

The Massive Task Iran is Facing

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***With our honor to the great martyrs who have given their lives
freely in the cause of Allah.***

THE MASSIVE TASK IRAN IS FACING

Iran's first post-revolutionary Parliament opened on May 28, 1980 amid a solemn Islamic ceremony. Imam Khomeini sent a message to the deputies, urging them to cooperate with each other and refrain from damaging disputes.

“Parliament, the president and the government should not create obstacles for each other. They should place themselves at the service of Islam and refrain from discord and disputes.” The message read. It said the top priorities of the assembly should be to implement Islamic justice and attend to the condition of the oppressed who made up the largest part of the nation. Imam Khomeini's message laying down 11 guidelines for the deputies, stressed that they should pursue a foreign policy based on the principle of “neither East nor West”.

In the light of what happened in Iran since the Revolution, the opening of Parliament has assumed a much greater importance. Before the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the ballot box was nothing more than a device to legitimise the dictatorship. Let us not also forget that this is the first time in the nation's history that people by election were being called freely to make their own destinies for better or worse.

The basic principle given by Islam for the administration of human affairs is that of decision by mutual consultation (Shura) which today comes to be understood as a "parliament" and the reason why it cannot often be found in the Islamic history is that this important notion remained practically a mere idea and rarely assumed the form of a permanent institution in any Moslem country, because its transformation into a permanent legislative institution was contrary to the political interests of the absolute monarchy that grew up in Islam. But the opening of Iran's first Islamic Parliament is a sign to prove that Iran's passage over the past 17 months from dictatorship towards a just Islamic society has been extraordinary and that an ideology cannot be rejected or considered retrogressive if it is not implemented properly. It is not the drawback of the ideology if it is interpreted wrongly.

The outcome of the newly elected Parliament will have an important bearing on the future of the country. Though it has all the tremendous post-revolutionary problems, but there is good reason to believe that the country makes progress peacefully.

That is why with an eye to tomorrow, we keep in mind what is really happening in Iran today. A regime has changed. A fossil alienated government has collapsed. An Islamic society is asserting masterly in its land. And divisive foreign meddling either from West or East has so far been frustrated. That is worth a thoughtful critical reflexion.

And one of my fundamental intentions to write this article is to provoke in the readers a critical reflexion on the concrete problems that we confront in the fascinating process of post-revolutionary national reconstruction.

DAYS OF REBUILDING

Like any genuine revolution, the Islamic Revolution of Iran leaves a good many uncomfortable questions behind. We know

that the effects of a revolution are hard to measure while it is still going on and that the construction of our country will bear a huge task. But it is essential to remember that with the newly elected Parliament taking office, along with an already elected president and an overwhelmingly ratified constitution, the Revolution has the opportunity to institutionalize its power into a complete government. The series of elections for the founding of the Islamic Republic, although not without controversy, represent something of an accomplishment.

In spite of breaking off diplomatic relation with the U.S.A. and the immediate closure of the Embassy, the freezing of the Iranian assets by Americans, the imposing of trade embargo and the eventual drastic reduction in food and medical supplies as well as other goods, no real danger is posed to the Islamic Revolution. Despite all the existing problems, the Islamic Republic of Iran has a vigorous and well organized leadership. There is a refreshing critical mass-media in the country. It has a growing independent economy which is not going to be concentrated in the hands of a reactionary oligarchy.

True, there is recession and inflation which is a natural phenomenon in every revolution, since the investor did not know where he stood as regards economic policy and no new investment was encouraged. So its economy cannot be expanding quickly. Besides, the flight of capital has damaged the country's economy, but despite these post-revolutionary problems, Iran is making considerable progress toward national reconstruction.

At the present, through the Construction Crusade program, thousands are working in various capacities on development projects in remote villages, towns and cities. These young men and women as doctors, engineers, teachers, students and farmers take part in one of the greatest constructive movements in Islamic Revolution. Their principal goal is to provide the essential facilities for the rural areas and to improve their development.

They are active not only in road construction, housing, canalization, irrigation and farming, but also make great efforts in educational, cultural and social fields to fill the gap between the rural and urban areas.

In addition to the Construction Crusade, the program of National Mobilization has called the Iranian nation to form resistance groups in all cities, towns and villages to combat all likely dangers. All Iranians, women and men, are to learn and acquire adequate military training to combat any possible attack on the soil of Iran. These faithful and patriotic Moslems demonstrate the true revolutionary spirit and preserve the fruits of the Revolution.

But in these days of rebuilding, the most genuine guardians of the Revolution are the Revolutionary Guards or the "Pasdaran" who are trained in ideals of the Islamic Republic and the Revolution. "Pasdaran" are highly motivated people, many of them very young who listen to Iran's religious leader Imam Khomeini. They have been in the forefront of the struggle against counter-revolution and are feared by anti-Islamic elements of all shades of opinion. These young men are more than willing to give their lives for Islam. Even if the enemies of the Revolution still can enjoy an overwhelming superiority -- in arms, finance and experience -- they are apt to be eroded by the ardour with which these Moslem Revolutionary Guards, fired by notions of death and martyrdom, take up struggle by their solidarity.

In fact, in Iran's Revolution, the profound experience that shapes the life of any true martyr provided lessons in all the highest attributes of human endeavor. That is why the nation's reflexion on the enormous sacrifices of the revolutionary martyrs became an abundant source of spiritual strength which still exists ardously.

And no doubt, the victory of the Revolution can be considered as a victory for spiritual values. That is why the simple

and eternal prayer "Allah, O Akbar" (God is Great) so often heard today in Iran and read in many places has justified that the Iranian position is solidarity, resistance and courage. And this so, in spite of all hostile foreign mass-media which try to distort the impact of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Anyhow are not too many voices speaking about Iran today???

The reactionary forces and the Imperialism who feel threatened by this Revolution miss no opportunity to impede the growth of true Islam. Sadly enough, in the West people may fail to perceive that the real face of the Iranian Revolution is being camouflaged deliberately by the political intrigues of the mass media which seeks to negate the dynamic power of the Iranian Revolution's real mission. Hence, to discredit the Islamic Revolution or misrepresent its real purpose, seems to be an attractive strategy for the enemies of Islam.

The hostile western mass-media patronizing westerners and westomaniac nations is noted for its demagogic appeals, being maneuvered by publishing management, try to carve the Iranian Revolution to pieces for the moneyed interests which support it.

The western news media's covert campaign against the Islamic Revolution was motivated not only by incessant desire to divide and keep the oppressed masses embroiled in dissension, but also its chronic fear of the emergence of a true Islamic movement in Iran, because they are not cognizant of the revolutionary nature of the Islamic ideology and its uncompromising stand against every form of oppression.

The fact that Islam draws such opposition from the western world stems from two factors. First the western people are so conceited and self-satisfied that it is hard for them to realize that there could be any system other than their own which could effectively replace the established order. Two, the Islamic principle's have not been truly in force anywhere in the world since

the first century. A.H. Hence they do not exactly believe in the practicality of the Islamic society, Islamic culture and Islamic justice.

In a few countries where half-hearted attempts were made to implement laws under the name of Islam, no appreciable success was achieved because the interpretation of Islamic laws were not right. For the first time since the days of Imam Ali a real attempt is being made in Iran to implement Islamic laws. This does not mean to say that other Moslim countries were not Moslim, but through years of soft living and attachment to worldly comforts an element has appeared on the scene which is alien to true spirit of Islam. This was so in Iran too until just before the Revolution.

The Iranian nation was oppressed under the despotic rule for a long time. People were imprisoned, tortured, expelled from their own homes, even executed, but they courageously fought for the independence, establishment of the Islamic Republic, and restoration of justice and equality. However, the western media either ignored their sacrifices or branded them as reactionaries, narrow-minded.

All imperialist controlled press started a very crude campaign against Iran, depicting this country as one with no sense of international law. Of course, the press and the media may not be the sole inciters, when one considers the stake for the oil companies, arms manufacturers and producers of consumer products such as cosmetics, alcohol and affluent-society essentials.

POST REVOLUTIONARY PROBLEMS

Unfortunately, the western journalism does not inform the public minds of the exact events and rejects the idea of understanding our problems. They forget that when Imam Khomeini said that the victory of the revolution was a victory for spiri-

tual values he was asking that his prime quality should not be sacrificed for consideration of expediency whether social, or political. The Imam showed by this that he was well aware that the nation was going through a crucial testing time in the post-Revolutionary period.

The nation is as yet not completely out of the dislocation brought into its economy and social life since the Revolution. So many people in the former regime left the country with its economy in shambles. They withdrew whatever capital there was in their ventures hoping that it will take years for the nation to recover.

Each and everyone of the western journalist must try in his future judgement to consider the massive task Iran is facing in creating an Islamic Republic, such as this for the first time in world history. To create it, Iran must first untie reams of red tape left over from the last regime, fill its emptied treasury, create a new army and police force, decide what to do with billions of dollars worth of arms, write a new constitution, write a new legal system, repair the shah's destroyed economy, provide accomodation and simple social services for most of its 35 million people, think about 60 percent of its illiterate population, create industries that work without relying on total imports, decide what to do with the previous regime's billion dollar projects that no one knows how to operate and decide how to improve a destroyed agricultural system to feed a hungry rural population.

We therefore defend the right to make a just demand and denounce the dangerous and evil minded oversimplification which seeks to misrepresent the Iranian Revolutionaries.

INSTITUTIONALIZED VIOLENCE

Contrary to that, the Iranian Revolution was not only a struggle against the person of the shah, but a struggle against

internal despotism which was backed and supported by international imperialism, characterized by violence and suppression.

But the most acute form in which violence appeared in Iran was what we may call “institutionalized violence”. This was the product of an unjust situation which the majority of men and women and above all the children in our country found themselves deprived. There was a great inequality between citizens depending on whether they belonged to the powerful minority or to the poor, ignorant majority.

This kind of violence found its expression in the structure and daily functioning of a socio-economic and political system which accepted it as normal and usual that progress is impossible unless the majority of the people are ruled under the management of a privileged minority.

Alongside “institutionalized violence” there frequently arose repressive violence, that is to say the use of violence by shah’s security forces to the extent that the regime tried to contain the aspirations of the majority violently crushing any sign of protest against the injustices we have mentioned. This was a real form of violence. It was unjust because through it, the regime, acting from above and with all its institutional power, defended the survival of the existing socio-economic and political system. It thus prevented the people having any real chance of using their fundamental right to self government.

The main reason for the Revolution stems from an awareness of the increasing contrast between the living conditions of the masses and the greater affluence of local elites and foreign companies. This growing gap gave rise to social unrest and various form of resistance but the authoritarian regime made constant efforts to suppress it while following superficial modernization.

In reality, in underdeveloped and developing countries, the driving force is the push to modernize through the imitation of the West. Every government in one way or another seeks to de-

velop its economic potential at apparently a rapid rate regardless of local realities and the great dependency on foreign aids.

In Iran, too, fast superficial modernism, not true development, however, inevitably bred social changes and dislocation. Uncounted hordes migrated from rural areas to the cities. Dramatic gaps in wealth opened up between the newly rich class with foreign connections on the one hand, on the other, the great majority. Acute inflation developed, and harrowing shortage of such essentials as housing, education and transport. Thus, those growing pains made an indent for return to religious fundamentalist.

In Iran, a population dissatisfied by the cruel indifference of the regime to the imbalances and injustices of the West imitation rallied to the banner of the exiled religious leader, Imam Khomeini, in a wave of protest and demonstration that toppled the shah.

IMMENSE RESURRECTION

For those who know little or nothing about it, liberating Islam is an exotic mixture of religion and politics. For its enemies it is a dangerous if not heretical attempt to try to change the nature of the religion and its mission, but for those who practice it, means a return to the real meaning of Islam, which has to do with justice and liberation. They remember that Mohammad (P B U H) did not fight to up hold the status quo of that time but to change the world.

For so many years, however, Islam, with a few honourable exceptions, devoted itself to upholding the status quo, teaching the poor and oppressed to endure slavery and injustice for sake of their soul (If God Wills) the philosophy of resignation preached to the nation as they groaned under the weight of oppression. The peoples religiosity was a factor of stability.

But the winds of change began to sweep through the leader-

ship of Imam Khomeini which has influenced the region.

Imam Khomeini decided that in view of the oppression in Iran, the time had come to make a new move for the oppressed. It was not an easy move. During the former regime protest meant participation in persecution, arrest, and death. This was dramatically illustrated when in June 5, 1963 after Imam Khomeini's protest against the shah's policy, thousands of his followers were killed, arrested, executed and the Imam was exiled.

Evaluating the shah's downfall, one can assert that massive poverty, continuing exploitation, large scale repression, and the upsurge of people's discontent demanded that the whole focus of the Iranian life had to be changed. The people's anger exploded in an immense resurrection.

By the suffering of and by the blood and sacrifices of the martyrs, Islam identified itself with masses of people from all walks of life, oppressed under the dictatorial regime. People suffering and injuries seemed to have become routine and to have lost the power to ask, "why is this happening? What we should do to avoid it? "

ISLAM, VEHICLE FOR SOCIAL PROTEST

Islam was no less than an attempt to end the long history of oppression and sufferings. The peace in which we believe is the fruit of Islamic teaching. Under the guidance of Islam, the people became willing to create a just society in the hands of the people themselves. The people being the ultimate source of political power found a new institutional road towards justice. It was Islam that gathered together all that is human in the people's cause and struggle, above all in the cause of the oppressed. Islam identified with the poor and oppressed when they demanded their legitimate right. The protection of the weak is the principal purpose of the Islamic Revolution. Islam wants both dimensions to

present in the total life of a Moslem and has emphasized that faith which is lived out in isolation from life is not true faith.

In the past, the dormant Islam, manipulated by the authorities, denounced any movement to establish justice and equity, and as a result, the principles of Islamic moral teachings were ignored. But this tragic diminution of a noble religion could never happen because of its virtue. Islam is militant enough to mobilize effectively nation sentiments. Thus religion became a vehicle for social protest. The immense resurrection of the Iranian people was a violent cry for a return to purity and they know well that each step away from rectitude erodes the legitimacy of the Revolution.

Islam is resurgent. It recognizes no division between the religion and the State. The roots of its success lie in no division between politics and religion. Throughout history Moslems have had an outstanding record of protest and defiance against dictatorship and they have made an outstanding contribution to dynamize the society and to neutralize any neo-colonial culture.

That is why the Islamic revival, the rising religious turmoil, the fall of the shah and the transformation of Iran from a friendly country to a hostile one is so inconvenient for the West. The government never forgets that our revolution is an Islamic one and we are all religiously dutybound to reflect Islamic teachings through all our actions while dealing with and solving internal and external problems.

Islam identifies with the hopes for freedom and justice in an independent Iran. It has led to social consciousness which reveals gross exploitation, unbearable inequalities and worsening condition of the masses.

The cultural domination of the people which leads to their subjugation by the powerful is a further challenge to the conscience of the believers. It was, thus, from the awareness of grave social sin and knowledge of the people's liberation struggle, linked to

Islamic religion and culture that the Iranian Revolution is acquiring a new dimension. What is required is a theological review to discover and relate the various Islamic liberation movements which have existed in this country rather than imported movements.

The Iranian Revolution is thus a challenge to any and every regime in the Moslem world that allows itself to be identified with a non-Moslem power of an alien cultural model.

More specifically it rejects the nationalism of the shah with its spurious pre-Islamic pedigree (2500 years of monarchy and etc.) and reaffirms Iran's Islamic identity and Islamic culture against the encroaching influence of western materialism in its various forms: immediately and explicitly the commercial materialism of the West and the capitalist free world to which the shah had flung the gates of Iran wide open, but implicitly also the philosophical materialism of communism. In other words, capitalism was the worst kind of exploitation of human beings while communism paid no attention to human values. Islam is the only school of thought which ensures a balanced and healthy society catering for all the natural and increasing demands of human beings.

Finally, the Revolution has to be seen as a reaction against the over-rapid extraction of Iran's oil resources and the squandering of oil revenue on imported goods and services, whether through personal corruption or through unrealistic and inappropriate development plans.

Thus the surge of Islam seems destined to redraw parts of the world's political map in the next few decades.

Iran, a Moslem country, heading the other Moslem countries, is moving towards a new ideology at a time when the third world is losing confidence in superpowers and beginning to realize that western democracy or various brands of socialism, including communism, often fail to solve the problems of the emerging nations. It is identified with anti-imperialism and struggle against colonial

rule.

The tragedies of oppressed and colonized countries have made imperative for the Moslem nation to take his destiny into its own hands and Iran soon will take its place among other Moslem nations. Other Moslem countries will join together and will achieve an ideal Islamic society and will devote themselves to developing a position of independence from an increasing degraded religio-political and cultural atmosphere.

THE ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE AND WESTERN MISCONCEPTION

It is important to understand that Islam as an irresistible political force has clear answers to specific underdeveloped factors such as population, landlessness, exploitation, and the interplay of liberal democratic and marxist-socialist currents.

Effective economic development requires a modern outlook on many aspects of society: education, property rights, interest rates, the right of women and population control. The Islamic Revolution of Iran proved to have come to terms with those requirements. Thus if the West take a more tolerant and rational view of Islam, they would understand it better. It is wrongly said that the Islamic system cannot be applied until modernized. But Islam does not need to be modernized. It has always been modern. Islam with its emphasis on reason and tolerance is capable today of making its contribution to the betterment of and advancement of mankind as it was and did in early centuries.

The Holy Prophet once said, "The world is supported by four things only, the learning of the wise and justice of the great, the prayer of God, and the valour of the brave." And on another occasion said, "Equally valuable are the ink of a scholar and the blood of martyr."

Islam lays such emphasis on learning and knowledge and

encourages those who are in search of it. There is **no conflict in Islam** between science and religion. Those who fear that the Islamic revival may return Iran to a medieval obscurantism need not despair. Islam has effected an interesting compromise with scientific culture. As a simple analysis of Islamic structure shows and as history confirms, from many points of view Islam has great compatibility with modern science.

The *Quran* is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology but of civil and criminal jurisprudence and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of the people are governed by the immutable sanctions of the will of God. As all things, according to the Moslems, are God given and belong to Him and the human beings are its mere temporary custodians.

Thus the *Quran* is a religious, social, civil, commercial, military, judicial and criminal code. It regulates everything from ceremonies of religion to those of daily life; from the salvation of the soul to the health of the body, from the rights of all to those of individuals, and from punishment in this world to life that is to come hereafter.

But again it should not be misunderstood as a set of some rigid inflexible laws. No doubt, Islam throws light on every aspect of human life. Nonetheless, it gives us certain basic principles which are to be found in the *Holy Quran* and its examples while the Moslems are directed to use their judgement according to changing times.

Islam is also misinterpreted in the West as a retrogressive religion. But it is an injustice to an ideology which is not only progressive, but became the pioneer of science. Science owes a great deal more to Islamic culture, it owes its existence to it. And for a time the Moslems were the leaders of thought in the world.

In the tenth century A.D., the main task of mankind was accomplished by the Moslems. The greatest philosopher of

that period, Al Farabi was Moslem. The greatest mathematicien, philosopher, and physician of that time Ibn Sinna, was Moslem. The greatest historian of that time, Tabari, was also a Moslem. There is nothing in Islam that hinders the advancement and progress of technologies and industrialization. It is also not against modernization. What it is against, are the evils associated with the modern trends of the so called highly modernized societies like for instance the disintegration of the basic unit of the society, the institution of the family and low moral standards.

Today the Moslem world is recovering as it has realized that the change for their own good has to be initiated by themselves. and the renaissance of the Islamic world through the Iranian Revolution is a charming fact of the 20th century. The Moslem slumber is over and the stagnation as they have realized was due to the deviation from the basic principles of Islam. The Revolution of Iran is a good example of this fact.

CULTURAL INVASION, CULTURA REVOLUTION

In the previous regime, the westernized invaded culture determined the criteria for modernization. Iran was trying to be modernized without development. It was dependent socially economically, politically. It is essential not to confuse modernization with development. The former, although it may affect certain groups in the Iranian society, but it was the West that took the true benefit therefrom.

The shah's downfall proved that a society which was merely trying to be modernized without developing how it continued to depend on outside countries. This is the fate of any dependent society, as long as it remains dependent. The Shah was always under fire from religious militants for the corruption and modernist reinterpretation of Islamic values that the western imports represented. And it was through a religio-political movement, gain-

ing momentum in a very short time, that he was toppled.

According to our revolutionary principles, the menace of modernism can be defeated only by rejecting western novelities and epousing totally a way of life governed by *Quran* and the tradition of the prophet. And to realize such achievement, Iran is in process of a cultural revolution.

To achieve true development, a very important phase of the Islamic Revolution is to launch a cultural revolution in an Islamic society. People should be guided by the Islamic approach in this regard. At such an important and sensitive stage of our Revolution, the Islamic government of Iran through the cultural revolution is going to solve the problems quickly in a truly Islamic and revolutionary manner, so that our enemies could be crushed once and for all.

Knowing that the more alienated people are, the easier it is to divide them and keep them divided, the revolutionary leaders initiated a cultural revolution and have assumed a new and bolder position, with a clear invitation to all who wish to participate in the reconstruction of society. In this sense Islamic cultural revolution is a necessary continuation of the Revolution.

The cultural revolution is going to take the total society to be reconstructed including all human activities. Society cannot be reconstructed in a mechanistic fashion. The Islamic Revolution is the fundamental instrument for this reconstruction.

Every aspect of the educational system prevailing in Iran was ill adapted and was based on western models. Western influences permeated the whole process of education from the kindergarten stage onwards when even matters like clothes, foods served in school, posters displayed and words children were taught conditioned their minds to western ways. At the higher stage the same domination of western attitudes prevailed. Education was considered merely as a means to obtain a certificate to be moved around and shown off later in life. And later still

graduates thought only in terms of climbing up a professional ladder and not of cultural insights from their acquired learning. Not cultural aims in society but a passport to professions was the real aim of education.

The East had acquired a peculiar complex of its being inferior to the West in its values. This complex can be observed both in colleges and in the professional fields.

However, the East and Islam in particular consisted of values which were far more than that of the West and it was up to our educational system to have them properly grafted to modern needs.

Emphasizing our own values does not imply a total rejection of what is the values in western technology and every effort should be made to absorb and use what is best, whether it comes from the western blocs or the eastern countries.

As far as mental development of a society, the nation which lost its creativity and free thinking ultimately falls prey to other domineering cultures. It was because of this state of mind that certain blind folded elements in the past tried to replace the rich Iranian culture by western culture. With a view to neutralizing the conspiracies of the enemy in Iran, there will be great emphasis on public education to raise the political and ideological awareness of people in all levels.

With no doubt the enemies have betrayed this country before and have not stopped their activities now. It was therefore necessary to provide political and ideological education to people to counter the effort of the enemy who was trying to exaggerate the existing short comings in the social and welfare fields.

A victim of institutioanlized violence, these mentally dead people had to revive and learn about the harsh realities of an unjust society. A society in which the cultural, political and economic institutions served to nurture the consuming western style in the people, while conditioning in them a sense of inferiority.

Before the emergence of the Islamic Revolution, people were, by and large, like sleeping aliens. The Revolution broke that slumber and taught them to view themselves as integral member of the community of oppressed people. The Revolution demonstrated to the world that the great disparity that exist between the oppressed and the deprived people and all forms of political repression were among the basic patterns being followed by imperialism in its domination of the oppressed.

It was Imam Khomeini who through the Islamic revolutionary aspirations began the process of mental liberation of the Iranian people. He endeavored to inculcate in the people the necessity of developing a high estimation of themselves as responsible individuals and as a potentially powerful Islamic community. He exhorted them to cease to think of themselves as weak and dominated colonized whose struggle is limited to the domestic arena, but rather as the oppressed majority, whose goals and ideal are global in scale.

With their growing awareness of the revolutionary and liberating qualities of the Islamic ideology and its great potential bringing about radical socio-economic and political changes people welcomed the Islamic government as a vehicle for achieving total liberation of the people. The political consciousness of the Iranian people had been born of the struggle itself. While 60 percent of the people were illiterate, in the literal sense of the term, they weré politically literate -- just the opposite of certain communities which possess a sophisticated kind of literacy but are grossly illiterate about political matters.

Consequently, this effort cannot rest content with the technical or scientific training of intended specialists, (a group of westernized technocrats) a dominant elite bureacraticized in initiating a repressive bureaucratic power. The Iranian society, through the cultural revolution will become qualitatively distinct from the old. The Iranian revolutionary society cannot

attribute to technology the same ends attributed by the previous regime. Accordingly the training of men and women in the two societies is going to differ. The university education, technical and scientific training through the change of programme need not be inimical to humanistic education as long as science and technology in the revolutionary society are at the service of permanent liberation of humanization.

From this point of view, the training of men and women for any occupation is going to change and the Revolution more easily be able to defend itself. Through the cultural be present in the total life of a Moslem and has emphasized that into a society as a “being for itself”.

And it is only through the aspiration of “being for itself” that the international conspiracies hatched by the enemies of Islam and Iran can be neutralized effectively and completely before any damage is done to our Islamic Revolution. We, therefore, are well aware of the many dangers which the Islamic Republic of Iran is facing today. In the process of achieving a heavy task, we are warned of severe consequences of disunity, in the nation which could give the enemies of Islam the opportunity to attack from the rear.

The slackness of the Revolution and unmindfulness to the institutions of Imam Khomeini could well be detrimental to the nation in its progress. It is time to take bold steps to combat all plots against the Iranian Revolution and maintain law and order in the country. Thus people around the world must recognize the real dynamism and significance of our Revolution. But what they forget is that it is the sovereign right of every nation to choose the way of life. Nothing that the superpowers can do will deter the Iranian people from their chosen path.

We have sacrificed so much and have taken such alarming risks for the success of our Revolution that we have crossed the point of no return a long time ago. We have no option but to

continue, not only by the force of circumstances but also because we believe in the rightness of our cause. In this path neither the threat of economic boycott nor other pressure is going to work. Because it is the Islamic teaching which reminds us constantly in these days of rebuilding that we must do what we can today with whatever small resources we have. Only in this way will it be possible to do tomorrow what we could not do today.



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