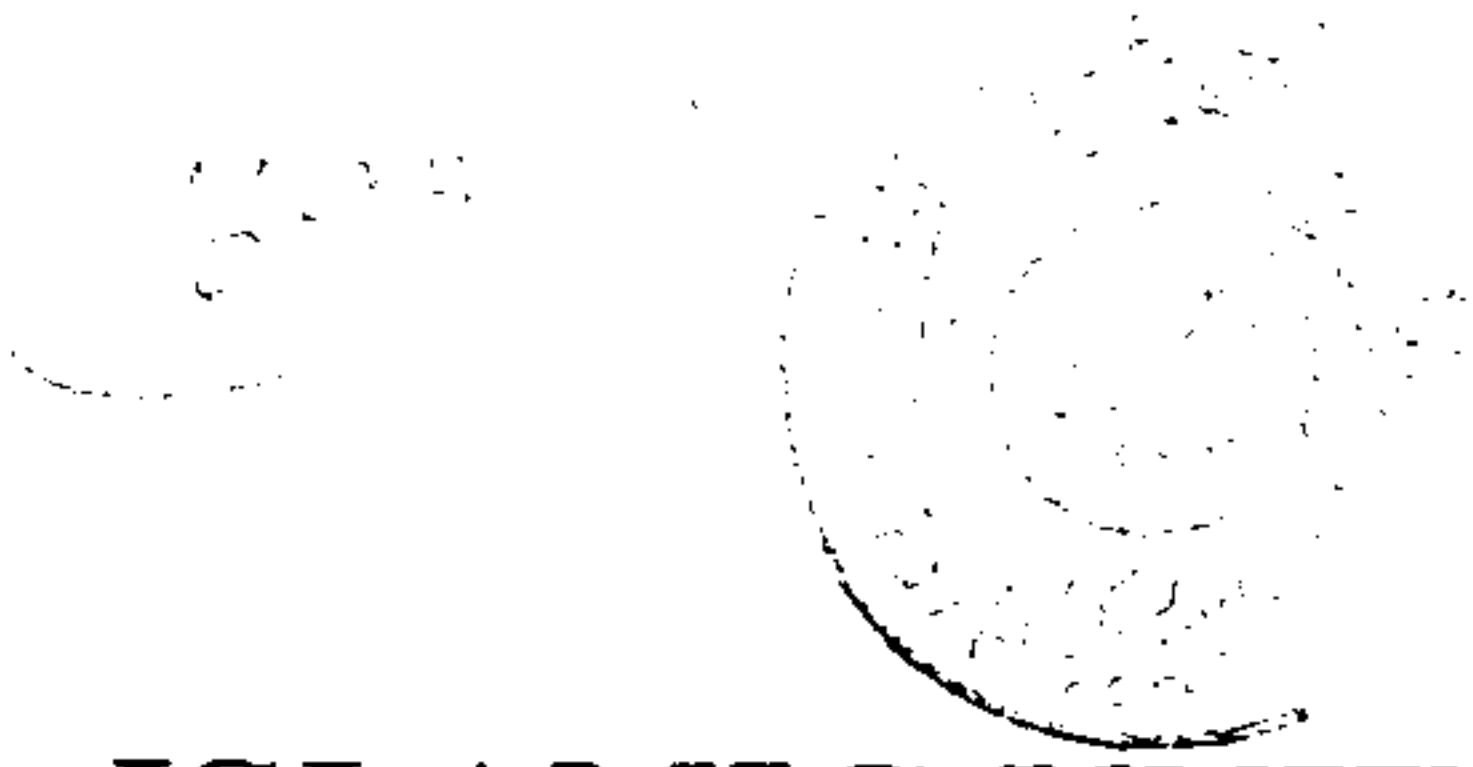




**ISLAMIC
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Greetings to all Muslims of the world, whose Prophet is the last Prophet (upon him be peace), whose Sacred Book is the Glorious Qur'an and whose *qiblah* is the Ka'bah. O Muslims and oppressed of the world! Join together and turn to Allah: seek refuge in Islam and confront the oppressors and those who trample on the rights of nations.

IMAM KHOMEINI

ISLAMIC UNITY IN THE GLORIOUS QUR'AN

«بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ»

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

«واذکروا نعمة الله علیکم اذ کنتم اعداء فآلف بین قلوبکم فأصبحتم بنعمته إخوانا».

«... And remember Allah's favour unto you: how ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts so that ye become as brothers by His grace...» (3: 103)

«ولا تكونوا كالذین نفرقوا واختلفوا من بعد ما جاءهم البینات وأولئک لهم عذاب عظیم».

«And be ye not as those who separated and disputed after the clear proofs had come unto them. For such there is an awful doom.» (3: 105)

«انما المؤمنون اخوة».

«The believers are naught else than brothers...» (49: 10)

«وتعاونوا على البر والتقوى ولا تعاونوا على الإثم والعدوان.»

«... *Help ye one another unto righteousness and pious duty. Help not one another unto sin and transgression...*» (5: 2)

«ولا تنازعوا فتفشلوا وتذهب ريحكم.»

«... *And dispute not one with another lest ye falter and your strength depart from you; but be steadfast! Lo! Allah is with the steadfast!...*» (8: 46)

«ولا تلمزوا أنفسكم ولا تنابزوا بالألقاب.»

«... *Neither defame one another, nor insult one another by nicknames...*» (49: 11)

«كنتم خير أمة أخرجت للناس.»

«*Ye are the best community that hath been raised up for mankind...*» (3: 110)

«إن هذه أمتكم أمة واحدة وأنا ربكم فاعبدون.»

«*Lo! this, your religion, is one religion, and I am your Lord, so worship Me.*» (21: 92)

«يا أيها الذين آمنوا ادخلوا في السلم كافة ولا تتبعوا خطوات الشيطان.»

«*O ye who believe! Come, all of you, into submission (unto Him) and follow not the footsteps of the devil...*» (2: 208)

«فان تنازعتم في شئ فردوه الى الله والرسول ان كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الآخر».

«... And if ye have a dispute concerning any matter, refer it to Allah and the messenger if ye are (in truth) believers in Allah and the Last Day...» (4: 59)

«وما اختلفتم فيه من شئ فحكه الى الله».

«And in whatsoever ye differ, the verdict therein belongeth to Allah...» (42: 10)

«ان الذين فرقوا دينهم وكانوا شيعاً لست منهم في شئ».

«Lo! As for those who sunder their religion and become schismatics, no concern at all hast thou with them...» (6: 159)

«يا أيها الناس انا خلقناكم من ذكرواُنثى وجعلناكم شعوباً وقبائل لتعارفوا، ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم».

«O mankind! Lo! We have created you of a male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Lo! the noblest of you in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct...» (49: 13)

«ان هذه اُمتكم امة واحدة وانا ربكم فاتقون».

«And lo! this your religion is one religion and I am your Lord, so keep your duty unto Me.» (23: 52)

«واعتصموا بحبل الله جميعاً ولا تفرقوا».

«And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate...» (3: 103)

**VIEWPOINTS OF SHI'A AND SUNNI PERSONALITIES
CONCERNING ISLAMIC UNITY**

«ولتكن منكم أمة يدعون الى الخير ويأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر وأولئك هم
المفلحون».

«And there may spring from you a nation who invite to goodness, and enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency. Such are they who are successful.» (3: 104)

... Throughout history and particularly during the recent centuries, the enemies of Islam have tried within their utmost power to divide the Muslims and to create discord among them by weakening their competent leadership, sowing discord and disunity and reviving the symbols of nationalism, race, language etc... You should all endeavor to return to true Islam, stand by the ocean of the Muslim nations, put aside your minor differences and by holding fast to the covenant of Allah you ought to stand firm as a powerful, united and resistant front against Zionism...

Ayatollah Montazeri

... My Muslim brothers and scholars! The most significant mottos that we the officials of the Islamic Republic propounded are: «expression of unity» and «unity of expression».

It is for propounding such vital and consequential mottos that the Islamic Republic of Iran has been attacked by both the Eastern and Western superpowers. Our revolution, by being faithful and loyal towards the most fundamental Islamic maxims, has provoked the fear and fury of those forces that have become accustomed to dominating nations for more than two centuries, and has mobilized those forces for confrontation with us. The global war-mongers are furious because of our maxims of Islamic unity, faith and brotherhood...

Sayyid Ali Khamenei
(President of the Islamic Republic of Iran)

Book and the Sunnis and Shi'ites have never disagreed on the Holy Book and the traditions; differences are in understanding them.

Samih Atif al-Zain
(author of two books in Arabic,
Islamic Human Education and The
Muslims-Who Are They?)

... I wish I could describe the meetings in Dar-al-Taqrīb where the Egyptian sits beside the Iranian, Lebanese, Iraqi, Pakistani or others from one of the various Muslim nations and the followers of Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali who sit beside the Imami and Zaidi at one round table with voices full of knowledge, devotion and jurisprudence as well as the spirit of brotherhood, friendship, love and devotion to science and gnosticism.

Sheikh Mahmud Shaltut
(Former President of al-Azhar University)

... Let us work jointly together for Islam and let us forget everything save our struggle for the sake of the dignity of Islam. Has not the time come for Muslims to understand and resolve the division of Sunni and Shi'ite?...

Martyr Navab Safavi
(Leader of the Fadaiyan Islam Organization)

... There is no difference between Sunnis and Shi'ites, but the colonial powers strive to create division by means of sowing discord among the Muslims.

Shaykh Ahmad Kaftaro
(High Mufti of Syria)

... The unity of faith among Muslims should act as the single most important contributing factor which would remove such barriers as race, language and different cultures within Muslim countries, while it would also foil all the plots presently contrived by the West or the East to divide the world Muslim community.

Mr. Muhammad Hussein Amin
(Head of the 'Jafari School' in Sidon, Lebanon)

... That which induced me to write this book (The Muslims-Who Are They?) is the blind division between Shi'ite Muslims and Sunni Muslims, a division that should have vaporized with the eradication of illiteracy, but unfortunately still has some roots in ill-minded people because its roots were very firmly planted by groups of people who ruled the Islamic world on the basis of dividing brothers while stimulating love for the enemies of this religion and those who refuse to live unless as parasites on the blood of others. I will tell you my brother Shi'ite Muslim and brother Sunni Muslim, the most important basis of differences lies in understanding the Holy

IMAM KHOMEINI ON ISLAMIC UNITY

1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF «MUSLIM UNITY»

... Unity is the same ideal towards which man has been directed in the Noble Qur'an, and the blessed Imams too invited the Muslims to unity. Basically, an invitation to Islam is an invitation to unity: an invitation calling on the people to gather under the banner of Islam. As you know, they [the enemies of Islam] have not allowed this unity to materialize. Particularly in more recent centuries they tried hard to fan the flames of discord since their experts realized that if the world community of Muslims were to come closer together and join hands in unity, no power would be able to confront them and rule over them. Thus the only option left for them in order to achieve their sinister aims was to sow the seeds of dissension among all [the Islamic] groups...

(From the Imam's message to the Friday prayer leaders of Gilan province and the Friday prayer leader of the city of Rasht-- January 13, 1982).

... Islam has been sent forth to unite all the nations be they Arabs, Turks, Persians or otherwise in order to establish a great community called **the Islamic Ummah** in the world, and due to their great numbers no one will be able to dominate the Islamic centers and governments. The superpowers and their subservient lackies in the Islamic countries are planning to divide the Muslim people and want to sever the brotherhood

top priority against the world-devourers and hegemonists. As stated in the Qur'an, it (the Islamic Republic) regards hypocrisy and division as the cause of failure and annihilation [of the Muslims]...

(From the Imam's message on the Anniversary of the 15th of Khordad uprising -- June 5, 1983).

2. THE OUTCOME OF ISLAMIC UNITY

a. The assistance and support of God

... If all the groups come together [and join hands in Islamic unity] within the framework of Islamic precepts, they will be protected by God [the Almighty]...

(From the Imam's message to members of the Campaign for Reconstruction--June 17, 1981).

b. Restoring the glory of Muslims

... O Muslims of the world who believe in the truth of Islam! Arise and gather under the banner of 'Divine unity, monotheism (tawhid) and under the shelter of Islamic teachings. Curtail the treacherous hands of the superpowers from your countries and their abundant resources. Restore the glory of Islam. Do away with differences and lustful desires. You possess everything...

(From the Imam's message to the Hajj pilgrims--September 12, 1980).

c. Liberation and salvation of Muslims and victory over the enemies of Islam

... God the Almighty has promised that salvation can only be achieved through Islamic brotherhood, friendship and affection among the Muslims...

(From the Imam's message on the occasion of the Iranian New Year -- March 21, 1982).

among the Muslims which God, the Most High, has ordained for them. These plans are aimed at separating the Muslims under the pretext of establishing a Turkish nation, a Kurdish nation, an Arab nation and an Iranian nation. Also, they have sought to bring about enmity between the Muslim people which is totally against the path decreed by Islam and the Noble Qur'an. All the Muslims are brothers and equal and none of them are separate from the others. All Muslims should unite under the banner of Islam and monotheism (tawhid) ...

(From the Imam's message to the Arab tribesmen of Khuzistan province -- December 29, 1980).

... Since the advent of Islam, Muslim scholars and thinkers have directed their efforts towards establishing unity among the Muslims in order that they be one united hand against the non-Muslims. A Muslim, wherever he resides, should promote understanding among other Muslims. Man has been advised by Almighty God in the Noble Qur'an to move towards this path. Also, the noble Prophet and the blessed Imams (upon them be peace) have greatly emphasized this matter. Following their advice, the vigilant Muslim ulama have sought to invite the Muslims to unity and monotheism (tawhid) under the banner of Islam...

(From the Imam's message to a group of Pakistani visitors -- November 7, 1981).

... The honourable authorities of the Islamic Republic have announced repeatedly that the government and nation of the Islamic Republic seek religious brotherhood with the Muslims of the region and the world, and seeks peaceful co-existence with all countries of the world. And today, while the Islamic Republic is the most unique power in the region, they again (the Iranian nation and government) repeat the same formula and consider the Muslims' interest and unity as

together, they will have no need to be dependent upon any power or country. Rather they will be dependent upon them [Muslim countries]. If the Muslims and Islamic governments consolidate the ties of brotherhood which God, the Most High, advised them to in the Noble Qur'an and preserve it, neither Afghanistan would have been invaded, nor Palestine or any country of the world. If the Islamic governments can achieve unity of expression (*wahdat-i-kalimah*), the need for dependence upon America or the Soviet Union will not arise. As long as you are scattered and your countries divided, the need for dependency exists. Why should Muslim countries--enjoying such great supports as beloved Islam and the Noble Qur'an of Almighty God which constantly invites Muslims to unity and prohibits them from sowing discord and being divided--act against the will of God and beloved Islam?... (From the Imam's message to members of the Literacy Movement and families of martyrs of the bomb explosion in the Islamic Republican Party Headquarters--December 28, 1981).

f. The Muslims' invulnerability

... If the Muslims come together and achieve unity of expression, problems like that of Quds, Afghanistan, or the other Muslim countries will not arise...

(From the Imam's message on the Day of Quds--August 6, 1980).

... Even if our enemies equip themselves with their utmost power, they will not be able to resist a nation whose only weapon is *allahu akbar* («God is Greater»)...

(From the Imam's message to foreign guests on the occasion of Unity Week--January 10, 1981).

... God willing, all Muslims will become brothers and the sources of corruption will be uprooted from their lands, and this germ of corruption, Israel, will be driven out from al-Aqsa Mosque and our Islamic country [Palestine]. God willing, we will all go to Quds and perform the Prayer of Unity there...

(From the Imam's message to the participants of the Quds Congress -- August 9, 1980).

d. Victory over the superpowers

... O Muslims and deprived of the world who are under the domination of the oppressors! Arise and join hands in unity and defend Islam and your own destiny. Do not fear the clamour of the power-wielders because, God willing, this will be the century of the victory of the oppressed over the oppressors and truth over falsehood...

(From the Imam's message to the Hajj pilgrims--September 6, 1981).

... The major threat to the eastern and western world-devourers is Islam, which is capable of uniting the world's Muslims under the honourable banner of Divine unity (**tawhid**), and will curtail the hands of the criminals from the Islamic countries and from dominating the deprived of the world. It (Islam) can offer a Divine, progressive and valuable school of thought to the world...

(Ibid).

e. The achievement of Islamic independence

... We beseech God, the Most High, to bless the Muslims with concord and unity in order not to be plundered by others, and to be independent so that our countries can be governed by our own people. If the Islamic governments who possess abundant resources and considerable manpower come

own benefit], determine the best possible ways to achieve their goals by creating discord and division among them. The agents of the big powers do not want unity between Sunnis and Shi'ites to materialize. Notice that in the wake of the declaration of Unity Week by Ayatullah Montazeri with all its values and benefits, a cry resounds from the Hijaz [Saudi Arabia] that commemorating the birth anniversary of the Prophet of Islam (upon him be peace) is a sign of polytheism...

(From the Imam's message to the Friday congregational prayer leaders of Bakhtaran and Ilam provinces--December 29, 1981).

... Regarding the origin of the difficulties confronting the Muslims, we acknowledge that due to some hands involved in the matter, the Sunni and Shi'a brothers do not possess the unity they need in order to confront the infidels and polytheists. These hands continue to be active because many disputes still exist between Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and in the other regions. Obviously, these disputes resulted in the weakness of the Muslims while strengthening the dominators. We expect them (the religious leaders in those countries) to strive hard in their own countries and between the neighbouring governments to eliminate their disagreements in order that the Muslims become united against the infidels and polytheists.

The world oppressors want to eliminate Islam so that they can destroy our Islamic virtues. It is not the time to fight among ourselves while the Muslims are entangled with the infidels, polytheists and hypocrites. If the one billion Muslims, with these large countries, were politically organized and united in one front, it would certainly be impossible for the powerful colonizers, let alone a few Jews who are the agents of the colonizers, to invade their countries...

(From the Imam's message to some of the Muslim leaders of

3. «UNITY OF EXPRESSION», THE KEY TO THE VICTORY OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

... Do not believe that Iran had arms; Iran's only arms were rocks, clubs and fists. However, its spiritual arms were its faith in religion, its faith in God, Most Blessed, Most High, and its reliance upon the same source of power and the Unity of Expression...

(From the Imam's message to the participants of the Quds Congress--August 9, 1980).

... When the Iranian nation came together, united and observing Islamic brotherhood, the superpowers could not confront them. Thus they went their own way and left [Iran]...

(From the Imam's message to members of the Campaign for Reconstruction --August 18, 1980).

4. SOWING DISCORD--A VICIOUS SCHEME OF THE SUPERPOWERS

... Our opponents are trying to sow discord among the oppressed people--whether in the Islamic or non-Islamic countries--and want to separate the Muslim nations from each other. That is why their spokesmen who claim to be Muslim but in fact are in agreement with Zionism, are endeavoring to create disunity among the Muslim brothers. These are political plots designed by the big powers in order to be implemented by their lackies in the Islamic countries...

(From the Imam's message to members of the Campaign for Reconstruction --August 18, 1980).

... Those who want to exploit the Islamic countries [for their

brothers are, in fact, serving the enemies of Islam and intend to prepare the ground for them to dominate the Muslims. They are pro-American and some of them are even pro-Soviet...

(From the Imam's message to members of the Campaign for Reconstruction --August 18, 1980).

... Let the Sunni brothers in the Islamic countries know that evil agents attached to the great satanic powers do not want unity and that which is good for Islam and Muslims. It is necessary that Muslims prevent this and not listen to their hypocritical propaganda...

(From the Imam's message to the Hajj pilgrims --September 12, 1980).

b. Court and monarchist clergy

... While the cry of unity is resonating from Iran, we see people echoing the note of dissension from the Hijaz: the centre of Divine Revelation; the place wherein Prophet Muhammad (upon him be peace) invited men to hold fast to the covenant of Allah and to be united. It is now a place wherein a court-clergy has raised a clamour aimed at dividing Muslims. And from here in Iran, a nation which this [Saudi] court-clergy has declared to be heretic, the call of unity is rising to the heavens in commemoration of the birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad (upon him be peace)...

(From the Imam's message to the Gendarmerie personnel and the staff of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts Headquarters --December 18, 1981).

... The plot of causing differences and discord among the different sects of Islam is among the crimes which have been perpetrated by the power-wielders (and their Godless agents)

Bangladesh --September 9, 1982).

... They (America and other big powers) treat all the oppressed nations as if they were lower than animals. Therefore, if you (regional and other Islamic leaders) do not come together and observe brotherly Islamic unity among yourselves, you will not be able to withstand these oppressive powers whose sole objective is to sap and plunder your resources, the result of which is the current humiliation and poverty of your nations while you remain silent still waiting for Washington to alleviate your plight. Note that these powers would never be so imprudent and would rather sow discord among us. I have repeatedly cautioned you against disunity and discord...

(From the Imam's message to a group of high-ranking military and civilian officials--March 21, 1983).

... Another point which must necessarily be noted as the world's Muslims and oppressed rise up against international plunderers and world-devourers is that the oppressive powers are implementing their vicious plots either through creation of terror by means of their propaganda loudspeakers, or through their treacherous, native mercenary agents. But if, through their vigilance and unity, nations stand against them, these powers cannot succeed.

There are many examples in this regard and living proof in our own region are the nations of Iran and Afghanistan... (From the Imam's Message to the Hajj pilgrims on the occasion of 'Id ul-Adha --September 3, 1983).

5. THE AGENTS WHO CREATE DISCORD

a. Advocates and agents of the superpowers

... Those who try to sow discord among our Sunni and Shi'ite

long should your Quds be trampled under by the scum of America and the usurper Israel? How long should the lands of Quds and Lebanon and the oppressed Muslims of those lands live under the yoke of these criminals... (August 1, 1981).

... We would like to have brotherly relations with all the Islamic governments even though they are misled. We encourage them to return and give us their hand in brotherhood. We care for their dignity and respect and loathe to see these governments acting as servants to the U.S. or to the Soviet Union. They (the Islamic regimes) only have to treat their nations favourably and act in accordance with Islamic guidelines, they will then realize that their nations will support and protect them, making them immune to all dangers, as in the case of Iran...

(From the Imam's speech on the occasion of Hajj --August 16, 1983).

d. East and Westoxicated intellectuals

... Among the affairs which prevents the Muslims and other oppressed people of the world from struggling to free themselves from the fetters of the exploiters, and which holds them in a state of depression and backwardness, is the all-round propaganda campaign launched by the East and Westoxicated agents throughout the Islamic and oppressed countries either under the direct command of the superpowers or as a result of their own shortsightedness; and they are still engaged in this task.

Such propaganda is aimed at convincing these nations that scientific achievements, civilization and progress are exclusive possessions of the two wings of imperialism and communism and that they --especially the westerners and recently the Americans--are the superior race and others are inferior. They want to convince us that their development is

who benefit from the differences among Muslims. Among them are the monarchist-clergy who are blacker and more disgraceful than the oppressive sultans. Everyday they fan the flames of discord, and cut throats for this reason.

With the hope of demolishing the very foundation of unity among the Muslims, they always formulate plans for causing division...

(From the Imam's message to the Hajj pilgrims --September 6, 1981).

c. Corrupt governments of the region

... We should not complain about the policies of America too much, though it is to be considered 'the mother of corruption'. However, we must reproach the Muslim countries or rather the leaders of the Muslim nations and we must raise our cries to the heavens for what they have done...

(From the Imam's message to the Gendarmerie personnel and the staff of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts Headquarters --December 18, 1981).

... Whatever the regimes of the region are pre-occupied with while Israel has invaded the Islamic countries and has killed innocent and defenseless Muslims, is little more than a senseless and compromising venture. Moreover, it is regrettable that in order to be secure from Israel, they seek help from the U.S., which is the main criminal; infact, they escape from the snake and go to the dragon.

Although these regimes have all the manner and means to confront them, they dare not utter even one harsh word against the world oppressors. Therefore, considering this situation, they should all await destruction and be subjected to all forms of lowliness in their life times.

O Muslims and oppressed of the world! Rise and take your destiny into your own hands! How long will you sit by and let Washington and Moscow determine your fate? How

enable every nation and the speakers of various languages to oppose other nations and people who speak different languages.

This idea defeats the very purpose of the call of our prophets, who from the first to the last, invited men to unity and to establish brotherly relations with one another. Opposed to them we had people educated in the West or East, who mainly unwittingly though occasionally knowingly have brought up the controversial issue of 'nationalism'. They argued that the Arab nations tread this path, or that the Muslim people be like that, or that the Persians follow this or that course. They even brought up the issue of skin colour: white, black and yellow [as a criteria for social and national distinction or as a sign of superiority or inferiority], and so on and so forth. All divisive issues originate from the big satanic world powers, who want to divide the nations and their people. However, we see that Islam attaches great importance to brotherly values which includes the various interpretations of the verse, **the believers are naught else than brothers**. This lends itself to the understanding that the believers have no distinctive status other than their brotherhood, and that [in so far as it touches on their relations] everything results in equality among them. Meanwhile, they [the superpowers] have noticed that if the meaning inherent in this verse be realized, they will no longer wield their intruding hands in these countries...

(From the Imam's message to foreign guests on the occasion of Unity Week--January 10, 1982).

b. Racism

... From among the schemes which the planners have devised and which the agents of imperialism are propagating in order to create disunity among the Muslims, is the issue of ethnic superiority and nationalism which the Iraqi government has for years been actively spreading. Some other groups have chosen the same line and have pitted Muslims against each

due to the superiority of their race and that the backwardness of others stems from their inferiority. In other words, they are developed and the others are underdeveloped nations which will achieve only relative evolution after the lapse of millions of years. Therefore, efforts towards progress are futile and 'free' human beings should either remain dependent on Western capitalism or Eastern communism. That is to say, we have nothing on our own and must acquire everything from the Eastern or Western superpowers, including science, civilization, laws and progress. We have fallen into the present sordid condition due to the imposition of this idea...

(From the Imam's message on the occasion of 'Id ul-Adha--September 3, 1983).

... O Muslims of the world! Rely upon the culture of Islam and fight against the west and westoxication. Stand upon your own two feet and assail the eastern and western oriented intellectuals. Seek your own identity. Know that hired intellectuals have brought disasters to your people and countries. Until you unite together and rely upon true Islam, that which has already happened to you will recur...

(From the Imam's message to the Hajj pilgrims --September 12, 1980).

6. CAUSES OF DISSENSION

a. Nationalism

... What they (the enemies of Islam) want to prevent is our unification as brothers in faith. They insist that Muslims assume different identities and adhere to different goals wherever they are. One of these identities is labelled 'nationalism' whereby one group of Muslims insist on the promotion of Persian values, while another insists on Arab, Turkish or other values. The idea behind nationalism is to

and the political teachings of the Prophet of Islam (upon him be peace) which calls the Muslims to **hold fast to the covenant of Allah** and to prevent division and discord, despite having two sanctuaries which were centers for worship and Islamic politics during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad (may the blessings of God be upon him and his descendents), and which continued to exist in the same capacity long after the Prophet's (upon him be peace) demise, and wherein strategies for the great victories as well as political affairs were designed today, due to their misunderstanding and ill-intentions as well as due to the vast propaganda campaign of the superpowers, the situation is such that participating in the political and social affairs in these sacred centers which is essential and among the most important affairs of the Muslims, be considered to be unlawful and criminal? Why should the Saudi police with arms and boots, attack, beat, arrest and then imprison the Muslims inside the Sacred Mosque, a place where, according to the command of God and the direct saying of the Noble Qur'an, is considered to be a sanctuary and place of immunity for all, even the deviated people?...

(From the Imam's message in response to King Khalid's letter--October 10, 1981).

8. FOUNDATIONS OF UNITY

... I hope that at this juncture when the entire world has undergone a profound transformation, when the oppressed people are waking up, and when many of the world's countries have achieved independence from other countries, we, the Muslim nations, if united will constitute the largest population in the world, and possess the largest share of the world's resources and who have great and prominent personalities among ourselves, will readily achieve Islamic Unity under the shelter of Qur'anic teachings. At the same

other or have even gone to the extent of making them enemies of one another. They are negligent of the fact that the love for one's homeland and its people and the desire to preserve the boundaries and national integrity of the country are something which needs no discussion. But nationalism in relation to other Muslims states, however, is another matter which Islam, the Noble Qur'an and the commands' of the beneficent Prophet of Islam (upon him be peace) are against. This kind of nationalism leads to enmity or hostility among Muslims and causes division in the ranks of the believers, which is against Islam and the good of the Muslims, and it is from among the devious schemes of the foreigners, because Islam and its development causes them to suffer...

(From the Imam's message to the Hajj Pilgrims--September 12, 1980).

c. Worldly desires

... Is it not time to put aside our worldly desires and to join hands in unity and drive the enemies of humanity out of the scene and put an end to their disgraceful lives which are full of tyranny and oppression?...

(From the Imam's message to the Hajj pilgrims --September 6, 1981).

7. DAMAGING CONSEQUENCES OF DISSENSION

... I deem all the problems and miseries of Muslims and the governments of the Islamic countries as having their roots in the division and discord amongst them. Why should the Muslim governments despite having a population of almost one billion people and possessing abundant mineral resources, especially oil, which is the lifeline of the superpowers, despite enjoying the nurturing tenets of the Noble Qur'an, despite having access to the rituals of worship

all their human, material and spiritual resources, and with their progressive school of thought and with God's support and backing, they surrender to the yoke of the oppressive power-wielders, these arrogant land and sea plunderers of the century?

(From the Imam's message to the Hajj pilgrims -- September 6, 1981).

9. ELEMENTS FOR ESTABLISHING UNITY

a. Confronting Zionism

... If, on the Day of Quds, all the Islamic countries and nations uprising and cry out not only for Quds but also for all the oppressed Islamic countries, they would be victorious...

(From the Imam's message to the participants of the Quds Congress -- August 9, 1980).

b. Hajj rituals

... Mecca is a social issue and people from all the Muslim countries are obliged to go there and attend the different gatherings in complete unity. What is the real reason behind this? God does not need our servitude. Rather God, the Most High and Beneficent, desired that people congregate and it is incumbent upon them to discuss the problems confronting Islam...

(From the Imam's message to a group of visiting clergy and orators -- November, 5, 1980).

... What is the solution today, and what is the responsibility delegated to the world's Muslims and the oppressed for destroying these idols? The primary solution from which emerges all other solutions for uprooting these problems and eradicating corruption, is the unity of Muslims; rather, the

time, we must all unite under the banner of Islam and monotheism (tawhid) as our countries are internally independent. We must not allow the agents of the superpowers' to govern our countries and subdue us under their own banner...

(From the Imam's message to the diplomats of Islamic countries -- January 25, 1981).

... If, God willing, that unity which is enjoined by Almighty God and his Prophet (upon him be peace) is established among Muslims and the governments of Islamic states, these governments with the backing of their peoples can form a joint defensive army with more than 100 million trained reserves and a ten-million strong standing army, thus becoming the greatest power in the world. But this has not yet materialized. However, Islamic governments of the region and the neighboring states are indeed able to establish a reserve army of tens of millions and a standing army of over 10 million to defend Islamic states which could surpass all powers.

Therefore it is hoped that the regional governments, regardless of language, race or school of thought and only under the banner of Islam, will take this proposal into consideration and lay its foundations in order to free themselves from the disgrace of bowing before the superpowers so that they may taste the sweetness of independence and freedom. To achieve such a power it is necessary for all the governments, through understanding and cooperation with their own nations, to consider such a restorative plan for defending their countries and draw inspiration from the Islamic state of Iran which is defending its territory and its Muslim brethren...

(From the Imam's message on the occasion of Id ul-Adha -- September 3, 1983).

... Is it not disgraceful for the Muslims of the world that with

and respect. I hope that the outcome of this massive world congress of Muslims (Hajj) will be favourable. Also, I hope that you will pray to the Almighty that the world's Muslims and the leaders of the Muslim nations awaken and show concern for the interests and affairs of the Muslims...

(From the Imam's message on the occasion of Hajj --August 16, 1983).

c. Days of religious significance

... One of the historical days which has been singled out in order to help unite the ranks of the vigilant Muslims, has been the birth anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad (upon him be peace). The idea behind selecting religious days such as this, which has been upheld by Muslims for years, is to help Muslims come together and solidify their ranks...

(From the Imam's message to the Gendarmerie personnel and the staff of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts Headquarters -- December 18, 1981).

... Islam has placed much emphasis on alliance and the unity of purpose and expression. It has enjoined people by words and in practice to closely maintain their ranks and has proclaimed certain days for the purpose of solidifying the unity of the people, such as, 'Ashura and Arba'in (day of the martyrdom of Imam Hussein and the fortieth day following the commemoration of the Imam's martyrdom, observed as days of mourning by the Muslims)...

(Ibid).

10. ISLAMIC UNITY AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE COUNTRIES' INDEPENDENCE

... Iran, Iraq and Egypt have their own distinct governments, regimes and territories, but they must all unite under the

unity of all the oppressed and enslaved peoples of the world. This unity which the glorious religion of Islam and the Noble Qur'an have insisted upon is to be achieved through widespread propagation and invitation. And the center for these affairs is the sacred city of Mecca when this great congregation of Muslims convenes to take part in the Hajj ceremonies. This was introduced by Abraham, continued by Muhammad (upon them be peace), and will be followed by Imam Mahdi (may God hasten his appearance)...
(From the Imam's message on the occasion of `Id ul-Adha -- September 3, 1983).

... We must destroy the idols through our cries, complaints against injustice, disclosures and through the active participation of Muslims in demonstrations in Mecca. And we must reject evil, the greatest of which is the Great Satan [the U.S.]. In this way we will be able to perform our Hajj according to the pattern presented by Abraham, Muhammad (upon them be peace) and Mahdi (may God hasten his appearance); otherwise it will be said about us that 'there is a lot of noise and talk but few real Hajj pilgrims'...
(Ibid).

... The kind of Hajj which Allah, the Most High, has commanded and which Islam has prescribed, is that when Muslims are taking part in this ceremony, they should awaken and unite other Muslims and make them understand why one billion Muslims are still under the domination of the two superpowers?

I hope that this blessed pilgrimage which you are going to make will provide you the opportunity to open the minds of the Muslims, especially the religious leaders and the court-related clergy and preachers, and ask them to avoid seeking their dignity by getting closer to the U.S. and the Zionists. Instead, ask them to gather around the banner of Islam and the Ka'bah, since it is only Islam which will give them dignity

**IMAM KHOMEINI'S MESSAGE TO THE FOREIGN
GUESTS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF FRIDAY
AND CONGREGATIONAL PRAYER LEADERS.**

(MAY 13, 1984)

banner of Islam. God willing, they should all work for Islam in order to annihilate these criminal superpowers...
(From the Imam's message to a group of visiting clergy and orators -- November 5, 1980).

... We look forward to witness the Muslim people merge into a united body against their enemies. Each group of people may live in their own country and also be independent but at the same time develop a spirit of brotherhood and affection with other Muslims and establish ties with them. We expect the armies of all the Muslim countries to support one another...

(From the Imam's message to foreign guests on the occasion of Unity Week -- January 10, 1982).

... O Muslims of the world! Oppressed! Unending sea of human beings! Arise and defend your Islamic and national heritage. Let the sound of **la-ilaha-illa-lah, muhammadun rasulu-l-lah** (there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah) reverberate throughout the world. All the Islamic countries, within their own environment and by virtue of Islam, should remove the discords between the governments and the people, for if they unite, issues such as that of Quds or Afghanistan will not exist. If the pseudo court-related clergy stop disrupting our unity, we would, God willing, succeed and the Islamic countries and governments would triumph...

(November 25, 1979).

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

I thank you gentlemen who have come from afar for an honourable objective to your homeland; to a country that has been oppressed throughout history; a country which has sustained hardships and has accepted martyrdom in order to further Islamic objectives. I pray to Almighty God to grant you success in attaining great Islamic ideals.

In this gathering attended by the respected Friday and Congregational Prayer Leaders from different countries, issues concerning the affliction of Muslims and the solutions that should be adopted in this regard have been thoroughly discussed and there is not much to mention. However, I would like to draw your attention to one point and that is the conduct of the noble Prophet and the Imams (u.t.b.p.). The great Prophet, at the time when he was alone and had only one or two persons with him, began inviting people (to religion) upon Divine command. He did not wait to gather a great number of followers or companions. Rather, at the very beginning he invited people to Islam and the path of truth. Even when he migrated to Medina and formed a government there, he did not wait until he secured adequate power. Here again he continued his invitation more extensively and invited the people to act upon their personal, social and political obligations. The call of the Qur'an in both the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina was not merely concerned with

Worship has never been separated from political Islamic issues and all acts enjoined by Islam have dimensions of worship in them. Even working in factories and on farms, teaching and educating people have aspects of worship in them. They [the enemies] never implemented the interested of Islam as prescribed by the Noble Qur'an. Even at the beginning of Islam, they never did this for they saw it as endangering their own interests. From the very beginning, they distorted and misinterpreted verses of the Qur'an which they deemed to be against their interests and which they could not remove from the Qur'an. They forced the clergy who were attached to them to misinterpret and distort the Qur'an. But, thank God, the Qur'an remained among the Muslims and they were unable to distort it. They would have done so if they could. One of them even wanted to remove a word from the Qur'an, but an Arab drew his sword and indicated that he would answer with his sword. They did not allow the Noble Qur'an to be tampered with. Thus it is the same Qur'an as revealed to the Prophet (u.h.b.p.) and there is nothing anew. Therefore we have a book that encompasses all personal, social, political and governmental interests, and interpretations are made by qualified exegetes and we cannot interpret the Qur'an according to our own judgement. Accordingly, we must present the Qur'an in its most comprehensive and best form and we must accept the Qur'an through revelation and from those who received it. Praise be to Allah that we are enriched in this respect. But the distortions that have been spread by those who were in power since the early days still exist and unlike the Glorious Qur'an, they call for division and discord.

The Glorious Qur'an says: «**And hold fast to the covenant of Allah together and do not separate...**», but they (the enemies) enjoin division and discord. We do not expect the U.S. and the Soviet Union to do otherwise. They intend to destroy the Noble Qur'an and Islam. Because Iran has united the world of Islam, they attack and misrepresent it through their radios, press and preachers in order to undermine Islam. Should

one's personal relationship with God, the Almighty. It should be said that all Divine invitations --even in those cases that deal with personal duties, personal relationships and the relationships between God and man --have social and political implications.

After the Messenger of God (u.h.b.p.), we observe that the Imams of the Muslims even though subjected to tremendous pressure by the Abbasid and Umayyad dynasties, ceaselessly conveyed their views to the people as this was possible even through their supplications. When you study the supplications of Imam Sajjad [the fourth Imam of the Shi'ites] and the other Imams (u.t.b.p.), you will note that the aim had been to educate people for an objective higher than what they could ordinarily perceive. Invitations to monotheism (**tawhid**), edification of the soul, asceticism and solitary acts of worship never meant that the people should be confined to their houses busy praying and invoking God and ignoring the problems of the Muslims. The Noble Prophet (u.h.b.p.) while performing his personal duties and worshipping Almighty God, formed a government and sent emissaries around the world to invite people to religion and unity. The Prophet (u.h.b.p.) recited prayers but that recitation was for self-edification and not just for himself but for the edification of the people as well. He equipped the people for resistance... All the supplications of the Prophet and the Imams (u.t.b.p.) while being an invitation to spirituality, were intended to solve the Muslims problems. But, unfortunately deviations occurred. Perhaps in the early days of Islam the Abbasids are to be blamed for this deviation to Islamic issues and subjects.

The Noble Qur'an which is among the Muslims and since early Islam has been preserved from deviation, upon close observation reveals that the issue is not to invite the people to confine themselves to their homes busy remembering and worshipping God. It was not exclusively for this purpose. Rather the issue was a call to congregation, a call to politics and a call to administering the government as acts of worship.

today, we witness the consequences of our actions. The Muslims must wake up and explicitly confront their governments who are violating and opposing Islam. If this is not possible, they should oppose the oppressors, aggressors and opponents of Islam through their sermons and invocations. Do not limit your sermons to several supplications and prayers but strengthen and enrich their contents. You are strong; you enjoy the support of the people; the people support the ulama and not the tyrannical governments. You enjoy the same power in your own countries which the Iranian ulama have here. The Iranian ulama acted against a power which was unrivalled in the region. The common people of Iran, the farmers and workers awakened by the Islamic teachings given to them by the ulama attacked such a power, crushed it and overthrew it. You can do likewise. Do not wait for your governments to work for you. They work for themselves. You must strengthen Islam in your own countries and discuss the Islamic issues in your Friday prayer sermons which are held for this purpose. Speak about social issues and avoid personal ones.

If you talk about such matters, the people will react. If the government bans your Friday prayers because of the sermons, it would have to face the people's reaction which is exactly what we want. Do not wait till you have an army or weapons as you do not want to wage war. Rather, you should talk about the interests of the Muslims. Do not wait to gain strength and then talk, instead discuss such matters and you will gain strength the same way Iran did. The [the Iranians] neither waited to achieve power nor waited to gain strength. Had they waited for such a time nothing would have ever happened.

In confronting the power that Muhammad Reza [Shah] had and the support he enjoyed, the Iranian ulama did not wait to obtain a massive body of opposition before they began uprising. Instead at every opportunity they fearlessly invited the people to Islam. From the mosques they called the

Iran takes one step towards the U.S. or the Soviet Union, they would then praise it. But since Iran opposes them, virtually all the media networks openly attack it saying that Islam is dangerous in Iran.

You gentlemen, who have come from all parts of the world, who are scholars (ulama), must follow the traditions which the noble Prophet and the Imams of Islam (u.t.b.p.) have left among us. Even during the days when their hands were tied and they could not utter a single word against the policies of the governments of the time, they invited the people with their prayers. They prayed and invited the people through their invocations and whenever they found an opportunity, they invited the people to righteousness. We must follow them and we must follow the Glorious Qur'an which invites you to unity and to refrain from discord in order not to become passive.

Unfortunately, some clergymen attached to the so-called Islamic governments call for passive obedience and want to create passivity. They cannot attack Islam in an Islamic center, rather they attack Iran which wants to implement Islam. The judges in the Hijaz, Egypt and elsewhere act contrary to the teachings of the Glorious Qur'an and seek to separate the Muslims from each other. They are treacherous people and you must oppose and confront them.

When you return to your countries, the Friday prayer sermons you expound must have a political dimension as it was a tradition in the early days of Islam. Friday prayers are political gatherings and infact political acts of worship. Regrettably, one observes that in some places, Friday prayers are devoid of the needs of the nations. [They are devoid of the needs and problems of the Muslims]. In the early days of Islam, the Friday prayers, mosques, gatherings and prayers all had a political dimension. The Muslims' armies would be mobilized at the mosques and then set out for war as the mosques were centers of political affairs. But, regrettably, we have made the mosques devoid of the issues of Muslims and we prepared the ground ourselves for plots against us and

are executed and much else. Now you are in Iran and you have visited our prisons, you have been to the battle-fronts perhaps, and you may have observed the prevalent atmosphere of mosques there, where more prayers and invocations are offered.

To fight Saddam is in itself an act of worship. Invite people to rise up like those in Iran. Convey the situation of Iran. They say that there are medieval tortures in the prisons. Of course the U.S. is claimant of this and it is the U.S. which has subjected the world to torture and suffering worse than that which prevailed during the Middle Ages. The Soviet Union has also made similar accusations and claims. These people consider Islam as being medieval. The Muslims should awaken to what they (the enemies) are doing to them. It is incumbent upon the Muslims to preserve Islam and not wait for the others to preserve it for them. No one will if the Muslims fail in their responsibilities. The superpowers and their agents are determinate against Islam. When the Egyptian government calls the Arabs to be united against Iran; what does this mean? Is Iran dangerous to them or Islam? The fact that it calls the Arabs to become united, means an invitation to joint opposition against Islam. It is Islam which they consider a threat to their interests.

You gentlemen, Friday prayer leaders and ulama of Islam throughout the world should take note that, today all powers have risen against Islam and not against Iran. Be aware that at this time, our responsibilities have multiplied. Should you not pay heed, they (the enemies) will find the opportunity to eradicate Islam. The situation today is quite different from what it was yesterday. Today, they (the enemies) understand that, if the voice of Islam rises from a small place like Iran, this voice would echo even in the U.S. Indeed, they understand this very clearly.

All their interests are in jeopardy and they want to hold on to the Persian Gulf to plunder the region's oil but Islam does not allow it. The U.S. and the Soviet Union want to impose their own power on the whole world. God only

people until they attained the necessary power. You ought to follow the same path. You can do it. If you think you are unable to, you will never be able to do anything. Instill in yourselves the confidence that you can and you will certainly achieve your objectives. Action is rooted in thought and before taking action scrutinize every angle of the matter.

If you are weak from within, you will never be able to achieve anything. Strengthen your spirit and your hearts. Do not forget God and put your trust in Him for your invocations are made to the source of all powers. Do not seek help from any power but God. Hence you will be injected with power, as you have the great power of God behind you. One with faith in God need not fear any power. What are you afraid of? Do you fear martyrdom? Do you fear imprisonment and torture? Should anyone fear torture in the path of God?

The Iranian nation suffered a great deal of hardships in the cause of God but they were never discouraged. It was the ulama who mobilized the people and transformed them. Today everyone from the small child who has just learned to talk, to the old man who has lost many of his loved ones, all have risen and cry out against the big powers. Do not say that you cannot. Do not think that you cannot. Always think positively. Remember that God is always with you. Remember that Islam is your badge of honor and that you must strengthen it. If you show signs of weakness, the big powers will annihilate Islam. From Iran they have learned that should Islam reappear in the region, they will have no foothold there. But unfortunately, some ulama and rulers of regimes in the region have failed to realize this. They constantly depict Islam and Iran as a great and powerful threat to the region. Yes, Iran is a danger to the U.S. and the Soviet Union but not to the Muslims. Iran is indeed a blessing to the Muslims.

You have been told that there is no security in Iran, you have been told that people are being killed on the streets here, that not even infants are spared, and that pregnant women

... O God! We did whatever you decreed in observing the issue of brotherhood and advice concerning our Muslim brothers. We invited them towards peace and sincerity and warned them against division and conflict.

You, Yourself awaken them from the sleep of negligence. They are standing on the brink of the precipice of hell and offer the destinies of Islam to the enemies of God and are ignorant of the inauspicious end of their action...

O God, save us from following the devile and our personal desires. Save us from obsessive longing for status and earthly possessions. Save Muslim states from fear of the powers of the left and right and inform them of their Islamic and humanitarian responsibilities. Lead the Muslim nations and governments of Islamic states toward unity and fraternity and bestow Your Mercy upon the Iranian Hajj pilgrims who have endured much suffering, pain, abuse, imprisonment and torture in the way of achieving Your great objective. Cut the hands of plunderers from Muslim countries, and guide us towards whatever guarantees Your satisfaction. Bestow victory on the Islamic forces in defending their homeland and the oppressed people of the region, and debase the usurping Israel, the U.S. and Soviet oppressors. Empower Islam and Muslims and safeguard them against the seditions of foreign transgressors.

You are the Lord of our victory and blessings.

IMAM KHOMEINI

knows what would have happened to the world if they had not stood against each other as opponents. .

They constantly speak of human rights, peace and brotherhood. But you all know and they themselves know that they are lying. They speak of these things for propaganda in their confrontations against each other and it is not that they care about the interests of the people, rather they care only about their own interests. It is only Islam which is concerned about the interests of the nations. It is Islam which has invalidated all racial differences because this religion maintains that there are no differences among the races. Islam says that the only criterion for differences is piety, and not color, race, country or anything else. They (the enemies) seek to exploit other races under their domination, but Islam is opposed to this. They want to determine the fate of Islam and the Muslims and direct their (the Muslims') interests in conformity with their own interests.

We clearly announce that Iran and Islam are opposed to the interests of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. We will preserve our independence and freedom and will not follow their policies. We hope that the rays of this independence and freedom will enlighten the world and that the oppressed will ultimately be emancipated from the oppressors. And it is binding upon the ulama to help people seek their freedom.

I pray that the Almighty God will grant prosperity and health to the Muslims and to the oppressed non-Muslims of the world. I pray that the Almighty will liberate them from the yoke of the oppressors. I hope that He supports you, the ulama of Islam, to take heed of Islamic interests and fear none but Him. Do not maintain any power other than God. All power belongs to God and everything is from Him and we are nothing before His power.

Peace be upon you and the Mercy and Blessings of God.



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