The Leader’s Remarks in the Ceremony Commemorating Imam Khomeini’s 27th Passing Anniversary - 4 /Jun/ 2016

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

(Arabic prayer)

This is a very huge and glorious gathering, which has been formed here to pay homage to the dear memory of our honorable Imam [Khomeini]; in many other regions of the country, [ceremonies] similar to this gathering have been held for the sake of Imam’s memory and for the sake of [people’s] love for the honorable Imam.
It is the final days of the auspicious [lunar] month of Sha’ban. It is strongly believed that the honorable Imam took great spiritual advantage of this month. Evidence shows that illuminated soul added to his illumination due to the blessing of this month. This famous item of the Sha’baniyeh prayer [which says:] “O Almighty! Bestow on my full separation [from people for the sake of getting close] to you and light up the eyes of our hearts with the light of looking toward you,” was among those phrases, which were repeated in the Imam’s remarks; he frequently read out this item of the prayer in his speeches on various occasions. This shows that this honorable one was very intimate with this prayer and with these themes and with these blessed days [of the month of Sha’ban].
Once, I asked him about prayers, [and] one of the prayers on which he emphasized and preferred it [over others] was this very Sha’baniyeh prayer. There are important items in this prayer, including this item: “O Almighty! Grant me a heart that will be eager to get close to you, and a tongue whose honesty would rise up to you, and a truth-seeking eye that would get close to you by its eagerness for truth;” [here, you pray for having] a heart eager to get close to the divine court, an honest tongue whose honesty would get it close to the Almighty; [and] a truth-seeking view, which causes one to get closer to the Almighty God. These characteristics have been asked from the Almighty God in this honorable prayer and in this invocation; these are lessons for us. And the honorable Imam was a person who was intimate with these lessons throughout his entire life and due to the blessing of this intimacy and due to the blessing of this familiarity with [various] degrees of right and truth and proximity to the Almighty, the Almighty God gave him the power to be able to pull off this huge and lasting movement.
We want to talk about the honorable Imam. One of the titles and descriptions, which has been used less frequently about the late honorable Imam and we have used this title less [frequently to describe him] is a comprehensive title, which I express it as such: [he was a] faithful, God-fearing, [and] revolutionary [person]. We always describe the Imam with various traits, but this trait – with which we have less frequently described the Imam – is a comprehensive trait; [he] is faithful, is God-fearing, [and] is revolutionary.
Faithful means that he believed in God, believed in [his] goal, believed in the path that would take him to this goal, [and] believed in people. [As put by the Quran:] “[he] believes in Allah and believes in those who believe;” this description has been used about the Venerable Prophet [Mohammad] (PBUH) in the Quran: [he] believes in God and believes in [his] goal and believes in the path and believes in people.
[He] is a servant (of the Al-Mighty) and God-fearing; that is, he considers himself a servant before the Almighty; this is also a very important trait. You see that the Almighty God in the Quran has described the Venerable Prophet with many traits: “And indeed, you are of a great moral character;” [or] “So due to Allah’s mercy, [O Mohammad], you were lenient with them;” and many other traits every one of which expresses a great deal of the Prophet’s characteristics; however, that trait, which we Muslims have been commanded to repeat in our [daily] prayers about the Prophet is this: “I bear witness that Mohammad is His servant and messenger.” This proves the importance of being a servant [of God]. Being [God’s] servant is such [a] prominent [trait] that the Almighty God teaches Muslims to repeat this trait in their [daily] prayers several times a day; the Imam had this trait, the trait of [being God’s] servant; he was humble, was given to supplication, was given to praying, [and was] a God-fearing faithful [person]. But the third trait is [being a] faithful, God-fearing, revolutionary [person]; this is that point on which I am willing to

stress and about which [I am willing] to talk. The Imam was the Imam of the revolution.
Revolution is [just] one word and there are countless realities embedded in it. The Imam of the revolution means the leader of all these traits that are embedded in the word “revolution.” [If] materialistic powers were always enraged with the Imam, were angry and, of course, were afraid of the honorable Imam [it] was mostly due to this trait: the revolutionary trait of the Imam; they were enemy to this trait of his. Even today, the enemies of the Iranian nation are also hostile and enemy toward its revolutionary trait. Basically speaking, materialistic powers are frightened by the word revolution; they are frightened by the word “Islamic Revolution,” are scared [of it] and run away [from it]. The pressure that they exert [on Iran] is due to revolutionarism [of the Iranian nation]; I will [later] explain that what concepts and meanings and policies are required to be revolutionary; [so that you would see] they are right to be afraid. Pressures, of course, are exerted under various excuses; sometimes under the nuclear excuse, sometimes under the human rights excuse and [other] excuses of this sort, but the truth of the issue is that the enemies of the Iranian nation and the enemies of the Islamic Iran are afraid of and concerned about the revolutionary trait [of the Iranian nation]. Quite recently, [and] a few months before this, an American politician said that Iran is under sanctions due to the Islamic Revolution; the origin of sanctions is related to the 1979 revolution – that is the revolution in the [Iranian calendar] year of 1357 – [and] this is a reality.
What is the reason? Why they are opposed to the revolution? The reason is that [before the revolution] this big and vast country, this blessed country, this rich country – which has both natural wealth and human wealth – was entirely under their control, [and] was under America’s control; the revolution came and threw them out of this country; this is the reason of enmity toward the revolution; the revolution threw them out. In addition, it became a source of inspiration for others as well. The Islamic Revolution of Iran, which was created and continued by the people of this country, inspired other nations, and this needs in-depth discussion in its own right and there are countless reasons for it.
Our revolutionary Imam took the country out of [all kinds of] cesspools, [and] by means of the revolution, [he] took the country out of numerous cesspools. Our dear youths, who have not seen [and] have not been in touch with the period before the revolution, must note correctly and see that this is the issue, [and] this is the basic issue. If a nation does not know its basic issue, it would go astray. The issue is that the Islamic Revolution came and saved this country from cesspools; from the cesspool of dependence, from the cesspool of backwardness, from the cesspool of political corruption, from the cesspool of moral corruption, [and] from the cesspool of international humiliation. We were afflicted with such things; we were both dependent, and humiliated, and backward and kept behind; they had kept us behind in science, in economy, in technology, [and] in international presence. Instead of all these, we had American and British masters. At that time, we exported oil four times that of the present time; [and] the country’s population was less than half it is right now, but at the same time, most parts of this country were deprived of government’s public services, which are incumbent on governments; the country was immersed in poverty and backwardness, [and] was immersed in moral corruption. With regard to all infrastructure of the country – road, water, electricity, [natural] gas, school(s), university, [and] urban services – the country was facing problem, was afflicted with backwardness and lagged behind, [and] was poor; [because] they gave control of the natural riches of the country to foreigners and [only those affiliated with] the ruling system were benefited and kept people silent either with deception, or with force and intimidation; but well, people’s hearts were full [of rage], [because] they saw the realities; [and] as a result [of that situation] they followed that God-like and divine outcry of the honorable Imam, who started the revolution.
Our honorable Imam altered the course and a major change took place; [the Imam] changed the course of the Iranian nation, [and] changed the track [of its movement]; [and] moved us toward big goals. These goals, which the revolution and the Imam of the revolution moved us toward and guided the Iranian society in this direction are extraordinarily important. These goals can be summarized in the rule of God’s religion. The rule of God’s religion means [to establish and dispense] social justice in the real sense [of the word], means to eradicate poverty, means to eradicate ignorance, [and] means to eradicate oppression. The rule of God’s religion means to establish a system of Islamic values, [means] to eradicate social maladies, [means] to provide physical health and moral and spiritual health and [facilitate] scientific progress of the country, [means] to provide national dignity and national Iranian identity and to provide international power [for the country], [and means] to activate those potentialities, which the Almighty has endowed this land with; these [steps] are all included under the rule of God’s religion and the Imam

moved us in this direction; [which was] exactly the opposite point of the path toward which we were dragged and taken under the tyrannical regime [of the former Shah].
Well, these goals, toward which the train of the Islamic society moved because of the blessing of the revolution, are out of reach goals, need time, need the passage of time, [and] need effort [to be achieved], but achieving all of them is possible on one condition; the condition is that the train [of the revolution] should go ahead on this track; [I mean,] on the revolution's track. The Imam showed us the way, showed us the criteria and indexes, clarified the goals for us, [and] he himself started the movement [toward these goals]. Due to the blessing of moving in the direction of the revolution up to the present time, we have had many achievements, but there is still a long distance to [achieve all] those goals. We can achieve those goals provided that this train would [continue to] move on this very track; on the track, which the Imam started the train of the Islamic society on. Following the Imam's demise, anywhere we acted [in a] revolutionary [manner], we progressed and anywhere we neglected revolutionarism and jihadi movement, we lagged behind and failed; this is a reality. I myself have been an official during these years; if there has been an oversight in this regard, this humble one is also to blame; whenever we were revolutionary, moved [in a] jihadi [manner], [and] moved along the [revolution's] track, we went ahead; [but] anywhere we fell short [of our goals] and neglected [them], we lagged behind. We can achieve [these goals] provided that we would move [in a] revolutionary [manner] and proceed [in a] revolutionary [way].
The [main] addressee of this remark is the present generation and the future generation and [all] further future generations; all of us are addressees of this remark; the officials are addressees; political activists, cultural activists, [and] social activists are all addressees of this remark; the youths, academics, seminary [students and teachers], businesspeople, villagers, [and] urban dwellers are all addresses of this remark; everybody must know that this path can be tread in a revolutionary manner and in that case, progress would be definitive; and it can be also tread in a different way and in that case, the fate [of our country] would be a deplorable fate. The Imam had a famous description [for this and] in frequent cases he said: "Islam will be slapped in the face." If we change course, the Iranian nation will be slapped in the face, [and] Islam will be also slapped in the face. There is more to say; there is a lot to say in this regard and there are many necessary things to say.
Pay attention that I take advantage of this opportunity and tell you and the Iranian nation that my dear ones! The revolution is an excellent and unique asset for our nation and our country. We have paid a cost to obtain this revolution; [and] a heavy cost has been paid as well, but the benefits that exist are several hundred times [bigger] than those costs; [therefore,] this is a profitable trade for this nation. Yes, eight years of [the imposed] war [with Iraq] was a cost, insurgencies were a cost, sanctions were a cost – all of these are the costs of the revolution – but hundreds times higher than these costs are benefits in this path; costs and benefits and profits have been together from the beginning; we have both paid cost and earned benefit.
In the [imposed] war [with Iraq] our youths went [to battlefronts] and were martyred, but the nation and the young people of the country broke great grounds through the same costly war. From the beginning, these costs and benefits have gone hand in hand, but the more we proceeded, the costs became lighter and more tolerable, while the benefits became more remarkable and more [considerable]. Today is the day when we can [and] when the Iranian nation can earn major benefits from the revolution without paying high costs; this ability [to benefit from the revolution] exists today. The revolution has run its roots deep, the tree of the Islamic establishment has become strong, many facts have come into the light, [and new] solutions have come about; today, the situation for the Iranian nation is clearer and the way is more paved and the road is less bumpy than the past; there is [still a] cost [to pay], [and the cost] is once more there, but the [overall] costs have become lighter and easier to pay and [even] more evitable than before.
This is an important point: this revolution did not come about through a coup d'état, [and] did not come about through a military move; [it is not] like some revolutions in which a group of military officers toppled a government [and] replaced it with another government; no, this revolution came about by people, through people's determination, though the force of people's revolution, [and] through people's faith; it defended itself with the same force, [and also] survived and ran its roots deep with the same force. It was the people who did not panic; it was the people of the beloved Iran, who stood fast and were an instance of this honorable verse [of the Quran, which says:] "[Faithful people are] those to whom hypocrites said, 'Indeed, the people have gathered against you, so fear them', but it [merely] increased them in faith, and they said, 'Sufficient for us is Allah, and [He is] the best Disposer of affairs'."
We were constantly threatened, [the enemies] constantly said that 'we will attack [you]', [and] constantly said that

‘we will impose sanctions on you’, [but our] people were neither intimated by the military threat, nor were intimidated by sanctions, nor were paralyzed by sanction; [they] continued to move undaunted, with courage, [and] with their heads held high; it must be the same from now on. Our people, our different [social] classes, our youths, our clerics, our businesspeople, our academics, our researchers, our officials, our state officials, [and] our parliamentarians must remain revolutionary and [continue to] move [in a] revolutionary [manner] – (for which) I will enumerate a number of indexes [in this regard] – and everybody [must] remain revolutionary, so that, we would be able to proceed on this path with success and continue on it.

This is a mistake to imagine that [a] revolutionary [person] is only that person who has been [revolutionary] in the time of the Imam, or has been alongside the Imam during the period of [anti-Shah] struggles; no, it seems that some people think that revolutionaries are [only] those [people] who were on Imam’s side during the period of the Imam[’s life] or during the period of [revolutionary] struggles, or during the period of the honorable Imam’s rule; no, if we take [being] revolutionary to mean only this, then revolutionary [people] would be only us, doddering old guys! The revolution belongs to everybody; the youth are revolutionary and can be revolutionary, according to those criteria and indexes, which I will enumerate [later]. A young person of today can be more revolutionary than I, who have [a long] record in the revolution; just in the same way that we saw in the period of the Sacred Defense [the eight-year imposed war with Iraq] that there were people who took their lives in their hands on the path of this revolution and went to the war front in order to obey the Imam’s order, [and then] they sacrificed their lives; they are one hundred percent revolutionary, [and] complete revolutionary [people]; those who are ready to sacrifice [their lives]; therefore, we must not make the [concept of being] revolutionary exclusive to a group [of people] who have been with the Imam during [revolutionary] struggles, or have known Imam or have been on his side; no, the revolution is a flowing river and all those people who are present in the course of the history with these traits and are endeavoring are revolutionary [people], even if they have not seen the Imam; like most of you young people.

It is also a mistake to think that if we said that a given person is revolutionary, it means that he is radical; or when we want to refer to revolutionaries and revolutionary people, use the word ‘radical’; no, this is a mistake. Being revolutionary does not mean being radical. These dichotomies, which have been introduced by foreigners and are used by enemies of Iran, should not be established in Iran and in our political culture; they divide people into radical and moderate. We have no issue of radical and non-radical here. They call revolutionary [people] radical, [while] describing non-revolutionary [ones] as moderate! This is a foreign dichotomy, [and] they repeat these [dichotomies] in their radios, in their propaganda, [and] in their remarks, [but] we must not repeat this. [A] revolutionary [person] is [simply] revolutionary.

This is also a mistake that we expect the same revolutionary act from all people who are revolutionary; or expect the same degree of revolutionarism [from all revolutionaries]. No, as said by us, the clerics, [being] revolutionary has various degrees. One person may move better with regard to the concepts of revolution and revolutionary action, [and] another person may not move that good but is moving along the same path. It is also a mistake that we accuse anybody who does not move good or does not move in a complete way of being non-revolutionary or counterrevolutionary; no, it is possible that one person’s [revolutionary] move is valuable one hundred degrees, but [the revolutionary move of] another person is less valuable; [therefore, the revolutionary move of] a person may be less valuable than the first one, but all of them are moving along this path. The important point is that those indexes [which mark revolutionary people] apply to them. Indexes are important. [The] important [point] is that the person, who does not move with that fervor and with that seriousness, would have indexes of being revolutionary. If these indexes exist, then that person is a revolutionary, a revolutionary person, a revolutionary organ, a revolutionary administration, [and] a revolutionary organization; the main point is that we know these indexes.

There are indexes for being revolutionary. Here, I enumerate five [of these] indexes. Of course, more characteristics [for being a revolutionary] can be enumerated, but for the time being, I enumerate five indexes for being revolutionary, and we must try to create and maintain these five indexes in ourselves wherever we are; one person is engaed in the art work, one in the industrial work, one is busy doing political activity, one is busy doing scientific activity, one is busy in economic and commercial activity; [but] it makes no difference; these indexes can exist in all of us, the Iranian nation. The five indexes [of being revolutionary], which I will explain [are as follows]: the first index is commitment to fundaments and basic values of the revolution; the second index is to take aim at the revolution’s ideals and have strong resolve to achieve them, which [means] that we [must] take the ideals of the

revolution and the lofty goals of the revolution into account and have strong resolve to achieve them; the third index is commitment to all-out independence of the country, [including] political independence, economic independence, cultural independence – which is the most important of all – and security independence; the fourth index is sensitivity in the face of the enemy and what enemy does and enemy's plan and not complying with it, which of course, the enemy must be known, its plan must be understood and compliance with the enemy must be avoided – [as] I said [before] the Quran has described this lack of compliance [with the enemy] as the "Greater Jihad; I have talked about this [issue] a couple of times in recent days – [and] the fifth index is [having] religious and political piety, which is very important. If these five indexes exist in anybody, he would be certainly revolutionary; now the degrees of being revolutionary, as I said before, are different. I will give a short and brief explanation for every one of these [indexes].

I said that the first index [of being revolutionary] is commitment to fundamental and basic values of Islam. Last year, in this very meeting, I talked about the fundaments of the Imam; [and] these are our basic fundaments [as well]. The first fundament is commitment to the pure Islam as opposed to the American Islam. The pure Islam is opposed to the American Islam, [and] the American Islam has two branches: one branch is the petrified Islam, [and] another branch is the secular Islam; this is the American Islam. The Arrogance and materialistic powers have supported and still support both branches [of the American Islam]; in some places, they create them, [and] in some places, they guide them, [and] in some places, they help them. The pure Islam is their opposite; the pure Islam is an Islam, which is overarching; it covers [everything] from personal life and the private life of a person to the formation of the Islamic establishment. The pure Islam is that Islam, which determines the duty of me and you in the family with ourselves and in our personal spaces, and also determines our duty in the society, and determines our duty toward the Islamic system and the establishment of the Islamic system; this is the pure Islam. This is one of those fundaments to which [we] must be committed.

Another one of [the revolution's] fundaments is the axial role of people: when we combine being popular and the axial role of people with Islam, the result would be the Islamic Republic; this is the meaning of the Islamic Republic; people are the [main] axis, destinations are [set for] people, goals belong to people, [all] benefits are people's belonging and property, [and] the power is in people's hands; these are [the main characteristics of] being popular: people's vote, people's demand, people's move, people's action, people's presence and people's honor in the Islamic Republic establishment. This is one of those fundaments and this should be believed in true sense of the word.

One of those basic fundaments and basic values is believing in progress, believing in development, in evolution, and [in] interaction with the environment, of course, while avoiding deviations and errors, which may exist in this way. Development and evolution [are very important]; [because] both our [religious] jurisdiction, and our sociology, and our humanities, and our politics, [and] our various methods must improve on a daily basis, but by expert people, by seasoned people, by people who are given to thinking and people who are qualified for opening new ways; semi-illiterates and inexperienced and claimant people cannot do anything. This [point] must be paid attention to; these are all a path, which has [deviations toward] left and right; [therefore, we] must move in the middle of the road.

Supporting the deprived [is also important]; one of the basic fundaments and basic values of the Islamic establishment is to support the deprived [people]. Another [basic value] is to support the oppressed in any part of the world. These are the basic values of the Islamic Revolution; [and] these [values] cannot be passed over. If a person, persons or a current is indifferent to the deprived people, or indifferent to the oppressed in the world, this index does not exist in them.

Well, if this commitment to basic values exists [in a person] – which was the first index – the movement would be a continuous and direct movement and this movement would not change in the tempest of [various] incidents. [However,] if this commitment does not exist, the opposite point of this commitment is extreme pragmatism; that is, leaning to one side every day and [allowing] any incident to cause one to incline to one side; [as put by the poet]: it is dragging me from all sides like a straw, the temptation of this and that, [and] my own deception.

This would be pragmatism; [that is,] leaning to one side and toward one direction on a daily basis; this is at odds with that commitment [that I already explained]. In the language of the Quran, this commitment to values has been named "steadfastness:" "So, stand fast as you have been ordered and [all] those who repented with you," – this is the verse of the Quran in the blessed Hud Chapter – or "verily those who said 'Allah is our Lord' and then stood fast [on their belief], angels will descend on them [telling them] that do not be scared and do not be sad and receive good

tidings by [knowing that you will go to] the Paradise." [Therefore,] in the language of the Quran, the name of this commitment to fundaments and values is steadfastness.
The second index is [having] strong resolve to achieve ideals, not giving up on ideals and not changing one's mind about [achieving] great goals. The opposite point is laziness and conservatism and despair. Some people try to make our society and our youths desperate, [and make them] say: "Sir, this is no good, it is not possible, we will not catch up; how this could be possible despite all this opposition, [and] despite all this animosity;" this is the opposite point of that second index. The second index is that we would never change our mind about achieving those lofty goals and lofty ideals; [and do] not submit in the face of pressures. Of course, when you are moving on a road with an enemy on that road, [that enemy] keeps creating obstacles for you, [but] this obstacle must not bar you from moving along, from continuing with your movement; do not give in to pressures, do not be content with the status quo, because if we become content with the status quo, the result would be moving backward. I have frequently repeated [this]; young people must move toward progress, [and] must move toward positive development; that we remain content with what we have – assume that we have made certain advances in the field of science, which is of course accepted by the entire world; [and they] accept that we have progressed [in the field of science] – if we remain content to this degree, we would [start to] lag behind; [and] will move backward. No, the way to progress has no end; [we] must continue to move ahead until we achieve lofty ideals.
The third index, which I said, is commitment to independence. This independence is very important; domestic independence, regional independence, [as well as] global and international independence; maintaining independence of the country and independence of the [Islamic] establishment with regard to all these issues [is the third index]. It means that we must not be deceived in the political field; the enemy whose goal is to drag governments and nations behind it, resorts to various methods. It is not like that they would always talk in a threatening way; no, they sometimes talk with sycophancy; they sometimes write letter to you [saying] that 'you work – with us, who are the America – to solve global issues in cooperation with each other'; they [sometimes] talk to you in this way; [therefore,] one may be tempted here to go and cooperate with a superpower in solving international problems; they talk like this in the official diplomatic letter writing literature, but this is not the inner side of this issue; the inner side of this issue is that it has a plan; [the enemy] says 'you come [and play] in my plan, come and play in that arena which I have defined [for you]', [and] he [even] determines the type of the game.
[They say:] 'you come and do this job so that the goal for which this plan has been made is achieved. [The fact] that we did not accept to cooperate with the so-called American coalition in regional issues, in the issue of Syria, [and] in [other] issues similar to Syria – although they said and repeated and wanted [this] time and time again – this is its reason. They have a plan, have delineated some goals, are willing to achieve those goals and, of course, are willing to take advantage of the power and clout and influence of any country, including the Islamic Republic; if the Islamic Republic shows naivety here, [and] enters their game, it would mean that it has filled in their working agenda; it would mean that it has completed their plan. This is against independence; [of course,] on the surface, this is not the case in which a government or a person would be allowed to rule a country, so that, we could say the independence of that country is lost, but it is against political independence.
Economic independence is important [but let me] first explain about [independence in] the field of culture; in my opinion, cultural independence is more important than all of these [other forms of independence]. Cultural independence is that we choose the Islamic and Iranian lifestyle as [our] lifestyle. A couple of years ago, I talked about lifestyle in detail; [I said that] lifestyle covers [everything] from architecture, from urban life, from human life, [and] from social bonds to all kinds of different issues. Imitating the West and the foreigner(s) in [the issue of] lifestyle, is exactly the opposite point of cultural independence. Today, the hegemonic system is working on this issue; this issue of information engineering, these new tools that have entered the arena, all of these are tools [used] to dominate the culture of a country. By saying this, I do not want to say that we must take these tools out of our life; no, these are tools, which can be also useful, but the enemy's domination over these tools must be ended. In order to, for example, have a radio and television, you cannot put your radio and television under the enemy's control; the Internet is also like this, the cyberspace is also like this, [and] intelligence services and information tools are also like this, [and] these [services and tools] cannot be put under the enemy's control; today, they are under the enemy's control, are a means and a tool for cultural influence, [and] are a tool for cultural dominance of the enemy.
And economic independence – in short – is not being digested in the economic digestive tract of the global

community. Look, they themselves – Americans – said following the nuclear negotiations that the nuclear deal must cause the Iranian economy to be integrated into the economy of the global community; integration! What does integration mean? What is the economy of the global community? Is the economy of the global community [based on] a fair and logical and rational order? Not at all. That economy whose map has been drawn by the global community and its various manifestations have spread all through the world is [in fact] a plan and a system, which has been designed by capitalists, mostly Zionist and sometimes non-Zionist, to conquer financial resources of the entire world. This is the order of the global community and the global economy. It is not an honor for a country to have its economy integrated into the global economy; [on the contrary] this is harmful, this is a loss, is a failure. By imposing sanctions, their purpose was also an economic purpose; when they imposed sanctions on us, Americans themselves stipulated that these sanctions are aimed at crippling the Iranian economy. Now that the nuclear negotiations are over, and they have led to some results, here, their goal is still [an] economic [goal]; that is, economy is among their goals; that is, devouring the Iranian economy by the digestive tract of the international and global economy which is led by America.

Economic independence can be only achieved through the Economy of Resistance, as I said [at the beginning of] this year [that our motto should be] "Economy of Resistance, practical steps and action." Fortunately, the esteemed administration has started practical steps and action and according to the report they have given me, good steps have been taken. If [these steps] continue with this force and with this method and go ahead seriously, people will certainly see its effects; the Economy of Resistance. All sorts of major economic decisions must be defined within [the framework of] the Economy of Resistance. Assume that we sign a contract for trade or industrial transaction with that given country; it must become clear that in what part of the Economy of Resistance this [contract] fits? If we imagine that the country's economic prosperity could be merely realized through [attraction of] foreign investment is a mistake. Of course, foreign investment is a good thing, but this is only one of the steps [that should be taken in] the Economy of Resistance. More important than foreign investment is to activate domestic and internal potentialities. We have many potentialities that have not been activated, that must be activateed; this is more important. Of course, it [foreign investment] also needs to exist alongside this, but making everything conditional on foreigners coming and investing here, no, [this is not correct]. Sometimes it is said that [foreign investors] bring modern technologies [to our country]; very well, no problem with that; we agree that they bring new technology [to the country]; [of course,] if they [actually] bring it! If they don't, I said [before] that these youths of us, who have made progress in the field of nano [technology], [have] made progress in the nuclear field, [and] have made progress in the field of high-end technology, [and] have ranked among five, six, [or] ten top countries of the world in many fields, can't these [young people] improve production from our oil wells? Or streamline our refineries? Or, assume that [can't they improve] other sectors which are deemed necessary by us [and for] which we need new foreign technology? Of course, if this technology is transferred in our transactions with foreigners, we agree to this and have no opposition [to it].

[Please] pay attention! Today in the world, those analysts who are sensitive about economic and political issues are betting on the Economy of Resistance of our country; such important is this [issue]; [and] such sensitive it is. Analysts engage in debate and bet on whether this Economy of Resistance that Iran has raised would achieve its goal or not! Such important is this [issue]. Therefore, "independence" means this. This was the third index that I explained.

The fourth index [is] sensitivity in the face of the enemy. [We must] know the enemy, [and] have sensitivity in the face of the enemy's moves. Those people who were at the battlefield during the period of the Sacred Defense [eight-year Iraqi imposed war on Iran] know that there were people at the [military] headquarters who monitored every small move by the enemy through their agents, [and] became sensitive over it. Assume that [they wanted to know if] the enemy has changed a position today, what is the purpose and why it has done it; they looked for the reason. [We must be] sensitive in the face of the enemy's moves. [We must] know the enemy, recognize its plans, [and] be sensitive about what it does, what it says and its remarks; and prepare an antidote to the poison, which it will possibly use [against us] and be prepared to thwart its move. This is [the real meaning of] sensitivity in the face of the enemy.

Well, what is the opposite point of this sensitivity? One opposite point is that some people deny [the existence of] the enemy at all. When we say we have enemy, they say, "Sir, you are illusional; [this is only] illusion of conspiracy."

I believe that this talk about the illusion of conspiracy is a conspiracy; in order to reduce sensitivities, they [say:] “Sir, what is enemy, which enmity?” They deny the clearest of things. We say America is the enemy of the revolution, [because] the nature of the hegemonic system requires it to be at odds with an establishment like the Islamic Republic establishment; their interests are 180 degrees opposite to each other. The hegemonic system is given to treachery, is given to warmongering, is given to creating and organizing terrorist groups, is given to suppressing freedom-seeking groups, [and] is given to putting pressure on the oppressed [people] – like [the people of] Palestine and the likes of Palestine; this is the nature of the hegemonic system.

You look right now that America and Britain have been mounting pressure on the people of Palestine for about one hundred years – both before the establishment of the Zionist regime in the year 1948, and after that up to the present time – [and they] are [still] putting pressure on Palestinians. Well, this is the move of the hegemonic system; Islam cannot remain silent in the face of this [situation]; [and] the Islamic establishment cannot see [this situation] and remain indifferent. The hegemonic system is directly helping the country which is bombarding the people of Yemen – [and] America openly, [and] directly helps the bombardment of Yemen – bombardment of where? Bombardment of war fronts? No, bombardment of hospital, bombardment of market, bombardment of school, [and] bombardment of people’s public square; America is helping [this kind of bombardment]. Well, the Islamic establishment cannot remain indifferent. These [two sides] are enemy of each other, [because] they are opposites in their nature. How one can deny such animosity? America launched [the coup d’état of] Mordad 28 [1332, corresponding to August 19, 1953] and toppled the national government [of Iran]; America has been hostile toward us from the beginning of the revolution up to the present time; America launched the SAVAK [Shah’s secret service] in the time of the tyrannical [monarchial] regime [of Iran], which [was] responsible for torturing people and revolutionaries; America offered maximum help to our enemy during the eight-year [Iraqi imposed] war; America shot down our passenger plane; America hit our oil platform [in the Persian Gulf]; [and] America imposed sanctions on us; aren’t these [blatant instances of] animosity?

Any person and any group who works for Islam and in the name of Islam, if it trusted America, it would have made a big mistake and would be slapped in the face [for it], just in the same way that they were slapped [before]. During these recent years, Islamic groups became friendly with Americans, [and] trusted them out of expediency, [and] because of [their so-called] political wisdom – they call it wisdom – [and] as a tactic, which they said this is a tactical move, [but] they paid the price, were slapped in the face, and are suffering right now. Any person who moves in the name of Islam [and] in the direction of Islam, if they trust America, they would be making a big mistake. Of course, we have many small and big enemies; we have also small enemies, we have insignificant enemies as well, but most animosity [toward Iran] comes from America and from the evil Britain – the really evil Britain; both in the past, from early days of the monarchial regime, up to the period of revolution, [and] after the beginning of the [Islamic] revolution and victory of the revolution up to the present time, Britain has been always our enemy.

Now, on the occasion of the Imam’s [passing] anniversary, the propaganda machine of the British government releases a so-called document against the Imam; they release a document against the honorable Imam, the clean and purified Imam! Where they have got their document from? From among American documents! Well, does the America, which shots down a passenger plane with about 300 [passengers on board], really care about faking a document? The animosity of the British [government against Iran] is like this – and [it is also from] the ominous and cancerous Zionist regime [of Israel]; these are arch-enemies. This enemy must be known and sensitivity must be shown in the face of what it does; even when they give us an economic prescription, caution must be exercised. It is like when an enemy comes and gives a medicine to one and says, “Sir, take this medicine for [the purpose of treating] that disease;” [in this case,] you exercise caution, [because] it is possible for them to have laced this medicine with poison. The political prescription and economic prescription of the enemy must be taken into consideration with caution; this is [the real meaning of] sensitivity in the face of the enemy. Naturally, when this sensitivity exists, there would be no compliance [with the enemy] anymore, and I [already] said that noncompliance is the same as the Greater Jihad. This [explanation would suffice] about the fourth index.

The fifth index and the last index is religious and political piety; which [is] different from personal piety, and of course, it is also needed. We have a personal piety [according to which] I and you [must] avoid committing sin, [and must] protect ourselves [against sin]; [as put by the Quran:] “protect yourselves and your families from a Fire whose

fuel is people and stones;" [we must] keep ourselves away from the fire of the God's Hell, [and] from the fire of the divine wrath; this is [the meaning of] personal piety. The social piety – [that is,] Islamic piety related to society – is that we make effort in order to realize these things that Islam has asked us. All those ideals that I explained, are Islamic ideals; I mean, the issue is not the issue of a rational calculation; [the fact] that I said [we] must remain committed to those ideals, must seek [to establish] social justice, [must] seek to support the deprived, seek to support the oppressed, seek to counter the oppressor and the arrogant, [and] do not accept its bullying, these are all Islamic demands, [because] Islam has demanded these from us; it is not like that it is simply a rational and human calculation; [but] it is a religious obligation.

Anybody separating these issues from Islam would not have known Islam; any person who [tries to] take the teachings of Islam and the practice of Islam away from the environment of people's social and political life, has undoubtedly not known Islam. The Quran tells us: "Worship Allah and avoid [godless] tyrants;" [it recommends us to] worship God – that is, submit before God – and avoid [obedience] of tyrants, and in another verse, [the Quran says:] "Those who believe fight in the cause of Allah, and those who disbelieve fight in the cause of tyrants. So fight against the allies of Satan. Indeed, the plot of Satan has always been weak." These are the Quran's commands. [The fact] that I invite myself and our people and our youths and our officials to feel responsible toward such remarks is not just a rational recommendation, [and] is not [just] a political recommendation; this is a religious demand; [and] observing it is [tantamount to having] religious piety. This is religious piety; [and] political piety is also embedded in this; if this religious piety is realized, it will be accompanied by political piety as well. Political piety means that humans must avoid those pitfalls, which can be used by the enemy.

I give [you] a few recommendations at the end [of my remarks]. In this roadmap, which I explained, the Imam is our model; the Imam is the model and fairly speaking, he is a complete model. With regard to all these indexes, the Imam stands on that high level. We have been close and living with the Imam for years [and] in different ways; both when he taught in [the seminary school in the city of] Qom, and when he was in Najaf in exile, and when he was at the apex of the government and at the apex of international political credit; we have seen the Imam in all these positions; fairly speaking, with regard to all these indexes that I explained [here,] the Imam stands at the highest level. [Therefore, try to] follow suit with the Imam's words and Imam's deeds. Our dear youths [must] read this Sahifeh [biography] of the Imam and get close to it; read the Imam's last will, get close to the Imam's last will, [and] muse over it. This is [my] first recommendation.

The second recommendation [is that] we gained an experience through the nuclear negotiations; this experience must not be forgotten. This experience is that even if we back down [on our goals], America will not stop its destructive role; we experienced this in the nuclear negotiations. We sat with the [member states of the] P5+1 and even negotiated with Americans separately over the nuclear issue; our brethren, our perseverant [and] active [Foreign Ministry] officials reached a number of common grounds, [and] reached some results; the [other] side – which is America – accepted some obligations; the Islamic Republic lived up to its obligations, [but] that shifty, unfaithful and untrustworthy side is reneging [on its promises]; it has been reneging up to this time. Very well, this is an experience; [and] this has become an experience [for us].

Now, many people knew [this even] before this experience, but some who did not know should now know [this]: Any other field, in which you may wrangle and dispute with America, [even if] you retreat [from your positions and] back down, it will still continue [to play] its destructive role; [this is true] in all fields: [in] the issue of human rights, the issue of [Iran's] missile [program], the issue of terrorism, the issue of Lebanon, [and] the issue of Palestine; in any case, which you presumably – which [this is] of course [an] impossible [presumption] – retreat [and] back down on your principles, [and] on your fundaments, know that it would not retreat; it will first enter the arena with smooth-talking and with a smile and with a grin, [and] then in practice, it reneges on the step that it must take and does not fulfill its obligation; this was a [good] experience for the Iranian nation; appreciate this experience; this is [my] second recommendation.

Pay attention, pay attention! Pay attention to the third recommendation [and] then you may somehow change your mind about some of these slogans [which you are chanting]. The third recommendation [is that] don't disturb the unity between the administration and the nation. You may like an administration [and] do not like another administration; another person may also not like that other administration [and] like this administration [which you dislike]; [this] is possible, [and] there is no problem with that. Election rivalries [should exist] in their own place,

differences of viewpoint [should exist] in their own place, [and] even criticism [should exist] in its own place, but the administration and the nation must stick together; I mean, if in this country an incident happens, which is a threat to the country, the administration and the nation must move hand in hand. Do not create grudge, do not cause bitterness, [and try to] maintain the unity between the administration and the nation; this is one of my recommendations in all administrations.
In all administrations when I have been responsible [as the Leader] following the passing of the Imam, this has been my recommendation; although administrations may follow different policies, [and] may have different orientations, the nation must stand with the administration, [and] maintain this unity. This is not in contravention with criticizing [performance of the administration] or talking or demanding [from administration]; these are not objectionable. Election rivalries should [only] exist in their own place [not after that]. The three branches [of the government] must be also united – the administration, the legislature, [and] the judiciary – [and] once again this is not at odds with Majlis fulfilling its duties with regard to the administration; act upon duties [assigned to it] by the constitution; ask [questions from executive officials], demand, want, pass laws, impeach [ministers] and the likes of these; but [at all times] the [three] branches must move hand in hand, [and must] come under a single umbrella with regard to basic issues in the country; [this is true about] everybody; this applies to the Armed Forces, [and] it [also] applies to all people [in the country]. Therefore, this is my third recommendation: do not allow personal emotions or factional emotions or absolutely emotions overcome logic. Logic is that when the enemy looks from afar, it [must] feel that here [all people] are in solidarity, [and] feel [that] solidarity [exists here]. If remarks are made from which (from those remarks) [the existence of] two [opposite] currents and two [opposite] directions and hostility and bipolarity within the nation or within the whole [Islamic] establishment is inferred [by the enemy], it would be detrimental to the country.
The fourth recommendation [is that] confrontation with America is confrontation with a front. There is a front whose [main] pole and center is America, but its extension goes to different places; sometimes even it is extended into the country as well; [therefore,] do not neglect [this fact]. [The fact that] America's hostile moves must be monitored means that all this front must be monitored. Know that enmity [against Iran] does not just come from America's security system; sometimes this security system has agents, and these agents show themselves in the form of regional governments or in other forms.
The fifth recommendation [is that] the lines that demarcate [between us and] the enemy must be taken into account and be highlighted. Do not let the lines separating [us from] the enemy, which is the enemy of the revolution, the enemy of the [Islamic] establishment, [and] the enemy of the Imam, lose their importance. Some [political] currents inside our country neglected this point, did not maintain their border lines with the enemy, [as a result of which their lines] were compromised, [and] were toned down; [this is] like border lines of a country, if there is no border line, it is possible for somebody to move from that side to this side by mistake, [or] somebody may mistakenly move from this side to that side; [therefore,] maintain the border lines.
The sixth recommendation and the last recommendation [is that] have trust and have confidence in the [Quranic] promise that "if you assist Allah, Allah will assist you." Dear nation, [and] dear youths! Know this: you are victorious to dismay of the enemy.
O Almighty! Resurrect our dear Imam with his Guardians [Infallible Imams]. O Almighty! Resurrect our dear martyrs with the martyrs at the advent of Islam. O Almighty! Those who serve the country in any place, in any costume and in any form, cover them with your guidance and your endorsement and your protection. O Almighty! Make the sacred heart of Vali Asr [Imam Zaman] (PBUH) content and satisfied with us; [and] include us in prayer of that Honorable One. O Almighty! Make our words, [and] our deeds [be in service of] you and your path, [and] accept them from us upon your Grace. O Almighty! [We swear you] by [Prophet] Mohammad (PBUH) and Mohammad's Household to keep us alive on this path and die us on this path.

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