AHL (d. 309 AHL/922 A.D.). He was arrested and imprisoned for years because of his beliefs, and finally the ulama issued a decree declaring that he deserves death. He was meted a thousand lashes, his hands and feet were severed, his body was then burned and thrown into the Tigris river (in Baghdad). The accusation levied on him, which has remained in the minds, was that in a state of mystical trance he had cried "*ANAL-HAQ*" (I am the Truth or God).
N.B. Most often, the name of Hosseyn's father, i.e. Mansoor, is used mistakenly instead of Hallaj's first name, i.e. Hosseyn.

43. Qoran 61:8.

44. A part of *ziyaratnameh* (written prayers to be recited during a pilgrimage or other visits to a holy shrine).

45. Qoran 89:27 & 28.

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