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**ISLAMIC REVOLUTION  
FUTURE PATH OF THE  
NATIONS**

by

**MASIH MUHAJERI**

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*On the Occassion of the Fourth Anniversary of the  
Islamic Revolution  
Dedicated to  
The Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution*

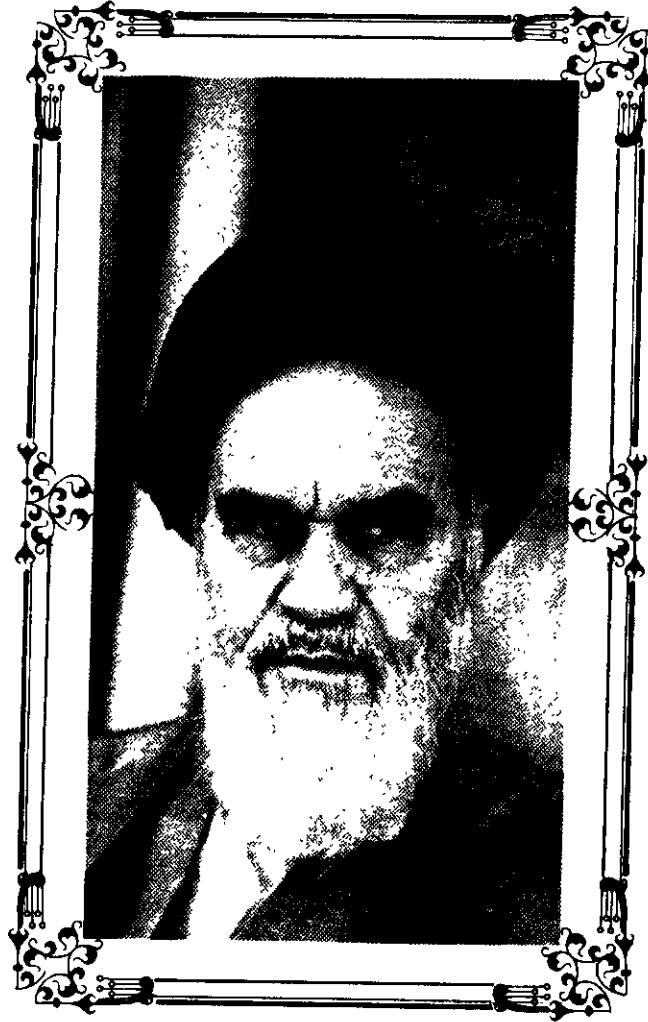
ISLAMIC REVOLUTION  
FUTURE PATH OF THE NATIONS

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## ***Introduction***

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

*On the occasion of the second anniversary of the victory of the Revolution, the Islamic Republic of Iran sent delegations to Europe, Africa, Asia, the Far East and the Middle East for the purpose of introducing the Revolution its goals and its functions to their people. The warm reception and hospitality these people accorded the delegations was heartily reciprocated, but their lack of accurate information about what has taken place in Iran in recent years and the total ignorance of the people of various countries about the nature of the Islamic Revolution and the events in post-Revolutionary Iran was most alarming. During this trip, the delegation met many people and different religious, political, and cultural authorities and members of Islamic movements which naturally gave the opportunity to inform them of the real situation in Iran, and what gladdened them most was that in every place people showed great interest in knowing the facts about the Islamic Revolution in Iran. On the contrary, it's saddening to know that their respective governments which are affiliated to either eastern or western Imperialism and which look at the success of the Islamic Revolution with indifference or apprehension are virtually assisting international Zionism. Governments affiliated to the eastern and western blocs attempt to destroy and pollute the image and entity of the Islamic Revolution through the mass media and destructive propaganda. They fear that one day their nations will understand the truth and choose the same way the people of Iran did. Evidently these governments who are oppressively ruling upon the people would ultimately meet the same destiny that the criminal Shah of Iran did. Thus, in their desperate attempt to keep their nations unaware and ignorant of the glorious feat of the great Muslim nation of Iran, they unconditionally corroborate with world news agencies to preserve the infrastructure of international oppression. To assure themselves of absolute and everlasting rule over the*

*deprived, colonized and exploited nations, these governments have indiscriminately yet with subtlety set aside their nation's welfare and almost completely overlooked their grievances.*

*These ugly facets of today's rampant world oppression and the inveterate ignorance of many nations of the authenticity of the Islamic Revolution of Iran convinced the devoted members of these delegations to stress the expediency of suppressing these agents of international Zionism against the Islamic Revolution of Iran. We hold the opinion that extensive propaganda must be carried out on the global level so that despite the relentless efforts of the enemies of this Revolution who are also in fact the enemies of the oppressed and deprived nations, the people of the world will be able to get the necessary information about what actually has happened and is going on in Iran. They feel obliged to take effective steps in breaking the shackles of slavery with which the world oppressors have fastened the oppressed.*

*Slavery which exists in different forms in today's modern world can be seen everywhere, explicitly in some and implicitly in others. It is not limited to the underdeveloped Third World countries. Modern slavery has taken on a new look and exists in countries like the United States and the USSR where people suffer unknowingly from rapacious economic, social and human exploitation unprecedented in the history of mankind. Therefore, informing all the oppressed people of the world of the contents and goals of the Islamic Revolution and the methods which the people of Iran used and are still using to achieve victory over internal and foreign enemies and the continuation of the struggle is considered a very great and delicate task.*

*For carrying out this great mission, all those who could have a part should undertake a definite responsibility with regard to their capabilities. All should try lest their ideas remain unvoiced before the people of the world and their eyes closed. What you have before yourself is an attempt in this*

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*direction because of this very feeling, hoping that it would be a step toward performing a great mission that God Most High, has made obligatory on us.*

*This book is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the motive of the Islamic Revolution, the second presents a concise history of the Revolution from the beginning until now; the third section has been allocated to the functions of the Islamic Revolution from its victory until the date of writing this book, the problems and obstacles which have been placed on its path inside and outside the country and the important events which have taken place in Iran during this time.*

*Our attempt throughout these chapters is to briefly express the necessary topics, but with a brevity that does not betray the fluency of the development of ideas and doesn't harm the motive of writing. This book which has been especially prepared to familiarize people abroad with the Islamic Revolution has been written in such way that Iranians themselves, especially the younger generation who want to find the roots of the problems will be able to benefit from it. In the same way, from the historical point of view this book could be useful for the future generations. There is no doubt that what has passed and is going on in revolutionary Iran could become an invaluable treasure for all oppressed nations who are determined to save themselves from the yoke of colonialism.*

*The Islamic Revolution of Iran, while useful to all the nations of the world, is more important for the Muslim nations who are in similar circumstances, as was the Iranian nation. God willing, what is in this book will be able to present a pattern of the struggles of the Muslim nation of Iran.*

*One of the characteristics of this book is that the author himself has been in the mainstream of the Revolution during the past five years and many of the things which have been*

*mentioned in this book are the author's own observations and experiences.*

*With the hope of more success in the service of Islam, the Muslims and all deprived and oppressed people of the world,*

*Masih Muhajeri*

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## PROLOGUE

In August, 1981, an extensive effort became operational for accusing the Islamic Republic of Iran of having relations with the government of Israel. The Voice of America and Radio Israel launched the media attack with the crash of an Argentinian aircraft leased to Iran to move merchandise purchased from Scandinavian countries. After leaving Iran, this plane mysteriously crashed on the Turkish-Soviet border. The Zionist and imperialist radio stations and news agencies exploited this incident, rumoring that the plane had been carrying Israeli-made arms to Iran.

In September, the efforts of the Zionist circles became stronger, reaching their peak during the middle of the month. It was suddenly announced by the Voice of America that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran had taken back the building of the Palestinian Embassy in Tehran, which was in the hands of the Zionists during the Shah's reign. This report was immediately refuted by the Palestinian Embassy in Tehran.

From Paris Abulhassan Banisadr stated that the Islamic Republic of Iran had purchased arms from Israel for fighting with Iraq, forgetting that he himself would have been directly responsible.

It became clear to the people and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran that their enemies were attempting to launch a new conspiracy. This extensive propaganda was leading to one goal, preparing world public opinion for the acceptance of the naturalness of a coup d'etat in Iran. They theorized that if the people of the world and even the nation of Iran itself could be convinced that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran had ties with Israel, they would naturally accept that the heads of such a government were not honest men, for despite their profession of "Today Iran, Tomorrow Palestine" they had now turned their backs on

their Muslim Palestinian brothers, establishing ties with Israel. Under such circumstances, if a coup d'etat occurred against this government, the conspirators believed, the people of Iran would be indifferent and the people of the world would take it as a revolutionary action against those who had not dealt honestly with their people.

The CIA and Mossad analysts, as usual, had forgotten that the nation of Iran, having accomplished this Revolution and placed this government into office itself, would never be deceived by such publicity. With their impaired reasoning these analysts were not able to grasp that the people of the world, unlike their governments, love the Islamic Revolution of Iran and would not be deceived by such frivolous propaganda.

The stage was set -- the coup was launched. In one of the rooms of the Prime Ministry building at 3 p.m. on Sunday August 30, (the 8th of Shahrivar) 1980, a bomb exploded. Muhammad Ali Rajaie, the President, and Hojjatoleslam Muhammad Javad Bahonar, the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and two Prime Ministry employees were tragically burned and attained the exalted distinction of martyrdom. The reaction of the Iranian people had not been correctly gauged. The people of Iran demonstrated more ardently than they did at the burial of Ayatollah Beheshti and the 72 martyrs of June 28, 1980, (Tir 7, 1360). They declared their support for the Leader of the Revolution and its authorities and demanded decisive action against counter-revolutionary and U.S. government agents. By shouting "Down with the U.S. government", they voiced their revolutionary consciousness to the people of the world, proving that no conspiracy could halt their Revolution.

These incidents, just as they are influential in strengthening of the determination of the people of Iran, can be valuable examples for those following the Islamic Revolution, the future path of the nations.

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## ROOTS OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN THIS CENTURY

The British witnessed the power of Islam when the pen of an Islamic jurisprudent and scholar named Mirza Muhammad Hassan Husseini Shirazi (known as Mirza Shirazi) defeated them, the greatest power of that time. Mirza Shirazi's one-statement religious declaration proclaimed "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful — From now on the use of tobacco and tobacco pipe is like fighting the Imam of Time (praise and the blessings of God be upon him). They began to understand the problem in Islamic countries that they would face because of the gradual awakening of the people and their return to Islam. They saw that this problem would seriously trouble the "old crone of colonialism." The functionaries of the crown's government in Iran saw with their own eyes that the people of Iran when informed of Mirza Shirazi's declaration broke their hookahs. Shah Nasser-ud-Din, who was a party to the agreement in the tobacco issue, was ostracized by his wife, maids and servants in the royal palace. Even while a great failure of the British, this incident was also a lesson for them. They understood that in Iran, their true opponent was Islam and that the people found Islam in the religious proclamations of their clergymen and not in the king's courts.

Another bitter experience which the British had with Islam and the clergy was the Constitution Movement which was also initiated by the clergy. Their aim was to overthrow internal dictatorship and eradicate British colonialism, establishing an Islamic government. Because the movement was pro-

longed, Britain had the opportunity to deviate it with the aid of internal agents. They demagogically accused Sheikh Fazlollah Noori of being opposed to the Constitution. Thus the way was prepared to remove control of the movement from the clergy. Sheikh Fazlollah Noori, who was himself one of the founders of the Constitutional Movement, understood with astute intelligence and adroitness that the Movement was threatened. The British wanted to segment the Constitution based upon western thinking and with a few Islamic embellishments cajole the people into accepting it as an Islamic Constitution. For this reason, Noori strongly opposed such a constitution which in his words was "the seething rice caldron of the British" and asked for an Islamic government whose Constitution was prepared according to the Quran and not adopted from the West. On the pretext that he opposed the Constitution but in fact for his Islamic stance, the phoney advocates of the Constitution hung Sheikh Fazlollah Noori and they themselves who continued warming the chairs of various ministries devised a Constitution which led to the black dictatorship of the Pahlavi dynasty.

The British finally succeeded in diverting the movement and installing their desired system in Iran, but they clearly understood that in Iran they were confronting Islam and the clergy.

Another bitter experience which the British had concerning Islam and the clergy, was Iraq's Islamic movement around 1920 that resulted in England's complete withdrawal from that country. In these struggles, also under the leadership of clergymen including Mirza Muhammad Taqi Shirazi and Ayatollah Seyyed Abulqasim Kashani and his father Ayatollah Seyyed Mustafa Kashani, once again depicted to the British the power of Islam and the influence of the clergy on the Muslim masses.

During the nationalization of the oil industry in the years 1952-53, the British saw themselves confronted with the same

powerful clergymen who had defeated them in Iraq. It is true that in the course of this movement other forces were also active but the British colonizers knew well that the basic motivating force that brought the people to the streets and empowered the movement had been that same clergyman, Ayatollah Abolqasim Kashani. An old man who had spent his youth in prisons and in exile, his body had become enfeebled by frequent tortures. Regrettably, the colonizers managed to deviate the movement from its original path by creating a trend similar to that which they had started against the Constitution Movement and Sheikh Fazlollah Noori. By isolating the clergy who wanted the establishment of an Islamic government, they paved the way for neo-colonialism with America at its head.

What occurred during the last century requires careful scrutiny. First, the people of Iran (and also Iraq) have been fighting for the establishment of an Islamic government for at least a century. The clergy have always been the flag-bearers and pioneers in these struggles. Secondly, the colonizers after confronting the difficulties that Mirza Shirazi created, realized that what compelled the people to struggle performance, decided to preserve the Pahlavi dynasty in this people with Islam and moved them were genuine and aware clergymen such as Mirza Shirazi, Sheikh Fazlollah Noori, Ayatollah Kashani and the like.

For this reason the colonizers, learning from their experience in the tobacco incident, searched seriously to destroy the main root of these struggles. They understood that they couldn't directly fight Islam. Therefore, they should devise a method by which they could obliterate Islamic thoughts but at the same time superficially offer no opposition to Islam, even acting as guardians of Islam.

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## THE PAHLAVI DYNASTY, THE AGENT TO ERADICATE ISLAM IN IRAN

In Iran, the mission was assigned to Reza Khan by the British. Later the Americans, satisfied with his commendable performance, decided to re-install the Pahlavi dynasty in this country while it carried out its duty of obliterating Islam in Iran. The Pahlavi dynasty so skillfully operated in this treacherous mission that the Americans chose the Pahlavi regime as the agent of colonialism in the Middle East and entrusted the peacefulness of the Persian Gulf and the Sea of Oman, which is vital to the West, to Muhammad Reza Pahlavi. The American colonialists asked him (nicknamed the "Gendarme of the Gulf,") to cooperate with Israel and strengthen the reactionary regimes of the region.

Neo-colonialism has concentrated its efforts on the extermination of Islamic culture in all Muslim countries, pushing the Muslims into religious frivolities. Reza Khan Pahlavi set this stage for the annihilation of Islam. Reza Khan brutally carried out the plan for the uniformization of clothing and the uncovering of women, discouraging the Islamic schools and promoting western culture. He laid the cornerstone for the de-Islamization of Iran. In promoting western culture in Iran, Shah Nasser-ud-din took some measures but not with the seriousness and perseverance of Reza Khan.

The objective of the colonizers in the promotion of western culture and the education and training of the Iranian youth in European countries was to brainwash a group of Iranians and assign them the important mission of "de-Islamization." Obviously these groups being Iranian and Muslims through the ties which they had with their families could present the metamorphosed Islam from the West to the Iranian people without confronting any essential difficulties and implement the "Fighting with Islam through Islam" theory. This group, because of their expertise and versatility in various sciences could offer more extensive services

and naturally enjoyed a considerable influence on the people. This helped to quickly and more easily accomplish the colonizer's objective which was imposing "colonial" Islam instead of true Islam. The neo-colonizers with the tireless support of their mercenaries, simply and rapidly installed a government to provide all the facilities needed and put everything at the disposal of those who would protect their interests.

This program wasn't limited to Iran. It was identically carried out in all Islamic and in other colonized countries in a different form. In Turkey, this plan was implemented by Kamal Ataturk. With all the grounds rendered favorable by colonial mercenaries, Kamal Ataturk succeeded in his masters' goal to change the country, the people and their Islamic culture. The transformation of Turkish script into Latin was one of these.

In Iran the British withdrew Reza Khan who wasn't likely to survive any longer due to his anti-religious actions. They put his western-educated son, Muhammad Reza, in power. He had been molded for the continuation of the colonizers' intentions, and they charged him with the "de-Islamization" mission. He was an irresolute man, submissive toward every aspect of the colonizers' wishes. He was not able however, to fulfill the intentions of his masters as they had wanted due to his feeble position during a substantial part of his reign.

After the coup d'etat of the 28th of Mordad of 1332 A.H. (1953 C.E.), when Muhammad Reza Pahlavi was able to return to Iran and consolidate his power with America's help, the continuation of "de-Islamization" gained a new momentum. He failed to approach his aims in this field until 1961 C.E. which marks the start of an active movement under the leadership of Imam Khomeini due to a great obstacle which was the influence of the clergy. The extraordinary influence of the late Ayatollah Burujerdi on the masses of people was so intense that the Shah never gained the courage to openly fight Islam. He himself confessed this point in the introduction of

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his book, *The White Revolution*. This book written years after the death of Ayatollah Burujerdi talks about the Land Reform Bill which was for the purpose of granting land to the capitalists and high officials of the regime and the creation of a modern feudalism more savage than the medieval one. This land reform program finally resulted in the destruction of the country's agriculture. In his book, the deposed Shah recalled how the bill was dealt with by the Majlis. He wrote that the land reform law of 1959 was completely rejected and transformed into an entirely different one. He (the Shah) claimed that the Majlis vetoed the law because most of its members were landowners and capitalists. He blamed the intervention of an "irresponsible authority" who was unaware of the world's progress as another factor for the Majlis' disapproval. He added that the Majlis, composed of the feudal oligarchy, rendered the Land Reform completely meaningless and ineffective. The Shah referred to Ayatollah Burujerdi when he said "irresponsible authority." It was only natural for him to accuse the Ayatollah since the latter was strongly opposed to what the Shah and his colonial masters called "social progress" because the late Ayatollah had foreseen what the effect of this reform would be on the country's agriculture. Determined to stay in power and to please his masters, Muhammad Reza purged the Majlis of the opposition after the 28th of Mordad coup.

According to the confession of the Shah himself, in one of his speeches in 1979 while making his last resistance for the continuation of his disgraced regime, lists of the names of the Assembly's deputies which were relayed to him by the embassies of the superpowers so that those very same names could be found in the ballot boxes.

Therefore it is obvious that this claim of the Shah who claimed that in 1959 the Assembly opposed his land reformation bill and transformed it, like most of his proposition in *White Revolution*, is an absolute lie. His failure in 1959 in the treason he intended to commit under the name of "Land Re-

form” was due to the influence of the clergy upon the people that impeded his plans.

Following the death of the late Ayatollah Burujerdi in 1961 the Shah sent his condolences to Ayatollah Seyyed Muhsin Hakim in Najaf to implicitly state and impress it on the people that at the present time the center of the clergy was in Najaf, that is, outside Iran and that marajie in Iran were not such that the people should obey them. This political move of the Shah who believed in neither Ayatollah Hakim nor the marajie in Iran showed the extent to which the colonizers resorted to put to an end the influence of the clergy and pave the way for achieving their ominous purposes.

### STARTING POINT

The colonizers, imagining that the clergy’s influence had been buried with death of Ayatollah Burujerdi ordered their puppet, the Shah, to immediately take serious measures for the execution of the prepared plans which had been partially implemented or were about to be implemented in many American-dominated countries. The Shah though convinced that there was no other resisting force except that of religion still denied that the great Ulema in Iran had an influence on the people. The Shah immediately executed his master’s plan and commenced the “modernization” of Iran.

When America began her first experimental effort -- that of the provincial and county councils issue -- she noted her mistake in the evaluation of the clergy’s influence. The clergymen, especially Qum’s marajie strongly opposed the proposed action provincial issue and the government was forced to put this matter to rest.

The opposition to this 1961 proposal was led by Imam Khomeini whom the clergymen knew as a man of great scientific knowledge, piety and excellent virtues which was not yet known by the people. This movement was not the

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starting point of the clergy's struggles against the Shah's regime but in fact, was the continuation of the struggles initiated in the past century. The year 1961 should be known as the starting point of the Imam's persistent struggles against the Shah's regime. One should keep in mind that his struggles, in fact, started from the time of Reza Khan's regime when he wrote the famous book, *Kashf-ul-Asrar* [Disclosure of Secrets]. In it he made violent and outright attacks on Reza Khan and the colonizers. He was among the clergymen who endured the most violent cruelties of that regime. During Reza Khan's and his son's repressive reign the Imam exerted efforts for training meritorious and combatant disciples with whose help he would be able to shape the future movement.

Imam Khomeini, contrary to a few clergy and nationalist forces, had rejected any kind of reform from the very beginning and had based the ground work of the movement upon the establishment of an Islamic government and the negation of the Shah's regime. He was recognized by the Iranian people and many revolutionary Muslims in other parts of the world as a great, aware and courageous clergyman. During 1961-62, following the issuance of an explicit and strongly-worded statement, he began delivering speeches that disclosed the nature of the Shah's regime and the conspiracies of America and Israel to destroy Islam and plunder the wealth and resources of Islamic countries including Iran. America understood that he had become a great obstacle in their way, so on the 15th of Khordad of 1961, following the very important speech which Imam Khomeini gave on Ashura (which was the 13th of Khordad that year) at Faiyziyyeh Theological School he was arrested and imprisoned by the Shah. Imam Khomeini during this speech had asked the people of Iran and all the Muslims of the world to rise against the superpowers, especially America and Israel. This was the most acute measure taken to that date in the world of Islam against the hegemony of America and Israel.



## THE BLOODY UPRISING OF JUNE 5TH

Following the arrest of Imam Khomeini at dawn of June 5, 1963 and his imprisonment in Tehran, people all over Iran and particularly in big cities such as Tehran, Qum, Mashad, Shiraz, Isfahan and Tabriz rose to support their leader and protest against the Shah. The Shah's regime imposed martial law and savagely killed up to 15,000 people, temporarily suppressing this flame of protest. The fire started on that day survived under the ashes of suppression and repression and finally after fifteen years managed to burn the monarchy's palace of oppression and injustice.

The importance of the uprising of June 5, 1963 is that it was a starting point for a new movement inside the Iranian Islamic community. The events that happened before 1963, particularly the coup of August 19, 1953 and the deviations of the non-religious combatants of the oil nationalization movement and later, the execution of Navvab Safavi and members of the Fedayeen-e Islam and the consequent annihilation of the religious nuclei formed to overthrow the Shah's regime, all caused disappointment among the religious stratum. On the other hand, the relentless and extensive endeavors of the Shah's regime to promote western culture and feeling among the people and corruption and complacency in the society severely retarded the intellectual development of the people in the direction of the struggle against the regime. The uprising of June 5, which took place after two years of continuous struggle and disclosure by the clergy under the leadership of Imam Khomeini, was the spark which had a most important role in enlightening the minds of the religious community in Iran and reviving the struggling spirit for the establishment of an Islamic government.

It would be simplemindedness to regard the uprising of June 5 as separate from the whole Islamic movement

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in Iran and merely as a day of massacre. And one would be simpleminded to consider this event apart from the whole struggle throughout Iran's history aimed at the establishment of an Islamic government. The truth is that:

The uprising of June 5 was a manifestation of the ideology-seeking spirit of the Muslim people of Iran who had for centuries struggled for the establishment of an Islamic government. This uprising was a bridge transferring all the past experiences to the new generation awakened by the Islam-seeking cries of Imam Khomeini. It was the uprising of June 5 which encouraged the new Muslim generation of Iran to join politico-religious groups and it was from that time that some combatant political groups were formed, aiming at the overthrow of the monarchial regime.

The most truly Islamic of these groups and the most loyal to Islam was a group called the "United Islamic Groups" which consisted of the remnants of the Fedayeen-e Islam and others who believed in the clergy's leadership and considered Imam Khomeini the representative of true Islam in all its dimensions. Some of the great clergymen, who are right now among the companions of Imam Khomeini and are charged with the important responsibilities of running the Revolution and who had also formed the main nucleus of the Islamic Revolutionary Council appointed by Imam Khomeini, were among the effective figures of the United Islamic Groups. Among the significant measures taken by this group was the assassination of Hassanali Mansour, the Shah's Prime Minister on January 21, 1965. Mansour was the one who, on the command of the Shah and his master, the U.S. government, arrested Imam Khomeini and sent him into exile in November 1964, after nearly eight months of imprisonment in the Shah's prisons.

## THE CLIMAX OF DE-ISLAMIZATION IN IRAN

Although the events during the years 1961 to 1964 kept the Shah's regime busy they carried out their colonial missions as well. The colonizer's plan for Iran was to metamorphose the Islamic and national identity of the people of Iran and replace it with a western one. This is noteworthy because Islamic culture over the years has become so mingled with the national customs of the Iranians that these two are inseparable. The Iranian culture, since the advent of Islam in Iran has always been an Islamic culture. The national identity of Iran is, in fact, identical to its Islamic identity. Therefore, colonization utilizing all its might intended to "de-Islamize" Iran.

Following the exile of Imam Khomeini to Turkey, the Shah's regime had a good opportunity to rapidly accomplish its colonial mission. The reason for Imam Khomeini's exile was his protest against the bill in the Majlis proposing immunity for American advisors in Iran. Imam Khomeini declared in his speech on October 26, 1964 in his house in Qum that the president of the U.S. was the person most hated by the people of Iran.

The importance of this speech was that Imam Khomeini in addition to severely attacking America, the Soviet Union and Britain and disclosing their plans and plots for plundering Iran and other Islamic countries, warned the heads of the Islamic countries that Islam was endangered and that the superpowers intended to achieve their goals in the region by destroying Islam. Imam Khomeini in these speeches in concrete terms emphasized the subject of the clergy and said:

"The U.S. government intends to accomplish its plans through destroying the influence of the clergy. For it knows that as long as this influence exists, it can never carry out its plans."

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Finally, by sending Imam Khomeini to exile and by killing and putting many combatant clergy and students and other combatant classes into prison the regime created an atmosphere of repression. They prepared the ground for an extensive campaign against Islam. In fact, the years from 1964 to 1978 were extremely restrictive years for the true Islamic forces. These years should be considered the peak of the "de-Islamization" process in Iran that had been going on since the time of the Qajar dynasty.

A survey of various aspects of the "de-Islamization" process in Iran needs a separate dissertation. However it is useful to point out some of the main programs which were carried out in this connection in Iran.

### ISLAM OF THE COURT

The new colonialists were well aware that an open challenge to Islam in Muslim countries and particularly in Iran, where the masses are deeply religious would be a great mistake and would only serve to strengthen what they desired to weaken. Therefore, they never tried to directly refute or attack Islam itself, but directed all their efforts to transforming it into something else. Such an Islam, which can be termed "Islam of the Court" had four very important advantages for the colonialists. First, it would pave the way for colonial culture to replace Islamic culture without opposing the people's ideological principles and religious beliefs, thereby enabling them to plunder the wealth of Muslim countries without encountering any obstacles. Second, by propagating this metamorphosed Islam they could keep their lackey regimes in power in Muslim countries. They knew that if the statesmen in these countries presented themselves as supporters of Islam and pretended to observe the religious practices they could continue their rule. On the contrary if there was the slightest negligence towards religion the support of their rule would be weakened.

It was due to this reason that the Pahlavi regime used to propagate its Islam by publishing the Holy Quran with illuminations at high cost and allocating funds for the building of masjids and holding religious ceremonies while simultaneously striving against the fundamentals of Islam and the genuine clergy. They imprisoned and tortured the combatant clergymen and theologians who objected to the metamorphosis of the precepts of Islam and suppressed anyone who strove to promote the real Islam. Those who are acquainted with how neo-colonialism works know well that these acts are designed to deceive the masses. The masses of the people who are the main subject of change are completely unaware of these publicity stunts. Third, if the neo-colonial governments remained in power, it would be unlikely that a threat could be directed towards them by the oppressed. The colonialists knew that if the Muslims were to rise up by making use of true Islamic teachings to fight colonialism, it would undoubtedly motivate the oppressed people of the world to unite. This is a grave threat to all world oppressors, who are now bitterly seeing the effects of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Fourth, a benefit of substituting the "Islam of the Court" in place of true Islam was that many people who were searching for an ideology could not find it in this kind of Islam and eventually would turn away from this religion feeling that no religion could explain the universe for mankind. Conversely, if acquainted with genuine Islam, an individual could understand the world, could free himself from absurdity and turn himself into a resistant force against oppression, injustice, inequality and tyranny. The great benefit earned by colonialism in the promotion of the "Islam of the Court" was in the deviation of these individuals, these potential strong arms of Islam for fighting against colonialism; and to prepare the ground for their attraction to the deviated ideologies or even the creation of a new ideology.

In the West the appearance of schools of thought such as Nihilism and other phenomenon such as the "Hippies" are the results of a religious vacuum there. It is this kind of vacuum

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the colonialists endeavoured to create in Muslim countries. The difference is that in the West, a religion of the rulers does not need to be innovated since Christianity has already been metamorphosed and cleansed of the principles of a binding ideology. But in Muslim countries such goals cannot be achieved unless an "Islam of the Court" is created and substituted for true Islam.

A group of advocates of the Islam of the Court were western educated people who would use at least one foreign word in every sentence. Their thoughts were polluted with colonial formulations and they believed that Iran could be a 'civilized' country only if its people were drawn to western culture. This of course was not the idea of *all* western educated people. Some of them went abroad and learned science and technology without losing their Islamic views, returning to Iran and using these to serve Islam as the Quran instructs: *Those who listen to the world, then follow the best of it, those are they whom Allah has guided, and those it is who are the men of understanding.* (39,18). The majority however, were those whose mission was to promote western culture with false Islamic embellishments and scientifically justify the 'Islam of the Court' while claiming to be Muslims.

One of the great blows inflicted upon the culture of the people of Iran and that of other Muslim countries in this century was that most of the people who discussed Islam, imitating those returning from Europe, tried to support their points according to western values. This method imposed a feeling of intellectual inferiority that gradually took hold. It became accepted that an Islamic idea should be supported by a concept of western origin. This intellectual inferiority and culture dependence can be traced to those western educated people who tried to promote western culture under a false cover of Islam and deviate Muslims from the pure Islam. The intellectual poverty at Iran's universities was one of the ominous consequences of this same cultural dependence.

Another group of heralders of the Islam of the court were the orientalists and Islamologists, who with awe--inspiring titles trailing behind them, poured into Islamic countries in order to present an Islam fashioned by the intelligence services of colonialism. They prepare summaries consisting of translations of portions of Muslim scholars' work, adopting them according to their own taste, giving them an occidental coating then publish them in beautiful editions with attractive covers. These are then arranged in their briefcases, transported to the various Muslim countries and presented in conferences arranged by the dependent regimes of these countries. The mass media of these regimes gives such great publicity to these persons and their "studies" that not only the people but those who themselves are involved in this so-called "research" begin to have faith in them. Consequently, the true Islamologists and orientalists have become isolated and have had much difficulty in presenting the fruit of their studies and research to their public.

This situation was more clearly observable in Iran than in any other Muslim country. The monarchial regime attached so much importance to this that an enormous budget was allocated for finance and numerous organizations were established to accomplish this goal. Considering that this plot was a direct factor used in de-Islamization, the Pahlavi regime gave particular attention to it in order to keep the throne. Huge sums of money were spent for the creation of centers and facilities for its propagation even outside the country.

The principal agents used by the regime for this effort were the so-called western Islamologists and the westernized intellectuals who, hand in hand, were attempting the de-Islamization of the people of Iran.

### **GOVERNMENTAL COMMUNISM**

The authors of this play which was arranged for the annihilation of Islam had not failed to think of a means to fill the

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vacuum which resulted from the melting of Islam from the society. They were aware that the "Royal" Islam could only be a successful substitute for the people who lacked sufficient knowledge. Thus they used other means and measures including "governmental communism" to mislead the people whom it claims to support.

The Pahlavi regime tried to attract a portion of the forces either directly through the Court or through the Ministry of Culture. Education and various other cultural, philosophical and art societies and organizations which were created for this purpose were tinged with a progressive appearance. The attraction of a certain layer of Iranian society to "intellectual" organizations and at the same time whose criticism was tolerated by the government was of great assistance to the Pahlavi regime for satisfying many intellectually dissatisfied people. These persons occupied themselves with recitations of poetry, painting and theater performances which were from time to time slightly critical of the regime but even this criticism gradually fell into the trap of aristocracy and nihilism, sometimes consciously and at other times not. In fact, the main aim of the regime and colonization was to occupy these people with something which was not in conflict with the policy of the government. Thus, in spite of their quasi-criticisms they functioned as a safety valve. With the accommodations which the regime provided and by plans and programs which it implemented, it knew that these forces would finally plunge into the swamp of aristocracy, and later would be useful as competent forces to undertake the task of justifying the crimes of the colonialists. For this reason these groups were allowed to recite their pseudo-critical poems in societies and unions like the "Iran-America" society where their plays were shown on the Pahlavi regime's television, and their paintings were sent to international competitions where they usually won awards.

Many of these were tinged with a shade of Communism in order to give the impression that an Islamic-Marxist move-



ment was being formed.

This type of communism greatly favored the monarchial regime, which was supposed to be in conflict with communism! But this was another fabrication, "the governmental communism."

### **A FALSIFIED NATIONALISM**

Nationalism is another device introduced by the colonizers for filling the vacuum created as the result of de-Islamization. If nationalism means the social solidarity of a nation and the value that is granted to it, Islam does not only not reject it but rather supports and encourages it. Islam accepts the positive aspects of nationalism and rejects its negative aspects. What has been discussed as nationalism by its supporters in the world consists of assigning authenticity to a certain race to the detriment of other values and not the social unity of a nation. In Islamic countries, as well as in the countries which are under colonial oppression, the colonizers have expended their greatest efforts throughout this century in the propagation of nationalism as an important principle and a great social value. In Islamic countries the colonizers made these efforts in order to sever the nations' links with Islam, which would automatically lead to Muslim countries cutting their strong ties with one another. The colonizers were quite aware that Islam, as a principle higher than the principle of nationality, could fuse the Muslim nations with each other and turn them into a united Islamic umma [community] which would naturally possess extraordinary powers. Therefore, to prevent the creation of such a unity considered a very grave danger for colonialism, extensive publicity was carried out to place "nationality" higher than Islam; to disguise it as a superior principle.

Another advantage that the colonizers gained through the propagation of the spirit of nationalism was that, by provoking the sense of racial pride amongst a Muslim nation,

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they could divert people's attention from Islam. In situations where they had been successful in isolating Islam, they replaced it with the worship of nationalism. In Iran, the nationalist movement was started and continued in its various forms simultaneously with de-Islamization. The Pahlavi regime, in order to destroy the national Iranian culture, tried to create a superficial feeling of nationalism, the royal authors and artists were its promoters. The literary and cultural personalities throughout the Pahlavi rule made continuous efforts to replace the Persian script with the Latin one. This action was regarded as a destructive blow to Iranian nationality and treason to the Islamic culture, Persian calligraphy, poetry, tales, and prose. While trying to inflict such a blow upon Iranian nationalism the regime was pursuing another propaganda current against the Muslim Arabs, much more extensively and vigorously. The Iranian people were reminded of the arrival of Islam to Iran and the wars which had taken place between the Muslim Arabs and Iranians in an attempt to present a vulgar image of Islam and the Arabs. By provoking the sense of nationalism in the Iranian people and rancour and hatred in their hearts towards Arabs, Islamic unity between Iranians and Arabs would be destroyed and Islam would be replaced by nationalism in Iran. It is interesting to note that even the nationalism propagated by the Pahlavi regime was not real Iranian nationalism; it was nationalism influenced by the colonial culture and modified accordingly. In the last fifty years the Iranian people have experienced many clear examples of pseudo-nationalism. "The National Front" which pretended and continues to pretend to defend Iranian nationality has nourished individuals like Shahpour Bakhtiar who ran to America's aid during the most delicate moments of Iranian history and accepted the position of Prime Minister to the Shah in order to save America's puppet government. It was these leeches who produced the nationalist's slogans during the short period of their Prime Ministry in order to deceive the people. The "Pan-Iranist" party which formed a phoney minority in the Royal Consultative Assembly offered the greatest services to

America with nationalistic slogans and inflicted the greatest blows on Iranian nationality by justifying the Pahlavi regime's crimes. Following the victory of the Islamic Revolution there have also been networks pretending to be the supporters of Nationalism which have constantly moved against the people's wishes and to the advantage of the colonizers, particularly America. In other Islamic countries the nationalist movements have similarly inflicted heavy blows on the body of forces who have constantly fought against colonization. The appearance of "Pan-Arabism" in Arab countries and "Pan-Turkism" in Turkey and similar "pans" in other Islamic countries and have played an important part as tools in the service of colonialism for preventing progress. From the cultural point of view, the puppet regimes have constantly tried to replace Islamic culture with a colonial one under the pretext of reviving the ancient and national culture. In Iran, the Pahlavi regime's great efforts to revive the ancient religions (Zoroastrianism and Nanichism) with the help of European and American "Iranologists" and replace Islamic history with Iranian history were all in view of achieving the same aim.

### **WESTERN LIBERALISM**

The word "liberalism" like the word "colonization" has been trapped in a sinister destiny which had been planned for it by the westerners. It is for this reason that there is a great difference between "western liberalism" and the real meaning of liberalism. Just as the word "colonization" actually means development and civilization, the colonizers under this beautiful name are plundering and pillaging the regions colonized by them. The word "liberalism" means liberty from the ideological point of view; the word "liberal" is applied to a person who is in search of liberty; but since this word has become trapped in the maze of colonialism and become a colonizer's toy, it has developed as a tool for neo-colonization. Consequently, the word connotes freedom from all human and divine responsibilities and obligations and submission to the restrictions and limitations imposed by

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neo-colonization. God has created man as a free being; human generosity and particularities distinguishing him from other creatures demand that he should follow the path of his development without any restrictions or limitation. In this respect, God says in the Quran : *We have shown him [man] the way; he may be thankful or unthankful.* (Suratu-d-Dahr, verse 3). That is, man has been shown the right path and it is up to him whether he chooses the path of justice or the wrong path. If a person chooses the path of justice which God has placed in front of him, he has to be free from all restrictions and obligations apart from God's servitude. In other words, in Islam, liberty means by following God's commandments and obeying the Divine orders, man is free from anything that passes the limits set by God's commandments. From the Islamic point of view man is so valuable and free that he should not put himself, his thoughts, his understanding, will-power or choice at anyone's disposal apart from God's. This means the negation of all material chains which may enslave the human being. This, in fact, corresponds to the true meaning of "liberalism."

At the same time, Islam considers man a servant in his relationship with God. This is to say that man has to dedicate his whole being to that which is intended for him by God and to obey God's orders with precision. Islam attaches such importance to this fact that it appears in the Holy Quran as well as in the traditions of the Prophet and the infallible Imams . The interpretation of the word *abd* (slave) and its derivations are constantly used for explaining man's relationship with God. When Almighty God explains the aim of creation in the Quran in one verse, He applies the same interpretation saying, *And I have not created the jinn and man except to serve Me.* (Suratu-dh-Dhuriya, verse 56). In this verse the emphasis is placed on the word '*ya'budooni*' (serve me) which, before anything else, expresses that particular condition of servitude and absolute obedience to God. This state of being is not only limited to the worship of God but includes all aspects of

human life, particularly social relationships. It is precisely for this reason that Almighty God at the same time as explaining the reason for the prophetic mission mentions the necessity of avoiding the *taghoot* (satanic influences) and being free from oppression and tyranny. *We have dispatched a prophet to every nation to say: serve God and shun the taghoot.* (Suratu-n-Nahl, verse 36). It is again for the same reason that in Islam's invitation to the followers of the other religions (the People of the Book) an important principle is laid down: that people should not make anything a partner to God and people should not be considered God: *O, People of the Book ! Come to an equitable agreement with us, so that we serve none but God nor attribute associates to Him and so that some of us do not take others for lords besides God.* (Suratu-Ali Imran, verse 63; see also Suratu-n-Nahl, verse 36). It should be noted that, in addition to the question of servitude, this verse presents two other principles: avoiding polytheism and turning to something else as a god apart from God. This clearly implies that worshipping is not limited to the absolute servitude of the human being to his Creator; it also includes other aspects of human life. In the Holy Quran, the most beautiful term used by God in referring to his prophets is the word, *abd* (servant, slave), in Suratu Sod, verse 45: *Remember our servants, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, men of power and insight.* The prophets who have been mentioned in the Holy Quran have been referred to as *ibad* (servants). The Almighty God has constantly described the Prophet of Islam using 'servant' as his most beautiful quality, particularly when He considers his prophetic mission and talks to him about the revelation of the Quran. It is even more interesting to note that the Prophet of Islam at the summit of his spiritual grandeur, the peak of his mission, the moment of ascension, is referred to as 'servant' by God: *Glory be to Him who made His servant travel by night from al-Masjid al - Haram to al - Masjid - al - Aqsa* (Suratu Bani Israil, verse 1). Moreover, the prophets, when they refer to themselves, use the word *abd* (slave) and consider it an appropriate qualification. As an

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example let us consider what Jesus Christ says during one of his first dialogues: *I am God's servant, He has given to me the Book and has made me His prophet'* (Suratu Mariam, verse 30). Although there are many verses that could add value to this discussion it will suffice to mention just one more verse: *All the creatures in the sky or on earth are God's servants.* (Suratu Mariam, verse 93).

In contrast to this, the holy Quran also mentions that at the same time as being a servant in relation to God, man has to be free of anything that is not God, and this is the point that is well conveyed by the mentioned verses. In addition to these verses, the Amir Al - Mumineen in his will, addresses Imam Hassan , very clearly stating that man must be the servant of God not of individuals. His precise words are as follows: "Do not be the servants of other people since you have been created free by God." (Nahj ul - Balagha: sermon 31). This means that man has to be exclusively God's servant and free of anything that is not God. From what has been said up to now regarding this point, one can begin to understand the meaning of liberal from the Islamic point of view, that is, truly liberal is man's freedom from everyone and everything other than God. However, western liberalism is exactly the opposite ! In fact, it condemns and destroys true freedom in the name of liberalism.

What is today considered liberal by the West and those in the Third World infatuated with the West is man's freedom from divine orders and his servitude to materialism. In the name of science, a western liberal in fact proclaims man's escape from his Godly nature and his seeking refuge in animal qualities. Western liberalism is a channel in which vices are deceitfully mounted in false frames and displayed as great human values, the word 'liberty' being the only word which, with its magical power, justifies those frames. Consequently, western liberalism is a slaughter house in which freedom is sacrificed for the desires of the satanic nature of the profiteering, lascivious individuals and those who turn away

from God.

It is this kind of liberalism which has been adopted by the colonizers to fill the vacuum left by de-Islamization. Western liberalism enters the scene just as the memory of God disappears from men's thoughts. It comes and validates man's attachment to the material world and his release from God. According to the western interpretation, a 'liberal' person is someone who frees himself from self-sacrifice, the desire for martyrdom, devotion, forgiveness, purity, knowledge, morality, bravery, magnanimity, virtue and anything else associated with the spirit and the worship of God. He is a person who is interested in wealth, property, comfort, social position, casual behaviour, unlimited sexual involvement, voluptuousness, intellectual slavery, and anything else associated with the body and the material world.

The transformation of a human being devoted to God and the Divine Commandments into a westernized 'liberal' with the above-mentioned qualities is the task for which the colonizers have invested a great deal and expended much energy for its fulfilment. Learning from the experience of the French in Andalusia (Spain) centuries ago the colonizers realized that undisciplined sexual relationships, addiction to gambling and alcohol and falling into the swamp of hedonism provided suitable devices with which to keep the Muslims entertained, preventing them from contemplating themselves, their culture or their religion.

Of course, the Muslims who have become estranged from God and been corrupted, can easily be dominated and manipulated by any power as they were by the Europeans in Spain and the Middle East. The Zionists, despite being few in number, have also learned from this experience of the French and now have their roots firmly established in the heart of every Islamic country like a cancerous tumor. Similarly in Iran, one of the Pahlavi regime's important

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schemes for de-Islamization consisted of leading people away from the worship of God and obedience to His divine rules, the principal bases of Islamic culture, by making them addicted to western liberalism. All this was so that the colonizers would be able to achieve their ominous aims easily without facing any obstacles.

### THE REAL MOTIVE

The principal motive behind the Islamic Revolution in Iran was the people's determination to form an Islamic government and to establish the principles of true Islam. The Iranian people who over the past century had made many efforts to establish an Islamic government and had suffered much physical and material damage not only failed in their task but felt that the enemies of Islam, with the experience that they had gained during these confrontations and with the precise planning that they had done on the basis of that experience, might even succeed in destroying the Islamic culture in the long run. Thus, the people believed that no confrontation was justified for they had lost all hope of the establishment of an Islamic government. What caused the development of this feeling of hopelessness was the plot for the elimination of Islam via the Pahlavi regime. It was thus that the mercenary Shah and those who were affiliated with him directed all their forces as well as the labor of the Iranian people towards the realization of this scheme.

On the other hand the genuine Islamic groups were not prepared to re-enter any campaign that had any trace of nationalism in it or anything other than Islam, due to the actions of the leaders of the nationalistic movements and the bitter experience which they had of them, particularly the attitude of the nationalists towards religious elements in past struggles.

For this reason between the coup d'état of August 19, 1953 until Imam Khomeini's movement began in 1961, no



substantial movement took place despite the fact that the nationalist forces and others such as the national religious groups were interested in continuing the struggle.

It was only because Imam Khomeini represented true Islam that he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the true Islamic forces and in arousing the masses in whom the colonizers had tried very hard to instill indifference and apathy with regard to political problems; he encouraged them to rebel against the Pahlavi regime which represented the colonizers. Imam Khomeini was so respected and admired by the Iranian people that, upon his arrest on the 5th of June, 1963 they rose up in rebellion. It proved to be a unique uprising in Iranian history as regards its popular and Islamic aspects; the un-Islamic forces had never been able to create a similar movement. This uprising on June 5 was the commencement of a great movement which finally triumphed under the name of the Islamic Revolution on the 11th of February, 1979.

It is clear that the basic motivation behind the Islamic Revolution of Iran was the revival of Islam, the establishment of an Islamic government and the enforcement of God's laws as laid down in the Holy Quran.

### **THE OTHER MOTIVATIONS**

Prior to an analysis of these motivations, it is necessary to consider another important point.

When an Islamic government is discussed, we have to examine the dimensions and the character of this government. An Islamic government is very different from the type of religious government envisioned by the majority of people in the world. Unlike Christianity and other religions which are restricted to worship, Islam is the religion of this world and the next; in addition to worship, it embraces all the economic, military, political and social aspects of human life. Should the other religions intend to set up a religious government,

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they would have to borrow economic, political, military and social principles from other ideologies. In addition to spiritual aspects, Islam, in its teachings, has paid attention to all of life's problems, thus Islam already has principles regarding economics, politics, social life and war, without having to borrow from other ideologies.

Consequently, when it is said that the Iranian people's main motivation in struggling for an Islamic Revolution was simply to establish an Islamic government, it implies that they intended to set up a government based on Islamic principles, covering all aspects of life, not only the spiritual. Thus, in addition to spiritual motivations, there were also political, economic, social and military motivations behind this Revolution. The Iranian people realized that they had a dependent economy against their desire, so they demanded the adoption of Islamic economic principles in their society. They realized that they were politically dependent, against their wishes, so, they demanded independence and the adoption of Islamic political teachings. Likewise, they wanted to have an independent army and an independent Islamic culture. The realization of all these principles would only be possible upon the establishment of an Islamic government.

### **CULTURAL DEPENDENCE**

It is natural that Iran's social system, because of the fact that 98% of the population is Muslim is an Islamic system, and derives its criterion and principles from the Islamic culture and teachings. In spite of this, the Pahlavi regime exerted great effort toward destroying the Islamic culture and for the establishment of a western social system based upon the values of the West. The end result of this policy is the total enslavement of colonized countries.

In the western system, man is nothing more than a consuming being who not only consumes imported products but also consumes thinking and ideas. Women in this value

system are no more than merchandise, useful for decoration and the satisfaction of men's desires. The Pahlavi regime's leaders, in copying the West lowered the Iranian Muslim woman to the point that "mannequin" and "actress" could best describe her role. She was depicted displaying and advertising imported products and colonial ideas as her duty and most befitting career. Such an attitude toward women on the surface may not seem terribly insulting, but it is in fact a great insult to every woman, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.

In an Islamic society the woman's innate greatness gives her the mission of cultivating chaste and pious children and participating in the society's spiritual and constructive motion. To reduce her dignity to this degree of worthlessness and frivolousness so that she becomes an advertiser of imported goods and imposed thoughts and the means for satisfying the sexual desires of men is considered the greatest betrayal of a woman's dignity.

In the summer of 1977, directly supervised by Farah Pahlavi, under the title *Shiraz Art Festival* sexual activity was performed before the startled eyes of the Muslim people of that city. The exhibition of such is not only a betrayal of human beings' greatness but it is an expropriation of the creative power, diverting the course of humanity. This can only be called a part of the great crimes which the colonizers committed against the Islamic society of Iran.

Iran's educational system which constitutes another aspect of the culture was totally dependent upon the West. The system prevailing in the universities and other stages of education was a completely colonial system. The university texts were adapted from the West and even many of the professors and teachers of the universities came from Europe and America. Human sciences and especially ethics lost their proper emphasis; the texts from which these were being taught had been acquired from exported western culture.

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The Ministry of Culture and Art and its subordinate faculties recognized no mission for themselves other than metamorphosing the culture and especially degrading the women of the society through promoting the anti-humane and colonial values of the West. The so-called offices and centers of culture and art were actually nothing more than centers of prostitution and sexual perversion. Cinema, theater, radio and television and even the press were totally promoting colonial culture and used a large budget for this great treachery. Degree-seeking and the derogation of science had become prevalent. The purpose behind this was so that the accumulation of knowledge by Iranian youth would never benefit the society.

The western-intoxication was drowning the Iranian society like a contagious disease. The graduates who presented degrees from American and European universities had the highest respect in the country's academic circles, even though their knowledge was frequently less than those educated in Iran or at least was not equivalent to those educated here. Travelling to the western countries and learning a few words of English or French and using them in daily conversation were considered of value. Styles of clothing, make-up, walking, eating, meetings, balls, luxuries and even the naming of children, avenues, streets and shops in imitation of the West were rapidly becoming a habit for the people of Iran.

Women of the court and the aristocrats used to travel to Europe for having their dresses made, their hair done or for make up. They invited exclusive hair-stylers and dressmakers while a great many of Iran's people were deprived of the essentials of life. Many saw their children starving to death.

Cultural dependence was so widespread that it touched all aspects of the people's life. In the past, Iran had an excellent tradition of medical science, having access to such Muslim physicians as Avicenna and Razi. Such great efforts were

made to make Iran's culture dependent that in medicine Iran not only lost its own tradition but became fundamentally dependent on the West. Even the simplest medical instruments and drugs were imported from Europe and America. Outstanding was the intellectual dependence which the Pahlavi regime strove to implement. The consequence of this dependence, and essentially all cultural dependence, was that the Iranian youth had no chance to intellectually blossom and the society became more and more habituated to the utilization of colonial intellectual products, gradually abandoning its Islamic culture, morally declining.

A natural reaction under these circumstances is to rise, to rid oneself of cultural dependence and replace it with an Islamic one. Culture is the basic infrastructure of every revolution. So this motivation is not separate from the genuine and essential motive of the Iranian nation – the formation of an Islamic regime. It is exactly for this reason that a true revolution cannot exist without a cultural revolution.

### **ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE**

Perhaps economic dependence has less importance for a country with few natural resources than for the people of such countries as Iran which are rich in this respect. Perhaps if the people of Iran had a religion which lacked a fair and independent economic system it would have been easier for them to tolerate economic dependence upon the East, West or both. But Iran has both many natural resources and Islam which in its teachings presents a just economic system which functions much better than the current economic systems in the world. Under these circumstances, Iran's economy during the rule of the Pahlavi regime was miserably dependent upon world oppressors. The reason behind this dependence was that the Pahlavi regime ignored the economic system of Islam and implemented a capitalist economy, not even in a true industrial way, but by promoting assembly industries and producing a market for western goods. Although there were

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sufficient means of production in both the agricultural and industrial fields, the Pahlavi regime imported food and encouraged the farmers to move to towns so that there would be no manpower to work these fields. By colonial plan these forces would instead be absorbed into towns and cities and industrial districts, either working in assembly industries which were affiliated to the colonizer countries (some of which were even owned by those countries or their rich citizens) or taking such useless and non-productive jobs as the sale of lottery tickets or to earn their living by theft or other crimes.

As a consequence, in 1977 Iran's food production capacity was enough for only 31 days of the country's consumption, i.e. for only one month! The remaining needs -- for eleven months -- were imported. At the same time the government produced six million barrels of oil daily and used the money for the court's expenses, colonial plans to stifle Islam, strengthening and fortification of SAVAK (the notorious intelligence agency and secret police of the regime), suppressing the opposition and producing an atmosphere of repression. People used to ask, *Why is the money gained by selling oil not used for developing and improving agriculture and animal-husbandry? Why instead of reviving the agricultural land in Iran, effort is even being made to destroy the existing villages? Why are assembly industries being extended instead of establishing basic industry and providing means of independent industrial production within the country? Is this not putting all our requirements -- food, industrial equipment, etc. -- at the mercy of the foreigners and colonizers, letting them hold our economic life-lines in their hands? Whenever they wanted to, they could cut it and make us obedient. Are we to be dependent on oil forever and not think of any other source of income on which we can rely when the oil is used up?* The only response by the regime to these questions was ever-increasing oil exploitation and export and the use of that income for their epicurism. They extended dependence and affiliation as much as they could and in as many fields as they

could think of. Agriculture and industry were gradually being ruined. Economic injustice was widespread: the social class affiliated with the regime had so much money that they didn't know how to spend it. This wealth was obtained by plundering the deprived class. The Shah imported the entertainment for his coronation from abroad (for just some flowers he sent an airplane to the Netherlands, spending hundreds of thousands of rials from the wealth of the country.) He also spent billions of rials to ridiculously celebrate the 2500th anniversary of the Persian Empire, the kings of which occupied themselves by oppressing the people of their country. Every night millions of rials were spent, produced by the deprived people's labor. Sensual parties were given by the court with drinking, gambling and fornication. Under these circumstances many people in Iran, because of their poverty, fed upon weeds. Innocent children died near the place of celebration -- the deserts around Shiraz -- because there were no means of treatment, no food, not the most basic requirements of life.

Some of the motives of Iran's people in overthrowing the Pahlavi regime and establishing the Islamic Republic were to free themselves from the dependent economy and economic injustice and make use of the abundant natural resources of oil, copper, iron, coal and lead, to use their man-power to revive 1,600,000 square kilometers of agricultural land, to achieve an independent economy, an economy the basis of which is Islamic, not capitalistic nor socialistic but a third system which neither allows wealth to accumulate in one's hands nor in the hands of a particular group or class, for example, the government in socialist countries.

### **MILITARY DEPENDENCE**

A great amount of Iran's income obtained by selling oil was spent during the Pahlavi regime on arms purchases from America, European countries and Israel. However, these arms and weapons were not even once used for defending

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Iran's independence. The costs of maintaining these weapons and the wages paid to American military advisors imposed a great expense upon Iran's people. Iran was functioning as an American military base against the Soviet Union. Instead of paying Iran for this, the American government even billed Iran for its military personnel's salary. The Iranian army's weapons and armaments were used by Israel in wars against Islamic countries. During the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars, Israeli aircraft received fuel and armaments from Iranian air-bases, and Iran's army was utilized by the Israeli army, providing a great service to international Zionism. Most importantly Iran's military, even though highly expert themselves, having no less than the Americans in efficiency, virtue and capability and in many cases being better than them, were put under the control of Americans all the time and forced to be totally dependent on them. In no way did they even have the power to make a decision. For our noble military men, it was very difficult to accept the shame of an Iranian officer, efficient and capable, being under the command of a non-commissioned American officer, without even the same salary as his American commander. This situation, not only for the people but also for the military men themselves was unacceptable and intolerable. Thus another motive for the people of Iran to establish the Islamic Republic was to be released from these dependencies and affiliations in the military dimensions. Iran wants an independent well-equipped army which in addition to defending the country against the occupier Zionist can everywhere function as an assistant to the deprived, and a power capable of eliminating world oppressors' dominance.

### **POLITICAL DEPENDENCE**

According to Islamic teachings, Muslims are allowed to have relations with non-Muslim countries and nations, however they should never accept any imposition in establishing or maintaining such relations. An Islamic government shouldn't have friendly relations with a country that neg-



lects the rights of the weak and oppresses the deprived nations and violates their rights.

During the Pahlavi regime, not only was this particular Islamic principle neglected, but the Pahlavis did their best to extend the colonizer's transgressions upon Iran and other nations. The reign of the Pahlavi dynasty began in 1920 with Britain's interference. Reza Khan's rule lasted until his dismissal in September 1941. The reign of his son was established by direct British intervention. The Shah was re-introduced on August 19, 1953 by an American coup d'état with British assistance. Essentially under the Pahlavis, Iran's government was completely subordinated. It was for this reason that the mercenary Shah in one of his speeches in the autumn of 1978 before his escape from Iran confessed that during his rule lists of deputies who should enter the Majlis via false elections were made by superpowers' embassies in Tehran and were then given to him. The Majlis is a center for deciding the general policy of the country, internal and external. When the deputies were selected by embassies naturally they were their representatives – preserving their interests in Iran and not Iran's interests. As a result, Iran's policy, inside and outside the country was arranged as the colonizing countries wished. During Pahlavi sovereignty thousands of colonial contracts were imposed upon Iran by the western and eastern world oppressors according to which Iran's natural resources and wealth were utilized by foreigners. Agriculture and industry were being ruined and Iran's economy, culture and army became totally dependent on the colonizers, especially the U.S.

The shameful extraterritoriality contract which was signed and approved by the Majlis in 1964 was strongly protested against by Imam Khomeini (for this protest, Imam Khomeini was arrested by the Shah's SAVAK as ordered by the CIA and exiled to Turkey), is a sample of the contracts of the Pahlavi regime with the U.S. and clearly shows the political affiliation of the regime to foreigners. According to this contract every U.S. citizen in Iran was exempt from any prosecution in any

Iranian court regardless of what crime they may have committed. They supposedly were to be prosecuted in U.S. courts! In addition, the political affiliation of the Shah's regime to the U.S. was so extensive that upon orders by the U.S. the Shah established good ties with Israel and South Africa. Although the people of Iran deeply hate the usurper Israeli government and support their Muslim brothers in occupied Palestine, the Shah's regime used all its power -- which was the production of the deprived people's labor -- in supporting the Zionists. Also, in spite of the strong aversion of Iranians towards the racist Rhodesian government, the usurper and colonial government of South Africa, the dependent regime of Marcos in the Philippines and other reactionary and affiliated regimes, the Shah's government had very good relations with them. He sold oil to them, gave them financial aid, always politically supported them and in many plots carried out against the deprived nations in the world, collaborated with them.

The Pahlavi regime, while completely dependent on the U.S. government yet attempted to satisfy its northern neighbor, the Soviet Union. The wealth of the Iranian people was offered to the Soviet Union and several colonial contracts were concluded with that country. The eastern bloc as well as the western bloc was allowed to plunder the resources of Iran by the mercenary Shah. The U.S. government and its western allies plundered the great Iranian oil resources, while the Soviet Union made use of Iran's natural gas, encouraging its satellites to make Iran more dependent in industry and agriculture.

Within Iran, the Shah was trying to portray a different idea for the people. His propaganda media grandly proclaimed that he was able to establish fair relations with both the East and the West! Such was the "power and independence" of the Shah's monarchical regime. This was the "miracle" performed by the Shah, a result of dividing the country's wealth and independence between the two blocs of East and West, yet

remaining “powerful and independent.” The term “Island of Stability,” was impressed on the Iranian people’s mentality.

From the colonizers’ point of view, Iran during the Shah’s period was indeed an “Island of Stability” because of the wealth which they easily plundered. The Shah himself not only prepared facilities for them, but also preserved the region’s security in favor of the world devouring superpowers very well indeed. He was given the title of “The Gendarme of the Gulf.”

The “Island of Stability” was existing in the eye of the hurricane, a hurricane which was created by the cries of the Muslim people of the country, finally throwing the “Gendarme” and his masters into the Persian Gulf.

### **REPRESSION AND SUPPRESSION OF FREEDOM**

The people of Iran could not remain silent in the face of all the felonies and crimes of the Shah’s regime. The Iranian people could not witness the metamorphosis of Islamic culture and sit quietly. They could not witness their country’s growing dependence in the various fields of culture, politics, economics and military and still not protest against the Shah’s mercenary regime.

The struggle against the Pahlavi regime had begun from the time of Reza Khan. At that time Imam Khomeini published a book *Kashfu-l-Asraar* – Disclosure of Secrets – about the activities of Reza Khan’s government. Imam Khomeini at that time did not think that Reza Khan merited or deserved the throne and from that time he resolved to overthrow the monarchy.

Previous to the time of the 15th of Khordad uprising, there had never been a suitable circumstance for an extensive struggle. Before Imam Khomeini took his outspoken stance against the Pahlavi regime, the combatants usually worked

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within the framework of the law. Previous to Imam Khomeini's struggle the combatants tried to force the regime to obey the laws of the country. They were not interested in overthrowing the regime. This idea persisted even up to the last moments of the culmination of the victory of the Islamic Revolution and in some cases seriously hindered the attitude of some combatants. Even after the culmination of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, when that mood and idea proved futile, wrong and groundless, there were still some politicians with long and good records of struggle who continued to think in that way. Among them are those participants in the "Liberation Movement" which for nine months controlled power in Iran on the Imam's order. They were still insisting on their viewpoint, that the struggle should take the path of forcing the Shah to be a mere figurehead and not actively participate in the governing process. Mehdi Bazargan, on December 10, 1979, nearly a year after the monarchy's overthrow in an interview with Hamid Algar said: "In the opinion of the Liberation Movement and others, election is a divine blessing. When the government -- the Shah's government - reached the stage of saying: 'We want to hold free elections,' what is better than this? The first thing we would have done is to ask the government: 'If you are honest in what you said, and elections are free, you will let us have a club.' It would have either allowed it or not. If it wouldn't have allowed us, we would have had them, and would have said: 'You have been lying!' When they had allowed us to have clubs, we would have said: 'Now that the elections are free, let's introduce our candidates.' Having had introduced our candidates, people definitely would have voted for the nationalists' candidates. Then we could talk over the candidates.

"What else did we want? There would be either an election; in which case from the opposition side -- clergymen, nationalists, Liberation Movement and such and such a party -- ten or twenty individuals would be sent to the Majlis. If they didn't let our deputies in, then we would have been able to disclose them. We would have addressed Mr. Carter and the

United States government: 'Your Human Rights is a lie!' We would have told them that they had lied. For they had a trump card in their hand; they said: 'Sir! We have given freedom to the nation!' If our nation had said nothing, they then would have told the people of the world: 'Look! Our nation didn't have anything to say! They have freedom and they don't say anything!' At that moment we could have rejected. That could have been a very good introduction, to have had just that much freedom of the press. A man could have taken all the strongholds. The freedom of press, freedom of justice's administration, the rights to a free trial etc. which had begun." This idea was held by Mr. Bazargan in the last months of the monarchy's rule, that is those months that Imam Khomeini's path of struggle against the monarchy was proving to be successful and would undoubtedly result in the regime's overthrow. Even a year after the Revolution's victory, Mr. Bazargan still held that idea.

As the spokesman for the Liberation Movement, Mr. Bazargan pointed out that they would be satisfied with a political party and perhaps twenty Majlis deputies and believed that in this manner they could obtain for the Iranian nation freedom of the press and freedom of trial. That was the goal of those combatants. It is a fact that this attitude was common among many combatants and this idea was the main orientation of the struggles before the 15th of Khordad and later was continued by the Nationalists. But after the 15th of Khordad uprising religious forces in Iran redirected the struggle to the complete overthrow of the monarchy. Before the 15th of Khordad uprising even Imam Khomeini had this attitude. During the long years of exile and prison between the 15th of Khordad [June 5, 1963 and the 22nd of Bahman [February 11, 1979], Imam Khomeini in his speeches and statements to the Iranian nation openly asked for the destruction of the monarchy.

What is important and what must be pointed out is that the SAVAK, the Shah's secret police and intelligence

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agency not only suppressed the forces who spoke of the regime's overthrow, killing them in prison under torture, but they harshly treated those members of the Liberation Movement who only hinted of modifying the monarchy's pervasive influence. Especially after the coup d'etat of the 28th of Mordad [August 19, 1953] censorship and repression and suppression of freedom grew to such an extent that there was no possibility of any political activity even within the limits of the monarchy approved law. Having a book, picture or an essay of Imam Khomeini was prohibited. Anyone having possession of one of these things could be sentenced to death or long imprisonment with torture. During the years 1963 to 1978 tens of thousands of people from every class and every part of Iran were indicted for delivering speeches, writing books or essays, or forming political groups.

The distribution of Imam Khomeini's statements, speeches, books or pictures or other related activities was a crime against the Shah. The people engaged in these activities were killed in prisons under brutal torture by SAVAK agents. Islamic scholars spent many years of their lives in prisons. Students, tollabs, bazaaris, workers and clerks died in the Shah's prisons or became handicapped. SAVAK agents had many ways of forcing combatants to confess. Among these were psychological tortures. One of these tortures was to tell a prisoner that if he did not confess his wife, sister or daughter would be raped before him. SAVAK was everywhere. Tens of thousands of intelligence agents were paid high salaries for the people's labor and were offered many facilities to serve the Shah's regime. They were to be found in universities, factories, masjids, streets, schools and even among clergy and families. The people could hardly trust each other. It was under circumstances such as these that the Muslim people of Iran under the leadership of Imam Khomeini arose and sacrificed their lives and possessions and gave more than 60,000 martyrs and 100,000 disabled, gaining triumph over the fascist rule of the Shah.

The Iranian people put an end to the life of a 2500-year-old monarchy which gave the people nothing but oppression and injustice with the help of intelligence services such as the CIA and MOSSAD. They set up the sacred regime of the Islamic Republic which was their original desire. The people wanted an Islamic regime based on the divine teachings of Islam so that they could have a social system which allowed their cultural, political, military and economic dependence on others to cease. Under an Islamic government their own culture could reach its flowering.





## REVOLUTION IN METHODS

Nowadays, in the world there exist a method and style for every type of work that is either the result of experience or based upon science. Undoubtedly, the performance of each job, if it be in accordance with these methods, would be accompanied by more success and would need less time. A revolution is also covered by this very general law; up until the present no revolution has been exempt from this rule. Although a revolution usually brings with it new standards which assist in the perfection of the existing methods, the truth is that the Islamic Revolution of Iran has simultaneously experienced a revolution in methods. Excluding the revolutions of the prophets, such as Moses and Jesus and the Messenger of Islam, none of the revolutions which had occurred in the world are comparable to Iran's Islamic Revolution.

A revolution is either armed or relies on the world powers. None of the revolutions which have taken place, particularly in recent centuries, have transcended these two conditions. When smaller countries embark on a revolution against a global power, they usually rely on the rival power for support. The larger countries and the political camps have also relied on arms in their revolutions, having military power and adequate equipment. The 1917 October Revolution in Russia achieved victory by relying on arms. The

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socialist countries one after another carried out revolutions with the support of the Soviet Union, thus joining the socialist camp. Whenever a country decided to withdraw itself from the socialist camp and join the capitalist camp, without doubt it did this by depending on the capitalist superpower; jumping from the frying pan into the fire. In this respect not one of these revolutions have been able to change the people themselves, although they brought about transformations in the governmental and economic systems. For example, it is better to look to Algeria, which among revolutionary countries is freer and more independent than others. Algeria, after ridding itself of French domination, was solely able to initiate changes -- in the direction of socialism -- in the bureaucratic and economic systems, which was the result of its affinity to the ideological field of the eastern camp. However, the Algerian people, despite their great love for Islam, are still deprived of the most elementary acquaintance with their own religion and culture after thirty years of independence from France. The official language for correspondence, bureaucracy and education in Algeria is French and French etiquette, formalities and culture still govern the people. This is purely because the Algerian Revolution, like other revolutions, depended on one superpower in order to rid itself of another superpower; the main motive behind the revolution was liberation from the colonial economic system and domination, not liberation from the colonial culture.

What distinguishes the Islamic Revolution in Iran from all the other revolutions of the world is that it has disregarded all these methods and relied upon another method which has no precedent except in the revolutions of the divine prophets. The prophets rebelled in order to change men's hearts, not to transform the economic and bureaucratic systems, although such changes would automatically follow the inner transformation of men. In the same way that the Prophet of Islam relied neither on Rome nor Persia in order to bring about his revolution, the Islamic Revolution of Iran is not, under any circumstances, prepared to prostrate

itself at the feet of socialism in order to rid itself of western imperialism.

The people of the world, especially the heads of the eastern and western camps and the designers of their destiny (the sociologists and brains of the espionage organizations) find it unbelievable that in an insignificant corner of the world, a nation was able to save itself from the evil of one superpower, without seeking refuge in the lap of the other; a deprived people who had no weapons or equipment rose up and defeated this superpower. When the superpowers realized that the Iranian nation was determined to continue its great Islamic movement behind her uncompromising leader, Imam Khomeini, until the downfall of the "King of Kings" regime, they made many efforts to attract the leader's attention in an attempt to separate him from the nation or to persuade him and the people to rely on the superpowers for suppressing their enemies. The reply was always, "No!" for the glorious Quran tells us: *And incline not to those who do wrong, lest the fire touch you, and you have no protectors beside Allah, then you would not be helped.* (Quran, 11:113)

From Islam's point of view, both the eastern and western superpowers are oppressors as are their collaborators and confederates. They all are intent upon plundering the property of the people of the world and destroying the human culture, and being antagonistic towards Islam and any divine inclination for reaching these aims. All the world oppressors, whether western or eastern, are tyrants and Muslims can neither hold out their hand in friendship nor seek help from any one of them, even for the purpose of suppressing the other. While Imam Khomeini was in Paris and Najaf, many approaches were made to him on the part of the superpowers in order to persuade the Imam to continue the struggle with their help. However, the Leader of the Revolution always gave a firm reply in the negative, thus completely disappointing their hopes. Inside Iran the Shah and his hirelings also made many efforts to persuade Imam

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Khomeini and his fellow combatants to compromise with the regime and renounce the people. The reply was always the same: "Principally, we have no goal other than to serve the people under the shadow of Islamic teachings. How is it possible to leave them and compromise with you for position, ambition and wealth?" This was the same reply which the prophets gave to the powerful and the wealthy who said: *'Leave the poor deprived people so that we can support you.'* *The prophet replied: 'We will never send the believers away from us because of poverty or wretchedness or worldly position; we will continue struggling against you alongside them.'* (Quran, 26: 111-114)

It was this very method that caused the people of Iran to return to the divine aspects of their nature, despite the numerous efforts of the enemies of humanity to separate them from this nature; attempts to draw them away from the genuine Islamic culture. The people trusted in the decisive leadership of Imam Khomeini. Empty-handed but with reliance on God they rose up against a regime that was armed to the teeth and backed by the U.S. and her collaborators, continuing the struggle until total victory.

What distinguishes this movement from all other revolutions is this very characteristic and it is this that produced the Revolution in methods. Iranian masses began actions on the Leader's order, a leader who because of his widely recognized scholarly and religious stance and his faith had extraordinary influence. The people, on account of their religious beliefs and their confidence in the religious leaders, especially Imam Khomeini, carried out all Revolutionary orders in the same manner as a religious imperative.

The relationship between the Ummat (community) and Imamate (leadership) is the most important political principle in Islam. Had not it been for the observance of this principle, the Islamic movements would not have

survived or been victorious. It was the extraordinary spiritual power and unparalleled dynamism of the Imamate that was able to move a people whom the colonialists had dominated for fifty-seven years. After being without will power and addicted to the material life, the people came to have complete disregard for material gain; they left their employment and normal living for many months in order to devote their property and lives to the advancement of this Revolution. During the Revolution and even after the victory of the Revolution the people of Iran always overlooked their personal welfare and desires so as to carry out the orders of the leadership. This is what the Quran calls "sacrifice." In an age of materialism and ignorance, symbolized by man's complete rejection of spirituality and sacrifice, the revolutionary Muslims of Iran have given us the best examples of sacrifice in the whole history of humanity, repeating the epics of the beginning of Islam. If the early Muslims had gone out sword in hand to fight the Kuffar (unbelievers) and the polytheists at Badr, Hunayn and Karbala, the Muslim people of Iran went empty-handed and with the cry of "God is greater" to meet their cannon and gunfire. On the 15th of Khordad 1342 (June 5, 1963) 15,000 Muslims were killed and on the 17th of Shahrivar, 1357 (September 8, 1978) 4000 Muslims gave their lives, proving that blood will always be victorious over the sword.

This massive movement of the people of Iran took place at a time when a consolidated Islamic organization was not in existence. No publication system or radio station was controlled by the revolutionaries. The only communication between the people and leadership was via cassette tapes on which the declarations and statements of the Imam were reproduced; the tapes reached the people through semi-organized forces who were the remains of various Islamic groups. Thus, the link between the Leader and the people was made.

The political circles of the East and West made new evaluations and forecasts about Iran each day according to

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material factors. However, as the remarkable spiritual influence of the Leader and the great belief of the people in his leadership were not included in these evaluations, the imperialists completely misjudged the situation inside Iran. The foreign and colonial radio stations such as the B.B.C, Voice of America and Voice of Israel always foretold doom and despair. Even Radio Moscow, which should have been delighted at the prospect of a revolution in Iran - never in their evaluations even pointed to the final outcome. America's influence in the region would have been reduced by the ousting of the Soviet Union's rival from a bordering country where it had been enjoying the greatest intelligence and military facilities. More important is that Radio Moscow termed the 15th of Khordad uprising, during which the most ruthless acts were committed by the Shah's government against the Muslim people of Iran, a reactionary movement. It is true that these analyses and commentaries are due to the anti-human stance adopted by the global powers, but it cannot be denied that it is also a display of their inability to understand the nature of the Islamic Revolution.

What is certain is that the nations subjected to oppression and colonialism, in particular the Muslim nations, should save themselves from the talons of the world oppressors. They will only succeed if they dispose of the usual revolutionary methods (relying on one superpower in order to get rid of another superpower) and take into consideration the method which brought Iran's Islamic Revolution to fruition: rejection of the global powers and reliance on God and the firm determination of the nation . There is no doubt that the adoption of this latter method could guarantee the victory of all nations and finally put an end to the anti-human domination of all world oppressors, whether eastern or western.

## REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

One of the most important issues facing every revolution, including the Islamic Revolution of Iran is the question of organization. Organizations can be either bad or good, like a sharp knife which can be used by a surgeon for cutting a decayed organ out of a body or by a criminal for tearing open the belly of a healthy human. What is important and determines the worthiness or worthlessness of an organization is the objective which the organization pursues.

Throughout the history of Islam, Muslims have always wished for a totally Islamic organization. Efforts have been made to achieve this goal, yet seldom have these efforts met with any result. The lack of such an organization has always been a factor in the defeat of Islamic movements. The martyrdom of Imam Hussein and his companions at Karbala should have resulted in the eradication of the oppression and corruption of the Umayyads and Abbasids but, in fact their oppressive rule continued. If we see the Alavi movement (against the Abbasids), the Constitutional Movement in Iran (against the Qajar Dynasty), the ruhaniyat (clergy) movement against the Pahlavi rule and other Islamic movements defeated on the threshold of victory then it was because these movements lacked a coordinated Islamic organization. It always had been like this, innocent blood was shed and those individuals whose path was not in line with those who had given their blood took advantage of the martyrdom and continued along their own path.

Learning from this bitter experience, the ruhaniyat [clergy] realized that, in order to safeguard the continuation of every revolution, all movements should be co-ordinated and all operations carried out via a one-hundred percent Islamic organization. The necessity of this occupied the minds of all revolutionary clergy in Iran from the outset of their struggle until the victory of the Revolution. The organization such as the Fedayeen-e Islam enjoyed gives clear evidence of the existence of such a trend of thought among the combatant

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clergy even before the start of the recent movement.

It is likely that the leaders of the Fedayeen-e Islam in setting up such an organization were inspired by the experiences of the Jangal movement which was also led by a clergyman named Mirza Kouchak Khan Jangali but which was defeated because of the lack of a consolidated organization. The defeat of the Fedayeen-e Islam and the National Movement demonstrate that genuine Islamic movements should have an extensive Islamic organization in order to reach their goal, the establishment of an Islamic government and the guarantee of its continuation.

The establishment of such an organization during the repressive years of the Shah's regime was not an easy matter. The genuine Islamic forces could only form semi-consolidated underground organizations for their struggle against the Shah's government.

## TWO TRENDS

Several groups have been active for the past fifty years in Iran, the truly Islamic organizations which were active even without a centralized organization, the non-Islamic organizations and the forces which although Islamic, were not working toward the goal of an Islamic government. The anti-tyrannical struggles of this last group were colored by nationalism; they were willing to compromise with the Pahlavi government if it allowed certain things, for example free elections and a number of deputies to the National Consultative Assembly\*. Because of its non-Islamic and even anti-Islamic character and its treacherous record in the past fifty years of Iran's history, it is not correct to compare the Tudeh [Mass] Party of Iran to the parties and societies whose struggles were not directed toward the establishment of an Islamic government. But by considering

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\*. The text of Mahdi Bazargan's interview (the leader of Liberation Movement) with Hamid Algar was presented in the first chapter.



the inclinations and ideological and political tendencies of these groups to the East or West, they have a similarity to the Tudeh Party in not exerting a political or ideological independence (although this is a relative matter). These groups could be regarded as an organized and coordinated trend in Iran's political history of the past fifty years.

As we have mentioned before, the groups and parties which compose this collection differ from each other in many respects. Due to their common goal, they can be regarded as one trend. This common point is that all these groups, from the Tudeh Party to the National Front and its various branches, were pursuing the establishment of a democratic government and still are. Whether this democratic government is based upon the eastern way of thinking or on the western way of thinking<sup>†</sup>, it is a government whose nature is different from the Islamic government and a type of government which Islamic ideology totally rejects. Most of the groups and organizations affiliated to the National Front believe in the Marxist ideology, thus they believe in the same ideology as the Tudeh party. Those who favor an eastern style democracy are in the majority of this group.

The National Front and Tudeh Party were two political organizations which at first as rivals engaged in the struggle against the Pahlavi regime. The National Front inclined to the West; the Tudeh Party to Marxist ideology. These two political rivals, one of which was attempting to make Iran dependent on the West and the other of which wanted her dependent on the East, were both treacherous to the nation of Iran.

The Tudeh Party had paved the way for the coup on the 28th of Mordad 1332 (August 19, 1953) and the National Front, in 1978 via Shahpour Bakhtiar rushed to the help of

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<sup>†</sup>- During the Islamic Republic referendum in Farvardin 1357, Eng. Mehdi Bazargan, the leader of Iran's Liberation Movement, declared that he wanted a government named the Islamic Democratic Republic.

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the Shah's regime. During the decisive days of the culmination of the Islamic Revolution and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, he was hostile towards the Revolutionary Government which the people had created.

The National Front Movement suffered from divisions within its ranks as a result of the lack of a specific ideology. In this respect, the National Front could be called the "ideology-less" Front.

It was from the National Front Movement that "The Liberation Movement of Iran" was formed in the year 1963. The ideology of the Liberation Movement was based on both nationalism and Islam, but since most of its leaders were western educated and their Islam had been westernized, it was not able to function as a fully Islamic organization. Moreover, vehement nationalist tendencies, inherited from the National Front Movement, impeded the crystallization of true Islamic thought on the part of the leaders of the Liberation Movement.

None of the leaders of the liberation movement were jurisprudents. This situation and those streaks of nationalism and west-intoxication joined hands and did not allow this organization, which had separated from the National Front with the motive of becoming Islamic, to have genuine Islamic thoughts.

The existence of western tendencies in the Liberation Movement of Iran caused a group of revolutionary youths to branch out from this organization in 1965; that is two years after the bloody uprising of the 15th of Khordad. By believing in the armed struggle policy, these youths set up a new underground organization by the name of The Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization. However, this organization, on account of its ideological deficiency, resorted to Marxist and Maoist books and despite the interest they had in maintaining their Islamic profile, they fell into

Marxism's trap. After several years of covering this deviation, in the year 1975 they were forced to admit it. A number of the members of this organization, were executed by the heads of the organization for the offense of not accepting its Marxist ideology. Some members also separated from it; some factions also appeared in the organization itself, resulting in the appearance of formally Marxist groups. The strategy of the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization is based upon the following: that it would continue to present itself as seemingly Islamic in order to offer a bait for the Muslim youth. After that they would brainwash them in preparation for membership in the formally Marxist branches of the organization.

Simultaneous with the creation of the Mujahideen-e Khalq organization, another Marxist group grew up by the name of Fedayeen-e Khalq Organization which had exactly the same ideology as the Tudeh Party, that is the Marxist ideology. This organization also suffered from divisions within ranks but it managed to carry on the work of the Tudeh party which could not operate on account of its treasonous acts.\* At present, the Fedayeen-e Khalq Organization continues its activities in the two branches of the Majority and the Minority; the former takes a similar stand to the Tudeh Party and cooperates with it, the latter superficially does not accept this stance, believing in armed struggle against the Islamic Republic. But it seems that the relationship of the Majority faction of this organization and the Tudeh party with the Minority Faction is the same as that which exists between the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization and its Marxist branches. The National Front Movement with its nationalist ideology and western tendencies suffered divisions which led to the creation of a number of very small parties, with strong western tendencies and even affiliations with the Shah's

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\*- After the victory of the Revolution, the Fedayeen-e Khalq Organization in Kurdistan collaborated with America's lackey and the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization with whom they carried out numerous conspiracies against the revolutionary government and went the same way the Tudeh party had gone in 1952 and 1953.

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regime, America and Britain.

We see that the National Front Movement has produced organizations and parties dependent on the West and Marxist and Maoist affiliated groups which were in fact no different from the Tudeh Party. It is correct to say that the Liberation Movement of Iran, as one of the branches of the National Front, is neither Marxist nor affiliated to the West. However it has strongly western views and is the child of the National Front Movement, the mother of the Mujahideen-e Khalq and the grandmother of the small Marxist groups which branched out from the M.K.O. It is clear that the Liberation Movement can be included in the first trend. Our justification for this is that in addition to the emphasis which all these parties and groups place on the creation of a (western or eastern) democratic government, at present all are struggling against the Islamic Republic. The apparently peaceful stance of the Tudeh Party in face of the Islamic Republic system is merely a tactic, with the evidence which is available concerning the connections of the Tudeh Party with the other opposition groups in the Islamic Republic, even the western Liberals, there is no doubt that this party is one of the influential factors of this first trend.

### **THE REVOLUTIONIZING-TREND**

As was mentioned in the first chapter of this book, a century ago a struggle was staged by the clergy and forces who appealed for the establishment of an Islamic regime. It was a struggle against the monarchy and the tyrannical regimes of other countries, including Iraq. This struggle continued at the end of the Qajar dynasty in the form of the Jangal Movement under Mirza Kouchak Khan from Gilan, a theological student who had studied in Qum's theological schools. Kouchak Khan managed to carry the struggles of Seyyed Jamal ad-Din and Mirza Shirazi and other ulema (theological scholars) forward to a new level. The Constitutional Movement, which was set up under the leadership of the clergy and was aimed at the

establishment of an Islamic regime, was a continuation of this process. The agents of colonialism deviated the Movement and prevented it from pursuing its initial goal; they hanged Sheikh Fazlullah Noori who had demanded an Islamic Constitution and an Islamic Consultative Assembly. However, after the bitter experience of the Constitution, the forces believing in an Islamic regime and the clergy decided to establish an Islamic Organization. The formation of the Fedayeen-e Islam under the leadership of Seyyed Mujtaba Navvab Safavi, also a theological student, is an example of the fulfillment of this ideal nearly half a century after the drafting of the first Constitution. Following the bitter experience of the defeat of the Fedayeen-e Islam and Ayatollah Kashani's struggles against the Pahlavi regime, the necessity for a genuine strong Islamic organization was once again seriously considered by the clergy and other Islamic forces believing in the formation of an Islamic regime. The establishment of the Islamic Nations' Party in 1961 and the United Islamic groups who were the real mobilizers of the people for a relentless struggle against the Pahlavi rule, are the practical product of this thought. The consolidation of these groups stems from the 15th of Khordad uprising, which demonstrated the need for a true Islamic organization or organizations, just as the motive behind the formation of organizations and groups such as the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization, was that very same incident of 15th of Khordad, 1963. The truth is that neither of these two trends could bring about this Revolution without the people. The first trend over the last half a century proved to be totally incapable of attracting public confidence or mobilizing people. The Tudeh Party after the coup d'etat of August 19, 1953, which had been carried out with its collaboration, was viewed as an enemy by the Iranians. In fact, it was not because they had been black-listed by the Pahlavi regime that the members spent abroad the years between August 19, 1953 and the Revolution's victory, but because they were detested by the people of Iran. The proof of the fact that the Tudeh party leaders were not disfavoured by the Pahlavi regime, is that some of them held

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important posts in the regime and in Radio and Television until the last days of Muhammad Reza's rule; they even collaborated with him and his Rastakhiz party. In fact, it was for these crimes that they were executed by the Courts of the Islamic Republic.

Iran's National Front had no base among the people either. This is clear from the Front's treachery and collaboration with the Shah which revealed to the people the true face of this front and the parties affiliated to it. Thus, it is true to say that this Front too had no role in mobilizing the people against the Shah's regime.

Iran's Liberation Movement, the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization and the other groups and organizations which belong to the first trend objected to the method of struggle adopted by the clergy during the heat of the Islamic Revolution (i.e., between the years 1978-79), they not only believed that this method could not possibly bring about the Revolution but also that it wasted forces and would result in the defeat in the whole movement. In fact, the slogan adopted by the heads of the Liberation Movement was: *The Shah should be a monarch but not a ruler!* This is the very same slogan that the leader of the Freedom Movement repeated in his interview with Hamid Algar in December 1979 nearly a year after the victory of the Revolution. Naturally, the people of Iran refused to abandon their slogan of *Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic* for which they had sacrificed their lives. Thus the slogan of the Liberation Movement could not be accepted by the people. The Mujahideen-e Khalq in 1977 and 1978 several times declared that they did not approve of the clergy's method of struggle against the Shah and that this method should be replaced by an armed struggle.

The method adopted by the clergy under Imam Khomeini's leadership consisted of public demonstrations and strikes. This method was acceptable neither to the Liberation Movement nor to the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization.

However, it was this very method which brought about the Revolution; the forces of the first trend not only had no role in mobilizing the people but they even tried to separate the people from the Revolution and prevent it from advancing along the path of true Islam.

It is naive to imagine that the reason for the first trend's disagreement with this Revolution was mere miscalculation concerning the method of struggle. The truth is that this trend did not want this Revolution to succeed under the clergy's leadership. Therefore, on various pretexts, they tried to hinder the progress of the Revolution, so that, at the appropriate time, they could take over the leadership. In any case, the Revolution was brought about by people devoted to Islam who came into the streets and sacrificed their lives. The people were mobilized, organized and linked to the leadership by the second trend. Therefore, the real forces of the Islamic Revolution were and still are the people. The organizers of these forces were the combatant clergy and other revolutionary elements who, in line with Imam Khomeini, obstinately struggled against the regime. Right now they are the true followers of this Revolution in the path of true Islam and Imam Khomeini.

### **THE PLOT WHICH WAS DEFEATED**

From the beginning of 1978 when the colonizers realized that the Pahlavi dynasty was destined to collapse and that the Revolution would triumph, they concentrated their propaganda on figures representing the first trend, in particular the heads of the National Front. The B.B.C., Voice of America and Radio Israel in their Persian programs, which had a large audience in Iran at that time, made much of these heads of the National Front and other nationalists and liberals who had merely hindered the Revolution and tried to colonial broadcasting centers never mentioned a word about the clergy or their struggles, for their aim was clearly to stabilize the position of "the West-intoxicated" who were

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against an Islamic regime on the one hand, and to weaken the combatant clergy and misrepresent Imam Khomeini's leadership to the world on the other hand. The colonizers concluded that, if there were to be extensive publicity in favor of those inclined to the West, the Revolution's leadership would either fall into their hands or at least be divided between those and the clergy which would prevent a truly Islamic Revolution from coming into being. After that, those affiliated with the West would pave the way for the return of the U.S. and her allies to Iran.

These calculations fell drastically short in Iran's case, on account of the great influence of the clergy among the people and the extraordinary leadership of Imam Khomeini and the masses' reliance upon him. Hence, the broadcasts of the colonial radio stations in favor of the westernized liberals had no effect on the people. Contrary to the calculations of the colonizers' intelligence services, the people of Iran always use Imam Khomeini as the guide-line in all their evaluations; a person or thing is regarded as good or bad depending on his or its distance from the path of Imam Khomeini. This is because Imam Khomeini is a symbol of purity, honesty, sacrifice and Islamic and human virtues for the people of Iran. Although those affiliated to the West pretended to be in the line of Imam Khomeini, the Iranians were never deceived by them nor will they ever be. If by any chance they are deceived, they will quickly discover the truth and reject the deceitful, as was the case with the first president.

At any rate, the endeavors of the colonizers' mass media were of no avail and the Revolution's leadership remained in the hands of Imam Khomeini, and the Revolution continued its Islamic way. It should be added that the world devourer's propaganda system for boosting pro-west individuals has been utterly defeated in its attempts to weaken Imam Khomeini's leadership and replace him with members of the National Front and other pro-westerners. Nevertheless, these individuals, through this very propaganda have managed



to occupy key posts in the country's administration, including the Foreign Ministry, introducing themselves as people who had had a share in the fulfillment of the Revolution and who had helped to bring about its victory. In this way, they seriously damaged the Revolution. That is why, two years after the victory of the Revolution the delegations of the Islamic Republic of Iran abroad are not true representatives of the Islamic Revolution. Moreover, in the early days of the Revolution there was much disorder inside the country, especially in administration and these pro-westerners and opponents of an Islamic government somehow managed to infiltrate the governing bodies. The adverse results of their measures can still be seen today.

After the victory of the Revolution 'the first trend' using widespread publicity both inside the country and abroad tried to prove that they were the makers of the Revolution and that they should thus be allowed to govern. It is for this reason that Imam Khomeini several times declared that this Revolution was brought to fruition by the people and not by a particular group or party. This was emphasized by the Imam on Khordad 6, 1360 (May 27, 1981) in a meeting with Islamic Consultative Assembly's deputies on the occasion of the first anniversary of its formation. "It was these [ulema] who brought the people into the streets and bazaars [for demonstrations] and it was Islam which invited people to martyrdom. No front nor party nor group could make people welcome death and volunteer for martyrdom."

Quite clearly, the Imam was responding to the claims of the 'National Front,' 'Liberation Movement,' 'Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization' and other groups and organizations making up 'the first trend.' This response, considering the explanation given about the first trend's actions in the beginning that no front, party, organization or group could claim that it had brought about the Revolution's victory, reveals that, as mentioned before, the 'National Front' and other parties and organizations of the first trend had no

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effect other than to decelerate the Revolution, so they had no role in accomplishing the Revolution.

The forces of the 'second trend' besides being the true organizers of the people's movement and establishing contact between the masses and their leader, have always considered themselves a part of the people and are still trusted by the masses interested in supporting the Revolution. Not only do they not imagine that the Revolution owes them something, they also carry the heavy burden of it on their shoulders. After the victory of the Revolution, these forces were the main arm of the leader for the mobilization of the people. They consist of the combatant clergy and other revolutionaries and they unified to form the "Islamic Republican Party." This 'second trend' has always considered the people as the true owners of this Revolution and, although they are the true makers of the Revolution, they never claim any share for themselves. They merely accept governing posts in order to fulfill their duties which they consider religious obligations and, contrary to the extensive propaganda of the opposition at home and abroad, never hold back talented individuals who believe in the Revolution. Many of these people willingly leave their posts to others who are able to assume the duties of that office so they themselves can engage in intellectual and cultural activities.

A revolutionary government (system) cannot administrate a country using those who do not sympathize with it, especially in a country such as Iran where the remnants of half a century's colonial domination still exist in many administrative departments of the country. The counter-revolutionary forces and their masters abroad accuse the Islamic revolutionaries of monopolizing the governing bodies. These counter-revolutionaries demand key posts in the government and everybody knows how dangerous this would be for the Revolution.

The only concern of the revolutionaries is the protection of the Islamic Revolution -- they are not power-mongers and

do not want to monopolize government posts.

### **COMBINATION OF THE REVOLUTION'S FORCES**

The counter-revolutionary forces and colonizers' propaganda systems try to make the people of the world believe that Iran's Islamic Revolution was carried out by the clergy and other strata of the society and that the intellectuals are not in agreement with this Revolution. Their propaganda is so extensive that it influences even many of the Islamic Revolution's friends abroad. Clearly this sort of adverse publicity is part of the measures taken by the Islamic Republic's enemies inside and abroad to suppress this Revolution. The counterrevolutionaries' aims are to show the Islamic Revolution in a bad light and prevent its influence from spreading to other nations.

Iran's Islamic Revolution is not limited to one or two strata of the society. In this Revolution every stratum of the people have participated: students, workers, farmers, clerks, shopkeepers, merchants, clergy, scholars, the military and the police. The people through their unarmed marches and demonstrations managed to overthrow a regime which was armed to the teeth. How could they have been from only one or two strata of the society? Proof of this is the march that took place two years and four months after the victory of the Revolution, commemorating the eighteenth anniversary of the bloody uprising of the 15th of Khordad; a march which was even more magnificent than the marches before the Revolution's victory. Likewise, the opposition is not limited to one or two strata. In every stratum of society the great majority of people are in favor of the Revolution and themselves carried out the Revolution. At the same time in many strata there are minorities whose interests are threatened by the Revolution and for this reason they are opposed to it. Even in the class of clergy there are some who are against the Revolution. This is because they were affiliated with the Shah's

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regime and the capitalists and had to forego many of their interests and privileges upon the culmination of the Revolution. Among the bazaaris too, there are some who during the former regime could easily cheat the people and take their money, but are now prevented from doing so by the Islamic Republic. Thus, they are against this regime. Among the civil servants and scholars too, there were some (and still are) who are opposed to the present regime because it prevents them from indulging in illicit dealing, bribery, embezzlement of funds and sexual promiscuity. Others are opposed to this Revolution because they are politically and intellectually affiliated to the East or the West. It is quite obvious that the Islamic Revolution cannot depart from its 'Neither East nor West' stance only to satisfy a few individuals. If it did, this Revolution would cease to be an Islamic one; in fact, it wouldn't even be a revolution, but merely a reform.

Despite this opposition of the well-off strata, millions of people support the Islamic Revolution to the limit of sacrifice and appeal for the preservation of its Islamic nature. It was these very same forces which brought about the victory of the Revolution and not the technocrats and laic stratum of the society. The Revolution's management and the revolutionary forces are attempting to put these technocrats and laic stratum of the society on the right path and utilize their knowledge and skill for the reconstruction of the country. So far many of these people have been absorbed into the Revolution and are now participating in the reconstruction of the country. However, there are some who cannot tear themselves away from their western or eastern tendencies to adapt themselves to the Revolution and its aims. Naturally, it is these people who should conform to the Revolution and not the Revolution to them. The Islamic Revolution of Iran does not belong only to one or two sections of the community, for the great majority of all strata took part in it; right now students, university professors, physicians, engineers and other university graduates all over the country are enthusiastically serving the country and participating in its reconstruction. It

is interesting to note that many university graduates and students in collaboration with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and Army are volunteering for the battle fronts. Many of them have already dedicated their precious lives for the preservation of the Islamic Revolution.

### **THE LEADERSHIP OF THE REVOLUTION**

It is true to say that people cannot stage a revolution without leadership, just as the leadership cannot fulfill a revolution without the people's forces. In Iran's Islamic Revolution, the two sides (the leadership and the people) are, in fact, two sides of the same coin; Imam Khomeini, as the Leader of the Revolution, fully represents the people and the people display Imam Khomeini's determination to find and establish the truth. The people of Iran respect and look up to Imam Khomeini as a symbol of God's will and manifestation of God's pureness, blessing, justice and beneficence. They see in the person of Imam Khomeini one who doesn't fight except for God and doesn't act except for God's people. They praise Imam Khomeini sincerely, as the one who delivered them from the claws of the colonialists and international oppressors and the one who uplifted the present generation of the world to the divine nature of man. Imam Khomeini, believing in God and devoting himself to his mission to save the deprived and oppressed of the world, has had an enormous influence on the masses.

It was this influence of Imam Khomeini on the people which led to the neutralization of all the plots of the super-powers to divide the Revolution's leadership. His influence led to the fulfilling of such a great Revolution without reliance on arms or dependence on East or West; facing their plots and negating their dominance.

Imam Khomeini is not only an indefatigable combatant, he is, above all a 'Faqih,' (Islamic jurisprudent) a person versed in gnosis, a devout man, a philosopher, a Quranic exegetist, a

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teacher of ethics, an anthropologist and a great politician. All these qualities come together in a man who was born on the 20th of Jamadi Ath-Thani, 1320 lunar Hijra (September 24, 1902, C.E.; Mehr 2, 1279, solar Hijra), in a town called Khomein, 300 kilometers south of Tehran. He is of a religious family and during his childhood he witnessed his father's martyrdom in the path of the struggle against Reza Pahlavi. These fine qualities of his made him a Mujahid (Islamic crusader) who is looked upon by all nations of the world as the deliverer from international oppression. He learned the Islamic and social sciences in the Theological Center of Qum. He started his struggle against the Pahlavi dynasty the year in which Reza Pahlavi decided to begin wiping out Islam on the orders of the colonizers. In 1342 (1963), when he was known as one of the great 'marjie' i.e. (an authority to which one appeals) he was arrested for making a direct attack on the Shah and the United States but after eight months he was released. In Aban 1343 (October/November 1964), he was once again arrested for a more vigorous attack on the Shah and the U.S. and was exiled to Turkey and then to Najaf, Iraq. After fourteen years of exile and relentless struggle against the Shah's regime, the U.S. and international Zionism, Imam Khomeini on the 13th of Mehr, 1357 (October 5, 1978) was expelled by the Baathist regime of Iraq and went to Paris. There, he continued his struggles against colonialism until the 12th of Bahman 1357 (February 1, 1979) when he returned to Iran amidst the enthusiastic welcome of millions of Iranians and led the Islamic Revolution to culmination on the 22nd of Bahman the same year (February 11, 1979).

Between Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) and the 22nd of Bahman 1357 (February 11, 1979) the people of Iran many times proved their loyalty to Islam and the leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini. On the 15th of Khordad (June 5) as soon as people heard the news of their leader's arrest, they flocked into the streets and faced the bullets of the Shah's mercenaries; 15,000 were martyred.

Between Khordad 15, 1342 (June 5, 1963) and the 19th of Bahman (February 8, 1979) when the culmination of the Revolution first began to take form, the people obeyed every decree that was issued, although they were far from their leader. On the 19th of Dey (January 9), following the publication of an insulting article about Imam Khomeini in *Ettela'at* (like other newspapers at that time it was under the control of SAVAK, the Shah's intelligence organization and secret police), the students of the Qum theological centers and the people of Qum carried out demonstrations in protest and clashed with the police. On the seventh and fortieth days after this event, people in many parts of the country demonstrated in commemoration of the martyrs who dedicated their lives that day. In Tabriz severe clashes took place and some people were martyred. After each event demonstrations took place on the 7th and 40th days in commemoration of the martyrs. The number of those who came into the streets, shouting "Long live Khomeini, death to the Shah" increased. These events which showed the great love of the people for Imam Khomeini continued up until the 17th of Shahrivar 1357 (8th of September 1978). The only thing which made people come into the streets and face the showers of bullets was Imam Khomeini's statements and speeches which were taped and sent to Iran from Najaf and later from Paris. The revolutionary Muslims lost no time in reproducing the Imam's speeches and distributing them among the people to make them aware of their duties. The combatant clergy explained these speeches and declarations in the masjids and during the marches and the people carried out the orders of their Imam.

On the 17th of Shahrivar 1357 more than 4000 Muslim people of Tehran were martyred by the Shah's agents. The people had gathered in Jaleh Square to protest against the daily killings carried out by the Shah's regime. Such bloody events as these continued up until the 22nd of Bahman (February 11). The people continued to sacrifice their lives and possessions and day by day they became more active in their struggle and day by day their love for Imam Khomeini

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increased.

The very astonishing thing here is the mutual and sincere relationship between Imam Khomeini and the people. This was stated several times by distinguished figures among the clergy, who were responsible for conveying the Imam's messages to the people during his exile and for guiding the Revolution inside the country. The clergy observed how the people acted precisely as the Imam's directives indicated. After the victory of the Revolution this close relationship continued and the Imam never fails to offer his sincere wishes to the people in his speeches. The important thing is that this strong bond existed, even when the Imam was for years far away from his people. This clearly explains the deep influence of the Imam among Iranian masses and the oppressed of the world. The truth is that Imam Khomeini has never lived apart from society and has always been acquainted with the people's pains, sufferings and problems, both concrete and abstract. What makes people indifferent to their government is the spiritual gap between the two. Usually politicians live apart from the people and their problems; they use their powerful position as a means for satisfying their own interests and needs. They are not aware of the people nor do the people consider them as one of themselves. The paths of governments are separate from that of nations'. If we observe that the path of the Islamic Revolution is the same as the path of nations, it is because the Leader of the Revolution is from the people and has suffered with them; he sympathizes with them and regards government and rulership as a means of serving people and gaining God's satisfaction.

In post-revolution Iran there were some politicians whose path was not the path of God or the nation, so they were soon rejected by the people. The accursed ex-Shah had the same problem which is the problem of all politicians who are strangers to their own nation and to God. He who had ruled for years through deceit and tyranny could not resist any more and on the 26th of Dey 1357 (January 16, 1979) he



fled the country in tears. In the two years before the culmination of the Revolution, the Shah was forced to change his Prime Minister four times, finally appointing Bakhtiar as Prime Minister who had a patriotic appearance but in fact was an American puppet waiting on the side line. The Shah also had to resort to martial law and cunning. However, he was by no means able to deceive the people. After the bloody massacre of the 17th of Sharivar, he even repented in front of the people and promised not to commit his previous crimes again. But the more he tried to deceive the people, the more he was rejected by them. He spent his whole life drinking and indulging in sensuality in his fabulous palaces and, using his treacherous supporters and sycophants surrounding him he plundered people and ruined the country.

When on the 26th of Dey (January 16, 1979) people heard about his flight, they came into the streets and held celebrations all over Iran. These same people, on the Imam's arrival, came to Tehran from all over the country and filled the streets for a distance of ten kilometers between Mehrabad Airport and Behesht-e Zahra, (the martyrs' cemetery.) On the 21st of Bahman 1357 (February 10, 1979), when Bakhtiar declared a 24-hour curfew in order that a raid could be made on the Imam's residence, these same people surrounded the Imam's residence, forming a barrier to protect the Imam. This wonderful resistance finally resulted in the final victory of the Revolution. History cannot recall such sacrifice and love except for the divine leaders. No poet has ever been able to speak of the love between this leader and nation. No painter has ever been able to create beauties such as that which the people of Iran created in epic and enthusiastic arenas of obeying the leadership of Imam Khomeini. This is only the powerful hand of creation which is able to present such occasions, the area of belief in God, of love for humanity, of the struggle against infidelity, atheism and oppression, the restoration of man to his divine nature under the life-giving teachings of Islam. And

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this is the characteristic of Imam Khomeini's leadership and the Islamic Revolution. Nations, in order to be free from oppression, injustice, colonization and domination have no choice but to follow this path.

### **THE PROMISED MOMENT**

For seventeen years Imam Khomeini promised the overthrow of the monarchy and during this period the Shah's regime tried its utmost to prevent such an event. The Shah's security organization used to stifle the thoughts of people before they reached their lips and his publicity media would show these crimes of his as remedies on which the survival of the community depend. During this period, books, pictures, letters and even the name of Imam Khomeini were considered illicit and the least sentence for the possession of these was execution or life imprisonment. During the fourteen years of Imam Khomeini's exile (in Turkey and Iraq) he was in secret contact with the people via the combatant clergy and other revolutionary Muslims. The Imam, during all this time, encouraged people to resist and struggle and instilled in them the hope of victory. The revolutionary forces trained revolutionary elements and disclosed the true nature of the Pahlavi regime to the people. However, in carrying out their duties many of these revolutionaries were martyred or forced to spend many years in prison, exile or under torture. On Aban 1, 1356 (October 23, 1977) the eldest son of Imam Khomeini, Seyyed Mustafa Khomeini who himself was a distinguished clergyman in forced exile in Iraq was mysteriously martyred in Najaf, Iraq. Iranians and especially the theological circles found the situation ripe, especially as this was simultaneous with Carter's freedom-giving policy and the declaration of an open political atmosphere by the Shah's regime to cool down people's anger, and turned the memorial gatherings for the Imam's son to political rallies for struggling against the Shah and made worthy disclosures. These led to the event of the 19th of Dey of the same year (9th of January 1978) when the

'Tollabs' (religious students) of the theological circle and people of Qum marched protesting an insulting article about Imam Khomeini published by SAVAK in *Ettela'at* newspaper. Some of them were martyred in a confrontation with the Shah's police and guards. This event was followed, as mentioned before, by the massacre of the 17th of Shahrivar 1357 (September 8, 1978) in which 4000 men, women and children were martyred. However, this crime had frightened the Shah's regime and martial law was declared in Tehran and fourteen other important towns and cities. In Isfahan martial law had been declared much earlier. The cabinet of Jafar-Sharif Imami which had come to power a few days before the event of the 17th of Sharivar, in spite of using every deception, was unable to do anything. Finally, in Aban 1357 (October/November 1978), Imami's cabinet was replaced by the martial cabinet of Azhari. The latter on the first day of Muharram martyred hundreds of innocent people of Tehran who were mourning the martyrdom of Imam Hussein ( ). In other cities crimes such as this happened every day. Public places, such as cinemas and sacred places like masjids were not safe from the attacks of the criminals of the Shah's regime. Toward the end of Amouzegar's cabinet, in Mordad 1357 (July/August 1978) SAVAK agents set fire to a cinema in Abadan. Hundreds of men, women and children who were watching the film were burnt alive. SAVAK's goal was to attribute this horrible crime to the revolutionaries and thus soil their good name. However, the people of Iran quickly discovered this plot and by disclosing the truth, succeeded in removing the mask from the Shah and his agents' faces.

The setting on fire of a Kerman masjid by SAVAK agents took place towards the end of Sharif Imami's government. In addition to setting the masjid on fire, the Shah's mercenaries burned Qurans, martyred and wounded many men and women in the masjid and molested several Muslim women. On account of the Shah's numerous savage crimes which were carried out by his shortlived governments,

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the people in their marches on Tasua and Ashura, the 9th and 10th of Muharram 1399 (December 11 and 12, 1978) in Tehran and other towns officially appealed for the Shah's deposal. On that Ashura the treacherous Shah had intended to commit his most horrible crime of all. He had his best commandos prepared to fire on a million people of Tehran who were to gather in and around Azadi Square in order to listen to revolutionary speakers. The Shah had intended to attack them savagely with armed helicopters, artillery and machine guns and destroy all of them. But as the Shah's guards in the Lavizan garrison were getting ready for this mission, two of the religious non-commissioned officers who were advocates of the Revolution and aware of this plot, raided their gathering place, killing and wounding many of them. Thus, the Shah's evil plot was neutralized and the marchers proceeded successfully and appealed for the Shah's removal.

After the defeat of Lavisan plot on the day of Ashura and the people's success in carrying out the marches of Tasua and Ashura, the United States and its allies lost all their hope in the Shah and decided to play a card that they had long before reserved in the 'National Front.' This was Shahpour Bakhtiar who accepted the post of Prime Minister. Eventually, after Bakhtiar had taken charge, the Shah fled to Cairo in order to join the Pharaoh of Egypt, Anwar Sadat. This was on the 26th of Dey 1357 (January 16, 1979). Bakhtiar at first tried to deceive people by pretending to be an advocate of Imam Khomeini but the people were not fooled and they persistently appealed for his deposal. Bakhtiar during his one month in power committed many crimes, including the cruel and savage killings of students in Enqelab Square and at Tehran University. Moreover, Bakhtiar refused to allow Imam Khomeini to return to Iran. Imam Khomeini intended to come back to Iran on the 6th of Bahman 1357 (January 26, 1979) from Paris but Bakhtiar ordered 'Mehrabad Airport' to be closed to foreign flights. Thus, the Imam's return was delayed until the 13th of Bahman (February 1, 1979). The people who had gathered in Tehran from all over the country

in order to welcome the Imam remained in Tehran and Bakhtiar, due to the pressure from the people and the clergy was made to remove all obstacles to the Imam's return. After an historic welcome in Tehran the Imam went to Behesht-e Zahra where he delivered a very significant speech. He declared Bakhtiar's cabinet illegal and announced that he himself would form a government.

After the Imam's arrival in Iran, Bakhtiar preserved his rule for only ten days. During this period even the Army and other security forces didn't obey him. It was the Air Force which first declared their support for Imam Khomeini. Bakhtiar intended to attack with air and ground forces that part of Tehran where the Imam and most of the revolutionary figures lived and thus eliminate the lot of them. However, on the 21st of Bahman (February 10), when he intended to carry out this plot by declaring day and night curfew in order to prevent people from coming out into the streets, he was confronted with the mobilization of the people following the directive of Imam Khomeini.

After a 24-hour battle in the streets of Tehran, finally, on the 22nd of Bahman 1357 (February 11, 1979) the three forces of the Army surrendered to the revolutionary forces in Tehran and all over the country. The Islamic Revolution was victorious and the monarchy which offered nothing to the people but dictatorship and mediation for colonialism was overthrown.

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## LONG PATH

When a true revolution achieves victory, in reality it has only reached the beginning of the path it wants to follow. Therefore, the victory of a revolution means the removing of the obstacles in order to reach the point from which the mission of that revolution begins. Some people, though do not have such a conception of the Revolution. They imagined that upon the victory of the Revolution, everything would automatically change and the Revolution would have run its course. This incorrect notion could create difficulties for the movement of the Revolution toward reconstruction. Those who have such a conception of the Revolution have very great expectations which are not in accordance with the realities and capabilities of the Revolution. Moreover, the forces which should be serving the Revolution with full strength in order to enable it to continue successfully along the path towards reconstruction are instead demanding that the Revolution reward them. A newly achieved Revolution, in addition to its many difficulties, is thus faced with another problem as a result of this same misconception and efforts must be made to clarify this notion.

The small groups affiliated to the East and the West, remaining members of SAVAK and those who have been slapped by this Revolution have aggravated this situation. In order to counter Islam and to hinder the establishment of an Islamic Republic, these deviational groups went to the factories and encouraged the workers, who after several months of strikes had just started production, to discuss welfare issues. This was at the dawn of victory and

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at a time when the country -- ruined as a result of the crimes of the Pahlavi dynasty - had just set out along the path towards reconstruction. These attempts to deviate the workers revealed the inexperience of these groups and their affiliation to the superpowers. For example, one of the leaders of a supposedly Marxist but in fact American group in a public gathering claimed that, if the country's economy was handed over to them, then they would remedy the economy overnight!

It was not a simple task convincing the public that the victory of the Revolution did not mean that the Revolution's mission was over; the revolutionaries were engaged in reconstructing the country and could not devote themselves to propaganda as the counterrevolutionary splinter groups did. However, those in charge of the Revolution were successful in divulging the nature of these splinter groups and the various networks of nationalism and liberalism. They have explained to the people that the Revolution has a long path ahead of itself and that they should consider themselves indebted to the Revolution and sacrifice themselves for its advancement; they should not imagine the Revolution indebted to them and expect to reap the benefits in a country which had been completely dependent and ruined culturally, economically, politically and militarily. Its reconstruction requires the great force of the nation and a long time.

Undoubtedly, if there had not been complete confidence in the Leader of the Revolution on the part of the millionic masses, this Revolution, like the revolution in Chile, would have disintegrated in the swamp created by western and eastern affiliated groups. However, the love of the Iranian people for Islam and their determination to have an Islamic government prevented the diversified conspiracies from deviating the Islamic Revolution from its true course and depriving it of its genuine Islamic nature. Thus, Iran was stopped from being thrown once again into the lap of the colonizers. The peculiarity of the Islamic Revolution is that,



in addition to the internal and external enemies, even un-informed friends delivered the most severe blows to the Revolution but it still continues along its path, as firmly and as resolutely as always. One of the most memorable points in the history of revolutions is that the Islamic Revolution of Iran, despite being in the hands of individuals who did not agree with its pure Islamic nature (the Liberation Movement's or the Provisional Government) and which made many efforts to deviate it, managed to preserve its genuineness and continue along its true path. The Provisional Government at the time when the Assembly of Experts was involved in preparing the Constitution decided to declare the liquidation of that Assembly in a communique signed by 17 ministers. The main reason for this decision was that the members of the Assembly of Experts had refuted the draft drawn up by the Provisional Government based upon westernized Islam and had been planning to arrange a constitution based upon pure Islam and the Vilayat-e Faqih (the sovereign power of the Faqih – see page 105). The Provisional Government was intent on liquidating the Assembly of Experts before consulting with the nation, the true owners of the Revolution, or the Imam, the Leader of the Revolution, acting in accordance with their own ideas. If we want to become acquainted with the Liberation Movement and the Provisional Government which guarded the Revolution for nine months, it is enough to point out two issues which were among the incidents which took place behind the scenes during the early days of the Revolution:

After Mr. Bazargan became Prime Minister by Imam Khomeini's decree during the last days of the monarchical regime, he proposed Ali Asghar Haj Seyyed Javadi to the Revolutionary Council as the Minister of Higher Education. Ali Asghar Haj Seyyed Javadi was a person used by the Shah as a safety valve to show the people that there was no repression under the Shah and that one could freely criticize. Javadi wrote letters that were widely publicized, putting the blame for all the Shah's crimes and acts of treason on statesmen in order to exonerate the Shah.

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In order to throw a smoke screen, SAVAK agents exploded small bombs in the vicinity of his residence and then arranged for these incidents to be widely publicized in the newspapers, showing how the government was against him. Javadi was to be considered the Sakharov \* of Iran. After the victory of the Revolution, this Mr. Javadi along with the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization, the Combatant Muslims' movement and other groups affiliated to the superpowers vehemently objected to the closing down of the Ayandegan newspaper, the budget for which was supplied by Israel. This newspaper had served the interests of Zionism and Imperialism. They called this revolutionary act "anti-democratic"! According to Javadi's very own account SAVAK once went to search his house but they found nothing except a few bottles of wine in the refrigerator. Thus, Mr. Bazargan's proposal of such person as the Minister of Higher Education in the government of the Islamic Republic with strong opposition from the ulema of the Revolutionary Council, especially Ayatollah Martyr Dr. Beheshti and Ayatollah Martyr Mutahari. These ulema rationalized thusly: how can a man, whose Islam is such that wine is found in his refrigerator, be in charge of implementing Islamic culture? How can he be accepted as a member of an Islamic government which comes into office with the blood of 60,000 martyrs?

The second issue occurred during the early days after the victory of the Revolution. In one of the joint sessions of the Revolutionary Council and the Government, Mr. Bazargan was annoyed at hearing a report of a group of people who at one of the gatherings had chanted "Death to the America." He declared that now since the Americans had left the country, they should not be tormented with such slogans, for Iran was in need of keeping its links with America.

Mr. Bazargan, in the post of Prime Minister of the most Revolutionary country of the world and charged with the continuation of the struggle with America thus displayed his way

of thinking and that of co-ideologists in the Liberation Movement. Many other examples exist, such as the spying for America by Abbas Amir Entezam, the Spokesman for the Provisional Government, revealing the deviation of the Provisional Government from the true path of the Revolution. This nine months in office of such a government could have been a great blow to the Revolution for people who regarded themselves as plundered by America and who had given their blood in order that Islam replace imported western and eastern ideas. Nevertheless, this Revolution endured all these blows and even survived the grand conspiracies of the superpowers and their internal functionaries. The truth is that the people of Iran still have a long way ahead of them but they have the strength to continue along this path.

### **SPONTANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS**

As we mentioned before, Iran's Islamic Revolution is an independent revolution; not only did it not rely on any foreign power, but it was forever exposed to their successive conspiracies. Therefore, the people of Iran in order to reconstruct the country and safeguard the Revolution set to work spontaneously from the very moment of victory, without waiting for outside aid.

In the moments of victory when the doors of all governmental buildings, organizations, garrisons and military and disciplinary centers were opened to the people, documents, papers, money and military equipment were in danger of being stolen by counterrevolutionaries, thieves or profiteers. It was during this time that the people spontaneously set up Committees throughout Iran and in all the cities and villages and brought all movements under supervision. It was the Committees who captured the Shah's agents and handed them over to the Revolutionary Tribunals. It was the Committees who protected government property from the counterrevolutionaries and profiteers. It was the Committees who took care of people, and safeguarded their honor and property

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during the early months of the Revolution and prevented any kind of counterrevolutionary movement. In spite of this, large amounts of arms, money and other equipment were stolen by groups such as the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization and the Fedayeen-e Khalq Guerrilla Organization and the profiteers during the confusion of those early days when there was no strict control.

These spontaneous organizations as a very valuable post-Revolutionary phenomena are not limited to the Revolutionary Committees. However, the Islamic Revolutionary Committees were the first organizations that came from the people and they are considered the most valuable and important factor in the success of the Revolution, in fact the actual existence of the Revolution during the uncertain days just after the victory was dependent on these spontaneous organizations. It was precisely for this reason that the most vehement propaganda attack against the Islamic Revolutionary Committees was carried out by the internal counterrevolutionaries and their foreign masters. The self-sacrificing guards of the Committees became the targets of the counterrevolutionaries' bullets on dark nights in Tehran and Iran's other cities and offered their lives for the Islamic Revolution of the people. Meanwhile, the Committees bravely resisted all conspiracies and, by isolating the counterrevolution, were able to thwart the treacherous plans of the colonialists and their aware and unaware internal mercenaries.

In addition to the Committees, many spontaneous movements grew up in the various industrial, military, agricultural, medical and cultural fields during the first two years after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and they should be counted among the greatest achievements of this Revolution.

Here it is necessary to mention that the Shah's government, in order to lay the foundation for the importing of products from the colonizer countries and making Iranian

society a consumer in all aspects of industry, agriculture, military, medical and even culture and art, prevented the blossoming of any kind of talent inside the country. It was not only the Shah's intention to change Iran's economic system into a consumer system, but also to make the people of Iran believe that they were not capable of innovation or invention in any aspect, but rather should always be the consumer of products and even others' ideas. It was for this very reason that the Iranian people, during the Pahlavi period, made no attempt to innovate or invent despite the fact that they possessed great talent and were renowned in history for their great inventors, discoverers, philosophers and researchers. Even if a person carried out such work, he was immediately pursued by SAVAK and had to choose between abandoning his work or death. During the last years of Muhammad Reza Pahlavi's reign there are numerous examples of this horrid crime which is in reality intervening with creation.

It was only natural that these suppressed talents should blossom after the victory of the Revolution and guide Iran, with their innovations and inventions, toward self-sufficiency and liberation from economic dependency. In an exhibition held in Tehran in June 1981 more than 250 kinds of Iranian industrial inventions were displayed. In the field of culture and art great progress was also made. Iranian poets, painters, designers and writers who in the Shah's time had to either place their arts at the service of the government's communism, preserving its spirit of brazenness and brittleness or to take refuge in Nihilism and preserve themselves in any case could not employ their talents as they should have been. This Islamic Revolution has prepared the ground for the blossoming of these aptitudes and now their talents in the various cultural fields have been put to the test.

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## REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS

The structure of the whole military, administrative and law enforcement system of pre-revolution Iran - for reasons such as the dependent attitude of the bureaucracy and corruption in most of its section - was a system which actually could not be of any service to the Revolution, let alone to adapt itself to the requirements and necessities of the Revolution. The most basic and immediate requirement of post-revolutionary Iran was organizations that could answer the various needs of the people. This is the reason behind the existence of the revolutionary organizations such as: The Islamic Revolutionary Committees, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, Relief Committees, Islamic Revolutionary Tribunals, Mobilization Committees, the Reconstruction Crusade, Mustaz'afin [oppressed] Foundation, and the Housing Foundation.

The purpose behind the establishment of these organizations not been to destroy their corresponding agencies in the government. The main plan was to set up these organizations along with the ministries and government agencies and serve the society to meet the Revolution's need, rooting out the inadequacies and insufficiencies of the whole governmental system which was the result of the corruption of the previous regime. But the enemies of the Revolution inside and outside the country immediately began false propaganda against these agencies. The enemies and unaware friends of the Revolution and most of the persons who lent a hand in this destructive publicity aimed at making these agencies appear as rivals and competitors of the government, thus making government employees, a rather large proportion of the population, hostile and pessimistic toward them. Then as a result of the differences that would be created between revolutionary and governmental organizations, the great task of managing the country and the revolution would be paralyzed. During the course of this conspiracy they made false accusations against these

agencies and subjected them to all sorts of destructive criticism with the intention of defaming them in the eyes of the people.

On the whole, the adverse publicity inflicted blows upon these agencies and was able, to a certain extent, to impede the progress of their services to the Revolution. But in spite of all these and the obstacles posed by the Provisional Government which advocated the maintenance of the existing governmental system with its prevailing bureaucracy and was against the existence of a revolutionary government, these agencies pursued their goals with a remarkable success and performed vital services at critical moments for this Revolution. Now everybody knows that the Revolution owes its prosperity to these organizations and the enemies repeated attempts to destroy them manifest how well their function is being carried out in the progress of the Islamic Revolution.

In this chapter we are endeavouring to express the basic principles of each revolutionary organization and its function, so the reader can become acquainted with the role of these agencies in the success of the Revolution and serve as a reference to revolutions which may occur in other countries in the future.

## 1 - ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES

The Islamic Revolutionary Committees were among the spontaneous phenomena which occurred during the culmination of the victory of the Revolution. They were formed from the very first day and undertook the insurance of the country's security, the arrest of agents of the Shah's regime and preventing the plundering of the public treasury by the Revolution's enemies and other related groups. A number of these Committees in some cities had been formed even before the victory of the Revolution and undertook control and maintenance of peace and order while simultaneously observing the actions of the agents of the Shah's

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government.

Like all other Revolutionary organizations, the Islamic Committees have been targets of unfounded criticism and counterrevolutionary activity. Deleterious elements have tried to infiltrate the Committees to hinder their success and incapacitate their members. The conspirators have resorted to all forms of mischief to ruin the image of the Revolution, making it the subject of international propaganda.

As the Committees were not the result of planning but spontaneously formed, naturally weaknesses and difficulties exist in its structure. These problems though were soon resolved and after unsuitable elements were purged the Committees now smoothly render unparalleled services to the Revolution and the country. At the present the Committees are engaged in the maintenance of peace and order along with the Revolutionary Guards Corps, the Mobilization Committees and the police and will continue doing so until they completely root out the forces that are trying to harm the Islamic Revolution.

## 2 - ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNALS

The judicial system during the reign of Muhammed Reza Pahlavi had merely been an indecisive tool in the hands of the regime that functioned according to the whims of the regime's heads, absolutely lacking justice. The majority of the judicial staff had neither the qualifications necessary to be a good judge nor knew anything about the law! Most of those who formed the backbone of Iran's judicial system were instrumental in the rampant corruption of the previous regime, sheer middlemen working for the big foreign companies. These people supported world oppression and plundered the wealth of the Iranian nation while loudly criticizing Imperialism. They held membership in the "Society for the defense of Human Rights" but worked for the fulfillment of the imperialists' goals. One of the prominent members of this



organization was Hassan Nazih, a member of the Liberation Movement, who was appointed by the Provisional Government to the chairmanship of the National Iranian Oil Company's Board of Directors. He held the post for eight months and reimbursed the salary of the NIOC's American advisers who had fled to America before the victory of the Revolution. This incident demonstrates how the judicial network of Iran operated. If a man like Nazih who had seemingly opposed the Shah was a member of a judicial body, then the state of the other so-called lawyers can only be imagined.

It was natural that this judicial system should not be allowed to undertake the trial of the ex-regime's treacherous elements. It was definitely out of the question that such a network could meet the demands of the Revolution. If the trying of the Shah's functionaries who had killed more than 70,000 Iranian people and had made this country a slave of America were to be given to such a corrupt judiciary system, all or at least many of those criminals would have been acquitted or sentenced to short terms or would have fled with all expenses paid by their colleagues in the courts. All the judicial authorities concerned with the previous system must be tried; because by their silence they were responsible for allowing the graft and corruption that characterized the Pahlavi regime to flourish. One of the blows which was inflicted upon the Revolution by the Provisional Government is that it tried to keep the post judicial system intact and repeatedly tried to hinder the Revolutionary Tribunals that were seriously processing the cases of the criminals and traitors to the nation. The existence of the Revolutionary Tribunals was vital to the Islamic Revolution of Iran. At the dawn of the Revolution's victory, the Islamic Revolutionary Tribunals were formed side by side with the Islamic Revolutionary Committees.

These tribunals, basing their actions upon Islamic precepts proceeded with the trials of the heads of the Pahlavi regime and carried out the execution of a group who had perpetuated the greatest crimes upon Islam and the nation of Iran. Among

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them were Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the Shah's Prime Minister for thirteen years, and Field Marshal Nassiri, the chief of the SAVAK, some martial governors each of whom were responsible for the massacre of thousands of people and some capitalists who were instrumental in transforming Iran's economy into an entirely dependent one.

An important point is that lies have been spread about the Islamic Revolutionary Tribunals to the extent that the people of the world and even the friends of our Islamic Revolution have no proper conception or understanding of the function of these courts. It has been falsely stated that a blood bath started in Iran, that Revolutionary Tribunals killed innocent people, executing innocent people without benefit of a trial, even that women who did not wear proper hijab had had their breasts cut off on the Court's order. This smear campaign successfully depicted this Revolution as ugly in view of most of the people of the world, especially the European countries. It even created doubts in the minds of many of the supporters and sympathizers of the Islamic Revolution.

A Palestinian youth from Jerusalem, a teacher and a leader of Palestinian demonstrations against the Quds occupier regime exactly reflected this attitude, asking: "Islam is a religion of compassion and mercy. Why do the revolutionary judges in Iran act so harshly toward those affiliated to the Pahlavi regime?"

When questioned about how many executions would be just in view of the slaughter of 70,000 innocent Iranians, he replied that several thousand executions were probably legitimate. When the Palestinian brother found out that up until the time of his inquiry (June, 1979 - sixteen months after the victory of the Revolution) not yet 300<sup>(1)</sup> people had

1- The report of the Revolutionary Tribunals on the second anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution indicates that in these two years 326 was the total number of those executed on the order of the Revolutionary Tribunals, 65 of whom were coup participants and nineteen of whom were members of the Furqan

been executed he was stunned. He wanted to know: "Why aren't the people of the world informed about this? Why does Iran remain silent in light of such propaganda?"

The truth is that the Islamic Revolutionary Tribunals of Iran, because of the impediments posed by the Provisional Government, couldn't achieve more than what they did. Hence the people of Iran while approving of these tribunals, believed that they did not show the necessary decisiveness in handing down verdicts on those who were partner to the enslavement of this nation, the merciless slaughter of the people, the obliteration of Islamic culture, creation of an atmosphere of repression and suppression lasting for decades, wasting the wealth of this country and pulling this generation into wretchedness. *'Let no pity for them who detain you from obedience to Allah if you believe in Allah and the Last Day and let a party of believers witness their chastisement. (24:2)*

The Iranian people try to accomplish the directives of the Holy Quran, but what could be done in that situation where in addition to external enemies, internal foes appeared, even in the Presidency who made all-out efforts to prevent the Revolutionary Tribunals from acting decisively. The corruption should have been destroyed before it spread to the whole. One problem found by the Revolution was that from the beginning a few western-oriented individuals were boisterous, even making accusations of torture and unjust trials. Even the Presidency offered propagandistic food for Imperialism.

At the present, in Iran's prison system, it is the prisoners who are governing, not the prison wardens. The prisoners enjoy many liberties, arrangements have even been made for some prisoners to meet their wives once every several days. Measures like this are being developed to the limit of the government's capabilities

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terrorist group. The rest were sentenced to death for their cooperation with the treacherous Shah's regime and killing the people.

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so that all prisoners be able to develop a well-rounded outlook on life while still in prison. The behavior of the prison wardens is such that in many cases difficulties and problems are created for the prison guards by the prisoners. Since the prison guards are not brutal, in fact they themselves have been mentally tortured by the prisoners. As the Islamic Revolution of Iran is an extraordinary revolution itself, the Revolutionary Tribunals and prisons of post-revolutionary Iran follow this path.

The Islamic Revolutionary Tribunals were formed after the victory of the Revolution by the decree of Imam Khomeini, the Leader of the Revolution. They performed their duty on the approval of the Revolutionary Council and will continue their job as a portion of the country's judiciary organization, in cases which are related to the Revolution and in accordance to the bill recently ratified by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

### 3 - ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS CORPS—IRGC

The Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps originates from the very same philosophy as the Islamic Revolution Committees. The Revolution's leadership and people, while having trust and confidence in the Army, realized that the non-revolutionary spirit of a number of the officers and the penetration of the bureaucratic system into military agencies hindered it. Until the system of the Army was totally transformed, it was not expected that the Army function as a revolutionary army and fulfill the Revolution's military requirements. Hence, the Guardian Corps was formed in March, 1979, that is just after the victory of the Revolution. In addition to maintaining peace and opposing counterrevolutionaries, the IRGC works as a powerful arm for the Revolutionary Tribunals and hastens to the aid of the Army in preserving the country's independence and fighting foreign enemies.

The IRGC was able to rush to the aid of the Revolution in the delicate moments after the victory. The belief of its members who are of the best and most self-sacrificing revolutionary and committed youths, enabled this organization to render the most vital services to the country. No more than a month had elapsed from the victory of the Revolution that the counterrevolutionaries by the instigation of America wreaked chaos and bloodshed in the Kurdistan Province. It was these enthusiastic and faithful youth of the Corps that went to that province along with a group of committed Army brothers just a few days after the formation of the IRGC. By re-instituting order, a great conspiracy was thwarted. The sacrifice and devotion of the Guards Corps brothers in internal clashes and in the imposed war of Iraq are so important that no language can praise them sufficiently. The activities of the IRGC are such that Imam Khomeini's statement suffices: "If there were no Corps, there would be no country." The function of this Revolutionary organization clearly shows that after the victory of the Revolution the existence of the country was dependent upon the existence of the Revolutionary Guards and the Islamic Revolutionary Committees, just as from now, the continuation of the Revolution depends on the Guardian Corps and the Army.

In the imposed war of Iraq upon Iran, the IRGC offers many martyrs to Islam and the Islamic Revolution. This revolutionary organization has a determining role in this war, just as it had against the internal foes. The brothers of the Guards Corps have always been exposed to allegations of the internal and external enemies. They themselves know that these accusations are to make them abandon the Revolution and become indifferent toward the grave responsibility which they have. It is precisely for this reason that they become more determined in their goal as with love and devotion they continue to guard Islam and the Islamic Revolution.

#### 4 - RELIEF COMMITTEES

During the reign of Pahlavi, many of the Iranian people spent their lives in poverty and deprivation despite the enormous revenues which this country gained. Still this condition continues and rectifying it will take time and vast economic programs. The country's financial system was such that the needy were not able to receive interest-free loans for their needs. Unattended and handicapped persons who had become so either by participation in the Revolution or prior to it added to the financial and welfare burden of the country. These were the circumstances which necessitated the creation of a special revolutionary relief institution for providing relief to those groups of people who were in need but which the existing agencies could not provide

A committee by the name of "Imam Khomeini's Relief Committee" was established in Tehran and gradually it opened other branches throughout the country. A look at the record of the Relief Committee in a period of four months from March 3, 1980 to July 7, 1980 in the category of loans granted to the most deprived classes of people proves the value of importance of this Committee. During this interval, the Committee granted to 3019 persons the sum of 44,718,000 rials in interest-free loans of which 40% was allotted to the payment of debts, 20% for marriage, 19% for capital, 19% percent for housing repair and 2% percent for medical treatment. On the other hand this Committee as of July 7, 1980 confiscated 1,267,620,237 rials from persons engaged in illegal lending and returned the funds to rightful owners.

#### *5- JIHAD -E- SAZANDEGI*

In Iran, as in most of the colonized countries, the people of the villages have been living in deprivation and poverty, lacking the most elementary of life's necessities including hygiene. This condition was prevalent during the Pahlavi period. The Shah's government tried to give color and glamor

to the cities and especially those which had tourist attractions or were on the traffic routes, so its propaganda machine could present the country as progressive. This view of Iran was presented to people of the world while this same audience was kept blind to the fact that these showcase centers were made possible by the labor of the deprived people of the villages. Inside the cities many of the people were in no better condition and in far out-of-sight districts, even in Tehran's southern districts, many of the families were deprived of water and electricity and had to live in pits.

For the purpose of the development and cultivation of the villages and serving the deprived people in the country's more remote areas, on June 17, 1979 (that is four months after the culmination of the victory of the Islamic Revolution) by Imam Khomeini's decree, a new institution by the name of "*Jihad-e-Sazandegi*" was established with its headquarters in Tehran and branches throughout the country. This organization is engaged in developmental projects to benefit the villagers and deprived. The *Jihad-e-Sazandegi* is one of the most outstanding institutions in its service to the Islamic Revolution and renders valuable services to the toiling and honest stratum of the Iranian people. This institution, because of being popular has succeeded in bringing together individuals with diverse backgrounds such as the college graduate, youth, experts of various technical fields, civil engineers and those from the medical and cultural fields utilizing them in the service of the people. These individuals receive a minimum salary while at the same time showing the highest dedication. Observing the figures of the *Jihad-e-Sazandegi's* two years of service, which are mentioned below, shows that this institution has been one of the most effective branches of the Islamic Revolution and it has the potential to pull the Iranian villages from deprivation which they have experienced in the past, in cultural development, health and agricultural aspects. These are the latest figures of the *Jihad-e-Sazandegi's* activities during its first two years. These figures were compiled on June 15, 1981.

TABLE 1

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF  
*JIHAD -E- SAZANDEGI*

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Ideological Classes . . . . .	7,682 sessions
Literacy Classes . . . . .	7,881 sessions
Libraries and Mobile Units Established . . . . .	12,635 units
Films and Theatre Programs . . . . .	26,668
Various Exhibitions Set Up . . . . .	3,314
Islamic Councils Formed in Villages . . . . .	5,615 villages
Lectures Delivered . . . . .	17,860 sessions
Free Distribution of Books . . . . .	4,272,952 volumes
Distribution of Magazines and Publications. . . . .	712,419
Distribution of Taped Lectures . . . . .	65,594 tapes
Distribution of Posters and Pictures . . . . .	3,062,242

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TABLE 2

HEALTH AND MEDICAL  
SERVICES

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Free Treatment . . . . .	1,506,702 persons
Dressing Wounds and Giving Injections . . . . .	1,173,429 persons
Vaccinations. . . . .	692,584 persons
Medical Groups Dispatched to Villages . . . . .	8348 groups
Hygienic and First Aid Training . . . . .	123,485 persons
Patients and Drug Addicts Introduced to Hospitals . . . . .	86,101 persons

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TABLE 3

## AGRICULTURAL ACHIEVEMENT

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Distribution of Seed. . . . .	55,954 tons
Distribution of Fertilizers . . . . .	256,632 tons
Distribution of Pesticides . . . . .	989,183 kilos
Distribution of Saplings . . . . .	647,850
Tractors given to Villagers. . . . .	1,491 units
Other Agricultural Machinery . . . . .	5,091 units
Loans Given to Farmers . . . . .	15,000,000,000 rials
Assistance Given for Land Cultivation . . . . .	1,163,278 hectares
Assistance Given for Harvesting . . . . .	144,944 hectares
Lands Cultivated by the <i>Jihad -e-</i> <i>Sazandegi</i> . . . . .	61,779 hectares
Tractors and other Machinery Repaired . . . . .	4,057 units

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TABLE 4

VETERINARY AND  
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY SERVICES

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Distribution of Domestic Animals to Villagers. . . . .	27,705 heads
Distribution of Fodder. . . . .	129,575 metric-tons
Vaccination of Domestic Animals. . . . .	13,226,957 heads
Treatment of Domestic Animals. . . . .	4,622,127 heads
Poultry Vaccination. . . . .	4,780,930 fowl
Sanitizing Stables . . . . .	49,919 units
Establishing Livestock and Poultry Centers. . . . .	424 centers

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**TABLE 5**  
**DEVELOPMENT PLANS**

Sort of Activities	Completed	Under Construction	Renovated
Schools	1,997	1,357	4,887 units
Masjids	484	294	1,429 units
Public Baths	1,469	844	1,888 units
Clinics	80	52	143 units
Mortuaries	367	135	187 units
Homes for Needy Villagers	1,934	377	2,990 units
Water Tanks	361	29	149 units
Sanitary Toilets	5,121	612	518 units
Engine Rooms	268	77	45 units
Plumbing in Villages	2,134	792	813 villages
Water Reservoirs	1,182	265	166 units
Electricity Supply to Villages	962	257	162 villages
Gravelled Roads	4,176 kms	2,643 kms	2,881 kms
Rural Roads	11,136 kms	3,151 kms	4,805 kms
The Total Construction of Roads	15,312 kms	5,794 kms	7,686 kms
Construction of Bridges	4,624	695	429 bridges

TABLE 6

## WATER IRRIGATION

Types of Activities	Completed	Under Construction	Renovated
Subterranean Canals	2,499 kms	1,405 kms	3,071 kms
Drainage	26,454 kms	64 kms	341 kms
Drilling Wells	1,085	67	616
Drilling Shallow Wells	1,967	79	228
Aqueduct systems	122	92	9,729
Mud Dams and Flood			
Plain Dikes	2,189	69	392
Agricultural Ponds	1,096	18	463

TABLE 7

## WAR-RELATED ACTIVITIES

Sorts of Activity	Numbers / Units
Construction of Battle Front Roads . . . . .	921 kms
Digging of Canals . . . . .	133 kms
Road Repairs and Control . . . . .	1,069 kms
Construction of Strongholds . . . . .	2,996 units
Construction of Military Airports . . . . .	8 fields
Construction and Repairs of Bridges . . . . .	115 bridges
Repairing Heavy Machinery . . . . .	1,651 units
Repairing Light Machinery . . . . .	3,872 units
Support of War Refugees . . . . .	100,000 persons
Erection of Refugee Camps . . . . .	2 camps
Making Heliport and helicopter hangars . . . . .	11 units
Building Field Baths . . . . .	10 units
Completing Hospitals . . . . .	6 units
Building Munition Depots . . . . .	98 units
Building Temporary Shelters . . . . .	4,210 units
Building Concrete Air Raid Shelters . . . . .	63 units
Building Piers . . . . .	2 piers
Building Field Hospitals . . . . .	2 units

**TABLE 8**  
**AID DISPATCHED**  
**TO THE WAR ZONES**

Sort	Quantity
Heavy Transport Vehicles . . . . .	564 units
Light Transport Vehicles. . . . .	1,275 units
Drugs . . . . .	1,238,144 packages
Food-stuff . . . . .	50,236 metric tons
Spare Parts. . . . .	91,759 pieces
Clothing and Cooking Utensils . . . . .	2,144,538 sets
Cash . . . . .	600,242,309 Rls.
Despatch of Livestock for use on the Fronts. . . . .	11,509 head
Despatch of Ambulances. . . . .	38 units
Despatch of Medical Teams . . . . .	63 groups
Volunteers . . . . .	1,638 persons

## 6 - MOBILIZATION ORGANIZATION

For a revolutionary country struggling against East and West there always exists the danger of coming under the attack of these same superpowers or their protege states or confrontation with the intrigue of their internal hirelings as the Islamic Revolution of Iran has faced up until now. Therefore, the people of such a country should always be prepared to counter any internal or external attack or intrigue. To keep the people in all cities and villages prepared and duly mobilize them during emergencies, the Mobilization Organization was established.

At first, the Mobilization Organization was an independent institution but at the end of the year 1980, after the ratification of the Islamic Consultative Assembly this organization merged with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps. Small units affiliated with the Organization were formed in all districts with their centers usually located in the masjids and factories. The Mobilization Organization has dispatched tens of thousands of volunteers to the fronts of the Iraqi-imposed war and has rendered valuable and effective services to the heroic Islamic forces. The existence of this organization, functioning as a support of the Revolution, has been very useful and effective during delicate situations.

## 7 - HOUSING FOUNDATION

One of the great problems which the Iranian nation inherited from the monarchial regime is that of housing. During the Pahlavi reign, especially in the last years of the Shah's rule, great efforts were made by those whose only mission was to render this country more dependent upon the colonial powers. They constructed western-style apartment complexes which were by no means suitable to the needs of the Iranian people from the geographical or cultural aspects. The situation of the people of the villages became worse every day. In some cases, they had no shelter, a primary need of every human

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being. In the cases where families had a home it would usually be so shaky and shabby that it could not withstand any natural catastrophe. Those whose business was housing were usually affiliated to the Shah's court, filling their pockets by such housing deals and flooding American and European banks with their loot. Consequently the middle and lower classes remained homeless and their poverty and deprivation aggravated day by day. Such an impoverished life can be observed in the south of Tehran just a short distance from the Shah's legendary palaces. In the same city, the women of the court and the regime's affiliates and plunderers took milk baths in luxurious tubs while people lived in pits and tents with the ground as their bed and the sky their canopy. It was under such circumstances that the Islamic Revolution triumphed and the country's new heads found themselves confronted with this problem along with piles of other problems. Imam Khomeini from the very first days of the victory exempted the workers and deprived stratum of the society from paying water and electricity bills. He also asked people to deposit money in a public bank account to help build homes for the deprived. Simultaneous with these measures, a new institution named "The Housing Foundation" was formed on Imam Khomeini's decree which would be responsible for providing housing for the deprived people. The revolutionary Iranian people warmly welcomed their Leader's proposal and deposited large sums in the account, paving the way for the Housing Foundation's activities.

The Housing Foundation has given houses to hundreds of thousands of oppressed families who were deprived of a decent home. This foundation from donations has erected suitable houses in cities, towns and villages and has given them to the truly needy people and the Muslims' public treasury. The number of families who were given houses in this way and with the help of the other institutions and organs of the Islamic Republic of Iran after the victory of the Revolution will be mentioned in Chapter

66, the Function of the Revolution in the Economic field.

#### 8 - THE MUSTAZ'AFIN FOUNDATION (The Foundation of the Oppressed)

The Shah and his unscrupulous associates built palaces for themselves at the expense of the Iranian people's labor and set up companies, factories, various trading, tourist and amusement centers and agricultural cooperative stores, accumulated exorbitant incomes to support their epicurean way of life and deposited the surplus in European and American banks for rainy days. On the victory of the Islamic Revolution these plunderers and usurpers fled and their possessions were confiscated and became public property. This property was such that processing them necessitated a separate agency or institution. The establishment of the Mustaz'afin Foundation was for the purpose of undertaking the supervision of this property confiscated from palaces, hotels, cinemas and citrus orchards and farms, companies, factories and even newspapers. In addition to this, the possessions of many capitalists were confiscated because of fraud and embezzlement.

The Mustaz'afin Foundation is responsible for protecting and managing confiscated property and companies and the respective income earned is spent by this Foundation for the benefit of the society's deprived and oppressed stratum. Upto now many of the abandoned buildings and also the confiscated buildings have been placed at the disposal of homeless families. Through the confiscation of property, distributing it among the oppressed and utilizing the income accumulated from this property for the welfare and cultural growth of the deprived, the Mustaz'afin Foundation gives valuable services to the society and the oppressed.

#### 9 - MARTYR FOUNDATION

For the purpose of attending to the families of the martyrs

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who had offered their lives to the Islamic Revolution of Iran and those who had become invalid in this way, the Martyr Foundation was formed on Imam Khomeini's decree. This foundation until the present time has been successful in serving the families of martyrs and the disabled under its auspices and has rendered valuable services to them. This Foundation publishes a magazine named "*Shaheed*" which is in fact a means to establish and keep cultural contact among the remaining relatives of the martyrs and the disabled.

Those families of martyrs and disabled who have financial needs enjoy the support of the Martyr Foundation.

#### 10 - LITERACY MOVEMENT

Despite widespread publicity which the Pahlavi regime made about its cultural and literacy drive, at its downfall the great majority of the Iranian people could not read. This great deprivation was due to the fact that the children of the courtiers and the members of the so-called aristocracy and those affiliated to the Shah's regime did not consider the schools and universities of Iran meritorious enough for them and went to European and American countries to study and wasted the budget which should otherwise be spent for the education of the deprived people. These members of the upper class would then return to Iran in the guise of the agents of the superpowers' intelligence agencies with the western culture imbued in their mind and body. They proceeded with the job of selling their homeland and metamorphosing their national and Islamic culture. Those who were assigned by the Shah's court to fool the people, through false reports and statistics continued their treacherous ways without any hindrance.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution the necessity to devise an intensive literacy program for all Iranians was imperative. Our people knew that whatever misfortune they had endured from the colonizers and their internal servants was



partially a result of illiteracy. In this respect and for the purpose of rooting out this cultural decay, on January 8, 1980, by Imam Khomeini's decree an agency by the name of "The Literacy Movement" was founded and has rendered valuable services since it began.

### **THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC SYSTEM**

The Islamic Republic is a system which does not conform to any of the governing systems now in existence, although there might be some similarities in a part of this system to some other governmental systems. The Islamic Republic is a popular system in as much as it is based on a parliamentary organization and follows the principle of the separation of the executive, judicial and legislative powers for the administration of the country. This system operates within the Islamic legal framework, so in addition to being a popular system it is also a divine government. Consequently, the Islamic Republic is the sovereignty of God over the people and the people over themselves, whereas in a republic which is not Islamic, the people govern people and there is no such thing as Divine sovereignty over the people.

Thus the difference between the Islamic Republic and the various existing democratic systems in the world is that in the non-Islamic democratic systems the principles of the government and the basic framework of the ruling system depend on the people's will as it is the people who determine the executive authorities and the form of government. In an Islamic Republic, the people's will only intervenes to determine the executive authorities and the form of the government but the principles of the system as well as its basic framework are based on Islamic canons and the divine orders. In an Islamic Republic it is the people themselves who adopt an Islamic system and freely vote for the establishment of such a system which is based on divine teachings and orders, just as the Iranian people voted once for the actual principle of an Islamic Republic and voted a second time for its constitutional law.

Thus in order to define the Islamic Republic system we should give the following definition: a system in which the divine governs the people according to the will of the people.

It is stipulated in the second article of the Islamic Republic of Iran that:

Article 2:

The Islamic Republic is a system based upon faith in the following:

1- Monotheism (as reflected in the phrase *There is no god but God*), His sovereignty and His legislation of the law solely belongs to Him and the necessity of surrender to His command.

2- The Divine Revelation and the basic foundation of it in expressing the laws.

3- The Resurrection and its constructive role in the evolution of human beings towards God.

4- Divine Justice in Creation and Divine Laws.

5- Imamate and the positive leadership and sensitive role of it in the continuity of the Islamic Revolution.

6- Dignity of the human being and the noble values of humanity which supercede human ones and free will together with the responsibility that goes with it before God which provides for establishment of justice, political, economic, social and cultural independence and national integrity through the following:

a) The continual practice of qualified jurists based upon the Quran (the Book), the Traditions of the Prophet and the Imams (peace be upon them all).

b) The use of science and technology and advanced human achievements and the efforts made towards development of the same in taking them forward.

c) Negation of all kinds of oppression and surrender to it, and the negation of tyranny and the acceptance of it.

There is yet another difference between the Islamic Republican system of government and other existing democratic governments in the world. In the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran the distinguishing factor is called "Velayat-e-Faqih". It means a system supervising the government for guaranteeing the conformity of its methods and function-

ing with Islamic precepts. The "Valie Faqih," who is responsible for this supervision, under the title of "Imam", is the completion of the divine dimension of the Islamic Republican system. Thus, the reciprocal relation between the Imam and the Umma (Velayat-e-Faqih and the people) produces the Umma-Imam system. We shall explain about "Velayat-e-Faqih" later in this chapter.

The point is that what exists in some countries under the name "Islamic Republic" has nothing to do with Islam. The difference between those governments and the Islamic Republic is the same as that of between Islam and false Western democracies. In Pakistan, Saudi Arabia or other countries the rulers boast to be in favor of an Islamic Republic or Islam, but their aim is to beguile people under the name of Islam and entrap them further in the maze of colonization and colonial culture. These regimes call themselves "Islamic" to show their purity and to justify their deeds. Under the title of "Islamic government" they continue their mercenary services to the East and the West. The Pahlavi regime similarly in the name of Islam and using all its might was busy with de-Islamization. The truth is that the Islamic Republic of Iran at present is the unique example of a true Islamic state to be found in the world.

## THE PILLARS OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC SYSTEM

As mentioned before, the Islamic system is based upon two pillars: the people's votes and God's law. For each of these bases there are jurisdictions and limitations.

### 1-People's Votes

The Islamic system is based on the people's vote, i.e. the people are free to choose this or any other system. During the Revolution, the slogans chanted by Iran's people showed that they appealed for an Islamic Republic. On the 10th and 11th of Farvardin, 1358 (April 22 and 24, 1979)

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i.e. 47 days after the Revolution's victory, people went to the ballot boxes. Of the 20,165,480 votes on the referendum, 98.2 percent were in favor of the change from the monarchial government to an Islamic Republican one. Once more, 170 days after the Revolution's victory a vote was taken for people to choose their deputies to the Assembly of Experts – the assembly for the compilation of the Constitution. Even though the Constitution compiled by these deputies was independently valid, it was put to vote on the 11th and 12th of Azar, 1358 (December 2 and 3, 1979) and 15,612,138 people voted in favor of it. Because of the violence caused by political groups in some areas, many people were not able to go to the ballot boxes and vote for the Constitution.

The deputies of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis) and the President are elected by the direct vote of the people. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet are chosen on the President's suggestion and with the Majlis' vote of approval - - in fact, by the indirect vote of the people. Representatives of councils of states, towns, cities, districts, villages, productive and industrial units are elected by the direct voting of the people. Article 100 of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Constitution states:

**With a view to a speedy implementation of the social, economic, development, health, culture and educational plans and other welfare programs with the cooperation of the people, due consideration of local needs, the management of the affairs in every rural district, city, town and province will be under the supervision of a council, called Village, District, City, Town or Provincial Council whose members will be elected by the people of the locality concerned.**

**The conditions relating to the qualifications of electors and candidates, as well as their duties and responsibilities, procedure of election and supervision over the said councils and the hierarchy shall be provided by law with due consideration of the principles of national unity and territorial integrity of the Islamic Republic of Iran and allegiance to the Central Government.**

Hence, the basic principle of the Islamic Republican system is the voting of the people, the active participation of the people. It is the citizens who with their free vote chose this

system, its Constitution and their deputies to the executive offices. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran emphasizes people's direct participation by providing for economic, political, social and cultural issues to be placed on a referendum . Article 59 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran states:

Where every important economic, political, social and cultural issues are concerned, the exercise of the legislative power could be effected through a referendum and direct referral to the votes of the people. The proposal for holding such referendums shall be approved by two thirds of the representatives of the Majlis.

The highest official position of this system, that is leadership, according to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, must be elected by the majority of the people. Article 5 of the Constitution states that:

During the time when the 12th Imam (may God expedite his appearance) is in occultation, in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the leadership of affairs and guidance of the people is the responsibility of a just and pious jurisprudent, aware of the time, courageous, with managerial ability whom the majority of the people know and accept to be their Leader. In case no single jurisprudent has such a majority, a Leadership Council consisting of jurisprudents meeting the above requirements will assume the same responsibility as specified under Article 107 of this law.

## 2- Islamic Precepts

Within the framework of the Islamic Republican system existent in Iran and accepted by the people, everything must be done according to Islamic precepts and laws. No law, or regulation can be proposed or implemented that is contrary to the precepts of the divine religion. This is the second pillar of the Islamic Republican system. Article 4 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran states:

All civil, penal, financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political, etc. laws and regulations should be based upon Islamic precepts. This article absolutely and universally governs all other articles of the Constitution as well as other rules and regulations to be decided upon at the discretion of the jurisprudents of the Guardian Council.

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When we look at 'Islamic Republic,' it consists of the two words: Islamic and Republic which indicate the requirement of the people's vote - Republic - and yet includes Islamic precepts. In other republics, political ideology and the school of thought function as the basis and form the nature of the government. In the Islamic Republic of Iran the nature of the government is based exclusively on divine precepts which are available to the people through the teachings of Islam. What we would like to emphasize is the superiority of the nature of the Islamic Republican form of government over that of other forms of government. This superiority can be shown by simple logical consideration, precluding long discussion. All those who believe in one God will admit that a government according to divine precepts is superior to one according to man-made laws and regulations. What poses a problem for some people is how a law pertaining to the human society of fourteen centuries ago can be useful to our modern and ever-changing needs of today and of the future. The answer is very simple. Islamic precepts are of two kinds: permanent (fixed) and changeable. The stationary precepts are those which are related to the humane nature of man. As human nature is essentially fixed, the nature of these precepts remains constant, unchanged throughout the centuries. The changeable precepts are those which alter according to the needs and necessities of man and various issues and problems encountered in human society. These changeable precepts are elucidated by Islamic Fuqaha, i.e. theological scholars according to the fundamental basis of the religious precedents, i.e. the Quran, Sunna [the traditions of the Prophet (ﷺ)], 'aql [reason], and Ijma' [consensus of the religious authorities]. The precepts of Islam, as the last and most complete divinely revealed religion, consider the true needs of mankind for all time with the aid of theological jurists. All problems and issues of the modern day are resolved. As the fuqaha are participants on the social scene, fresh directions and view points are given meeting the needs, issues and problems of the people on a day-to-day basis.

The nature of the Islamic Republican government, because of its divine source and on account of its harmony with human nature, one of God's creatures, is undoubtedly superior to that of every other form of government.

## STRUCTURE AND FORM OF ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

As observed from what is being implemented in Iran, the Islamic Republican form of government has some similarities and some differences with other republics of the world, as far as its form and structure are concerned. The country is organized on three powers of legislative, executive and judicial. In this it is similar to other governments. It is different from other governments in that there are some organizations in addition to the three powers which supervise the functioning of these three powers. These organizations form the major differences between the Islamic Republic of Iran and other governments of the world. These other organizations consist of: the Guardian Council of the Constitution, the Supreme Judicial Council and the Leadership or Velayat-e-Faqih.

### THE GUARDIAN COUNCIL OF THE CONSTITUTION

To supervise the acts of the Majlis, the Islamic Consultative Assembly and to guarantee its accordance with the Islamic precepts and laws and the Constitution, there is a council called "The Guardian Council of the Constitution" which is composed of six Faqihs and six lawyers. This Council is, in fact, the highest authority in the country that decides on acts and laws passed within the Islamic Republic of Iran. Article 91 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran states:

**With a view to ensuring that the decisions of the Assembly do not ignore Islamic precepts and the principles of the Constitution, a Guardian Council of the Constitution is to be set up consisting of:**

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1. Six qualified jurists who are well versed in Islamic jurisprudence and who are aware of the virtues and needs of the time. The appointment of such persons is the responsibility of the Leader or of the Leadership Council.

2. Six lawyers who are qualified in various branches of law from among Muslim jurists, who are introduced to the Assembly by the High Council of the Judiciary and whose nomination must be approved by the Assembly.

Some of the duties of the Guardian Council of the Constitution are the interpretation of the Constitution, supervision of Presidential elections, and the elections of the deputies to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the approval of the competence of the Presidential candidates. According to the 96th Article of the Constitution:

The decision as to whether legislation passed by the Assembly complies with Islamic precepts rests with the jurists of the Guardianship Council. As regards the question whether it complies with the Constitution or not, the majority of members of the Guardianship Council must debate in this regard.

#### THE SUPREME JUDICIAL COUNCIL

As we have mentioned in this chapter about the Revolutionary courts, the judicial system of Iran in the past was on the whole an instrument that rubber stamped the illegal acts of the Shah's government. There was no sign of Islamic justice or human equity in those courts. The administrators of that system were all tools of the Shah's government. Everything but Islamic precepts and criterion were considered. If perhaps there were Muslims and believers within the judicial system of the Shah, these were always unsupported, in fact, abandoned by the governing power and they were not able to do anything important. The judicial system remained virtually unchanged at the time of the culmination of the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The main defect of the system, that is, the absence of an Islamic spirit, has not been remedied. The Constitution, anticipating the situation, provided for a council called the Supreme Judicial Council which is the highest judicial rank and is responsible for the preparation of the



judicial organizations according to Islamic precepts. This Council consists of five members, all of whom should be just *mujtahids*, and two of them — the Chief of the Supreme Council and the Prosecutor General of the country — are chosen by the Leader or the leading council. The other three are elected by the judges. So the Supreme Judicial Council is the best and the most trustworthy authority to control the judicial system of Iran and transform it into a purely Islamic system. The Supreme Judicial Council, in spite of the obstructions and impediments placed in its path by those who were and still are not in agreement with the implementation of Islamic precepts within the judicial system of the country, has nonetheless managed to achieve many goals and has taken admirable steps to implement Islam within the judicial system of Iran. The first period of this Council lasts for five years from the approval of the Constitution. It is hoped that, by the end of this time, the country's judicial affairs be Islamic and our people feel complete judicial security under Islamic justice. In contrast, it must be pointed out that in the present governments of the world, there is no organization with the characteristics of Iran's Supreme Judicial Council. Such a body cannot be found even in other Islamic countries. It is solely the citizens of the Islamic Republic of Iran who enjoy the privilege of such judicial power.

#### **LEADERSHIP OR VELAYAT-E FAQIH**

The essential difference between existing republican governments in the world and the Islamic Republic is exemplified in Iran is in the type of leadership, i.e. Velayat-e-Faqih. As we mentioned in the beginning of the survey of the Islamic Republican system, this governmental form centers on the relationship between the Umma and Imam, that is the body of the believers and the social, political, cultural and religious leadership of the community. The system centers on these two basis: the vote of the people and Islamic precepts and divine laws. The guardians of the first basis

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are the people themselves, because it is the people who vote for the candidates to implement the laws and regulations and it is the people who consider the functioning of the authorities and their obligation according to the law, and directly or indirectly elect or depose them as they did their first President.

According to Article 110 of the Constitution, the President can be deposed by an act of the Supreme Court or by an act of the Islamic Consultative Assembly with the approval of the Leader, which is in fact by the indirect voting of the people. In the case of the first President, this was accomplished through the Assembly with the Leader's approval, on the 31st of Khordad, 1360 (June 21, 1981).

The second basis of this system, Islamic precepts and divine decrees, needs someone to supervise their enforcement. It should be someone who is trusted by the people, and secondly, is completely familiar with the divine decrees and the fundamentals of Islam to the level of Ijtihad (independent judgment in legal and theological questions). In addition to his familiarity with the situation of the time, he should, thirdly, have managerial ability and be capable of leading the country. These characteristics summarize those that are mentioned in Article 5 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic. So we see that the Leader or the Valie-e Faqih is one who supervises and correlates government policies with divine decrees and Islamic precepts. In this way, he is responsible for this concordance both before God and the people. In this way, he is responsible for this concordance before both God and the people.

In the Constitution it is explained in full how the Leader or the Leadership Council is chosen, what attributes he should have and what power and jurisdiction he has. Article 107 of the Constitution, concerning the choosing of the Leadership council, states:

Whenever any theologian meets the conditions set out in Article Five of this Constitution, and according to the majority of the people is recognized and accepted as the *marjale* and leader, as it was with the distinguished *marjale* and the Leader of the Revolution, the great Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. This leader has the sanctity of command and all responsibilities emanating therefrom. Otherwise, experts elected by the people will review and consult each other about the competency of all candidates for leadership. Whenever one is found to be above the others in all required qualities, that person will be introduced to the people as the leader. Otherwise three or five competent religious authorities who meet the conditions of leadership will be appointed to the post of Leadership Council and they will be introduced to the people.

Article 109 of the Constitution states the characteristics and attributes the Leader or the members of the Leadership Council should possess.

The qualification and characteristics of the Leader or members of the Leadership Council:

1. Eligibility as regards the scholarship and virtues essential for religious leadership and the issuing of religious decrees.
2. Political and social insight, courage, capability and sufficient management ability.

Article 110 of the Constitution states the Leader's responsibilities and powers.

The duties and responsibilities of leadership:

1. Nomination of the jurists of the Guardian Council.
2. Appointment of the highest judicial authority of the country.
3. In the capacity of commander-in-chief of the armed forces.
  - a. Appointment and dismissal of the Chief of the Joint Staff.
  - b. Appointment and dismissal of the chief commander of the Guards Corps of the Islamic Revolution.
  - c. Establishment of a Supreme National Defense Council consisting of seven members as follows:

1- The President

- 2- The Prime Minister
- 3- The Minister of Defense
- 4- Chief of the Joint Staff
- 5- Chief Commander of the Guards Corps of the Islamic Revolution.
- 6- And two advisers appointed by the Leader .

d. Appointment of the Senior Commanders of the three forces as proposed by the Supreme Defense Council.

e. Declaration of war and peace and mobilization of forces as proposed by the Supreme Defense Council.

4. Signing the credentials of the President after election by the people. The competence of the candidates for presidency as regards assuring the qualifications set forth in the present law should be confirmed by the Guardian Council before elections and in the first presidential term, by the Leader.

5. The dismissal of the President due to considerations of national interest after such decision has been issued by the Supreme Court verdict affirming the President's violation of official duties or the Assembly has voted for the political incompetence of the President.

6. Granting amnesty to the condemned or reducing their sentences within the framework of Islamic principles and the recommendation of the Supreme Court.

A Faqih is one who knows Islam and is expert in determining the contents of an Islamic system. His skill is associated with piety, political and social understanding, bravery and power and is concentrated in one or several persons. Undoubtedly that individual or group of persons are the best-suited to lead an Islamic country. Secondly, the Leader or the Leadership Council is equal before the law with all other people and citizens. Moreover, as high ranking authorities, they must be financially controlled by the judiciary system. Article 112 of the Constitution states:

The Leader or members of the Leadership Council are equal before the law with all other members of the nation.

The holding of the Leader or members of the Council of Leadership, the President, Prime Minister, Ministers, their spouses and children shall be examined by the Supreme Court before and after their service to assure that no holding have been illegally gathered.

In this connection Article 111 states:

**In case the Leader or any member of the Leadership Council should prove unable to carry out his official duties or should lose one of the qualifications set forth in Article one hundred and nine, that person will be removed from office. The determination of such incompetence is the responsibility of the experts mentioned in Article 108 and 109. Regulation for the meeting of the experts for consideration and execution of this Article shall be determined in the first session of the Assembly of Experts.**

Considering these three points and the grave responsibility that falls upon the Leader or the members of the Leadership Council by Article 110 of the Constitution, it is clear that Velayat-e-Faqih for those Fuqaha (plural of Faqih) assuming the responsibility is a grave task and not glittering bauble to be sought amid much noise. They have the greatest responsibility before God and the people. The presence of such Fuqaha in the armed forces and in the administration of the country guarantees the implementation of the ideology of Islam which is essential in this Islamic Republican system.

### **VIEWS OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLICAN SYSTEM**

What we mentioned about the Islamic Republican form of government up to now pertains exclusively to the governing of the country. Now we shall mention its attitude towards social, political, economic, cultural and military aspects.

### **ISLAMIC UNITY**

An Islamic system should be based upon the brotherhood, and unity of all Muslims of various sects. The colonizers have always tried to prevent Muslims from joining together, for this unity is incompatible with their interests. They know very well that if the Muslims of the world were to unite, they would form a force stronger than all the superpowers. It would then be impossible for the superpowers to exploit or dominate the Muslim masses. Thus with the aid of their publicity and propaganda systems and their intelligence agencies,

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the colonizers attempt to sow discord among the Muslims, especially between the Shi'ites and Sunnis. The Leaders of many superficially "Islamic governments," in order to preserve their own interests, aid the colonizers. The Islamic Revolution of Iran strives to put an end to these feudal struggles of the colonizers and to establish Islamic unity all over the world, among all the Muslims, fulfilling one of the true desires of the Muslims and one of the conditions for the establishment of a just Islamic rule in the world. In this respect, Article 11 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran states:

*In accordance with the Quranic verse, Surely this community of yours is one community, and I am your Lord, so serve Me, (21: 92), all Muslims are one nation and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is responsible that its total political policy be based upon the coalition and solidarity of the Islamic nations and to make continuous efforts to realize the political, economic and cultural unity of the world of Islam.*

Up to now the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been moving in the course of this progressive and Islamic principle and, God willing, how it has been doing this, will be looked at in this book.

## THE RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

Above all else Islam is a religion of mercy and compassion. The rights of the minorities are completely considered in Islam. No other religion has protected the minorities to such an extent. In the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran there are two articles concerning this idea, the first pertaining to formal religious minorities and the second pertaining to all non-Muslims. Article 13, stating the rights of the official religious minorities, says:

*Iranian Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians are the only recognized minority religious groups which within the law are free to perform their religious ceremonies. In personal matters and religious teaching, they may act in conformity with the dictates of their own religious laws.*

Another article pertaining to all non-Muslims, Article 14, states:

**National sovereignty, according to the Quranic verse, *God forbids you not, as regards those who have not fought you in religion's cause, nor expelled you from your habitations, that you should be kind to them and act justly towards them? Surely God loves the just.* (60: 8), the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and all Muslims are obliged to conduct themselves with moderation, justice, equity towards non-Muslims and should observe their human rights. The provisions of this article hold valid only for those who do not conspire or act against Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran.**

Since the culmination of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the religious minorities and non-Muslims have always been treated in accordance with this attitude. Their rights have been considered as Islam orders. However, some of them, due to their collaboration with international Zionism in committing treasonous acts against Islam or the nation of Iran were prosecuted in the Islamic Revolutionary courts and sentenced to death. This was also the case with Muslim criminals who had committed similar crimes. We therefore state that no discrimination was exercised on the basis of religious beliefs. The propaganda of the Zionist and other world oppressors attempted to convince the world that, in post-revolutionary Iran, trouble has been given to the religious minorities. However, the Islamic Revolution of Iran has threatened the interests of the Zionists and their collaborators and in order to confront this Revolution, they resorted to any ruse or deceit. Iran's religious minorities were under suppression as we other Iranians before the Revolution. After the victory of the Revolution liberty and many other personal freedoms came to be exercised by all Iranians, including the religious minorities. The members of these minorities themselves are quite satisfied with this. They elected some deputies to the Assembly of the Experts for the compilation of the Constitution who effectively participated in that Assembly. At present, the religious minorities have some deputies in the Islamic Consultative Assembly and they themselves state that they have never had such freedom to elect their representatives. The atmosphere of the elections has never been so free

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and tranquil. The situation concerning the minorities in Iran is quite different from that publicized abroad. These freedoms are incompatible with the colonizers' and their servants' interests, but very compatible with the righteous laws of the freedoms are incompatible with the colonizers and their servants' interests, but very compatible with those of the righteous laws of the Islamic Republic.

### NATIONALITY AND RIGHTS OF NATIONS

In Islam, race and clan are of no fundamental importance as the main criterion of human merit is piety. The Holy Quran says: *The best of you before God is the most pious.* In the Islamic Republic system, racism and non-divine influences such as valuing color and race and nation - another interpretation of which is nationalism - have no place. This does not mean that within an Islamic country, dialects, scripts or customs, as far as they do not violate Islamic precepts, are not recognized. According to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the official common language and script is Persian but the use of local dialects is common. Article 15 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran states:

**The official and common language and script of the people of Iran is Persian. All official correspondence, documents, texts, as well as textbooks, must be in this language and script, however, the use of local or tribal dialects is allowed along with the Persian language in publications and mass media and the instruction of their literature in schools.**

In the Islamic Republic, the ethnic characteristics of the various peoples are respected. There are no privileges or discriminations based on color, race or language. Every individual enjoys the same and equal rights.

In this respect Articles 19 and 20 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran state:



Every individual citizen of the nation, of whatever ethnic or tribal origin, color, race, language or like features will not be grounds for privilege and will have no preference.

Every individual citizen of the nation whether female or male, will have equal protection under the law and all human, political, economic, social and cultural rights will be based upon Islamic precepts.

It should be noted from the perspective of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Arabic, the language of the Quran, is the language having the second most importance in Iran. The beginning of the official calendar of the country is the Hijra (emigration) of the Prophet of Islam ( ) and the official weekly day of rest is Friday, since the history of this Islamic country is closely tied to the history of Islam. Articles 16 and 17 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran concerning these matters state:

As the language of the Quran is Arabic as well as being the language of the Islamic sciences and teachings and as the Persian language is completely mixed with it, this language must be taught in all classes and in all fields after elementary school until the end of intermediate school.

The official beginning of the history of the country begins with the emigration of the Prophet of Islam ( ). Both the solar and lunar calendars are valid, but the date to be used by the government is solar. The official weekly holiday is Friday.

From the above-mentioned points we see that Islam is not opposed to nationalism (patriotism), yet it does not consider it essential. Islam regards piety and virtue as basic. One of the weapons used by the enemies of the Revolution both inside the country and abroad is their claim that this Revolution is against nationalism. However, it is clear from the Constitution that this Revolution is not against nationalism but is opposed to nationalism as a basis for its legitimate existence.

## WOMEN'S RIGHTS

In addition to Article 20 of the Constitution, Every individual citizen of the nation, whether female or male, will

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have equal protection under the law and human, political, economic, social and cultural rights will be based upon Islamic precepts.

Article 21 defines more clearly the specific rights of women:

The government is obliged to guarantee women's rights according to Islamic criteria and provide for the following:

1. The establishment of favorable conditions for the fostering of the character of the woman and the assertion of her material and spiritual rights.
2. Support for mothers, in particular, when they are with child, child care and protection of children who are without a guardian.
3. The establishment of a competent court for the protection of the existence and continuance of the family.
4. The establishment of special insurance for widows, elderly and people without guardians.
5. The awarding of the guardianship of children to worthy mothers for the benefit of the children in cases where there is no legal guardian (according to Islamic law).

It is very important to note that women played a very important role in the course of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and they continue to do so.

There was a woman's representative to the Assembly of Experts and right now women representatives attend the Islamic Consultative Assembly. Iranian women actively participate in many social, cultural, political, economic and even military activities, fully observing Islamic teachings, and play an effective role in the development of the country and in achieving the goals of the Islamic Revolution.

## THE FREEDOMS

In an Islamic system, people are free to choose their jobs and homes, form political assemblies and political parties and are free to assert their opinion on the condition that these do not violate the independence of the country or Islamic laws. In this system, inquisition, persecution and censorship are

prohibited. The press is free to publish various articles as long as they do not violate Islamic laws. These points are clearly mentioned in Articles 22 to 28 of the Constitution:

**Respect, life, property, rights, housing and occupations of people are inviolable unless the law prescribes otherwise.**

**Inquisition is forbidden and no one may be penalized for the mere possession of a certain set of beliefs.**

**The press is free to express its ideas as long as these ideas do not violate the principles of Islam or public rights. Details will be provided by legislation.**

**The interception and inspection of mail, recording and revealing the contents of telephone conversations or telegraphic or telex messages, censorship, failure to transmit or deliver messages, evesdropping or espionage of any kind are prohibited except as dictated by law.**

**The people shall be free to establish religious, political and professional parties, associations and Islamic societies or societies of recognized religious minorities provided that association is not inimical to the principles of the independence, liberty, sovereignty, national unity, Islamic precepts or foundation of the Islamic Republic. Individuals are free to participate in such groups. No one may be prevented from participating or forced to participate in such groups.**

**Individuals shall be free to organize peaceful, unarmed assemblies and demonstrations, unless they are injurious to Islamic principles.**

**Every person has the right to pursue the occupation of his or her choice, insofar as this is not contrary to Islam, the public interest or the rights of others. The government is obliged to meet the needs of society for various occupations by providing equal possibilities for all individuals to have equal job opportunities as well as equal possibilities for all to choose their own profession.**

Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution, individuals, groups and societies have had more freedom than is guaranteed by these articles, so much so that in many cases their freedom was inconsistent with that of others and the principles of independence and Islam. Nonetheless, the media of the world-devourers distorts the truth and tries to portray present-day Iran as a country of repression to the people of the world. This is only what is to be expected from those who cannot bear the loss of their interests.

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## FOREIGN POLICY

One of the continually chanted slogans of the Iranian people in the course of the Revolution was and is "Neither East nor West, Islamic Republic!" This slogan outlines the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. The negation of any domination, either from the East or the West, in the political, economic or cultural fields is the basic principle of the foreign policy of Islam, just as the imposition of domination is negated in the foreign policy of Islam. At the same time, helping the deprived nations and cooperating with the liberation movements in their struggles for truth and justice are considered a divine and Islamic obligation included in the context of the foreign policy of an Islamic system.

In the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, these points, the foundation of the foreign policy of the Islamic government, are stated in Articles 152, 153 and 154 of the Constitution as follows:

**The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on the negation of all forms of domination or submission thereto, the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of the country, the defense of the rights of all Muslims, non-alignment before dominating powers and mutual peaceful relations with non-aggressive states.**

**No contract is to be concluded involving foreign domination over the natural or economic resources, the culture, the army or other domains of the Iranian nation.**

**The Islamic Republic of Iran aspires for the prosperity of man in the whole human society and recognizes independence, liberty and the rule of justice and truth as rights for all people of the world. Hence, while refraining from any kind of intervention in other nations' internal affairs, the Islamic Republic of Iran supports the truth-seeking struggles of the oppressed against the oppressors in every part of the world.**

## ECONOMIC POLICY

At present, the world is economically divided into two blocs, capitalism and socialism. Socialism however, is a sort of capitalism, which although it is not based on the

exploitation of a man by another, is based on the exploitation of the nation by the government or the ruling group. Essentially therefore, there is no difference between these two systems as both systems are based upon exploitation.

The Islamic economy denies both of these systems and selects a different way. In the Islamic economy, private ownership is respected. Certain limits are placed on ownership which prevents the economy from turning into a capitalistic economy. In Islam, exploitation in any of its various forms is forbidden.

Uncultivated lands, mineral resources, seas, jungles, forests and mountain ranges are part of the common wealth of the Muslims and are justly divided between those who are in need of them and those who are able to cultivate or derive benefit from them. Article 44 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran explains the economic system of the Islamic Republic of Iran as follows:

**The economic system of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based upon three sectors: Public, cooperative and private.**

Article 47 of the Constitution says:

**Private ownership established through legitimate means is respected. The relevant criteria shall be determined by law.**

The public sector controls all big industries, basic industries, foreign trade, large mines, banks, insurance companies, power supply, dams and major water canals, the sewage system, radio and television, postal and telecommunication systems, aviation and navigation, roads and railroads, etc, on behalf of public ownership.

The cooperative section controls the production and distribution institutions and companies which are formed according to Islamic principles, both in rural and urban areas.

The private sector controls agriculture, animal husbandry,

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industry, commerce and services which are complementary to the economic activities of the government.

Ownership in these sectors is allowed as far as it is in accordance with the other articles of this chapter. As long as it does not exceed the limits of Islamic law, aids in the economic growth and development of the country and causes no damage to the society, ownership is protected by the laws of the Islamic Republic. About natural resources and national wealth, Article 45 of the Constitution states:

**Natural resources and national wealth such as waste lands or deserted lands, mines, seas, lakes, reed beds, natural woods, virgin land and pastures are part of the public domain. Heirless property and property of unknown ownership and public property restored from usurpers are in the possession of the Islamic government which will determine the best way to utilize them in the interests of the nation. Details and manner of usage will be determined by law.**

Concerning the restitution of the property of the deprived people of the society which was plundered by the past mercenary regime, Article 49 of the Constitution abolishes all forms of exploitation, saying:

**The government is required to confiscate all wealth acquired as a result of usury, usurpation, bribery, misappropriation of public funds, theft, gambling, the misappropriation of endowments, public contracts and transactions, the sale of waste lands and natural resources, centers of corruption and other illicit practices and should return such wealth to its proper owner. In cases where the owner is unknown, the money should be handed over to the public treasury. These actions should only be carried out after proper investigation by the government and the verification of evidence based upon Divine Law.**

In Islam, contrary to the materialist's ideology and system, economy is a means and not an end and should be used to prepare for growth and evolution. The government of the Islamic Republic is obliged by Article 43 to provide the necessary means to meet the principal needs of the people of Iran, such as housing, food, clothing, hygiene, medical treatment, education, marriage and jobs in a way which does not result in the concentration of wealth either in the hands of specific groups or the government as the employer.

## CULTURE, EDUCATION, ARTS

Islam places great emphasis on the culture of man and his education. The growth and knowledge of the people of any society guarantee the independence of that society. The continuous endeavors of the world devourers to eradicate Islam in Iran and other Islamic countries, stripping the local cultures from countries under colonization, and replacing them with a colonial culture are prompted by this fact. The colonizers know that the first way to make a society dependent is to take away its cultural identity. Destruction of cultural independence is the point of the wedge that destroys political, economic and military independence. During the past century the colonizers have tried to impose their own intellectual framework upon nations under colonization, causing the nations to imitate the colonizers' food, clothing, architecture, educational programs, art and even sports in order to separate them from their own nature and culture. The colonizers have used this vacuum created upon the destruction of the original culture to insert their own political, economic and military independence and make a nation dependent on the colonizers.

Iran is among those countries which have been subjected to the most severe and intensive invasions destructive to culture. Colonizers aided by their internal agents endeavored to mold Iran to fit western culture. As a result of this force, a cultural revolution erupted. Such a revolution was contained within the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Principally, the Islamic Revolution was carried out as a result of a great intellectual change by the people. In view of the fact that Islamic culture is based upon the knowledge of God and achieving knowledge under divine guidance, the Islamic Republic system's cultural policy and education is based on scientific knowledge of nature and utilizing it. Materialistic culture tried to turn science and knowledge into a veil between the nature of man and his God.

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Human relationships should be such that they allow man to approach Divine perfection. Muslims should, besides striving to understand the physical world upon this basis and improve human knowledge and perfect human thoughts, make use of the scientific, cultural and artistic creations of others and to share their own achievements in the same fields. Art and sports, too, should be cultivated for the spiritual ascent of man just like science. As man's achievements in science help him in dealing with nature, man's artistic and physical accomplishments should also contribute to his evolution and perfection. Man must not become a tool at their service.

Art is one of the most magnificent manifestations of man's wishes, his ideals, struggle, agony and suffering or love. As long as art does not enter the market place, it is greatly honored in all its forms. Art is an honest language for the expression of hidden thoughts and sentiments of the artist and a reflection of the effects of his surroundings on his sensitive and delicate spirit, mingled with what his imagination conveys.

Art in all its forms meets man's need and the most magnificent of arts is that which is closely connected with the spiritual needs of man. Man's inherent need to seek a Godly society, truth, justice and freedom and to fight against economic, social and spiritual deprivation since the dawn of history and his incessant struggles against the evils of the earth, is at the apex of his spiritual needs; the art which arises from this is the most magnificent of all.

A Revolution, especially the Islamic Revolution of Iran which adheres to the cause of the deprived and the wretched is itself a great artistic achievement of awakened human beings and other arts are evolving from this. Revolutionary prose and poems, songs and ballads, revolutionary epics of bravery, abstract art, revolutionary plays and artists are all products of the Revolution, working for its success while simultaneously being nourished and motivated by it.



Our revolutionary community appreciates the artistic and creative power of the Islamic Revolution which has especially been promoted during the last year and we are obliged to prepare the means to improve and extend this creative power. Radio, television, cinemas, theaters and art exhibitions are various ways of presenting art which can be adapted to true Islamic and revolutionary art. In an Islamic society there should be no place for banal aristocratic, monarchical or pornographic art or for art inspired by other ideologies.

In the Islamic Revolutionary community, all art should be utilized correctly. This is not too easy a task to accomplish. The artists are to deliver the sacred message of the Islamic Revolution to each rational being all over the world in various forms. In the Islamic Republic system, the government is obliged to prepare free educational facilities for the cultivation of art and culture and to prepare the ground for the development of talents. Article 30 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran states:

**The government is duty bound to prepare free educational facilities for all people upon graduation from high-school. Higher education should be made available to all aspirants as the self-sufficiency of the country prescribes.**

## MILITARY POLICY

In Islam, the existence of the army is essential to preserve the Islamic government and defend the Muslims. The formation and arming of the military forces should always be in conjunction with faith in God and the observance of ideological criteria. The army and military forces in an Islamic system in addition to maintaining the rulership of the system must undertake the task of jihad (holy war) in the path of God and the duty to spread God's word and Divine sovereignty all over the world. This is the mission assigned to the army of Islam by the holy Quran. The 60th verse of Surah Infal says *Prepare yourself for fighting with your enemies and mobilize people to frighten the enemies of God and of yours.*

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The Islamic army should not be dominated by foreigners. It should consist of faithful and devoted persons and must seek to achieve the goals of Islam. Articles 45 and 46 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran say:

**No foreigner will be accepted into the Army or reinforcement forces of the country.**

**Any installation of foreign military bases inside the country even for peaceful purposes is banned.**

As the Islamic Revolution of Iran became victorious, all the foreign elements who at that time had the Iranian Army in their hands were dismissed and all U.S. military bases in Iran were shut down. Right now the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with full independence are striving to develop their ideological foundations, and are carrying out their mission of defending the territorial integrity and independence of the country to preserve the Islamic system.

## FUNCTIONS

In this chapter, the functions of the Islamic Republic after its victory will be briefly discussed. During this time many difficulties have been faced and some glorious moments have occurred which are quite natural for every revolution. But contrary to other revolutions which usually are either against one superpower or backed by the other, or after their victory become satellites, the Islamic Revolution of Iran has not been attracted to any of the superpowers either during the Revolution or after its victory. In fact, it has always been fighting with both of them and with their agents. For this reason there has barely been sufficient time for the revolutionary forces to involve themselves in construction or even reconstruction of the country. This was aggravated by many internal and foreign plots and misguided trends which pretended to be Islamic and revolutionary (as that of Banisadr) which were obstacles in the path of the continuous success of this Revolution.

In spite of these and all other difficulties that shall be discussed in the next chapter, the Islamic Revolution of Iran due to its divine nature and popular support during this short period had achieved great developments in the construction of the country and in cutting of its ties with colonial powers in various political, cultural, economic, military and other dimensions. Considering the difficulties and obstacles caused by the constant plotting of the superpowers and their internal agents, this Revolution is unique in the history of revolutions that it can provide an invaluable experience for all the oppressed nations who want to rise as inspired by the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

### THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL

Because the Islamic Revolutionary Council was the first organization formed at the outset of the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, getting to know its weaknesses and strengths is useful.

The Islamic Revolutionary Council was formed three months before the victory of the Revolution. On January 11, 1979 when Imam Khomeini was still in Paris, he declared the formation of this Council in a communique addressed to the Iranian nation. In a part of this announcement he said:

“A council called the Islamic Revolutionary Council consisting of competent committed Muslims and trusted persons is temporarily appointed and will immediately begin functioning. Among its tasks are studying and considering the conditions and preparing the grounds for the establishment of a transitional government and studying the conditions for the formation of the Assembly of Experts and that of elections.”

The nucleus of the Council was formed by five combatant clergymen, Messrs. Mutahari, Beheshti, Hashemi Rafsanjani, Musavi Ardebili and Bahonar. Shortly afterwards three other clergymen joined the Council. They were Messrs. Taleqani,

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Khamenei and Mahdavi Kani. Later seven non-clergymen who had performed revolutionary services and most of whom were members of the National Front were gradually added to the Council.

This first stage of the life of the Revolutionary Council which lasted for three months was devoted to how to continue the struggle to achieve victory. This Council whose members were inside Iran was in fact the direct advisor of the Imam. On the Imam's return from Paris, three other persons who were abroad at that time and were all non-clergy were asked to join the Revolutionary Council. This happened a few days before the formation of the Provisional Government which was the beginning of the second stage of the life of the Islamic Revolutionary Council.

In this stage the Revolutionary Council was operating as the legislative power and the Provisional Government as the executive power, the government was bound to submit its bills to the Council for ratification, and for its ministers the Provisional Government was to seek approval of the Council and then the Imam's approval. But the Provisional Government didn't act this way, didn't consult with the Council, didn't seek their approval for the administrators, deputy ministers, governors-general or Army commanders. In these dimensions they acted independently. Some of the members resigned from the Revolutionary Council in order to take positions in the Provisional Government.

Nearly five months after the formation of the Provisional Government, due to differences between it and the Revolutionary Council on revolutionary organizations such as Committees, Revolutionary Tribunals and the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, the third stage of the Revolutionary Council's life began. These different viewpoints originated from the incompatibility of the thoughts of the members of the Provisional Government, who were mostly members of the National Front, with the revolutionary forces and the

majority of the members of the Revolutionary Council. The revolutionary organizations demanded decisive measures be taken against the counterrevolutionaries. They also demanded a confrontation with the heads of governmental departments. The clergymen in the Revolutionary Council agreed; however, the Provisional Government, due to the reformistic attitude characteristic of the National Front, could not adapt itself to these ideas.

The Provisional Government branded these actions of the revolutionary organizations as "multiplicity of power centers" considering them nuisance to its own programs and functions. Mr. Bazargan, via radio and television, staged a publicity campaign against the revolutionary organizations and the Revolutionary Council, virtually obstructing their intentions. To solve the dilemma, the Provisional Government suggested that five members of the Revolutionary Council join the government as ministers or deputy ministers with the right of veto at each Cabinet meeting, and in return five persons from the government participate in the Revolutionary Council sessions with the same right. This solution made official the direct intervention of the Provisional Government in the Revolutionary Council, drawing the Council into the problems and inefficiency of the Provisional Government, resulting in a weakened Revolutionary Council.

The fourth stage of the function of the Revolutionary Council began at the downfall of the Provisional Government on November 6, 1979. The main reason for its downfall was the incompatibility of the Provisional Government's attitude sought a reform and not a revolution. Hence, this the Liberation Movement due to its western and liberal attitude sought a reform and not a revolution. Hence this government couldn't cope with the revolutionary organizations which were deeply rooted inside the community and the Revolution. Furthermore, the Provisional Government in its foreign policy and its stances regarding revolutionary countries and liberation fronts followed a non-revolution-

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ary policy and even opposed the Revolution's policy! If during its rule, the Provisional Government took measures such as the breaking-off of relations with Egypt, Israel and South Africa and stopping oil export to the two latter countries, it was merely because of the direct intervention of the Imam and the pressure exerted by the Imam and the Revolutionary Council. Therefore it was natural for the people of Iran and especially the youth and the students to be vigorously dissatisfied and seek a solution. The revolutionary action carried out by the Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line for occupying the American government's espionage center clearly showed the intellectual incompatibility between the Provisional Government and the revolutionary forces. It was this very same move which made the Provisional Government resign.

After the resignation of the Provisional Government the Revolutionary Council was ordered to directly form a temporary government. In this stage the Revolutionary Council had both the legislative and executive power. Unfortunately at this stage, the composition of the Council was such that the presence of some members of the Provisional Government, conciliators and pro-western elements, gained the majority and prevented the Revolutionary Council for carrying out its mission. Banisadr, for instance, was appointed President of the Revolutionary Council after he was elected President of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The attitude of the Liberation Movement is the source of Banisadr's inability to remain as president. The people endeavored from the time the Revolutionary Council ceased to exist to have a decisive, popular, western-opposed government which they accomplished through the appointment of Rajaie's Cabinet. The incompatibility of the Liberation Movement's attitude with the process of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, whose main forces are the masses of people believing in true Islam and are disgusted with western or eastern inclinations has resulted in many clashes.

The Revolutionary Council despite being confronted with such a great obstacle as the reformistic and western-inclined attitudes, gave valuable services to the Islamic Revolution of Iran. This Council from its inception to the time when the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis) began work (fifteen months) passed and approved more than nine hundred bills and plans, the most important of which were those cancelling contracts with the colonial powers.

### FUNCTION OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of every country is carried out through the Foreign Ministry. The Foreign Ministry of Iran during the period of the Pahlavi rule was the gathering center of American affiliates, freemasons and SAVAK agents, although a few unaffiliated individuals were also engaged there.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the nationalists and the western liberals who weren't in concordance with the nature of the Islamic Revolution of Iran tried to preempt the function of this Ministry which plays an important role in presenting the Revolution to the people of the world and in arranging the political ties of Iran with other countries. Therefore, for two years and two months after the Revolution, this Ministry was in the hands of four Ministers who were either nationalists or western liberals. It is natural that such ministers didn't make the changes and transformations which are necessary for a Revolution of an Islamic nature, either in the Ministry itself or the embassies of Iran abroad. Consequently, the channel for carrying out the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran could not possibly have been a strong one. In addition, many of the Ministry's employees, ambassadors, charge d'affaires and employees at Iran's representative offices abroad placed obstacles in the way of the Revolution. This situation remained until very recently. For a correct and timely exertion of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it was necessary for a purge to be carried

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out both in the Ministry and embassies abroad. This has been done to a certain extent but this purge should be continued. Even those who received their assignments after the Revolution and during the period of the four Foreign Ministers (Sanjabi, Ghotbzadeh, Banisadr, Yazdi) should be included in this purge and replaced by individuals dedicated to the genuine line of the Revolution.

Although this channel for the exertion of the foreign policy of the Islamic Revolution has not been proportional to the spirit of the Revolution, the popular force of the Revolution and the extraordinary influence of our leadership has completely overshadowed every other influence and set all forces in motion in accordance with the Revolution. Some basic and effective changes have been made up to now in respect to the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, some of the most important of which we will mention briefly:

On March 27, 1979, Iran withdrew from the CENTO which resulted in the liquidation of that treaty.

On May 1, 1979, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran condemned Sadat's regime in Egypt which established ties with the Zionist occupier regime of Quds and made a pact with it. Iran severed its ties with Egypt.

On May 13, 1979, with the approval of the Revolutionary Council, the Islamic Republic of Iran abolished the disgraceful extraterritoriality agreement which was concluded between the ex-Shah and the U.S.

On November 3, 1979, the colonizing agreement of 1959 between Iran and America was repealed by the Revolutionary Council.

On November 4, 1979, the American Embassy (Spy Nest) in Tehran was taken over by Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line and the spies who were busy plotting against the



Islamic Revolution of Iran were taken hostage by the Iranian nation.

On November 11, 1979, Iran became a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries.

On December 15, 1979, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran officially severed ties with the Moroccan regime which is one of America's affiliates.

On July 1, 1980, the first secretary of the Russian Embassy in Iran was expelled from Iran for espionage.

On July 15 1980, following the repeated threats of America against Iran over the "spy" hostages, Iran officially severed her ties with America.

On August 16, 1980, following the closure of the Iranian Consulate in Leningrad, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran asked the Soviet Union to close one of her two consulates located in Isfahan and Rasht. Thus, the Soviet Consulate in Rasht was closed.

On August 16, 1980, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran declared that it would break ties with every country that submitted to the Zionists, and transferred its embassy to Jerusalem.

On August 19, 1981, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran severed ties with the Chilean regime.

In addition to all these, the Islamic Revolution of Iran gives effective help to the world liberation movements, especially the Islamic movements such as the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the Islamic movements of Afghanistan which are fighting against the aggressor regime of U.S.S.R., the Moro Liberation Front of the South Philippines, the Fatani Liberation Front and other Muslim mujahids who are

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fighting against their western or eastern affiliated regimes. The government of Iran has placed many facilities at the disposal of the representatives of these movements in Iran which has helped their struggle. In those very first days of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the representative office of the Zionist occupier regime of Quds in Tehran, which was the medium of the contact of that regime with the government of the treacherous Shah on economic, political and cultural matters, was handed over to the representatives of the PLO by the revolutionary forces.

The Iranian Government and people have given vast military and financial aid to their Lebanese and Afghan brothers in their struggle against the Zionist occupiers and eastern Imperialist aggressors.

In the field of gas and oil, the function of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in face of the occupier, aggressor and protege regimes has been very interesting. In the past, the Shah's government had good political and economic ties with all installed and aggressor regimes and used to collaborate with them against the oppressed nations. Among these governments were the occupier regime of Quds, the installed regime of the Philippines, the racist regime of South Africa and the two criminal superpowers of America and the Soviet Union. The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran immediately after the victory of the Revolution made a review of its political and economic relations with those regimes and stopped selling oil to Israel, South Africa, the Philippines and the U.S.A. and refrained from selling oil and natural gas to the Soviet Union which was not willing to pay a fair price.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, based upon the "Neither East nor West" policy until the present has negated any foreign domination and has made great efforts to unite and befriend the governments who follow the same policy and help the deprived and oppressed nations.

## THE REVOLUTION'S FUNCTION ON THE DOMESTIC LEVEL

If we should look for a miracle after the Islamic Revolution of Iran, which itself is the greatest miracle of this century, we would undoubtedly find it in the way this Revolution has functioned on the domestic level. The Islamic Revolution of Iran was itself a miracle but its function is a much greater miracle. Post-revolution Iran was a house whose doors were open to all. The Provisional Government had its own policy and the people who revolted had another. Counterrevolutionaries freely did and said whatever they wanted. The Provisional Government because of its incompatibility with the nature of the Revolution not only wasn't willing to accept the decisiveness of the Revolutionary Tribunals, Committees and the Revolutionary forces, but even by accepting such individuals as Amir Entezam (the spokesman for the Provisional Government who was tried and sentenced to life imprisonment for spying for America) did not prevent the counterrevolutionaries, affiliates of the Pahlavi regime, foreign lackeys and spies from escaping. In fact, it placed hindrances in the way of the disciplinary forces controlled by the revolutionary forces and even impeded the measures taken by the Revolutionary Council.

This situation continued after Baniadr became President. He was placed in the orbit of counterrevolutionaries and offered an opportunity to all the forces who were not in agreement with the Islamic nature of this Revolution, even those who demanded the return of the superpowers to Iran and those who desired an un-Islamic government instead of this Islamic government to use all their might to overthrow the Islamic Republic system and inflict the worst blows upon the Revolution. Amid all these, the foreign enemies of the Revolution and particularly the U.S. without any need to directly intervene, carried out all kinds of conspiracies against the Islamic Revolution through this very unholy allegiance and by the tongue and pen of Baniadr. Using the

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accusations made by him and spreading these through their propaganda trumpets, they tried to defame this Revolution.

In such an atmosphere the western or eastern affiliated groups on the pretext of supporting the president and even before Banisadr came to office, on the pretext of protecting the people started agitations throughout Iran and attacked the defenseless people of Kurdistan and other parts of Iran forcing them to submit to their demands and maxims. If the people refused, they would kill them and claim that they were "protecting" the rights of the people! When the government took action in order to put an end to this chaos and the courts showed resoluteness, the masters of these groups broadcast to the world that there was no freedom in Iran. The Zionists and world oppressors put a minor incident related to their mercenary groups under a powerful microscope and magnified it a hundred times for the people of the world. However, there was never any mention of the marches of millions of people in support of the Revolution and its leader in their true dimensions. This situation continues.

Unlike other world revolutions which usually run the country for years through a revolutionary council and are not willing to allow the people's vote for the establishment of a new order and the writing of its constitution, the managers of the Islamic Revolution of Iran only 47 days after the victory of the Revolution placed a referendum before the public for the establishment of a new order. Moreover, 170 days after the victory of the Revolution they held an election for deputies to the Assembly of Experts for drafting the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Four months later they set forth the New Constitution to be voted on by the whole nation. Then came the Presidency and Islamic Consultative Assembly elections, those establishing the referendary system in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Two referendums (one to abolish the monarchical regime and establish the Islamic Republic and one for the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran referendums) and four elections

(the Assembly of Experts, Consultative Assembly, Presidency, the Consultative Assembly's first stage and second stage elections) were successfully launched within a year and a half of the victory of the Revolution despite successive internal and foreign conspiracies. After a year and a half, the Revolutionary Council was dissolved and the management of the country was entrusted to deputies elected by the people. At present, the Islamic Republic of Iran is managed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly and a government approved by the Assembly, the first being elected by the direct vote of the people and the second indirectly chosen by them for performing the legislative and executive duties. The members of the Supreme Judicial Council are chosen by the leader and the state judges.

The Islamic Consultative Assembly is currently made up of 216 deputies (1) of whom 98 are clergy (45.4%). Of the 118 laymen, (54.6%) 16 are physicians, 11 are mathematicians, 42 are physical and social science graduates. Of the deputies, 69 were born into village families, 19 into working class families, 51 into business families, 69 into clergy families, and the rest are individuals whose fathers are either doctors, teachers or government employees. Among the clergy members there are also some Mujtahids.

The general policy of the Islamic Republic, from the constitutional point of view is based upon freedom of speech and opinion, the establishment of political parties and societies and the publication of newspapers, on the condition that the fundamental principles of Islam and the freedom of others not be affected. However, for a period of two and a half years after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, this freedom in the society was not regulated or controlled and many individuals, groups and parties, either vocally through the press or by armed action, did whatever they desired. The

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1- The total number of the deputies who could be elected is 270. This is in the first round of the Assembly's election. However, in a number of the electoral areas no elections were held on account of the war. Now that elections have been held in most parts not many differences have occurred in the Assembly's composition.

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State administrators refrained from making restrictions except in cases where the basis of the Islamic Republican system might be jeopardized, because up until now no specific law had been enacted and accepted in the Islamic Consultative Assembly concerning such matters. In the future the limits of freedom will be clarified by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

### THE FUNCTION OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE CULTURAL FIELD

As we have already mentioned a few times in this book, the most suitable way which the colonizers knew for the continuation of colonization, to gain a foot hold in the Islamic countries including Iran was the metamorphosis of the Islamic culture and the propagation of the colonial culture in the society. The western culture had wheedled its way into universities and academic centers of Iran more than it had into the families. On account of their profound religious beliefs the Iranian people would not accept western culture. It was only the privileged and the promoters of the culture who plunged into the swamp called "western" and were totally metamorphosed; their lives became separate from the lives of the other people who formed the decisive majority of the nation.

The Islamic Revolution of Iran gained victory on account of that decisive majority that refused to accept the western culture. They had a meager presence in the universities and cultural centers of the country. There were some professors of this class in the country's scientific centers but, due to their attacks on the Shah's rule, they were continually imprisoned, or had their pink slips issued. Even if they were allowed to remain in those centers, they were prevented from holding key posts within the country's cultural apparatus. The main functionaries of the universities and the country's scientific centers were generally members of SAVAK, freemasons and the major powers' intelligence organizations. The educational system of the country was totally dependent on the West since

the subjects taught were nothing more than western imports. A large budget was distributed among the affiliates and devotees of the Pahlavi regime for scholarships, to enable them to study at scientific centers of the colonizing countries. The art centers of the country, such as the theaters, cinemas, and museums were all in the hands of the western and eastern affiliated and were channels for transference and promotion of the undisciplined life of the material world; a world which considers man a machine and knows no other mission for him other than hedonism, sex, frivolity and nihilism. Art, during the Pahlavi era, was drawn into banality and included everything except humanistic art.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, many of the western-affiliated professors and mercenary devotees were fired; the scholarships were cut and art was prevented from becoming more vulgar. Nevertheless, the universities and the scientific centers of Iran still remained as conduits for the transference and promotion of the inhumane culture of the West. Moreover, because the Provisional Government paid very little attention to university problems, these centers gradually turned into offices for the western and eastern affiliated political groups; these groups even used the printing facilities of the universities for printing and reproducing their political communiques. The rooms in the scientific centers were converted into depots where weapons, military equipment and communication instruments were kept. It was from these centers that the intrigues in Kurdistan and other parts of the country were directed in accordance with the orders of America and the other superpowers.

It was under such circumstances that the faithful Muslim students committed to the Islamic Revolution who constituted a decisive majority of the students of the country felt, that the universities should be closed in order to protect the Cultural Revolution. They thought that it would be better to continue their studies only after a plan for the country's educational system based upon Islamic culture was drawn up.

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This proposal which was submitted to the Revolutionary Council in the second half of 1980 was ratified. It was ruled that the universities and scientific centers should be closed until further notice. During the course of the evacuation of these centers, the groups resisted, using the weapons which they had stashed away there, so the people themselves intervened. Despite several casualties the people finally succeeded in purging the universities of these agents of the superpowers who wanted the Iranian culture to remain as a dependent culture.

In June 1980, Imam Khomeini, the leader of the Revolution, assigned a board to guide the Cultural Revolution in establishing an educational system based upon Islamic teachings, the prerequisites of the Revolution and the present society. This board, with the cooperation of the professors and students committed to the Revolution made great effort to achieve this goal. Instead of dependent and incapable minds, the aim of Islamic-based educational institutions should be to produce liberal-minded and committed Muslim thinkers and scientists to serve the people.

During the time which has elapsed since the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, measures have been taken in the field of high school education which have guided pupils toward Islamic education and culture. The false, misleading ideas of the colonizers has been omitted from the school books; now books based upon correct and useful information have been printed. Islamic teachings and revolutionary issues are now included in educational texts. Great efforts were made to create more educational centers, the result being that in the first two years of the Revolution, the number of schools built was equivalent to one-third of the schools set up throughout the whole of Iran's educational history. What is more important, though, is that most of these schools have been set up in the villages, the aim being to increase literacy among our village brothers.



With regard to writing, publications and printing of books and papers, Iran has made remarkable progress since the victory of the Revolution. In the summer of 1980, 184 new publications were printed in Iran, with 105 being from Tehran. This figure does not include the bulletins or publications of the various organizations and government agencies. The amount of books published in various fields, particularly on revolutionary and ideological issues, has greatly increased, so has the number of readers, especially among the youth. The number of the classes in the cities and especially the villages for the teaching of revolutionary and ideological issues has been remarkable; this can be observed in the statistics presented by the Reconstruction Crusade. These measures and movements on the whole have given effective assistance to the enhancement of the mental growth, ideological and political perceptions of the Iranian people, especially the young. Such a development astounds those who left Iran before the Revolution and have now returned.

#### THE OCCUPATION OF THE AMERICAN "SPY NEST" IN TEHRAN

On the surface, the take-over of the American Embassy in Tehran appears to be a political problem, but in fact it is more related to the cultural aspect of the Revolution than the political side. The people who took over this Den of Spies were all students. Their motive for undertaking this action was not political, although such an action would automatically create political consequences. They did not have any agreements or pacts with any political group as was repeatedly declared and practically demonstrated during the time that they were occupying the Nest of Spies.

The motivation of these Muslim students who were faithful to the Islamic Revolution was their great fear of the return of the U. S. government and the re-imposition of the American colonial culture upon Iran. The students witnessed that despite the Revolution, those who were under the influence

of the West, such as the technocrats, continued to boast that they were the only ones who knew about the art of administration. As those technocrats continued to govern the country, they winked at the West, they shook hands with Brzezinsky, Carter's National Security Advisor, and after a friendly smile to him they left the gates of Iran open once again to the western culture.\* This situation ignored the millions of people who brought the Revolution to fruition by giving their blood. Things were arranged so that even the clergy and the Leader of the Revolution would have no role in its destiny.

It is necessary to remind that what forced the Muslim Student Followers of the Imam's Line to seize the U.S. government's Spying Nest, was that the U.S. government had accepted the Shah on its soil, granting him asylum. One of the most important goals of the Student Followers of the Imam's Line was to get the Shah back from the U.S. and to try him in Iran as the agent of criminal U.S. policy.

The Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line considered the American Embassy in Iran as the channel that was transmitting western culture and colonial policies to Iran. They knew that the Embassy was in fact a "Nest of Spies" containing people who were planning to allow America to return to power once again in Iran. Consequently without consulting the political authorities of Iran on November 4 (Students Day) they occupied the Nest of Spies in order to obliterate this channel of western domination. More than anything else the result of the take-over of the American Embassy in Tehran corresponds to the shattering of the fairy tale of the power of the United States. The people of Iran and the people of the world had had this idea firmly impressed upon their minds. It is for this reason that the author cannot emphasize enough the cultural aspect of this incident.

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\* Mehdi Bazargan, Prime Minister and Ibrahim Yazdi, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government travelled to Algeria in November, 1979, and met Brzezinsky.

The people of the world especially the Iranians who had believed in the frail sand castle of American grandeur were freed of this idea when the Embassy was taken over. This idea had been directly imposed on the nations of the world by international cultural imperialism. Subsequently the idea had become a part of the Iranian culture and it was only when the students occupied the Spy Den that this idea was completely crushed. For this reason, Imam Khomeini, the ever-aware Leader of the Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic, upon being informed of the action said: "With this action, a second Revolution has begun in Iran which is greater than the first Revolution."

In his various speeches in support and in protection of the students who undertook this revolutionary action, Imam Khomeini uses four phrases which are full of meaning. Every one of these phrases had destroyed a portion of the basis of the colonial culture imposed upon Iran by the American government and that continues to rule oppressed nations. Each of these statements offers a new power to revitalize nations, enabling them to return to their own culture and nature. These historic phrases are:

**America is the Great Satan.**  
**America is corrupt.**  
**America is a hollow drum.**  
**America can't do a damn thing.**

Ever since November 1979 these four lines have become a part of the daily language of the Iranian people. They have been written in the history of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in the boldest and most beautiful letters.

When the American Embassy was occupied in Tehran, a part of the Iranian culture abruptly turned away from the western cultural pattern, not from the people of the West or their scientific achievements. The Iranian people became very sensitive to western ideas as an element which could be

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used by the eastern and western colonizers against the Islamic and popular culture. These ideas again point out that the occupation of the American Den of Spies was more a cultural event than a political one.

The American Embassy is referred to as the "American Spy Nest in Tehran" because an incredible espionage system was centered there. The most advanced equipment for both the sending and receiving of "news" was installed there. This equipment was practically at the disposal of such agencies as the CIA, MOSSAD and the KGB. The Embassy staff was responsible for establishing contacts with groups and political personalities who had tendencies towards the West. They tabulated the political currents of the Islamic Revolution and transmitted this information to Washington. A great many classified documents inside the Embassy were obtained by the students. Documents which had been shredded were found. The American embassy in Tehran was not an embassy in the real meaning of the word nor in harmony with international laws concerning embassies. If viewed in this way its take-over was not against any international rules.

That this Embassy was a center for espionage, not only against the Iranian people but also all nations of the region has been attested to by the documents found by the students. The imperialist propaganda apparatus has done much to hide the truth about this, saying that the occupation of the Spy Nest was contrary to international law. For the Iranian nation, and all aware people of the world, the seizure of an embassy is in fact against international code but the seige of a Den of Spies is not.

Spying is not exclusive to American embassies. Most embassies in reality are dens of spies and they transgress the specific regulations which apply to them. Because America offered the greatest and most direct danger to the Islamic Revolution and the nations of the region, the Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line took control of it. Since

other embassies did not provide such a direct or serious danger, the students did not undertake any action concerning other embassies and left this matter to the responsible authorities.

The Iranian people realize that from the imperialists' point of view expressed in America, Europe and in other parts of the world, the take-over of the American Den of Spies is contrary to and against international principles yet from the same point of view the Islamic Revolution itself is opposed to these international principles. Both of these actions have been condemned by the world powers because both of these actions are against imperialistic interests.

The treatment of Iranian students by western cultures must be looked at in comparison to the treatment of the hostages by the Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line. Those Iranian students in the West who have tried to tell of the inhumane transgressions of the governments of America, England and France have been tortured by the police of those governments, some even to the point of death. Thus we must ask the reader which is the more inhumane action: the seizure of the buildings whose occupants were plotting against a nation or the savage torture and murder of students who tried to negate the inhumane violations of the imperialists?

There have been many advantages involved in the revolutionary take-over of the American Spy Nest in Tehran. A whole book could be written to explain the ramifications! We shall mention some of these advantages as follows:

- 1- The disclosure of those who were attracted to the West and their consequent isolation.
- 2- The revelation of the true nature of persons or groups who under the mask of supporting the East were in fact connected with the American government.

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3- The deepening of the anti-colonial and particularly anti-American aspect of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the continuation of anti-American confrontations.

4- The revelation of the secret connections between the East and the West and their cooperation against the Islamic Revolution of Iran and consequent vigorous maintenance of the revolutionary slogan: "Neither East nor West."

5- The neutralization of unrealized plots and coup d'etats schemed in the Den of Spies that were to be carried out with the help of the American government's agents. Documents regarding the unrest in Kurdistan were obtained from the Spy Den.

6- The revelation of the C.I.A.'s stooges and the discovery of its network in Iran and in the region.

7- The revelation of the American government's arrogant and violent practices on regional and international levels and the crushing of its false grandeur which had been established in the minds of the people of the world.

8- To regain the wealth which was transferred abroad by the treasonous Shah and his colleagues (It should be pointed out that the Shah had died in Egypt well before the releasing of the American Spies).

#### THE FUNCTION OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT

In the first chapter Iran's economic situation during the Pahlavi reign, especially during its last years, has been described. It has been emphasized that the goal of that regime was to make Iran dependent despite its potential to meet internal needs and even to export goods abroad. This effort continued until the very last days of that regime so Iran's

revolutionary forces inherited a country that was dependent in all aspects of industry, agriculture, animal husbandry, etc. It is only natural that a country which has the potential of being self-sufficient, after years of destruction of this potential will take years to attain that state. Vast land for agriculture and animal husbandry, as well as the people's capacity to utilize such resources, lie in the ruins left by the Pahlavi regime.

In spite of all the obstacles placed in the way of the Revolution by the foreign enemies of the Islamic Revolution and their internal agents, progress has been made through the endless struggle of Iran's revolutionary people and their unparalleled sacrifices. In the few years since the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the number of accomplishments is encouraging and above expectation. Despite these difficulties and the blows inflicted upon the Revolution by the superpowers and their internal mercenaries, this Revolution as firmly as ever, commenced the task of fulfilling its great mission in all fields, including the economic, and has never deviated in the least from its original path. It should be kept in mind that Iran was subjected to an economic boycott by the U.S. on December 12, 1979, and later by the European governments and governments affiliated with the capitalist bloc from May 14, 1980 until it was lifted in January, 1981. However, instead of this move stifling the will of the Iranian people, they have become even stronger. This economic embargo allowed the people of Iran to think about striving toward self-sufficiency and they proceeded with innovations and inventions in many fields. Because the embargo period coincided with the Iraqi imposed war against Iran, it posed some additional problems and has been effective in slowing down the Revolution's reconstruction.

Here is a brief summary of the Revolution's achievements in the various economic fields in the few years since the victory of the Revolution. To list all the details of the issues in this regard necessitates the writing of a separate book and

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is beyond the purpose of this book. What must be emphasized at this point is that Iran's progress up to now in the fields of development, economy and social welfare has been achieved under the most unfavorable circumstances. The government reduced oil sales from 6 million barrels per day at the time of the Shah to 3.5 million barrels per day for the purpose of conserving oil. This was accomplished in the first year after the victory of the Revolution. Oil sales have been gradually reduced to 2.5 million barrels per day. The country's oil revenues are now one-third of what they were during the pre-revolutionary period, and forty years have been added to the life of the country's oil reserves, which is in itself a great success for the Revolution.

In the field of economy the Revolution's remarkable successes have taken place when the country's oil revenues are about one-third of what they were during the pre-revolutionary period. Before the Revolution no efforts were made to free the country from foreign dependence; in fact, each rial earned from oil sales was spent on increasing the country's dependence upon the world oppressors and the country's budget was spent on the enhancement of these very dependencies.

If the Islamic Revolution of Iran has been able to convey any message to the people of the world it is this: the willingness to serve and the compassion shown by the revolutionary leaders as well as the devotion and sacrifices of the people themselves. It is these people who make the impossible possible and push aside obstacles in order to tread the path they desire.

More than 600 foreign technicians were dismissed from the National Iranian Oil Company and all their tasks were performed by Iranian technicians without the slightest delay in production.

The contract to sell oil to the Consortium was cancelled



and Iran became involved directly in the production and selling of oil. The Oil Nationalization Bill which had been ratified in April, 1951, but had never been enforced was acted upon after the victory of the Revolution. At present the exploration, extraction, production, refining and sale of oil are controlled by Iranians.

According to a decree issued by Revolutionary Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran, all contracts with foreign companies for the extraction of oil in Iranian waters in the Persian Gulf were cancelled.

The Isfahan refinery was partly completed at the time of the dismissal of foreign technicians. It was completed by Iranian experts and it began production in January 1979 with a capacity of 110 thousand barrels per day.

In 1979 more than one hundred industrial inventions and innovations were submitted by Iranian inventors and in the year 1980 the figure reached two hundred fifty.

In the year 1979, not even two years after the Revolution's victory, 4,761 villages were connected to Iran's electrical circuits, a figure which is more than the total number of villages that were connected to electricity from 1959 to 1979. The number of villages that were supplied with electricity reached 4,547 in that twenty-year period.

During the two years after the victory of the Revolution water has been provided to 840,000 hectares of agricultural land; a large number of dams, irrigation networks and wells have been built. Piped water has been extended to 2,926 villages. (The exact figures can be found in the Reconstruction Crusade's tables of accomplishments.)

Since the victory of the Revolution 29,834 kilometers of rustic roads and 7,482 kilometers of main and side roads have been built. To have a clear idea of the pre-and post-

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revolutionary accomplishments in this respect, it is best to compare the number of the rural roads built by the Shah's regime in an eighteen-month period before the Revolution with the number of rural roads built by the Reconstruction Crusade in the eighteen months after the Revolution. The Shah's regime built only 4308 kilometers of roads, whereas from June 1979 to December 1980, 13,209 kilometers of village roads were built by the Reconstruction Crusade. In this comparison, it is necessary to consider the time and situation of both sides. The eighteen months we have selected were before the Revolution in the years 1976 and 1977. Therefore, this period could be called "average," that is, there were no outstanding situations in the country. All facilities for development projects were available. The eighteen-month achievement of the Reconstruction Crusade is simultaneous with the activities of the political groups in different parts of the country, especially Kurdistan; some of the period in question coincided with the beginning of the Iraqi imposed war on Iran. This comparison shows very clearly how the administrators of the Pahlavi regime wasted the country's budget and kept the villagers backward. It also shows how the Islamic Revolution makes use of a smaller budget to the benefit of the villagers and other deprived people.

During the Pahlavi reign, foreign trade was in the hands of a few select individuals. Ninety percent of imported goods were supplied by America, Japan and European countries. Iran was a good market for the luxury goods of these countries. After the victory of the Revolution, Iran's foreign trade policy was modified to provide the country with merely the essential commodities, as far as possible from non-colonial and friendly countries and to stop the import of unnecessary products. Another aim of the amended policy was to transfer foreign trade from the middle-men to government control. In fact, the government has presented to the Islamic Consultative Assembly the Foreign Trade Nationalization Bill to implement Article 45 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. If the bill is ratified a great change in the

country's economy would be effected.

By the end of 1981, 119 villages had joined the nation's telephone network; about 147,000 telephones had been installed for applicants throughout the country. These activities had been carried out despite the economic embargo which had exerted pressure on Iran's communication network. With the exceptional efforts and perseverance of Iranian specialists, valuable services were rendered to the people and the country's economy via invention and innovation and the restoration and renovation of machinery and equipment that had been thrown away in the past.

In the first two years after the victory of the Revolution, 191,665 housing units were constructed for the needy throughout Iran, mostly in the villages and small cities.

In the year 1981, the amount of land under cotton cultivation increased 70% over the previous year and the amount of loans extended to farmers was 50% more than the previous year.

After the victory of the Revolution, hundreds of thousands of hectares of arable land which had remained uncultivated in the hands of those affiliated to the feudal system were handed over to farmers. Although four provinces of the country's fertile region are located in the war zone, the country's agricultural production, in comparison to previous years, has noticeably improved; Iran will soon be self-sufficient in regard to the staple commodities.

#### THE REVOLUTION'S FUNCTION IN THE MILITARY ASPECT

As mentioned in the first chapter of this book, the Pahlavi regime always tried to make the Iranian Army dependent on the superpowers and on the U.S. in particular. It succeeded to a great extent in doing so. The foreign

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military advisors, especially American military attaches, were viewed as the real rulers of the Iranian Army; in fact, an American non-commissioned officer was the superior of higher-ranking Iranian officers. Inside the Army itself there existed many discriminations which were in every way incongruent with humane, Islamic criteria and principles. The United States' Army had numerous military bases in Iran; in fact, Iran's Army was at the service of American interests in the region at no cost to the U.S. The Iranian Army, Iran's territory and this country's other potentials were even used for the suppression of Muslims and for aiding the occupier regime of Palestine.

With the victory of Iran's Islamic Revolution, all American military advisors were expelled from Iran, all American military bases came under the control of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the discriminations in the Army with regard to food, medical benefits, pensions and travelling expenses were all eradicated. Now, all ranks from commander to private enjoy the same treatment.

These measures have been taken toward Iran's military independence and the Islamization of the Army and have had the most effective results. Through the establishment of a politico-ideological division, a great effort is being made to make an Islamic Army. Consequently, Army personnel can become acquainted with Islam's humanistic school of thought while simultaneously gaining military expertise. This invaluable effort has had positive results. The spirit of Islam pervades the Army and provides the background for the development of Islamic ideology. The most valuable achievement of the movement toward the maktab (literally, school of thought, i.e. the Islamic school of thought) in the Army after the victory of the Islamic Revolution can be clearly observed in the conduct of the military personnel in the Iraqi invasion of Iran. In this war the army of the Iraqi Baathist regime has placed Iranian cities under savage assault and massacred innocent men, women and children by air

bombardment and ground-to-ground missiles. Even masjids, schools and hospitals are not spared. The Iranian military has never once resorted to such retaliatory tactics. Not a single shot has been aimed at Iraqi civilians, although Iraqi cities have been within firing range of Iran's Islamic Republic Army. No attack has been made on those cities by Iran. Iranian military aircraft have repeatedly dropped pamphlets over Iraqi cities, including Baghdad. They confine their military attacks to military installations, economic and industrial areas. They have not even once attacked religious or social centers or residential areas. This action arises from the Islamic morale prevailing within the Islamic Republic system and is manifest in every aspect of the society. If the Islamic Revolution had no result other than this change in the Army, then this would be a source of great pride for the nation of Iran.

It is worth mentioning that after the victory of the Revolution the western and eastern affiliated groups contrived to completely disband the Iranian Army and replace it with an entirely new military. They argued that because of the conduct of the commanders of the Army during the Pahlavi rule, especially at the culmination of the Islamic Revolution, the whole army must be purged. They said that an Army which stood against the people should be liquidated.

To the leadership of the Revolution it was clear that the Army liquidation slogan was a danger to the Islamic Revolution and that its benefit would only go into the superpowers' pockets. The truth is that the majority of the Iranian Army, especially the non-commissioned officers and conscripts, were either for the Islamic Revolution or not opposed to it. In fact, most of them were dissatisfied with the Pahlavi regime and the repressive system prevailing in the Army at that time. The crimes which the Pahlavi regime committed using the Army against the nation were the consequence of the affiliations between the Pahlavi regime and the master of that regime, the U.S. government, and should

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not be attributed to the entire Army, especially the non-commissioned and low-ranking officers. They were either serious sympathizers of the Islamic Revolution or in different because of their isolation from the flow of thought within the country. Upon being informed of the nature of the Revolution, they joined the revolutionary people as manifested by the memorable Lavizan incident on Ashura 1978 and the continuous desertion of army personnel during the last months of the Revolution, as ordered by Imam Khomeini. The total disappointment of the army commanders is the best proof of the general lack of loyalty to the regime on the part of the Army, and their inherent tendency toward an Islamic Revolution of the people. Realizing this and that an unarmed Iran would open the route for an invasion by the superpowers, Imam Khomeini strongly supported the Army. In this way he crushed the call for Army liquidation. Under the Imam's guidance, the Army gradually regained its morale, advanced toward becoming maktabi [Islamic] and hurried to the aid of the Revolution at the most sensitive moments, especially during the imposed war. In fact, the position adopted by Imam Khomeini has resulted in the transformation of the Army from an inefficient one into a true Army. In the science and technology of war and in the fields of the manufacturing and maintenance of equipment, the Army is moving toward self-sufficiency.

A year and a half after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, sub-machine guns were being manufactured at the rate of a hundred per day. Now this figure has reached 300 units per day and the projected output is 500 sub-machine guns per day. Production at the battery-making plant of the Defense Industries, which produced about a thousand batteries per day in the year 1979, now exceeds 3000 batteries per day.

These figures belong to the first half of 1980, a year and a half after the victory of the Revolution and before the start of the Iraqi imposed war against Iran. Two and half years after the victory of the Revolution and about a year

after the beginning of the war, the rate of armament production, innovations and inventions has increased remarkably and future self-sufficiency is not far off.

### CONSPIRACIES

After victory no revolution, that is no real revolution, can progress without confronting numerous obstacles. The Islamic Revolution of Iran is no exception to this. Because of its Islamic nature and its *Neither East nor West* policy, it was not possible for it to advance smoothly due to various plots of the East and West and the enemies of Islam and humanity. If other revolutions which fought against one superpower leaning on another were not able to move forward facing problems, it is only to be expected that the Islamic Revolution of Iran would meet more obstacles. The Islamic nature of this Revolution necessitates a constant struggle against world oppressors and hegemonists in whatever form they might take and the establishment of friendly relations with those governments which are neither aggressive nor hegemonic.

### REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

If what had occurred in Iran was merely a reform and not a revolution, then such a movement could have proceeded without confronting any difficulties. However, any change which is in contradiction to the interests of the world oppressors is a revolution and not a reform. What has taken place in Iran is a revolution in its real sense; a Revolution which is unparalleled in the world and unprecented among the revolutions of contemporary history. It can be proudly stated that nothing matches it except the movement of the divine prophets. In the same way that the divine prophets' movements were for the purpose of destroying the existing oppressive systems and creating new systems based upon divine precepts, this Revolution came to destroy the existing anti-human values in today's world and to restore the divine human values to humanity. Naturally, such a phenomena

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cannot be termed "reform." This is a revolution, in fact the most profound Revolution in human history after the movements of the divine prophets.

The then-existing political groups in Iran, even many of those which had fought against the Pahlavi regime, thought of nothing more than reform. However, since the leadership of the Islamic movement in Iran is Imam Khomeini and the clergy because of genuine Islamic teachings, this movement could not proceed at the level of reform; nothing except a profound and multi-faceted revolution could be the result.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the responsibility of managing the country was placed in hands of the Liberation Movement of Iran, a reformist group that had quite a long record of struggle against the Pahlavi regime. This does not mean thought that the Revolution's leadership was tending toward reformation; Imam Khomeini was pursuing two goals through this measure: one was to give a share of the country's management to the combatant Muslim forces and the other was to allow these groups to adjust themselves to the revolutionary spirit of the Iranian people and in the course of managing such a great Revolution to reform and revise their own ideas. Imam Khomeini had thought that when these Muslim forces observed the readiness, enthusiasm and deep desire of the nation to eradicate all inhuman and un-Islamic values, they would consequently abandon their stance and gradually move to the position of the revolutionary nation and begin thinking in terms of something higher than just reform.

These groups not only could not adjust themselves to the revolutionary people of Iran but followed a path which would eventually have brought about the failure of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and its falling into the hands of the world oppressors, especially the U.S. During the time of the Provisional Government when Mr. Mehdi Bazargan was informed that the revolutionary and Muslim youth of Iran



had chanted the "Death to America" slogan, he was infuriated and said, "Now that America has left our country, we shouldn't do anything that would annoy her." This was the view of the Prime Minister of a government after a revolution that had dedicated seventy thousand martyrs and one hundred thousand invalids for which America was directly responsible. This government wanted to rule the heirs of these martyrs and invalids and their country that was plundered by America for twenty-five years. The Provisional Government, just as it was opposed to a fundamental full-fledged struggle against America, was also opposed to great multilateral changes inside Iran. It considered the revolutionary organizations which emerged amidst the revolutionary people as troublesome and unnecessary. The goal of the Provisional Government was to preserve the corrupt bureaucratic system of the previous regime and manage the country using a step-by-step policy, in a way that would pose no problem for the interests of the world oppressors and their internal agents. They did not want to admit the possibility that the revolutionary forces who serve the country with complete dedication had the right to request swift action in the attainment of the Revolution's goals.

The revolutionary and Muslim people of Iran, who correctly consider themselves to have been plundered by the American government and other world oppressors and made wretched as a result of the previous regime's corrupt system could not tolerate such a government for too long a period or adjust themselves to its reformistic ideas. It was for this reason that in October, 1979, after nine months of the Provisional Government's rule, and directly after Bazargan, the Prime Minister, and Dr. Ibrahim Yazdi, the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government had conferred with Carter's National Security Advisor Brzezinsky in Algiers, that the Muslim nation of Iran found it could no longer tolerate this government. Simultaneous with the seizure of the American "Spy Nest" in Tehran by the Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line, Mr. Bazargan was forced to

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resign, a resignation which was accepted by Imam Khomeini.

The point that must be emphasized here is the attitude of the American government towards the Revolution under the Provisional Government; America and the other world oppressors took a patient stance, hoping that the way was being paved for the U.S.'s return to Iran.

After the dismissal of the Provisional Government and the revolutionary action of the Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line in taking over the American "Spy Nest," America's attitude towards Iran changed.

The great conspiracies of the American government against the Islamic Revolution have occurred since then. During the presidency of Banisadr (January, 1980 to June, 1981) America continued her enmity toward the Islamic Revolution in order to weaken the Revolution and maintain it on the reformation level. The American government's disappointment resulted in more violent measures through her internal agents. One of the results of this disappointment was the bombing of the Islamic Republican Party's headquarters on June 28, 1981, one week after Banisadr's deposal.

The extensive conspiracies which confront the Iranian people indicate that the position adopted by them can truly be called revolutionary. If after the culmination of the Revolution a mere program of reform had been implemented, the people of Iran would never have had to face such plots. It is the Revolution that endangers the interests of the world oppressors, not reform programs. The people of Iran, being aware of these obstacles, have nevertheless chosen to maintain their Revolution despite their realization that the conspiracies will probably continue. Victory belongs to people who resist oppression and are not held back by fear in their struggle to revive divine and human values. This is that promise of God who says:

*As for those who say, 'Our Lord is Allah,' then continue in the Right Way, the angels will descend upon them, saying: 'Do not be afraid, do not be sad; receive tidings of the paradise which you are promised.' (The Quran; 41:30)*

#### THE CONSPIRACY TO DISINTEGRATE IRAN AND SOW DISCORD BETWEEN SHI'ITE AND SUNNI MUSLIMS

In the last months of the reign of the Pahlavi regime, U.S. political envoys explicitly told Iran's Islamic Revolution leaders that Iran would disintegrate as a result of the Shah's toppling. The Shah himself brought this up in his press conferences and interviews several times during his last days in Iran. The U.S. and the Shah's goal was to intimidate the Revolution's leaders and the Iranian nation in order to preserve the mercenary regime. Such a plot could not beguile the Muslim revolutionaries.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, America proceeded to put into action the plan to reduce Iran to fragments. What had encouraged the U.S. to execute such a conspiracy were the weakness of the Provisional Government, from its political and revolutionary perspectives and existing situations such as poverty and the propaganda of the exploiters and their agents, creating discord among Shi'ites and Sunnis, as well as among ethnic groups in Kurdistan, Khuzistan, Baluchistan, Turkeman Sahra and Western Azarbaijan provinces. The affiliates of the superpowers, especially the U.S., launched their intense activities in those areas, particularly in Kurdistan province, against the Islamic regime. The Governor-General of Kurdistan, appointed by the Provisional Government, was also connected to an anti-Islamic group. By looting the military bases and making use of all governmental facilities -- as provided by the Governor-General -- counterrevolutionaries finally created turmoil and unrest in Kurdistan province.

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The "Goodwill Delegation" formed by three temporary government officials to settle the problem was indecisive regarding such groups and their treacherous leaders. Evidently, they had close ties with the Pahlavi regime. On the pretext of fighting against feudalism, those groups spread the idea that they supported the Kurdish people. They kidnapped and killed members of revolutionary organizations like the Reconstruction Crusade and the Land Cession Committees who are striving to uproot feudalism in Kurdistan. They resorted to savage retaliation against any Kurd who came to know their real essence and would not cooperate with them. It was undoubtedly against any human principle or Islamic justice to negotiate and compromise with such groups who claimed to be pro-people while they committed all sorts of crimes against them. The Provisional Government's liberal policy towards these groups furnished the opportunity to aggravate their inhuman activities, opening the way for the U.S. to execute its plot to cause the disintegration of Iran. Decisive actions against these counterrevolutionaries could only be taken after the downfall of the Provisional Government and the coming to awareness of the Kurdish people in regard to the real entity of these "political groups" which resulted in the annulment of the plot of Iran's disintegration.

The geographical location of Kurdistan proves that all countries such as Iran, Turkey, Syria and Iraq are facing a Kurdish question on their common boundaries which is the result of the exploiters' conspiracy since the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. The colonialists also took advantage of the chronic Shi'ite-Sunni sectarian differences in Islamic states as Iran in order to execute their plots. But with the insight given to all Shi'ites and Sunnis in Iran and all Muslims throughout the world by Iran's Islamic Revolution, the groundwork laid by the exploiters is not sturdy any longer.

Now the world's Muslims are assured that despite existing trivial differences, they can all together fight against global atheism and Imperialism with their common belief in Allah,

Haḍrat Muhammad's ( ) prophethood, the Holy Quran, the Kaaba (as their common Qiblah) and the Resurrection Day. Considering the number of the world's Muslims and their vast lands, natural resources and their geo-political situation, if they unite today, there won't be any power in the world that can overcome them.

It has already been proved through the history of Iran's Islamic Revolution that if the Muslims rely on their faith in God and depend on themselves, they can challenge the world's greatest powers and humiliate them all. Iran's Revolution has demonstrated its unquestionable support of all Muslim nations especially those fighting against Eastern and Western Imperialism. Regretfully in the meantime, the seeds of dissension sown among them by the exploiters caused many of them to be inflicted with weakness and impotence. This weakness has prevailed to the extent that less than 3 million Zionists have succeeded in suppressing more than 130 million Muslim Arabs. The Iranian Muslim nation, in spite of all the difficulties and hardships engineered by the plundering world powers against them, is ever ready to cooperate with all their Muslim brothers to restore the Muslim's dignity and to establish a just Islamic government throughout the world.

#### TERRORIZING KEY FIGURES IN THE GOVERNMENT

One plot at a time does not suffice, so the enemies of the Iranian Islamic Revolution have concocted additional destructive schemes and simultaneously engineered several plots in order to safeguard the fulfillment of their plans if one or two of them failed.

Right after the Revolution's victory, the internal agents of the U.S. made use of terrorism. They assassinated many Revolutionary Guards in the darkness of city streets. The Imperialists then started terrorism and gradually intensified their activities, aiming at the elimination of key personalities, and killing many sincere servants of the people. The first

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Chief-of-Staff of the Islamic Republic's Armed Forces, Lt. General Qarani, deposed by the Provisional Government because of his decisive actions against the American-backed insurgent groups in Kurdistan, was the first target of the assassins only two months after the victory of the revolution. His death was followed by the killing of a prominent religious scholar, Ayatollah Mutahari, Chief of the Revolutionary Council. He was assassinated at midnight, May 1, 1979, in an alley of Tehran, while coming out of a Revolutionary Council session. His vast knowledge of Islamic and western and eastern ideologies had enabled him to play an effective role in the Islamic Revolution from an ideological point of view, and his assassination was evidence of the fear of Islamic thought of the Revolution's enemies.

The killing of key personalities such as Martyrs Mofatteh, Qazi Tabatabaie, Dr. Beheshti, Rajaie and Bahonar, and attempts on the lives of Hashemi Rafsanjani, Khamenei, and some Sunni clerics who have made sincere efforts for the continuation of the Islamic Revolution show that Islamic thinkers frighten the enemies of Islam more than any other factor. Though the passing away of any Islamic thinker inflicts heavy blows upon the Revolution, it also serves to add to the determination of the Iranian nation, a fact that overrules terrorism as an effective tool to harm the Revolution.

One of the Islamic Revolution's privileges that has been overlooked by imperialists so far, is its independence from any established group or individual personalities. The Revolution belongs to each member of the Iranian nation whose political awareness has now reached the extent that they are not disappointed by the killing of their leaders anymore, and instead, this strengthens their will to continue even more firmly in their struggle.

## THE CONSPIRACY TO DISINTEGRATE THE LEADERSHIP AND THE ASSASSINATION OF PERSONALITIES

Another plot of the Revolution's enemies was to shatter the Imam's image as the unique leader of the Revolution through their internal agents. They tried to weaken Imam Khomeini's leadership by magnifying some of religious personalities and even non-religious leaders such as the late Dr. Mossadeq who had passed away long before the Revolution's victory.

This plot was executed by foreign-backed political groups by amplifying the qualities of some clergy and slandering others, all of whom are devoted to the Imam. They aimed at paving the way for clergymen who could be manipulated to assume positions in the leadership cadre, furnishing them with the facilities they needed. They also tried to falsely accuse and defame those who were trusted by the Imam, spreading rumors and lies that they were not trustworthy.

If this dangerous plot was to be fulfilled, it would have had grave consequences for the Islamic Revolution. The disintegration of the leadership, through the discrediting of the personalities of those figures who are serving the Revolution, could have weakened the Revolution to the extent that the way would be paved for the return of the world oppressors to Iran. But this plot was foiled because of the people's awareness and the correct tactics of those who were labelled with slanderous incriminations.

The deviation of the Revolution from its original path was the main objective of counterrevolutionaries in magnifying past political leaders, especially Dr. Mosaddeq. The National Front and other foreign-backed mercenary groups went to great lengths to distort the Revolution's religious image, especially through extensive propaganda on the anniversary of Mosaddeq's death, the first three years after the Revo-

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lution's victory.

The fact that Mossadegh is regarded as a nationalist by these groups is by itself clear evidence of the non-Islamic essence of that struggle. An Islamic movement always covers nationalism, but a nationalist will never be able to achieve Islamic goals. Islam is never confined within particular national boundaries, yet it supports the independence of nations. Like all other subversive activities, this foreign-backed plot to crush the image of the Leader and the religious essence of the Islamic Revolution is also doomed to defeat. Now the Iranian people are even more determined to preserve these two important factors which greatly helped to bring the victory of the Revolution.

#### THE TABAS PLOT

The revolutionary action of the Muslim Students Followers of the Imam's Line in taking over the U.S. Spy Den in Tehran was a shattering blow delivered upon the snout of world Imperialism by the Iranian nation. The U.S. had been able to create an invincible giant of itself in the consciousness of the world's people, with the help of her economic and military abilities and propaganda. The seizure of this mythical Giant's Spy Den in Tehran proved to the world that the U.S. is nothing more than a hollow drum, cancelling the legend of imperialism's invincibility before the unbelieving eyes of the world.

During the seizure of the U.S. Spy Den (considered as a second Revolution by the Iranian people) the U.S. was more apprehensive of the crumbling of the legend of its invincibility than the disclosure of its various plots against the Islamic Republic of Iran. The U.S. was right in this respect, as the incident was followed by successive attacks upon U.S. political institutions in Islamic countries such as Pakistan. To make up for this defeat, the U.S. government initiated an extensive plot against Islamic Iran.



The imperialist-Zionist propaganda machinery spread the information that the revolutionary occupation of the "Spy Den" was an illegal act and against all international laws. But they did not ever answer whether the existence of a complex of espionage equipment in an embassy was considered legal or not.

When frustrated in making Iran yield under her propaganda, America proceeded to an economic sanction against Iran on December 12, 1979 and froze Iranian assets in world banks on April 30, 1980. The U.S. launched a direct military intervention when such schemes did not bring Iran to her knees.

Banisadr went to great efforts to form a pro-U.S. government, but to no avail. The Islamic Consultative Assembly - the great majority of which was [and is] made up of forces loyal to the Islamic Revolution and the Imam's line--reserved their vote of favor for the cabinet of Muhammad Ali Rajaie who was thinking solely of the Islamic and independent nature of the Revolution; thoughts which were contrary to Banisadr's.

The formation of Rajaie's cabinet ruled out U.S. hopes for a moderate government in Iran. It was for this purpose that the Imperialist and Zionist propaganda trumpets started a campaign against Rajaie's government. They were aligned with Banisadr and other U.S. agents working in Iran. The most vehement attacks against the Islamic Revolution began. America's frustration in this regard compelled it to order its Baathist mercenaries to proceed to an all-out invasion of Iran on September 22, 1980 only a few days after the formation of Rajaie's Cabinet. Simultaneous with their army and naval assaults, the Baathist air-fighters attacked several military air-ports including Tehran's.

The Islamic Republic of Iran never willingly enters combat against other countries, especially Muslim ones. The Revolution's Leader and other Iranian authorities were hoping for

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the day when the forces of all Islamic countries, including Iraq, would initiate a united battle against Zionism, the Quds occupying regime in order to liberate Palestine.

The leaders of the Islamic Revolution have always thought about forming a monumental Islamic force, made up of all Muslims in order to free the deprived everywhere from the domination of eastern and western superpowers. To block the way for the fulfillment of this goal, the treacherous Saddam invaded Iran and occupied the forces of two Muslim nations in a war against each other when they should have been united against Zionism.

It is surprising that Saddam, who attacked Iran under the pretext of "Arabic Nationalism," has already massacred thousands of Khuzistan's Arabs in Southern Iran during his imposed war.

This war only serves the interests of imperialists. As the country aggressed upon, it is lawful for Iran to defend its sovereignty. The Iraqi Baathist regime is supported politically and militarily by the U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Japan, Germany and all their agents, such as the reactionary regimes of Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Oman, and the Persian Gulf sheikhdoms while Iran enjoys the political support of only a few countries and is carrying on its struggle single-handedly. In the beginning, the Iranian Armed Forces suffered a few setbacks because of Banisadr who, as the Commander-in-Chief, considered Iran's victory to be against the interests of the U.S. and himself. After Banisadr's dismissal, the Islamic forces began their struggle to victory and undoubtedly they will achieve it in the very near future. Such a victory will also certainly result in the formation of a popular Islamic regime in Iraq.

On April 25, 1980, eighteen military cargo planes and twenty helicopters carrying 3000 commandos, motorcycles military jeeps, a great number of grenades, cannons and

machine guns stealthily intruded into Iranian air space and landed in a desert near the Tabas township in Khurasan province.

Such a military force was doomed to fail only because Allah, the Supreme Lord, had willed so. An unexpected incident incapacitated the crew and made the planes and helicopters unable to carry out their mission -- a rescue of the spies. They had to abandon Iran, leaving behind six helicopters, one aircraft, a few jeeps, six motorcycles, 30,000 spent grenades and the burned corpses of several American commandos in the Tabas desert. A similar incident is recalled in a Quranic verse from Surah Fil when in pre-Islamic Arabia a great force using elephants came to crush the Holy Kaaba. They attacked Mecca but they all perished because of small stones dropped on them from a high altitude by numerous little birds. The Iranian nation witnessed that when God willed, the pellets of the Tabas desert were raised by the wind, blinding the enemy and his "elephants."

#### THE ANNULED NOWJEH COUP

The next plan implemented was a coup against the Islamic government by a group of deceived Army personnel and its fugitive agents. The U.S. government gave the job to Bakhtiar and supplied whatever they required. But since God has willed the Revolution ever-victorious, the IRGC [Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps] arrested the agents involved a few minutes before the operation began on the night of July 9, 1980. The coup launchers had planned to bombard important places (such as the Majlis, Revolutionary Guards centers, etc.,) in Tehran and Qum, especially Imam Khomeini's residence. The air-fighters were to take off from Nowjeh Air Base to establish a "Social Democratic Government." Even if Bakhtiar had succeeded in this plot, it must be remarked that any kind of coup has no chance of success in post-revolutionary Iran. The people of Iran, after endeavoring to establish the popular independent Islamic government, can no longer tolerate a

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dependent government, much less a government which has been imposed on them through a coup.

The Imperialists should have learned from experience that Iranian Muslims support their own Islamic government. It is not easy to topple a people's Revolution, especially an Islamic one.

### THE IRAQI IMPOSED WAR AGAINST IRAN

After so many scandalous attempts and defeats, the U.S. decided to place all her hopes on the establishment of a moderate government in Iran. Abulhassan Banisadr, who had previously given the green light to America, was the one supposed to form such a government. Banisadr, who had deceived many and had been elected President, was even a stronger and more reliable supporter of the U.S. than Bazar-gan's government.

Not only did the imposed war once again bring a humiliating defeat to the Revolution's enemies, but also played a great role in introducing the Islamic Revolution to the world. To preserve its masters interests, the Iraqi Baathist regime has committed the most abominable crimes. Its mercenaries attacked Iranian cities with every possible weapon, transforming hospitals, masjids, schools, and residential places into rubble, burying civilian people alive under the debris. Despite such inhuman attacks, the Iranian Armed Forces in light of their Islamic beliefs, have never attacked civilian areas and have not even fired a bullet upon the defenseless populace.

Now on the verge of being toppled, Saddam is making extensive efforts to force Iran to sign a peace treaty through the U.N., the Non-Aligned Countries and other international institutions hoping to save his shaky regime. Iran is interested in peace, but a peace which has no element of aggression within it. The truth is that Saddam doesn't want peace;

for if he really wanted peace he would have withdrawn his forces and ended the aggression, with no need to resort to others as intermediaries.

Considering themselves Islam's defenders against global atheism, the Iranian Muslim fighters will finally push the Iraqi army to retreat, humiliated, to within their own borders. The Iraqi people who help Iranian pilots who crash there to return to Iran can not bear Saddam's treacherous pro-Zionist regime.

### THE ABORTED STEP-BY-STEP COUP OF BANISADR

To the Imperialist U.S., who had lost its vital interests because of the Islamic Revolution, nothing could be more favorable than a pro-western government in Iran. Considering its westernized and reformist policies, the Provisional Government was the first American hope and with its downfall, the U.S. pinned its hope on Banisadr who had been a part of Imam Khomeini's retinue in Paris, and was then busy projecting an Islamic image of himself to the Iranian people. Before the elections, he busied himself with lectures and fabrication of slogans instead of getting involved in executive affairs, in this way not revealing his incompetence and real characteristics. Employing various tactics, he won the first presidential election with over 10 million votes.

The mission of Banisadr and that of his several other west-toxicated co-ideologues was to divert the Islamic Revolution and pave the way for the re-infiltration of the U.S. government, an infiltration into the high executive instrumentalities of Iran. There is much evidence supporting this claim, among them the documents unearthed in the U.S. Spying Nest in Tehran showing Banisadr's affiliation — with that of his coideologues — to the Central Intelligence Agency of the U.S. government. These documents have been published by the Iranian press. Concerning this subject, there is a shocking recollection from a member of the Islamic

Consultative Assembly (Majlis). Mr. Nourollah Tabatabaie Nejad, the deputy for the people of Ardestan to the Majlis — later martyred in the explosion of the Islamic Republican Party Headquarters on June 28, 1981 — told me of this months before that incident, while Banisadr was still President. He said: *During the height of the Revolution — in the winter of 1979 — I was arrested while speaking at one of the masjids in the east of Tehran; and was detained in the police station of that precinct. In the middle of the night, the chief of the police station came into the room where I was detained, and spoke to me, saying “Your efforts are in vain. It is quite true that the monarchical regime will be dismantled, but you should also know that you can not establish your desired government,” (that is, the Islamic Republic).*

*I grinned and asked him: “What proof do you have for this claim?”*

*“Do you know of Banisadr, Qotbzadeh, and Dr. Yazdi?” he questioned.*

*“I have only heard Dr. Yazdi’s name,” I answered.*

*The station chief with a smile on his face told me: “These people are assigned by the U.S. to approach Imam Khomeini and to obtain high executive positions within the country and impede the establishment of an Islamic government in Iran.”*

*Unbelievably I laughed at this statement made by the chief, and thought to myself that this is yet another trick to which the Shah’s agents resort in order to hinder the achievement of the Revolution.*

*Later, when along with Bazargan, Dr. Yazdi shook hands with and talked with Carter’s Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brezizinsky, in Algiers and published treasonous ideas against the Revolution in the Keyhan, abusing the powers vested in him as its supervisor; when Qotbzadeh as the Minister of Foreign Affairs committed clear treachery against the Islamic Revolution, collaborating with the U.S. for freeing the hostages; when Banisadr, as the President of the Republic, became uni-vocal with the U.S. government in order*

*to topple Rajaie's cabinet and form a pro-U.S. government, and committed all those acts of crime and treachery during the Iraqi imposed war on Iran; I remembered the words of that police chief and concluded that he had had accurate information regarding these people. Fortunately, they were not able to successfully accomplish their mission...\**

Banisadr's actions during his presidency and his unity with the dependent political groups and with individuals such as Dr. Yazdi, Qotbzadeh and other west-seekers (those who exhibit a strong tendency toward the West) in the destruction of the Islamic Republic System and overthrowing legal government of Rajaie clearly that the intention was to carry out a 'slithering coup' against the Islamic Revolution, that is, to slowly topple the Islamic Revolution.

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\* As the English translation of this book was being prepared for printing (April 1982), The Army's Islamic Revolutionary Tribunal uncovered a plot aimed at overthrowing the Islamic Republican system. The main director of this plot was Sadeq Ghotbzadeh. Following his arrest, Ghotbzadeh confessed during a television interview that his terrorist network had intended to assassinate Imam Khomeini, members of the Supreme Council of Defense (including Mr. Khamenei, the President of the Republic and chairman of the Supreme Defense Council and Hojjatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Imam's representative to the Supreme Defense Council). It was planned that this be carried out by blowing up the Imam's residence and the shelling of Jamaran. More than ten thousand residents of Jamaran would have been killed in addition to Imam Khomeini and the members of the Supreme Defense Council.

Ghotbzadeh also confessed that he was in touch with a person called Will Alon who is supposedly a member of the French Socialist party, and that this was his route to secure the weapons needed for the execution of the plot. However, Will Alon was the connection of this terrorist network to the CIA.

One of the objectives of the U.S. government and Zionism in launching this propaganda was to give a legitimate appearance to Israel in Fahd's Eight-Point Plan.

The U.S. government was apprehensive of the stance which the Islamic Republic of Iran would take against this plan. Therefore, it decided that the best way to nullifying this stance would be to have Iran accused of having secret ties with Israel in order that the other Muslim nations would not take into account Iran's stance. But with God's help, Imam Khomeini's decisive stand against prince Fahd's Eight-Point Plan, planned to be sanctioned during the Arab Leaders' Summit in Faiz Arabia November 1981) caused the defeat of this plan.

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He was the epicenter of this movement by utilizing his post of the presidency. His attacking speeches upon the Islamic Revolution and forces loyal to it gained a tone of truth. His associates in eastern and western affiliated groups aided him in his attempt to destroy the Islamic Republican system.

Making use of wartime experience and taking advantage of his position as the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, Banisadr freed many elements who had been involved in the Nowjeh coup, some of whom fled abroad after committing acts of treason on the battle fronts. The Iranian people gradually learned about the real entity of Banisadr and his accomplices and rose against his supporters who committed all kinds of crimes and violence. Banisadr, who always claimed to be siding with the people and asked for people's participation on the scene, labelled these very same people as "club wielders" when they started fighting the counterrevolutionaries.

The people remained on the scene and demanded that the Imam decide on Banisadr. Imam Khomeini who had learned about Banisadr's real essence had made great efforts to dissociate him from the foreign-backed groups. Even such efforts were fruitless and so the Imam stripped him of the title of Commander of the Armed Forces on June 10, 1981. The Majlis voted on his political competence, with 177 votes against his competency out of the 190 deputies present.<sup>(1)</sup> The Imam on June 21, 1981 as the Leader dismissed him from the Presidency.<sup>(2)</sup>

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1- According to Article 110 of the Islamic Republic's Constitution, the Leader is the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. He is free to appoint another person as his vicegerent.

2- According to point 5 of Article 110 of the Constitution, after the Majlis decides on a President's political incompetence or the Supreme Judicial Council determines that he has trespassed his legal duties, the Leader makes the final decision to dismiss him from the Presidency.



Imam Khomeini's dismissal of Banisadr was not only legal and in accordance with the Constitution but it was also supported by the masses of the Iranian people who celebrated in jubilation as they once had when the ex-Shah fled Iran.

In fact, one aspect of Banisadr's dismissal should not be regarded with less importance than the Shah's toppling. Under an Islamic guise, he was trying to put Iran under U.S. domination again. Had his real character not been unveiled to the people it is possible that he could have destroyed the Revolution in the name of Islam.

The Iranian nation, therefore, was right to celebrate his deposal since they knew that they had once more broken the chains of U.S. exploitation. That was why people participated fervently in the second presidential elections and chose Muhammad Ali Rajaie on August 24, 1981 with over 13 million votes despite the extensive propaganda of the imperialists and Zionists and the subversive activities of their internal agents. The people's voting on the whole was another stunning blow to the Islamic Revolution's enemies and was another incident that discouraged the criminal U.S. from seeking any further interest in Iran.

#### THE UNSUCCESSFUL COUP OF TIR

It is important to point out that Banisadr was merely a pawn in a network aiming to overthrow the Islamic government. The main activist inside Iran in this network was the Mujahideen-e Khalq Organization, while its real leader the American government. Banisadr's dismissal must then be viewed as a step to endanger the U.S. interests and the anti-revolutionary and anti-popular objectives of the M.K.O. and other foreign-backed groups. With Banisadr's dismissal internal and external enemies of the Revolution lost a strategic position from where they could inflict heavy blows on the Islamic Revolution, with a superficial legality. For this reason, the counterrevolutionaries decided to create unrest

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and turmoil in the country and to topple the Islamic system through terrorism. Their main plot was to assassinate all of the authorities within 24 hours and take over the government once the Revolutionary Committees and the IRGC Centers were overcome.

They had thought of all factors except for the people. The U.S., the ex-Shah, Banisadr and foreign-backed groups never took into account the people who, in fact, are the main factor in the Revolution and its perpetuation. The Shah said in his last days in Iran that with his toppling, Iran would be plunged into internal unrest. Banisadr had also threatened that his dismissal would result in massive turmoil. None of them ever thought that it was the people who had done away with them and the people would not create unrest and turmoil induced by the exploiters.

The plot of terrorizing the countries' officials that was planned in collaboration with Banisadr, started with a bomb explosion in the Islamic Republican Party Central Office. The conspirators expected to destroy all the top officials such as Dr. Beheshti, the Chief justice; Rajaie, the Prime Minister; Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Majlis Speaker and many more Majlis deputies in the explosion and presumed that it would result in a total paralysis of the country. They had also decided to terrorize a group of other officials such as top authorities of the Islamic Revolutionary courts and to attack the Revolutionary Committees and the IRGC Centers the next day. But with God's blessings, the Prime Minister and the Majlis Speaker did not participate in the meeting. The number of the Majlis deputies who were martyred in the blast did not cause the Majlis to lose its quorum. Thanks be given to God, the plotters did not succeed in the next stages of their sinister conspiracy and thus this plot was also aborted.

A man of astute intelligence and managerial ability, Dr. Beheshti and seventy-two of the most faithful children of the Islamic Revolution were martyred during the June 28 coup

attempt. The blood of these innocent martyrs has again irrigated the Revolution's tree and guaranteed the continuation of this divine movement. The martyrdom of Dr. Beheshti whose political insight, management capabilities, extensive knowledge and resistance against the foreigners were feared by the U.S. and other exploiters and his supporters put an end to the survival of eastern and western lackeys in this land.

This catastrophic event has also augmented the awareness of the people and their unity against world powers. The Iranian people made a vow with these innocent martyrs that they would never surrender to the exploiters under any condition. They fulfilled their vows with their massive participation in the second presidential and intermediary Majlis elections in July.

#### DISSEMINATION OF FALSE PROPAGANDA AGAINST THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

The most insidious plot of the U.S. government against the Islamic Revolution of Iran is daily being channelled through the vast imperialist and zionist propaganda media. This plot portrays the present governing system of the Islamic Republic of Iran as communistic. The hitherto unknown thesis of "Neither East nor West, Islamic Republic" and the actual adherence of the leaders of the Islamic Revolution of Iran to it has caused apprehension among the world oppressors and has dashed their attempts to infiltrate Islamic Iran. It is only to be expected that the enemies of this Revolution attempt to destroy this thesis so as to counter the Islamic Revolution.

Imperialism has been hit most directly by the Islamic Revolution of Iran, so it is always intent upon deceiving people by publicizing that the Islamic Revolution is moving towards Communism.

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The U.S. Government wants to deceive the oppressed nations into believing that the Islamic Revolution of Iran, like the other revolutions of the world, is against one superpower and inclines towards another superpower. The publicity media of the world oppressors consistently tries to instil into the mentalities of those people desirous of liberation from their clutches that no revolution can ever be victorious without allegiance to one of the two superpowers. This brainwashing has completely lost its effectiveness with the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The people of the world, observing the Islamic nature and the "Neither East nor West" thesis of this Revolution, understand that the propaganda of the world oppressors is nothing more than deception.

The aim of such imperialist propaganda is to make people content with a pro-Western government so as to believe that they are escaping from Communism. If the people of Iran could be made to believe such a thing, they would stop supporting the Revolution's leaders, believing that they were moving toward Communism. Another objective of the U.S. government by such propaganda is to force the Revolution's leaders to back down from their just and Islamic stances and to move towards the West and capitalism consequently deviating the Revolution from its true path, from its "Neither East, nor West, Islamic Republic" stance.

To achieve this goal, U.S. government agents expended a great deal of effort inside Iran to cause the genuine and combatant clergy, who shoulder the responsibility of the preservation and continuation of the Revolution, of having communist tendencies.

In the month of Aban, 1359 (October — November, 1980) simultaneous with the intensification of the Iraqi Baathist regime's attacks against the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the newspaper *Islamic Revolution* (the podium for Banisadr and his counterrevolutionary confederates which had been assigned the task of aiding in the overthrow of the Islamic

Republic system) introduced a series of so-called "researched" and "scientifically perceptive" essays (very similar to those found outside Iran) attempting to prove that the Tudeh (Mass) Party was the governing system of Iran.

Those affiliated to the U.S. government had concocted this deception in order to propagate, both inside Iran and abroad, that, since the Islamic Republic system tilts toward Communism one cannot legitimately place one's hopes in the Islamic Revolution. The enemies of Islam and the Revolution had wanted to prepare the Iranian people for accepting a pro-Western government, and disappoint the nations of the world, who had placed their hopes on the Islamic Revolution of Iran and were preparing for their own revolutions. This plan of action was the very same which the Tudeh party of Iran had taken in 1953. The Tudeh party had been under orders to focus public attention on the threat of the establishment of a Communist government in Iran, to pave the way for the re-entry of the West. Imperialism was well aware that people would take refuge in Western capitalism in order to escape Communism. Thus, the ground was prepared for the 1953 coup and the U.S. government was able to rule the destiny of our people for a quarter of a century.

It has since become clear that the engineers of the scheme to propagate this false notion were united, composed of forces opposing the Islamic nature of the Revolution, foreign affiliated groups and capitalists, all gathered under Banisadr, who at that time was enjoying the aura of legitimacy offered by the Presidency.

Simultaneously with this futile effort inside Iran, extensive measures were also taken abroad by zionistic and imperialistic press and mass media to disappoint the deprived nations.

As this publicity failed to make much impression on the people of the world, the enemies of the Islamic Revolution of Iran began a different type of propaganda campaign, an

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example of which is the allegation of arms purchase by Iran from Israel for use in the war against the Iraqi regime. This propaganda was initiated at a time when the people of the world are well aware that the Islamic Republic of Iran had cut oil exports to Israel from the very moment of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, turned the Zionist Embassy in Tehran into the Embassy of Palestine, declared war against the government located in Tel Aviv in support of the Palestinians, and had announced the last Friday of Ramadhan (an Islamic month) to be "Quds day" so that the Muslims throughout the world by marches and demonstrations on that day, can unite for the struggle against Israel, in order that this cancerous tumor be finally eradicated from the Islamic countries. Isn't it odd that the Zionist propaganda media should publish this and then Israeli forces rescue a ship transporting armaments to Iraq? Not long after, with tacit Iraqi agreement, Israeli jet fighters bombarded an atomic installation of Iraq, in order to make the cooperation between Iraqi regime and the Israeli government less apparent.

However, all these plots devised by the world oppressors against the Islamic Revolution of Iran have been neutralized by the alertness of the Iranian people, and the vigilance and prudence of those managing the Revolution. These are valuable lessons for all the nations which are thinking of rising against world imperialism. By taking advantage of Iran's experiences the oppressed nations can resist the plots of their enemies with complete alertness and successfully tread the path of liberation.

### **THE EXPORTATION OF THE REVOLUTION**

The people of the world have repeatedly heard the Leader and other officials of the Revolution say that this Revolution must be exported to other countries. The exploiters' mass media tries to draw an expansionist picture of the Islamic Revolution through an abrogation of this issue.

The Islamic Republic's government never pursues expansionist objectives. The "Export of the Revolution" does not imply any military aggression upon other countries. Basically, the Islamic Revolution has never relied on weaponry and even the imposed war began with an Iraqi invasion. The World knows that Iran only defends its territory against aggression.

The "Export of the Revolution" simply means the introduction of the spiritual values and achievements attained in the course of the Islamic Revolution. The deprived people who are suffering under the domination of exploiters, many who are dying daily because of hunger or military aggressions, should come to know the valuable experience that the Iranian nation has gained in the course of its struggle against the exploiters.

It is incumbent on the Iranian people to furnish the exploited nations with their own accomplishments and to help them liberate themselves from the grip of the exploiters. It can be carried out through holding conferences, publishing books, through the mass media. There is no intention of military intervention. But since the world's news agencies are totally dominated by Imperialism, they always try to distort any piece of news concerning Iran.

The forces behind the Islamic Revolution have up to now been engaged in purging the executive organs of eastern and western agents who had infiltrated governmental institutions and were all trying to present a false picture of Islamic Iran.

Abulhassan Banisadr set the best example of such agents. As a President, he accused the Islamic government of torturing the prisoners while even the International Red Cross had confirmed the Iranian prisons were unique in the world, due to the humanitarian behavior with which the prisoners are treated. The Red Cross has even proposed that all other governments copy Iran in dealing with prisoners.

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The infiltration of people such as Banisadr into executive organs undoubtedly helped the Revolution's enemies to distort the image of the Islamic government. The unprecedented spiritual momentum of the Islamic Revolution has enabled it to expand despite hardships and barriers. Its supporters throughout the world are increasing day by day. Many people, especially Africans and Asians, have now put great hopes in the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Referring to Imam Khomeini as the Leader of the oppressed everywhere, they are awaiting the day when the tides of the Revolution wash the exploiters away from their lands, too.

A clear distinction must be made between the nations and their governments. There are many regimes that are safeguarding only the interests of the imperialists and thus they have to combat the influence of the Islamic Revolution on their people. Such regimes already know that should the people become aware of the Revolution's multi-faceted dimensions, they will certainly rise against their colonial governments and will dump them, humiliated, into the dungeons of history. So those governments are trying in vain to put stumbling blocks in the path of the Revolution. The nations have already found out how to liberate themselves.

The Islamic Revolution of Iran is the Future Path of the Nations.



## SUPPLEMENTARY

Uprooting the underdevelopment in villages, which is the result of years of oppressive rule of previous regimes, is one of the aims of the Islamic Revolution.

The revolutionary institution of Jihad-e-Sazandegi that has been based on voluntary work has become one of the powerful hands in realization of this ideal, and has been miraculously successful in this regard.

The following statistics shows the achievements of Jihad-e-Sazandegi during the period of January 1981 to June 1982. Due to the top priority considered for the Iraqi-imposed war on the Islamic Republic, Jihad-e-Sazandegi like otherforces has devoted a great portion of its manpower and facilities to the war. Naturally when the war ends all of the forces that have been mobilized for the war will go back to work for construction of the rural areas.

It should be admitted that the following statistics are not complete, because at the time that this book was about to be printed the achievements of Jihad-e-Sazandegi in four provinces had not been collected and four other provinces of Khusestan, Ilam, Kermanshah and Kordestan have been directly involved in war. Also there are thousands of projects that are in process of exution that we have not mentioned.

In the end we must say that the following figures are not our pride, but we glory in the dear lives that have sacrificed for the cause of Allah and in the precious hours that have been spent merely to please Allah.

**Explanation:** The terms "Newly Constructed" is used for the plans that have been started and finished by Jihad-e-Sazandegi and "Completed" is used for the Plans that were initiated by other ministries but completed by Jihad-e-Sazandegi.

## DEVELOPMENTAL ACHEIVEMENTS

Sort of Activities	Newly Constructed	Completed	Repaired
Schools	1063	324	219 Units
Public Baths	1010	271	546 Units
Mortuaries	227	27	21 Units
Masjids	391	178	318 Units
Clinics	68	21	10 Units
Homes for Needy Villagers	422	83	151 Units
Supplying Water to Villages	1522	388	255 Villages
Gravelled Roads	3063 kms	971 kms	1111 kms
Rural Roads	2284 kms	623 kms	3707 kms
Construction of Bridges	2284	82	31 Bridges
Electricity Supply to Villages	905	207	145 Villages
Costruction of Waterscapes	216	7	1 Units
Construction of Various Buildings	2181	738	232 Units

## HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES IN VILLAGES

Free Treatment . . . . .	2118563 Persons
Dressing Wounds and Giving Injections . . . . .	1107270 Persons
Vaccinations . . . . .	369426 Persons
Free Distribution of Drugs and Milk Powder . . . . .	17551385 Cases
Hospitalization . . . . .	1285 Persons
Patients Introduced to Hospitals . . . . .	47716 Persons
Medical Groups Dispatched to Villages . . . . .	24536 Groups
Establishment of Clinics . . . . .	230 Units
Establishment of Pharmacies . . . . .	241 Units
Distribution of Hygienic Equipments . . . . .	581570 Cases
Hygienic and First Aid Training . . . . .	62408 Persons
Enviromental Disinfection . . . . .	60401 Cases
Dentistry . . . . .	79276 Persons
Other Medical Services . . . . .	70429 Cases

## CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF JIHAD-E-SAZANDEGI

Ideological Classes . . . . .	55540 Sessions
Arabic Language Classes . . . . .	27442 Sessions
Literacy Classes . . . . .	20940 Sessions
Libraries . . . . .	10383 Units
Mobile Libraries . . . . .	3945 Units
Various Exhibition Set Up . . . . .	9365 Cases
Films and Theatre Programs . . . . .	36119 Cases
Lectures Delivered . . . . .	42379 Sessions
Free Distribution of Books . . . . .	2083159 Volumes
Free Distribution of Magazines . . . . .	1698347 Copies
Free Distribution of Bulletins, Newspaper and Other Publications . . . . .	7881446 Copies
Distribution of Posters and Pictures . . . . .	9090325 Copies
Distribution of Taped Lectures . . . . .	128521 Tapes
Islamic Councils Formed in Villages . . . . .	13204

## AGRICULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF JIHAD-E-SAZANDEGI

### 1— WATER IRRIGATION

Types of Activities	Newly Constructed	Completed	Repaired
Shallow Wells	133	6	14 Units
Semi-Deep Wells	139	16	40 Units
Deep Wells	418	69	45 Units
Subterranean Canals	102	86	2350
Drinage	36	13	10 Systems
Aqueducts	256	32	355 Systems
Mud Dams and Flood Plain Dikes	379	24	62 Units
Agricultural Ponds	298	63	77 Units

## 2— DISTRIBUTION ACTIVITIES

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Distribution of Seed . . . . .	4627 tons
Distribution of Fertilizers . . . . .	1435171 tons
Distribution of Pesticides . . . . .	3617 tons
Distribution of Liquid Pesticides . . . . .	1819617 litres
Tractors and Combine Harvesters . . . . .	6792 Units
Water Pumps . . . . .	13119 Units
Other Agricultural Machineries. . . . .	26202 Units
Cows Given to Farmers. . . . .	4532 Heads
Sheep Given to Farmers . . . . .	26701 Heads
Poultry Given to Farmers . . . . .	122882161 Fowls
Distribution of Fodder . . . . .	139828147 tons
Distribution of Saplings . . . . .	203725
Distribution of Veterinary Drugs . . . . .	447235 Cases
Loans Given to Farmers . . . . .	14810898 Rials

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## 3—SERVICES

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Repair of Agricultural Machinaries . . . . .	11939 Units
Assistance Given for Land Cultivation . . . . .	.950382 hectares
Assistance Given for Harvesting . . . . .	.886896 hectares
Lands Cultivated by the Jihad-e-Sazandegi . . . . .	95609 hectares
Establishment of Repaireshops. . . . .	37 Units

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## 4—VETERINARY AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY SERVICES

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Establishment of Livestock Clinics . . . . .	177 Units
Establishment of Animal Husbandry Centers . . . . .	139 Units
Establishment of Poultry Centers . . . . .	158 Units
Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Training . . . . .	101218 Persons
Vaccination of Livestocks . . . . .	41279198 Heads
Treatment of Livestocks . . . . .	11791281 Heads
Poultry Vaccination. . . . .	22789728 Fowls
Sanitizing Stables . . . . .	158227 Units

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