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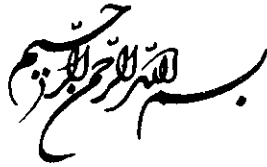
**A GLANCE AT THE LIFE
OF
AYATULLAH MONTAZERI**

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In the Name of God

At a time when Iran was passing through a wretched political, economic and social situation, when dependent and debased individuals ruled Iran and people lived in an oppressive state, when poverty and misery prevailed, when Iran was divided between two colonialistic powers, England and Russia, a boy, who is now one of the honors of Islam and one of the firm pillars of the Islamic Revolution, came into the world from a simple family. A farmer's son, for whom the name Husain Ali was chosen, he is today well-known as a great scholar, an unyielding combatant upon God's Way and a man of high status. He shines like a bright star in the sky of the religious and spiritual struggle of Muslims and the oppressed upon the Way of God throughout the world.

The highly valued religious jurispudent and combatant, Ayatullah Husain Ali Montazeri, was born in 1922 in an adobe house from parents deeply devoted to their religious beliefs.

The father of this great man is named Hajj Ali Montazeri, who is a farmer in the area of Najafabad (near Isfahan). Having lived a blessed life, he is presently engaged in the same work and his face bears the signs of the suffering and toil of 80 years of constant endeavors.

Apart from toilsome working upon the land to earn a living, Hajj Ali Montazeri never failed to acquire knowledge so that he enjoys fame in Najafabad as an Islamic scholar.

At a time when poverty prevailed everywhere and everybody thought of labor and wages to make ends meet, this determined man, in addition to his job of farming, which kept him busy from sunrise to sunset, he studied Islamic sciences and developed his religious knowledge. He used to study the Holy Quran and other books from sunset to midnight.

Hajj Ali Montazeri, as a follower of the great men of early Islam, did not presume income-making activities to be contradictory to the acquisition of knowledge in order to be able to guide the people. After finishing his work and returning from his farm, he was engaged in holding congregational prayers, interpreting the Holy Quran and teaching Islamic subjects in the Sahab-i-Zaman mosque in Najafabad.

Because he enjoyed a laborious spirit, scholarly personality, and inward piety, he became a trustworthy individual and a reference point for settling the affairs of the people of Najafabad and its surrounding villages.

With all the straight-forwardness and piety, the interest which he had for work, attending to the mental needs of the people and training a rarely paralled son like Ayatullah Montazeri, he was not safe from the mistreatment and slander of the mercenary agents of the Shah and on many occasions he was not left at ease.

Near the end of the disgusting Pahlavi regime, for about ten Fridays, he led the Friday ritual prayers which had been established by the powerful hands of his brave son in Najafabad and in this way he struck a powerful blow to the butcher Savak (the Shah's secret security forces) who were determined to stop the Friday ritual prayers.

May God grant him long life and dignity, for such individuals in an Islamic system, with their life of toil and blessings, will be models for the younger generation.

The mother of Ayatullah Montazeri was a pious woman

and a trustworthy person of her time in Najafabad. She played a great role in stimulating religious interest in Ayatullah Montazeri.

This good and hard-working educator, Mrs. Montazeri, whose patience and endurance was widely known, died in 1970. May God rest her soul.

Ayatullah Hajj Shaykh Husain Ali Montazeri began his schooling at the age of 7. His first teacher was his father, Hajj Ali Montazeri, who taught him the Holy Quran and the Arabic language. Simultaneous with learning the Quran and religious subjects, he began to study Persian for a short period of time in the only national school in Najafabad.

At the age of 11, after acquiring a great deal of understanding, due to the praise and encouragement of one of the scholars in Najafabad, he left for Qum in the company of two of the scholarly personalities of his town where in a very short period of time he studied some of the introductory books and then returned to his birthplace.

From 1938 to 1942, he attended the lessons of the late Hujjat al-Islam Hajj Sayyid Muhammad Hashimi Qahdirijani and the late Ayatullah Hajj Shaykh Muhammad Alim Najafabadi, in Isfahan's Theological Center of Learning, which is of the great Islamic centers of learning in Iran. He benefitted a great deal from these two honorable scholars.

Due to his extraordinary aptitude and strong memory, he soon was placed within the rank of the best and most talented students of the Theological Center of Learning in Isfahan. He became widely known to the young students from this point of view. He studied many of the books on jurisprudence and philosophy without the help of any scholar. He himself became the teacher of such lessons. While attending the lessons of other scholars, he surprised the others by putting forth fundamental and complex questions.

Ayatullah Montazeri continued his studies in Isfahan until he was ready for Shaykh Ansari's *Makasib* and *Rasa'il* and then, in order to develop his thought and make his able mind fruitful, he set off for Qum where he was able to benefit from the great scholars in the Hauziyah Ilmiyah (Center of Theological Learning), the great Shi'ite university.

Soon after his arrival in Qum, he became acquainted with Murtada Mutahhari, the great ideologue, alert intellectual, martyred son of virtue and the sacrifice of defense for our rich Islamic culture. These two, side by side, began their great struggle to build themselves and reform the community. They daily expanded their scholarly activities.

This valuable acquaintance was followed by twelve fruitful years of companionship and debates and long years of friendship and cooperation in expanding Islamic culture and establishing the Islamic Revolution.

Ayatullah Montazeri's migration to Qum made him make the most of the academic possibilities of this holy city and he ranked as one of the most valued revolutionary and learned personalities in the world of Islam.

The most famous masters of Ayatullah Montazeri in Qum were Ayatullah al-Uzma Borujerdi, Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Muhaqiq Damad, Ayatullah Allamah Tabataba'i and the great leader of the world's Shi'ites, leader of the Islamic Revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, idol-breaker of the age, Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khomeini, may his high shadow be prolonged.

One of the rich periods in the life of Ayatullah Montazeri as a student was his presence at the lessons of the late Ayatullah al-Uzma Borujerdi and his benefitting from the great position of Imam Khomeini, his knowledge, morals, piety and holy struggles.

While attending the session of Ayatullah al-Uzma Borujerdi's lessons, Ayatullah Montazeri had been a special

favorite of his because of his moral and scholarly qualities. Because of his patience, perseverance, talent and Islamic understanding, he thought it necessary to compile the research and lectures of Ayatullah al-Uzma Borujerdi on jurisprudence and the principles of jurisprudence.

The books of *Nihayat al-Usul* and *al-Badr al-Zahir fi Salat al-Jum'at wal Musafir* are collections of these lectures of the late Ayatullah which were compiled and published through the efforts of Ayatullah Montazeri.

Ayatullah Montazeri was so active and progressive in Islamic knowledge and sciences that he attained the rank of *ijtihad* (the level of being able to give religious dictates which are followed by others) after 18 years of study. Thus he flourished as one of the certain scholars in Qum's Theological Center of Learning. His lessons gained so much popularity that he was able to train numerous valuable students and present them to the Islamic community and the world of knowledge.

One of the valuable results of the position of Ayatullah Montazeri as a master in Qum's Theological Center of Learning is the presence of a large number of pious, learned men among the people of knowledge who are at present busy in the Islamic Revolution Courts, in the bunker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and in the propagation and guidance centers.

Ayatullah Montazeri, besides being one of the outstanding and knowledgeable men of Islamic sciences, one of the great masters of jurisprudence and philosophy, has been, and still is, one of the strongest and firmest pillars of struggle against injustice, oppression and militancy against imperialism and colonialism in the Islamic Revolution.

Today, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, it is no secret that Islam and struggle against oppression are not separable, that a Muslim can with no reason and under no name be far from the thought of struggle against the factors

of human misfortunes. As the essence of Islam is mingled with endeavors on the path of the salvation of mankind, the great men of this religion cannot remain indifferent to such endeavors. A knowledgeable man's indifference towards the conflicts between oppressors and victims of oppression first brings his Islamic context under question and second, deprives him from the support of the Muslim people. This is because the people cannot accept someone being a Muslim without considering the sufferings of the deprived, let alone a knowledgeable and aware Muslim.

Such an understanding of Islam and Muslims lies within the context of Islamic thought, where the Holy Prophet of Islam said, "Whosoever starts the day without the intention of seeing to the affairs of the Muslims is not a Muslim." Such a thought has such deep roots within the body of a Muslim that he essentially thinks of struggle as something sprung out of the content of Islam, nothing else. So a Muslim thinks that a truer Muslim is the one who is more combatant and more involved.

The beliefs and actions of Ayatullah Montazeri from the time of his youth was such that his presence in any town was unbearable for the cruel Pahlavi regime. Documents exist which show that the mercenary elements of the Shah, in the year 1955, kept him under observation through the barracks in Isfahan and felt such fear from him, at a time when the dreadful and criminal Savak system had not yet been established and the people, too, had closed their lips in silence for the fear of the agents of the CIA implemented coup d'etat of July 18, 1953.

Ayatullah Montazeri began his open struggle against the blood-thirsty Pahlavi regime, that is, his struggle against international imperialism headed by the USA, from the time when the great leader of the Shi'ite world and the high-positioned guide of the free Muslims, Imam Khomeini, had raised the honorable banner of struggle against those who

rebel against the commands of God.

Ayatullah Montazeri, who had for long been a student of Imam Khomeini and was completely familiar with the thoughts and ideas of this great man, was with Imam Khomeini from the very beginning and he soon turned out to be one of the most outstanding figures in company with Imam Khomeini.

In order to understand this relation, we need to take a short look back in time when Ayatullah Montazeri and the martyred scholar, Murtada Mutahhari discovered the valuable gem of the existence of Imam Khomeini and they alone received grace from his scholarly, moral and mystical grandeur. The two faithful students, having comprehended his strong and divine soul and foreseen the bright and astonishing future of their master, laid their hopes on him. This very hope made Ayatullah Montazeri be present with his great master upon any occasion and shoulder part of the heavy load of struggle.

It is obvious that the mutual affection that existed between the two students and their master would be decisive and destiny-making for Islam and the future of the Revolution.

From the beginning of the Islamic movement, led by Imam Khomeini, Ayatullah Montazeri has made every effort to introduce him as the person whose dictates on religious matters should be followed (*marja'-i-taqlid*) of the world's Shi'ites and the leader of the Islamic Revolution. He never stopped himself from speaking of the greatness, the scholarly and revolutionary personality and the popularity of Imam Khomeini. Even in prison and in the presence of the most bloody elements of the regime, he obstinately defended the entity of Islam, which was threatened by the disgusting Pahlavi regime through pressuring Imam Khomeini.

Imam Khomeini appreciated the value of his great

student and he made honorable mention of him upon various occasions. He addressed Ayatullah Montazeri as 'a high valued religious jurisprudent and an honorable struggler upon the way of Islam'. He has spoken to the people of the multitude of sufferings that were afflicted on him during the dependent regime of the Shah. That honor is because he considers him to be 'the fruit and yield of my life'. In 1970, Imam Khomeini introduced Ayatullah Montazeri, in his own handwriting, as his representative for receiving religious taxes.

In 1963, at the beginning of the final struggles of the Muslim ummah of Iran led by Imam Khomeini, Ayatullah Montazeri entered the struggle putting forth great efforts and endeavors alongside Imam Khomeini. He proved himself to be a guide to the people in their struggles. While Imam Khomeini lived in Pahlavi's prison, the prominent Iranian ulema supported him by issuing announcements and sending cables and letters against the arrest of Imam Khomeini. A number of ulema representing their fellow-townsmen from various Iranian provinces, gathered in Tehran in order to intensify the protest of the Iranian people against the arrest of their high-ranking leader. Ayatullah Montazeri, who representing the people of Najafabad, was one of the outstanding migrants to Tehran.

After his migration to Tehran, because of the power and influence upon the people of his speeches, he was arrested by the agents of the deposed Pahlavi regime and sent to prison for a time but he was soon released. Then, early in 1966, he was again arrested and brutally tortured by the USA agents in Iran.

These arrests and tortures inflicted many mental and physical blows on him, especially because his illustrious son, martyr Muhammad Montazeri, was also with him in prison and undergoing torture.

Muhammad Montazeri was one of the honors of the Is-

lamic Revolution because of his Islamic character and the role which he played in uniting the world's liberation movements.

To speak about the life and struggles of martyr Muhammad Montazeri needs a separate book, but it suffices here to say that Imam Khomeini called him 'the son of Islam and the Quran' and that, prior to the Revolution, his fame resounded as 'the hero of the Shi'ite clergy under torture' and 'the resourceful guerrilla of Islam'. He resisted, to the sacrifice of his life, on the way of the victory of the Islamic Revolution inside and outside Iran. He played a great role because of his sound relations with the world's revolutionaries in the struggles against the world-devourers, in particular, the satanic USA, outside Iran.

Martyr Muhammad Montazeri attained the splendid position of martyrdom from the effects of the explosion of a bomb planted on June 28, 1981 by the so-called supporters of the people organization (MKO) which duly received the title of hypocrites from the great Iranian ummah and at a time when the world's revolutionary, deprived people, especially the Palestinian Muslim combatants, had put their hopes in him. May God promote his noble position.

With the martyrdom of the 'son of Islam and the Quran', the liberated people of the world were distressed and the world-devouring US and its agents, in particular, the liberals and the hypocrites, rejoiced.

We said that Ayatullah Montazeri was arrested and sent to Arya Mehr's 'site of injustice' together with his beloved son, Muhammad Montazeri in 1966. In prison, despite all the mistreatment and torture which Ayatullah Montazeri suffered, not an atom of the resistance of this great man was diminished. In prison, he compelled the regime, with the heroic ability of disclosure which he had, to release him. This imprisonment and its mental and physical tortures had lasted for eight months.

Four months after his release from prison, he secretly escaped the keen eyes of the Savak officials, set out for Iraq and joined Imam Khomeini, who lived in exile in the holy city of Najaf.

His meeting with his master and his receiving Islamic and revolutionary guidelines from Imam Khomeini weighed so heavily on the blood-thirsty regime of Pahlavi that they arrested Ayatullah Montazeri at the Iran-Iraq border after his return from Iraq and once again sent him to prison.

This imprisonment lasted five months and again because of his resistance, they were forced to set him free but as they were fearful of his presence in Qum, they exiled him to Masjid-i-Suliman.

Ayatullah Montazeri lived in his place of exile for three months. The result of this exile for the oppressive regime was nothing less than a blow which they received from the awakening of the people of Masjid-i-Suliman through the presence of Ayatullah Montazeri in the city.

Nor more than a few months had passed from the termination of his exile that he was once more arrested for his activities and that, under the pretext of sabotage. He was sent to Qizal-Qaleh prison on August 13, 1968 where he suffered humiliating tortuaries.

During his imprisonment, he was condemned in a tribunal, first for three years, and then for two and a half years of imprisonment, but was set free after spending about two years in prison.

In 1970, when he was released from prison, they sent him as an exile to his birthplace for the agents of the USA thought his presence in Qum, the center of knowledge and revolution, was harmful to them.

In Najafabad, Ayatullah Montazeri found the ground prepared for disclosures and making the people aware. He therefore rendered the greatest services to the Revolution and consequently to Islam by establishing the Friday ritual

prayers in its Islamic form.

In the Najafabad Friday ritual prayers which were held simultaneously with the obscene festivities of the 2500th anniversary of the monarchy, he used to make valuable sermons, condemning the dirty deeds of the Shah, stating the suffering and pain of the people and the cruelties of the US through its agents in the Middle East, making the people become familiar with the world's revolutionaries and their goals and plans, in particular the heroic Palestinian people and making comments on Islamic government and the leadership of religious jurists.

These Islamic plans and brave disclosures continued for two years. When the patience of the Pahlavi regime ended in the summer of 1973, in face of such a great deal of courage and honor came to an end, they kidnapped him in Najafabad by night and sent him into exile to the town of Tabas in the heart of the fiery Iranian desert.

Ayatullah Montazeri shone like a light in the darkness of the desert and like a fresh and clear spring, watered the salty land of the desert in a way that he was able for one year to awaken the people of the area.

Such activities weighed heavily upon the dependent regime so that they were forced to transfer him from Tabas to Khalkhal which is one of the cold areas in Eastern Azarbayjan.

Ayatullah Montazeri did not remain silent in Khalkhal either and entangled the military and police officials of the city through performing devotional rituals and religious activities in the mosques.

Thinking that language, nationalistic and religious differences could diminish the Islamic and struggling spirit in Ayatullah Montazeri, the agents of the blood-thirsty Pahlavi regime sent this tireless struggler and aware revolutionary Muslim into exile from town to town and from province to province, in order to tire him and to deprive

people of his grace.

In this connection, after the constant requests of the government officials in Khalkhal, the security authorities transferred Ayatullah Montazeri from Khalkhal to Saqiz, a town in Kurdistan province, among our Kurdish speaking brethren of the Sunni sect.

Ayatullah Montazeri lived in this town for seven months, resisting and establishing Islamic rituals until in 1976 they came to the conclusion that his renewed exile was useless and sent him to prison after his exile in Saqiz. They, of course, produced invalid proof for the imprisonment of this great personality but the real reason for this contemptible conspiracy of theirs was their fear of Islam and fear of the spread of the Islamic revolutionary message throughout the Iranian land through this unyielding combatant. What could the hired slaves of US imperialism in Iran do to a godly, mystical and aged man except keep him under pressure?

It is true that Ayatullah Montazeri is an uncompromising man except before God. He neither adores nor bows before anyone and that is no minor sin in the view of the international infidelity. Such a spirit must be abolished in the Third World so that the criminal plunderers can gain more profit.

The various places of exile — hot Tabas, cold Khalkhal and deprived Saqiz — were not able to stain the valuable and resistant spirit existing in Ayatullah Montazeri. The fraudulent enemy of Islam and the Muslims, therefore, decided to hold this unyielding man in jail under so much pressure that he might give up his manners and stop his sermons.

In 1975, with invalid and baseless excuses, they sent Ayatullah Montazeri to jail and dreadful torture cells from his place of exile and after much mistreatment and torture, they condemned him to ten years imprisonment in a tri-

bunal.

In prison he continued his Islamic activities together with such dignitaries as Ayatullah Taleghani and Hujjat al-Islam Hashemi Rafsanjani until the Islamic Revolution moved towards culmination and the regime was forced to set them free.

After passing three and a half years imprisonment, Ayatullah Montazeri was extricated by the aware Muslim ummah and returned to his home among the deprived and suffering people on September 30, 1978.

The course of toils, pain, exiles, imprisonments, tortures and wanderings ended and this liberated combatant, with the same great spirit, a heart full of love for God and firm steps for serving the people, entered a new battle-field.

October 1978, the country was drowned in fire, blood, smoke and bullets. The Muslim people, en masse, united with clenched fists under the banner of Islam and the leadership of Imam Khomeini, had decided to throw the oppressive monarchial regime into the garbage can of history and to replace it with the Islamic Republic.

The city of Qum was the heartbeat of the Islamic Revolution and Ayatullah Montazeri became the axis for the movements of this diligent heart. His small house became the meeting place for all who were the powerful arms of the Revolution.

In such a situation, Ayatullah Montazeri, utilizing the guidelines of the great leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini, lead and directed the people. At that time, Imam Khomeini supervised all the issues in Iran from Paris and using his own strong faith, firm determination and power of leadership, he directed the Revolution into its natural channel and advanced it.

In December 1978, Ayatullah Montazeri set out for Paris in order to meet with Imam Khomeini, consult with him concerning the situation in Iran and to review the posi-

tion of the Revolution. As reported by the people present, he was warmly and excitingly welcomed by the Iranians living in France and other freedom-seekers of the country. During the trip, Ayatullah Montazeri explained to the world his role in disclosing the crimes of the disgusting Pahlavi regime and in leading the revolutionaries through holding interviews and sending messages.

After meeting with Imam Khomeini, he set out for Islamic countries and then returned to Iran. In Iran, he took part in a strike in the mosque of Tehran University, together with great spiritual figures, as a protest against obstructing Imam Khomeini's returning to Iran and in this way he added to the disrepute of the US's mercenary regime, in particular, the newest agent of imperialism, the treacherous and unpatriotic Bakhtiar.

Imam Khomeini came to Iran and the splendid Revolution of the Iranian Muslim people achieved victory in February 1979.

From this time on, Ayatullah Montazeri increased his endeavors in various areas and did not think, as many did, that the work was over with the victory.

Following the great model of the age, Imam Khomeini, he thought of the victory as the beginning of the work and he both continued and expanded his Islamic plans in such a way that in some cases he fulfilled his role so well that he occupied the hearts of the Iranian Muslim people and the world's freedom-seekers, as the second figure of the Islamic Revolution.

- *Unity of Muslims

- *Exportation of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and universalization of religious revolutions

- *Aid to the world's liberation movements

- *Disclosures of criminal US and humiliation of it in the Middle East region

- *Reconstruction of the country and enforcement of

Islamic laws

- *Compilation of the constitutional code and approval of the precious principles of the leadership of religious jurists

- *Head strong defense of Islamicizing the country against the deviants

- *Employment of the revolutionary young generation in running the country

- *Dispatch of efficient judges for the investigation of the judicial demands of the Revolution

- *Establishment of the politico-religious Friday ritual prayers

- *Suggestion of the valuable and fundamental motto of unity of traditional centers of learning and the university

- *Advice to the theological students, the university students and the school students for more studies and attaining of specialities

- *Advocacy of the systemization of the Islamic centers of learning and the affairs of the Muslim clergy

- *Aid to the revival of agriculture, renewal of land ownership and land distribution

- *Disclosure of the aggressive face of Iraq and the faces of the hypocrites and the liberalists

- *Active presence in the battlefield of the Iraqi imposed war on Iran and revolutionary and uncompromising encounter against it

- *Disclosure of the treacherous and ungodly rulers of Islamic countries

- *Coordination with progressive leaders and religious dignitaries of progressive countries

- *Encouragement of the world's Muslims to serious combat against aggressive Israel

- *Unfailing and comprehensive support for the great leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini

*Insistence on establishment of lawful authorities, reinforcement of the Revolution Guards' Corps and the Re-construction Jihad, renovation of the Army and execution of the law

*Advice to the government officials in regard to considering the deprived and oppressed

These are among the issues which Ayatullah Montazeri has not neglected since the victory of the Islamic Revolution and which he has at all times and in every place insisted on and persisted in, so much so that in some of the above-mentioned issues, such as the unity of Muslims, aid to the world's liberation movements, establishment of the Friday ritual prayers, unity of traditional centers of learning and universities and revival of agriculture and Islamic land reform, he has been, next to Imam Khomeini, the most heroic man in the Islamic Revolution.

In this brief essay there is no room to present proof for all of the above mentioned issues. On the other hand, the sermons, messages, interviews and speeches of Ayatullah Montazeri abound in proof.

We only quote here a few of his messages and statement along with short explanations concerning the cases which he has put emphasis on.

I.Unity of Muslims

Since imperialism endeavors to restore its lost prestige and wealth, it has no choice but to instigate the Muslim countries to conflict through introducing schismatic issues among the different sects and/or to instigate the Shi'ite and Sunni brethren and other Islamic minorities to enmity towards each other.

Ayatullah Montazeri has employed a lot of his endeavors to disclose the deceitful acts of imperialism, especially the criminal US , and also to strengthen the unity and coordination of the world's Muslims.

I.1.On the occasion of the anniversary of the blessed birthday of the Last Prophet, the Prophet of Islam, Ayatullah Montazeri sent a message addressed to the Minister of Islamic Guidance of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In this message, he declared the period between the 12th and 17th of Rabi 'l-Awwal, which are respectively the birth dates of the Prophet of Islam according to Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims, as Unity Week and he demanded all the world's Muslims to honor the week.

The text of this very important, valuable and historical message, which includes revolutionary suggestions for honoring the Week is as follows:

In the Name of God

“H.E. Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Ma’adi Khah, the Minister of Islamic Guidance.

“As you have noticed, the world of Islam has become a center of attention after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, for the old enemies of Islam and Muslims, especially the US , the great satan and Zionism. In one way or another, they cause Islamic countries to encounter each other with discord and enmity . The latest conspiracy, which thanks be to God, failed, was the American plan of Fahd or as they called it, the second Camp David.

“At the present time, the world of Islam, inspired by the Iranian Revolution which was based on Islamic criteria and the axis of the great leadership of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini, may his shadow continue, is rapidly in the course of a new birth.

“Therefore, it is proper that, in accordance with the noble Quranic verse, *“And whoso magnifies the rituals of God, then it is surely from the piety of hearts.”* and the Traditions of the Prophet and the Holy Imams, may the peace of God be on them all, and in opposition to the wishes of the enemies of Islam, more attention should be paid to the Islamic rituals which are honored and accepted by the great Islamic ummah.

“One of these rituals is the blessed birth of the elevated positioned Prophet of Islam, Muhammad ibn Abdullah, peace and the mercy of God be upon him and his descendants. But, as the date of his birth, which was, in fact, the beginning of a new movement in human society, has not, regretfully, been immune from differences, and in many Islamic countries, averse to what is definite in history and among the nations, they hold the 12th of Rabi ‘l-Awwal instead of the 17th, to be the date of his birth, it is very proper and in good order to declare the days from the 12th

to the 17th of Rabi 'l-Awwal as Unity Week, so that, while co-ordinating with other Muslims, we might, with the Will of God, make the voice of the Islamic Revolution of the heroic Iranian nation reach the ears of the world's deprived and oppressed people by arranging comprehensive programs inside and outside the country.

"I ask God for the success of all in this Islamic mission. Peace and the blessings of God be upon you all." November 26, 1981.

I.2. A Libyan delegation, which had come to Iran to participate in the festivities for the first anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, met with Ayatullah Montazeri in Qum. In this meeting, while emphasizing greater solidarity of the ranks of the world's Muslims, Ayatullah Montazeri said, "We believe that nations, especially the Muslim ummah are fully coordinated with one another but what causes separation and the weakness of this unity of nations is the barrier built by lackey governments. We hope that these barriers will soon be broken through."

I.3. In a gathering of the families of martyrs from Algeria, Libya, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, the Arabian Peninsula, Lebanon, Iraq and the representatives of liberation movements like the Polisario, Bahrain and Patani, who had come to Iran to participate in the ceremonies for the second anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatullah Montazeri said, "We Muslims have the duty to spread Islam, implement Islamic laws everywhere and save the holy places from the hands of the usurping governments such as Israel. This is feasible only when we all might unite with each other and not have religious discord."

I.4. In a letter which Ayatullah Montazeri wrote to the Imam's representative in the West, he wrote, "...the only neutralizing factor for the conspiracies of these aggressive policies is, as the Imam has repeatedly said, unified expression, Islamic brotherhood and refraining from suggestions

of schismatic issues.”

I.5. In a part of his speech in a meeting with the university students from Asian and African countries, Ayatullah Montazeri said, “One billion Muslims in the world can, with proper leadership, break the limits of materialistic matters, color, race and language and enjoy the vast reserves and mines, attain to the glory and grandeur of early Islam and become a superpower over the satanic powers.”

“Strengthening the power of faith and clinging to the life-giving command of the Holy Quran are reckoned among the factors which can cause a small group to defeat a large but disunited group and if we had no sectarian differences and put aside pan-Arabism and pan-Turkism, etc. no power would be able to oppose us, even if we were a small number.”

“We desire that the Muslims, wherever they be, take power in their own hands so that the US and Israel shall not be able to plunder their resources and reserves. We do not like Muslims, while possessing so much oil and so many mines, to continue to beg by extending their hands towards plunderers.”

I.6. In an interview which Ayatullah Montazeri had in Unity Week, he said, “Muslims should, instead of following the imperialistic methods of division and internal enmity, resort to the strong rope of God (the covenant of God), have this expression as their motto, put all their efforts into making the world’s deprived people familiar with Islam and thus lay the ground for the destruction of world imperialism and red and black colonialism. The enemies of Islam greatly fear Muslim unity so they have, through their agents, continuously stimulated the seeds of dissension and discord in the minds and hearts of Muslims. God Willing, this Week will serve as a prelude for the confirmation of unity among all Muslim brethren.”

II. Backing up the World's Liberation Movements

II.1. In a meeting with Monir Shafiq, the Palestinian writer, Ayatullah Montazeri said, "In a favorable opportunity, a plan for twenty million Muslims to march for the liberation of Palestine must be provided for."

II.2. In a meeting which Abu Jihad, a member of the Central Council of the Palestine Liberation Movement and the delegation accompanying him, had with Ayatullah Montazeri, Ayatullah Montazeri said, "Our coordination with our brother Palestine is not new. At the same time, when the Iranian nation was under the cruelties of the regime of Muhammad Reza which rebelled against God's commands, the heart of the Iranian nation beat for Palestinians through the then government backed Israel. Right now, Palestinian brothers and sisters are being persecuted in Israeli prisons and the different classes of the Iranian nation have declared political fasts on the occasion. The action is a protest against the actions of the usurping Israel, which has overlooked our Palestinian brethren's rights. We think that these sins rest with higher ranks, because Israel is one of the elements and the illegitimate child of US imperialism."

II.3. When the Palestinian prisoners in Israel had gone on a hunger strike, Ayatullah Montazeri sent a valuable

message to them, in a part of which we read, "...Today, too, when you sacrificing prisoners are passing the hardest moments under the persecutions of the blood-thirsty officials of the Zionist regime of Israel, the Iranian people greet you out of the depth of their bleeding hearts, share in your joys and sorrows, confirm your brave and decisive actions, and will keep step with you until the final victory and the liberation of Palestine.

"Your hearts and ours beat together and the warm blood of the Iranian and Palestinian youths boil in the body of the one ummah. I warmly press the powerful hands of thousands of suffering Palestinian prisoners and promise them a future, when the cancer of Israel is extirpated and the cry of "God is Greater" reaches the ears of the world's people from the sublime heights of Palestine."

II.4. In connection with the USSR's coup d'etat in Afghanistan, Ayatullah Montazeri released a statement which reads as follows:

In the Name of God

" 'Neither East nor West'. At this sensitive moment when the great nation of Islam, under the leadership of Imam Khomeini is struggling against the great satan, US imperialism, and international Zionism, the USSR's troop dispatch to the Islamic land of Afghanistan is painful and astonishing.

"While expressing sympathy with the struggling Muslim nation of Afghanistan, I condemn the USSR's military invasion and make mention of the following notes:

"1.The USSR must be bound by the values which it claims to be supporting the world over and not encounter nations in an outrageous way which is the criminal US's method. The USSR leaders must look deeper into the ad-

vantages and demands of the Islamic ummah and immediately take their military forces out of Afghanistan.

"2.While we regard the US and the USSR as number one enemies of humanity and Islam and prepare ourselves for combat against them, it is impossible for us to remain silent in face of the affront to the political independence of the brother nation, Afghanistan. We, therefore, confirm the struggles of the suffering people of Afghanistan and support their valid defense for taking their destination in their own hands.

"3.It is necessary for the struggling nation of Afghanistan, on the basis of their revolutionary and Islamic mission, to unite their ranks within the framework of a genuine Islamic ideology and to continue their liberating fight against the Eastern colonialists to the point of final victory and not to allow nationalistic differences to deviate them from the route of their Islamic Revolution.

"4.It is incumbent on all Muslim governments, nations and revolutionary forces not to deny any kind of help that they can give in these sensitive moments to their brother nation and to aid the Afghan brethren with the experiences and achievements of their own Islamic Revolutions.

"5.As an Islamic duty, it is incumbent on all of the world's Muslims not to be indifferent towards the troubles of their brethren in all territories and not to deny any kind of material and spiritual help to them on the path of struggling against colonialism and taking their destiny in hand.

"In hope of the victory of all of the world's oppressed people and Muslims and peace on the righteous servants of God,"

Husain Ali Montazeri

December 31, 1979

II.5. On June 13, 1980, in a part of the sermon for the Friday ritual prayers, Ayatullah Montazeri said, "First, God and other than God never reconcile. Second, to us, Iran, Afghanistan, Palestine and Lebanon are not matters of concern. Islam is a matter of concern to us. If, then, our Muslim brethren in Afghanistan, in Palestine, in Lebanon and in any other place, are involved with the superpowers and invaders, we are involved because we are the Afghans' brethren. War against our brethren in Palestine, Lebanon, Eritrea and the Philippines are wars against us."

III. Exportation of the Islamic Revolution

Exportation of the Islamic Revolution means the Muslims in other Islamic countries should know about the religious values which the Iranian people have recognized and for whose revival they have fought against the Shah and the US and they should use these values in removing themselves from under the domination of despotism and colonialism.

“Had the leaders of the Iranian Islamic Revolution not had the exportation of the Iranian Islamic Revolution in mind, the enemies would not have shown such harsh reactions.

“It has now become certain that US imperialism, together with its agents in the region, has taken an offensive stance against the Iranian Islamic Revolution and that all their endeavors are to stop the Iranian Islamic Revolution from being exported but they will take this wish to the as well.”

Ayatullah Montazeri has laid the foundation of his career on the exportation of the Revolution since the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and he has greatly insisted on the issue.

III.1. In a letter dated May 22, 1979, addressed to Major Abd as-Salam Jallude, the Libyan Prime Minister,

Ayatullah Montazeri writes, "To struggle against colonialism and despotism the world over has been reckoned one of the great obligations in the holy religion of Islam. This holy jihad should continue until the collapse of the last stronghold of those satanic forces who rebel against God's commands, the superpowers, and the destruction of all the centers of conspiracy against the deprived and oppressed peoples. *"And fight them till there is no sedition and the religion is all for God."* (The Holy Quran, 8:39)

"With inspiration from the logic of divine revelation and the Quran, the nations' uprising and action in restoring their human rights and repeating the word of monotheism will lead to victory only in case it is for God and on His Path. *"Say I exhort you to one thing only that you rise up for God's sake, two by two or one by one."* (The Holy Quran, 34:46)

"Unified expression is another pillar of conquest over international colonialism. *"And hold fast to the rope of God, all of you and do not separate."* (The Holy Quran 3: 103)

"Although our nation has other difficult stages before it, until final victory, the realization of its initial stage is worth analyzing and evaluating for all of the suffering people of the world, especially the Islamic nations. An unarmed nation, having the power of faith in God, unified expression, and longing for martyrdom on the path of God, stood against one of the greatest powers of the time, which both the East and the West had armed to the teeth and shouting "God is Greater", proceeded to welcome tanks, cannons and machine guns and was finally victorious under the shelter of the discernment and resolution of the leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini and the sacrifices of the brave Iranian nation.

"The evaluation of this concrete and practical example, which took place in oppressed Iran, is sufficient for Islamic

governments and nations, who still ponder on 'quantity' in politico-military calculations, who have fixed their eyes of hope on the imported ideologies of the West or the East and/or the promises of threats of the rightest or leftist imperialism and who have amused themselves with useless differences, to awaken from the sleep of negligence and to recognize that they are able, under the shelter of Islamic ideology, faith in God, self-confidence and unified expression to put an end to the most vicious crimes of imperialism, to obliterate Israel, this deadly cancer from the heart of their homeland and to establish the unique monotheistic ummah throughout the world."

III.2. Ayatullah Montazeri said to the representative delegation for the Moroccan al-Ekhtiayar as-Souri Movement who had come to visit him early in 1979, "...In Islam, borders, color and time are not matters of concern. All are each other's brethren. The movement which has risen up in our country and has not yielded its fruit yet, will attain its final victory only when all of the world's Muslims are free from the bonds of captivity..."

III.3. In a telegram which Ayatullah Montazeri dispatched to one of the Palestinian Christian combatants, we read, "...Be sure that we, in accordance with the high teachings of Islam, will not give up our jihad until the full victory of all of the oppressed people, especially the Palestinian nation. It is expected that all of the world's Muslims and Christians come to themselves and, following the Prophets Muhammad and Jesus, peace be upon them, try to abolish injustice and colonialism and to defend righteousness and justice."

III.4. On April 10, 1980, a number of the Iraqi brothers and sisters residing in Iran went on a strike in Tehran University mosque. Ayatullah Montazeri sent a message to them, part of which reads as follows:

"The Iranian Revolution is a religious and Islamic

Revolution and Islam, more than anything else, concerns itself with human beings. The victory of the Iranian Revolution, therefore, blew fresh life into our Muslim brothers and sisters in Afghanistan, Arabia, Iraq and other Islamic countries and taught a new lesson to all of the world's oppressed people. Right now, there has appeared a new move among our Iraqi brothers who undergo the tyranny and ominous domination of the fascist government in Iraq. Although, parallel with the spread of the Islamic movement in the Iraqi territory, the inhumane actions of the ruling sovereignty have also increased and they add to their arrests, persecutions and beastly deeds day by day, the experience of the Iranian revolution has proven that when a nation was awakened and arose, such pressures increase the internal contradictions of the anti-human governments and advance their fall by their own hands.

“..Greetings to the Iraqi Muslim nation which has shaken the cruel and fascist government by its move. Greetings to the Iraqi spiritual brothers and sisters of ours who have gone on a strike, as a protest against the anti-human, anti-Islamic mistreatment by the Iraqi government, in Tehran University mosque. Greetings to the Egyptian Muslim nation and the Egyptian university students who expressed, through their outstanding demonstrations, their hatred and abomination of the anti-Islamic rule of Anwar Sadat and of his support of the dethroned Shah of Iran. The blessings of God on the martyred Egyptian, Iraqi and Iranian students who attained the rank of martyrdom in India. Greetings to our Muslim brothers and sisters in Afghanistan and other Islamic countries who have given a shock through their sacrifices, demonstrations, and strikes to the puppet governments and have condemned them to collapse. Greetings to the Muslims in Palestine, Eritrea, the Philippines, Patani and ...”

III.5. In a part of Ayatullah Montazeri's message to the

university students in the US and Canada, dated May 18, 1980, we read, "...Do not be afraid of the poisonous propaganda of the great satan, the US and its agents. It always tries to make the image of the Islamic Revolution look ugly and distorted and it is even content to strengthen the nationalistic movements in the region in order to get rid of the danger of the expansion of religious revolution. But know that the grounds for the realization of the divine promise throughout the world has been obtained and that the time for the deprived people's awakening, and also for the collapse of the world's ruthless oppressors is here."

III.6. In a message which Ayatullah Montazeri issued on the occasion of the anniversary of universal Quds Day, August 2, 1980, he said, "...The Iranian Revolution, as it has repeatedly been said, is a one hundred percent Islamic Revolution and Islam in no way recognizes language, color or borders. It is the criminal and pro-Zionist government of Iraq that tries to make the Iranian Revolution appear to be a Persian revolution and thus, instead of attacking Israel, to justify and to intensify its unmanly assaults against the Iranian Revolution. We expect the brother nation of Iraq not to be beguiled by the wrong propaganda of the blood-thirsty, treacherous government of Saddam Takriti and to overthrow, by its ambitious attempts, the Ba'thist Iraqi government of infidelity and heresy. Where is the zeal and zest of the tribesmen of the Tigris and the Eurphrates gone? Muslim troops of Iraq, get on your feet and support Islam."

III.7. On April 7, 1980, in an interview with the Islamic Republic News Agency, Ayatullah Montazeri said, "Islam itself is similar to light and light eventually spreads itself. So, Islam will essentially advance. Then this Revolution will be exported directly to all of the Islamic countries. The situation which has presently arisen in Egypt will later on turn into the Egyptian Revolution and *inshallah*, its revolution will yield fruit."
