The Leader’s Remarks in Meeting with Chairman and Members of the Assembly of Experts - 26 /May/ 2016

In the Name of God, the Most Compassionate, the Most Merciful

(Arabic prayer)

We praise the Almighty God from the bottom of our hearts for the good elections, which were held across the country with massive participation of our dear people and, thank God, an honorable and respectable assembly was formed. I welcome all [of you] dear brethren, respectable gentlemen, [as well as] esteemed clerics and scholars; especially the newcomers and those who have entered this respectable assembly for the first time, and thank God, there is a number of vibrant youths, [as well as] young and active mujtahids [religious jurists] among them. I hope that the Almighty would assist all of you and us to be able to fulfill our duties.
We also commemorate the deceased members of this assembly. Dear ones, [and] dignitaries were present in this assembly for years, took [important] steps, [and] provided services, may the Almighty would, God willing, elevate their ranks [in the Afterworld]; the last of them was my dear brother, the late Mr. [Abbas Vaez] Tabasi (May God’s Mercy Be Upon Him), and God willing, the Almighty would give him the reward for the troubles which that serving and perseverant man took in this difficult and perilous stage [of his life] and [I hope that reward would] be the apple of his eye.
The holding of this meeting, has coincided with the [lunar] month of Sha’ban, which is the month of great eids (festive occasions) and also the month of supplication and humbleness and asking for forgiveness; [and] we take this as a good omen as well. [Sha’ban] was an important month, which well is ending; I hope that the Almighty would not have denied us the blessings of this month, and [as they say it is a month when] “the Prophet [Mohammad] (PBUH) endeavored with all his power to fast and say prayers in its nights and days as long as he was alive.”
The material that I have prepared to say [in this meeting] includes three points: one point is about the identity of this assembly; one point is about the course of this assembly and the duties that it shoulders, [that is,] how orientation and course of this assembly should be; [and] one point, which if there is time and my speech does not take too long I will offer at the end, is about the general duties that are incumbent on everybody in this term [of the assembly], including incumbent on us and you and this assembly and others.
As for the identity of this assembly, when I think, I see that this was a divine bounty that the Almighty God bestowed upon the Islamic Republic; the Assembly of Experts is a bounty from the Almighty, [and] is a huge thing. Although this assembly is meant for a special goal, which has been stipulated in the constitution, [even] regardless of that goal, this assembly is a very big incident; [and] is a phenomenon.
Why? Because this is a gathering of ulema as well as religious and scientific experts and scholars from across the country, who every year – now twice [a year and] more if need be – come together for the sake of that responsibility and create a huge capacity for exchange of views, for thinking, [and] for becoming coordinated.
I don’t forget that in early [years of the Islamic] movement [in Iran] – [in the Iranian calendar] years (13)41 and (13)42 [1962-63] – the honorable late Imam [Khomeini] (May God’s Mercy Be Upon Him), recommended, [and] sent messages to ulema in provinces that ‘you get together once in a while, even if for drinking [a cup of] tea; [it would suffice that] you come together and meet with one another, even if no serious discussion is going on’; I mean, gathering of ulema and religious and scientific experts in the country is so important.
Today, [when] you look at the world, you see that they bring people, who have commonalities, together under different excuses and under different names – in the name of union, in the name of association, [and] in the name of syndicate – and these gatherings do big things, which sometimes is not very related to their profession either. Assume the union of economists, the union of international legal experts, [or] the union of international artists, [and] you see that they express [their] viewpoints about that given political issue in the country or the world, [and] at

international level. I mean, they establish unions in order for people who have a common denominator – now in any way – even when they have different tastes and different tendencies, to come together; this gathering per se provides them with an opportunity in order to be able to do great things and have an effect on the course of events in their own country or even the course of international events; this is usual in the world.

Now, we have this; the Almighty God has bestowed this [gathering] on this country. A group of religious ulema and creditable and respectable clerics, who are trusted by the nation, come together and this creates a huge capacity; this [gathering] can do a big job. They cannot be expected to just sit down, awaiting for that responsibility stipulated in the constitution to become an issue and then act upon it; no, they can do many other things.

These gatherings and get-togethers and unions that I said are created in the world, they have no popular support and backing; [their members are] economists or legal experts; in their own field [of expertise] some people pay attention to them, but within societies, they have no popular backing; [and this is] quite the opposite of this assembly. People who are in this assembly, all of them have popular backing, more or less; for some of them, the circle of their popular backing is very wide. Clerical dignitaries of a province or a city or a seminary, who can have an effect, come together; they can consult on various issues; they can focus on a [certain] point of the country's problems and follow up on it.

It should not be said that 'Sir, we do not have the executive [powers]'; yes, execution is not in the hands of this assembly, [because] it is in the hands of [the executive] officials; however, something superior to [simple] execution [of laws] is in your hands and it is the public opinion. You are either a Friday prayers leader or representative of the Leader or a high-ranking seminary teacher or a prominent and respectable cleric; [therefore,] you can make an impression on the public opinion. When the public opinion takes shape, [and] a discourse is created in the society about an issue, this will naturally drag the executive officials, and lawmakers and [other] officials behind it; this is something natural. Therefore, I believe that this assembly is an extraordinary thing from this viewpoint; [and] is a phenomenon; we must pay attention to this importance.

Therefore, we reach the conclusion that in view of this prominent and exalted identity, this assembly can do great things in line with the goals of the [Islamic] Revolution. A few years before this – perhaps a couple of [the assembly's] terms before this one – I said in [a meeting similar to] this meeting that you can issue resolution(s) on different issues [of the country]; [you can] focus on a specific issue, [and say] this is what the Assembly of Experts demands; the [members of the] Assembly of Experts are elected by people, [and] they themselves are not ordinary and conventional people, [because] they are related to people, people trust these [experts], [and] they [themselves] are experts, have viewpoints [of their own], have discretion and when they apply their discretion to an issue, they can have a demand, [and] have a request; either from the Leader or from the administration or from the Judiciary, or from the Majlis (parliament), or from [other] different organs. This [would suffice] about the first point, which is the identity of this assembly and in my opinion, this is a very important point. We must all appreciate the value of this assembly, both you should appreciate, and we must appreciate, and officials must appreciate; this assembly can be the origin of big effects.

And [now] about the second point, which is the course and orientation of this assembly. In my opinion [and to sum it up] in one sentence, the course of the revolution and goals of the revolution are the course [and goals] of this assembly; I mean, this assembly must move along the course of the revolution and [toward achievements of] the goals of the revolution.

What are the goals of the revolution? In the first place, [the goal of the revolution] is [to realize] the rule of Islam; basically, the revolution was carried out for this purpose; in order for Islam to rule [the country], [and] have governance in its own special sense. The goals of the revolution [include]: the rule of God's religion, freedom, social justice, public welfare, eradication of poverty and ignorance, [and] resistance in the face of the destructive flood of the moral corruption that is flowing from the West to the entire world, and you are seeing its characteristics today. They legalize homosexuality in countries, [and] not only legalize it, but [also] strongly boo those who have [any] objection to this; can corruption go any higher than this? Some people thought – in past years – that since there is freedom for women and men and contacts between women and men in the West, [carnal] desires are less [intense] and motivations [for corruption] are lower; [but] here, where there is restriction [in this regard], [as said in the famous proverb:] "humans become greedy over what they are prohibited from!" Now, it has been made clear that no, it is quite the opposite; in that place, where there is freedom, [and] there is no kind of limit and border for

contacts between women and men, the sexual passion is becoming evident and expressed with more strength, more actively, more violently, and more aggressively on a daily basis. And it will not stop at this level; in a future, which we don't know when it would be, this situation will reach [to the level of] marrying one's own kin! [And they] will [even] do more sensitive things; that is, the world of moral corruption is moving in this direction; these [comments] are [only] about its moral problems.

The topic of economic issues [is also like this]. Money laundering [is an example]; now they talk about money laundering and consider this as a crime, but what the most important companies and big companies of the world do is these very monetary and financial games and accumulation of riches that they have; and [the outcome of this process] is naturally discrimination, [and] is naturally widening class divide. This is a destructive flood, [and] this is flowing toward all countries and all societies; one of the goals of the revolution is to resist in the face of this destructive flood.

Resisting against the hegemony of the Arrogance is one of the goals of the revolution. Hegemony is the nature of the Arrogance, [because] it seeks hegemony, it seeks to spread its domination; [and] any nation and any system [of government], which does to resist [against the Arrogance] will fall into captivity and fall into their noose. These are among the goals of the revolution. The course of this assembly's movement is the course of the goals of the revolution.

And this is a hard thing to do; [in fact,] this is one of the most difficult things to do. Note that an object, which is the subject of rivalry or subject of hostility, is difficult to obtain, but it is [even] more difficult to keep. Assume that [there is] an expensive commodity, [or] a precious stone, which is in great demand, [and] you enter this competition and obtain it with a lot of trouble; keeping it is more difficult than obtaining it. The reason [for this] is clear because when you enter the field to struggle [for that precious object], [you] are aggressive; you enter [the arena] with an aggressive spirit, enter with motivation, know what your goal is, [and] pursue a clear goal; however, when you obtain it, the opposite side, who wants to rob you from it, has an aggressive spirit, [and this time] he is the aggressive [party], [because] he has motivation. You don't know from which side he would move, [and] from which side he would attack, but he makes plan, designs a plot and attacks you.

The revolution was a difficult thing to do; it was not an easy task to create a revolution; it needed initiative, it needed effort and needed perseverance; well, the honorable Imam [Khomeini] moved this nation and these active, struggling groups with his slogan, with his spirit, with his piety, with his faith, [and] with the honesty that he showed, and this difficult task was done and this revolution built an [Islamic] establishment and succeeded and triumphed. However, it is more difficult to keep it; keeping it is more difficult. Enemies, those who were being struggled against in order to bring about this revolution, they have not remained idle, [and] they have not quit [their ominous efforts]; they seek to rob you from this revolution; just in the same way that you saw in a number of countries – during these past few years – that people took great steps, [but their enemies] came and stole [their revolutions] from them, took [the result of their efforts] away, and reduced them to total misery.

Without a doubt, Islam is router of oppression and the Arrogance; [as said by the Quran:] "[God sent Islam] to make it overcome all [other] religion(s)." certainly, Islam can defeat the infidelity, [and] the opposite front; but which [variety of] Islam is able to do this? That [variety of] Islam could rout infidelity and the Arrogance and oppression, or [at least] restrict it, or stop its aggression and encroachment, which would have a system [of governance], would have a government, would have police force, would have media, would have politics, would have economy, [and] would have numerous tools at its disposal; an Islam, which has been able to build a system and build a government, this Islam can resist [against the Arrogance]; otherwise, a person, even if he is a prominent Muslim, or an Islamic current like [the existing] currents which are in the world, if they do not move toward [achieving] the goal of [establishing a] government, they would pose no threat to the Arrogance, because in this state, they would not be able to do anything; [and] cannot rout infidelity and oppression and the Arrogance.

You have earned this Islam, this Islam, which is able to counter [the enemies], is able to resist [against the enemies], [and] is able to stand tall against the disbeliever front, [and] have earned it through great effort, but how are you going to keep it? This [Islam] should be kept [safe] in the face of the enemy, this [Islam] must be protected, [because] this is not something, in case you leave it alone, it would remain [safe] on its own; [because] the enemy will attack [it].

The enemy attacks [you] in a number of ways: one way is hard attacks; [that is,] the hard war. The enemy

experienced this and was defeated; the eight-year [Iraqi imposed] war, which was waged against us was as such; it was an international war; one [country] gave chemical weapons to [former Iraqi dictator] Saddam [Hussein], one [country] gave [him] MiG aircraft, one [country] gave [him] Mirage aircraft, one [country] gave antiaircraft equipment, one [country] gave [him] war maps; [yes,] even [drawing] war maps and construction of bunkers [for soldiers] were [done] with the help of others. These [countries] all helped him so that he would win this war, and he could not [win it].

One example of the hard attack is the eight-year [Iraqi] war [against Iran]. One instance is ethnic insurgencies, which they launched in the country – along all borders of the country – and you remember that they waged war everywhere and instigated insurgency; [despite all these efforts, the enemy] could not triumph [over the Islamic Republic]; these were [examples of] hard war. [Then the enemies] either activated or fostered terrorist activities, [and] terrorist groups; America attacked our oil platform; America shot down our passenger plane; they did everything they could; these are [all examples] of the hard war. [Despite their efforts, the enemies] failed in all these [cases]; they were defeated in the face of the Iranian nation and in the face of the honorable Imam and became more awestruck. The honorable Imam, with the power that the Almighty God had bestowed upon him, due to the reliance [on God] and piety that he had, due to the insight that he had, [and] due to his infatuation with the goal, which was quite evident and obvious in that honorable man, the Almighty God put in him formidableness so that others were scared [of him], [and] the enemies of the Imam were awestruck in the true sense of the word: [as put by the Quran:] "As if they [the enemies] were alarmed donkeys fleeing from a lion;" like the roaring of a lion, which scares animals, the cry of the Imam and the call of the Imam scared these [enemies]; [and] they were awestruck. Well, these [enemies] were defeated in this stage.

Another stage of their confrontation and opposition [with Iran] was the soft attack. One sort of soft attack is these things that you have observed: economic sanctions, tempting propaganda and the likes of these. These are those steps, which the enemy started to take from day one and continued; they imagined that they had imposed paralyzing sanctions on the Islamic Republic, but this [measure] did not work [either]; this [measure] failed [to achieve its goal]. They wanted to paralyze the Islamic Republic through these sanctions and through this economic embargo, [but] the Islamic Republic was not paralyzed. Big steps were taken during the same period of sanctions; I read a report quoting a general of the Zionist regime [of Israel], which had been published in foreign magazines at that time; he had said, "I am the enemy of Iran, [and] I do not like Iran, but I admire it; these [Iranians] managed despite [all] sanctions to make that given missile – at that time, a missile had been just tested [by Iran] and these [Zionists] had tracked it with satellite and the likes of that and were aware of it – [therefore,] I admire them!' [These steps were taken] despite sanctions, under sanctions, without help from others and in spite of economic pressures. One of the [examples] of the soft war that they waged [against Iran] was to hit the Islamic Republic's backers in some other countries; they routed those groups who were considered as backers of the Islamic Republic and were considered as the Islamic Republic's strategic depth, and hit them in many countries; either routed them [totally], or hit them one way or another; [but] this [measure] had no effect and could not [defeat Iran]; none of these [measures] got anywhere. Therefore, they were defeated both in their hard war and in their soft war [against Iran].

What is being done in the third stage – which is not specific to the present time, [but] has been underway for a number of years, [and in fact] it had started many years ago, but has been developed on a daily basis – is a different type of soft war; this [new form of soft war] is very dangerous. This is what I have been warning different officials about and on different occasions time and time again, and that is infiltration [by the enemy] into decision-making and decision-taking centers [of Iran]; it is infiltration for the purpose of changing people's beliefs; it is infiltration to change calculations [of our officials]. We, who are official and are sitting here, have a calculation for our works, [and] make a calculation [before doing anything]. The result of this calculation is that we take position in a specific manner; if they could change our calculation, then our position would [also] change.

One of their basic steps is this: to change calculations of [Iranian] officials; to change people's beliefs; to make changes to decision-making and decision-taking centers, [in those] organs, which make decision and take decision. This is that dangerous step in which is ingrained an aggression against the fundaments of the [Islamic] Revolution, [in addition to] aggression against those fundaments that guard and protect [this revolution]; they attack the IRGC [Islamic Republic Guards Corps], [in the form of] propaganda attack; they attack the Guardian Council; [and] they attack the faithful forces and the faithful devout youths. At present, foreign radios and foreign televisions and

foreign propaganda are full of such attacks; I do not know how much access you respectable gentlemen have, [and] to what extent you see [such propaganda attacks], especially through these new tools of communication, which have been created, [the enemies] are constantly working in these fields in order to make their audience reach this conclusion.
They attack revolutionary clerics; [and] pound [any] revolutionary cleric by [using] such titles [as] government cleric and the likes of that. In short, the main effort in this soft war is to provide [necessary] ground to strip the [Islamic] establishment of the elements of power; they want to do something that the Islamic establishment would become devoid and empty of those elements, which exist in it and are source of its might. When it becomes weak, when elements of power no more exist in it, when its might is lost, then eliminating it and dragging it to this side and that side would not be a difficult task for superpowers; [therefore,] they want to make it comply [with their demands].
This is a place for the same Greater Jihad about which I talked a few days ago; [as said by the Quran:] "[O Prophet] so do not obey the disbelievers and do jihad against them with it [the Quran] in a Greater Jihad;" it has been said in interpretations of the Quran that the phrase "with it" [in this Quranic verse] refers to the Quran. Of course, now the word "the Quran" has not been used in this phrase so that the pronoun ["with"] would refer to it, but both the late [cleric,] Tabarsi [has said this] in [his book] "Majma'ul Bayan," and the late Allameh Tabatabaei [has also said this]; the late Allameh Tabatabaei says that [in this Quranic verse] the style of the [God's] words shows that the meaning of "with it" is "with the Quran;" I also said this there in my speech; when I thought about it [later], it occurred to me that there is a clearer explanation for this, which [in this explanation] "so do not obey the disbelievers and do jihad against them with it [the Quran]," would mean that "[do jihad against the disbelievers] by refraining from obeying them;" this "lack of obedience" [in this verse] is actually the infinitive from which the verb [is] derived and is hidden in that verb; "so do not obey the disbelievers and do jihad against them with it," means that "do the Greater Jihad [against the disbelievers] with this lack of obedience; therefore, lack of obedience is the Greater Jihad; this meaning is closer to one's mind; now, of course, I did not delve into [this issue] to see if any of the interpreters [of the Quran] has come up with this possibility or not, but at any rate, this possibility is an important possibility. This is the Greater Jihad; doing jihad through lack of obedience, [and] through not following suit with the enemy.
Therefore, this is the course and orientation of this assembly; a revolutionary course, [and] the course of revolutionarism, [which requires] pursing the path of the revolution, strengthening Islam and strengthening the God's religion.
If we do not pursue to promote the divine command and the divine religion, why we are here? Why I should be here? Well, the same people who were [here before us] – either them or the likes of them – could run the government. We are [here] because we want to strengthen the God's religion; the rule of the God's religion must be realized; we pursue this [goal]; it is this [goal] that if somebody is killed for its realization, he would be [considered as] a martyr on the path of God; it is this [goal for which] our people gave their young ones so generously and are still giving [their youths]; otherwise, if it were not for this, well others and others [could bring about] economic prosperity; why me, as a cleric or man of the cloth, should engage in such activities? I would go [and] pursue my studies and discussion; well, others can do such things and do it; [and] they are doing it in [other parts of] the world as well. If the God's religion and strengthening the God's religion and the divine rule is not an issue, there would be no need for me and you to be here at all. So this is [the main goal:] to strengthen Islam.
[And] innovation [is also important]; what I emphasize is innovation; however, disciplined innovation, [and] innovation by educated people, not by illiterate or semi-illiterate people; [and] innovation in religious matters. Religion can be expanded, because it has come for all times, [and] because it applies to all conditions. Therefore, God's religion, can be expanded in certain instances by a mujtahid with expertise in the field of inference and ijtihad; just in the same way that the honorable Imam [Khomeini] showed examples of it and some [of those examples] were acted upon and some of them were, at least, stated in his own time.
[And] healing the wounds inflicted by the enemy [is another task for us]; this is one of the steps [to be taken]. The enemy is inflicting wounds on the body of this revolution [and] we must heal these wounds; one problem is religious and sectarian division – [for example,] between Shia and Sunni – [and] one problem is the issue of factional differences; one problem is creating artificial bipolarities in the society; these are the wounds that are being inflicted [on Islam by the enemy]; [and] these [wounds] must be healed.
At any rate, what on which I put high emphasis [is that] the principle of development and progress must be always

before our eyes. Statism is not allowable; we must continue to advance and progress, however, in the direction of the goals of the revolution and the goals of the religion. This is the second part [of the remarks] which I said about the course of this esteemed, and in the true sense of the word, grand assembly.

There are, however, general tasks, which now I explain briefly so that our meeting would not take too long. In short, we must make our country powerful; [and] the country must become strong. The way to survival of the revolution, the way to progress of the revolution and the way to realization of the goals of the revolution, in the expanded sense of the word, is that we make the country powerful. If we managed to fulfill this duty – that is, [if] the government could, the Majlis (parliament) could, the judiciary could, the Armed Forced could, revolutionary institutions could, [and] this assembly could do anything in these fields and help – then we would make sure that we would be able to protect the revolution in the true sense of the word. If the country becomes strong, concession(s) can be taken [even] from the Arrogance; let me tell you this. If the country becomes weak, not only the Arrogance, not only the superpowers, but also inefficient and weak and insignificant governments will have demands; if we become weak, it would be like this [but] if we become strong, no [this would not happen].

Power is also a relative issue; at any stage of power, one can do some activity. Now, for example, assume that in these issues of nuclear negotiations – of course I don't want to discuss this issue now – our dear friends said that we have taken concession [from the opposite side] and those enemies who would not accept up to the present time that we could have a nuclear industry, now have signed the deal [according to] which we can have the nuclear industry. Well, how this was earned? This was earned after we showed our power and we could do something that they did not imagine we would be able to do; that is, 20-percent enrichment [of uranium]. They themselves know as well, [and] experts in this field know [as well] that the difficult part [of enrichment] up to 99-percent is to achieve 20-percent [enrichment]; [therefore,] if a country manages to do 20-percent enrichment on its own, it would be easy [to advance] from there to 90-percent and 99-percent enrichment, [and] it would not be a long way; these [countries negotiating with Iran] know this.

The Islamic Republic went forward on this path; that is, it managed to master 20-percent enrichment, managed to produce 19,000 first generation centrifuges, managed to make operational about 10,000 first generation centrifuges, managed to produce the second and third and fourth generations of centrifuges; managed to operate that heavy water reactor in [the central Iranian city of] Arak; [and] managed to launch the heavy water production plant – which they are buying from us today. We managed to do all these things, so that the enemy [finally] accepted that minimum that we could have nuclear industry; if we had not taken these steps [they would not accept our nuclear industry]. I remember and friends [here] all remember that ten [or] twelve years before this, during which we were engaged in previous rounds of negotiations [over the nuclear program], our argument was that, for example, to allow five centrifuges to operate, [but] they said no; first we said 20 centrifuges, then they said no. [Therefore,] we backed down [and] said five centrifuges, they said no; we said [just] one [centrifuge and] they said no! When we are not able, when we do not have, when there is no power, the enemy behaves like this; [however,] when you make 19,000 centrifuges operational in spite of [the opposition from] the enemy, [when you] produce its second and third and fourth generations, [and] when you take many other steps on its margins, well, [the enemy] will have to accept; this is [true] power. When there is power, one can even take concessions from the Arrogance. This was not a concession that Americans gave us, [but] this was a concession, which we took [from them] with our power, not that anybody gave [any] concession to us.

It is like this in all [different] fields; [and] it is like this in the field of economy. This Economy of Resistance, which I keep repeating and emphasizing and, well, thank God, [our] friends [in the administration] have established an operation and command headquarters and steps are being taken, and I hope, God willing, we would see their results on the ground, is this. In [the field of] economy, if we become strong and become powerful, sanctions would mean nothing anymore and [imposing] sanctions would become a meaningless thing to do; if we could obtain economic power inside the country, they [our enemies] would come [here] begging, will come to have economic relationship [with us], [and] will not [only] refrain from imposing sanctions [on us], but if we [decided to] impose sanctions [on them,] they would come [here] and say 'do not impose sanctions on us'; this is the normal course of events. It is the same in the field of politics, [and] it is the same in [other] different fields.

The elements of power should be pursued by the administration and the Majlis (parliament) and others and this assembly can demand [realization of] these [elements of power]. You can demand [this] from this humble one,

demand this from our dear [President] Dr. [Hassan] Rouhani, you can demand [this] from gentlemen [who are lawmakers] at the Majlis, you can demand [this] from the Judiciary; [and in any way] you can demand [realization of] these elements [from various authorities]. This grand gathering and this exceptional gathering, which I said is a phenomenon and a divine bounty, can do such things. Focus on one point, follow up on that point, [and] accompany [the demands set forth by] the public opinion; this would be that situation which is really befitting [this assembly]. Now, of course, if I wanted to be more straightforward and say what the criteria for being revolutionary in these organs is, in my opinion, the criteria for being revolutionary include piety, courage, insight, candor, [and] not being afraid of [what the Quran has described as] "the blame of the blamer;" these are [major] criteria for being revolutionary. If we have piety, have necessary courage as well, have necessary candor as well – [of course] where candor is needed; [but] not in that place where innuendo [and ambiguity] is needed; candor would be harmful in that place – [and] if we could do [all] these, [then we would be revolutionary].

[We must] have correct knowledge of the enemy. The enemy is a front; the enemy is not a person after all, [and] is not a specific government after all, [but] is a front; we must know this front and see who is affiliated with this front and from what place this front is moving in such a way that it can conceal itself from us.

[We must] know the enemy front, know the methods of [its] animosity as well; [and] know how [the enemy] conducts its enmity. There are times when an enemy enters, starts taking a step toward an evil goal and we do not correctly know what that goal is; [in that case,] we look at the appearance of that step and we see it is a good step and welcome it, while it [the enemy] is pursuing its [own] goal. We have had [such cases]; we have had [such cases] in the country and we still have these cases in which they have started taking a step to achieve a goal, [and] we have looked at the appearance of that step and said "wow! Well this seems to be a good step, [and] there is no problem [with doing this];" while if we have insight, [and] if we know the enemy's goals, we would not be deceived like this. We must not be afflicted with psychological collapse in the face of the enemy either; this is also one of the main issues [which should be taken into account]. Psychological collapse is detrimental; any person who collapses within himself, he would be certainly defeated. The first defeat for any person is to be defeated within himself, which he would feel that he cannot [do anymore], feel that [what he is doing] is of no good, feel that the opposite party is much stronger than he is, [and] feel that 'I cannot do anything'; this is psychological collapse. If this collapse takes place, then we will be certainly defeated in the [real] arena. This situation should not come about; [so, we must] be careful, not to allow this happen.

May God's mercy be upon our honorable Imam, [and] upon our martyrs, and greetings be upon [Prophet] Mohammad (PBUH) and Mohammad's Household.

Peace be unto you and so may the mercy of Allah and His blessings