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Foreword

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

All praise be to God; there is neither might nor strength but from God, the Exalted, the Sublime. May peace and blessings be upon the Messenger of God, Muhammad, the Seal of the Prophets, and his purified progeny.

The present book, *Governance of the Jurist*, including relevant footnotes and explanations, is the compendium of thirteen speeches of His Eminence Im®m Khomeini delivered during his stay in Najaf from January 21 to February 8, 1970. Now, this book is presented to the knowledgeable researchers and those ardent of the works of Im®m Khomeini.

These speeches had been reproduced and disseminated then in various forms as lessons and instruction materials. Later, in autumn of 1970 the texts of the speeches were edited and prepared for printing. Following the approval of Im®m Khomeini, it was printed in Beirut (Lebanon) by Im®m Khomeini's friends, then secretly sent to Iran, while copies of which were simultaneously sent to the revolutionary Muslims in Europe, United States, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

In 1977, before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the book was published in Iran entitled, *A Letter from Imm Mesewi Keshif al-Ghite* and *Jihed-i Akbar* as its supplement. Like the other works of Imem Khomeini, the book *Governance of the Jurist* had been considered on top of the list of prohibited books for publication during the Sheh's regime. So many people were imprisoned and tortured on the charge of publishing, possessing, or reading the book.

However, despite all pressures exerted by the SAVAK (the Sheh's notorious secret police) and restraints imposed by the Sheh's regime, the notion to support the establishment of an Islamic government whose legislative principles are expounded here by Imem Khomeini, gained a widespread adherence among the revolutionary Muslim forces at the religious seminaries, universities and other notable centers; and with the 15th of Khurded uprising and Imem Khomeini's movement, the idea of establishing an Islamic

government based on *governance of the jurist* was crystallized as a fundamental idea.

The Islamic jurists (*fuqah*) have generally been involved in the issue of *governance of the jurist* in different subject matters in *fiqh*, some briefly and some in details. However, no comprehensive and orderly discourse is found in the *fiqh* books of predecessors; the reason being the unfavorable political and social conditions prevailing over Islamic countries in the past and the dominance of tyrannical ruling cliques that had made it impossible to touch upon such discussions.

But regardless of the difference among *fuqah* on the extent of authorities and the case applicability of *governance of the jurist* during the period of Occultation, there is unanimity among them in general as to the affirmation of a certain kind of guardianship authority for the fully competent *faq*. Opinions of *fuqah* on the kind of guardianship and the extent of authorities of the Islamic jurists during the period of Occultation have been recently compiled and published in some books.

According to available sources, the late <code>flyatullflh</code> Mull<code>floor</code> Ahmad Nar<code>floor</code> (one of the Qflfr dynasty contemporary scholars) has dealt with this subject matter in his book 'Awflid al-Ayyflm more detailed than the others. He first tried to seek evidence from numerous narrations proving that the <code>faqflh</code> is entrusted with guardianship rights during the Occultation period in the following areas:

In all instances, where the Prophet and the infallible Im ms ('a) had been authorized and assigned as guardians except in cases, where this had been excluded due to religiously legal requirement.

In all instances related to religious and living duties of people that must be carried out.

By relying on Qur'anic verses, Prophetic traditions, and jurisprudential arguments, he continues the discourse by giving ten examples of applicable cases within the sphere of governance of the jurist such as *ift*: administering punishment; protecting the properties of the orphans, insane, and the absent individuals; and taking possession of properties of the infallible Imems.

Although it can be understood from the late Nar®qi's discussions that he has included governance within the same sphere, he has not openly stressed on it.

After the late Nareqi, Imem Khomeini was the only faqeh to deal tacitly with the governance of the jurist for the first time and proved the point. As indicated earlier, Imem Khomeini had once discussed the question of governance of the jurist in Najaf in thirteen instructional sessions of which the present book is the transcription and edited form of the same course instructions. He further discussed governance of the jurist in the second volume of his five-volume book entitled, Kiteb al-Bay' in the same profound style.

In the present book, *Governance of the Jurist*, Im m Khomeini has laid great emphasis on guardianship (wil yat) as a principle, serving as the base and foundation for all duties. He especially examines

guardianship from governmental and political points of view. Here, in addition to expounding the political and social factors causing the neglect of the most important Islamic issue, he has methodologically examined the question, and based on the same sturdy approach exercised in *fiqh*, proceeded with introductory practicable programs for realization of *governance of the jurist* in the government.

He begins by disclosing the plots and conspiracies made by the enemies to annihilate Islam. Then he continues logically to discuss insinuated misgivings, such as "Islam is not a competent religion to govern the society at the age of industrial civilization" or "legal provisions of Islam are inadequate to resolve the social problems, and to provide us with appropriate answers".

In this regard Im me Khomeini points out that the misgivings suggested by the enemies to pave the way for the faulty notion of separation of religion from politics, have unfortunately been so much effective; even in the seminaries, one dares not to speak freely about the Islamic government. He further indicated the domestic shortcomings and infatuations for the new civilization, all of which are the souvenir of the devilish propaganda of imperialism. He warned the seminaries, the young clergy students, and the Muslim thinkers to endeavor enormously to carry out their political and social duties and be careful not to be deceived. Islam is not opposed to technological and industrial progress; but social problems require ethical and religious solution, and Islam is that all-embracing religion that can solve all problems, provided the thinkers and scholars of the Islamic world would face the challenge.

By expounding the indisputable historical fact that the Most Noble Messenger (s) had appointed a successor, Im messenger (s) had appointed a successor had been designed just to expound the religious precepts." Of course not! Expounding religious precepts does not require to be done by the Prophet's successor. Therefore the appointment had been for rulership, and for enforcement of laws and regulations. It is most important now to believe in the necessity to establish an Islamic government; thus, we can determine the position and role of the successor.

In this book Im®m Khomeini has given some instances proving the necessity for establishing an Islamic government, as follows:

Action taken by the Holy Prophet (s) to establish a government;

The fact that divine precepts are to be enforced perpetually; they are enacted not only for the time of the Holy Prophet (s); they are meant for all time.

The nature and characteristic of Islamic laws and regulations like fiscal, national defense, and legal and penal precepts are such that they are not executable without a government.

After giving quite well-reasoned explanation on the necessity of Islamic government, Im®m Khomeini refers to the historical background of deviation from this principle during the Umayyad period and its continuation during the Abbasids who had adopted un–Islamic rule, imitating the Iranian monarchical,

Roman imperial and the Egyptian pharaonic systems. And the same way continued afterwards. He stresses on the logical demand for alteration of such systems, and that it is therefore necessary to stir up a political revolution. Accordingly, it is necessary to revolt against tyrannical governments to pave the way for the establishment of Islamic government and the enforcement of Islamic precepts, unification of Islamic *ummah* that have now fallen into the trap of disunity caused by various domestic elements as well as foreigners, and finally, to save the oppressed and the deprived people as a religious duty of all Muslims, especially the scholars. Im me Khomeini further continues emphasizing on the necessity of establishing an Islamic government, by relating the subject to a narration quoted by Fadl ibn Sheden on the philosophy of ordaining governments as provided for in the narration and traditions.

An important part of the book deals with the difference between an Islamic government and other types of governments, pointing out that the Islamic government is a special kind of constitutional government that is anchored on the Islamic laws. Im The Khomeini believes, therefore, that Islamic legislative power or law-making assemblies are bound to devise all governmental plans and programs within the framework of Islamic precepts; not according to regular procedures followed by other states.

Im m Khomeini further deals with the prerequisite qualities of the ruler, as derived directly from the nature of Islamic government. In addition to the regular requirement such as intelligence and prudence, there are two principal prerequisites for the ruler: his knowledge about the law and his justness.

Governance of the <code>faq®h</code> during the Occultation is the next to be dealt with. Following the previous discussion, Im®m Khomeini says, "Now we live at the Occultation period. On the one hand, Islamic precepts are to be enforced, (and no one is designated by God Almighty to fulfill this task), and on the other hand, what should we do then?" He examines this subject matter and comes to the conclusion that "God Almighty has given the quality which is required for rulership to a great number of religious scholars from the very outset of Islam to the advent of the Im®m of the Age ('a). This quality is the knowledge about law and justice. A great number of our contemporary scholars (<code>fuqah®</code>) possess this quality and they should join hands. They will be able to establish a just government in the world." He then points out that governance of the jurist is an extrinsic and rational issue, and the fully competent <code>faq®h</code> is entrusted with all the authorities; that the Prophet and the infallible Im®ms ('a) were entitled too, for governance; and that this guardianship cannot be realized except through entitlement and that it implies in itself no dignity and status, but only a means of carrying out one's duty and enforcing religious precepts.

The exalted aims of government, and characteristics required for the ruler are then referred to. Relying on traditions, Imm Khomeini deduces that *governance of the jurist* implies entitlement to government as well as argumentation that constitutes the greater part of the book. The concluding part of the book deals with the necessity for a long-range planning to achieve this divine objective. Here, Imm Khomeini points out the importance of propagation and instructions, while saying, "Meetings must be directed to

serve these two important tasks. Struggles must be stirred as 'shire to create waves of crowds insisting on the establishment of Islamic government, and prepared for a long-term struggle while not bearing in mind an immediate achievement".

The necessity for proper attention to instructions and propagations, moral and cultural reformation of seminaries, annihilation of the moral and cultural effects of imperialism, correction of the pseudo-saints, purging the seminaries of the court '*ulam*®, and finally, taking effective measures to overthrow the oppressive and tyrannical governments, are among the concluding discussions of the book.

Esteemed readers' attentions are drawn to the fact that after his divine uprising, which, thanks to the divine grace, consciousness and unity of the Muslim people, gained victory over monarchical system in Iran on Bahman 22, 1358 Sh./February 11,1979, Im®m Khomeini undertook the leadership of the Islamic Revolution and the guardianship function of the nation. It should, therefore, be taken into consideration that comprehending precisely Im®m Khomeini's viewpoints on governance of the jurist, which is explained in this book, can only be realized when full consideration is given to his personal manners and conducts in the course of his rule and his ideas about the extent of authorities and the station of guardianship as expressed through his speeches, messages and letters.3

"O God, foreshorten the arms of the oppressors that are stretched out against the lands of the Muslims and root out all traitors to Islam and the Islamic countries. Awaken the heads of the Muslims states from their deep sleep so that they may exert themselves on behalf of their people's interests and renounce divisiveness and the quest for personal gain. Grant that the younger generation studying in the religious colleges and the universities may struggle to reach the sacred aims of Islam and strive together, with ranks united, first, to deliver the Islamic countries from the clutches of imperialism and its vile agents, and then to defend them. Grant that the *fuqah* and the scholars may strive to guide and enlighten the minds of the people, to convey the sacred aims of Islam to all Muslims, particularly the younger generation, and to struggle for the establishment of an Islamic government. From You is success, and there is neither recourse nor strength except in God, the Exalted, the Sublime."4

The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imm Khomeini's Works

Imm Khomeini, a Short Biography

Imm Khomeini - a Short Biography5

Im m R hull hal-Musawi al-Khomeini was born on September 24, 1902 into a family of strong religious traditions in Khumayn, a small town some hundred kilometers to the southwest of Tehran.6

Both his grandfather and father were religious scholars. The former, Sayyid Ahmad, was known as al–Hindi because of a period he had spent in India, where a distant branch of the family is said still to exist. The latter, TyatullTh MustafT, was murdered by bandits only five months after the birth of RThullTh, so that his mother and an aunt were responsible for his early upbringing. At the age of sixteen, he lost both mother and aunt in the course of a single year, and the task of supervising his education then fell to an elder brother, Sayyid MurtadT (better known, in later years, as TyatullTh PasandTdeh). TyatullTh PasandTdeh recalls that, even in his youth, ImTm Khomeini showed great piety, seriousness, and determination. It was the general consensus in Khumayn that a significant if turbulent career awaited him.7

At the age of nineteen, the young Khomeini was sent to study religious sciences in the nearby town of Ar®k under the guidance of Shaykh 'Abd al-Kar®m H®'iri8 who had been a pupil of great scholars at the Sh®'i teaching centers in Iraq, most notably M®rz® Hasan Shir®zi.9 His studies under H®'iri made Khomeini an heir to the traditions established by the great figures of the nineteenth century— traditions that included political activism as well as learning.

The following year, He'iri accepted an invitation from the people and scholars of Qum to settle there. Qum had always been a center of learning as well as pilgrimage, but He'iri's arrival there, followed by his reorganization of the religious teaching institution, was the first in a series of development that elevated Qum to the status of spiritual capital of Islamic Iran. The final and decisive development would be the movement of nationwide opposition to the Pahlavi monarchy that Imem Khomeini was to initiate in Qum in 1962.

Indications of Im®m Khomeini's future role were already present in those early years. He attained prominence among the numerous students of H®'iri, excelling in a wide variety of subjects, but especially ethics and the variety of spiritual philosophy known in Iran as 'irf®n. At the early age of twenty–seven, he wrote a treatise in Arabic on these subjects, Misb®h al–Hid®yah, which was well received by his teachers. 10 Many of Im®m Khomeini's important associates who came to be well known during the Revolution years—e.g. ¶yatull®h Muntaziri11—recall that they were first attracted to him by his proficiency in ethics and philosophy and that the classes he taught on them twice a week in Qum were frequently attended by hundreds of people. 12

Given the current fame of Im®m Khomeini as a revolutionary leader who has achieved a rare degree of success in the purely political sphere, it may appear surprising that he first gained fame as a writer and teacher concerned with devotional and even mystical matters. For Im®m Khomeini, however, spirituality and mysticism have never implied social withdrawal or political quietism, but rather the building up of a fund of energy that finds its natural expression on the sociopolitical plane.

The life of Im M Khomeini is a clear indication that the Revolution wrought by Islam necessarily begins

in the moral and spiritual realm. 13 The classes he taught at Qum in the 1930s bore witness to this; topics of an ethical and spiritual nature were constantly interwoven with evocations of the problems of the day and exhortations to his listeners to devote themselves to solving them as part of their religious duty.

The early years of Imm Khomeini's activity in Qum coincided with the establishment of the Pahlavi state by Riz Khin. Riz Khin transformed the Iranian monarchy into a dictatorship of the modern, totalitarian kind and made its chief internal aim the elimination of Islam as a political, social, and cultural religion.

Efforts directed towards this aim were directly witnessed by Im®m Khomeini in Qum, and reports reached him regularly from other cities such as Mashhad, Isfahan and Tabriz. What he saw and heard in those years left a deep impression on him; the repressive measures directed against the religious institution in later years by the second and last of the Pahlavi sh®hs, Muhammad Riz®, were for him a natural and direct continuation of what he had experienced in the period of Riz® Sh®h; the father and the son were of a piece.

Imem Khomeini's first public statement of a political nature came in a book published in 1941, *Kashf al-Asrer*. 14 The book is essentially a detailed, systematic critique of an anti-religious tract, but it also contains numerous passages that are overtly political and critics of the Pahlavi rule.

In 1937, He'iri died, and the religious institution was temporarily headed by a triumvirate of his closest senior associates: Eyatullehs Sadr, Hujjat, and Khwanseri. Soon, however, a single leader succeeded to the role of He'iri, Eyatulleh Burejirdi. Imem Khomeini was active in promoting the candidacy of Burejirdi, whom he expected to utilize the potentialities of the position of supreme religious authority in order to combat the Pahlavi rule. He remained close to Burejirdi until his death in 1962, but other influences prevailed on Burejirdi; history regards him as a religious leader of great piety and administrative ability, but almost totally inactive in political matters. 15

After the death of Bur jirdi, no single successor to his position emerged. Khomeini was reluctant to allow his own name to be canvassed, but he ultimately yielded to the urgings of close associates that a collection of his rulings on matters of religious practice be published, thus implicitly declaring his availability as leader and authority. It was not, however, primarily through technical procedures such as this that the prominence of Im Khomeini spread first within Qum, and then throughout the country. Of greater importance was his willingness to confront the Sheh's regime at a time when few dared to do so. For example, he was alone among the major religious scholars of Qum in extending support publicly to the students at the religious institution who were campaigning against the opening of liquor stores in the city.

Soon his attention was drawn to matters of greater significance. The first step came in October 1962,

when the Shin promulgated a law abolishing the requirement that candidates for election to local assemblies be Muslim and male. Imim Khomeini, joined by religious leaders elsewhere in the country, protested vigorously against the measure; it was ultimately repealed. 16 The measure itself was not intrinsically important, because elections to local assemblies were invariably corrupt and their functions were purely formal. But the campaign against it provided a point of departure for more comprehensive agitation against the regime as well as an opportunity to build a coalition of religious scholars that might be mobilized for more fundamental aims in the future.

The next step was taken in 1963, when the Sheh began to promulgate a series of measures for reshaping the political, social and economic life of Iran that were collectively designated the "White Revolution". The appearance of popular approval was obtained by a fraudulent referendum held on January 26, 1963. However, the measures in question were correctly perceived by a large segment of Iranian society as being imposed on the country by the United States and designed to bring about augmentation of the Sheh's power and wealth, as well as intensification of the United States dominance, which had been instituted with the CIA coup d'état against Prime Minister Muhammad Musaddiq in August 1953. Imem Khomeini moved immediately to denounce the fraudulent "revolution" and to expose the motives that underlay it, preaching a series of sermons from Fayziyyah *Madrasah* 17 in Qum that had a nationwide impact.

The Shin's regime responded by sending paratroopers to attack Fayziyyah *Madrasah* on March 22, 1963. A number of students were killed and the *madrasah* was ransacked. Far from intimidating Imim Khomeini, this event marked the beginning of a new period of determined struggle that was directed not only against the errors and excesses of the regime, but against its very existence. The attack on the *madrasah* had an almost symbolic value, exemplifying as it did both the hostility of the regime to Islam and Islamic institutions and the ruthless, barbaric manner in which it expressed that hostility.

Throughout the spring of 1963, Im®m Khomeini continued to denounce the Sh®h's regime. He concentrated his attacks on its tyrannical nature, its subordination to the United States, and its expanding collaboration with Israel. The confrontation reached a new peak in June with the onset of Muharram, the month in the Muslim calendar when the martyrdom of Im®m Husayn ('a), the grandson of the Prophet (s), is commemorated and aspirations to emulate his example, by struggling against contemporary manifestation of tyranny, are awakened. On the tenth day of the month, Im®m Khomeini delivered a historic speech in Qum, repeating his denunciations of the Sh®h's regime and warning the Sh®h not to behave in such a way that the people would rejoice when he should ultimately be forced to leave the country. 18 Two days later, he was arrested at his residence and taken to confinement in Tehran.

The arrest of Im®m Khomeini brought popular disgust with the Sh®h's regime to a climax, and a major uprising shook the throne. In Qum, Tehran, Shiraz, Mashhad, Isfahan, Kashan, and other cities,

unarmed demonstrators confronted the Sheh's US-trained and -equipped army, which, upon the command to shoot to kill, slaughtered not less than 15,000 people in the space of a few days. The date on which this uprising began, Khurded 15 according to the solar calendar used in Iran, marked a turning point in the modern history of Iran. It established Imem Khomeini as national leader and spokesperson for popular aspirations, provided the struggle against the Sheh and his foreign patrons with a coherent ideological basis in Islam, and introduced a period of mass political activity under the guidance of the religious leadership instead of the secular parties that had been discredited, with the overthrow of Musaddiq. In all of these ways, uprising of Khurded 15 foreshadowed the Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979.

The uprising was suppressed, but the general public and the religious scholars refused to tolerate the imprisonment of Im®m Khomeini. Agitation persisted throughout the country, and numerous religious leaders converged on Tehran to press for Im®m Khomeini's release. It finally came on April 6,1964, accompanied by a statement in the government–controlled press that Im®m Khomeini had agreed to refrain from political activity as a condition for his release. This was immediately refuted by the Im®m, 19 who resumed his denunciation of the regime with undiminished vigor.

If further proof were needed of the Sh®h's tutelage to the US, it came in October 1964, when legal immunity was granted to American personnel for all offenses committed in Iranian territory. After learning that the Iranian rubber—stamp *Majlis* (Parliament) had agreed to this measure, Im®m Khomeini spent a sleepless night, and the next day, October 27, he furiously denounced this open violation of Iranian sovereignty and independence. 20 It had by now become apparent to the Sh®h and his foreign overlords that Im®m Khomeini could not be intimidated into silence, and it was decided to exile him, in the vain hope of destroying his influence. Accordingly, on November 4,1964 Im®m Khomeini was arrested again and sent into exile in Turkey, accompanied by agents of the Sh®h's secret police.

After a brief stay in Ankara, Im®m Khomeini was obliged to take up residence in Bursa, a city in the west of Turkey. Continual pressure was brought on the Sh®h's regime to permit Im®m Khomeini to leave Turkey for a more favorable place of exile, Najaf, one of the Sh®'i shrine cities of Iraq. In October 1965, consent was given, and Im®m Khomeini proceeded to Najaf, which was to be his home for thirteen years.

In agreeing to this move, the Sheh's regime had been motivated not only by the desire to free itself from popular pressure, but also by the assumption that Imem Khomeini would be overshadowed in Najaf by the religious authorities resident there. This assumption proved false. Imem Khomeini established himself as a major religious presence in Najaf. More importantly, he maintained his influence and popularity in Iran. He issued periodic proclamations concerning developments in Iran that were smuggled into the country and clandestinely circulated at great risk. In addition, his messages addressed to the Muslim world at large were distributed several times in Mecca during pilgrimage season of the

year. In Najaf itself, he received visits during the long years of his exile from a number of important Iranian and other Muslim personalities.

The name and person of Im®m Khomeini and the cause that he embodied were never forgotten in Iran. His example inspired a number of religious scholars and groups, which continued to build on the foundations laid in 1963 and 1964, and unnoticed by most foreign observers, an Islamic movement of unparalleled breadth and profundity came into being.

It was then entirely natural that Im M Khomeini should swiftly emerge as the leader of the Islamic Revolution of 1978–1979. Notwithstanding his physical absence from the country, he was present in the hearts of his countrymen and infinitely more in tune with their aspirations than politicians who had suffered neither exile nor imprisonment.

On November 23, 1977, the elder son of Imem Khomeini, Hajj Mustafe, died suddenly in Najaf, assassinated by the Sheh's US-instituted security police, SAVAK. Imem Khomeini bore this blow stoically, but the tragedy inflamed the public in Iran. Massive social corruption and economic dislocation as well as continuing political repression had already aroused universal discontent in Iran, and when the regime aimed its next blow against Imem Khomeini, discontent overflowed into rebellion, and rebellion, in turn, matured into revolution.

On January 8,1978, one week after President Carter had been in Tehran lauding the Sh®h as a wise statesman beloved of his people,21 the government–controlled press printed an article supplied by the Ministry of Court attacking Im®m Khomeini as an agent of foreign powers. The public reaction was immediate outrage. The following day in Qum, demonstrations broke out that were suppressed with heavy loss of life. This was the first of a series of demonstrations that progressively unfurled across the country, until in the end barely a single region remained untouched by revolutionary fervor. Throughout the spring and summer of 1978, Im®m Khomeini issued a series of proclamations and directives, congratulating the people on their steadfastness and encouraging them to persist until the attainment of the final objective—overthrow of the monarchy and institution of an Islamic republic.

The centrality of the Im®m in the revolutionary movement was obvious from the beginning. His name was constantly repeated in the slogans that were devised and chanted in the demonstrations; his portrait served as a revolutionary banner; and his return from exile to supervise the installation of an Islamic government was insistently demanded. Acting under another of its erroneous assumptions, the Sh®h's regime requested the Ba'athist government in Iraq, in September 1978, to expel Im®m Khomeini from its territory, in the hope of depriving him of his base of operations and robbing the Revolution of its leadership. Im®m Khomeini had never enjoyed cordial relations with the various governments that had ruled Iraq since his arrival there in 1965, and he now informed the Ba'athists that he would be happy to leave Iraq for a country that was not subject to the Sh®h's dictates. Syria and Algeria were considered

as possible destinations, but in the end, as Im m Khomeini testifies himself, no Muslim country offered him refuge with the assurance of his being able to continue his activity freely. 22 So, he went to France, taking up residence at the hamlet of Neauphle-le-Château near Paris in early October 1978.

The move to France proved beneficial. Paradoxically, communication with Iran was easier from France than it had been from Iraq. The declarations and directives that were now being issued with increasing frequency were telephoned directly to Tehran, for further dissemination to a number of centers in the provinces. A never–ending stream of Iranians, from Europe and the United States as well as Iran itself, came to visit and pay homage to the Im®m, and to consult with him. The world's media also descended on the modest residence of the Im®m at Neauphle–le–Château, and his words began to reach a global audience.

The month of Muharram that coincided with December 1978 witnessed vast and repeated demonstrations in Tehran and other Iranian cities, demanding the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of an Islamic republic under the leadership of Im®m Khomeini. Despite all the savagery the Sh®h had employed, including the slaughter of thousands of unarmed demonstrators, the torture and abuse of detainees, and massacres of the wounded on their hospital beds, and despite the unstinting support he had received from the United States and other foreign powers, the corrupt and murderous rule of the Sh®h was approaching its end. His masters decided it was politic for him to leave, and when preparation had been made for the installation of a surrogate administration under Sh®hp®r Bakhti®r, the Sh®h left Iran for the last time on January 16, 1979. The outburst of joy that followed his departure was a fulfillment of the prophecy Im®m Khomeini had made sixteen years earlier.

Once the Shin left Iran, Imim Khomeini prepared to return to his homeland. When he did, on February 1, he was met with a tumultuous welcome. With his renewed presence in Iran, the fate of the Bakhtiir's government was sealed. After a final outburst of savagery on February 10 and 11, the old regime collapsed in disgrace, and the Islamic Republic of Iran was born.

In the two eventful years that have elapsed since the triumph of the Revolution, Im®m Khomeini has continued to play an indispensable role in consolidating its gains and guiding the destiny of the nation. In a formal sense, his role has been defined by Articles, 107 to 112 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran,23 which incorporate the key political principle of the "governance of the faq®h (vil®yat-i faq®h).24 In a more general sense, however, he has continued to provide the Revolution with its very substance, acting as its highest instance of authority and legitimacy. Countless addresses to different groups of citizens that come to visit him, as well as public speeches to wider audiences on particular significant occasions, have confirmed Im®m Khomeini as the teacher and guide of the Islamic Revolution.25

Throughout this long and remarkable career, Im m Khomeini has manifested a unique set of

characteristics: spirituality and erudition, asceticism and self-discipline, sobriety and determination, political genius and leadership, compassion for the poor and deprived, and a relentless hatred of oppression and imperialism. Summarizing his assessment of Im®m Khomeini, the late <code>®yatull®h</code> Mutahhari26 compared him with 'Ali ibn Abi T®lib ('a), that high exemplar of Islamic courage, wisdom, and spirituality. All who had the privilege to come into the presence of the Im®m will concur in his judgment.

- 1. See n. 27 of the present volume.
- 2. See n. 107 of the present volume.
- 3. A collection of the viewpoints and stances on this argumentation is being compiled by this Institute.
- 4. The written supplication at the end of the present volume.
- <u>5.</u> The translator's introduction in the English translation as part of an anthology titled Islam and Revolution, originally published by Al–Mizan Press, Berkeley, USA in 1981. Notes with "(Pub.)" at the end are that of, or modified by, the publisher. (Pub.)
- 6. Some information about the early life of Imem Khomeini is to be found in the opening sections of two books that concern themselves chiefly with the events of 1962–1964: S.H.R. Barrase va Tahlele az Nihzat-i Imem Khomeini (Najaf? n.d); and anon., Biyugrefi-yi Pishve, n.p, n.d. This Institute has recently published the first volume of The Life of Imem Khomeini, which elaborately deals on his early life up to matrimony. (Pub.)
- 7. Interview of the translator with <code>lyatull</code> Pasand deh, Qum, December 19, 1979.
- 8. For detailed accounts of the life and achievements of Shaykh 'Abd al-Kar®m H®'iri, see Muhammad Sharif R®zi, ®th®r al-Hujjah (Qum 1332 A.H.S./1953), I, pp. 22–90; Ganjin®-yi D®nishmand®n (Tehran, 1352 Sh./1973), I, pp. 283–304. His relations with Riz® Kh®n are discussed briefly in 'Abd al-Kar®m H®'iri, Shi'ism and Constitutionalism in Iran (Leiden, 1977), pp. 135–139.
- 9. Concerning Merze Hasan Shirezi, see p. 124 and 162, note 155.
- 10. For lists of Imem Khomeini's writings, published and unpublished, see S.H.R., Barrase va Tahler az Nihzat-i Imem Khomeini, pp. 55-61, and anon., Biyugrefe-yi Peshve, I, 52-53. Copies as well as lists of Imem Khomeini's literary works can be obtained from the publisher, The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imem Khomeini's Works, http://www.imam-khomeini.org [1], email: info@imam-khomeini.org [2]. (Pub.)
- 11. Pyatull Muntaziri, born to a family of peasant stock in Najaf bed in 1301 A.H./1884, had for many years been closely associated with Imem Khomeini, who had described him as "the product of my life." Not only a master of both law and philosophy, but also a militant leader, Pyatull Muntaziri played an important role in sustaining the struggle against the Sheh during Imem Khomeini's years in exile.
- 12. Rezi, ether al-Hujjah, II, 45.
- 13. See Imam Khomeini's own remarks on the connection between spirituality and sociopolitical activity in lectures on Sarah al-Fatiha published in the anthology of Imam Khomeini's writings and declarations titled Islam and Revolution, Al-Mizan Press, Berkeley, USA, 1981, pp. 399–400. See Imam Khomeini, adab as-Salat: The Disciplines of the Prayer (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, 1996), pp. 357–418, available online at: http://www.al-islam.org/adab [3]. (Pub.)
- 14. For an extract from this book, see ibid., pp. 169-173.
- 15. For a brief account of the achievements of TyatullTh BurTjirdi, see MurtadT Mutahhari, "MazTyT va KhadamTt-i MarhTm TyatullTh BurTjirdi," Bahsi dar bTreh-ye Marjaʻiyyat va RThTniyyat (Tehran, n.d.), pp. 233–249.
- 16. See p. 118 and p. 161, n. 151.
- 17. Fayziyyah Madrasah, founded in Safavid times, has acquired particular fame among the teaching institutions in Qum because of the role it has played in the Islamic movement. Closed down in 1975 by the Sheh's regime, it was ceremonially reopened after the triumph of the Revolution.

- 18. For the text of this speech, see Islam and Revolution, pp. 177-180.
- 19. See p. 127.
- 20. For the text of this speech, see Islam and Revolution, pp. 181-188.
- 21. Carter told the Shih in Tehran on January 1, 1978: "Iran is an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world. This is a great tribute to you, Your Majesty, and to your leadership and to the respect, admiration and love which your people give to you." New York Times, January 2, 1978.
- 22. See Islam and Revolution, p. 238.
- 23. See Hamid Algar, trans., The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Berkeley, 1980), pp. 66-69.
- 24. This principle forms the central topic of the first session of this book. See especially pp. 62–125.
- 25. It is important to understand that despite this centrality of Im®m Khomeini to the Revolution, the Islamic Republic is not an authoritarian regime over which he presides. The notion of a "Khomeini regime," as promoted by the Western media, is entirely fictitious. Repeated consultations of the popular will after February 1979 have resulted in the emergence of a new set of political institutions that function with demonstrable freedom.
- 26. Tyatull Murtad Mutahhari was a scholar of unusually wide learning, a writer and lecturer of great effectiveness, and a cherished pupil of Im M Khomeini. He was a leading member of the Revolutionary Council until his assassination on May 1, 1979 by the terrorist Furq n group.

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