



**THE REVOLUTION
WHICH
ISLAM CREATED**

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by

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Introduction

I have tried in this expanded article which is a short survey of the Islamic Revolution of Iran relying upon the most essential objective and subjective factors to briefly analyze the coming into being, and the spreading of the Revolution. Of course, it is possible that this article may cause amazement and even non-comprehension to many of the Westerners and even to Easterners and Moslems who study according to the method Westerners use to analyze political, social and historical transformations. The reason why I did not express an interpretation of the Revolution on the basis of the presently accepted methods and criteria, which are agreed to by all, is because essentially, I think that an exact and objective study of this Revolution is sufficient in order to prove the uncredibility and ineffectiveness of such criteria and methods in the complete analysis of this Revolution.

Let us not at the present time try to completely study the reasons why the methods and criteria are not relevant but I point out that when we see that the most credible and predictable sections of the human and social sciences, namely, economics, has two completely different concepts in Iran and Western societies, what problem in understanding this Revolution will be solved by making use of the economic analyses which stem from Western concepts. In other words, for the understanding of a Revolution like the Iranian Revolution before studying the effective factors, one must pay attention to this essential problem – how we look at it and on the basis of what

method and criteria does one study it – before one turns to analyzing it.

Of course, this does not in any way lessen the importance of economic problems, etc. rather, the purpose is that these problems and facts in the East and in Islamic countries, and at least in Iran, have other meanings and dimensions which are completely different from what they are in the West.

These differences exist in all cases. The difficulty of the West in its relations with the Iranian Revolution is right here. Emphasizing that the Iranian Revolution must be understood according to its own particular criteria is not solely that this Revolution and its transformation be correctly understood, rather it is for the reason that without such an understanding, agreement and co-operation and finally, a healthy and active political and social relationship is not possible. An impartial and sympathetic understanding of a Revolution whose identity plays the most important role in determining its policy and in clarifying its position is a necessity for those who want to have healthy and active relations with it. The comprehension of social, political and religious facts as they are and not as we want them to be or as we suppose they must be, in our changing world, which is mainly inflicted by the foolishness of the West, which stems from its pride and selfishness, is an unavoidable necessity.

If the industrial world does not want to break down its intellectual and mental moulds and does not make itself ready for the comprehension and admission of the facts, it will confront our world with even greater and more complicated difficulties. These difficulties are in

the first place, the results of the pride and unrealistic views of the industrial world and not from the seeking for freedom, independence and justice of the Third World.

It must be pointed out here that the Revolution of Iran, rather than being an isolated event, is an example of a process which begins with this Revolution and will continue in the future in a more effective and more widespread way.

This Revolution, in truth, is the result of the appearance of 'hidden' and at the same time, 'powerful' realities which, for numerous reasons in the last hundred years – namely, after the encounter of Iran with Western civilization – have remained latent and hidden but surfaced during this Revolution. But the important point here is that not only did these realities create this Revolution, but they wanted to rule it as well. And this is a new process in the contemporary history of Liberation Movements of the Third World which we bore witness to for the first time in this Revolution. This process is not restricted to Iran alone. The importance of correctly comprehending the Revolution of Iran is that this Revolution is the beginning of a new way of thinking for the deprived and oppressed people. In this way, it will be transformed into a great turning point in contemporary history.

From here on, the Revolution and transformation of the Third World, in particular, the Moslem world, will be inclined towards returning to the real historical identity and cultural originality, as they had been and not as they are introduced by the West and Westernized Moslem intellectuals, and not in adapting themselves to Western criteria and ways.

In other words, Révolutions and future transformations are mostly cultural rather than political because the East gradually came to believe that, firstly, without real cultural independence, it cannot achieve independence, either political or economic. Secondly, the essence of an ideal which is followed cannot be unrelated to the historical, cultural and social facts.

This is an important point because the Third World up to the present time has followed ideals which had no relation to its history, culture and other social facts. For instance, if it had freedom as an ideal, it sought out the interpretation of this freedom not from its history, culture or religion but from the culture and civilization of the West. (That is, that freedom was an ideal to it which was interpreted and accepted by the West and not that which its own culture, religion and history interpreted and which was adapted with its social facts. This problem does not solely exist in the question of freedom but it exists in all problems. In other words, the ideals of the Revolutions of the Third World always has a Western interpretation and identity).

The value of this Revolution is for the main part, that this Revolution expresses a new interpretation about its ideals. Of course, this interpretation was intensively affected by Islamic concepts and culture. It is interesting that this was the main source of the problems of the West in its relations with Iran because until the present time, none of the Revolutions of contemporary history have followed ideals which have been interpreted by anything except the West's culture and civilization. Even the most radical Marxist movements or extreme nationalistic movements are not excluded from this universal law because

Marxism is itself a phenomenon which belongs to the culture of the West and nationalism has also stemmed from this culture.

Thus the contradiction of these movements with others mostly resulted from a contradiction in interests and not from a contradiction in world views and way of thinking, whereas, in the Islamic Revolution of Iran, these contradictions mostly resulted from its world view and way of thinking rather than interests. It can even be said that the contradiction of interests is also to a large extent effected by the differences of these two world views because advantages and interests in two ways of thinking have two different interpretations.

The exact analysis of this new process and survey of the particularities of the Iranian Revolution in relationship to this is more extensive than something which can be put into an introduction to an essay but the recollection of these points can provide the necessary background for the comprehension of a Revolution which is completely new and exclusive and at the same time, very important.

The Revolution Which Islam Created

We Moslems, in order to study and analyze history and our own social, political and religious transformations, must obtain new methods and criteria which are suitable to the historic, social and religious peculiarities of our history so that with the help of them we can understand our past and present as it really is.

Unfortunately, in spite of basic and inherent differences between our history, culture and civilization and the history, culture and civilization of the West, the historic, social and political transformations of the Islamic world are always studied according to the very same criteria and rules by which the transformations of the Western world are studied. This is the case whether or not it is done by experts on the East in the West or by Moslem scholars and commentators. That is, a Moslem looks more or less from the same angle at his history, culture and society as a Westerner, and he uses the same principles and criteria which are accepted in the West to analyze his own society and comment on its transformations. Here, if there is any difference, it is most often because of his more exact study, with less prejudice and finally more sympathetic view in comparison to a Western expert on the East. It is not that he studies his culture, history and society with other methods and criteria.

This is a very important problem because the frameworks, criteria and finally methods and ways of thinking of the West, if they are correct, they are only able to analyze the history and transformations of Western society.

This is because these methods and criteria all result from the particular historical development of the society, history and culture of the West. It is affected by the mechanics of its growth. This society and history and this process of growth and transformation is totally different from eastern society and, in particular, that of Islam. This difference is a basic and inherent one.

If we want to study the social and/or historic transformations of a society, we must, in the first place, see in what society and under what conditions these transformations have taken place. The transformations of every society are reflections of the existing realities of that society and results of the spirit of that society. Thus, in order to correctly understand them, in the first place, we must re-recognize their foundations, identity and finally, their living realities. Then, with the help of methods and criteria which conform to these particularities, analyze their reflections which are the very same political, social and religious transformations.

Thus, if we have accepted that the correct understanding of the transformations of a society is a derivative of the correct and exact understanding of it, should we then attempt to see what basic visages Islamic society has in common with the Western societies by using these very criteria and rules for the analysis of its political, social and religious processes which essentially resulted from the transformation and growth of culture and Western civilization in the present form?!

Here, the purpose is not to criticize the foundations of Western thinking and based upon them, the rules and criteria which are used to analyze history and social transformations. For the moment we have nothing to do with

the problem of the efficiency of these methods and criteria and to what extent they are correct and exact analyses of the transformations of Western society itself, rather, our purpose is essentially that we cannot comment on and analyze the transformations of two very different societies with the help of one series of fixed methods and criteria because with two societies which have completely different historic and cultural foundations and beliefs, not only is the structure of their social order and consequently, their existing, living realities, different, but they are also principally two different individuals with two different kinds of inclinations, ideals and ways of thinking.

Our thesis is not simply that the structure of Islamic society differs from the structure of Western society. More important than this, it is that a human being of a Moslem society totally differs from a human being of a Western society. That is, they have two completely different psychologies and these differences cause these two to be sensitive to different motives. When the motivating factors which cause motion are different in society, this will naturally cause different transformations and movements even if it is possible that these transformations and movements externally seem to be similar but the problem is this that their nature is completely different because of the difference in their motives.

The difference between Western society and Islamic society does not solely relate to the past history and culture of these two societies. Rather, many of these differences return to the existing religions of these societies, that is, these differences do not only have roots in

history rather they have other origins as well.

For example, when we look at Christianity, even at the time of its sovereignty in the West, that is, during the Middle Ages, as the institution of power and the determining factor of society and factor of social change, it had different roles than that of Islam as an institution of power and the factor of social change. How can we study the role of Islam in social and political transformations according to the same criteria and methods of Western sociology of religions? Here the discussion is not that at the present time Christianity in the West has completely pulled back from society's scene. The problem is that during the time of its sovereignty and its splendour, because of its essence and nature, it had a different role than Islam. Now, how can the methods and criteria resulting from such a history and society help in the correct understanding of the role of Islam in political and social transformations?

Beyond all of these, when we see that these two religions, abstracted from their historical and social role, essentially have two different identities, how can we assess their role with one criterion? How can the role of a religion, whose followers believe that in order to be saved their Prophet must be crucified, be equal to the role of a religion in which its Prophet calls up the armed forces to fight the strongest Emperor of that time during the last moments of his life? More important than that how can the historic and social role of a religion which does not have any direct orders about politics and governments and other different laws in the area of society be equal to a religion which has laws in all individual and social spheres and not only does it have laws but it asks its

followers as a religious duty to live according to those laws and not others, otherwise they would be deemed disbelievers, oppressors and transgressors. "And whoever judges not by what God has sent down, these then are the transgressors." (*The Qoran*, 5:47).

Here, the purpose is not to recall the historic and sociological particularities of Islam nor to recall the expression of its differences with the history, culture and society of the West and as a result see the shortcomings of those criteria and methods in the analysis of transformations of Islamic society, rather the purpose is only to warn lest we unconsciously come under the influence of that way of thinking and method and think that transformations should be analyzed according to those foundations and methods.

The non-comprehension of the Revolution of Iran, in particular, from the point of view of the commentators and Western analysts is because they studied this Revolution from the point of view of criteria and rules which had no relation with the reality of this Revolution. This Revolution showed well the extent of the shortcomings of these criteria and this way of thinking in analyzing the transformations of the Islamic world.

Without doubt, one of the most precious results of the wondrous experience of the Islamic Revolution of Iran is that we Moslems must revise our self-knowledge in relation to our society, history, culture and religion. In order to correctly understand these, we must gain new criteria, criteria which conform with the particularities of our society, history and culture which can correctly analyze their changes and transformations. This subject is necessary not only for the understanding of the Islamic

Revolution of Iran and other Islamic Revolutions which will occur in other parts of the world, but it is also necessary for the correct understanding of our past and present. If we remember that without such an understanding, whatever kind of effort towards the freeing and salvation of the world of Islam, which leans upon an incorrect understanding, is automatically condemned to failure, the importance of this subject will be made clear.

The most important particularity of the Revolution of Iran which cannot be ignored if this Revolution is to be correctly understood, is the characteristic of its being of the 'masses'. This Revolution appeared from among the masses and gradually it further expanded and found more depth until finally it extended to the whole of the country. It penetrated into the inside of government offices and organizations, even into the army and into all of the organs which directly related to the court which played an effective role in the maintaining and support of the Shah, creating the complete majority of these functionaries to join with the revolutionaries. In this way, perhaps for the first time in history, a nation in a united way stood against the sovereign regime and with empty hands caused it to fall upon its knees in spite of the regime's great power and fiendish weapons.

The victory of the Revolution of Iran and even its particular problems after the victory of the Revolution which little resembled the problems of other Revolutions even if it is possible that it is externally similar to them, but its nature differs from theirs - stems from the very characteristic of its being of the 'masses'.

From another point of view, the Revolution of Iran

is a revolution which came into being from below to above and not the reverse. That is, it was a Revolution and not a coup d'etat. The interesting point is that the severity of the suffocation and the pace of the progress of the Revolution prevented any revolutionary or party organs from forming. That is, this Revolution reached victory at a time when no particular organization or order existed from the kinds which have existed in other Revolutions. In this Revolution, the revolutionaries order and formal establishment never went beyond the religious establishments of the mosques and the clerical system.

The reasons why the Islamic Revolution of Iran, in spite of the fact that it had no revolutionary establishments or organs, yet reached victory, are many. However, in short, the severity of the suffocation and the power of SAVAK prevented any kind of formation of organizations, and the pace of its progress prevented the creation and growth of widespread underground establishments.

Of course, why the Revolution found manifestation in the framework of religious institutions has many other reasons. Normally, the non-Iranian commentators and sometimes even the Iranians have indicated this point that the only channels from which it was possible to be active against the regime was religious centers and focal points like mosques and religious gatherings for lamentation because of the severity of the suffocation of the regime. Thus, in a natural way, the Revolution took form within the framework of this very institution. Even if this is to a certain extent correct, more important than this was the widespread returning towards Islam and all of the Islamic principles and focal points. We will later discuss this essential and most important motive of this

Revolution, the significance of which, the leader of the Revolution has greatly emphasized.

As a result, the mosque, from the point of view of the people, was not considered to be a point by means of which they could fight against the regime, rather, the issue was that it was the only point from which essentially they were obliged to fight against oppression, injustice and disbelief. From another point of view, their concept of a mosque was not that it was only a place of worship, rather, it was also a place for gathering and the solving of problems and also a base for struggle against oppression, disbelief and atheism.

The particularity of the Revolution being of the 'masses' is so strong that it does not even relate to the subject of leadership in the sense that not only did the leader of the Revolution not impose himself, but he did not even suggest himself as a candidate for this position. It was the people who chose him according to his sincerity, awareness, virtue and decisiveness.

He himself arose from among the people and the people took him as their leader, accepting his orders with all their heart and soul. The great influence of the leader of the Revolution is a cause for wonder for all of the viewers of the Iranian Revolution. Beyond this, his influence relates to his spiritual and ethical particularities and characteristics, and, without doubt, useless, unless attention is given to this special particularity, that is, the characteristic of it being of the 'masses'. Now, keeping this point in mind, we put forth efforts to recall a summary of the history of this Revolution.

The first spark of the Islamic Revolution of Iran

returns to a time when one of the newspapers of the country with a high circulation published a most insulting article* about Imam Khomeini. Even though in this article, the name of Imam Khomeini was not mentioned, but in its totality there were indications and hints which pointed to him, so that people and, in particular, his followers in the Divine Law (*muqalidin*) and supporters, had reached the end of their rope from the severity of the pressure and suffocation and the insults against the sacredness of religion. They objected to this article. Two months before this event, the oldest son of Imam Khomeini, Ayatollah Mostafa Khomeini, was poisoned in Iraq under suspicious circumstances and died. Of course, Imam Khomeini when confronted with this situation showed no personal reaction. At the end of one of his speeches he said, "His death is a sign of the 'hidden blessings' of God. It is a gift from God the Most High and Blessed." Even six months after the death of his son, during an interview with the Le Monde correspondent, in answer to the question, "Was your son killed by SAVAK?", he said, "I do not know." But there are many witnesses and documents which show that his death was caused by the agents of the Shah.

In any case, this article, in such sensitive and fragile conditions, caused many protests in the large cities including Qom. The protesters were all peaceful gestures. The protesters wanted the officials to repudiate this article. Not only did the government show indifference

*The Ettele'at newspaper of Dey 17, 1356 (January 7, 1977).

to this situation but without any previous warning their troops opened fire upon those who had protested and asked for a denial of this article. When the government troops opened fire, some people were killed and more wounded. The majority of them were of the theological centers in Qom.

This first peaceful demonstration drew blood. This savage killing and humble martyrdom caused anger to arise in many people especially since the martyrs had been from among the theological students. On the 40th day (*chehleh*) of their martyrdom, memorial gatherings were held in many large cities of Iran. The bazaar of each city and many stores were closed. These ceremonies took place in all cities without any important incidents but in Tabriz they lead to a severe clash, the reason being that the police swore at the religious leaders. People who became very angry by this situation organized a march as a means of protest. The government agents machine gunned them. As a result, tens of people were killed and wounded.

After the event of Tabriz, the 7th day (*haft*) and the 40th day (*chehleh*) memorial services continued with demonstrations which most often drew blood and this situation progressively accelerated and each time the number of people killed and wounded increased.

Finally, the holy month of Ramadan arrived. Up to the month of Ramadan, although most of the large cities witnessed the savage killing of the agents of the Shah, still all of the country had not been shaken as it should have been. Imam Khomeini, through a declaration, asked people and clergy, in this month, to go to the mosques and, without fear, to expose the crimes of

the regime and to discuss the Islamic government.

In Iran, like other Islamic countries, the month of Ramadan has a special importance and people turn to mosques and religious gatherings especially since Imam Khomeini had emphasized that people must attend the mosques and the religious gatherings. At the same time, young theological students, who during the year stay in Qom and other religious centers studying, go to all parts of the country to enlighten the minds of the people. These factors caused the rapid spread of the movement.

At the beginning of that very month of Ramadan, Iran was transformed into a solid, wide network of demonstrations. Each day and night in some corner of Iran, demonstrations were held which often drew blood until the point that on the 4th of Ramadan the situation in Isfahan grew so tense that the government declared martial law there.

But in spite of all of the prediction and savegeness of the regime in suppressing the nation, self-sacrificing people, who knew happiness to be in martyrdom towards the revival of Islam and the establishment of the Islamic government, held their demonstrations. At the same time, they wanted to do away with both the regime of the Shah and the monarchical system and to establish the Islamic government.

This situation continued until the middle of Ramadan and the massacring of innocent people continued in the same way until the regime decided to commit a dreadful crime to defame the name of the revolutionaries. The Shah, two days before the committing of this crime announced, "We offer you a 'Great Civilization', but the opponents offer you a 'Great Terror'." At that time

some people expected an undesirable event. Finally, two days later in the middle of the month of Ramadan the Rex Cinema in Abadan was set afire and hundreds of men, women, young people and children were burned alive. In this way, one of the most tragic and inhumane massacres of history occurred.

In spite of the ridiculous setting up of scenes and the propaganda of the mass media which was under the control of the government, the preparations of the groundwork for the crime was such that no one believed that this act could have been done by anyone but the regime because this crime took place in a city which holds the greatest oil refinery, but at the time of the event, not only did the water trucks of the fire department arrive a half hour late but they had no water. The hydrants also had no water. Not only did the policemen, who were present around the area of the catastrophe, do nothing, but they also prevented people from going near the movie house to help and as a result all of the viewers were burned alive behind doors, barred on the outside.

However, this crime, which strongly shook the people, caused a great deal of protest. It reached the point that the Jamshid Amouzegar cabinet trembled and the Shah, in order to acquit himself, decided to change the cabinet. One week after this event, the Amouzegar cabinet changed and the Jafar Sharif Emami cabinet was appointed.

Sharif Emami, with the gestures of a religious and sympathetic man, came to power. He spoke of a national conciliatory government. He said, "We will stop the mismanagement and we will build the country's laws based upon Islamic laws and we will stop prostitution and

gambling.” Two days later, he announced that Imam Khomeini would be allowed return to Iran, the thing which had been strongly demanded by the people.

Because of the Revolution being Islamic, the coming to power of Sharif Emami and the fact that he would act according to Islamic law and would bring back Imam Khomeini, all told of a conspiracy where the regime, this time hid itself under the guise of Islam and made use of it. At this time all were awaiting Imam Khomeini’s reaction who had become transformed into the most powerful and effective opponent. One day later, in a very strong and vigorously worded declaration, he announced that the purpose is to topple the regime of the Shah and the monarchical system and to establish a just Islamic government. With great emphasis, he warned people not to be deceived by the deceptions of the regime and to continue their struggle.

The decisive and direct tone and, at the same time, determining factor of this declaration, showed people the way. He taught them to arise in order to achieve the basic goals of Islam, that is, the setting up of justice, freedom and independence, the overthrowing of any kind of dependence and the establishment of the Islamic government. He particularly warned the people not to be deceived by the deception of the puppet regime which cleverly was acting externally with the laws of Islam. He taught them of the religion which knows the philosophy of the sending of Prophets to be for the sake of setting up of justice and equality. This religion considers government other than one sent by God (*bi-ghair ma anzal allah*) to be transgression, oppression and disbelief. It cannot bear witness to oppression, aggression and a

government and an order which is not solidly one sent by God.

Demonstrations and marches continued without stopping after the coming to power of Sharif Emami's cabinet and people with more courage and frankness expressed their demands. On the other hand, the government, with more severity, continued with its suppression. During all of the nights of the last third of the month of Ramadan, the blood of hundreds of people throughout Iran and, in particular, in Tehran, Tabriz and Shiraz, was spilt. The number of killed and wounded during the last nights of the month of Ramadan increased in deadful amounts.

Finally *id-i-fitr* arrived. The ceremonies for the Festival marking the end of the month of fasting were held throughout Iran in a most splendid manner. Millions of people, after the performing of the prayer (*namaz*) participated in peaceful demonstrations. The first demonstration of millions of people in Tehran took place on this very day. People marched for approximately 10 kilometers until dusk. They explicitly demanded the abdication of the regime and the doing away with the monarchical system and the establishment of the Islamic government.

Even though blood was spilt in some of the peaceful demonstrations in some of the cities and tens of martyrs and wounded were left in their place, this was the first demonstration and march of millions, during which people, throughout the country, explicitly re-expressed their demands.

After the holding of this demonstration, the government decided to prevent the demonstrations with further severity and harshness, especially since the month of

Ramadan had ended and, as a result, the religious gatherings in the mosques and religious centers lessened. But Imam Khomeini said in a declaration after the holding of these demonstrations, "...Our people are at a crossroads. Their victory and success lies in expelling the Shah or else being trampled under the executioner's boots until the end. Either honor and pride before God, the Creator and His creatures or, God forbid, continuous inferiority and abjectness. Never will the Moslem people of Iran submit to abjectness. The great, dignified people of Iran continue their movement and they never allow weakness to take hold. Be sure that with the hope of God, victory and honor are at hand. Do not think that after the month of Ramadan, divine duty has changed. Vehement demonstrations against oppression in order to reach an Islamic goal is a form of worship which forgets days and months because the purpose is the salvation of the people, the implementation of Islamic justice and the establishment of Divine rule based upon firm justice. You must, with every opportunity and for every event, hold your gatherings as often as possible in mosques, places of gathering and open, public spaces. Defend the Holy Qoran and Islamic justice. Whatever cry is against this, from whatever throat it may come, it is satanic and to the advantage of the oppressive rulers and to the loss of Islam and the country. . ."

Three days after the great march for *id-i-fitr*, in Tehran, it was announced that, for the occasion of the 7th day of the martyrdom of hundreds of people who reached martyrdom during the last nights of the blessed month of Ramadan in Tehran, a memorial procession would be held. On this day - Thursday, the 16th of Shahri-

var (September 7th) - in spite of the threats of the government and the presence of thousands of soldiers armed to the teeth in the gathering place of the people and in the way of the memorial procession, brave and faithful people gathered and held their march. Even though at the first moments the blood of several people was spilt and a group, because of the thickness of the tear gas, were very severely hurt, nonetheless, the greatness of the gathering, their perseverance, resistance and courage caused this roaring flood to begin in spite of the presence of the soldiers and their continuous firing. In this way, the greatest and most glorious march in the history of Iran, until that time, was held.

This procession, in spite of the greatness, wondrous excitement and explicitness, was held with order and harmony. For instance, people, when passing in front of a hospital, became silent and whatever the agents of the regime tried to do for it to become chaotic, the people defused with awareness and firmness. More important than this, on this day, they threw flowers at the army and they continuously chanted slogans based upon their solidarity with the army such as "Soldiers are our brothers, Khomeini is our leader," "Soldiers you belong to us not to America," or "We give you flowers and you give us bullets?!"

People who were very excited on this day arranged that on the next day they would hold another march. The regime, which was very frightened by the greatness and extent of this demonstration and its own inability to control it with the army, decided to suppress the demonstrations with more harshness so that by this means they would firstly, quench their boldness and

courage and secondly, prevent the army from inclining towards the people. The regime and its supporters had been thrown into a great fear since the previous demonstrations, in particular, the ones for *id-i-fitr* and the 16th of Shahrivar, clearly showed that people could very simply conquer the hearts of the soldiers by leaning upon rightful and Islamic desires and so prevent its efficiency in suppressing them.

The government, on the morning of Friday - the 17th of Shahrivar (September 8th) - declared martial law in Tehran and eleven other cities. People, who had no knowledge of this and had left their homes early in the morning, were inhumanely machine-gunned and in this way the blood of thousands of people was spilt. Hundreds of them were women and children were killed.

This dreadful tragedy, which left thousands of martyrs, was so shocking and at the same time effective and motivational that it acted as the beginning of the further transformations in the Islamic Revolution of Iran and it even laid the foundations for the special revolutionary literature. Its deep effect upon the people was because its martyrs reached martyrdom with extreme humility. They were killed for the reason that there was martial law while they had not heard that it had been declared. More terrible than this was that not only did they machine-gun them from the ground but from helicopters as well. Most of the martyrs of this day were people who reached martyrdom because of the helicopters. As during the Revolution, women played an active role in the demonstrations— in the bloody massacre of this day, in Iran, where most women carry their small children with them, hundreds of women and children

were also martyred.

More terrible than this was that the martyrs of this day were not just those who fell in the scenes of demonstrations in the streets, but many of them who had gone to hospitals to help the wounded and give blood were machine gunned at the doors of the hospitals and reached martyrdom.

The event of the 17th of Shahrivar is definitely one of the most painful and tragic events of history but at the same time it must be said that while this day holds tragedy, it also holds, to the same extent, glory. It can even be said that this day manifests glory and grandeur before it manifests tragedy. It was this glory and grandeur which overwhelmed the greatness of the tragedy and transformed it into a new beginning. Instead of causing the Revolution to suffocate as an embryo, it revived it and fertilized it. Yes, this day is a day of the celebration of martyrdom and glorious death.

On this day, the hospitals of Tehran were full of wounded who, while they patiently bore the devastating pain of the bullets, prayed and recited the Qoran under their breath. The memories of the wounded who begged their physician to operate on others before them is unforgettable. Several times it happened that when a physician returned, he faced a dead body. In truth, it was this very faith, spirituality, sacrifice and unselfishness which changed this day into a turning point of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.

In any case, the 17th of Shahrivar shows that the Shah's regime, in order to preserve itself, would commit every crime possible and would stop at nothing, even

setting fire to hundreds of innocent men and women or even machine gunning thousands of young and old people who were seeking freedom and justice. There was no doubt left with the people that the only way was to overthrow the regime. They made it clear to the regime that Sharif Emami's government, which came to power under the guise of Islam, could not be effective and in this way, Sharif Emami was, in effect, overthrown with the 17th of Shahrivar tragedy even though he continued in power for two more months.

As a result, instead of the 17th of Shahrivar tragedy decreasing the courage and braveness of the people, with the guidance of Imam Khomeini, it itself was changed into another beginning point of confrontation with the Shah's regime. This affair was manifested at the 7th day mourning ceremonies of these martyrs in the Behisht-i-Zahra cemetery. The tumult and excitement of the ceremony of that day was such that it clearly showed that the people would in no way abandon the overthrowing of the Shah's order and the monarchical system and that they would establish the Islamic government.

It is interesting that a ceremony was held not only in Tehran but in all cities of Iran although in some areas and even in Tehran, blood was spilt and hundreds of people were left killed and wounded.

From here on, strikes gradually increased. Even though the schools opened at the beginning of the school year - the first of Mehr (September 23rd) - but the regime prevented the opening of the universities on the pretense of educational difficulties. At the same time, teachers and students, as a means of protest against the ruling regime, on the third week of the opening of the schools,

announced a one week general strike throughout the country. In the midst of this, government offices and institutes, more or less, went on strike. With the command of Imam Khomeini, the workers and personnel of the oil company join the strikers and as a result, the exportation of oil was stopped. This was one of the most important factors in paralyzing the government.

The cabinet of Sharif Emami, which after the savage massacre of Red Friday - which others mistakenly have called Black Friday - in effect, had been overthrown. Not only could it not improve the situation to the advantage of the regime, but during his time, the wave of dissatisfaction spread to such an extent that it was no longer controllable because of the killing which occurred every day in all parts of Iran and the spilling of the blood of hundreds of people.

Here, one point must be mentioned and that is that during the time of Sharif Emami, the regime tried its best to limit the wave of the opposition by putting it into the framework of political parties. That is, he tried to initiate a situation where the flow of the opposition would be in the hands of political parties. However it had to be, he wanted to take the opposition away from Imam Khomeini and essentially, the revolutionary, religious flank. But the result of the greatness and the thunder of the movement and also the immobility and ineffectiveness of political parties and, in particular, their bad record made the people cold towards any kind of party organization. Also, awareness, sincerity, firmness and the speed of Imam Khomeini's reaction to events prevented the initiative from being in the hands of political parties. In reality, the movement of Iran was in the hands

of the people and their leader. It was the leader of the Revolution who, relying upon God and the strength of Islam and leaning upon the endless strength of the people, determined the direction and goals of the Revolution. When confronted by a new event, he showed the people the way. These problems caused the political parties to not only not have leadership of the opposition in their hands, but in order to compensate for their falling behind and in order to prevent their isolation, they were forced to conform with the people and the direction of the Revolution. In this way, they came directly under the leadership of the people.

The efforts of the regime, in limiting opponents to the framework of political parties, was because, in the first place, they could in this way easily control the opponents and, secondly, there was almost no political party worthy of the name in opposition to the Pahlavi regime and the monarchical system. That is, the political parties more or less wanted freedom and not any fundamental and basic change in the regime or any other of sovereignty. If their wants were similar to those of the people, as we have said, it was so that they would not be rejected by the people. It was Imam Khomeini alone who, because of his understanding of Islam and his knowledge of the Pahlavi regime and its colonialistic subservience was satisfied with nothing less than the overthrow of the regime and the destruction of the monarchical system and the establishment of the Islamic Republic. The masses of the people who had chosen Imam Khomeini as their leader, would be satisfied with no less than this as well. Without doubt, if the leadership of the opposition was not in the hands of Imam Khomeini and those of the

revolutionary, religious forces which based upon their knowledge of Islam and their faith in it, struggled against the regime, most certainly the Revolution of Iran would not have achieved victory in overthrowing the Shah and the monarchical system.

The uninterrupted spread of the wave of opposition and the continuation of the strikes and the shaking of all institutions which the regime had learned upon brought about such a complex and critical situation that its power of thinking was taken away from the regime. As a result, it did something which in reality was suicidal in the sense that it decided to bring an explicit military government to power. While the regime of Sharif Emami - and even before him, that of Amouzegar, appeared to be non-military, in reality, previous to this government, there had been no regime less than a military one in the Pahlavi period. If the purpose of a military government is to rule with force, suffocation, pressure and despotism, this is something which existed from the beginning. But the regime which had lost its power of thinking, felt that by openly relying on this means it would be able to prevent the revolutionary tumult of the people and save itself.

In any case, a military cabinet came to power and Tehran and all large cities became their field for the invasion and assault of military forces, army tanks and armoured vehicles. At the same time, massacres increased in terrible amounts throughout the country. With the coming to power of the military cabinet, the press, which during the time of Sharif Emami had gained a bit of freedom, was completely shut down. Radio and television

and all the government organs, including the important national organs, were occupied by military forces.

But all of these actions resulted in nothing other than the strengthening of the opposition and increasing the perseverance and firmness of the people to reach their desires. In addition, these conditions extended the spread of the Revolution. Small numbers of people who had not as yet joined the Revolution were pulled towards it. More important than any of this, the savage killings and the state of humility of the people and their heart-rendering martyrdom caused all the organs which directly or indirectly supported the regime to shake-in particular, the army. At the same time as the coming to power of the military government, all of the country went on strike. Nearly all of the government offices and centers were closed. The threats of the military government to break the strikes had no results. Their pressure to re-export oil was foiled. This was essentially, the effect of the repetited and decisive advice of Imam Khomeini for the spread and continuation of the strikes.

The month of Moharram arrived three week after the coming to power of the military government, the month which is very meaningful not only for Iranians but for all Moslems and even all of humanity, the month of martyrdom and blood, the month of sacrifice and unselfishness the month of firmness and perseverance, firmness against oppression and disbelief and defense of truth, religion and justice. Imam Khomeini especially asked the people in his declaration to arise and to stop at no sacrifice to destroy the regime, and to establish an Islamic government in this month which is the month of the victory of blood over the sword, "With the arrival of the

month of Moharram, the month of epics, bravery and sacrifice began, the month when blood is victorious over the sword, the month when the strength of Truth condemns the null and void until eternity. A sign of 'null and void' is branded upon the front of the oppressors and the satanic governments, the month which teaches the way of victory over spears to generations throughout history, the month is recorded which brought the defeat of the superpowers when confronted by the word - Truth, the month when the Imam of Moslems teaches us the way of struggle against the oppressors of history, the way in which the clenched fists of the seekers of freedom and independence and speakers of the Truth dominate over the tanks, machine guns and the troops of Iblis and the word - Truth - obliterates that which is null and void. The Imam of the Moslems teaches us that if the oppressors of the time despotically rule over Moslems, even if your powers are not harmonic when facing him, arise and defy him. If the glory and greatness of Islam is seen to be in danger, sacrifice yourself and bestow blood.

“Today the regime of the Shah rules in a tyrannical way over the deprived people and against the Divine Law of Islam and against the wants of the people who arose throughout Iran against him, who has occupied the place of the governing body and destroyed the high interests of Moslems and the laws of Islam to the advantage of his own satanic domination and his sponging masters. It is upon the arisen people, with all of their power, to extend their opposition to the Shah and continue and pull him down from his dangerous, dominating position.”

Without doubt the month of Moharram struck the greatest blow to the regime. In the first place, it excited

the people and provoked their religious feelings and their demands for justice. Secondly, it opened the fist of the regime because the regime pretended to be the protector of Islam to the organs which supported it, in particular to the army and claimed that the regime's opponents were atheist agitators and without religion. Essentially, the mass of the army supported the regime thinking that they were defending religion and Islam in face of the godless and those without religion. But when the army saw that it was actually the opponents who were the real followers and desirers of Islam and that the regime was using Islam for anti-Islamic purposes, they gradually withdrew their support of the regime.

On the first night of the month of Moharram one of the most amazing forms of struggle took place in this sense that throughout Iran people at the same time as the beginning of the time of martial law - 9 P.M. - went out upon the rooftops and called out, '*Allaho akbar. La illaha illa lah.*' (God is Greater. There is no god but God.) Normally, electric company personnel, in solidarity with the Revolution, turned the electricity off at this hour. Everywhere in the darkness these sounds of machine guns caused pain to the ears. However much louder the sounds of *allaho akbar* became, the louder the sounds of the machine guns became. But they were not able to silence the cries of the people.

In the midst of the cries of *allaho akbar* and the thunder of the machine guns, most often the sounds of cries of pain could be heard and these were the cries of pain of people who in the darkness had been hit by bullets. No one knows and no one will ever know how

many people reached martyrdom in this darkness but the days following the nights of the month of Moharram, in particular, during the first third of the month, the Tehran cemetery of Behisht-i-Zahra and the cemeteries of other cities bore witness to the bodies of hundreds of martyrs who reached martyrdom from the shooting which occurred during the night.

This form of struggle was so amazing and at the same time effective that the military government fell to its knees during the first few days of the month, General Gholam Reza Azhari, the Prime Minister at the time, said in Parliament, 'These sounds are not the sounds of people but rather the sounds of tape recorders and it is because of this that all of Tehran hears these sounds. They put speakers in front of the tape recorders!' In saying this ridiculous lie, he so quickly jumped to conclusions, he forgot that, essentially, the electricity went off before the time for martial law in Tehran. Taking this into view, does the broadcasting of these sounds from speakers have any meaning?

Iran was at the peak of its struggle and religious feeling vigorously boiling within it. The military governor of Tehran, General Gholam Ali Ovaissi, was one of the harshest and the most bloodthirsty supporters of the Shah. The people of Tehran had nicknamed him 'executioner' and 'butcher'. He threatened people in different ways through multiple means and, in particular, through radio and television and also circulars which were spread over the city by helicopters. He announced that blood would be spilt if there were any kind of group gatherings or demonstrations. These actions which essentially took place around the first third of the blessed month of

Moharram were so that they could prevent marches being held for tasu'a and ashur'a - the 9th and 10th of Moharram.

These events existed in other cities as well. In particular, after the holding of memorial ceremonies for the 40th day of the martyrs of the 17th of Shahrivar, the regime grasped onto new methods in the sense that a number of soldiers and their agents disguised themselves in civilian clothes and, most often, the clothes of villagers. It gave them multiple kinds of cold and hot weapons - in particular, cold weapons. The regime dispersed them among the crowds. This action was always under the protection and supervision of the army and the police. This method was implemented for the first time at the 40th day memorial ceremonies for the martyrs of the 17th of Shahrivar in the Friday (*juma'*) mosque in Kerman. During the ceremony, hundreds of these agents attacked the people within the mosque who were listening to a religious sermon. They set fire to the mosque and thousands of men and women were wounded and hurt. Many of them died. Beyond that, the stores and shops of the revolutionary and active people were destroyed with high explosives. During this fire, hundreds of millions of rials of the goods of people were burned. While this savage assault and setting on fire took place, the army and police forces constantly protected these assaulters.

After this event, different cities in Iran and even some of their villages, each day witnessed the savage assault of the agents and persons in the pay of and the regime. Many of the martyrs and wounded in the Revolution are from among these very people who were killed or hurt during this event.

In any case, the regime, from one end of Iran to the other, before the days of Tasu'a and Ashur'a did not hesitate to use any means for bringing about fear and fright so that in this way, it could prevent the holding of demonstrations. But how can one cause the fear of death within people who welcome death and who know martyrdom to be the greatest honor and means of happiness in the way of their religion and faith?

Finally the day of Tasu'a arrived, the day when one of the greatest and most glorious marches took place, a demonstration which, in spite of its excitement and revolutionary fervour, was full of spirituality. It was for this reason that the government and the military governor had threatened that any kind of demonstration would be crushed. Even Tehran will be bombed. Thus, almost all of the people who were to take part in the great demonstration of several million performed the total ablution for martyrdom. They wrote their last will and testaments and they even wrote their names on their stomachs and chests or on a piece of paper which they put in their pocket so that if they were martyred during the demonstrations, their identity would be clear.

On the next day, the day of Ashur'a, even a larger group of people and at the same time more determined and with more firmness came to march. Even though these two great and historic marches took place peacefully in Tehran, in many cities blood was spilt for different reasons and along with this, it was planned that the demonstrations in Tehran for Ashur'a be suppressed by a number of the members of the Shah's guards with the help of helicopter gunships. But these savage and barba-

ric plans, which if implemented, would have left tens of thousands of people dead, was defused by its exposure through the alertness of several faithful and self-sacrificing soldiers and officers who, at noontime, machine gunned the group who were to carry out this bloody mission in the dining room of their garrison - the Lavizon Garrison. They themselves were killed a few moments later. This alertness and immeasurable self-sacrifice caused one of the savage plans of the bloody regime in suppressing the Moslem people and desirers of freedom to be exposed.

These two dangerous and historic days passed but, the struggle continued. The Shah and his foreign masters gradually came to understand the depth of the movement and they understood that they had been mistaken by bringing in a military government, the result of which was nothing other than to increase the opposition of the people. They realized that their way of salvation was not with a military government. Thus, they began to think about attracting the co-operation of national and well-known figures. But the 37 years of the Shah's treachery and, in particular, his savage killings and crimes in his last months, gave him such an accursed image that no one was willing to work with his regime, in particular, since people after these savage killings would be satisfied with nothing less than the complete overthrow of the Shah's regime and the monarchical system. More important than any of these, the regime itself was the greatest barrier in the formation of an Islamic goernment which was the main goal of the people.

His efforts in attracting the co-operation of national and well-known figures had no results. Finally, he turned to an unknown National Front figure, Shapur Bakhtiar,

who was then rejected by his own colleagues and associates.

As we have said, Bakhtiar was not essentially a well-known figure. The regime turned to him because no one else was willing to work with the regime. Bakhtiar agreed to co-operate because of his ambition in spite of the explicit opposition of all of the members of the National Front which finally led to his expulsion and he formed a cabinet. In this way, the military government moved aside.

With the coming to power of Bakhtiar, the closing of the press was lifted and universities were opened but other government institutions and organizations were still on strike. Of course, when we say that the universities were opened, it is not in the sense that classes were held. Rather, it is in the sense that the doors of the universities which had been closed during the time of the military government were re-opened to the people. As a result, the university once again became a center for a new resistance.

Bakhtiar tried to break the strikes by his pretending to be legal and promising that he would meet all the wants of the people. And if he could not destroy the Revolution, he could at least lessen its fervour and excitement. He continuously said, "My government is legal." While the Shah himself who had appointed him as the Prime Minister was no longer legal from the time of the marches of millions throughout Iran of Tasu'a and Ashur'a which were a kind of referendum. Beyond all of this, neither was the Shah legal nor his father. His father had formed the constitutional assembly by the use of the force of bayonets and in opposition to the will of the people, he imposed himself and his family. Even the Shah himself

made a coup d'etat with the help of America in 1953 against the legal cabinet of Mossadegh. These three examples and many others which time does not allow to be expressed here, all are reasons why the Shah was essentially illegal. Now could the Prime Minister of such a person be legal?

Bakhtiar documented his legitimacy by the vote of Parliament which had approved his premiership, while the representatives of that period of Parliament were all members of the Rastakhiz Party, the party which was brought into being by the regime and it was the only legally recognized party in Iran. It is interesting that the regime itself later dissolved it. How could the vote of confidence of such a group of representatives who until yesterday had given a vote to Amouzegar and Sharif Emami and even General Azhari, legalize a Prime Minister?

Beyond all of this, Bakhtiar promised, 'I will meet the wants of the people,' while the most important and essential desire for which they were daily killed and wounded and for which they tolerated multiple kinds of difficulties and tragedies was the abolition of the monarchical system and the setting up of the Islamic government.

In any case, the falsifications and deceptions of Bakhtiar in breaking the movement also had no effect. The Shah left Iran at this time with the hope that this would lay the groundwork for Bakhtiar's activities in breaking the movement.

Along with his unexpected departure, Iran suddenly immersed itself in celebrations and joyful gatherings. Without doubt, the history of Iran had seldom seen a

day of such excitement and fervour. On this day, men and women, young and old went out into the streets and held celebrations for the departure of the great dictator. Of course, during this exciting, country-wide celebration, blood was spilt in many cities. It left hundreds wounded and dead.

The departure of the Shah from Iran increased the revolutionary fever of the people and caused the army to become closer to the people. After the departure of the Shah from Iran, Imam Khomeini, asked the people in a declaration to hold a country-wide demonstration as part of their religious and national duty on *arba'ain*, the fortieth day of the martyrdom of Imam Hosein, the 20th of Safar (December 30, 1978): “. . . this year, the *arba'ain* of the Imam of the Islamic community (Imam Hosein) occured in the midst of the *arba'ains* of the followers and Shi'ites of that great man of Islam. It is said that the blood of our martyrs is the continuation of the pure blood of the martyrs of Karbala and the recent *arba'ain* of our brothers reflects the *arba'ain* of those valiant ones. The pure blood of the latter ended the rule of the tyrannical government of Yazid and the pure blood of the former, twisted and turned the tyrannical Pahlavi monarchy. *Arba'ain* of this year is special and exceptional. Participation in marches and demonstrations on this *arba'ain* is a religious and national duty. The great people throughout Iran with their marches and demonstrations, bury the stinking monarchical system. They announce their opposition to the illegal Regency Council. They have announced, a number of times, their support of the Islamic Republic.” In this great march all different kinds of sects and groups and all of the religious minori-

ties participated. Even a large number of armed forces personnel were present in uniform.

Up to this day, opposition, sit-ins, strikes and hunger strikes could more or less be seen scattered among the different parts of the military, in particular, the Air Force. But from this day on, taking the greatness of the demonstration into consideration, the wave of objection spread in an extensive way within the military. The military which had lost its spirit especially from the month of Moharram afterwards - essentially because the Imam at the beginning of the month of Moharram had announced due to the continuous and dreadful killing of the regime that the soldiers should desert the military garrisons - no longer concealed their opposition to the regime. The harshness of the regime in suppressing the rebellious soldiers and soldiers who held sit-ins helped the spread and ascent of this wave of opposition.

After the holding of this great, country-wide demonstration, Imam Khomeini, in his exciting declaration, thanked the people in the following way: "Endless greetings and unlimited salute to the brave people of Iran, the courageous and noble people who, with the Unity of the Word on the *arba'ain* of the Imam of the Islamic community, the peace of God be upon him, (*salam allah alyeh*) announced their desire which was the doing away with the monarchial system and the setting up of the Islamic Republic. Your sacred Islamic movement, even though it was accompanied by the pure blood of martyrs and heart rendering tragedies, but your seeking of freedom and independence has been recorded on the forehead of history. You expelled your main enemies and the enemies of your country from the stage of history, and you buried

the greatest traitor and murderer of the country in the graveyard of history. With your arising up and your perseverance, you proved to the deprived people that modern weapons and satanic powers cannot find durability when confronted by the wants of a people who bravely arise to defend their beliefs and their rights. You also proved that the power of a conscious people is victorious over all of the weapons of the super-powers..." At the end of his declaration, he announced that he would return to Iran at the earliest possible time.

The news of the return of Imam Khomeini put Iran into a spirit of celebration and joy. Millions of people throughout the country prepared themselves to come to Tehran to participate in the welcoming ceremonies. But the government, which knew the arrival of the Imam to be the beginning of its fall, decided to close down all the airports. All the airports were surrounded by military forces. As a result of this action, the return of the Imam, which was due to be the 26th of January, was postponed. Of course, this action did not go unanswered by the people. Angry people went to the airport and during the shooting a large number of people were killed and wounded. It is interesting that even military forces, in particular, the personnel of the Air Force, also objected to this illegal act of the government.

For a period of five days when the airports were closed, tension grew throughout the country and in particular in Tehran especially since the second day after the closing down of the airports, co-incided with the day of the death of the Prophet - Hazrat Mohammad, peace and the greetings of God be upon him - great demonstrations were held throughout the country on this

day, during which people demanded that the government open the airports otherwise it would be responsible for the results of their illegal actions. In the demonstrations of this day, many of the soldiers were present in uniform and they were readily welcomed by the people.

Even though this demonstration took place in Tehran without incident but in many other cities it led to clashes and the next day - Friday, January 26th - which was to have been the day of the Imam's arrival in Tehran, the hired agents of the Shah unmercifully turned and fired on the people who wanted the airport to be open and it left behind tens of killed and hundreds of wounded.

These savage killings which took place, severely angered the people because of the people's objection to the illegal acts of the government. As a result, people, the next day and the day afterwards, held extensive demonstrations. On these two days, once again military forces opened fire on the people and during the clashes which took place at Inqalab (Revolution) Square and which lasted for more than 5 hours, hundreds of people were wounded or gave up their lives.

These widespread and merciless killings extremely stirred up the people of Tehran. On that day it was in a state of mobilization. This very public mobilization tells of the deep solidarity of the people which changed that day into a historic and never-to-be forgotten day of the Revolutionary period.

After this event, the government opened the airport because it realized that it could not prevent the revolutionary fervour of the people, especially since millions of people from other cities had come to Tehran to welcome the Imam and theologians held a sit-in at the

Tehran University mosque - as objection to the closing of the airports. The Imam arrived in Iran on February 1, 1979 in the midst of one of the greatest and most exciting welcoming ceremonies of history.

The Imam went directly from the airport to the Behisht-i-Zahra cemetery, He was welcomed by millions of people forming a continuous 33 kilometer line from the airport to Behisht-i-Zahra cemetery - and who stood along both sides of the way. At Behisht-i-Zahra, beside the graves of the martyrs, he firmly announced that this government is illegal and he himself would nominate a government carrying out the desire of the overwhelming majority of the people.

The glorious arrival and tremendous welcome of the people for the Imam and also the explicitness and firmness of the Imam about the illegality of the sovereign government, completely threw the thoughts of the government into turmoil, in particular, since the military forces had also been shaken up. Many groups of the military forces, along with the other sects of the people, even called upon the Imam in uniform.

The Imam, on the 4th of February, appointed Mehdi Bazargan as Prime Minister and he asked the people to show their support for his premiership through peaceful demonstrations and marches.

From the next day, millions of Iranians, throughout the country announced their support through glorious demonstrations. In the midst of these, the military forces passed through the most difficult of its days filled with tension. Each day there was news of a new event which had occurred among the military forces. These affairs continued until three days afterwards, that is, until the

8th of February when Mr. Bazargan announced his program at Tehran University.

On this day, Bazargan spoke to nearly a million people of Tehran at Tehran University and he asked the military forces to stop killing people - during those days the hired agents of the Shah were occupied with the unmerciful killing of hundreds of people and plundering them. Each day the blood of hundreds of people was being spilt - to support his national government and its supposed civil and canon legality.

On the night of that day, at one of the Air Force garrisons, there was a clash between the Air Force personnel and the Shah's guards which caused a complete mobilization among the people to help the Air Force personnel.

The valiant resistance of the Air Force personnel and the endless support of the people with faith but with empty hands who with the cries of *allaho akbar*, this the sharpest weapon of the people during the Revolution, arose to support the Air Force personnel causing the Shah's guards to withdraw. In this way, the garrison was conquered. Large amounts of weapons fell into the hands of people who had been seeking arms for some time and they had continuously cried out, "Leaders, arm us!"

The quick and unexpected fall of the Air Force garrison and the distribution of its weapons caused such excitement among the people that within a few hours, Tehran took on the look of a city at war and most of the streets were barricaded with sand bags.

In reality, the 10th and 11th of February are the destiny-making days of the Revolution. Without doubt, history remembers few such days with the excitement

of these two days, days when all of the people, men and women, young and old were mobilized to cut off the last roots of the regime of the Pahlavis and the monarchial system, days which were the place of manifestation of faith and signs of the extent of the effects of an unconceivable faith in the changing of the destiny and history of a nation. What person can believe that it was the cries of the people of *allaho akbar* which gave strength to the Air Force personnel so that, when face to face with one of the best, most war-like and best equipped military forces, that is, the Shah's guards, were able to resist and defeat them. What person can believe that the faithful people conquered Tehran with the molotov cocktail as their weapon. With this very weapon, they destroyed the most advanced tanks, armoured cars and they completely destroyed the Shah's guards who, without doubt, were one of the finest armies.

On the 10th of February some of the sensitive areas which belonged to the military forces and the police were conquered by the people. The government, which saw the situation to be out of control, announced that martial law would begin at 4:00 in the afternoon. But Imam Khomeini in his courageous declaration announced, ". . . this circular of the martial law authorities is a trick and against the Divine Law. People should pay absolutely no attention t it."

This timely and determining command of the Imam prevented one of the most accursed and dangerous conspiracies. According to the documents which were later found, it became clear that the government had decided to murder all of the leaders of the movement including Imam Khomeini, Mr. Bazargan and all of the effective

theologians and politicians after the time of martial law with the help of its trained and trustworthy individuals. But the declaration of the Imam diffused this plan.

On the night of the 10th of February, more sensitive centers were taken over by the people and almost all of the police stations fell. In this way, a great number of weapons fell into the hands of the people. On the next day, complete warfare broke out between the people and revolutionary soldiers with the soldiers loyal to the regime which led to the final defeat of the latter. Of course, it must be said that this battle took place between the people and that minority which strongly supported the regime because the majority of the military forces on this day surrendered and announced their neutrality.

On the afternoon of the 11th of February, Tehran and subsequently all of Iran was conquered. When radio and television were taken over by the people near dusk, no opposition existed to the revolutionaries within the country. Iran was once again immersed in public and general celebrations because of the victory of the Revolution and the fall of the Shah and the monarchical system. In this way, one of the most amazing and exceptional Revolutions in history took place.

History has recorded many battles and revolutions where small forces have dominated upon great powers but perhaps history has never recorded a victory of only and solely the power of faith, perseverance and will power over weapons, plots and conspiracies. The people of Iran, in their struggle, did not only fight against the most modern and advanced weapons but rather they were obliged to stand against internal and external conspiracies and poisonous propaganda. In this struggle, they did not

simply struggle against the Shah and the powerful army and widespread and fiendish SAVAK, rather they were obliged to confront all powers and the super-powers which directly and indirectly supported the Shah.

Yes, the Islamic Revolution of Iran is rightfully the story of the victory of faith and will power over weapons and conspiracies. In the interpretation of Imam Khomeini, "The victory of blood over the sword," "Fists over tanks and machine guns," and finally, it is the tale of the victory of human beings over whatever puts them in bondage.

Without doubt, this is one of the most exalted and, at the same time, cause for careful consideration about the glorious Islamic Revolution of Iran. Isn't it that this Revolution well proved that human beings, these creatures who have been given generosity will then be victorious at a time when machines and political systems have pulled them to captivity and they have even been metamorphosed by them, are still stronger than anything else. In a battle with the finest and most modern military weapons and the most calculated political and propagandic conspiracies, it is they who will be victorious.

Analyzes of the Islamic Revolution of Iran whether written or spoken during the Revolution or after its victory are numerous. More will continue to be said and written. But for many reasons, the opportunity of which does not presently exist to go into them, unfortunately, most of the analysts in particular, Westerners have had prejudiced and even hostile encounters. That group whose purpose was to impartially study the Revolution

often could not correctly analyze it because they did not pay attention to its foundations and motives. This problem, as mentioned in the introduction, generally stems from the unco-ordination and shortcomings of the criteria, frameworks and present methods of analysis and differs with the identity and bases of this Revolution. Thus, the first condition for the correct understanding of this Revolution is to flee from the bondage of these criteria and frameworks which normally are used to analyze social and historic events and to encounter the Revolution without any pre-judgment and with sympathetic agreement, that is, to try to understand this Revolution as a new phenomenon and at the same time see it as exceptional and non-classical and realize that it has brought new principles, criteria and forms of struggle into being.

The study of historic, social, cultural, political and economic grounds of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the analysis of its description, its coming into existence, its growth and the reasons for its victory take time and we are trying to analyze this last section in a brief way.

Undoubtedly, without the correct concept of Islam, one cannot totally and completely understand the Revolution of Iran even in a partial way without taking its particularities and principles into consideration. Perhaps there is no factor as effective to the extent as the erroneous understanding of this Revolution, in particular from Westerners point of view, as the incorrect understanding of Islam and without doubt, without a correct conception of Islam in its totality, and universality and

taking its particularities and principles into consideration, one cannot comprehend the Islamic Revolution of Iran, even in an incomplete sense.

The transformations of any society are strongly effected by the thoughts and beliefs dominating that society. Without the correct comprehension of them, these transformations cannot be recognized. If we want to study the social, political and historic transformations of the followers of a religion and school of thought in a society, we must, in the first place, turn our attention to the particulars of that religion and school of thought, and their reception of their religion and school of thought because it is they who build their history and society based upon their beliefs and convictions.

Without understanding Islam, it is not possible thus, to understand the Revolution of Iran which has an essential religious identity. But the question is that we must understand it exactly as it is and not as we would have it be or we anticipate it to be. Erroneous understanding and even the imperfect comprehension of Islam, in particular, by Westerners, beyond the fact that it relates to the unharmonious historic record and prejudices and pre-judgments stemming from a self-centered way of thought which studies everything either from the angle of their own interests or the extent of its aiding in the progress of its science, culture and civilization or the extent of its harmony with its own criteria and rules, it relates to the fact that they study Islam with the same criteria and frameworks as other religions. This itself is the greatest error. Such a method, even if it is useful in the study of the theology of Islam, without doubt, when it relates to the method of Islam's effec-

tiveness in society and history, it will be completely misleading because the nature and the form of the inner structure of Islam is such that the mechanism of its effectiveness upon society and history totally differs from the mechanism of the effectiveness of other religions upon society and history.

These criteria and frameworks are also themselves effected by the concepts of religion of today's human beings. According to the mentality of today, religion, in particular, the point of view of religious research and sociology, consists of a series of ethical concepts and the rituals of devotion. These are nothing more than a complex of historically and socially accepted concepts and reminders and traditions remaining from the past.

If this interpretation of religion is essentially not correct and religion has a transcendental Truth which transcends and has a transhistorical Reality - Abrahamic religions and essentially all religions which have a divine Source, even though they are put under the effect of historic transformations - they are not born of history. In other words, they have been injected into history and not that they came from it and were the results of it - but at the same time, such a concept that knows religion to be a complex of ethics and rules of devotion is close to the Buddhist and Christian concept of religion but these have absolutely no point of comparison with Islam. That is, if the study of the transformation of these religions and the study of the method of their effect upon contemporary society and history - and not their past history, the problem of which is another one - take form with the criteria which result from the new concepts of religion. This leads to somewhat erroneous results which

the study of the mechanism of the effects of Islam upon society and history, even in the contemporary world, with such criteria and methods, will lead to completely incorrect results. That which we have said stems from the essence and nature of Islam which will be briefly discussed in the following.

The important particularities of Islam, in the first place, is the extent and universality of its laws, secondly, its efforts in giving sovereignty to these laws. That is, Islam, as opposed to other religions which more or less only speak to the relationship between man and God, not only speaks to that but also about the relationship of human beings to society and the duties they have towards it. More important than this is that at the same time as it asks its followers as a task and religious duty to act according to all of its laws including its social, political, economic and legal laws ... other religions, if they talk about these subjects, put less demand upon their execution, that is, the practice of them is more of an ethical and virtuous duty than a religious one.

The basic difference between Islam and other religions begins with this point about the way of its effect upon society and history in the sense that Islam as is apparent from its name, asks its followers to be submissive to it, completely and totally submissive to all of its laws, regulations, principles and its origins. The necessity for submission to the principles and commands of Islam is to give it sovereignty over all of the individual and social dimensions. That is, not only must a Moslem practice all of the rules of devotion and ethical commands and individual regulations of Islam but he or she must

necessarily live according to its rules. This is only possible when Islam is sovereign over society.

We see that Islam is itself inherently a very strong factor which actively interferes in creating social and political transformations. Its purpose is to change society and history towards conforming them to Islamic principles and laws. On the contrary, other religions, in particular, in the new era where they simply watch social and political transformations take place and even in this inactive and passive state they are effected by the social and intellectual processes. They themselves play no active role in the changing and transforming of society. Islam, as the strongest and most progressive, effective factor seeks participation in the social and political transformations of Islamic countries.

Thus, the rising (*qiyam*) of Moslems towards the establishment of Islamic principles and laws is something which, in the first place, relates to the very essence of this religion. This particularity has existed from the very beginning of Islam and will exist as long as this religion exists in the stage of history.

Islam, throughout the 15 centuries of the ascents and descents of its history, has always tried to dominate upon history and society, it left the duty of this with its followers. Islam knows them to be responsible and committed to them. Responsibility and commitment in other religions consists of being bound to the pillars of worship and ethical commands. In Islam it is beyond this point. It consists of being obligated to the social and political commands of Islam. Its result is a commitment to its society and people. Essentially, the salvation of a Moslem is proportionate to his or her efforts in

correcting society by giving sovereignty to Islam in all its dimensions.

It is precisely for this reason that in the last 15 centuries, Islam continuously witnessed movements and revolutions whose purpose was nothing other than to give sovereignty to Islam and the correction of deviations and finally, the rejection of whatever is non-Islamic - that very thing which Moslem orators and historians interpret as the confrontation between tradition (*sunnat*) and innovation (*bid'at*).

Of course, it is right that these Revolutions and efforts were manifested whenever they happened to appear in different forms but the identity of each one of them is the same because their principal motive is one, that is, Islam. The Revolution which took place in Iran, in truth, is the continuation of this same course of history which boils up from the inner essence of Islam. This Revolution is a link in the links of a continuous chain which has never been broken throughout these 15 centuries and will never be torn apart.

Another point which should be mentioned is that Islam, from the point of view of a Moslem, consists of a complex of all of the eminent values and transcendent ideals. For a Moslem, concepts such as justice, independence, freedom, equality, etc., are not separate from Islam and they are not even put alongside of it but rather, they are its inner essence. Not only are they its inner essence but essentially these concepts only rightfully exist when the real Islam is found - these words in no way stem from pride, arrogance and the self-centeredness of Moslems. They do not say that which is said is correct and higher rather they say that which God says is correct

and higher. As they know God to be all of the Absolute Perfections and they believe that Islam is the only religion which without the slightest amount of change or alteration reached mankind, therefore, they know Islam to be all of the Absolute Perfections and Transcendent Values - this particularity happened to be very strong in the Revolution in Iran and it played a primary role in the victory of the Revolution. People from the beginning wanted Islam because Islam crystallized and embodied all of the desires and ideals which the people of Iran sought after. They believed that it was only and solely with the realization of Islam that they could reach their goals. It was for this very reason that the conspiracies of the regime to cause the movement to deviate by the emphasis upon freeing of political prisoners, the increase of wages and the gift of freedom, etc. were not successful.

Beyond all of this, this Revolution reached victory with such speed because of the reason that it was able to unite all different sects and groups into one direction and this widespread and total unity was gained because Islam expressed their desires and the goals of the Revolution. Not only was this factor able to consciously gather together the widespread masses of people but it did so even in the most remote areas of the country in an awesome way so that religious minorities and groups not believing in Islam also joined the movement. No factor other than Islam had this power.

Finally, the other important point which must be referred to is the 'how' Moslems interpret and understand the problems of their own society. In the view of a Moslem, Islam is not only the crystallization and embodiment of all of their eminent values and transcen-

dent ideals but rather, essentially, keeping their distance from it (Islam) and forgetting it in their individual and social life is the source of all miseries, oppressions, corruptions and finally all of the shortcomings and social and individual problems they have. This subject, like the first one, has Qoranic roots and not historic ones. It is not history and the transformations of society which brought about such a thought, rather the Qoran and Traditions which express these two questions explicitly and totally emphasize them.

These two particularities, which are at the same time, inseparable, cause a powerfully creative and active factor and a final solution which always enters the arena when the ground of society is suitable, that is, at the peak of oppression, prejudices, misery, suffering, despotism and colonialism because a society which reaches the end of its rope from the pressure of oppression, despotism and injustice naturally seeks out the cause and interpretations of these problems and the ways of treating them.

Thus, in an Islamic society, taking the deep influence of Islam into consideration, the first answer which will be expressed in relation to this question will be Islam as a solution.

This course of affairs in the last few years in particular took place in Iran. It is tens of years that the religious thinkers and religious writers in Iran analyzed the problems of society and introduced Islam as the only solution. But it was in recent years that this thought was expressed among the masses of the people, in particular, the youth and students.

The wave of turning to Islam in the last years in

Iran, the result of which was the Revolution of Iran, generally stemmed from this very course of affairs. It was for this very reason that the increase in corruption, suffocation, oppression and discrimination unexpectedly spread the turning to Islam. This course of affairs extended throughout the Revolution and because the glorious experience of the Revolution in Iran proved in the best form possible the ability of Islam in solving social problems thus after the victory of the Revolution it found greater depth and it penetrated further.

That which has so far been said was about the essence and nature of Islam and how these particularities are effective in the social and political transformations of Islamic society while the role of Islam in the transformation of society does not only relate to these particularities. It indirectly plays an important role in the creation of changes.

The description of this question as to how Islam participates in the creation of institutions and special social systems which it itself brings into being and social transformations, will take too long. But briefly it must be said that in the first place, religious institutions of the Islamic society are the strongest and most widespread and also most trustworthy existing institutions in these societies. In the second place, all of these are strongly effected by the inner structure of Islam itself. This particularity, which causes the transformations and currents of the Islamic world, is generally manifested not from political organizations and parties, but rather from these very institutions. Even if sometimes these transformations appear in the framework of parties and political organiza-

tions it is more for the reason that these parties and political organizations tried to get close to these religious institutions and even to combine with them and they took on a strong religious tone.

From another point of view, the forms in which social transformations take place in particular, strong social political currents which arise from the hearts of the people is neither determined by anyone nor can they be so determined. Rather, it is this structure of the social system and the extent of the power, credit and the influence of its existing institutions which determines the form of the appearance of these transformations. It is precisely for this reason that revolutions and popular currents of the Islamic world always appear from Islamic institutions even where its contents is not very religious.

Among these institutions is the mosque and the Friday prayer, Congregational prayers, religious worship and lectures and other religious gatherings which are held on various occasions, and the Revolution of Iran was previsely manifested from these very institutions. This Revolution began in the mosque and spread from religious institutions and centers like mosques, religious circles and clergymen. It reached its peak on religious days and it was for this very reason that it quickly spread and in the shortest time possible, without the existence of political parties and organizations, it covered all of Iran.

The first spark of the Revolution was lit with an insult to a religious figure which caused the death of a number of religious students in the religious city of Qom. The later events continued in this way from the mosques and religious circles. Finally, in the holy month

of Ramadan, they took a serious turn and spread. After the prayers for the Festival of *fitr*, the first, great historic march, which had no previous precedent, took place in Tehran and other cities throughout the country. Finally, in the month of Moharram, which is a month of holding gatherings in religious circles throughout Iran, for memorial ceremonies in remembrance of Imam Hosein and the other martyrs of Karbala, reach their peak. All of the historic marches which lead to the downfall of the regime were held on religious days.

We see to what extent these institutions and social system were effective in the bringing into being, growth, spreading and influencing of this Revolution. Without doubt, if the Revolution of Iran had not appeared from these institutions, not only would it not have achieved victory but essentially it would have taken the form of an inconclusive uprising which would have suffocated while still an embryo, especially if we turn our attention to the fact that these very channels and forms of manifestation of this Revolution were religious which caused the army to be shaken up and finally join with the people.

Another point which should be mentioned in relationship to this is the effect which Islam has upon the soul and spirit of a Moslem. That is, in the same way that Islam is the creator of a particular social system, it can be said that, it is also the creator of a special psychology. Here the purpose is to recall this point not the expressing of this complex and difficult phenomena. This is a reality that one must pay attention to, of necessity, in the analysis of a revolution like the Revolution of Iran which is essentially the story of the victory of spiritual power over physical power and lethal firearms.

It is difficult to explain the effects of Islamic slogans upon the spirit of a Moslem to a non-Moslem or even a Moslem who has not participated in a religious gathering, full of fervour and excitement like the pilgrimase (*hadj*). It is difficult for them to know how slogans such as *allaho akbar* (God is Creator) and *la illaha illa lah* (there is no god but God) and/or *nasro min allah wa fathun qarib* (With the help of God, victory is at hand), cause them to arise to sacrifice themselves and offer generous self-sacrifice in the way of God.

As we have said, our purpose here is not to study the quality and the nature of this deep and influential effect but the reality is this that this effect is so strong that it can even be said that it was these very cries of *allaho akbar* which caused the Revolution of Iran to be victorious. It was these very cries which gave people perservance and firmness and either conquered the hearts of the enemy so that they joined with the people or they completely fell apart and lost their courage in spite of their fiendish weapons.

They put fear and fright in their hearts. Moslems, who at the most sensitive and dangerous moment under the thunder of machine guns and face to face with tanks and armoured cars, cried out *allaho akbar* no longer cries with their tongue but cries with their whole being, 'God is Greater,' Greater than all enemies and, even the whole world and finally is Greater than anything that can be explained or imagined. At that very moment, they see themselves joined with such a Being. As a result, they become so strong and they sense power in a way that no power can prevail against them and even with empty hands tanks are captured. These are experiences which

were daily witnessed in the Revolution of Iran.

More difficult than that is the expressions of the very complex and yet delicate concept of "martyrdom" (*shahadat*) and a Moslem's desire for martyrdom while without understanding this point, the Iranian Revolution will not be understood. Without doubt, the most important particularity of this Revolution is that very characteristic of their desiring martyrdom. This Revolution, in reality, reached victory with the backing of the blood of everlasting martyrs who with faith and trust, stood in front of machine guns and firmly cried *allaho akbar*, 'Independence, Freedom, Islamic Republic.' This key to the understanding of the Islamic Revolution of Iran has been misunderstood particularly by Westerners and people who are under the influence of Western thought.

This difficulty is not only that understanding martyrdom necessarily wants complete and sympathetic awareness of the spirit, principles and foundations of Islam, rather, it is more for the reason that because words and concepts of non-Islamic cultures and languages have no common root with Islamic concepts, thus, without the help of them, one cannot describe a difficult and delicate concept such as martyrdom. Martyrdom can be described as a conscious and at the same time brave choice of death. A martyr becomes 'martyr' when he or she decides to stand up and face death in order to defend his or her faith and ideals and in order to guard Truth and Justice and not the moment when he or she is killed. Being killed is giving actuality to this conscious and brave choice.

In truth, it is this chosen death which is the martyr's weapon when confronting the enemy. This weapon is

put to use when oppression, despotism and suffocation so severely rules that there is no way to defend religion, Truth and justice. At that time, martyrdom is the only effective weapon which can shake up the pillars of the ruling despotic power. One of the important particularities of a despotic regime which always leans upon oppression and suffocation is leaving people in absolute unconsciousness in relation to their tyrannical actions and decisions and, in particular, their crimes. Another is that with the help of their propagandic machines, espionage and police system, they bring about such a pseudo sense of power that they cause the independence, personality and courage of the people to disappear until it reaches the point that living under these accursed conditions is to them, predetermined and unchangeable destiny. Essentially, tyrannical and despotic regimes make use of these two principles more than they make use of their military power, espionage and propagandic machines in order to consolidate their positions and tyrannical rule. Even their military power and propagandic machines is a means by which they strengthen these two principles. Martyrdom is a weapon for shaking these very two pillars and it is precisely in this way that the system of rule is overthrown. Sainly believers who cry out without fear in order to defend religion and guard human freedom, justice, nobility to defend religion and guard human freedom, justice, nobility and self-respect, desiring justice and freedom are without any reason unmercifully machine gunned and they bravely stand in front of bullets open-chested and they repeat their slogans and their words. In the first place, by this means, the mask of the regime is pulled from its accursed and inhumane visage and with their

brave action they show that the regime in order to persist in its plundering rule, stops at no crime. Secondly, in this way, they give people courage and daring so that they find faith in themselves and in their strength. They stand in front of oppressors and take their fate in their own hands.

This was the exact situation which occurred. It was these very humble and courageous martyrdoms which showed people the ugly and inhumane visage of the Shah's regime in spite of its deceiving surface. More important than that, the ground was made ready for knowing about the terrible and unbelievable crimes of the regime. All of the people and, in particular, the army and other institutions which the regime leaned upon for oppression, torture and betrayal of the nation were made aware. More important than this, they dared the people and excited them so that they would arise to guard religion, justice and freedom and revolt against oppression, suffocation and despotism. This situation moved forward so quickly that suddenly it spread throughout Iran in such a way that the blood of each martyr spilt, hundreds and even thousands of revolutionaries replaced. Beyond the fact that this factor led to popular mobilization, it led to even greater unity and solidarity. This itself played an important role in the speedy victory of the Revolution.

In this way, the Islamic Revolution of Iran reached victory before the worried and surprised eyes of the world, with the backing of these very martyrdom. Faith, sacrifice and unselfishness dominated upon the most powerful and most experienced dictator of the time who was supported by all powers and super-powers. The

theory of the 'victory of blood over the sword' was realized in the best way possible.

Naturally, one cannot with the writing of an article completely analyze a Revolution as complex and unexpected as the Islamic Revolution of Iran. In the research of this Revolution, analysts have put greater emphasis upon the study of the social and economic conditions of Iran, which, without doubt, are all correct. But the main point is that none of them was the only factor for the victory of the Revolution, not even the most important of them. All of these factors helped prepare the groundwork for Islam to appear as the determining social force in that stage of society. If the economic factor or socio-political factors in suffocation and despotism played a role in the growth and bringing into being of this Revolution, it is more because it helped in the revival of Islam.

It is correct that financial corruption of the court, stealing, bribery of those connected to the Pahlavi regime traitors and the ambition of the Shah himself made Iran's economy dependent and completely paralyzed it. But the problem is that Iran was a wealthy country and it had oil at its disposal and with the help of these two it could easily bring itself out of its economic state and the regime was prepared to give just enough freedom so as not to shake the pillar's of its power. Beyond all of this, the extent of the social and economic problems or any other problems in the creation of a Revolution is proportionate to the strength of the problem itself and also with the opponents reaction which can be brought into being. This reaction is strongly effected by the mental

ground and the beliefs of a society.

For instance, in Iran, the results of that which were based on Islamic principles helped this process more than the merely economic problem and shortcomings stemming from the economic crisis which lead to the fall of the regime. The results of that which leaned upon Islamic concepts helped this process, that is, the economic crisis and class differences - and also despotism and suffocation and prison and torture - stimulated these sense of the seeking of justice and freedom of the people which leaned upon the Islamic concept of Justice and freedom and the thundering and decisiveness of this Revolution stems precisely from this very point.

Thus, in order to study this Revolution in depth, one must reacknowledge the mental ground and beliefs of society before one looks at the factors causing a crisis.

The truth is that this groundwork in Iran in the last 15 years, especially the last five years, changed rapidly and speedily to the point where it could be said that essentially this revolution is the reflection of this very deep cultural transformation and change in belief of Iranians, in particular, in students, young people and women.

This subject will be understood with a quick comparative study in the religious literature of Iran of the last few years and before that in the sense that suddenly Islam is offered as a school of thought which demands commitment whose greatest mission is the establishment of justice and fighting against oppression and its goal is the guarding of independence and the freedom of Moslems and struggling against colonialism and dependence. All those schools of thought and other solutions are plentiful

in societies where oppression, despotism and colonialism dominate, are overwhelming and considered to be the only way of solution.

This very transformation caused the people of Iran to take Islam as the embodiment of all of their individual and social ideals and ideas and motivated by that, arise and resist the savageness and conspiracies of the regime. Without doubt, if Islam, from the point of view of Iranians, had been less than the crystallization and embodiment of their total desires and ideas, in the sense that it is their expressor of the majority of the people, this Revolution would not have reached victory.

In the midst of this, one must point out the brilliant leadership of Imam Khomeini who thought of nothing other than Islam and the realization of Islamic goals, that is, inclination towards justice, independence, freedom and the establishment of the Islamic Republic. It was the alertness and consciousness of Imam in comprehending the conditions and situations and also his leaning upon Islam as the only solution which allowed him to lead and guide the Revolution from thousands of kilometers away and be victorious. He who continuously from tens of years previously defended Islam as the only secret of success for Moslems and the only solution for Islamic countries for freeing the bondage of colonialism, dependence, stagnation, backwardness, oppression and injustice. It was proven in the best form possible in this Revolution. It showed how only and solely relying on faith in Islam and leaning upon that, can have a revolution and victorious over all barriers.

The study of the role of Imam Khomeini in the creation and bringing into being of the victory of the

Iranian Revolution cannot be done even briefly in one article. But it must with certainty be said that this Revolution without his leadership would not only not be fruitful but at the most it would have been an unsuccessful uprising and it would have suffocated as an embryo.

The Revolution of Iran is neither the first or the last Islamic Revolution. The value and importance of this Revolution is not only in its amazing and unexpected victory but it is more in fact in this that it brought about a new method and way of thinking and more important than this, it took place at a time when more than any other time the Islamic community and essentially the abased and deprived peoples of the world are in need of a new way directing them towards independence and freedom.

With the hope that this victorious experience at the beginning of the 15th century of the hegira is the starting point of a transformation throughout the Islamic world directing them towards the establishment of a government 'sent by God' (*bi ma anzal allah*) and inclination towards justice, independence and freedom and the severing of any kind of colonialism and dependencies. This Revolution is a precious experience for all Moslems who follow such a goal. Without doubt, this method and way of thinking causes all Moslems and even all of the deprived who are seeking independence, freedom and justice to pause and think.

'And no help is there save from God. Verily God is Ever-Triumphant, Wise.. (The Qoran, 8:10)

