

Khomeini's *fatwa* ordering the massacre of unrepentant Mojahedin prisoners

“As the treacherous Monafeqin [Hypocrites, a derogatory term used by the regime referring to the PMOI] do not believe in Islam and their statements are rooted in deception and hypocrisy, and as their leaders have confessed that they have become renegades, and as they are waging war on God, and as they are engaging in classical warfare on the western, northern and southern fronts, and as they are collaborating with the Baathist Party of Iraq and spying for Saddam [Hussein] against our Muslim nation, and as they are tied to the World Arrogance, and in light of their cowardly blows to the Islamic Republic since its inception, it is decreed that those who are in prison throughout the country and remain steadfast in their support for the Monafeqin are waging war on God and are condemned to execution.

“The task of implementing the decree in Tehran is entrusted to Hojjatol-Islam Nayeri, the Sharia [religious] judge; Mr. Eshraqi, the Tehran prosecutor; and a representative of the Intelligence Ministry ...

“In prisons in the provinces, the views of a majority of a trio consisting of the Sharia judge, the Revolutionary Prosecutor, and the Intelligence Ministry representative must be obeyed. It is naive to show mercy to those who wage war on God ... Those who are making the decisions must not hesitate, nor show any doubt or be concerned with details...”

Ruhollah Mousavi Khomeini¹⁹⁹

199- Montazeri, Hossein-Ali, Khaterat-e Ayatollah Montazeri (Ayatollah Montazeri's Memoirs), Chapter 10, Attachment 152. www.montazeri.org, 2000.



بسم الرحمن الرحيم

لذتجا که منافقین فاسق بیوچه به اسم مستعذبند در پی سکویند لفظ حیدر ذائق است و در آیه قرآن
 به اسم مستعذبند اگر آن را با تعبیر به موجب بدن این و جملات سرگردان آن در شالی و غنچه جویز کند
 به اسم رخصت عراقی و خجسته می توان بار صلح علیه ملت مسلمان را با تعبیر به لایق آن با
 استکبار جهان و صفات ناجیه در آن توان لذتبخش تر کرد و همه سده می گویند که که در نه نه
 سر هر کس بر موضع ذائق خود با فایز کردن می کند و در یکم به هلم می باشد و تغییر موضع نرود
 ندان با راز کثرت آیه در اسم نری و غایب در شرا و نه در ذرات طهرات
 اگر چه حیات در جمیع است و در این طهر در نه نه در راز کثرت آیه در فاضل شرع
 در آستان بهر ویداد و در نه نه در ذرات طهرات منم در جامع می باشد و در بر می آید
 ساد انزلی است و طاعت اسم در برابر دشمن خدا الذمیر و سده نایز نام است
 است و بهر علم چشم و کینه بهر خد نسبت دشمن اسم رضایت خداوند متعال را
 آیه که تغییر موضع به حمد آن است و در سده و سده و سده که است
 عا کفار بهند و در سده و سده اسم بهر نایز کفر خون پاک و سده
 سده و سده و سده و سده

Questions submitted by Moussavi Ardebili, then Chief Justice, on how the death commissions should proceed, conveyed to Khomeini by his son, Ahmad Khomeini.

“With greetings, [Chief Justice] Ayatollah Moussavi Ardebili has telephoned to raise three ambiguities in Your Eminence’s recent decree on the *Monafeqin* [Mojahedin]:

“1. Does the decree apply only to those who have been in prison, who have already been tried and sentenced to death, but have not changed their stance and the verdict has not yet been carried out, or are those who have not yet been tried also condemned to death?

“2. Those *Monafeqin* prisoners who have received limited jail terms and have already served part of their terms, but continue to hold fast to their stance in support of the *Monafeqin*, are they also condemned to death?

“3. In reviewing the status of the *Monafeqin* prisoners, is it necessary to refer the cases of *Monafeqin* prisoners in provinces that have an independent judicial organ to the provincial center, or can the local judicial authorities act autonomously?

“Your son, Ahmad”

Khomeini’s reply

“In the name of God, the Most High,

“In all the above cases, if the person at any stage or at any time maintains his [or her] support for the *Monafeqin*, the sentence is execution. Annihilate the enemies of Islam immediately. As for individual cases, use whichever criterion speeds up the implementation of the verdict.

“Ruhollah Moussavi Khomeini”²⁰⁰

200- Montazeri, Hossein-Ali, Khaterat-e Ayatollah Montazeri (Ayatollah Montazeri’s Memoirs), Chapter 10, Attachment 152. www.montazeri.org, 2000

سرتا

بدر بزرگوار حضرت امام سرمد علی بن ابراهیم علیه السلام است که در روز دهم از ماه رمضان در ماه شعبان سال ۱۰۰۰ هجری قمری در مدینه منوره درگذشتند و در آنجا دفن شدند.

۱- آیه این حکم در خط است که در روز دهم از ماه رمضان در ماه شعبان سال ۱۰۰۰ هجری قمری در مدینه منوره درگذشتند و در آنجا دفن شدند.
 ۲- آیه این حکم در خط است که در روز دهم از ماه رمضان در ماه شعبان سال ۱۰۰۰ هجری قمری در مدینه منوره درگذشتند و در آنجا دفن شدند.
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فرزند شاه

سرتا

در تمام سواد فزون اگر در هر صدد
 اگر بر زبانان باشد حکم اسلام است
 برینا و منی این هم زبان بر کینه
 در هر دو یکدیگر به وضع بر دهنده
 در هر یک که حکم سرمد است او را
 جان سرمد فطرت است چنانچه



Montazeri's letter to Khomeini – 31 July 1988

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

"His Exalted Eminence Imam Khomeini,

"With greetings, I would like to inform Your Eminence of the following regarding your recent decree for the execution of the Monafeqin who remain in prison. The nation apparently tolerates the execution of those arrested in the recent incidents with no adverse consequences; but the execution of those who were already in prison has the following consequences:

"1. These executions are perceived as an act of vengeance and a vendetta, considering the present state of affairs.

"2. Many families, even those who are pious and revolutionary, are distressed and aggrieved by these executions, and have turned their backs to our regime.

"3. Many of the prisoners who are not holding fast to their views are being treated by the officious as if they were.

"4. At a time when under the attacks and pressure of Saddam and the Monafeqin, we are attracting some sympathy around the world and many newspapers and personalities are defending us, it is unwise for the regime and you to cause the propaganda to turn against us.

"5. In that these people have been sentenced by our courts to prison terms, executing them without due process or new activity completely disregards all judicial standards and rulings. This will not reflect well on our regime.

"6. Our judicial officials, prosecutors and intelligence officials are not perfect and there is plenty of opportunity for mistakes and unduly influenced decisions. With Your Eminence's recent decree, many people who have light charges or are innocent are being executed.

"7. To date, we have not benefited from these killings and violence. We have only stirred up more propaganda against ourselves and we have increased the appeal of the Monafeqin and the counter-revolutionaries. It is appropriate to treat them with mercy for a while so as to make many of them sympathetic to us.

"8. If you insist on your decree, then at least issue an order that the judge, the prosecutor and the intelligence official have to reach a consensus for execution. They must particularly spare women with children. The execution of several thousand prisoners in a few days will not have positive repercussions and will not be without error. Even some of our religious judges were very distressed by this.

"Hossein-Ali Montazeri"

31 July 1988"²⁰¹

201- Montazeri, Hossein-Ali, Khaterat-e Ayatollah Montazeri (Ayatollah Montazeri's Memoirs), Chapter 10,

Montazeri's second letter to Khomeini – 4 August 1988

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

“His Exalted Eminence Imam Khomeini,

“With greetings, pursuant to my letter of 31 July 1988, I write the following out of my sense of religious duty: Three days ago, a religious judge from one of th, who is a trustworthy man, came to see me in Qom and was in great distress because of the way Your Eminence's decree is being implemented. He said the intelligence chief or the prosecutor (I forget which) was trying to ascertain if a prisoner was still holding fast to his beliefs.

“He asked the prisoner if he was prepared to condemn the *Monafeqin*; he said yes.

“He asked him: ‘Are you willing to go to the front to fight in the war with Iraq?’ He said yes.

“They asked, ‘Are you willing to walk over mines*?’ He said, ‘Do you mean everybody is willing to walk over mines? Besides, you shouldn't have such high expectations from someone who has just changed his views.’

“They said, ‘It is obvious that you are still holding on to your political beliefs,’ and dealt with him in the same way they dealt with those who had held onto their previous political positions [executed him].”

“The judge told me how much he insisted that the verdict be issued by consensus, or a majority, but this was not accepted, because it is the intelligence official who has absolute control and the others are under his influence.

“Your Eminence, can see what type of people are implementing your grave decree that affects the lives of thousands of prisoners.

“Hossein-Ali Montazeri”²⁰²

Khomeini's response— 6 August 1988

“I am religiously responsible for the said verdict. You should not be concerned. May God obliterate every one of the *Monafeqin*.”²⁰³

Attachment 153. www.montazeri.org, 2000.

202- Montazeri, Hossein-Ali, *Khaterat-e Ayatollah Montazeri (Ayatollah Montazeri's Memoirs)*, Chapter 10, Attachment 154. www.montazeri.org, 2000

203- Montazeri, Hossein-Ali, *Khaterat-e Ayatollah Montazeri (Ayatollah Montazeri's Memoirs)*, Chapter 10, Attachment 156. www.montazeri.org, 2000.

بسمه تعالی

تاریخ ۹۷/۵/۱۳

شماره

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
محضر مبارک آیت الله العظمی امام خمینی مظلله الله

پس از سلام و تحیت پیر زمانه مورخه ۹۷/۵/۹ بر این رفع مسکولیت شرعی از خود و بعضی میسرسانند:
سه روز قبل قاضی شرعی یکی از بهائیان کور که مرد بود و اعتقادش می باشد با ما راجعی از نحوه احوال
فرمان اخیر حضرت قاضی قم آمده بود و میگفت: مسؤل اطلاعات یا دادستان - تردید از من است -
از یکی از زندانیان برای تحقیق اینکه سر موضع است یا نه پرسید: قاضی قاضی سازش با منافقین را محکوم کنی.
گفت: آری. پرسید: قاضی مصاحبه کنی. گفت: آری. پرسید: قاضی برای جنگ
با عراق بجهت بروی. گفت: آری. پرسید: قاضی روی مین بروی. گفت:
گفت: اگر همه مردم حاضرند روی مین بروند و انگلی از من تازه مسلمان بنایند تا این حد انتظار دارم
گفت: معلوم میشود ترهیز سر موضع و با او معامله سر موضع انجام داد.
و این قاضی شرعی میگفت: من هر چه اصرار کردم پس ملاقات آراء با رنده الکتریت پذیرفته نشد
و نفس امارتی را هم با مسؤل اطلاعات دارد و دیگران مخالفت تأیید می باشند.
حضرت قاضی مظلله فرمایند چه کاره دیدی مسؤل احوال فرمایند: حضرت قاضی که بداند هزاران نفر
مربوط است می باشند و السلام علیکم ورحمة الله وبرکاته

Letter to Khomeini from Mohammad Hassan Ahmadi,

Sharia judge of Khuzestan– 14 August 1988

“In the name of God,

Excellency Grand Ayatollah Imam Khomeini, May your blessings remain eternal

“With regard to the recent ruling of Your Eminence regarding the Monafeqin....

There are various interpretations in the extreme, which I have explained thoroughly to Ahmad Agha [Khomeini's son] and I will not repeat. For example, in Dezful, certain of the prisoners by the names of Taher Ranjbar, Mostafa Behzadi, Ahmad Asekh and Mohammad Reza Ashough, condemned the Monafeqin, but the intelligence representative nevertheless asked them, ‘So if you believe the Islamic Republic is righteous and the Monafeqin false, are you willing to fight on the battlefield, in the war, and in the mountain passes, etc. on behalf of the Islamic Republic?’ Some were doubtful and some said no. The intelligence representative said: ‘They are holding onto their beliefs, because they are not willing to fight in the name of the ruler.’

“I told him, ‘So then the majority of the Iranian people who are not willing to go to the war, are all Monafeqin?’

“He responded, ‘Their case is different from that of ordinary people.’

“And finally they were sentenced with a majority vote, except the last person who fled during the sentencing. Therefore, I request your virtuous attention and judgment to determine this matter, so those in charge of implementation do not make mistakes...

“Islamic Republic Sharia judge of Khuzestan

“Mohammad Hossein Ahmadi – 14 August 1988”²⁰⁴

204- Montazeri, Hossein-Ali, Khaterat-e Ayatollah Montazeri (Ayatollah Montazeri's Memoirs), Chapter 10, Attachment 157. www.montazeri.org, 2000.

سید

حضرت آیت الله العظمیٰ منتظری مد ظله العالی

برادر و منعم حضرت امام فرزاد

«نامه دوم خدایا به رب تعالیٰ سزاوارد که در راه
«بلوکه باید تهران تا شمشیر را بگوید و مطمئن باشد»
«و باقی که سزاوارد که بهانه نشا که می آید من فرخام»
«سرور و نه به خدایا من ظلم شود و به دیوار در روز خدا»
«الغلب و تغیر و خدا فقیه را قبول تمام سزاوارت می باشد»
«صم بود و بهت با من است خدایا تهران باشد خداوند»
«درین فقیه را از سر حد کرانه فراید»

۶۷/۱۵
برادر و منعم حضرت امام

حضرت آیت الله العظمیٰ امام خمینی دامت برکاته - با عرض سلام
در رابطه با حکم اخیر حضرتعالی راجع به مناقصه مرصع استانبول که یکم از آن
که در این باره صحبت کنیم در این جهت کسب رهنمودین باب وظیفه شرعی
مسئولین خطیری که در تشخیص موضوع مجله سیاست معروفین سیدار
که بر سر نشان بودن یا یا نشان بر روی مناقصه تنسیها و تحلیل های گوناگونی
میشود و نظرها و سلیقه ها بین افراد و نظریات قرار دارد که تفصیل ضمیمه
ساج احمد آقا عرض کردم و از بکار آن خود را می بیند من باب مثال
در روز اول تعدادی از نمایان نامان طاهر و منیر مصطفی بهزادی و احمد اش
و محمود رضا آشتیچ با اینکه مناقصه را محکوم می کردند و حاضریم هر نوع صاحب
و افکار که در ادبیات و تفسیر و تفسیر و تفسیر و تفسیر و تفسیر و تفسیر و تفسیر و تفسیر
نامیده - اطلاعات از آنجا سوال کردیم که چگونه و با سلام و احترام
و مناقصه را بر باطلی می بیند و حاضرین در مناقصه جمهوری اسلامی در جبهه
ریج و گوناگاه ها شرکت کنند بعضی اظهار کردند و بعضی نمی کنند
نامیده - اطلاعات گشت اینها سر منافع هستند و حاضرین هستند که
در راه نظام حق می کنند ایشان گفتیم این اکثریت مردم ایران که
حاضر نیستند به جبهه می روند مناقصه حجاب و احزاب است با مردم
عادی فرق میکنند در هر صورت با رأی اکثریت نامیردگان محکوم
شدند و منتظرند اخیر در مسیر اجراء حکم قرار گیرد لذا خواهشمند
است در صورت محصلت ملاک و بسیاری برای این امر متوجه
فرمایید تا سر این اجراء و مدارات و افراد و نظریات فتنه
حاکم شرع «و گوناگاه» اسلام و اسلام و تفسیرات

۶۷/۱۵
محمد حسین احمدی
حضرت آیت الله العظمیٰ منتظری مد ظله العالی

**Montazeri's letter to members of the Tehran Death Commission,
Nayeri, Eshraqi, Pour Mohammadi and Raeisi – 15 August 1988**

“In the Name of God, the Most High,

“1. I have received more blows from the *Monafegin* than all of you, both in prison and outside. My son was martyred by them. If it was a question of revenge, I should pursue it more than you. But I seek the expedience and interests of the Revolution, Islam, the Supreme Leader, and the Islamic State. I am worried about the judgment that posterity and history will pass upon us.

“2. Such massacres without trial, particularly when the victims are prisoners or captives [of war], will definitely benefit them in the long run. The world will condemn us and they will be further encouraged to wage armed struggle. It is wrong to confront ideas and ideologies with killings.

“3. Look at the behavior of the Prophet [Mohammad] and how he treated his enemies after the conquest of Mecca and the Battle of Hawazen. The Prophet showed mercy and amnesty and was given the title of ‘the Mercy of Both Worlds’ by the Almighty. Look how Imam Ali treated his enemies after defeating them in the Battle of Jamal.

“4. Many of these people who are holding fast to their beliefs are doing so in reaction to the way they have been treated by interrogators and prison wardens; otherwise they might have been flexible.

“5. To argue that if we released these prisoners, they would rejoin the *Monafegin* is not sufficient to characterize them as *Mohareb* [waging war on God] and of having mutinied against God. Imam Ali did not punish Ibn Moljem [his assassin] before he actually carried out the crime, even though he said beforehand that ‘he [Ibn Moljem] is my killer’....

“6. The beliefs of a person, per se, are not sufficient grounds to declare him as someone who is waging war on God or rebelling against the Almighty. Even if it is supposed that the [Mojahedin] leaders are renegades, their supporters cannot be given the same verdict.

“7. Judgment must be made in an environment free of emotions. The social environment now is not conducive to justice due to sloganeering and propaganda. We are upset with the *Monafegin's* crime in the west, but are taking it out on prisoners and former prisoners. Executing people who have not carried out any new activities will cast doubt on previous judges and all previous judgments. According to which standard do you execute a prisoner to whom you have previously given a lesser sentence? At present, prison visits and telephone calls have been cut off, but how will you answer the families tomorrow?

خطاب بآقایان سرمدی و شیرازی
بسمه تعالی
تاریخ ۱۳۴۴/۵/۷

- شماره
- ۱- من پیش از همه از منافقین هر چه خود را می‌پندارند و در زندان و در خارج زندان - فرزندان افغان که هماره
را ندارند - اگر بنا بر انتقام مجوز باشد من بیشتر باید دنبال کنم و با منصلت اسلام و انقلاب و کشور
و حیثیت ولایت فقیه و حکومت اسلام را در نظر بگیرم من قصاصت آمدگان و تاراج را در نظر نمیگیرم.
 - ۲- این گونه قتل عام بدون محاکمه آن هم نسبت بر سر نهادهای سر قتل در دراز مدت بیخ آنهاست و بنا بر این میگویند
و آنان را بیشتر مبارزه و سلیمان تشریف میگذارد مبارزه با فکر و ایده از طریق کشتن غلط است.
 - ۳- روش پیغمبر را با دشمنان خود در فتح مکه و جنگ هوزن به پیسید به هم نموده است پیغمبر با خود و ملا
بر خود کرد و از حد القرب و حد لغالین گرفت روش امیر المؤمنین با اهل بیت را از شکست نماند و غلبه کرد.
 - ۴- بسیاری از افراد سر موضع را در قتل با خود و در زندانها افغان را بر موضع کشتن و الا با بر انطاف بودند.
 - ۵- محرومانی که اگر افغان را آزاد کنیم منافقین میگویند من موجب صدق عنوان میارب و باغی بر افغان نمیشود
امیر المؤمنین نسبت باین بهم هم قصاص من غیر از حد است انجام نداد با اینکه خود من فرزند او و تعلق من است.
 - ۶- مجدداً عقاید فرد را در عنوان میارب و باغی نمی‌گردد و در تدارک سران موجب حکم با تدارک سمیه‌ها نمیشود.
 - ۷- قصاصت و حکم باید در جرم سالم و خالی از افساسات باشد (لا یقین العاقبتی و هو غضبان)
 - ۸- الان با تصور و تحریکات جدا گانه یعنی ما ناسالم است با از جنایت منافقین در غرب ناراضیم
بجای آن سر افروزیان را بقی افتاده ایم و انگلی اعدام افغان بدون فعالیت جدید زیر سوال بردن
هم قصاص و هم قضا و تقاضای سابق است کسی را که بکشد از اعدام محکوم کرده اند به چه ملاک اعدام میکنند.
 - ۹- من پیش از همه بنگر حیثیت حضرت امام و عهد ولایت فقیه می‌باشم و نمی‌دانم موضوع را به چه نحوی باید
را ندارند این هم مادر فقه که با احتیاط در دعا و احوال کردیم هم غلط بود ؟
 - ۱۰- من عین نظر از قصاص عاقل و تدوین را دیدم که نادر است بود و از نحوه اجرای شکایت داشته
و مستفاد سازد و می‌شود و نمونه آن را از یاد می‌آورم که به جهت حکم اعدام اجرا شده است.
 - ۱۱- در فاشه مجاهدین خوار نمی‌شوند که من نیستند که من در و در است که منطق است و منطق غلط را باید با منطق
صالح جواب داد با کشتن هر که بکشد بلکه ترویج می‌شود انهم مرفق بکشد ج - م -

“8. I, more than anybody, care about the prestige of His Eminence the Imam as the Supreme Leader [Khomeini]. I do not know how things are being presented to him. Should we say that all that we studied in Islamic jurisprudence about caution when dealing with people’s blood and properties was wrong?

“9. I have met with a number of just and pious judges who were dismayed and complained about the way the decree is being implemented. They said there is too much extremism and cited numerous cases of people being executed without any reason.

“10. In conclusion, the People’s Mojahedin are not individuals; they are an ideology, and a world view. They have a logic. It takes right logic to answer wrong logic. You cannot rectify wrong with killings; you only spread it.

“Hossein-Ali Montazeri”²⁰⁵

Khomeini’s letter dismissing Montazeri as his successor 26 March 1989

“In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

“To Mr. Montazeri.

“My heart is broken and filled with blood now that I am writing a few words to you. Perhaps one day the people will realize the facts by reading this letter.

“In your recent letter to me, you said that in accordance with the *Sharia*, you give priority to my views over your own. As God is my witness, I point out the following issues:

“Since it has become clear that after me, you are going to hand over this country, our dear Islamic Revolution, and the Muslim people of Iran to the liberals, and through that channel to the *Monafeqin*, you are no longer qualified to succeed me as the legitimate leader of the state. You, in most of your letters, speeches and stances, have shown that you believe the liberals and *Monafeqin* should rule this country. It is so clear that your remarks have been dictated by the *Monafeqin* that I did not see any point in sending a reply. For instance, thanks to your speeches and written work, the *Monafeqin* took advantage of your stance in defense of their gang to promote a number of their comrades—who had been condemned to death on charges of waging armed struggle against Islam and the Revolution—to positions of authority.

205- Montazeri, Hossein-Ali, Khaterat-e Ayatollah Montazeri (Ayatollah Montazeri's Memoirs), Chapter 10, Attachment 155. www.montazeri.org, 2000.

Can you see what valuable services you have offered to 'The Arrogance [The West]? On the issue of the murderer Mahdi Hashemi [a supporter and relative of Ayatollah Montazeri, who was later executed], you considered him to be the most religious person on earth. Despite the fact that it was proven to you that he was a murderer, you kept sending messages to me to spare his life. There are so many other examples, similar to that of Mahdi Hashemi, that I cannot be bothered to mention them all.

"You no longer have the power of attorney on my behalf. Tell the people who bring you gold and money to take them to Mr. Pasandideh's [Khomeini's elder brother] residence in Qom or to me in Jamaran. Praise be to God, you yourself will not have any financial commitments from this date.

"If, in accordance with the *Sharia*, you do consider my views to be superior to yours (although the *Monafeqin* will certainly advise you that it is against your interests to do so, and no doubt you will get busy writing things which will further worsen your future), then you should listen to the following words of advice I am giving you. It breaks my heart and my chest is full of agonizing pain when I see that you, the fruit of my life's labor, are so ungrateful. However, by relying on Almighty God, I give you the following words of advice, and it will be up to you whether you take note of them or not:

"One: Try to change the members of your cabinet so as to avoid feeding the *Monafeqin*, Mahdi Hashemi's clique, and the liberals from the sacred charity funds donated to the Imam.

"Two: Since you are a gullible person and are provoked easily, do not interfere in political matters, and maybe then God will forgive you for your sins.

"Three: Do not write to me ever again, and do not allow the *Monafeqin* to pass state secrets to foreign radio stations.

"Four: Since you became a mouthpiece of the *Monafeqin* and your speeches have conveyed their wishes to the people via the mass media, you have inflicted heavy blows on Islam and the Revolution. This is a great act of treason against the unknown soldiers of the Lord of Time, may our souls be sacrificed for him, and against the sacrifices made by the illustrious martyrs of Islam and the Revolution. If you wish to save yourself from hell fire, you had better confess to all your sins and mistakes and maybe then God will help you.

"I swear to God that from the start I was against choosing you as my successor, but at the time I did not realize you were so gullible. To me you were not a resourceful manager, but an educated person who could benefit the religious seminaries. If you continue your deeds, I will definitely be obliged to do something about you. And

۲- و از آنجا که در روح منینه در میان توکیه می شود و در میان پاریسی دعوت کهنه شیر مردانه منقبضات می گردد

۴۔ دیگر نہ رارس نامہ بنیید و نہ اجازہ و نہ نفیق ہرچہ ہمارا ملک است و اب ما در این مکانہ وعدہ

۱- مادر او دختر افشار خانی که در بید شادمانه ای که اگر گرمی بودم می رسید ضربت گنجی بر بسم و انتقاد زد و موجب خدیش نزدیک به مردان نام ۱۱۱ زمان مدتی در آنها دو نفر را یک شده او بسم و انتقاد کرده و بر اینکه مدتی در بسم می شد و مردان به انتقاد به انتقاد که شایع بود که گفتند که .

در قسم من که ابتدا با انتخاب شایع بودم و که در آن وقت شورا صادره بود میگویم که در این روز و در این روز و در این روز
شخصی بودید که در غایت باطنی و در غایت باطنی بودید ~~و در غایت باطنی بودید~~ و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید
تلفیق و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید
و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید
و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید و در غایت باطنی بودید

سختی از سر درد و ریج و باد که گشته در دل زخم انداخته با مردم عزیزان دارم من باضار خود و همگی که که خبر از خودی
که ملک به افغانان خیمه در جبهه می کشیم من باضار خود و جوانان بستانم که در ضار خود را بر من و مردم و دولت می تمام
دارم اگر تمامان علیه من قیام کند همه دست از حق و حقیقت بر می دارم من کار به تاریخ و آنچه اتفاق می افتد تمام
من نخواهد بود و قیام نمی فرمود هر کس من بعد از خدا با مردم خوب و نیکو و نجیب و جوانان بستانم که که حقیقت را در تاریخ
نمی بیند با آنها در بین گذارم تاریخ به هم پرست که دعوت بزرگوار من به هم می کشد که که تمام تاریخ و هر کس که
که این روز را در این روز بگذراند آنرا با حق و نور و شرف می کشد که که در خدا می خواند که به هر ریز مردم و هر ریز
هر دو فکر ملک از یاد و او را بخشید و این دنیا بهر دو تا طمع و طمع حیوانت و انسان را بهر از این بخت ما همه را می میست

بروفیت از لرحه که جنرل سارم پرچمت اوست معلوم است
بکراته ۱۸/۱/۶

you know me, I never neglect my duty. I swear to God that I was against appointing Mehdi Bazargan as the first prime minister, too, but I considered him to be a decent person. I also swear to God that I did not vote for Bani-Sadr as the president either. On all these occasions, I submitted to the advice of my friends.

“In the midst of my pain and suffering, I wish to address our dear people from the bottom of my broken heart: I have sworn to my God not to forgive evil individuals ever, if I am not obliged to do so. I have made a pledge to my God that pleasing Him is a much greater priority than pleasing my friends and other people. If the entire world were to rise against me, I would never abandon justice and truth. I do not care about history and current affairs. I am only interested in performing my religious duties. In addition to my pledge to God, I have promised the decent, noble, and honest people to inform them of the facts when the time is appropriate. Islam’s history is full of instances of treason against Islam by its prominent figures. Try to make sure that you are not influenced by the lies broadcast by foreign radio stations. These radio stations dictate their lies with so much joy and enthusiasm these days. I beseech Almighty God to grant patience and tolerance to this old father of the dear Iranian people. I beseech God to forgive me and to take me from this world so that I no longer have to experience the bitter taste of my friend’s treachery. We all submit to God’s will. We have no power without God’s will. Everything comes from Him. “In peace: Ruhollah al-Musavi al-Khomeini; dated: Sunday 6 Farvardin 1368. (26 March 1989)”²⁰⁶

206- Montazeri, Hossein-Ali, Khaterat-e Ayatollah Montazeri (Ayatollah Montazeri's Memoirs), Chapter 10, Attachment 172. www.montazeri.org, 2000.

