The Leader’s remarks in meeting with a group of university students on the occasion of Ramadan - 29 /May/ 2018

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

و الحمدللّه ربّ العالمین و الصّلاة و السّلام علی سیّدنا و نبیّنا ابی‌القاسم المصطفی محمّد و علی آله الطّیّبین الطّاهرین المنتجبین سیّما بقیّةاللّه فی الارضین.

Thank you very much dear brethren and sisters who have come here, especially those who performed [this] program and the esteemed presenter of the program, who has managed this meeting very well up to this hour. Praise be to God, the remarks made by dear speakers were varied; there were both scientific issues in their remarks and proposals, which I have written down, and [there were references to] the country’s issues [such as] political issues [and] social issues [as well as] criticism, complaint, objection, [and] conformation. Praise be to God, there was everything [in their remarks]; [and therefore,] this was a student session in the real sense of the word.
Of course, out of all these discussions brought up by these friends – [both] boy and girl students – at this place, one point was very interesting and prominent for me and it is that despite [many] complaints and expression of concerns and the likes of these, which they [uttered here], our today’s meeting showed that the student environment is a lively and vibrant environment. [This is] quite the opposite of what enemies want, [and] foreigners want, [and is also opposite to what] some people try to show that “Sir, the universities are depressed [and] the universities are desperate.” No, [such claims are not true, because] the universities are alive. Yes, you do not represent all [university] students in the country – [because] we have more than four million students – [and] I do not mean that there are four million [students] in the universities with spirits similar to this. I know that it is not like this, but there is a lively, active, [and] pulsating current in the academic environment – with different viewpoints, [and] with different tendencies, but all of them motivated [and endowed] with an effective sense of identity – and this issue is important to me. I mean [Iranian] students feel that they must be effective, [and] must produce an effect [and] this is why they give voice to their opinions.
Well, you have objections to many issues in the country and many of these objections are also justified – not that they are not justified – but a difference that exists between you, young and energetic [students], and an old man like me is that [as put by the Iranian poet]:
I have lingered a long time in this ancient world, so that the passage of years has made me old.
You give voice to [your] aspirations very easily, [but] I see and feel the distance between the status quo and [those] aspirations in view of [the existing] conditions and obstacles according to my experience; this is the only difference [between me and you]. Yes, many of these objections are justified, but doing away with these problems is not an easy task. It needs work, it needs efforts, [and] it has necessary preliminary steps [to be taken]. One of these necessary preliminary steps is this very existence of you, your thinking, your working, and your speaking [about these problems], and now I have prepared a few words to tell you, which can be helpful in this regard. Of course, I have written down the main titles and, God willing, I will move along that line, especially that part, which is related to my own management, like those issues, which are related to the Armed Forces and the likes of these, where the management is with the Leader; that is, those places, which are [directly] managed by the Leader with regard to the Armed Forces. The Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB) is not like this, [and] the Judiciary is not like this either. Yes, it is true that the Judiciary chief is appointed by the Leader, but the Leader is not in control of the management of the Judiciary; differentiation must be made between these two [states]. The IRIB is not managed by the Leader. Of course, you must know that I have always a critical position toward the IRIB. [I mean,] both under its present management and under previous managements, I have always criticized a host of different issues, including these very things, which you mentioned in your remarks and I have also in mind and criticize them as well.
I do not mean that managers want to spite me; no, they want to take action, but well, that action is not easy, [and]

taking action is difficult. The basic step that must be taken – and was mentioned in the remarks made by some participants [in this meeting] – is that the young and faithful and highly motivated and revolutionary elements must be injected into these [state] bodies, and God willing, they are planning to do such things, [and] I have also emphasized it. I have both stressed that the IRIB [must do this], and have [also emphatically told this] to other [state-run] institutions, for example assume, the Friday Prayers leaders and the likes of them, and God willing, this [plan] will continue to move ahead in this way. You [must] know this: we are moving ahead. Our movement is without a doubt forwarding, [and] now there is a lot of evidence to [prove] this [claim]. Therefore, I have written these [points] down, [and] God willing, I will follow up on those things, which are related to me. They raised a general objection at [the situation of compulsory] military service. I am not aware of the details to know what they exactly mean; if they give a report, I will follow up [on that report], and the same is true about some other sectors. The important thing is that you [must] preserve this spirit, this feeling, this motivation, [and] his presence; this is what I have hope in.

[The fact] that I say time and again the future belongs to you and you must get yourselves ready for the management of the future, this is not [just] a compliment, nor is it a joke, [but] it is a reality. Of course, you must take care to continue moving on this very direct path; that is, [you must] maintain this motivation. There were, and still are, many people who once talked with fervor and sentiment and enthusiasm, [and] then, for example, under other conditions, they changed course. Take care not to be like this. I mean, [your] movement [must be] a continuous, [and] indefatigable movement with reliance on the divine assistance and in the hope of winning the divine reward. [You must continue to] move like this, [because] in that case, your movement will stay in the right direction. Then the future of this country, which will be in the hands of people like you who are currently critical of conditions, it will be a good future. If you move [ahead] with this motivation, the future would, naturally, be better. Well, so the result up to this point is that although there were protests and objections and complaints in [your] remarks, the meeting, on the whole, carries a major good tiding, a big promise, [and] a big hope. I mean, it shows that our youths – at least, a certain portion of our student youths – have motivation, have faith, have grit and are resolved to take action. This is a very good thing. This meeting of us [clearly] showed this. Those people who are desperate about the future [have to] look at this situation and correct their way of thinking.

Well, I want to make an epistemological discussion here whose emphasis is on those matters that I have repeated and mentioned time and again and it is [the necessity of] remaining revolutionary and moving in a revolutionary manner. I want to explain this issue from an epistemological viewpoint. I also have something to say about students issues, the students current and student groups and the likes of these, and if, God willing, there is time, I will say it.

Since the outset of the revolution, there was a wrong way of thinking in the totality of the revolution according to which, the revolution [exists] until an establishment is set up; [therefore,] when an establishment is created and institutions and regulations and bureaucracy and the likes of these are established, there is no more work for the revolution to do; [and] we have no use for the revolution anymore. [And proponents of this viewpoint] define the revolution as [equivalent to] tension and fighting and ballyhoo and illegal steps and such things. Such a way of thinking is not limited to the present time, such a way of thinking has existed since day one after victory of the revolution; this thinking is [totally] wrong.

[Every] revolution has several stages. What happened in the early [phase of] the revolution in [the Iranian calendar] year [13]57 (1978-79), was the first stage of the revolution, that is, [a social] explosion against the wrong [and] false monarchial establishment and creation of a new establishment on the basis of new ideals and values and with new terms, with new expressions, [and] with new concepts; this was the first stage of the revolution. Then in the second stage, this establishment has to realize values; it must realize these values and ideals, and now I will refer to them and enumerate some of them, in the society. If it wants to realize these values, it needs a managerial apparatus, which is the revolutionary government. Therefore, the stage following [creation of] a revolutionary establishment is creation of a revolutionary government; a government whose [various] pillars would believe in the revolution from the bottom of their hearts and follow [the ideals of] the revolution. After this revolutionary government is established, then by means of its correct executive measures – [including] correct laws [and] correct implementation [of those laws] – these ideals and values, which were brought up, [and] these great revolutionary aspirations, must be realized one after the other in the society. If this happens, then the result would be [creation of] a revolutionary society; [in that case] a revolutionary society is created, which this is the fourth stage [of the revolution]. [Therefore, these

stages include] the revolutionary movement, revolutionary establishment, revolutionary government, [and] revolutionary society; this [latter one is] the fourth [stage of the revolution]. When the revolutionary society comes into being, then the way will be paved for the creation of the revolutionary and Islamic civilization. Now, I used the word “revolutionary,” you can use the word “Islamic” instead of “revolutionary.” Therefore, Islamic government, Islamic society, [and] Islamic civilization; these are stages, which exist.

Therefore, the revolution does not come to an end, the revolution continues, the revolution goes on, [and] the revolution does not stop. There is some process [at work here]; a process means evolution, permanent evolution, [and] permanent development. There is a permanent process in the course of the revolution, and this permanent process gradually helps realize those great aspirations, those lofty values, [and] those ideals in the society. Well, now, what are these great ideals? I mention six or seven of these great ideals; of course, they are not limited to these.

One [of those ideals] is national dignity; this is one of the ideals of the revolution, [and] this is very important! National dignity means when you have a feeling of national honor, the feeling of honor stems from realities, steming from some realities within the context of the society and on the ground, not [that it is solely] based on illusions and imagination. Otherwise, there was sometimes a feeling of honor about the rule of Kiani [kings] and Achaemenids and the likes of these. These are delusional ideas and [nothing but] illusions, [and as such they] are source of no honor. National dignity means a feeling of honor that is reliant on a reality; this is very important. This national dignity is among those things, which in the event that they are lost and annihilated in a country, the identity of that nation is annihilated; [and] that nation would not gain anything after that.

The second [ideal] is national self-reliance, which I have discussed in detail – in past years [and] in big gatherings – [and have said that] this national self-confidence will block the way to dependence [on foreigners]. If this self-reliance exists, the nation will not feel that it needs to be dependent, but runs away from being dependent on others.

[The third ideal is] political, economic [and] cultural independence. This is one of the ideals [for] any nation, which if exists – I mean [if] political and economic and cultural independence, every one of which has its own details [do exist] – [in that case] that nation will not have to give in to bullying and imposition by bullies of the world and those with excessive demands. One of the ideals [of every nation] is independence.

[Another ideal is] freedom; freedom of thought, freedom of expression [and] freedom to act. Of course, one of those dear ones who spoke here made a short remark about freedom, which was totally correct. Freedom is among those issues, which certainly needs law, [and] needs a framework. Because it is the nature of freedom that if there is no law and framework [for it], it is apt to surpass limits and lead to trespassing [on other people’s freedoms] and slovenly behavior and [other] bad things, and at the present time, you see examples of this in the West. [On the other hand,] if there is no freedom, there is no growth. If there is no freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of thinking, [and] freedom to act in a society, the growth in that society would come to a halt. The growth of the society – [including] spiritual growth of the society – and progress of society certainly needs such freedoms.

The administration of justice, repudiation of discrimination, [and] rejection of [all forms of] class divide, these are among big aspirations. Basically speaking, the Quran maintains that the administration of justice is the main issue and goal for the prophets: [the Quran says,] “[We have sent Our messengers] ... [so] that the people may maintain [their affairs] in justice.” After all, we are treading the path of the prophets, [and] we are treading the path of Islam and the path of the prophets. Therefore, without a doubt, justice is one of the topmost, or perhaps one could claim is the highest ideal and value, which we must pursue. Justice cannot be established through lip service. Of course, justice is a difficult thing [to administer], [and] the administration of justice is among the toughest of tasks.

[The next ideal is] the material and civilizational progress [of the country] by means of science and technology; this is also one of [any country’s] ideals. I mean the country must be saved from backwardness.

Another one of the ideals is growth of socializing morals. [I mean] socialization among people must be moral socialization. Mercy, donation, sacrifice, help, cooperation and the likes of these [must grow in the society]. [This ideal is about] the growth of these moralities, which are related to socialization of humans in the society.

Preparation of the general atmosphere [in the society] for growth of spirituality and emancipation of talented people from slavery of lust and rage [is another ideal]. This is also one of those top-priority aspirations, but due attention is not usually paid to it. [The general] atmosphere [in the society] must be such that talented human beings would be able to move under that atmosphere, [and for example,] the likes of Hajj Mirza Ali Aqa Qazi and Allameh Tabatabaei and prominent personalities like these [people] would come into being; sublime and superior humans,

who have been able to rise about this material environment, soar [in spirituality] and go beyond [material issues]. I mean, conditions must be prepared for this [to happen]. Of course, not all of us are talented enough for such things, but there are people amongst us, who are talented enough to make this move, especially during the youth.

There is an interesting story about [the Greek] philosopher called Diogenes, who told Alexander [the Great] that you are a slave to my slaves. Alexander was going somewhere [and] this philosopher was sitting [along the way and] did not pay any attention [to Alexander]. [Therefore,] he felt offended [and] said [to those around him to] go and see who this person is. They brought him [to Alexander]; he said, 'Why did you not stand to attention in front of me?' [Diogenes] said, 'Because I had no reason to stand up; you are a slave to my slaves'. [Alexander] asked, 'What do you mean? I – Alexander – am a slave?' [And Diogenes answered] 'Yes, because lust and rage are slaves to me, are in my control, [and] you are a slave to lust and rage; [therefore,] you are a slave to [my] slave'. [This means that] when a person can save himself from slavery of lust and rage [he is superior to others]. Well, these are ideals [of the revolution].

It is evident that these ideals cannot be realized in short term. If we want these ideals to be realized in the society, it needs a long-term move. What does this mean? It means that the revolution is alive. Look! [The fact] that I keep saying [that you] must be revolutionary [and] remain revolutionary, this is what it means. If the revolution continues, realization of these ideals is possible. [On the other hand,] if this continuation is combined with awareness and vigilance and carefulness and the likes of this, realization of these ideals will be definitive. However, if we reached this conclusion midway along the way that there is no more need to the revolution, [and there must be only] bureaucracy and state structure, [then these ideals would not be realized]. Did we stage a revolution in order for them [former rulers] to leave [the country and] hand the government to us?

Did we stage the revolution in order to [take hold of] the government? Those who struggled [against the former regime], those who were flogged, [and] those who went to prison, the only thing they did not think about was that one day this revolution would become victorious [and] for example, they would become ministers and lawmakers and leader and president and such things; it did not occur to anybody; they moved and worked for a goal. The goal was not that a group would deliver management [of the country] to us [and] we, like them, start to manage [the country]; except that [they] were bad people [and] we must be good people, [because] if it was like that, we would not have remained good; [in that case,] man does not remain good. Therefore, the revolution must continue. Look! I am saying this with reason that we must be revolutionary and must remain revolutionary and must move in a revolutionary manner, and naturally, this has requirements; moving in a revolutionary manner has requirements.

Of course, let me tell you this; I am aware of what is going on in the country. Sometimes it is said that he [the Leader] is receiving information through special channels and the likes of these; no, this is not true. I both read reports [which are given to me] – [including] official reports [and] unofficial reports – and am in contact with certain persons through various means, [and] I also have contacts with people and have a public relations office. [Therefore,] I am informed of what is going on in the society as much as a person like me can be informed. I believe that we have progressed in all these [fields] that I mentioned. That young person who comes out here and says, "Sir, the situation is very dire, is such and such, [and] we have moved backward," I confirm his emotions and that spirit, but I absolutely do not confirm what he says. It is not like this. You have not seen the monarchial regime, [and] have not seen the conditions that existed in early [years after victory of] the revolution. At the present time, we have progressed in all these fields that I mentioned [and] with respect to all these ideals. Of course, I have already said that we lag behind in terms of [administering] justice, [but] it does not mean that we have not progressed, [and] it [only] means that we have not progressed in the field of [promoting] justice as much as we should have progressed. Otherwise, we have also progressed in the field of justice as well.

You do not know what was going on in this country! Well, I have been at this age as you, [and] have seen difficult times. Now, this gentleman from Sistan and Baluchestan [province] says [certain things]. Well, I have lived in Sistan and Baluchestan [province, and I tell you that] conditions in the present-day in Sistan and Baluchestan have drastically changed compared to Sistan and Baluchestan in the [Iranian] years [13]56-57 (1977-78), when I was there. He says we have no air; what does it mean that you have no air? It means that [the city of] Zabol has dust [problem]. Every year, for three months, [or] four months, it has dust [problem]; he is right; this is, and has been, just one of the problems in Sistan and Baluchestan. At that time, people were in absolute misery in the real sense of the word; in absolute misery! I witnessed this up-close. A lot of work was done following the revolution, advances

have been made, [and] services have been provided; not only in Sistan and Baluchestan, [but also] across the country. A lot of work has been done in the field of justice.

Unfortunately, you [do not read] books, [and] are not book readers; I am [an avid] book reader, I read a lot of books, [and] I would like that you kids [and] young people really read books. In these reports on conversations between [the former Pahlavi official, Asadollah] Alam and the [former] Shah [of Iran], which I happen to have brought up a quote of it the other day, Mohammad Reza Shah tells Alam in protest that 'Sir, the difference between the lowest salary and the highest salary is one-hundred times'. This is an admission by Mohammad Reza Shah; that is, a difference of one-hundred times! Today, [that difference] is, for example, about twelve times and fourteen times, which of course, even this is too much, but it was one-hundred times back then. I have really seen things, which cannot be described about conditions of people and the state of misery and the state of freedom. Now, a group, which protests that there is no freedom, [says] that, for example, why that given person did not manage to say that given thing on the television? No, this [is no] reason [for you to say] that freedom does not exist.

Well yes, it would be better if he could have said that, [but] is this by any means comparable to the period before the revolution? I had a friend among these very combatant clerics, who had fled [the country and] had went to Pakistan and was there for a time. He took a trip to [city of] Mashhad [and] talked to me. He said, 'Yes, we were walking at a park in, for example, a city in Pakistan and handed out this communiqué'; I was surprised [and] said [you did this] at a park, [and handed out] a communiqué? It was totally unbelievable for us to imagine that in a public space one could take a communiqué in his hand and read it; it was really like this. Assume that in a given newspaper – now, in the cyberspace it has no end – [a criticism is made]; even in these very television programs – which you are protesting that why they are not critical – contrary to [what you say], executive officials complain to me that this 20:30 news [program] has said this, [or] that given person has said that; they are really complaining to me on a regular basis; I mean they repeatedly complain to me. Now, you complain on this side that why [that TV program] does not say [this] and they [officials] complain from the opposite side! [Do you think that] it was possible for a person [at the time of the previous regime] to carry even one word of these remarks that are made in the 20:30 [news program] and in [other] critical programs of the IRIB and in debates and [so forth], if they were written on a piece of paper? [If] they found it, they would beat the hell out of him; I said this once, now there is not [enough] time, [and] time is passing. I mean, conditions and situation [at that time was like this].

Therefore, the result [is that] – [and] I want to tell you this – in all these fields, which I enumerated, [namely] values and ideals and great aspirations, the revolution has moved ahead [and] progressed. An instance [of this progress] is what you see, for example, in the field of science and technology. Now, for example, this brother of us said 'I work in the Royan [Institute]'. Royan is just one example. Once the endeavoring and hard-working staff of Royan learned this issue of stem cells, brought them into the country and they managed to develop the industry of producing stem cells and reproduction of stem cells, while at that time, perhaps only three [or] four countries possessed this [technology]. It is also like this in other fields. There are many examples of these industrial and scientific and technological advances. Therefore, progress does exist.

It must not be like that we cause ourselves to make a mistake [and] say "Sir, it has no use, it has not been done, we have not and cannot progress." No, we have progressed, [and] God willing, we will continue to progress. Doing this is like an open road; we must not imagine a highway as a dead-end. The highway is open ahead of us and we can move, especially with potentialities that exist in the country, [including] the manpower and natural resources, and the other day [and] in a meeting with officials, I talked about the country's potentialities and the country's capacities in detail. Well, this [is enough] about this issue. Now, this [progress] must continue with force and intensity; I mean we are not to stop at this level.

There are certain factors, which help us, [and] there are also some obstacles, to which attention must be paid. One of the factors that exist is the government. The government is among those factors, which [facilitate] progress toward these ideals; I mean a revolutionary government, a revolutionary establishment, [and] a revolutionary administration is one of those factors. In case this [factor] is disturbed [in any way], you can be sure that it will cause a problem in [this] way. [Therefore,] we must do something that the movement of the country's government and the country's administration – when I say administration, it means the entire general management of the country – and the country's officials be a revolutionary movement, so that, these ideals can progress.

Those [social] classes, which are influential, [play an important role in this regard]. Influential [social] classes –

[including] scientific classes, [and other] social classes such as academics, comprising seminary teachers, scientists, [and] artists, which make up influential [social] classes – must be active in this field.

And the young manpower, that is, all of you, [is also important], because this young manpower is the driving force. These [young people] are in fact like a locomotive [and] when they move, play the role of a locomotive, [because] they naturally move the train behind them. Of course, [this is true] if those duties that are incumbent on the young class are fulfilled in a correct manner.

Of course, the spirit of hope and determination and planning – all these three – is [also] necessary. First of all, you must not lose hope by any means. It would be a hostile act to pump despair into the society continuously – this is being done [at the present time]. Now, that person who is doing this may not really be an enemy, but everybody who is [pumping] despair [into the society by saying] that, "Sir, this is not possible, it has no use, and everything is in disarray," is doing the enemy's work. No, [do not do this, because] this is the work [of the enemy]. Hope is a necessary condition; this is one [point]. Determination, [and] resolve in the sense of decision-making – [because] decisions must be made [and] doing such jobs needs decisions – and planning [are also necessary]. Nothing can be done without planning; we must have these three factors [all at once].

There are also obstacles. Some of these obstacles are internal obstacles related to ourselves. Now they say that he [the Leader] blames America and so forth for all problems. Of course, God damn America and the wicked Britain, [because] many of our problems are caused by them. But no, most of my criticism is aimed at ourselves. Our obstacles are mostly internal ones; they [the US and Britain] are also exploiting these internal obstacles. [However,] internal obstacles do really exist.

[One of these obstacles] is lack of correct understanding; lack of correct understanding of the country's issues and the issue of the country and the issue of the revolution. [This] requires you, students and [other] intellectual elements, to work on this issue. One of [these] dear brethren told me "recommend to intellectual elements to work with students." Yes, it is certainly necessary for this to take place, [such elements] either from the seminaries, or from the universities, [as well as] the faithful [and] revolutionary intellectual elements [must work with students]. And you yourselves must follow up on this and you yourselves must think. Therefore, the problem of lack of correct understanding of the issue [at hand is one of the internal obstacles].

[Another obstacle is] lack of correct recognition of the environment. This is also an obstacle to the work [that we want to do]. There are some people, who do not know the environment correctly. When we do not know the environment, there is a high possibility that we would make an error and mistake. When a warrior and combatant does not know where he is located, where the enemies are located, [and] where the friendly forces are located, he may aim his weapons toward a friend, thinking that he is firing at the enemies. [Therefore,] the environment must be [correctly] recognized, [and] various fronts must be seen [and] recognized. One thing that some people do is like this very person, who as I said, has fallen asleep in his bunker, [and] now he wakes up and hears the rumble [of war] without knowing where the enemy forces are located, [or] where the friendly foces are located [and] starts firing the artillery or mortar launcher or the gun at a direction. [In this state,] it may accidently be fired at a friend. Some people's work is like this; they do not know with whom they are fighting. Therefore, knowing the environment is very crucial.

Another obstacle is lack of determination; one obstacle is laziness; [and] one obstacle is lack of patience. Impatience [is a major obstacle]. My dear ones! When you start cooking food, it is not possible that as soon as the fire is lit you begin demanding food impatiently! Well, you must wait until it is cooked. Sometimes it is like this. Some of the activities that good revolutionary brethren and sisters do in some places is the result of lack of patience; patience is necessary; patience is one of the revolutionary characteristics. Yes, we have revolutionary wrath [as well,] but we also have revolutionary patience. The most complete epitome of justice is Amir al-Mo'menin (PBUH) after all, [and] we have nobody more just than him; however, even Amir al-Mo'menin (PBUH) showed patience in some places. You look at the history of Amir al-Mo'menin (PBUH)'s life to see this. Once he says, "So I adopted patience although there was pricking in the eye and suffocation (of mortification) in the throats;" elsewhere, when faced with pressure from Khawarij and the likes of them in the Battle of Seffin, he opts for patience and gives in to arbitration. Therefore, there are places where patience is necessary and essential. There are places where [patience is out of] hopelessness, [and] in some places, no, it is not out of hopelessness, but it is needed for one to have patience.

One of these obstacles is being busy with those things that are destructive and devastating and misguiding, including

differences over trivial matters. Small differences and insignificant excuses sometimes lead to major differences; an example is marginal issues that exist [right now]. I think it was in this very meeting last year or in a meeting similar to this in the month of Ramadan, when I pointed to a marginal issue, which was related to that time. The marginal issue, which in my opinion has kept us busy more than the mainstream developments at the present time, is this very issue of cyberspace and that given messaging network and such things; these are [among] marginal issues. Well, something must be done [about such networks], and something is being done. This excessive and imprudent attention paid to this [issue] – from that side [of the political spectrum] one way, and from the opposite side another way – is among marginal issues; it causes [us] to neglect the main job [that we must do]. Therefore, these are internal obstacles.

We also have external obstacles. External obstacles are mostly injection of despair [into the society], [and] inducing a feeling of inability and the likes of these. At the present time, this notion that "it is not possible, it has no use, you cannot do it," is being continuously pumped – as you say it, [because] I do not want to use a foreign term, but I have to [use it] here – [and] is being incessantly injected [into the society]; both a feeling of despair and a feeling of inability.

False elucidations [is another external obstacle]. They explain certain issues, [but] explain them in a false manner. [This is equal to] distortion of historical facts. Of course, this is not special to our time. An insidious move has been started a since couple of years ago to whitewash the oppressive [monarchial] regime [and] the Pahlavi regime. I wish it was something, which could be really whitewashed, [because] it cannot be whitewashed by any means! Even those people who write [positive] material about their personalities, they have to confess to certain [corrupt] things despite the efforts they make to offer a positive picture [of the former regime]. Is a regime, which was both corrupt and weak and dependent [on the West] and deviated and intensely unpopular and its people and figures only sought personal gains defendable? Is [former Iranian prime minister, Amir Abbas] Hoveida defendable? Is Mohammad Reza [Shah Pahlavi] defendable? [They do this] in order to say yes, you have not seen that time [and it was a good time]. A move is being made in this regard whose goal is to tell a present-day youth that "Strangely enough, these [officials of the monarchial regime] were not bad people, [and the country's] conditions were not bad; so why did you stage a revolution?" Basically, all [such moves] are aimed at questioning the revolution; these [moves] are being initiated from abroad.

[Other measures taken against the revolution are] creating practical impediments to [slow down] movement toward ideals, including [imposition of] sanctions – both sanctions on [import of raw] materials and sanctions on [import of] technology – various kinds of obstructionist efforts, introducing victories as defeat, magnifying small weaknesses, [and] attributing management weaknesses to the [Islamic] establishment. A given manager in that given institution has a weakness, [and] for example, takes a wrong step, [and enemies] magnify it in order to question the Islamic Republic establishment [and] the revolutionary establishment. This is what the enemies are doing, [and] you must pay serious attention to it.

One of these friends, talked about the issue of [musical] concerts here. Out of several thousand concerts, for example assume, five concerts are shut down. They generalize this, [start] ballyhoo and make a fuss and so forth [claiming] that "concerts are being shut down [in Iran]!" Now, for example, several thousand concerts or several hundred concerts have been held and have not been shut down; [only] a few concerts have been shut down [here and there]! [Or] that given manager and that given manager and that given manager out of all managers – for example, ten persons, fifteen persons, [or] twenty persons – have made an error, have done something wrong, [and] have behaved wrongly [and they] generalize this not only to totality of the country's management, but to totality of the Islamic Republic establishment! These are steps taken by the enemies, which are being taken according to a plan. They [describe] a comprehensive democracy as dictatorship. I mean, in reality, at the present time, in my opinion – that is, according to the knowledge that I currently have – there is no democracy in the present-day world, which would be a real democracy like ours. The connection between the country's officials and people, their intimate relations with people, [and] they being elected by people is more real than anywhere else in the world; [of course,] as far as I am informed. This [establishment] is now being depicted as a dictatorship in the unwavering [and] incessant propaganda work of the enemies, which, well, this is what they do; [and] they [try to] depict [our democracy] like this. Therefore, these are steps, which constitute external obstacles, that our enemies may take [against us]. Therefore, you must pay attention to this [point] that the [Islamic] establishment is involved in a huge conflict.

When I said we [must] know our place, [and] know the issue, this is the main issue: you are in the middle of a conflict, [and it is] an all-out [and] huge conflict. You must feel this conflict, know the opposite side and in this way, the fate of all of us will be determined. The establishment has no value without a revolutionary policy; it is really worthless [without such a policy]. If the establishment lacks a revolutionary policy, it will not achieve those ideals, will pursue other ideals and will be no different from those past regimes of the country and will be of no value.
Of course, being revolutionary is only possible within the context of the [Islamic] establishment; pay attention to this side of this issue as well. It must not be like that some people would reject the establishment under the excuse that we are revolutionary; [some people may] question the values of the establishment, the pillars of the establishment, [and] fundaments of the establishment under the excuse that we are revolutionary. [Note that] being revolutionary does not mean being destructive. Being revolutionary is a correct and rational movement full of motivation and full of hope and with courage towards sublime goals; this is the definition and meaning of being revolutionary and this is only possible within the context and along the line of the Islamic establishment, that is, the existing establishment; it is not possible outside this [establishment]. Being revolutionary does not mean doing away with structures [and] destruction of the establishment that stems from the revolution. This is also a point.
Well, what I emphasize is that today, in our society, we are in dire need of continuously repeating the ideals, continuously saying [them], continuously working on them, [and] continuously demanding them. This demanding is a very good thing. Demanding ideals is one of those things, which must not be given up. If this huge and extensive volume of invasion against the public opinion by counter-revolutionary [elements] is not counteracted with this demanding [of ideals] it will be certainly destructive. Remembering ideals, bringing up ideals, asking for ideals, [and] demanding realization of these ideals constitute a barrier against destruction of the public opinion and elite environments – and unfortunately, they are also working on elite environments – and managerial environments; unfortunately, [their efforts] have not been ineffective in some cases. Here, an army of faithful and revolutionary youths is needed to enter the arena, demand the ideals and they themselves help realization of these ideals, which of course, the way they can help [do this] is open to discussion. Now, perhaps, if I have time to explain that second part, I would be able to mention some points about this as well.
Therefore, we need to remember these ideals with the same language, which is special to a faithful [and] revolutionary young person one of whose characteristics is candor, [and another] one of whose characteristics is bravery in speech [according to which] he says what he wants with courage. Today, it was relatively like this; I felt that there is a courageous motivation [among students] to say certain things. Although I do not agree with some things that were said [in this meeting], I believe in bravery; I totally accept this spirit of aggression in the young students and revolutionary youths. These values must be demanded in an explicit, watchful, and incessant manner [by] young people who are ready to do this.
[Another important point is] countering an aristocratic lifestyle. I mean, the aristocratic lifestyle must be discouraged in the public opinion. Intellectual dependence must be [also] negated. [Supporting] Iranian products is an issue. The most important problem, which I have come across, is a mental problem about foreign products, which unfortunately, exists among a large group of people in the country, that is among ominous and unholy legacies of the past monarchial regime. [At that time] people eyed foreign products and [believed that] everything was better if it was foreign-made. Of course, there was no domestic work worthy of mention at that time; this [state of mind] still exists. This problem is a mental problem. [Therefore,] a public mental move must be made to change such sentiments. For example, if we can erase from [people's] minds this notion that "the foreign products are better," then people themselves will naturally seek domestic products, and blessings and good effects of this step will be also realized. [Other steps, which must be taken include] demanding the Islamic-Iranian lifestyle, demanding religious culture, fighting liberalism and indifference and listlessness, [and] countering anti-religious efforts. All of these [goals can be achieved] through forbearance and patience and preudence.
As I said before, revolutionary forbearance and revolutionary patience [are] like revolutionary rage. When Moses went to Egypt after being ordained as prophet and showed those miracles and invited [people to worship God] and so forth, the Israelites were waiting [for him]. They had been told in the past that a savior would come and that savior is Moses. Now Moses has arrived [and] they expected that as soon as Moses arrived, the establishment of the Pharaoh would be destroyed, but this did not happen. The Quran says they went to Moses and said, "We have been harmed before you came to us and after you have come to us." [They meant] what difference was made after you

came [to us]? What is the difference? They harmed us before you came [and] we were under pressure, [and] now that you have come, we are still under pressure. Look! This is that state of impatience [which I mentioned before] among the Israelites; impatience. Mosses told them to be patient, [because] “indeed, the earth belongs to Allah. He causes to inherit it whom He wills of His servants. And the [best] outcome is for the righteous." [This means that] if you are righteous, the [best] outcome will be yours; [and to achieve this,] patience is necessary. You must not be [impatient] like this. It is not right for us to say why it did not happen, how this happened, [and] show impatience. This [was] a point that now I wanted to mention in this regard.

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