The Leader’s Remarks in Meeting with a Group of Students in Holy Month of Ramadan - 3 /Jul/ 2016

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

(Arabic prayer)

The meeting with dear students in the [lunar fasting] month of Ramadan every year is one of the sweetest and the most desirable meetings for me. This year, the remarks made by friends [here] were really interesting and enjoyable to me. Of course, they talked diversely. This [issue], that there is not [enough] time to raise all issues considered by students here, it may to some extent be like this, but, well, fortunately you saw that various things were said and all [these remarks] were good; I mean, it really makes me happy that I see the level of thinking and the level of student demands and even the literature used to express these demands rise and progress every year. Today, you talked better than last year. This meeting has been held for years and I monitor the [degree of] progress in thinking [of students]; when this meeting started [many years ago], some of you students did not exist, let alone having gone to the [primary] school.

Today, I see that as time goes by, revolutionary motivations, revolutionary thinking, bright thinking, as well as plausible and good reasoning are [all] spreading among the student class on a daily basis. I also observed this today; [and] this is very meaningful for me. Now, if, God willing, there would be time before the [evening] prayers call for me to say all I want to say, I would say them. I have many things to say in this regard, however, my [main] discussion and what I have written down to tell you, is [divided into] three parts: one part is about our own hearts, [and about] our spirituality, which in my opinion this is the main part of our work, [while] another part is about the student and university field, [and] a [third] part is about general issues of the country. Of course, I will explain all three parts in brief as much as I can.

[Let’s start with] the first part. This year, your meeting, [despite the fact] that the student meeting was usually held in early [days] of the month of Ramadan, was deferred to the end of this month; today was the 26th [day] of [the month of] Ramadan. From one viewpoint, [this] is better, [and] this is good, because you, the young people, have become more illuminated after going through these warm and long days while fasting, have become more perceptive, [and] God willing, through divine assistance, more spirituality has become manifest in you; this is very important. Well, it may possibly occur to one that “Sir, we have so much to say – all these economic and social issues and the issue of [the new format of] oil contracts and the JCPOA [Iran’s nuclear deal with the P5+1 group] and the things that officials have said and all of them are important – [and] now [out of all these important issues] you have focused on spirituality and fasting and illumination of heart!” I want to say that this is more important than all of them, because in order to solve problems, you need to struggle, [and] persevere – and now if, God willing, there would be time, I would explain – and this struggle and perseverance depends on an internal force. [Only] that person can stand in the field of struggle, who is endowed with that internal force; he can understand and discern [the realities] correctly and follow up on that understanding [only] when that internal factor in active within him and is made strong; that internal factor is faith.

Therefore, you see in Chapter Coalition [of the Quran] that: “And when the believers saw the coalition [of infidels], they said, ‘This is what Allah and His Messenger had promised us, and Allah and His Messenger spoke the truth.’ And it increased them only in faith and acceptance.” The issue of [the Battle of the] Coalition was a very important issue. I mean, when it comes to comparison, if we wanted to simulate the current enemy front [that is deployed] against the Islamic Republic in the early [years of] Islam, it would become [something like] the Battle of Coalition. Well, you see today after all; all followers of [the mundane] world and seekers of power and criminals and those [countries] given to bullying and oppression and rebellion [against spirituality] across the world, [and] in different ranks of power have been deployed against the Islamic Republic and have attacked and are attacking from all sides.

This is exactly what happened in the case of the Battle of Coalition. Well, the entire population of [the city of] Medina at that time perhaps did not reach 10,000; [including] women and men and youngsters and elders and children and the likes of these. The Coalition – that is, [all groups of] infidels and pagans of Mecca – from all tribe who lived in that region, had chosen their best men of war, [and their number] amounted to 10,000.
They attacked Medina. This was not a small matter. They said, "We go to Medina [and] massacre everybody; both that [person] who claims to be a prophet – that is the Prophet [of Islam] (PBUH) – and his followers, [and] put an end to this issue, [and] finish this issue. Although Prophet's method was that when a war broke out, he would take the war out of the city and did not remain in the city, this battle took place in such a horrendous and daunting and rapid manner that the Prophet did not have time to organize his forces and prepare them, for example, for mobilization outside the city of Medina. Therefore, he had [to order] a trench dug around the city of Medina, which [caused this battle to be] known as the Battle of the Trench [as well]. It was a very important incident. Well, the faithful were face to face with this incident. People – those who lived under the flag of the Prophet – were divided into two groups: one group [consisted of] those who in this very Chapter of Ahzab [in the Quran], about seven [or] eight verses before this verse that I read to you, have been quoted as saying: "And [remember] when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts is disease;" those whose hearts were sick, they said that 'the Prophet has not been honest with us, [because] he said 'you would be victorious', now look at this! The enemy army is here and it is [still] coming, and they will beat the hell out of us!'
This means that desperation and hopelessness and self-humiliation in the face of the enemy and some sort of covert internal inclination toward the enemy existed in them. However, another group, which made up the majority, said, 'No, this is not the case, [because] this is what Allah and His Prophet had promised us'; [they said] 'God and [His] Prophet had already informed us of this enmity, [and] had said that 'when you enter this arena, all agents of infidelity and Arrogance will become your enemy'; God and His Prophet had already told us this [and therefore]: "This is what Allah and His Messenger had promised us, and Allah and His Messenger spoke the truth," [and] they had told the truth. [They added:] 'The same thing that the Prophet had told us, the same thing that God had told us, it has happened'; I mean, the arrival of the enemy and the attack by the enemy, instead of weakening their morale, [as put by the Quran:] "increased them only in faith and acceptance," bolstered their faith, strengthened [their will for] submission before God; [and] cemented their willpower for encounter and confrontation [with enemies]; this is due to [having] faith; [and] this is [the true effect of] faith. When faith runs its roots deep in [one's] heart, [and] becomes strong, countering all these problems that you said – and I also know these, both know [these] and know more [than these], [I mean,] I know more than these [problems you mentioned here] – will not be difficult; [and] countering [them] will become easy; [but] countering [problems] has its own way.
This point is the opposite of what I said in a meeting with officials of the [Islamic] establishment in early [days of the] month of Ramadan that "Indeed, those of you who turned back on the day the two armies met, it was Satan who caused them to slip because of some [sins] they had committed." This [is] also the verse of the Quran. On the day of the Battle of Uhud, a group [of Muslims] could not resist, left the arena, [and] turned victory into defeat. In the Battle of Uhud, Muslims had won [the war], but negligence or treachery or craving for [mundane benefits of] the world and shortsightedness of a small group, turned the same victory into defeat. The Quran says those people [among Muslims] who caused this to happen "it was Satan who caused them to slip because of some [sins] they had committed;" these things that they had done to themselves before, had made them prone to this error. My dear ones! [committing] sins, inattention to oneself, [and] not observing piety is like this. If we want to stand fast in the face of the arrogant front [and] resist [it], and achieve that dignity, that honor, [and] that power, which is befitting the Islamic Republic and which the [Islamic] Revolution has promised us, [and] we [also] need to take necessary precautions in our personal conduct; [and] to maintain that piety [which is needed for this purpose]. [This] is imperative for us.

The Quran has in two places referred to the decline of nations, which were faithful at first, [and] then in the next generation, they started to go downhill. Once in Chapter Maryam it says: "But there came after them [bad] successors, who neglected prayers and pursued [their carnal] desires; so they are going to meet evil soon;" it means that the first [generation] struggled and became faithful, but after that – the meaning of [the Arabic word] khalf [as used in this Quranic verse] is the opposite of [the word] khalaf; [because] "khalf" means a bad successor, while

“khalaf” means good successor; here, [the Quran] says, “there came after them [bad] successors – bad successors succeeded them who “neglected prayers;” the first thing they did was to neglect prayers. [Then they] “pursued [their carnal] desires;” [they] followed their carnal desires, [and] followed their personal desires, [and] for doing this, “they are going to meet evil soon.” [Therefore,] these two factors – the factor of neglecting prayers and [the factor of] following the carnal desires –weaken these forces, which must stand fast in struggle and fight [against enemies] and this steadfastness will certainly lead to victory, and deplete them [of their essence].

[The fact] that I put so much emphasis on [avoiding] co-ed student [gatherings] and have said this many times – and unfortunately I have heard again that it exists; now one of these brothers said here, [and] I also have reports [that such gatherings are held] and university officials must account for this – is for this reason. Student is a force on which a country pins its hope, [because] it is student who can stand in the face of problems. Student is both young and scholar; it is he who should run future of the country, it is he who must be aware in order to bolster the bunker of steadfastness in the face of those who raise excessive demands and opportunists and others. [Therefore,] this [student] must be strong, [because] if he becomes [a person who only] “follows his carnal desires,” he cannot [fulfill his duties]. I am not a religious bigot to think that I say something out of religious bigotry; no, this is the problem: from the viewpoint of Islam, mixing [people of] two [opposite] genders is not a desirable issue. Yes, it is no problem in [having both men and women in] official meetings, [where] there can be women, [and] there can be men, [who would] sit down, [and] discuss [various issues]; [for example,] at the Islamic Consultative Assembly, at [any] negotiation meeting, [and] in [any] consultation meeting. However, in those places, where there is no limit for this mingling [of men and women], these [mixed gatherings] harm [people’s faith], [and] spoil [people’s] hearts.

In another place [in the Quran] this issue has been mentioned in Chapter A’raf [which says]: “And there followed them [bad] successors who inherited the Scripture [while] taking the [ephemeral] goods of this lower life;” that is, one more time, this [Quranic idea of] “they were succeeded by bad successors” has been repeated in the Quran and it has been mentioned in two places, [of which] this is the second place. [The Quran says:] “They inherited the Scripture;” [which means] they took the truth in their hands, but they were attracted to mundane desires, [and as put by the Quran:] “[they] take the [ephemeral] goods of this lower life.”

These are problems, which in the first place, we must try to solve these problems and you, young people, can [solve them]. I recommend to our dear youths and student youths to attach importance to and attend to issues [like] personal piety, personal righteousness, [and] personal cleanliness. Make sure not to forget about reciting the Quran during daytime – even one page, [or] even half a page – read the Quran every day, [and] establish your connection to the Quran. These prayers have extraordinary themes, [and] these prayers strengthen your communication with the Almighty God; this is the gist of the issue. [The fact] that you saw our honorable Imam [Khomeini] stood [against enemies], well, the Imam was alone when he first started [his struggles], then people came, then scholars came and people’s masses came [into the arena]. [However,] from the very beginning that he was alone, [the Imam] stood fast, [and] up to the last [minute of his life] he said ‘if everybody turns their back on me, I will continue on this path’. God also tells His prophet that ‘[even] if you were alone, you must go to Jihad, [and even] if you were left alone, you must go to Jihad; of course, [the Prophet is supposed to] “urge the believers to go to battle.” [God tells him] ‘tell others [to go to battle], but if you were left alone, you must go [by yourself]’. This is due to faith, [because] when faith is strong in somebody, he would move [toward his goals] even if he is left alone.

Then these problems, which arise at every corner, about which somebody taunts [at you], another one says something, [and yet] another one raises an opposition, these [issues] are not considered an obstacle on the way. Make sure to read the Quran, to read prayers, [and] attach importance to Sahifeye Sajjadiyeh [which is a book of prayers]. The fifth prayer in Sahifeye Sajjadiyeh is very important; [of course,] prayers in Sahifeye Sajjadiyeh are all good, but if I wanted to recommend [two prayers it would be] the fifth prayer and the 20th prayer, which is known as Makarim al-Akhlaq prayer. These prayers have been all translated [into Persian, and] fortunately, there are good translations of Sahifeye Sajjadiyeh at our disposal today; the 21st prayer [of Sahifeye Sajjadiyeh] is also like this. These prayers are full of materials, which strengthen your hearts, make your feet strong and you can move. Well, thank God, you achieved the success of [fasting in the month of] Ramadan.

What I want to say [as the second part] is that like it or not, the Iranian nation is engaged in a fateful struggle and, naturally, the body of students is part of this struggle and among pioneers and driving forces in this struggle. This

struggle starts from here that the Iranian nation is willing to be independent, to be dignified, to be advanced, [and] to take advantage of its own potentialities. If these steps are taken, [Iran] would turn into an emerging power in the world with its [own] special ideas and special orientations. This [situation] would be at odds with the interests of dominant global powers; therefore, they do not want to let this happen; [and] this is where the struggle begins. [The fact] that some people accuse the [Islamic] establishment that “they always want to go to war with this and that [country] and do not allow the country to breathe and do something,” these are superficial and unthoughtful remarks, these are not correct remarks, [and] these are wrong remarks.

Now, for example, assume that today, the policies of that given government – for example America – would see it deem to make a differentiation among high-ranking officials of the Islamic Republic establishment and say this [one] is good, [but] that [one] is bad; however, when they find the opportunity [to deal a blow to Iran] the same good [official] becomes bad; everybody [must] know this. As long as there is an issue called the Islamic Republic and [certain] thoughts and ideals are raised as ideals of the Islamic Republic, this would not be compatible with the temperament and taste of global powers and [they] will fight this until they have it in the palm of their hands, just in the same way that both in the past and in the present some other countries, and in the past [even] our own country, were in the palm of their hands. Well, Iran is an important country, it has important economic and financial and cultural and historical and other potentialities. All these [potentialities] were in control of America – first Britain, [and] then America as well – [in such a way that] its ruler was determined by them, [and for example] Reza Khan rose to power through [the help of] the British [government]; [his son] Mohammad Reza [also] rose to power by them; they were behind [the military coup d’état on] the 28th [day] of [the Iranian calendar month of] Mordad (August 19, 1953); they interfered in various forms in [Iran's] communication and economic and other policies; [and in short] everything was in their control. They want this [situation to be repeated] again just as is the case today with regard to other countries.

Well, an Islamic country that once [was among those countries which] banished Egypt for [establishment of] relations [with Israel through] the Camp David [Accords], [now] clearly announces that it has relations with Israel – [and with] the Zionist regime! What is this for? It is because America wants this. They are willing for the Islamic Republic and our dear country to be like this: [I mean they want us] to act in any way that they want; to move in any direction that they tell us; to have relations with one [country], and cut relations with [another] one, to sell [oil] to one country, [and] do not sell to another; this is where our fight begins. This nation is standing on the strength of its zeal, on the strength of its background, on the strength of its identity and on the strength of Islam. Islam does not allow [this to happen]; this is [the main reason behind our] struggle. Therefore, there is a struggle and this struggle against the Islamic Republic establishment exists one way or another; [and] as long as there is an Islamic Republic, [this struggle] exists [as well].

If this struggle is to be stopped, it would be only possible through one of these two ways: either the Islamic Republic must become so powerful and strong that it would be able to have its say and the opposite [side] would not dare to attack it, and we are seeking [to go] this way. Or it must lose its original identity and turn into a lifeless form, [and] a senseless name, like some other countries, whose name is Islamic Republic and there is no sign of Islam in them. It’s got to be one of these two ways, [because] there is no third way. Well, therefore, this struggle is a certain and inevitable struggle; [and] is an arena for struggle.

Their first target in this arena of struggle is the essence of the Islamic establishment; [and] the Islamic establishment is their main target. The rest of issues, are either secondary issues or subsidiary issues. The thing that forms the main identity of the [Islamic] establishment is the [main] target of their attack. Of course, I have frequently talked about [the necessity of] protecting the establishment. [The fact] that [the late] Imam [Khomeini] said [protracting the Islamic establishment] is among the highest of obligations or is the highest of obligations, some people imagine that the meaning of establishment, which is said here, is merely this existing political structure, which we must maintain at any price; [no,] it is not only this, [because] the [Islamic] establishment is not just a political structure. The establishment means the political structure along with a collection of goals and ideals which are [embedded] in it. To protect the establishment means to protect all the values to which the Islamic establishment is committed, such as justice, such as progress, such as spirituality, such as science, such as ethics, such as democracy, such as the rule of law, [and] such as idealism. Idealism is among the main components of the Islamic establishment and the Islamic establishment would be something superficial and [only] a formality without idealism. Well, now the student, who is

expert and the gist of a nation's capabilities – because he is young and scholar and with [good] future [prospects] and future of the country is in his hands – [he] cannot distance himself from this struggle, [and] must [continue to] struggle.

There is no doubt that there are problems on the way of this struggle, [and] there are undoubtedly big problems; [and] these problems must be remedied. There are all kinds and sorts of problems. Now, the brethren and sisters, who talked here, mentioned many of [the existing] problems. Some of these problems are large-scale problems, which exist across the country and [with regard to these problems] the faceoff is an external faceoff; [therefore,] high-ranking officials of the country are responsible for doing away with these problems.

Of course, the complaints that you raise here, some of these complaints are acceptable, [while] some [others] are not admissible. Now, here, I have written down some of the things that [our] friends said; well, this expression [of viewpoints] and this demanding spirit is very valuable per se and my recommendation is that – now I have also written [this] down to tell [you] – we should not give up this demanding spirit, [because] this demanding spirit is a very good thing. The [best] remedy for problems is for you to demand [their solution]. Now, that some [people] say [we must] remedy [these problems], what is the remedy? The remedy is this very demanding spirit, and if there was time, God willing, I would provide an explanation and more comments on this.

Some of the complaints, no, are not admissible. For example, assume that with regard to these new [format of] oil contracts, which is now open to discussion, nothing has been approved in this regard yet; [and] there is nothing final yet. When this issue was raised first, I gave notices to [relevant] officials. I said, 'Well, in order for you to know whatthe problems are with this model of contract and this method of [signing] contract, you must consult those who are experts in [the field of] oil economy'. They went and consulted, held a meeting and invited a number of economists some of whom explained the problems and it was decided that [these contracts] must be corrected. [Then] they gave me a note, which I studied, [and] investigated, [and] it became clear that it was the 16th edited version [of these contracts]; that is, the quality of [these] contracts and [the content of] this report has been [revised and] edited sixteen times; [and they] have been continuously corrected and edited.

Then when they referred to my office, [officials in] my office said this was not enough, because more corrections were needed to take place after that, which have not taken place yet. Therefore, as long as these corrections have not been made and this job has not been totally adapted to the interests of the country in the real sense of the word, this will not happen and this type of contract will not be signed. I also said that as long as the issue has not been finalized, no contract should be concluded. It happens that in the meeting with the university professors, one of those people who delivered a speech here was the same esteemed personality, who had taken part in that meeting with state officials, and here, he also explained his views, which were totally plausible and strong views, about the problems of that method of [oil] contracts in detail. Then there was a solution which he mentioned, the one that has been also mentioned in those written reports. I mean, it is not like that permission would be given [to state officials] to sign these contracts anyway they want; no [this is not the case]. Of course, [putting forth] this demand by you is good, you [continue to] demand, [and] you [continue to] ask [state officials about it]; there is no problem with that.

There were other instances. Now, [for example, some complaints were related to] steps taken with regard to the Economy of Resistance. Well, it was said that instead of [the administration] constructing [new] road(s), they [plan to] buy airplanes [from abroad]; well this is a correct remark; I mean, I also have this complaint. However, pay attention to the [point] and I have frequently said before that the Leader cannot continuously interfere in decisions made by various executive organs in all cases and continuously tell them what to do and what not to do; this is not possible. Neither law allows for this, nor does logic allow this. [Executive] organs have responsibilities. If an official makes a mistake in a case, [or] does [something] wrong, well, it is a duty for the Majlis [parliament] and Majlis must impeach [that official]; or if what has been done is wrong, it must be discussed within the administration, [in which case] the president must prevent and block it. It is not like that now all these executive organs are there and every one of them is making a decision – [and making] different decisions – [then it is] for the Leader to look and see which one is correct, [and] which one is wrong and say, 'Sir, this [decision] is correct, [but] that one is wrong'; this is not possible. This is both against the law, and impossible, and irrational; it is not rational. The Leader's duty is where he senses that a step is being taken and this step is deviating the [Islamic] establishment from its course. Here, it is a duty for the Leader to enter the arena and stand [fast] in any way possible and does not allow [deviation to happen], even if it is a trivial case.

During this meeting with [state] executives in early [days of the] month [of Ramadan] I talked in detail about issues related to the JCPOA [Iran's nuclear deal with the P5+1 group] and I chose two specific cases. For example, [take into account the case of] these carbon fibers, which Americans want [Iran to act] in this [specific] way. Officials of the Atomic Energy Organization [of Iran] were also there. In [my] speech, I said, "Sir, do not accept this." Well, this was a trivial case, but giving in [to U.S. pressure] in this trivial case with respect to the issue of the JCPOA, would have meant tolerating imposition by Americans; this is that deviation [to which I referred before]. Although the case is trivial, I intervene. In such cases when the general movement of the [Islamic] establishment may be deviated and a problem is caused [for this movement] the Leader, of course, is obligated to interfere and [if] God, God willing, helps and assists [me], I will [continue to] intervene [in such cases]. However, it is not like that one could say in different cases that 'sir, [buy or don't buy] airbus plane(s)'. Of course, I [just] gave a notice, both to the minster of road [and urban development] and to the president, and I [have] said [this] in different sessions. I even told this very Economy of Resistance headquarters that 'you are obligated to look [and] see where in the Economy of Resistance this purchase of [foreign] planes fits'. I have said this, [and] I give notice, but that I move [one more step] forward and prevent [it], no, it is not my obligation and duty.

At any rate, many steps are being taken with regard to the Economy of Resistance and my office is constantly monitoring those steps that are being taken. Now, God willing, [I hope] God would help them to be able to go ahead, [and] be able to do the job. I would be happy [if they do it]. I told the administration officials that 'you know that if you succeed, I would be happy'. If the administration succeeds in implementing the Economy of Resistance, this would be a cause of pride for the Islamic Establishment, for the Leader, for the nation, [and] for everybody. I pray and help so that you would succeed and [the executive officials, for their turn,] must work in order to be able to succeed.

Now, at any rate, what I wanted to tell you is that struggle has [its own] problems. Some problems are related to large-scale [issues] of the country and it is duty of officials to follow up on and solve these problems, now either through the diplomatic method, or through the cultural method, or through the public diplomacy method – which fortunately, the Islamic Republic has a lot of latitude in this regard – or through internal methods and activities such as bolstering economy, bolstering military equipment and the likes of these. These are basic challenges with which officials of the [Islamic] establishment must deal and grapple. Some problems are problems [that exist] inside the country, for example, now there are student problems, which without a doubt, these problems do exist – these [issues] which were mentioned here are problems – but these [problems] must be solved within the [relevant] bodies, that is, the solution should be found by students themselves. I give notices to state officials, [and to] university officials – [and] today I have written down certain points to say [here,] which I, of course, don't know whether there would be [enough] time or not, which is apparently not. I don't know right now, [but] if there was any energy [left] after the iftar, I will continue this meeting and will talk a little bit more; otherwise, no; after all, student bodies and student organs must solve these [problems]; these are problems, which pop up and should be solved. Officials [for their part] must, God willing, cooperate and help [student bodies to solve these problems].

And of course, the same faith and the same internal factor about which I talked at the beginning of the meeting will come in handy here. I mean, if you lose hope rapidly, [and] get tired rapidly, the work will not progress; [therefore,] you must not get desperate, [and] must [continue to] move. Look! This revolution started on the basis of a long struggle. Incidents, which unraveled during [the Iranian calendar] year(s), [13]57 (1978-79) and [13]56 (1977-78), [during] which the huge popular movement entered the arena, these were not on the spur of the moment. [On the contrary,] since many years ago [and] since [the Iranian] year [13]41 (1962-63), effort had been made, work had been done, and struggle was underway. Those people who made those efforts in those difficult years through elucidation, through explanation, through elaboration, through bolstering theoretical fundaments [of the society], [and] through explanation of the fields for struggle, their job was not easy, [because] they were faced with [many] problems, [for example,] they faced [the risk of] imprisonment. Now, here, this dear brother of us says, 'If somebody [speaks] against you, he must face the labyrinth of Justice Department's corridors!'

No, speaking against me should neither lead to rebuke, nor is a crime; I myself have said [this] frequently; [however,] it was not like this at that time [before the revolution]. At that time, opposition to a police officer led to jail! Opposition to a chief of police led to many difficulties, let alone that somebody would want to explain the fundaments of Islam in confrontation with the [ruling] system. These [measures] were hard [to take, and] they were

troublesome, [because] they were followed by imprisonment, suffering hardship, [and] deprivation [of social rights]. However, well, they stood fast, struggled, [and] the result of this struggle was that in the [Iranian] years [13]56 and [13]57, the entire nation entered [the arena] after the first spark flared. If you stood fast – as I previously said – built [your own] discourse, [and] prepared [people's] minds, then, it would benefit you in due time. I mean, you would be able to mobilize people's mind toward a truth to demand it. When they demand it, the officials would have no choice but to comply. Therefore, steadfastness is necessary. With regard to the student work, I put special emphasis that those people who are active in student organs must stand fast, [and] must be strong. Now, I have many recommendations [to give to you], and it was decided that if after the iftar I have energy and you have energy,we will talk more [on these issues], I defer them now.
O Almighty, [we swear you] by [Prophet] Mohammad (PBUH) and Mohammad's Household to make what we say, what we hear, [and] what we do for yourself and on your path.

(End of part 1)

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The Second part of the Leader's remarks after saying evening and night prayers and eating the iftar supper

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

(Arabic prayer)

First of all, the student asset of the country is a huge wealth. We have about five million students in the country, and this is a great opportunity. All officials of the country should take this issue into consideration in [their] plans and in future projections; [because having] five million students [is a great asset]. [Their number] increases on a daily basis, that is, [university] graduates enter the work field, now whether there is job market [for them] or not [is a different issue, but] at any rate they enter the society, [and after a while] a new group [of graduates] is added to them. This is a very important strong point. And it must be noted that just as these young people warned [in this meeting], our strong points are a target for the enemy's onslaught. I mean, there is no doubt that enemies of the Islamic Republic have made plan(s) for our student body, [and] are implementing [those] plan(s). We must [also] look to the future and make plan(s) and take action with this point in mind. Well, there are duties incumbent on students, [and] there are duties incumbent on officials. Now, I will briefly explain these [duties] based on what I have written down.
You are members of student organizations. Of course, let me tell you this – I have already said this to some esteemed officials of the Ministry of Science [Research and Technology] – that for me, revolutionary organizations are not the same as those organizations, which are indifferent toward revolutionary issues. [I believe that a] revolutionary organization must be bolstered, must be helped, [and] must be appreciated, [because] these [organizations] determine the future of the country, [and] guarantee the future of the revolution. But, well, the [student] organizations themselves have duties. There are two aspects for elements [that work with] student organizations: one aspect is their student aspect, [while] another aspect is the aspect of membership in [such an] organization. These [two aspects] are different [from each other.]
Firstly, [let me] say that the student class in the country has registered good and brilliant records during the revolution period; [and] this has been the case since the beginning of the revolution. Of course, [even] before the revolution [and] in the midst of [anti-regime] struggles, students were actively present. However, what became manifest and turned into a factor for the progress of the revolution, was clearly student activities following the revolution, one of which, for example assume, was the establishment of the Construction Jihad. [Establishment of] the Construction Jihad was a great step, [because] the first buds of self-sufficiency and construction and national innovation and national self-confidence took shape and came into being within the Construction Jihad. Of course, I have many memories. During this very student meeting in past years, as I remember, I mentioned some of these memories, [and] I do not want to repeat them now, [because] we do not have much time.
They did a lot of work. They took part in [the activities of] the Construction Jihad, they took part [in the activities

of] the University Jihad, [and] in purging the university of armed counterrevolutionary elements in early [years of the] revolution, these faithful students of ours played a role. This very University of Tehran, which you see, its various buildings, [and] its various faculties had turned into war room for different groups, [which fought] against the [Islamic] establishment under different names. Two [or] three types of leftist Marxist groups, the Munafeqin [MKO terrorist group], and various different groups were [based] in this university, [and] they were armed as well, [because the army] garrisons had been ransacked, they had arms at their disposal, [and] were ready to launch an insurgency against the revolution. [However,] Muslim students, faithful and revolutionary students countered them, opposed them, [and] did away with them; I mean, this was one of the big steps taken by students. Membership at the [Islamic Revolution] Guards Corps (IRGC) [was common among students]. Many of these prominent personalities of the IRGC and these great martyrs were students. It is like the same now. Many of these early members of the IRGC, who live now, were student, [and] had entered the IRGC from university.

Students played a role in the Literacy Movement, [and] they played a role in timely capture of the [US] spy den [in Tehran] in the [Iranian calendar] year [13]58 (1979). I mean, the role played by students in early [years of the] revolution was a prominent role, while in terms of number and quantity, students at that time were nothing comparable to students today. At that time, we had about a little more than two hundred thousand students across the country, [but] now, we have about five million [students]; that is, the country's population has almost doubled, [but] the student population in the country has grown about twenty-one [or] twenty-two times. [Even] in terms of quality, they were not like you, but were enthusiastic, were revolutionary, [and] had motivation, but their revolutionary depth and the depth of their Islamic thought was not like current students; I mean, these remarks made by these brethren here today, stand much higher than what revolutionary, expert and elite student(s) said at that time.

I had a session, [and in fact] many sessions in a row with a group of students from the current Amir Kabir University [of Technology] – which was called the Polytechnic at that time – and [our] discussion was about whether the Line of the Imam is a reality and, basically, is it anything that exists [in the real world] or not? They could not understand and tolerate the thinking school of the [late] Imam [Khomeini]. I had been also invited to that session, [and former Iranian president, Abolhassan] Banisadr was [also] among them, [and] there were some other people [in addition to] a couple of students. The [subject of] discussion was whether there was basically a school of thought governing Imam's remarks or not? I mean, they could not understand something that was so obvious, [though] today, this is among obvious things for you. The quality of today's revolutionary student is much higher than the quality of the revolutionary student of that time.

Well, although they were very different from [students] today both in terms of quantity and in terms of quality, they did great things; [and] the reason [for that] was their hard work, was fervent revolutionary faith, was [their] untiring [nature], [and] was working day and night. Under this condition, that small number of students at that time, managed to take so many great steps. Of course, they were inexperienced, [and] they did not have the experiences that you have today; however, they did many things.

If we wanted to take this as a criterion for comparison, we must reach the conclusion that you would be able to work twenty times or thirty times more than them; [of course,] if you maintain that hard work, and that perseverance, and that sense of motivation in you and go ahead. I mean, the student population of the country is a trove – a unique trove – for the country. Of course, I know that out of these five million students, those of them who have these [powerful] motivations are not that high [in number]. They are collectively part of the revolutionary organs or some of them [are also active] outside the revolutionary organs. However, their number is still many times higher than those who were in the arena of work and action at that time; [therefore,] they can do many things. There are some students who are indifferent, [and] are neutral, [while] there are students who are basically opposed to this method and do not believe in pursuing revolutionary works. However, that group, which believes in revolutionary work and revolutionary path and revolutionary faith, are high in number; [they] are both numerous, and of high quality. You can do many things in the country.

Of course, those young people who did those things at that time, today, many of them are among the country's researchers and prominent scholars. Right now they are among those elements, many of whom, thank God, have preserved their faith-based traits and have [even] made them more profound. Well, this shows that revolutionary work is not incompatible with becoming erudite, and becoming scholar and becoming researcher and becoming scientist. I mean, it is not like that you think you must either do the revolutionary work or go and continue your

studies. No, now I will explain. Doing your studies is among your obligations, [but] the revolutionary work is also among your obligations. They must both be done in parallel. Well, so, I said that you have two aspects: one aspect is the aspect of being student. Another aspect is the aspect of being a member of a student organ. These are different from each other. The aspect of being student is clear. A good student is that student, who studies well, [and at the same time] looks at his environment with his eyes open.

One of the characteristics of any student is that he must look at his environment with open eyes; both the student environment, and the country's environment, and the environment in the region, and the environment in the world. I have frequently said that in military wars, one of the most effective and most important elements of war is reconnaissance. If a [military] force does not have the power of reconnaissance, does not have the factor of reconnaissance, [and] is not able to reconnoiter [the enemy line], it would be afflicted with strange problems. Reconnaissance means that you go and discover the enemy's location in a furtive manner: [and know] in what places the enemy is positioned, how many troops it has, [and] what potentialities it has. [You must] see these in order to [be able to] take advantage of the opportunity and attack it and do not be taken by surprise that it could attack you. Now, if you don't do this reconnaissance, [and] do not know the enemy's position, your artillery may fire, but it may fire on the friendly force instead of directing its fire on the enemy. If at the university or at the country level, you are not able to correctly reconnoiter [your environment], [and] know your environment correctly, sometimes your artillery will open fire on friendly forces.

Sometimes you see that two revolutionary organs are fighting each other and are countering each other. This is due to not knowing the environment. Or with regard to an international issue, for example assume that [there is] a problem. Now, at any rate, the duty of a student is to know his environment; to know the environment, to know the world, [and] to know the region. [The fact] that you see a given person with a claim to being intellectual, for example assume, raises doubt about the Lebanese Hezbollah, or [the Hezbollah leader,] Seyyed Hassan Nasrallah, or another phenomenon of this sort, this is due to not knowing the environment; I mean this is the most optimistic [reason for such misconception]. Of course, a person may have a pessimistic approach [to this issue], but the optimistic approach is that they do not know what is going on in the region, do not know what Seyyed Hassan Nasrallah means, what Hezbollah means, [and] what effects its relation with Iran have on the country's fate and on the fate of the [Islamic] Revolution. This is due to not knowing [the regional environment]. So, looking with open eyes at the student environment and the country's environment and the environment of the world [is necessary for students], and two [or] three years ago, I described this as "insight," but some people did not like it [and said] "Sir, [you keep saying] insight, insight. Why do you say insight?" Well, it is insight after all; insight means to look [at your environment] with open eyes.

Among the duties of students is to preserve [their] religion and piety. My dear ones! Preserving religion and piety is easier for you than for the likes of me; you [must] know this. When I was young, there was a scholar in [the city of] Mashhad, who was a close friend of my father, [and] was very old – at that time, was, for example, my current age or [even] more – [and] I was young. He liked us, advised us and said appreciate your youth, and that even the worship [of God actually] is for the young people, not for us, old ones. It was surprising for us, [because] well [we thought] worship is for the old people, [but] he said worship is for the youth. Now everybody feels this. Look! Your hearts soften easier, become illuminated easier, your tears are shed easier, [and] your contact with God is established more rapidly. This is [a] very opportune [situation].

This tendency that today exists in the country's young environment toward spiritualties, is very valuable. This nights of vigil, these sessions of recourse [to Infallible Imams], these retreats [in mosques], these Komeil prayers, these Abu Hamza prayers, these many youths, these tears, [and] these attention [to spiritual matters] are very valuable; [so, try to] maintain these, [because] these are valuable. [And] their value is not just for yourself, [but] they are valuable for the entire country. As I said [before], when a person becomes faithful and his heart believes, then [it will be like what the Quran says:] "[When the Believers saw the Coalition forces,] they said: 'This is what Allah and His Messenger promised us, and Allah and His Messenger told us what was true'. And it only added to their faith and their zeal in obedience." [Even] in the battlefield, [these spiritual spirit] hits the bull's eye like a ball of fire; this is the result of faith and contact with God.

Suspicion toward the enemy's media current [is the next point]. One of the things, which is very necessary, is

[having] suspicion toward the enemy's media current. Today, one of the costly sectors of our enemies is their media sector. It is very costly for them, I mean, they incur cost, spend money, [and] bring in specialized people [for this purpose]. It is very costly for them. [But] against who [they are making all this media effort]? Against the Islamic Republic.

Well, basically, the intent of this media current is to focus on those points at which can incapacitate the Islamic Republic; for example, by creating disappointment, creating negative points, magnifying negative points, and obliterating the positive points in total. Now, I read today in the newspaper, of course, if do not have exact objective information [on this matter], but it was in the newspaper today that this British Broadcasting [Corporation] (BBC), [did not cover] yesterday's [Quds Day] demonstration, which is really a phenomenon – basically speaking, the Quds Day demonstration is really a phenomenon in these years, when the weather is so hot and days are so long [and] while [people are] fasting – and this huge and massive population in Tehran and [other] cities [takes part in it]. This is no small news. These [foreign news channels] cover the smallest piece of news, [but] they do not cover this [Quds Day demonstration]. This is [the enemies'] media policy after all. On the contrary, if there is a negative point [about the Islamic Republic], they magnify it one hundred times. One of [our] principles must be this that [our] approach to the enemy's media current – both its radio and television current, and its satellite current, and the current in its cyberspace – must be [an approach] based on suspicion.

First of all, [you must] know that these [foreign media] are lying. To the extent that I myself am abreast of foreign [media] news, to the extent that [those news] is related to the field of which I am aware up-close, I see that ninety percent [of their reports] is false; ninety percent is false; [I mean] they fabricate [the news], [and tell both] big lies [and] small lies; [and] it is of no importance to them. I mean, you must know this that in my opinion this is one of the duties of an intellectual student. Well, these [points] are related to your character as student, that is, just because of being student, you must observe these things.

You have [also] one [different] responsibility as member of [a student] organ. These are bigger responsibilities. The existing complicated and multidimensional political atmosphere is very complex; [and] is multilayered. It is nothing like [the political atmosphere] in the 1360s (1980s). During [the Iranian calendar years of] the 1360s (1980s), [everything] was clear: a war was raging in the west of the country and [in] the south of the country, [because] an enemy had attacked [our country]. The duty was clear, [and] it was clear that everybody should go [to the war fronts] and, for example assume, play their role; anybody in one way. If an opposition voice was raised in Tehran, it was overwhelmed and suppressed by people themselves, who [said] that 'you are doing, for example, this thing in a time of war'. This is hard war after all. Americans and others have this experience that they do not resort to hard war with the Islamic Republic [anymore], [and] take no measure [in this regard], [because] they know that if a military war breaks out, many of their security and cultural plans inside the country will be disrupted. Today, [their] plan is a complicated plan; [it is] both security, and cultural, and economic, and political.

[Enemies'] plans are intermingled plans. Under these conditions, [our] duties are very heavy, [because our enemies] have security plans [for us]. Well, these are threats after all, [and] these are those things countering which needs foresight, needs wisdom, needs accuracy, [and] needs [adequate] study. I mean, one cannot rush ahead [without thinking] and make an inroad. You cannot work with your eyes closed. Therefore, in my opinion, duties [shouldered] by these [revolutionary] organs are heavy duties. On the other hand, there are other entities, whose opinions are not the same as revolutionary and religious organs. Yes, I also know and this brother of ours said here that all students' viewpoints are not represented in this meeting, [and] he is somehow right. Well, this meeting [is] for the revolutionary organs. Of course, what he said himself showed that no, this remark [that all students are not represented here] is not very accurate. Well, there were opposite views, which were expressed, [and] I thanked [them] and I always treat the opposition [views] like this. However, at any rate, dealing with these phenomena is one of those cases, which is complicated, is multilayered, and demands care.

The first recommendation that I give [the revolutionary] organs is to be present [in all arenas], [because their] presence [is very important]. I don't mean just physical presence, [but I mean] both intellectual presence and expressive presence – and I will explain this later – and, probably, physical presence when it is needed with regard to main issues of the country. That is, both friends of the revolution and enemies of the revolution must know your positions on important issues of the country. When they don't know [your positions], well, assume that given European and American reporter travels to Iran, then goes [back] and reports to [US Secretary of State] John Kerry,

[and] then he says – he said this just a couple of days ago – that yes, people who come from Iran inform me that Iranian youths sit at coffee shops, sip coffee, and talk about future of their country'; [and] he is happy [with that]! Now, how many coffee shops they have visited, I am not aware of it, [but] suppose [they have visited] twenty, thirty, [or] fifty coffee shops – coffee shop is the same [as our traditional] coffeehouse; coffee shop is almost verbatim translation of coffeehouse, but [some people] avoid [using] the word coffeehouse [and] call it coffee shop – [and] now a few young people have sat at a coffee shop, [and] assume they have criticized the [Islamic] establishment and the Leader and the [late] Imam [Khomeini] and the revolution and have wished that one day this establishment would change. On the whole, in these ten or twenty coffee houses these people have visited and [then] have reported to this mister foreign minister [of the United States], for example, 100 people, [or] 150 of such people have been there. Now, he is happy and says [this] in an interview or in a report to an official body – it was just a couple of days [ago], I do no remember exactly, [but he] said this in an open report – and it is propagated through the world.

Well, now, on the contrary to this, if these thousands of faithful [and] Muslim students declare [their] position on that given issue on which that mister is sensitive, see what an effect it could have. Yes, he would not transfer that [position] and would not reflect it, but he would understand it himself. I have frequently told these people who complain and say that "Sir, global media do not cover revolutionary news," that those who must understand [those news] understand it and it reaches those who should get it. [News about revolutionary moves] certainly reaches the American president, reaches the [US] secretary of state, reaches the members of America's foreign communications council [Council on Foreign Relations], [and] it reaches the elements of that given institute, which makes policies; [and] they understand it. When you, as student, have an opinion, for example about the JCPOA (Iran's nuclear deal with the P5+1 group), and express it, [or] assume [when] you express your opinion about relations with America, [or] express your opinion about the Economy of Resistance, [or] express your opinion about future of the country, this opinion is a revolutionary, strong, and documented opinion, [and] this affects the enemy's spirit.

I said that you are officers of the soft war; well, these are requisites for being an officer of the soft war. These are [the main elements of] the soft war. In a soft war, one should not be always in a defensive position, [but] must take aggressive positon [as well], [because] this is an aggression. This is one of [your] duties, [that is,] intellectual presence [and] your positions must be clear. Now [the fact] that these positions are sometimes against the policies [adopted by] the administrations and what we must do so that there would be no conflict with administrations, it has a solution. Now, if, God willing, there is time, I will explain that. Therefore, announcement of a revolutionary position [is important].

However, a few points should be taken into account when declaring these positions. First of all, [they must] be documented. Look, today [Iran's] oil contracts [and their new format] were talked about, the Economy of Resistance was talked about, [and the issue of] concealing [high] salaries of that given [person] at the Expediency Council was [also] talked about; [but the remarks made] were not accurate, [and] information [you revealed] was not accurate information. Yes, I endorse what you do when you protest [to these issues], but the remark [you made here] was not an accurate remark. I mean, you are not informed [of the truth of the matter]. Just as, for example assume that one of the students [present here talked about] those institutions that are supervised by the Leader – now, supervised by the Leader is an overstatement, it [actually] means that they are affiliated with the Leader's establishment – such as the [Islamic Revolution] Mostazafan Foundation, [and] like the Headquarters for the Execution of Imam [Khomeini]'s Order.

Very well, I propose that student groups organize review tours with regard to these institutions and go and see [how they work]. They have taken good steps [and] have taken interesting steps. If it were you, you would take the same steps that they are taking. Now, assume that in a [certain] case, you may not like one of its measures or don't know the argument underlying it, [well,] there is no problem with that. Good steps are being taken, [and you try to] know about these good steps. Therefore, the position that you take [must] be a strong and documented position, [and] a position, which [enemies] would not be able to find fault with it.

Secondly, be on time [when taking position]. Sometimes, taking position on a case and on a thing is good at one time, [but] it is not good the next day, I mean, it would be useless [then] or sometimes even harmful. You must be careful and take this step on time.

People [must] know your analysis, [therefore,] publish it. These student publications are good things, of course, provided that they would remain loyal to this tendency that this dear Mr. chairman of [your] organ expressed here

and would publish your revolutionary arguments, so that, people would read these [arguments]. I mean, student analyses must be really [among those] analyses of which people would be informed. Well, in my opinion, one of the easy steps to take is that you make a plan for pre-sermon speeches in Friday prayers, so that, those students who know how to talk, would be supported by the group, [and] helped [to] prepare good texts, [and then] take part in the Friday prayers [and read them out]. For example, before the Friday prayers sermons – in which now officials attend and talk [to people] – a time window should be considered for students. Assume that the Friday prayers in a city like Tehran, like Isfahan, like Mashhad, [and] like Tabriz, that are no small places. [When] a student goes there and talks [to people], he would [be able] to say a lot of things; these are valuable things; or for example, assume Tehran [Friday prayers]. The enemy must also know about your analysis. I mean, when you analyze an incident, take position [on it], [and] declare [your] positon, the enemy must be informed [of it] and it is informed; it is [actually] informed [of your positions] sooner than some of our friends [in various state organs]. [Your analysis] must be logical and documented as well; this is [the real meaning of] the intellectual presence.

Bodily presence – or as you say, physical presence – is sometimes necessary as well. Gatherings are necessary, [and] there is no problem with [holding such] gatherings, of course, they must be legal. Now, the law may be strict somewhere and have a problem, [but] it is of no objection. Now, after all, it is not like that everything would always go ahead as one wants. Your gatherings are good, [therefore,] hold gatherings on important issues and in the right way. [However,] if, for example assume that [some students plan to] hold a gathering in front of the Islamic Consultative Assembly against the JCPOA, I don't think that this is backed by a logic. Well, now, how much time do Majlis deputies have [to attend to such gatherings]? A correct gathering is when you rent or take control of a hall, where five hundred, a thousand, two thousand, [or] ten thousand students would come together, [and] two [or] three [students] who have already studied [the subject matter] would go there and talk in a documented manner. This is important. This [kind of] remark would both reach the Majlis deputy and reach the representative of the administration and would reach the representative of the Leader. This kind of gatherings is important.

Or in those cases when some student groups want to cross the line, if for example assume, a group wants to cross the [Islamic] establishment's red lines and is very proud [of this] and wants to show courage and show valor and cross the red lines of the establishment, very well, in these case, bodily presence is very good, of course, not in the sense that you go and disrupt their meeting. I have already said [this], I say it now, [and] say ten more times that I am against disrupting meetings, regardless of what meetings they are. Disrupting a meeting is a useless and probably harmful measure. At least, it is useless, [and] at most it is harmful. What necessity is there [to do this]? Very well, they have held a meeting there and are talking against that given fundament of the revolution; very well, you declare right there that 'tomorrow or the day after tomorrow we will hold a meeting here – they [hold their meeting] there, you [hold your meeting] here or at the same place – and will discuss this issue. [Then] invite [people to your meeting], bring students together, discuss [that matter], refute what they have said, [and] wrap it up; this is [a] good [measure].

[In this way,] you find audiences, and there are people [to listen to you, because] after all, a student wants to understand the facts. Therefore, physical gatherings are very good, [and] are of no objection, but [if they are held] according to regulations and, as it was said here, on the basis of correct forward planning. University officials must also help [such gatherings]. I said this to [Minister of Science, Research and Technology,] Mr. [Mohammad] Farhadi right now, [and] I had already said this to [Minister of Health] Mr. [Seyed Hassan Qazizadeh] Hashemi, and I just said this to Mr. Farhadi's deputy who had come [to my office]. The duty of university officials is to support revolutionary and religious groups. That is, those people who agree to the revolution and are ready to make sacrifice on the path of the revolution, are not equal to those who are indifferent to the revolution or are probably against the revolution. Can you, as the minister, as official, as the representative of the Islamic Republic, look upon both of them in one way? With regard to public rights, yes, the public rights cover everybody. However, it is not possible for you to be the representative of the Islamic establishment and do not support that person, who defends the Islamic Revolution, [but] support that person who attacks the Islamic establishment or, at least, is indifferent toward it! No, this is not acceptable. Officials must support revolutionary groups and this presence should be facilitated. Therefore, one of the duties [of revolutionary organs] is presence, both intellectual and bodily presence. I explained both types [of presence] for you.

The second duty [for revolutionary organs] is elucidation; elucidation. Elucidation is the basis of our work. We deal

with [people's] minds, [and] we deal with [their] hearts, [therefore,] their hearts must be convinced. If the hearts are not convinced, the bodies do not move, and physical movement does not take place. This is the [main] difference between Islamic thought and non-Islamic ways of thinking. I was sitting at the house of one of my friends in Tehran – during those years before the revolution. In the meantime, one of those young people, whom I knew – he came from Mashhad, [and] I knew him [and] his father; he was a member of the Fadaeiyan Khalq guerrillas and was one of those people who had moved to northern [Iranian] forests, had taken position and were fighting [against the Shah] – suddenly entered [the house], [and] I did not know [that he was coming]. Well, we knew each other. They came and sat down, [and] had apparently come to ask for financial aid [or] something from that landlord. I said, 'Well, what you are doing', and he told me certain things. I said, 'If you want to succeed, the way is to talk to people [and] to elucidate [your positions]. People should know why you have come together in north [of the country] and are engaged in armed struggle and [why] you make that given move, for example, in the city [or] in that given place. People should know this, [and] you must elucidate [your goals]'. I talked about this elucidation with him for a while. He cast a look at me and shook his head. He was very young, [and] in terms of age, he was about ten years younger than I, [but nonetheless], he cast a condescending look at me, [and] said, 'Yes, this is your Islamic way of thinking, we do not think like this'; he meant the elucidation was not necessary.

This outdated, worn-out, proven-to-be-wrong dialectic way of thinking of Marxism – and now I have heard that some people are once against promoting this [way of thinking] at the university – tells them that no, the requisite for dialectic and the result of dialectic, is this conflict and fight between worker(s) and [their] employer(s) and it needs no elucidation; they tell them like this. Well, the wrongness of this [idea] has been totally experienced after all, [and this idea] has turned out to be wrong. [Even when] the [Marxist] government was established it transpired after sixty [or] seventy years that it was decaying at its base, [and this is why] it collapsed altogether. Now, some people are still, as put by Western people, betting on the wrong horse, [and] are once more betting on Marxist [ideas]! No, as put by the same young person – who was killed later – the Islamic thinking is [based on] elucidation. [As God tells His Prophet in the Quran:] "You are only obligated to deliver the [God's] message;" [in this Quranic verse, God] tells the prophet that 'your duty is to convey [the message], [and you must] deliver the message'. You [students] must elucidate [your goals], express your viewpoints, and your opinions; elucidate [your views] with regard to important issues of the country, with regard to the issue of the Economy of Resistance; with regard to the issue of [the country's] scientific progress – [because] these are among important issues of the country – [and] with regard to the issue of relations with America; [these issues] are not clear for many [people].

If it is not clear for you, who are [members of] student organs, take steps and make it clear for yourself [first]. If it is clear, elucidate it for the [other members of your] student organ. Why I say so emphatically that relations with America should not be reestablished, even [at the level of] negotiations, except for [negotiations on] certain and determined issues, which are now done on the basis of expediency; what is the reason? Well, this has a reason, [and] this reason has been in some places even confirmed by those politicians who support [reestablishment of ties with] America. I [have] said [this before] that once one of these presidents of these various terms, talked a lot about this issue with me in different meetings. Then he had gone to a meeting of the Supreme National Security Council saying that 'he [the Leader] has arguments [against this] for which I have no answer'. [And] he was right.

I had arguments for rejecting [the necessity of] establishment of relations with America, while he had nothing to say in response to these arguments, [and] he was right. Arguments [against relations with the US] are strong argument(s). It is not like that this argument could be undone [and] rejected easily. Well, in the event that you reached these arguments, and I say you can, [elucidate them]. You are students, you are young, you have good thoughts, [and] the remarks you made today, made me totally hopeful, not [simply] because of the contents of [these] remarks – [of course,] the contents were good, but what I mean is something else – but [also] because I felt that [your] minds are totally working. This is important to me [that a student's] mind is working, [and he] uses good words as well; this is very valuable. Well, this mind, which is active, [should] sit down [and] find suitable arguments on this issue, [and you try to] propagate this. Look, [this] is one of those things, which can be elucidated.

The issue of the Islamic [and] Iranian lifestyle, which I raised, well, this deserves [adequate] study, [and you must] elucidate this; [I mean,] both you yourself [observe this lifestyle] in practice, and elucidate it [for other people]. The issue of culture is one of the important issues [and you students must] elucidate this. Therefore, one job [for you, and your] second duty was the duty for elucidation. This elucidation is both for the student environment and

outside the student environment. As I said [before], the issue of the Friday prayers and the likes of these [are very important], because these [activities] build discourse, [and] these [activities] create thought and public demand and this is very voluble, [because] this pulls the country in a clear direction. Of course, persistence in work is needed, steadfastness is needed, correct talking is needed, [and] repetition is needed [to achieve that goal and] it may take some time.

The third task [for you students is to] elevate your political and religious awareness. Do not say that 'we know everything, [and] have command of everything'; no, sometimes the level of political awareness is low, sometimes the level of religious awareness is low. Today, there are many potentialities in this regard; both with regard to politics and with regard to religion. Now, with regard to religion, for example, the Qom Seminary – now, one of [our] friends [in this meeting] raised a totally stern and energetic complaint of the Qom Seminary; of course, half of it can be sustained and [the other] half is not acceptable; in general, [his remarks] cannot be either rejected or accepted, [and] it had some problems – [but anyway, the Qom Seminary] today has a very good capacity for [promotion of] religious ideas, which can be made available to you.

I saw just a few days ago quite by accident that one of the elders and great scholars of the Qom Seminary was, in a televised program, offering a very good and short discussion on pluralism using a simple Quranic way of talking. [This is important] because there is a group, which wants to attribute pluralism to Islam because Islam has said [in the Quran] that: "Indeed, those who believe and those who are Jews or Christians or Sabeans [before Prophet Muhammad] – those [among them] who believe in Allah and the Afterlife." [On the basis of this Quranic verse] they conclude that Islam is a "pluralist religion" and you can [act according] to any religion you want. Well, this is a wrong thing to say, but is something, which has been expressed by certain parties through [specific] interpretations and in detail and with [great] hype, [and] they influence a group of these poor people.

Well, I see that a prominent religious scholar in a television program, using a very simple and totally convincing [way of] expression – totally convincing – rejects this logic; well this is very opportune. Or another prominent scholar – I accidentally [watched] this during this [past] month of Ramadan; two [consecutive] nights, I accidentally turned on the television; I mean, it had been turned on, [and] I watched – [he] was offering a very good and convincing and clear discussion about the issue of Imam's knowledge and knowledge of prophets. Well, these [discussions] elevate our religious knowledge; [and boost our] political knowledge as well. [Therefore, try to] elevate your religious and political awareness, [through] reading books, [and] listening to [speeches delivered by] prominent figures of the seminary and university.

Scientific tours [are very important]. Many of you are not really informed of the country's [scientific] advances; I mean, your age does not allow it, [because] you were [studying] at the high school [and] now you have come to the university, [and] did not have time. I continuously say nano[-technology], [and] you [simply] know that yes, something called nano does exist, [and] there are people who work [on it]; [but] you have not visited a nano laboratory, have not visited some of the scientific laboratories or scientific products, [and] have not visited the service works done by some of [our] service institutions. [You] must really launch scientific tours, reach an understanding, [and] forty [or] fifty of students go around and see here and there. Well, you see free zones and become sad – [and] you are right – but [you must also] go and see such things to become hopeful, become happy, [and] see that such things exist in the country, [because] this increases the level of [your] awareness.

[Establishment] of free-thinking positions [in universities], of course, [if] accompanied by the presence and guidance of prominent scholars [is another important task]. In my opinion, this is another duty, that is the third one. There is another duty for [student and revolutionary] organs and it is developing [their] audiences at the student level; [therefore,] try to expand your audiences. Out of these five million students, the number of people, who are your addressees, is very small, [and] their ratio [to all students] is a low ratio. Do something to raise this ratio. [Of course,] I don't mean [boost your audiences] by one hundred percent, [and] I don't say even by eighty percent, but increase this ratio anyway. [Achieving] this [goal] has a way, [and you try to] find its way. You, who are so creative, so talented, and so gifted, see how it is possible to find more expanded audiences. Well, [achieving] this [goal] has its own requirements: one must be good-tempered, be patient, and be tolerant enough to listen to opposite remarks – such things are necessary after all – [and one] must have good command of the subject to be able [to do this task]. Sometimes, it is even necessary that one should [only] talk to a single addressee, that is, to convince an addressee. [For] me in person, it happened in those such and such difficult times of repression that I talked to one person two

hours, [or] three hours over an issue in order to convince him. Sometimes [I talked to] two persons, sometimes five persons, [and] sometimes [I took part in] frequent periodical meetings, [and] sometimes just on the spur of the moment. These are those things, which have an effect. Therefore, [try to] expand your audiences.

The fifth point – which is also necessary in my opinion – [is that] never be shy in defending the Islamic establishment and be explicit [in this regard], [because] the Islamic establishment is a cause of pride. Yes, [both] in the world and inside the country there are people who would want to downplay the Islamic establishment – there are people of this type – but these people are mistaken and are going the wrong way; some of them [do this] on purpose, [and] some [others] out of ignorance. The Islamic establishment is a cause of honor, [and] a cause of pride. Your enemy sees the flaws and by relying on those flaws and shortcomings and shortages continuously wants to downplay [the value] of the [Islamic] Revolution. [They ignore the fact that] in return for those flaws and shortages, there is many more times progress [and] success. The most important success is that today, it is for 37 years [or] 38 years that a huge front of material power – from the Western to Eastern [powers] and all kinds and sorts [of them] – have been trying to bring this revolution and this nation and this establishment to their knees and they have not been able [to do this]; is this a joke?

They [just] frown at that ostentatious king, [and] all of them quiver [in fear] and try to appease the opposite party; [therefore,] they go [to them], sit down, talk, reach agreement, [and] give bribe. [They have been working] against the Islamic Revolution for 37 years; they have done military work, have done security work, have done espionage work, have done cultural work, [and] have done thousands of things, [but] the Islamic Republic has become stronger on a daily basis. Hey mister! Today your population and your quality – [I mean] all of you who support the revolution – are much higher than [they were] in early [years after the] revolution; [and] I have already explained this. What does this mean? This means that the revolution is [like] a living creature and is growing on a daily basis; isn't this a cause of pride?

Of course, when I say defend the establishment some people have gotten used to translating the establishment into the Leader. For example, with regard to a given issue, [when they say] 'he talked against the establishment', they mean [he talked] against the Leader, or [when they say] 'he is supported by the establishment', it is taken to mean that [he is being supported] by the Leader; this is not what I mean. The Leader is just part of the establishment. By saying [you must] defend the establishment I by no means mean [that you must] defend the Leader; [I mean you must] defend the entirety of the system, which consists of a collection of intertwined values, which thank God, has remained so strong. Know this, dear youths! This revolution is very robust; [and] its power for growth and talent for growth is very high, [but] it needs [more] force, needs help, [and] needs [more] power, and thank God, it has. Of course, problems are also there, both domestic problems and foreign problems. You cannot imagine this [revolution] without problems. All reform-seeking developments in the world have had some problems to face after all; the Islamic Republic also has [problems], [and] the Islamic Revolution also has [problems to face].

The sixth point [is that you must] develop [and] continue jihadi trips [to villages]. I was happy that this young man came here and talked about jihadi trips [to villages] and explained it. Yes, these things that he said, I confirm all of them; these jihadi trips are both exercise [in doing good] and [providing] service, and building [your] character, and getting familiar with the [general] atmosphere of the society; [therefore,] it is a very valuable thing. Develop these [excursions] on a daily basis, [because] it is also [tantamount to] jihad; it is really jihad; [organizing such trips] is both work and jihad, is [great] effort, [and] is providing service to the deprived. Of course, these things that he said about [the life in] rural areas were the same things that I have said for years under various administrations. Now, the thing, which I said before the prayers, that the Leader cannot interfere in executive affairs unless in special cases, this is one instance of it. As for villages, I have given repeated recommendations to various administrations – [both] this administration, the previous administration, the administration before it, [and] the administration before that. [Achieving] this [goal] has also clear ways; now, this young man enumerated a few of them. [One of the ways] is [launching] industries suitable for rural areas, if they are launched [it would be effective.]

There are small industries suitable for rural areas. Assume that gardens [in the northwestern Iranian city of] Urumiyeh have [many] apple trees, whose apples drop [down from the tree] and fall on the ground – I have seen this – and turn into fertilizer. Its price is so low that it is not economical for the garden owner to pay money and collect this [apple crop] to send it somewhere! [I mean,] it has no price. Now, if we assume that an [apple] juice or compote or [another] given factory is build there, all this wealth would be taken advantage of. Ways [of solving problems] are

like this; that is, there is no need to go a tortuous [and] difficult way, [because] there are many easy ways, through small investment. Sometimes, they tell me, “Sir! It would take 100 million [tomans] to create a single job;” [well,] these jobs, which I mention, sometimes do not even need 10 [or] 15 million [tomans] let alone one hundred million. [These] are clear ways. Well, [everybody] must make up their mind and do this. Therefore, in my opinion, jihadi trips [to villages] are very good, [and] paying attention to the issue of villages is important.
The seventh [point is that you must] pursue the Islamic [and] Iranian lifestyle both in theory and practice; [because] this is an important issue. Sit down and think on this, clarify its examples, then you act [upon it] yourselves and [also publish this] as a directive. Assume that a pamphlet is released on the Islamic lifestyle, for example, along the routes [which are frequented by people]. Now, in those examples, which I brought with respect to this issue two [or] three years ago, I brought an example about the issue of stopping behind the [traffic] red light. This issue can be expanded, [and] can be explained. It is your job; [and] it is a job for you, young people, who are patient enough, and are talented, and have brain, [and] have the ability to do it. Well, do these jobs.
The eighth [point is about] the discourse of justice, knowledge-based economy, Islamic [and] Iranian [model of] progress, [and] the excelerated pace of scientific findings. These are [our] main discourses, [and you must try to] strengthen these discourses. The discourse of the Economy of Resistance is a very important discourse. Yes, it is possible that something would enter into force under the name of the Economy of Resistance, and in reality it is not the Economy of Resistance, but it is [also] possible that something enters into force under the name of the Economy of Resistance and it is totally [conforming to the principles of] the Economy of Resistance, or at least be part of it. At present, good steps are apparently being taken. As they have reported to me, [and I am] not [talking about] personal reports by officials, [but I mean] reports outside [the scope of] responsibilities of officials are also given to me, [which] are relatively satisfactory reports. It is possible that good steps would be taken provided that these measures continue. I have always said that this hierarchy of action from top to down is a human hierarchy. All humans have brain, have heart, have determination, [and] have resolve. [Therefore,] in this hierarchy with five [or] six intermediate levels, [if] one of them is not willing to do its job, the [whole] work will not progress.
It is not like an electricity wire, and if you push the button here, one hundred lights are turned on; no [it is not like this, because] these intermediate wires all of them have a determination [and] have a resolve [of their own]; they are human beings. They must be supervised, must be controlled, must be pursued, must be monitored, [and] must be permanently urged upon and you can play a role in this regard. This issue applies to the Economy of Resistance, the issue of justice is like this, [and the issue of] Iranian and Islamic progress is like this. I do not accept this Western development at all, [because] its pillars are wrong, its fundaments are wrong, [and] many of its secondary considerations are wrong. But I believe that – I do not want to use the word “development” which is in fact taken from a Western and English concept, [and] I intentionally use the word “progress” – this Islamic progress can be brought up as a discourse, [and] as a public demand. Speed in scientific findings is also like this.
One of the other steps, which I think you can take, is to form a single anti-American and anti-Zionist front across students in the Islamic world; [make sure to] do this. Sit down, think, [and] then [form] an anti-Zionist and anti-American front. Today, means of communication are easy [to find], [because] there is no more need to writing letters and post and telegram and the likes of this. Contact [other students] in the cyberspace, just as this has been done in similar cases. As put by these Western-minded [people] launch public campaigns across the Islamic world against domination of America, and in opposition to American policies and Zionist policies. [If you do this] millions [of people] would join this campaign, join this intellectual current, and [it would be up to you to] provide them with [intellectual] feed. Then they would provide you with [intellectual] feed as well, because after all, in the Islamic world there are good student ideas. [Do this and] create a huge student population across the Islamic world.
The tenth point [that I want to tell] you dear ones [who are members] of [student] organs is that do not accuse anybody of not being revolutionary just because they do not totally conform to your way of thinking. Someone may not be one hundred percent in line with your way of thinking, may have differences [with you], [and], for example, may just 50 percent conform [to your way of thinking], but still be revolutionary. After all, there are certain criteria for being revolutionary, [and] these criteria may exist in him. People should not be immediately accused of being counterrevolutionary or non-revolutionary. Just as I said [in my speech] at the [late] Imam [Khomeini]’s mausoleum on the 14th day of [the Iranian calendar month of] Khordad [June 3, 2016], being revolutionary is like having faith and it has [different] levels. [It has] first level, second level, [and] third level; yes, some of its levels are very higher

and better, some levels are lower, but all of them are faithful. [However,] the situation of the faithful is different from non-faithful, [and] is different from hypocrites, even though their levels are not similar level.
The eleventh [point is that] revolutionary organs must be synergistic. Sometimes, you have differences with one another, [because even] revolutionary groups have differences over certain things; well, so be it, at the same time, [and] despite these differences [you can] be synergistic as well, [and] rely on common points. I mean, differences should not lead to scuffle and to confrontation and such things. I think you [must] try to establish this in the university environment [by promoting] lenience and tolerance; [I mean,] tolerance for the opposition whose complete example is this.
The last point [is that] you must take a strategic approach to the revolution, [that is,] you must think for 20 years, [or] 30 years into the future just in the same way that our enemy thinks. My dear ones! Today, you are [only] 22 [or] 23 years, 23 [or] 24 years, [or] 25 years old; twenty years from now, you would be a forty-year, [or] forty-five-year old man and will be probably in charge of [providing] a major service, [and doing] a big job in this country. I am not saying that you must certainly have a government job.
Now, that sister of ours, [and] my dear daughter said these [graduate students] who finish [university] something must be thought about their job. How could [the government officials] provide jobs for five million students? Is this at all possible? Basically, does anybody who is graduated [from university] must certainly become a civil servant? No, they [can] go to the free [labor] market, go and work, go and find job. Of course, the government must help [them and] there is no doubt [about this, but it should not be like that anybody who comes out of the university must certainly go [and] for example assume, be given a low or high position in the government. After all, future presidents, future ministers, future Majlis deputies, [and] various future officials will come from among you, [and they will come from among] current students. Look [at your future] in such a way that would cover that day, [and] imagine a world that when you want to play a role in (that world), you would like that world. You must have such an image [of the future]; [and] follow up on this ideal image.
There is one more thing. [It is] this issue of [religious] mourning gatherings organized by students, which are very bountiful things, [and] I totally agree with [the activities of] these student mourning groups [because] they have both vast audience and are accompanied with spiritual issues.

Well, from now on, I have written down two [or] three topics about the country's issues, and I think it is already too late. Yes, well, you can sit here till the morning [because] you are young. When I was your age, sometimes I did not sleep until morning during long winter nights, I sat down and talked, for example assume, with [my] friends, but now, no, it is not like this.
Well, with regard to [domestic] issues of the country, one of those things, which are very important, and now I cannot pass over this and must talk about it [is that] it has become ordinary [for some people] to talk about the Imam and the [Islamic] establishment and the revolution, but [at the same time] cooperate with that person who says "election is just a pretext, the [main] target is the essence of the establishment," or support him; this is not acceptable. My position in this case is totally clear. I have frequently said that for me these divisions [of political factions into] principlist and reformist and modern reformist and traditionalist and such things which they say do not matter. I don't care for these nominations at all and pay no attention [to them], [but] I deal with contents. However, I am sensitive about the issue of sedition [post-election unrest in 2009]. Now, of course, most [of those people] who took part in that demonstration were ordinary people and were not to blame, but a group was leading [that demonstration and] a [second] group took advantage [of that opportunity] and said, "Election is just an excuse, [because] the essence of the establishment is the [main] target." Can it be more explicit than this? Was this slogan chanted [during that demonstration] or not? Well, if this slogan was chanted, disavowing this slogan was also necessary on that day and they must have done it, which they did not. Now, [it would be unacceptable for] a group [to] support them [and] at the same time talk about [commitment to] the Imam and supporting the Imam and supporting the establishment and supporting the revolution! This cannot be [and] this is not acceptable. This is a very bad phenomenon, [and] is an ugly phenomenon, [and] I don't like this phenomenon at all.
I have written down a few topics here, one of which is this: the issue of rationality. Today, many things are said about wisdom and rationality and pundits and pundits among the nation and things like this. The pundits in both [principlist and reformist] factions [must] sit down and talk to each other; [this would be] rationality. Well, I am

totally agreed to this rationality. The Quran has also said many things about wisdom, Islam has frequently recommended [its followers] to [use] wisdom, [and] the honorable Imam [Khomeini] was one of the greatest sages of the world, [because] he was given to [use of] wisdom, [and] was given to thinking, [and] the revolution was also a rational revolution with strong fundaments. Therefore, I also agree to that. However, [we must see] what the wisdom calls for. These people who today support [our country's] leaning toward the West, I think they have lost their minds, [and] do not think. These [people] who say for our country to advance, we must rely on the West and resort to the West and bolster our friendship with them, in my viewpoint, are not talking sensibly. Well, we have had experiences with regard to the West.
The first thing that rationality does [is that it] must take advantage of experiences. [The former Iranian monarch] Reza Khan was imposed on us by Western states, [and the country suffered] twenty years of that strange and unique despotism and dictatorship. Then [the same] Western states imposed Mohammad Reza Shah on this country. People had no role [in this, and] Western states decided and said that he should replace his father. Then Western states helped him topple a national administration. Western states themselves directly toppled the administration of [the former Iranian prime minister, Mohammad] Mosaddeq – which was a national administration, [of course,] I am not talking about Mosaddeq's beliefs, [but] after all, [his administration] was a national administration – on the 28th of [the Iranian calendar month of] Mordad [in the Iranian year, 1332] (August 19, 1953). Western states launched the SAVAK (Shah's secret service) in this country [as] a means of bizarre suppression of any opposition thought! Once I said that a person was in prison with me at the Qezel Qaleh [prison], [and] he was convicted because he [had written] a very meaningless poem – I mean it was really at a [very] low level in poetical terms – in his pocket calendar; his poem was this:

Everybody from young to old, unanimously
say God damn Reza Shah the Great.

He was sentenced to six months in jail for this very wrong, [and] nonsensical poem, [and] cases like this were beyond count. Basically, owning a communiqué which was against the regime's will was not imaginable for us. At that time, one of our friends had come from Pakistan to [the city of] Mashhad, [and] he said, 'Yes, we were sitting [and] reading that given communiqué at a park'. I was surprised and asked, 'At a park! Can you read a communiqué at a park?' It was not imaginable at all for us that one could sit at a park and read a communiqué, [because] repression was so heavy-handed. Well, Western states created this [situation in Iran]. So many executions, so much massacre, so much austerity, so many [cases of] exile, [and] all these [people who went to] prison, this [situation continued] until the [victory of the] revolution.
From the revolution up to the present time, well, you have seen [for yourself and West's hostility] is clear: after all, the first sanctions, first attacks, first treacheries, first [acts of] espionage, first security infiltrations, [and] first broad-based and all-out propaganda onslaughts against the Islamic Revolution came from Western states; from America and from Europe; and then continue [and] come forward: before the [Iraqi] imposed war [against Iran], [they] helped leftist groups; those groups were leftist, [but] their supporter was the rightist America! During the imposed war, [Western states] helped Saddam, [including] missile help, biological help – helping [Saddam's regime] with the so-called chemical bombs – [and] helped Saddam in this way. They [also] provided Saddam with military map(s) and helped him in all ways; [and this is why] the war took eight years! Eight years is no joke.
After the war, they took those [other hostile] steps [one of which was] shooting down [Iran's passenger] plane; they killed about 300 people in a passenger plane, [and then] that shameless man [who] was president of America [at that time] said, 'I will not apologize to Iran'; well, to hell with you, don't apologize! They didn't even apologize [to Iran]. Who are these people? What does experience tell us? After that, [we have faced] various issues up to the present time; until the issue of the JCPOA [Iran's nuclear deal with the P5+1 group of countries]. Wasn't this very country of France whose foreign minister entered the arena with that shamelessness and, as they said at that time, played the role of the bad cop? [France sought] new strict measures, and pressures, and excuses [against Iran]. Americans [did the same] in another way.
As for the JCPOA itself, I have already talked [enough]; I both talked in that meeting [with Iranian officials], and [I also] talked [about the JCPOA] in a meeting with the [Iranian] cabinet, and, for certain reasons, I don't deem it

expedient to talk more about that issue. However, well, one thing was proved in [the course of] the JCPOA and that was [the fact] that Americans are being hostile to us, [and] are showing hostility; not only in America's Congress, which now is playing the role of the executioner, [but even] these people who do not want to play the role of the executioner – I mean [those within] the administration of America – [even] these [people] are showing hostility [towards Iran], but he form of their hostility is different from theirsm, [however,] they are being hostile; well, this [is clear].

Well, we must use these [cases] as experience. Rationality is that when faced with such an enemy, one should answer with wisdom, with foresight, with caution, with not being deceived, with not getting close to the area where it is plotting, [and] with not entering the puzzle that it has designed. Yes, with regard to the issue of West Asia – [including] the region of Syria and Lebanon and the likes of these – they were very willing to sit down with Iran, [and] coordinate [their efforts], [and] they have also said this. However, we don't want [to do this]. Their problem is actually presence of Iran [in those regions], [and] they [want to] enter negotiations [with Tehran] in a bid to stop Iran's presence [in those regions]. Over what are we supposed to negotiate with them? They say Iran should not be [there] at all, and [should not] be present in this region, [and] this is their [main] problem. They want to solve this problem; why should we help solve this problem for them? On the contrary, we want America not to be present [in this region]. Therefore, this is also [what conforms to] rationality.

Well, I think we talked too much. After all, my dear ones, we are resisting. This humble one is bound by religious duty, by the duty assigned to me by the Sharia [law], [and] by ethical duty, [and this is why] I am resisting in the face of counter-revolutionary [elements] and those opposed to the revolution, and as long as I'm alive this resistance will continue. And I have trust in this people. There are so many faithful elements, who advocate resistance on this path, among the country's' elites, including academics and students that they can embolden any disappointed person, let alone someone like me who am already emboldened on my own. Therefore, this resistance does exist and the end of resistance is victory.

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