

The Leader's remarks in the ceremony marking the 28th passing anniversary of Imam Khomeini - 5 /Jun/ 2017

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

(Arabic prayer)

The divine greeting and hail and salutation on the deserved son of the Venerable Prophet [of Islam] and reviver of the Mohammedan religion, our honorable Imam [Khomeini], the anniversary of whose painful passing we are marking today and on this day, this group of interested and loving [people] have come together.

Dear brethren and sisters! My discussion today is mostly focused on a few points about the honorable Imam and about the [Islamic] Revolution; if there is time at the end of my remarks, I will briefly explain about some issues related to the country's domestic policy as well as foreign policy issues.

Of course, with regard to the Imam and about this great man, many things have been said by informed people during these [past] years, but first of all, what has been said about the Imam and the revolution – of course these [two issues] are intertwined and the memory of the Imam and the name of the Imam cannot be separated from the name of the revolution – does not encompass all issues related to the Imam and the revolution. There are untold points, which must be infused into the mentality of the society as time goes by. Secondly, [even] those things that they have said and I have said and repeated about the revolution and about the Imam and must be reviewed, [and] must be repeated all over again, because if a fact is not repeated time and over and is not mentioned with [all] details and specifications, it would be possible to distort this fact in the course of time. Most of you know that there are motivations for distorting the personality of the Imam and the revolution, which was the greatest feat of the honorable Imam. We must repeat those facts that we have said about the Imam and about the revolution, say them again and repeat [them] and do not give time for distortion to those who [want to] distort them. This is also true about [distortion of] the sacred Sharia [law], [and] is true about [distortion] of historical facts as well. We have been assigned a mission to repeat many of religious teachings. For example, recitation of the Quran must be regularly repeated, so that, the Quranic facts would not be erased from minds; or we must repeat [the facts of] the history, [by which I mean] the real and correct history. If our nation had not persistently explained and expressed [the incident of] Ashura in this way through long centuries, this important incident could have been forgotten or reflected in a much watered down version compared to what has really happened.

You dear youths are my main addressees in today's discussions and today's address. The reason is that [first of all,] the young people have not observed [and] seen the period of great epics; the young people have only heard about the period of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the period of the Sacred Defense [Iraq's eight-year imposed war against Iran], [and] the period of those huge moves and great struggles against secessionists, and these [cases] are [just] history for our young people. Therefore, [these developments] must be explained and elucidated more for them. This is the first point. Secondly, our youths are [the main] targets of distorters. Today, most of them want to work on the minds of our youths in order not to allow the extended young generation of this country to be made familiar with many facts. Therefore, young people are my addressee today.

I tell you dear young people! The Islamic Revolution, which was realized by the honorable Imam and the divine will materialized through his foresight, was not simply a political change in which one group leaves the power [and] another group takes its place; it was not like this, but the revolution was a profound development. It was a development both in the country's policy – it was a profound development in the field of politics – and was a development in the context of the Iranian society. In the field of politics, this development meant that [there was] a closed and inherited dictatorship that was dependent on enemies and followed suit with [the policies of] foreigners, who ruled the country – [and the revolution changed] such a government – into a popular government, which relies on people and is independent and holds his head high and has [an independent] identity [of its own]. This huge

development took place in the field of politics. With regard to the context of the society, our society had turned into a society without identity. Despite all this [longstanding] cultural background, with this grandeur, with all these scientists, with this [rich] philosophy, [and] with this huge [trove of] human knowledge in this country, Iran had turned into a society, which followed suit with the West with no identity. The goal of the revolution was to change this state of affairs and turn that society into a society with identity, with independence, with originality, with creativity, [and] with something new to say. This Islamic Revolution was such a development, and the honorable Imam, with help from people, led this revolution to victory.

When our honorable Imam explained these goals through his speeches and remarks, in fact, he pointed to [a set of] maximum goals. From the viewpoints of pessimistic and tempting people, it was very unlikely that the honorable Imam could realize such goals; even politicians [thought like that]. One of the famous and creditable politicians, who has my respect, told me that the day when the Imam brought up the issue of doing away with the monarchy in the country, we asked why Imam was saying that? [We believed that] it was not possible, [and] it could not be pulled off. I mean, even seasoned, struggling, [and] sacrificing politicians thought like that. The Imam set a maximum goal [for his movement]. You just compare this maximum goal with, for example, the goal of the Constitutional Movement. The goal of the Constitutional Movement was that the powers of the Shah be reduced by the Majlis [the Iranian parliament]; or for example, compare [Imam's goal] with the goal of the oil industry nationalization movement; the goal of the [oil industry] nationalization movement was to take back our oil [industry] – which was controlled by the British – and put it under the control of our own government. You compare these small and minimum goals with the goal of the Imam, who looked forward to bringing about that huge development. These movements, which pursued minimum goals, did not succeed, [but] the Imam with his maximum goal [and] with that grandeur succeeded. These [other movements] earned some small victories at first, but were defeated later. The Imam managed to become totally victorious and maintain this victory and make it lasting.

The question is that how the Imam managed to pull off this huge movement to victory and maintain this victory? According to apparent norms, the secret is that it was, of course, the divine will [which made this possible], but the apparent means of this victory was that the Imam managed to bring the [entire] society of the country, [and] the entire people, especially the young ones, into the arena. In any move, [and] in any country where all people enter the arena and stay in the arena and resist, their goal will be achieved; there is no doubt about this; the opposite of this has not been proven at any juncture of history. The Imam managed to pull off this big feat, [and] this huge work, [in] which he managed to bring all people in the society, and especially the youth, into and keep them in the arena. From where did the honorable Imam gain such an ability? This is that point on which I want to put emphasis and contains lessons for me and you at the present time. The Imam had some personal attractions, [and] there were certain attractions in the Imam's slogans. These attractions were so powerful that they could get people and the youth from various walks of life into the arena. Both in time of [anti-Shah] struggles and during the first decade [after the victory] of the revolution, young people [in Iran] were faced with various attractions, various remarks, [and] with various ways of thinking. There were leftist ideas and ideas related to the capitalist camp. These [various camps] made colorful remarks, and said various things. In addition, there were attractions of the mundane life facing the youth and the young people could have chosen them. However, the [Iranian] youths chose the Imam, chose the Imam's path, [and] chose the movement, the struggle [and] the revolution; why? Due to these very attractions, which existed in the Imam's [character].

Some of these attractions were attractions related to the personality of the Imam. The Imam had a very strong, [and] very stable personality [and] could withstand [all kinds of] hardships. The Imam was outspoken [and] was candid when talking. The Imam was [also] honest, talked honestly, [and] all those who were addressees of the Imam could see honesty in what he said; these were personal attractions of the Imam. The Imam's faith and trust in the Almighty God were – with equal shares – apparent in his behavior and in his words; both his behavior and his words were signs of his faith and his trust in the Almighty God. These were the Imam's attractions.

In addition to these attractions, some of [the Imam's] attractions were related to those principles that the Imam presented. For example, among those things, which the Imam offered people was Islam; the pure Islam, [and] the pure Mohammedan Islam. The pure Islam means that [version of] Islam, which is neither a captive of and committed to reactionary ideas, nor is a captive of and committed to eclecticism. During the times when there were both reactionary ideas and eclecticism, the Imam came up with [the idea of] the pure Islam. This was attractive for a

Muslim youth. Independence was among the fundamentals declared by the Imam and [was among] the Imam's slogans; another one of those [slogans] was freedom; other ones were social justice and economic justice; these were fundamentals of [what] the Imam offered [the Iranian people]; [and] all these [slogans and fundamentals] are attractive. Among the Imam's fundamentals was the necessity of getting out of America's hegemonic coil. This was something, which was attractive to the Iranian youth. And let me tell you that today, getting rid of America's hegemonic coils is attractive for young people [even] in countries, which have signed long-term agreements with America. I mean, for example, in a country like Saudi Arabia, which serves the goals of America, if you talk to the youth – this is known [for sure] and has been tested – you would see that all young people hate dependence on America and are interested in getting rid of its oppressive domination. This was a feature [of the Imam's fundamentals].

Among those fundamentals, which were brought up by the Imam and [were among] the honorable Imam's slogans, was the issue of democracy; it means that people must have control over the country's government; people must [have the right to] elect [their officials], people must want, [and] people must enforce their will in all areas of life. One of the Imam's slogans was [about] the issue of nation's self-confidence; I mean, he told people and kept repeating that 'you can, [and] you are able [to do what you want]'. [He told people that] in [the field of] science, in industry, with regard to basic works, in management of the country, in management of important sectors of the country, in economy and so forth, you are able to stand on your own feet. These were among attractions of the Imam's personality, which could attract the youth. And young people joined the movement of the honorable Imam, [helping] the revolution become victorious.

After the victory of the [Islamic] Revolution, which, well, the victory of the revolution caused a huge earthquake in the world, [and] in fact, a division was created in a big part of the world [between] supporters of the revolution and enemies of the revolution. The enemies of the revolution included big powers of that time, that is, America and the Soviet Union of that time, or various powerful currents such as the current of Zionists; [as well as] the current of companies, which make governments and topple governments in Western countries and are [main] decision-makers with regard to basic issues. These [currents] became the enemies of the revolution, [and] a long line of the enemies of the revolution was created. These [countries and currents] felt threatened [by the Islamic Revolution]. However, on the opposite, many nations, [including] Muslim nations, [and] even some non-Muslim nations, which became aware of issues related to the revolution, turned into [its] fans, [and] supporters, and at times, [became] very active supporters of the revolution, and we observed this in various countries, [and] it has continued up to the present day. Well, reactions naturally started; [and] reactions started on day one [after victory of the revolution]. Of course, at first, big powers were confused and could not correctly understand what was happening. After they came to, [and] found their aplomb, hostilities started against the revolution on day one and all the hostility that has been shown in these [past] 38 years, was designed [at that time]. Of course, there are other forms of hostility, which they have not unveiled yet and have been thinking about and been busy organizing within their organs from day one up to the present day. And well, in short, praise be to God, they have failed in [all forms of] these hostilities. During this period, the Iranian nation has triumphed over all hostilities [shown by] its enemies, [and] praise be to God, this will be the case from now on as well.

Let me tell you a point here on the sidelines [of the main discussion] and it is related to the [Iranian decade] 1360s (1980s); the decade 1360s is the first decade after victory of the revolution and the [last] decade of the honorable Imam's blessed life. Dear brethren and sisters! The decade 1360s, is a wronged decade, a determining decade in the fate of Iran and the Iranian [nation], an extraordinarily important and sensitive and at the same time unknown decade, which has recently been under fire by some mouthpieces and those who wield those mouthpieces; [they] have launched an assault on the 1360s. The 1360s is a decade for big tests and a decade for big victories.

[On the other hand,] the 1360s is the decade of the most violent [forms of] terrorism in the country. During a few years, thousands of Iranian people, officials, from various walks of life were martyred by terrorists; [they ranged] from ordinary businessmen to a young student, to a political activist, to prominent personalities, who were [playing a] determining [role] in the revolution. Of course, I do not [want to] give a number [of those killed], but up to 17,000 [people] have been mentioned [who were martyred by terrorists during that decade]. Seventeen thousand honest, prestigious [and] valuable persons were sacrificed through this terrorism [that was rife] in the 1360s, and among them were such [prominent] personalities as Martyr [Ayatollah Morteza] Motahhari, and Martyr [Ayatollah Seyyed Mohammad Hosseini] Beheshti. I mean, such [prominent] persons [were martyred in that decade] the likes

of whom do not frequently come into being in a country in the course of time, those who can determine the fate of countries.

The 1360s was the decade of the [Iraqi] imposed war [against Iran]. I mean, eight years of this first decade of the revolution and the [last] decade of the auspicious life of the honorable Imam was spent in a war, which was imposed on the Iranian nation. You just see how difficult this is! The 1360s is the decade of the toughest sanctions; they imposed sanctions on everything; [they imposed] sanctions in tandem against the country, against our economic centers, [and] against our government; and it is [also] the decade of big honors. It is the decade of fighting against secessionism. [Enemies of Iran] instigated certain groups from all across the country, gave [them] money, [and] gave [them] arms in order to pit them against the Islamic Republic and seek secession. The 1360s is a decade for such major developments, which took place in the country.

And in the 1360s, the Iranian nation and our youths stood so fast that they overcame all these [problems]. This is a very important issue. I recommend those people who are given to thinking, [and] are given to reflection and who pass judgment on the 1360s not [to allow] the place of the martyr and executioner be swapped. During the 1360s, the Iranian nation was wronged, [because] terrorists and the Monafeqeen [Khalq terrorist organization] and their backers and those powers, which had created them and kept supporting them, did wrong to the Iranian nation, [and] did malicious things. [As a result,] the Iranian nation took a defensive position, but it defended [itself] and emerged victorious and, praise be to God, thwarted their plots. This [is about] the 1360s. [During that decade,] our youths stood up, [and] our honorable Imam, with that illuminated face, with that God-fearing heart, [and] with that firm resolve, stood [fast] and overcame all these problems.

The Imam passed away. Following the Imam's passing, a group became hopeful that they might be able to reverse the Imam's path, and praise be to God, they failed. [Many] years passed following the passing of Imam, [and] a group outside [the country], along with their agents inside the country, waited for the revolution to become negligent, for the revolution to become senescent, [and] become debilitated, so that they would be able to attack [it] and restore the same system that existed before the revolution to the country, [but] they could not. What was the reason behind these failures? The reason was the aforesaid attractions of the honorable Imam, [and] attractions of the honorable Imam's fundamentals and principles, which exist in the country. I will explain this later. The body of the Imam is not among us anymore, but the spirit of the Imam is alive; the spirit of the Imam is alive, the path of the Imam is alive, [and] the words of the Imam are alive in our society. Those attractions, which during his material life, attracted people, youths, [and] hearts to themselves like a magnet, still exist today. The name of the Imam solves problems, [and] in addition to it, the principles of the Imam are unending principles, which never get old; these [principles] still exist [among us]. Therefore, the slogan about social and economic justice, the slogan of independence, the slogan of freedom, the slogan of democracy, [and] the slogan of getting rid of the [hegemonic] coil and gravity of the power of America and [other] global powers, are still attractive in the eyes of our people and our youths.

Of course, fairly speaking, we lag behind with regard to realization of some of these slogans. We lag behind with regard to [realizing] social justice, [and also] lag behind with regard to realizing some Islamic fundamentals and [basic] principles; I do not deny this, but [the goal of] our perseverance, our target, [and] our ideal is the same thing that the honorable Imam has determined and we pursue these ideals. This is attractive for our young generation; it is attractive not only for the young generation in our country, but also for the young generation in other countries, especially Islamic countries. This is the mobilizing power of the revolution; [and] this is what I want to say. I want to say that officials of the country, [and] political activists of the country must not ignore this mobilizing power of the revolution; this is a very big bounty [from God], [and] this is a bounty, which has been bestowed upon our country and bestowed upon our nation. The revolution has the power to mobilize [people]; it can guide and move and take ahead young people, people with determination and willpower, [and] healthy people toward lofty and sublime goals. There is no driving force as grand and as powerful as the revolution and slogans of the revolution; at the present time, we need this and will continue to need this for many long years.

[On the other hand,] our enemies are not idle. My dear ones, my brethren and sisters! Enemies do not idly stand by. Yes, enemies have not been able to deal basic blows to us up to the present day; we have moved ahead and progressed [and] we have been able to do great things to the dismay of the enemy. The enemy, however, lays in ambush; you just see how outrageous the enemy can be. The president of America, in a purely tribal, backward

[and] degenerate system, stands shoulder to shoulder with the chieftain of the tribe and performs the sword dance. Then, he tries to find fault with 40 million votes of the Iranian nation [which have been cast] in a free election! [We have] enemies with such degree of shamelessness and inconsideracy, who stand along those killers of the people of Yemen on streets and in markets night and day and [at the same time] talk about human rights. Can shamelessness be greater than this? It is for about two and a half years that they have been bombarding Yemen night and day; [and they do] not [bombard] military centers of Yemen, [but pound] streets, markets, mosques, hospitals, [and] houses of people; [in doing so,] they kill the innocent, [and] murder women and kids and children and older ones. Then these [American officials] stand shoulder to shoulder with them and woo each other and talk about human rights and impose sanctions on the Islamic Republic for the sake of human rights! Can any shamelessness be higher than this? We need the revolution's mobilizing power in the face of such enemy.

Honor the revolution, venerate it, [and] you, who are concerned about the country and the nation, revive and bring to life the values of the revolution in the real sense of the word; the country needs this. It must not be like that we would forget about those lofty values [and] forget about the revolution on account of short-term goals, [and] on account of various developments related to everyday and ephemeral policies. Today, if we want to progress in the field of science, progress in the field of politics, [and] progress in the field of economy, [and] if we want to do great things, we need that courage and self-confidence that the revolution gives any nation and gave us. Do not scuttle that courage and self-confidence, [and] do not weaken it. Today, the Iranian nation needs that self-confidence; today, our youth is ready to be a pioneer in [treading] big paths, [and] in taking big steps, [and is ready] to enter, [and] enter the arena. I tell you that we have millions of young people in the country, and if developments like these we experienced in the years of the 1360s (1980s) come about for the country, these [young people] will certainly enter the arena with full force, with complete self-esteem, [and] with total chivalry and resolve, and protect the country and safeguard it.

I hear that sometimes some people bring up the issue of concept of rationality as opposed to the revolution's slogans, as if rationality is the opposite point to being revolutionary. No, this is wrong; [because] the real rationality is also [embedded] in being revolutionary. It is a revolutionary approach, which can show us the realities. Look! When was that time when the Imam introduced America as the Great Satan and introduced it as an untrustworthy entity or government? The honorable Imam taught this to the Iranian nation – [and] to all of us – many years ago. Today, after the lapse of many years, the heads of European states are saying that America cannot be trusted.

[As the Iranian poet says:] what a young man sees in the mirror, the old [experienced] man sees in the unbaked brick.

This is rationality. The rationality is that these remarks that are being currently made by heads of the European states and call America unworthy of trust, the Imam said this thirty years ago or thirty-odd years ago. And we have [also] experienced and tested this; Americans are really untrustworthy; they are untrustworthy with regard to all issues and, God willing, I may talk about this in other opportunities. This is [true] rationality. Rationality means that one should know originalities; rationality is reliance on people; rationality is to rely on domestic forces; [and finally,] rationality is to rely on and trust in the Almighty God. These are [major examples of] rationality; rationality is not that after disentangling oneself from the [hegemonic] coils of America and [global] arrogance, one would get close to them again. These [steps] are not rationality; the Imam had rationality, [and] the revolution tells us [what] rationality [is]. Let me sum it up: the greatest lesson that the honorable Imam taught us was the lesson of revolutionary morale and mentality and action; we must not forget this. The Imam is not [an article of] cultural heritage; some people look at the Imam as cultural heritage. The Imam is alive; the Imam is our Imam; the Imam is our leader; [and] the Imam is before our eyes. Yes, the Imam's body is not [among us anymore], but the words of the Imam and the path of the Imam and the thought of the Imam and the spirit of the Imam are alive; look at the Imam from this viewpoint and [try to] learn from him.

Some people believe this is rationality and say that "challenging [the big] powers is costly." [Of course,] they are wrong. Yes, challenging [world powers] has [its own] costs, but reaching a compromise [with them] would be also costly. You observe that in order to reach a compromise with the new American president, the Saudi government is forced to spend more than half of its existing financial reserves in the service of the goals and according to the will of America. Aren't these costs? Reaching compromise is also costly. [However,] if a challenge is rational, if a challenge is based on logic, [and] if it is combined with self-confidence, its cost will be much less than the cost of

reaching compromise. I said before – [and] God willing will say later – that it is not like that conspiring powers and aggressive powers would stop at any limit; we have observed this in interactions [that we have had with them] during these past few years. They set a limit, [and] when you backtrack up to that limit, then they come up with something new, [and] put forth a new claim and new demand, [and] force you once again through the same pressures to meet their new demand as well; and this process will continue like this; this will not stop.

Being revolutionary means that the country's officials must not make satisfaction of the arrogant powers their goal; the country's officials, must make it their goal to satisfy people, take advantage of domestic forces, [and] bolster those elements that are active inside the country; this is [the true meaning of] being revolutionary. Being revolutionary means that the country and officials, must not submit to any bully, must not be pushed into passivity, [and] must not be plagued with weakness of character; they must neither accept the opposite side's bullying and villainy, nor be deceived by them, because although they are bullies and villain and their hands are full of weapons, [the big] powers do not ignore deception either; [therefore,] anywhere it is possible, they are given to trickery and deception and bypassing [the opposite side], and things like that; this is the [true] meaning of being revolutionary. This is [the sum total of] what I said: Dear brethren, dear sisters, [and] dear youths across the country and esteemed officials of the country! All of you [must] know that today, we need the revolutionary spirit, revolutionary behaviors, revolutionary slogans, [and] the principles and fundamentals of the revolution [which was led by] our honorable Imam; the country needs this. Do not negate the revolutionary spirit by labeling it as extremism and the likes of this; the revolutionary spirit is what the country needs today. This is the same lesson that the honorable Imam taught us and we must take advantage of it. This is the first discussion and my main and most important one. But let me say a few words about domestic issues as well. A very important issue was the issue of the presidential election, which was held [two] weeks ago. I thank each and every one of those people, who went [to polling stations] and cast more than 41 million votes in the ballot boxes, from the bottom of my heart. A great work was really done; it became credit for the country, became credit for the Islamic Republic establishment, [and] became a sign of the public trust of people for the Islamic Republic establishment. [The fact] that a majority of seventy-odd percent of [people in] the country take part [in the presidential election] and say "yes" to the Islamic Republic establishment, confirm it, [and] trust it, is very important. Now, some people, unfortunately I must say out of misunderstanding – or I don't know what else to call it – deny this; they say, "People's vote has nothing to do with the Islamic establishment and is not confirmation of the Islamic establishment!" Yes sir; even those people who may have a grievance in their hearts against the Islamic establishment, when they vote within framework of the establishment, its meaning is that they accept this framework and trust it and consider it efficient [and] that [is why] they move within that framework. The about 42 million votes, [cast by about] seventy-odd percent [of eligible voters], was a vote for the Islamic establishment and [a sign of] trust in the Islamic establishment. [Therefore,] this was a very important development.

The Guardian Council has, fortunately, verified elections. Of course, they announced, and I have also received reports, that there have been cases of violation; of course, these violations must be followed up on. Although such violations have not affected and do not affect the result of elections in any way, after all, violation is violation and does not suit the Islamic Republic establishment. Officials must follow up on these violations with diligence, [and] identify violators, so that, such violations would stop to happen in our various elections – as this nation has [many other] elections before it – so that we would not witness such violations anymore. When we close our eyes and ignore and forgive a violation, that violation will be repeated. [Therefore,] violation must be curbed. I also thank the country's officials, who both held these elections, [and] supervised [its process].

Of course, some remarks were made in [election] campaigns [and] in debates, there were some moments of bad-temperedness, [and] accusations were leveled against various organs of the country; these were not good measures; let bygones be bygones; such [measures] must not continue. Everybody [must] pay attention: turn a blind eye to whatever took place in [recent] elections; [but] do not repeat it. I mean, the nation – both that group whose candidate has won the vote, and that group whose candidates has failed to get [enough] votes – must show tolerance, [and] must show patience. Patience means being tolerant and able to accept defeat. They must not act on impulse. There are some people, who act on impulse even when they win in a case, [and] show lack of [moral] capacity, [and] they also act like that when they lose. No, [this is not good]. Both when someone is successful and achieves the goal, which he pursues, and when he does not achieve [his goal], a person must show tolerance. Well, fortunately, this

year, [both sides] showed tolerance in these elections, [and especially] those who did not succeed [to win elections] showed tolerance unlike [losers of presidential election in Iranian year 13]88 (2009), who caused those problems for the country.

Another issue, which I briefly touch upon here and, God willing, I may discuss in more detail later, is that with regard to domestic issues, the respectable administration [must] attach special importance to production and employment. According to the constitution, the president has many facilities [as his disposal] across the country; he can do many things; [therefore, administration officials must] take advantage of these facilities, which are at their disposal, activate domestic potentialities, [and] there must be no delay in living up to promises, which have been given to people. [They must] choose officials, officials in various sectors – now in the 12th administration – in a way that they will be hard-working and active and ready to do the job and capable; I mean, their ability would, God willing, be such that the country's affairs would be managed smoothly. If, God forbid, in various sectors – both economic and non-economic – a sector proves to be inefficient, this will be blamed on inefficiency of the [entire] establishment and this is not fair; the establishment is efficient; [Therefore,] various sectors must be able to move along with the establishment. [Officials] must make the country ready, so that, the country will be resistant to America's sanctions; [they must] make the country resistant. You see that Americans are shameless enough to say new things every day, [and] to sing a different tune. The country must be resistant to what they do and be able to withstand [their pressures]. Officials must take this economic and cultural and political and all-out resistance into account.

With regard to global issues as well, a single voice must be heard from the country; all esteemed officials of the country [must] pay attention to this. With regard to important international issues, a single powerful voice must be heard from inside the country; different voices must not be heard from officials. Now, it is possible for that given writer or that given person, who is active in cyberspace to have a different opinion; it is not important. [However,] state officials must say the same things, [and] have a single voice.

Let me say a few words about foreign issues as well. Unfortunately, during the holy month of Ramadan, our brethren in some countries are facing severe problems. In Yemen, in Syria, in Bahrain, [and] in Libya fasting Muslims are plagued with these huge problems. In Yemen, the Saudi government bombards the country night and day, [and] mounts pressure on [its] people; of course, they are mistaken. Let me tell this here, [and] the Saudi government [must] know that if it continues to treat the Yemeni people like this for ten more years or twenty more years, it will not triumph over the people of Yemen. This is a crime committed against defenseless and innocent people of a country and will certainly lead to no result. [By doing this, Saudi rulers] are only making their burden and onus heavier in this world before people and before the Almighty God and before angels [who supervise our actions], and make the divine vengeance against themselves more severe.

The same is true with regard to Bahrain. In Bahrain, the presence of the Saudi government is also an illogical presence. Issues of Bahrain are business of the people of Bahrain; [therefore,] it is for the people of Bahrain to sit down and talk to their government, [and] reach a conclusion. Why a foreign government must [be allowed to] deploy military force there and interfere in its [internal] affairs and make policy [for them]? It is these illogical and irrational measures, which cause problems for countries and nations. It is logically wrong that they would want to impose their will on a nation, is practically inefficient and will finally lead to disgrace [of Saudi rulers] and get nowhere. Even if they manage to get America in line with themselves by giving these several-hundred-billion-dollar bribe, they will still get nowhere.

The same is true about issues related to Syria. Presence of foreign countries in Syria, which is against the will of the Syrian government and Syrian nation, is wrong. [We] believe that issues of Syria must be also resolved through dialogue. We believe that both in Syria, and in Bahrain, and in Yemen, and everywhere across the Islamic world, enemies are launching proxy wars, [and] pit people against one another. The solution is that [conflicting sides must] sit down and talk to one another, engage in dialogue, [and] negotiate; other [countries] must not interfere [in this process], [and] weapons must not be injected into the [conflicting] countries from outside in the way that you observe [now].

At the present time, Daesh is being driven out of its birthplace, that is, Iraq and Syria, and is spreading to other countries; it is spreading to Afghanistan and Pakistan and even the Philippines and European countries and other places. This is the fire that they lighted with their own hands and now they are burning in this fire as well.

Through the divine assistance, the Iranian nation has been able in all these cases to continue on its course and move ahead with logic, with rationality, [and] with firm resolve and determination. From now on, all political developments in the country will end up in the direction of the ideals of this nation and victory of this nation through the divine assistance and under the divine guidance and through the divine permission. And I tell you that through the Almighty's assistance and in view of the experience [gained] through the past 38 years, the future of this nation will, God willing, be much better than the present [state] of this nation.

O Almighty God! [We swear you] in this evening of the [fasting] month of Ramadan by this fasting group of people and by this hungry stomachs and thirsty lips to send down your mercy and grace upon us. O Almighty God! [We swear you] by [Prophet] Mohammad and the Household of Mohammad to make the Iranian nation triumphant and proud in all its important arenas. O Almighty God! Make our honorable Imam, whose spirit and life and soul are alive among us, more alive on a daily basis. O Almighty God! Cover the dear martyrs of this nation, [and] the sacrificing youths of this nation by your favor and grace. O Almighty God! Help the country's officials to serve this great nation. Make the sacred heart of [the last Shia Imam, Hadhrat] Vali-e Asr (May Our Souls Be Sacrificed for Him) satisfied and content with us. O Almighty God! Make the Iranian nation and this humble one the subject of the prayer of that Honorable One; [and] light up our eyes by showing us the countenance of that Honorable One.

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