



*In the Name of Allah,
the Compassionate, the Merciful*

BIOGRAPHY AND STRUGGLES
OF
AYATULLAH SAYYID MUSTAFA
KHOMEINI

Translator
Jafar Razi Khan

*The Institute for Compilation and Publication of
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Biography and Struggles of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

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Author: Sajjad Raei Galougeh

Translator: Jafar Razi Khan

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Tel: (009821) 22283138, 22290191-5

Fax: (009821) 22290478

Website: <http://www.imam-khomeini.org>

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Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ, ء	a, a, ()
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	d
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Long Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
آ, ا	a, A
ای	i, I
او	u, U

Short Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا	a
اِ	i
اُ	u

Persian Letters

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
پ	p
چ	ch
ژ	zh
گ	g

Introduction

Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, the eldest son of Imam Khomeini (s) was born in Azar 21, 1309 AHS. From his early childhood, he was brought up under the influence of his familial life environment, being fully a religious and scientific one. He began his early education from the local schools. After having learned the primary school teachings, he entered the Qum Theological Center and engaged in acquiring the theological sciences. He soon proved his genius at the Qum Theological Center and went ahead of his classmates. He traversed soon the paths to progress. After passing the preliminary, *Sath*, and *Kharij* course, he attained the *ijtihad* degree at the age 27. While educating and teaching, he began writing, too, which never stopped till the end of his life. He has left behind numerous works as well.

Being influenced by the Qum Theological Center's environment and the characteristic and viewpoints of Imam Khomeini, Sayyid Mustafa embarked on political activities, too. With the onset of Imam Khomeini's (s) movement, he took part seriously. At different junctures of the movement in Iran, exile in Turkey, and continuation of the exile in Iraq until Aban 1, 1356 AHS when he passed away suspiciously, he continued his political activities and as one of the main pillars of the Islamic movement made comprehensive activities. At the end, his mystifying death, too, rendered noteworthy and undeniable assistances to the increasing expansion of the Islamic movement and its uncontrollability and comprehensiveness. After his departure, he was referred to as *the Morning Star of the Revolution*, *the Forerunner of the Revolution*, and *the Dawn of the Revolution*.

The reason behind choosing the subject matter is his particular importance and position in the movement of Imam Khomeini (s) as well as the history of the Islamic revolution. The linked scientific and political personalities of Haj

Aqa Mustafa, the closest person to Imam Khomeini; being trustworthy and connector of Imam Khomeini (s) with far-reaching and complicated parts of the Islamic movement in Iran and different parts of the world; his advanced viewpoints as to the type and manner of struggle with the government; firmness in the ups and downs of the political activities particularly in Iraq and the like are issues supporting the importance of the subject matter and the need to study it meticulously and documentarily. Another reason is that in despite of the existence of historical materials, documents, memories, and writing of some papers on the subject matter, an inclusive work so it can embody the personal, social, and political life of Sayyid Mustafa comprehensively and deliberately is yet to be written. One of the aims of the present study is therefore to materialize this issue. However, the documents, memories, and materials which have gone unmentioned are definitely used to enrich the study.

The last point which substantiates the present study is that Haj Aqa Mustafa has not left behind a work bespeaking different aspects of his life, the political aspect, in particular. It should be mentioned, of course, that this study can also not be the most comprehensive work on the subject matter. Because, there are many documents in the information and security organizations of Turkey, and especially in Iraq, which are indicative of the activities and functions of Haj Aqa Mustafa. In the meanwhile, they have either not yet published or it is possible that there might also be useful materials in the documents existing in Iran which, on various accounts, they have not been accessible or usable. These shortages will be removed with the elapse of time.

From the plus points and advantages of the present study, compared to the previous ones, is to be documentary. Although it is possible that some of the references and sources are not trustworthy enough, no material has been used without mentioning its reference book. It should not go unmentioned that the personality of Aqa Mustafa, at different junctures, has been under the shadow of that of Imam Khomeini and has not been taken into consideration enough.

In the present study, we have tried to give answer to the following questions: What was the personal, scientific, and struggling position and viewpoints of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini in the movement of Imam Khomeini (s)? What is the position of Sayyid Mustafa's assistance with Imam Khomeini (s) and his movement, during its different stages, in the Islamic revolution history? What stages did his scientific and social life pass through? What was the effect of his viewpoints on the process of the struggle and the Islamic

revolution victory? Why did the Pahlavi regime choose to do away with Sayyid Mustafa so as to deal a blow to the position and trend of the movement and to intimidate Imam Khomeini (s)? And, finally, what was the effect of his mysterious death, and in other words, his martyrdom on the consolidation of the movement, activities of the strugglers and as a result on the revolution's procedure?

The current research includes an introduction, three overall parts, conclusion, and bibliography. The first part contains two chapters each of which having several discourses. This part depicts the personal, social, and scientific life of Sayyid Mustafa. The second part includes three chapters and several discourses examining his political life in Iran, Turkey, and Iraq independently. In the third part, the mysterious passing away of Sayyid Mustafa and its aftermaths are studied. This part, too, has three chapters and different discourses. The present study comes to the end while concluding the whole points of the book and mentioning the bibliography.

At the end, I deem it necessary to express my utmost thanks to and appreciate the organizations and esteemed ones that rendered assistances to the author for the completion of the current study. At the onset I am supposed to thank the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works for providing for the expenses and source materials. I hereby express my gratitude to, his Excellency, the Head of the Headquarters for Recognition and Propagation of Imam Khomeini's Thoughts for his meticulous observation over the proposal completion and for enriching the matters with presenting meticulous and important points. I acknowledge the corrective views and guidance of the respected observers of proposal, Ayatullah Bayat and his Excellency Mr. Hamid Basirat-Manesh whose assistances have served the purpose. I also appreciate wholeheartedly the esteemed directors of the Islamis Revolution Documents Center, being respectively the Head of the Center, Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Aqa Husayniyan; Director of the Information Unit, His Excellency Mr. Jalali, directors of the Documents Part, Messrs. Zariri and Bastami; the Library Director, Ms. Amiri, and other esteemed ones who have rendered assistance in the completion of the present work. I beseech God, the Exalted to grant them incessant advance. ✍

Sajjad Rai Galujeh

Tehran, summer 1383 AHS

PART ONE

Personal, Social, and Scientific Life

- **Chapter 1: Personal and Social Life**
- **Chapter 2: Scientific Life**

Chapter One

Personal and Social Life

First discourse: Imam Khomeini's (s) family

Imam Khomeini's great ancestor named Din Ali Shah,¹ lived in Kashmir, India. He was from the Shiite *ulama* of that region wherein he was martyred.² As to him and the aspects of his character and thought, there is not further information to the fore. Sayyid Ahmad known as Sayyid Hindi, son of Din Ali Shah, left Kashmir for the Holy Places between 1240 to 1250 AH. During his residence there, he gets acquainted with a person from Khomein named Yusuf Khan Farfahani,³ one of the grandees of the Khomein suburbs.⁴ After further acquaintance, the said person invites Sayyid Ahmad to come to Khomein. While accepting this invitation, in order to guide the Khomein people, he goes to that city in 1245 AH (1217 AHS). In Ramadan 17, 1257 AH (Aban 1220 AHS) he got married to Muhammad Husayn Beig's

¹ The word Shah, here, is to mean Sayyid [master].

² Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, p. 95.

³ Farfahan is a village situated 1.5 miles north of Khomein.

⁴ Amir Rida Sutudeh, *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], *Gofteh-ha wa Nagofteh-ha az Zندهgi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Said and Unsaid on Imam Khomeini's Life]; vol. 1, p. 17; Muhammad Jawad Muradi-Niya, *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Pasandideh* [Memories of Ayatullah Pasandideh], p. 12.

daughter, Yusuf Khan's sister. Sayyid Ahmad passed away at the end of 1285 AH. His corpse transferred to and was buried in Karbala.¹

The outcome of the Sayyid Ahmad's marriage was three girls named Sultan Khanum, Sahibah Khanum, and Aghabanu Khanum and a son named Sayyid Mustafa. Sayyid Mustafa was born in Rajab 29, 1278 AH (Bahman 29, 1241 AHS). After having learned the primary education in Khomein's schools as well as the Arabic language before Aqa Mirza Ahmad, for continuing his studies, he first went to Isfahan and thenceforth to the Holy Najaf. In the Holy Najaf and Samarra, at the time of Mirza-ye Shirazi's life, he continued his studies and was placed among his contemporary *ulama* and *mujtahids*.²

Sayyid Mustafa stayed in Najaf until 1312 AH (1273 AHS) and went back to Khomein during that year. The leadership of Mirza-ye Shirazi had a great influence on his thought and ideals. Owing to this, after his return to Khomein, he assumed the leadership and control of the people of Khomein. While guiding the people, religiously and spiritually, he embarked on struggling with and opposing to the oppression and cruelty of the local rulers and influential men against the people of that region.³ Aqa Mustafa was permitted to practice *ijtihad* and known as "*Fakhr al-Mujtahidin*".⁴

Before going to Najaf, Sayyid Mustafa had got married to Hajar Agha Khanum, daughter of Mirza Ahmad Mujtahid. In his journey to Najaf, his wife was also along with him. The result of this marriage was three girls and three sons named Mawlud Agha, Fatimah, Sayyid Murtada, Sayyid Nur al-Din, Aghazadeh Khanum, and Sayyid Ruhullah.⁵

During the life of Aqa Mustafa, Imam Khomeini's (*s*) family attained a high position and status in Khomein. Having made efforts to prevent the cruelties and oppressions perpetrated by the governmental Khans and agents against people, he confronted them, in practice. They found Sayyid Mustafa as an

¹ *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Pasandideh* [Memories of Ayatullah Pasandideh], pp. 12-13.

² Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, p. 36.

³ *Negaresh-e Ijmali bar Zenegi-ye Imam Khomeini* [A Cursory Look at the Imam Khomeini's Life]; *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution]; no. 81 (Farvardin 13, 1362 AHS), p. 56.

⁴ *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], vol. 1, p. 20; *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Pasandideh* [Memories of Ayatullah Pasandideh], p. 15.

⁵ Muhammad Jawad Muradi-Niya, *Khomeini dar Guzar-e Tarikh* [Khomeini in the Passage of the History], p. 235; *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Pasandideh* [Memories of Ayatullah Pasandideh], pp. 17-18; Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, p. 37.

impediment along their way to attain their goals and objectives. Once he was imprisoned by one of the influential and powerful Khans of Khomein named Hishmatullah¹ during a process of clashes and resistance against him. He was released after a while. By and large, in 1320 A.H. (1281 AHS) during which the aggressions of the Khans against people had gained momentum, Sayyid Mustafa made up his mind to let the Araq (current Arak) ruler, Adad al-Sultan, know of the circumstances. It is worth noting that during this period, Khomein was under the sway of the Arak's ruler. Jafar Quli Khan and Mirza Quli Khan who were more afraid of this account than other Khans planned to do away with Aqa Mustafa. Thus, they attacked on Aqa Mustafa along the way between Khomein and Araq (Arak), martyring him by shooting in his heart.² This occurred on Dhul-Qadah 12, 1320 AH (Bahman 21, 1281 AHS).³ Aqa Mustafa's corpse was first transferred to Arak, held in trust in the tomb of Aqa and then transferred to and buried in the Holy Najaf.⁴

Children of Aqa Mustafa followed up the course of his murder. In the end, his killers were taken into custody and executed in the Baharestan Square, Tehran, in Rabi al-Awwal 4, 1323 AH (Bahman 28, 1284 AHS).⁵

Aqa Ruhullah was born in Khomein in Jumadi al-Thani 20, 1320 AH (Mehr 1, 1281 AHS). When his father was martyred, he was only four months and twenty two days old. So, he was brought up under the supervision of his aunt (Sahibah Khanum) as well as his mother (Hajar Khanum). Similarly, a nurse named Khawar played a part in his training for two years.⁶

¹ Shahzadeh Abd Allah Mirza known as Hishmatullah ruled over Kamarah by the command of Nasir al-Din Shah—villages around Khomein composed of four sectors were referred to as Kamarah.

² Muhammad Jawad Muradi-Niya, *Khomeini dar Guzar-e Tarikh* [Khomeini in the Passage of the History], p. 240-247; Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, p. 36; Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, pp. 96-97.

³ *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Pasandideh* [Memories of Ayatullah Pasandideh], p. 23.

⁴ Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, p. 97; *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Pasandideh* [Memories of Ayatullah Pasandideh], p. 25.

⁵ *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], vol. 1, pp. 21-23; see for more details, Majd al-Islam Kirmani, *Ruh-e Tadaiyun wa Jawhar-e Tamaddun* [Spirit of Religiosity and Essence of Civilization], Adab Newspaper, no. 146 (Rabi al-Awwal 10, 1323 A.H.).

⁶ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, pp. 37-38.

Imam Khomeini spent his childhood in Khomein and studied in Akhund Mulla Abul-Qasim School. During this period, half a *Juz* of the Quran was taught and at the end the period the whole Quran was finished. After finishing the Quran reading, he who was 7 years old, went to Shaykh Jafat so as to learn the literature as well as Arabic lessons. Then, he learned to Mirza Mahmud, *Ifikhar al-Ulama*, so as to learn the primary lessons. Then, he started learning the premisses [*muqaddamat*] before Mirza Mahdi, his uncle, and then the logics [*mantiq*] before Mirza Rida Najafi. He continued his learnable educations in this period such as logics [*mantiq*], *mutawwal*, and *suyuti* before Ayatullah Pasandideh, his brother.

In 1339 AH (1300 AHS) he left Khomein for Sultan Abad (Arak) where he learned logics before Shaykh Muhammad Golpaygani and *Sharh-e Lumah* before Aqa Abbas Araki.¹

A few months after his entrance to the Arak Theological Center, Ayatullah Shaykh Abd al-Karim Hairi migrated to that city by the request of the Qum clergymen in Rajab 1340 AH (Farvardin 1301 AHS) and established the Qum Theological Center. Around four months after the migration of Ayatullah Hairi, Aqa Ruhullah migrated to Qum, too. He dwelled in one of the chambers of the Dar al-Shifa School and engaged in studying.

In the Qum Theological Center, he learned the remains of *mutawwal* before Aqa Mirza Muhammad Ali known as Adib Tehrani, and the superficialities [*sath*] before Sayyid Muhammad Taqi Khwansari and Mirza Sayyid Ali Yathribi Kashani. Then, he began learning the exterior [*kharij*] lesson taught by Ayatullah Abd al-Karim Hairi and in practice he passed the *kharij* course in his presence. Likewise, he acquired the philosophy [*falsafah*] before Haj Sayyid Abul-Hasan Qazvini, prosody [*arud*] and *qawafi*, western philosophy and the evolutional philosophy of Darwin at the presence of Shaykh Muhammad Rida Isfahani Masjid Shahi, mathematics and configuration [*hiyat*] before him and Mirza Ali Akbar Yazdi and also mysticism [*irfan*] at the presence of Ayatullah Muhammad Ali Shah Abadi.²

¹ *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Pasandideh* [Memories of Ayatullah Pasandideh], pp. 50-51; *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], vol. 1, pp. 28-29.

² Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, p. 101; *Negaresh-e Ijmali bar Zenegi-ye Imam Khomeini* [A Cursory Look at the Imam Khomeini's Life]; *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution]; no. 81 (Farvardin 13, 1362 AHS), p. 57.

In 1304 AHS, when choosing a family name got a must for the Iranians, the family name of Mustafawi was chosen for Aqa Ruhullah as well. As regards choosing the aforesaid family name for Imam Khomeini and differing family names for himself and his other brother, Sayyid Nur al-Din Hindi, Ayatullah Pasandideh says in his memories as such:

In 1304 AHS, an employee came to our house on the part of the Statistics and Registration Administration and we were supposed to choose a family name. The Administration's head, Husayn Ali Bani Adam, who was one of the most intelligent, religious and good-recorded figures told me: "You are supposed to choose a family name not chosen by anyone in Iran, for it is forbidden." We wanted to choose the family name of Mustfawi according to that of our father. They said: "That is impossible." I, therefore, chose Hindi and our youngest brother, Sayyid Nur al-Din chose the same. Then, since the family name of Hindi raised the doubt of our relationship with the English people, they told us to change the family name. I agreed with this. We proposed the family name of Ahmadi (that of our uncle). They said: "It is impossible, for it is Arabic." I wrote five or six Persian family names and sent to Tehran. In Tehran, from among them, they chose the family name of Pasandideh. Our family name, therefore, became Pasandideh; however, the family name of our other brother remained the very same Hindi and that of the Imam's the same as it was at first. Thus, we, the three brothers, found three different family names.¹

In 1308 AHS, Aqa Ruhullah got married to Khadijah Khanum, daughter of Hujjat al-Islam Mirza Muhammad Thaqafi. The offspring of this union was two sons named Sayyid Mustafa and Sayyid Ahmad as well as three girls called Siddiqah, Faridah and Fahimah. Two other girls named Latifah and Saidah died.²

So far, a brief preface on introducing the family of Imam Khomeini (s) and, in fact, that of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini was mentioned. The aim was to mark out a historical trend in continuance of which Sayyid Mustafa and Imam Khomeini (s) entered to it, too. From now on, we will examine the individual and social dimensions of the biography of Sayyid Mustafa.

¹ *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Pasandideh* [Memories of Ayatullah Pasandideh], pp. 53-54.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

Second discourse: Sayyid Mustafa, from birth to puberty

Sayyid Mustafa, the first son of Imam Khomeini (s) came into the world in Azar 21, 1309 AHS coincided with Rajab 21, 1349 AH. At the time of his birth, the Imam Khomeini's (s) family were living in a rental house in the Alvandiyyah district near the Eshq-Ali district, Qum. As to the manner of choosing a name for their first son, his mother, Khadijah Thaqafi, says:

I liked very much to call him Mustafa, and I don't know what Aqa (Imam Khomeini) liked; but I persuaded him and said since your father's name has been Mustafa, it is very apt, and Aqa was satisfied. So we named him Muhammad, choosing his surname [*laqab*] Mustafa and his penname [*kunyah*] Abu al-Hasan. We did not name him Abu al-Qasim so the three names not to be the same as those of the Holy Messenger (s).¹

In order for Imam Khomeini (s) to keep alive the memory of his father, Haj Sayyid Mustafa, killed by the hands of the Khomein Khans, he chose the family name of Mustafawi for himself and the name of Sayyid Mustafa for his first son.

Sayyid Mustafa began talking later than usual, such that he could pronounce only a few words at the age of four. Soon after, he was taken to a school near the house and this had a great influence on his speaking. So, the concern in this regard was removed.² He passed through the childhood in the lap of a pious mother as well as a scholar and wise father. Making use of such a family and training in such a religious environment replete with spirituality played a significant role in the formation of the religious, scientific, and Islamic personality of Sayyid Mustafa as well as the emergence of his talent and genius during a time when the society was involved in illiteracy as well as numerous cultural and social problems and predicaments. Probably, his boldness, courage, and bravery mentioned by some of the observers as a memory have been on account of such an education.

From the childhood till the youth and even after that, Imam Khomeini (s) paid heed to the education, association and friends of Sayyid Mustafa with utmost meticulousness. As to Sayyid Mustafa, Imam Khomeini (s) laid

¹ *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], by the Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, vol. 1, p. 29.

² *Az Cheshm-e Madar* [From the Viewpoint of the Mother] (an interview with Khadijah Thaqafi), Hamshahri Newspaper, Aban 1, 1376 AHS, p. 8.

special emphasis on the two issues of discipline and endeavor, especially during his education.¹

Third discourse: marriage and children

While being 24 years of age, Sayyid Mustafa married Masumah Hairi, daughter of Ayatullah Shaykh Murtada Hairi.² Imam Khomeini (s) was a classmate and friend of Shaykh Murtada Hairi. For his acquaintance with the family, he agreed with his son's union with that family. Concerning the manner of this marriage, his mother (Khadijah Thaqafi) says,

It was rumored once that we have taken a wife from the [family] of Murtada Hairi; Mustafa is quoted as saying: "When Mr. Hairi would come out of the court of the Holy Shrine, my comrades would say your father-in-law came." Aqa [Imam Khomeini] had heard of this rumor. One night, Aqa asked me: "Have you seen the daughter of Mr. Hairi?" I explained a little. Aqa said: "How is it that we make this rumor come true?" I said, "As you deem it expedient [I agree]." Tomorrow morning, Aqa sent a message and at noon they gave response. Again, Aqa sent a message to the effect that the same night they will go for talking. Then, we were informed that men have gone and later on, we, women, went and appointed a time for concluding the union agreement."³

When Haj Aqa Mustafa was informed of the suit matter and marriage to Masumah Hairi, he had said, "I have seen Masumah in a dream."

At this juncture, Masumah was a 16-year-old girl. This marriage occurred in the year 1335 AHS

After being affected by an illness, their first girl, Mahbubah, died. Their second child called Husayn became a clergyman. He is learning and acquiring the Islamic sciences now. Their third child is Maryam who has attained the P.h.D degree. Their fourth child died before birth in the course of

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, pp. 375-77.

² Imad al-Din Baqi, *Mururi bar Zendeginameh-ye Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [A survey of the Biography of Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Ittilaat* Newspaper, (Aban 1, 1376 AHS), p. 2.

³ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 31.

the Pahlavi regime agents' attack on the Imam Khomeini's (s) house for apprehending him.¹

Fourth discourse: moral and personal salient features

Morally, we can enumerate many salient features for Haj Aqa Mustafa including good-nature, calmness, naivety, frankness, God-wariness, purity of the interior, foppishness, willfulness and the like. However, his most salient feature, namely being a noble born is examined here.

a) Being a noble born

Unlike being son of a figure like Imam Khomeini (s), and being able to seize the opportunity, Haj Aqa Mustafa never made endeavor to play a part in policy-making and other happenings beside the Imam (s). Rather, he made efforts so not only the Imam appears among others as an independent character having a special policy, but he did not want to have a subordinate secondary character himself. Having observed and witnessed closely the character and behavior of Sayyid Mustafa for years, Hujjat al-Islam Duai says in this regard,

He always abhorred being a noble born, having an independent character, and being hold in high esteem on account of being someone's son. Of course, this was not to mean his lack of understanding from his position and having such a father; rather, it was for the very same independent understanding and having an original character for him. He was an autogenic role model man who wanted to be recognized as he should, and not for his kinship or affinity. And of course, this is for this man's drawing near to perfection. The same was true about the Imam, he (s), too, never let the familial and affectionate issues enter into the struggle affairs or issues pertaining to the Theological Center [*hawzah*] or the cleric community. From the outset, the Imam (s) had made efforts so his sons not to be considered distinctively in the *hawzah* but be taken into account like others. This very same method of training made him build himself in an independent environment in the *hawzah* and reach that independent position for his own excellence and perseverance.²

In this regard, Ayatullah Bojnurdi also says,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

Some noble born ones had a lot of ceremonies and formalities. Since, regrettably, the clergy system had become recently such that to be a noble born was tantamount to lack of literacy and action. In Najaf, it was said proverbially, “The noble born person having excellence is Haj Aqa Mustafa.” That is, there are a few who are either a noble born or literate and scholar; because they were used to go to the father system and drowned in headship, ceremonies and formalities and these were not compatible with studying... He never had bodyguards, but came alone, sat every where, became erect in front of everyone and pay homage to everyone even if he was a young theological student.¹

All experts and those familiar with Haj Aqa Mustafa opined unanimously that he did not connect himself to his father; nay he had an independent character of his own.²

b) Simple life and humility

Having followed his revered father, Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini led a simple life in all periods of his life. During his life, the simple life and naivety can be witnessed in different aspects of his life. All of those familiar with his life acknowledge this issue. In spite of many of the noble born ones, he was not an expecting person, considering himself alike other theological students. His familial and social life was not different from them. In this connection, Faridah Mustafawi, Sayyid Mustafa’s sister, such says,

Prior to the year 1342 AHS, he would lead a simple theological life. After his exile to Turkey, he was provided with further facilities; however, he did not forget his theological life. In Najaf, he was living in a 45-cubic meter house in a district named Hawish³ near the Imam’s (s) house... He had cut ties with the world and was not in quest of it. Essentially, he did not take into account the material things. While spending money, he spent it meticulously.⁴

Having approved the aforementioned points, Ayatullah Fadil Muwahhidi Lankarani says,

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 158-159.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 238-239.

³ Originally it is Hawish.

⁴ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 390.

During all the periods I was along with Martyr Mustafa Khomeini, either prior to commence of his eminence father's struggle or during the struggle, either in Iran or in Najaf, he lived a very simple and usual life. During all these days, he never went beyond a usual theological student. This was on account of the fact that he was not infatuated in those sorts of life at all. His was firstly interested in scientific aspects and secondly issues related to the struggle. Other than these two issues he did not think about or reflect upon anything.¹

One of the important documents as to Sayyid Mustafa's simple life and lack of attention to accumulation of wealth and riches and of engaging in a luxury life is his testament. In his testament, from among the worldly wealth, he touches on his books. While being cautious in this regard, he reminds that they have been bought by the religious funds and in case his son, Husayn fails to acquire the traditional sciences, it will be better to offer them to the Ayatullah Burujerdi School's library in Najaf.

I provide Husayn with all the books I have in my disposal provided that he acquires the traditional sciences; otherwise, they ought to be submitted to the Mr. Burujerdi School's library in the Holy Najaf and it is repugnant to the caution to be received by inheritance. I have nothing else save a little which is not worth mentioning...²

Fifth discourse: devotional, mystical, and religious salient features

Spiritually, Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini had a paramount position and status. While acquiring knowledge, at the outset of the life, he always took into special consideration and attention the self-refinement and morality. If the theological students and clergies are away from this characteristics and fail to refine their selves along with acquiring the religious and Islamic sciences, and do not strive hard in the struggle against the self, accordingly the possibility of their success in setting right the society will diminish too. Therefore, by making use of this important feature, Haj Aqa Mustafa was prepared to enter the society and assume major roles.³

¹ *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution]; no. 91 (Murdad 25, 1362 AHS), p. 34 (an interview with Ayatullah Fadil Muwahhidi Lankarani).

² *Chand Nameh va Payam* [A Few Letters and Messages], Hudur Quarterly, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 19.

³ *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution]; no. 18 (Mehr 30, 1359 AHS), p. 42 (an interview with Hamid Ruhani).

From among the salient features and characteristics of Sayyid Mustafa, one can refer to his consistency in remembering [Allah]. Being acquainted with Sayyid Mustafa and his spiritual dimensions, Hujjat al-Islam Ali Sattari says in this respect,

In the journeys I was with him; as occasion arose; say, going to Karbala or at Friday nights or the *al-Qadr* nights, when we were on board, after talking a little, he would start reading the Quran. I was naturally compelled to recite the Quran beside him... He never had the rosary in hand other than the time of praising or remembering [Allah]. He remembered [Allah] a lot and had diverse kinds of remembrances. I cannot remember them all. However, I can remember his remembrance of “*there is no power nor any strength save it is by Allah.*” He remembered [Allah] in a manner devoid of any state of showing off or hypocrisy. While remembering [Allah] or supplication, in case someone would speak, he answered him without letting him recognize his state. He was used to give answers while smiling. At times when we went to Kufah between the sunrises [*bayn al-tuluayn*] in Wednesday or Friday mornings or when he came to our house, I saw him remembering [Allah] all the time. Other than the time of discussion, he never ceased to remember [Allah].¹

Sayyid Mustafa had a regular program for the day hours. More often than not, his program of devotion, discussion, study, exercise, recreation was in place. He was used to worship or study and this program continued till the morning *adhan*. After the *adhan*, he was used to sleep between two and three hours and the rest of the day he was awake. One of his routines never given up was reciting the Quran. While reciting the Quran, he observed a particular style— shaking his head as the commoners do—and was of the opinion that this style of reading the Quran; i.e. reading like the common people, illuminates the heart of the Quran readers.²

Perpetual familiarity with the Quran had a noteworthy influence on his self-refinement as well as strengthening the devotional and mystical aspects. This

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 382.

² Jawad Imami, *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Masudi Khomeini* [Memories of Ayatullah Masudi Khomeini], pp. 207-208.

familiarity had reached such an extent that he did not also quit reading the Quran even in journeys.¹

The same goes for the ritual prayer. In addition to the obligatory prayers, he would also offer recommended [*mustahabb*] prayers, supererogatory [*nafilah*] prayers and lengthy prostrations [*sajdah*]. According to the Imam Khomeini's (s) admonition to the effect that the recommended acts of worship are supposed to be performed out of the people's sight and in secrecy so be bereft of pretension, Haj Aqa Mustafa offered his recommended acts of worship in a closed room. He also performed the optional night prayer regularly as he did the obligatory prayers and would never give up it. During his different periods of life, he took part in the congregational prayers being offered by the Imam's leadership.²

Sayyid Mustafa was also familiar and acquainted with such different prayers as the *Kumayl* Prayer, *Tawassul* Prayer, Rajab-month Prayer, *Ziyarat-e Ashura* Prayer, *Ziyarat-e Jamiah* Prayer and other individual and communal prayers and performed them. He was infatuated with the household of the Infallible and Immaculate Imams (a). While being present in their holy shrines, he had a special state. As such, pilgrimage was another one of his programs repeated times and again. He was verily interested in Imam Husayn (a) and would go on pilgrimage to the Holy Shrine of Hadrat Aba Abd Allah (a) with utmost sincerity and infatuation. Owing to this, he would also read the *Ziyarat-e Ashura* Supplication.³ For going on pilgrimage to the Holy Shrine of Imam Husayn (a), Sayyid Mustafa would walk the distance between Najaf to Karbala. Once in a while, of course, he did this work by car. Concerning one of these pilgrimage journeys, Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Rida Rahmat quotes an interesting memoir as follows,

Because of the warm weather in one of the journeys, we would take rest at days and walk at nights. On account of his heavy weight, his feet had blistered. So Mr. Bonakdar, the son-in-law of the late Madani, and I gave Haj Aqa Mustafa a walking stick so he can walk by leaning on it. Then, it was put forward that if we proceed in this manner, we won't succeed to go on

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 382.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 392-394.

³ *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution]; no. 18 (Mehr 30, 1359 AHS), p. 69 (an interview with Mahmud Duai).

pilgrimage, all of a sudden he started walking quickly such that we failed to take him.¹

Haj Aqa Mustafa would give advice to his fellow travelers going on pilgrimage to Karbala to read the *Ziyarat-e Ashura* Supplication. He himself also did so. In Karbala he would make a pilgrimage to the Holy Shrine of Hadrat Abu al-Fadl (*a*) and other Karbala martyrs.

In addition to making a pilgrimage to the Holy Shrine of the Commander of the Faithful (*a*), he would also visit the Sahlah Mosque in Najaf. In Najaf, it was customary that most of the theological students and scholars [*fudala*] would go to the said mosque in Tuesday nights. In this mosque, many people have experienced the presence of the Imam of the Time (may God hasten his glorious advent). Haj Aqa Mustafa would also go there every week and pass the night.²

He would also make pilgrimage to Samirra, Kufah, Kazimayn, and other cities of Iraq. He also proceeded toward Mecca and Medina several times for performing *Hajj* and making pilgrimage. As a result of all of these pilgrimage voyages he was engaged in perfecting his spiritual, moral, and mystical dimensions.

From among other religious activities of Sayyid Mustafa in Najaf and also in Iran, we can hint on taking part in the religious seclusion [*itikaf*] and mourning ceremonies held in the mosques and houses of *maraji* and clerics. He would be touched intensely in the mourning and Karbala martyrs commemoration ceremonies and shed tears for the innocence of the household of the infallible and immaculate Imams (*a*).

Sixth discourse: to take part in the friendly gatherings and meetings

Morally, Haj Aqa Mustafa was a good-natured, witty, active, and joyful person. In the meantime, as regards studying and acquiring theological sciences, he served as an example. In line with this, Hujjat al-Islam Hashimi Rafsanjani who was familiar with him and had a close connection with him for years, says,

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 282.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

In general, I recall a few features of him. Firstly, being studious and, secondly, being joyful and active. Those days such a joyful morale was scarcely found among the theological students. He was busy studying and discussing from Saturdays till Thursdays. He would take full rest and was busy recreating during Wednesdays and Fridays. When discussing, he would brawl. In the Faydiyyah School, when there was dispute and argument over the theological lessons in the school's corners, I came to know that Haj Aqa Mustafa is there...

Freedom-seeking was one of his salient features. In my private relationships with him I would recognize that he has a freedom-seeking morale. He was not a man of pretension and showing off in which some of the high ranking officials are entangled.¹

This very nature of Sayyid Mustafa would give rise to the other theological students' being attracted to him. Through strengthening this procedure, he along with some theological students and clerics could also form more private and friendly meetings and gatherings either in Qum or in Najaf. As regards the membership of Haj Aqa Mustafa in one of these friendly gatherings, while he was in Qum, Ayatullah Ali Akbar Masudi Khomeini says,

Aqa Mustafa had a particular character. He was a member of a friendly gathering the members of which had a special program in terms of comradeship. As far as I can remember, Messrs. Shaykh Ali Tehrani, Khalkhali, Abtahi Kashani, and Nuri Hamadani [the younger brother of Messrs. Nuri Hamadani] and Mr. [Ayatullah Muhammad Rida] Tawassuli were members of this group. One of the Qum craftsmen working as a carpenter and another one named Mr. Khatib who was a well-known joker in the world over had an active presence in this gathering. Entering their round was not a simple feat and they did not admit anyone to their group.

In general, this group was very active and energetic when studying and very witty, humorous and joyful at leisure times. At the time of worshipping, they had also hot and regular night devotional programs. Their meeting place was at first inside the tomb of the late Aqa Shaykh Fadlullah Nuri (may God bless him). All the group members had a great consideration for him.²

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22-23.

² Jawad Imami, *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Masudi Khomeini* [Memories of Ayatullah Masudi Khomeini], p. 206.

In Najaf, they would gather on different occasions and get busy performing different acts of worship, discussion, and mourning. In Najaf, these friendly sessions were held in the houses of such individuals as Haj Aqa Mustafa's.¹

Seventh discourse: Sayyid Mustafa and Imam Khomeini (s)

Since the very first years, Imam Khomeini (s) took into particular consideration the bringing up of Haj Aqa Mustafa. He would pay homage to Mustafa and would not stretch his legs before him.² From the very beginning of his attaining puberty, he would always check and control his activities and visits with his friends. It seems that from the very years of character formation, the Imam would help Mustafa continue firstly his studies in the Theological Cenetr and secondly have a sound and form character. This happened and after the completion of the primary course, by the request of his father, he entered the Theological Center and after a while he put on formally the clergy uniform.

Gradually, he was affected by the revolutionary morale of Hadrat Imam (s). When he laid foot on the arena of struggle, one of his salient features was his anti-Shah morale. In this regard, Sayyid Ahmad Aqa says, "I have never seen anyone like him to be to that extent bad with the Shah... He had perceived well that the cause of all our afflictions is the Shah, he regarded the government, Majlis and other organs as his playthings... He had acquired many of the Imam's characteristics, had a revolutionary disgust and never succumbed to the difficulties and troubles [of the Islamic movement]."³ In relation to Sayyid Mustafa's attachment to the Imam, he says,

One of his salient features was his much affection and love to my father. Some times I would say that this kind of affection is beyond the love between father and son. His relationship with my father was extraordinary. During his lifespan, he also held the Imam in high esteem. He was along with the Imam in all hard situations and was never indifferent against the Imam's difficulties. In brief, he was with him everywhere.⁴

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, pp. 257-258.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

⁴ *Ibid.*

In all stages of the movement other than the episode of the Qum Faydiyyah School in Farvardin 1342 AHS when going on pilgrimage to the Holy Places, Sayyid Mustafa was along with the Imam in Iran, Turkey, and Iraq until the first of Aban 1356 AHS. While taking care of the Imam's health condition, he would act vigilantly in the interchange of messages and information. In this regard, Mahmud Borujerdi, the Imam's son-in-law says,

I can bring to mind that at the outset of the Hadrat Imam's opposition to the State and Provincial Associations Law, he would take into consideration closely the comings and goings of those affiliated with the then government—whether the clerics or not. To elaborate, a group of the clerics of the Qum Theological Center had changed their uniforms and take hold of key posts in different governmental organizations, whether in the Justice Administration or in the Notary Public Office or other occupations. For their familiarity with the Imam, the then government would make efforts to make use of these persons in line with its objectives. These individuals were dispatched to Qum to present as acceptable the ill intentions and acts of the government so they prevent the oppositions to the government put forward by the *maraji*. I myself was a witness to the presence of one of these individuals.

Haj Aqa Mustafa was alert sternly, lest this person declare a point repugnant to the movement's goals. It was said to me, "Go along with that person to the presence of the Imam and be wakeful meticulously lest what he says is opposite to the struggle direction."¹

This narration is indicative of the importance of the Islamic movement position for Sayyid Mustafa as well as his role in the movement.

He was with the Imam step by step. Essentially, to imagine Mustafa away from the Imam is impossible. Although in all the periods that the Imam was with Mustafa, he notified Sayyid Mustafa to take seriously his education and not to give preference to anything over his education, Sayyid Mustafa proved that one can either be serious in education or continue the struggle to the same extent.

When the Imam was taken into custody in 1342 AHS, Sayyid Mustafa left no stone unturned for his release. He took counsel with the religious authorities

¹ Mahmud Borujerdi, *Haj Aqa Mustafa Lahzih-yi Imam ra Tanha Nagozasht*. [Haj Aqa Mustafa did not leave the Imam (s) alone even for a moment.] (memoirs), *Nida*, year 7, no. 22 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 28.

[*maraji*] and clerics and made endeavors not to let them keep silence so the all-out reaction of the clerics and people make the regime retreat.¹

Aqa Mustafa was regarded as honest and trustworthy by the Imam. It was he who would convey the most confidential messages to the Imam and give the Imam's messages to others. When being under surveillance in Qaytariyyah, Tehran, in 1342 AHS, his one and only permitted and distinctive mediator was Mustafa.² After the Imam's release and return to Qum in Farvardin 1343 AHS, he was also along with the Imam. At the time of the Imam's exile to Turkey, after his release from prison, he joined him. There, he would take care of the Imam in terms of his health and food conditions. In Iran, more than anywhere else, he perceived the responsibility and tried not to leave him alone.

Another aspect of the relationship between Sayyid Mustafa and Imam Khomeini was that of a disciple and master or of a student and professor. From the very onset of Mustafa's entrance to the arena of knowledge and science, Imam Khomeini was as a professor for him. This relationship was preserved and got even firmer till the last moments of his life. Gnostic morale of the Imam could be seen in Mustafa. Owing to this, Mustafa did also not make the least efforts to follow carnal desires and transitory worldly enjoyments. What can be inferred of his worldly life is that he has not made any endeavor to accumulate even an iota of wealth and property.

Scientifically, Imam Khomeini had a particular consideration for the Sayyid Mustafa.

As to the discussion and study sessions Mustafa had with the Imam in Najaf, Hujjat al-Islam Ismail Ferdowsi-Pur who was a witness to, such says,

During the study sessions, when we started a scientific discussion, he was the sole contender. He would make the discussion and points very well and firmly. In the Imam's classes he was one of the answerer [*mustashkil*]. It was customary in the *kharij* lesson sessions in Najaf that in case the answerer could not express himself well or would not give a proper response, or, at any rate, he or his talk would not be attractive for the professor, the professor would not listen to him; however, Haj Aqa Mustafa was such a personality

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

² The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, pp. 6-12.

that when he started speaking, the Imam would listen to his talks from start to the finish. Then, he would give him answer with utmost meticulousness.¹

As regards the general view of the Imam on Aqa Mustafa, one can say that the Imam has referred to him as “the future hope of Islam”.² ✍

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, pp. 201-202.

² *Nur-e Dideh-ye Imam* [the Apple of the Imam’s Eyes], (memories of Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur), *Hudur* Quarterly, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 73.

Chapter Two

Scientific Life

First discourse: education

Sayyid Mustafa started talking later than usual. At the age of four he could speak only a few words. When being 6 years of age, he went to a school near the house. This gave rise to the improvement of his talking. At the age of seven, he went to the Qum Muwahhidi School and till the completion of the primary course, i.e. grade six, studied there as well as the Qum Baqiriyyah School.¹ Of course, according to some references, he has given up studying in the public schools after the completion of his fifth grade of the primary course.²

At that time, it was customary that the cleric families as well as the people of knowledge would rather drive their children on educating the theological sciences, instead of educating in public schools or universities. For this reason, by the age fifteen, Sayyid Mustafa laid foot on the arena of theological studies and entered the Qum Theological Center.

¹ *Az Cheshm-e Madar* [From the Viewpoint of the Mother] (an interview with Khadijah Thaqafi), Hamshahri Newspaper, Aban 1, 1376 AHS p. 8.

² *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution]; no. 96 (Aban 7, 1362 AHS), p. 15 ((an interview with Ayatullah Fadil Muwahhidi Lankarani).

He enjoyed overflowing genius and acumen. Soon, this genius blossomed and Sayyid Mustafa went ahead of his classmates and laid foot on the arena of knowledge and genesis. Ayatullah Jafar Subhani elaborates on the Sayyid Mustafa's genius as follows,

One of his salient features as to the study was, first and foremost, his strong intellect; he had a strong memory as well. There are insightful and clever persons who do not enjoy a strong memory; however, while having a good understanding and meticulousness, he had a good memory, too. For this reason, through my emphasis, he learned all *Ibn Malik's Alfyyah* and not only he learned it by heart but also read it well, too. Once in a while, when I would quote a point on the life of the *ulama*, he would get interested in learning by heart that part of the book, "*Nukhbah al-Maqal*" being on the *ulama'* (a book on *Tarajim* and *Rijal*). Later on, when he read *Maqul* before others, he had learned and read by heart a part of the poetical works. He had either a profound insight or cleverness while having a strong memory beside these two.

He was also endowed with a generative thought. Some times, he would discuss on an issue, perhaps, for an hour and a half and he was able to discuss on an issue lengthily with the other party.¹

Based on the aforesaid reasons, he could finish the books, "*Suyuti*", "*Maalim*", "*Hashiyah-ye Mulla Abdullah*", "*Shamsiyyah*", "*Majmu al-Mutawwal*", and a part of "*Sharh-e Lumah*" during a two-odd years period. Others could usually acquire these lessons during four to five years. After completing this preliminary course as well as the Arabic literature and, in other words, after finishing the Hawzah prerequisite, they could begin the *Sath* course.²

At the age of seventeen, after completing the preliminary course, he put on turban and entered the clergy society. In this regard, Faridah Mustafawi, his sister, says,

At the age of seventeen, he was dressed with the clergy garment. I can remember that at the day when he was dressed, Hadrat Imam invited some of

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, pp. 84-85.

² *Ashenai ba Muhajir-e Shahid Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [To Get Familiar with the Emigrant Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Yad*, year 3, no. 12 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 109.

the friend for lunch in a party to encourage him and put the turban on his head through particular ceremonies. It was an interesting memoir to us. He entertained the guests with a lot of joyfulness and happiness.¹

After finishing the preliminary course, he began the *Sath* course immediately. In this stage, he was a well-known and familiar person for theological students and scholars of the Theological Center. Acquisition of this course lasted for five years. Through being affected by the Imam and his own scientific genius, during educating in the *Sath* course and the following courses, he reached a stage in which he would not accept any view easily, though its owner might be a known figure. While approving the aforementioned claim, Ayatullah Abtahi Kashani says,

At first, he would express his idea on discussions and would not have an obedience state [*halat-e taabbudi*] in scientific issues, i.e. he would not accept any point merely on account of its being uttered by, say, Shaykh Ansari or any other eminent person. Rather, like Hadrat Imam, he would analyze it.²

While acknowledging that salient feature of his, Ayatullah Hairi Yazdi also says,

[He] had some friends in the Hujjat School like Mr. Abtahi... Once in a while, when he would go to meet them, I could see them discussing from afar. One of his salient features was to take part in all sessions, talk about scientific issues, and change the gathering into a scientific one. When discussing, he would discuss a lot and make the discussion lengthy.³

Sayyid Mustafa started studying the *Sath* course lessons before such professors as the Eminent Ayatullahs [Ayat-e Izam]: Sultani, Muhammad Jawad Isfahani, Muhammad Saduqi, and Shaykh Murtada Hairi. At the presence of these professors he engaged in acquiring and learning jurisprudence [*faqh*] and fundamentals [*usul*]. Similarly, while acquiring the jurisprudence and fundamentals, he started learning philosophy [*falsafah*] before Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Rida Sadr and Sabzevari's "*Manzumah-ye Hikmat*" before him. When finishing this book, he attained a

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 376.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 102.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 113, 114.

degree of knowledge that he himself began teaching it to the theological students in the Qum Hujjatiyyah School. Since then, for acquiring “*Asfar*” and completing his philosophical knowledge, he took part in the classes of Sayyid Abu al-Hasan Rafii Qazvini and Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabatabai. After acquiring this book, he himself, began teaching it and wrote a margin [*hashiyah*] on it. As such, he completed the *Sath* course successfully and was prepared to enter the highest level of educating in Hawzah, viz. *Kharij*. Teaching simultaneous with studying in the *Sath* course gave impetus to his full command in different Islamic sciences. This erudition and also his scientific viewpoint on discussion made him enter the *Kharij* course with a knapsack full of knowledge, thought and science and be able to go ahead to the stage of *ijtihad*.

Sayyid Mustafa started educating in the *Kharij* course with taking part in the Ayatullah Borujerdi’s and Imam Khomeini’s classes. After Ayatullah Borujerdi’s departure in 1340 AHS, while continuing the *Kharij al-Fiqh* course at the presence of his wise father, he also made use of the presence of Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Damad. From among his fellow students in this stage, we can touch on Ayatullah Shahab al-Din Ishraqi and Ayatullah Shaykh Muhammad Fadol Lankarani.¹

Owing to the scientific genius and talent as well as success in all the stages of the theological education, he attained the *ijtihad* degree at the age of 27—five years after beginning the *Kharij* course. He was given the permission to practice *ijtihad* by Imam Khomeini.² Concerning his brother’s practicing *ijtihad*, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini is quoted as saying,

His [Sayyid Mustafa’s] scientific and *ijtihad* levels was very high. He was well-versed in jurisprudence [*fiqh*], fundamentals [*usul*], philosophy [*falsafah*], interpretation [*tafsir*], literature and meanings [*adabiyyat wa maani*], elucidation [*bayan*], and scholastic theology [*kalam*]. He had reached the stage of *ijtihad* in most of them. Particularly, he was in full

¹ Imad al-Din Baqi, *Mururi bar Zendeginameh-ye Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [A survey of the Biography of Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Ittilaat* Newspaper, (Aban 1, 1374 AHS), p. 1.

² The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 35.

command of the *fiqh* and *usul*, analyzing the *falsafah* discussions very well, practicing *ijtihad* even at the time of his residence in Qum.¹

In his memoirs, Ayatullah Shahab al-Din Ishraqi reminds that Haj Aqa Mustafa had reached the stage of *ijtihad* at the age of 25. In this regard, he says,

He, one of our other friends named Professor Muhammad Fadil Lankarani, and I would have discussed for years. In those discussions I came to know that he would have become a *mujtahid* at the age of 25... He [Imam Khomeini] also maintains that the late Haj Aqa Mustafa was a *mujtahid* at that age and all scholars [*fadala*] would have approved this.

To me, he was not only knowledgeable [*Alim*] but expert in all sciences. He was really an expert in literature [*adabiyat*], barter transaction [*sarf*], syntax [*nahw*], and philosophy [*falsafah*]. He was also *mijtahid* in jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and fundamentals [*usul*]... A better witness to his being well-versed in the *ijtihad* was that after twelve years of the system prohibition, when I succeeded to go to Najaf, I observed that Sayyid Mustafa has become more experienced than the time we were together. He would teach the *Kharij* lesson and many of the Najaf Hawzah *ulama* make use of his lessons. Haj Sayyid Mustafa's teaching the *Kharij* lessons is a case in point to the effect that his scientific status was known to the Najaf Hawzah *fudala*.²

In despite of attaining the *ijtihad* degree, teaching, and authoring, Sayyid Mustafa also continued to acquire the Islamic sciences during the periods of his exile to Turkey and Iraq. One of the best occasions which can be considered a "golden occasion" arisen when he along with the Imam would pass their exile period in Turkey. During these times, he succeeded to make use of his father scientifically and spiritually. Because, in Turkey, he was the one and only companion of the Imam and since they were free from all entanglements they had in Qum, they would spend most of their time discussing scientific and philosophical issues.³ Once in a while their scientific discussions was so hot that the security officers thought the father

¹ *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution]; no. 70 (Aban 8, 1361 AHS), p. 48 (an interview with Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini).

² The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 66-67.

³ *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution]; no. 18 (Mehr 3, 1359 AHS), p. 44 (an interview with Mahmud Duai).

and son are quarrelling, but after a while they saw that they are drinking tea together while smiling and chatting. As a matter of fact, this manner of behavior was a theological method of discussing.¹

On the other hand, it was indicative of the point that Sayyid Mustafa had reached such a degree of knowledge that was reliable to Imam Khomeini and his argumentations was also to the extent of *ijtihad*. All in all, most of their activities were on scientific issues and they could write several books in Turkey, too.

During the 12-year stop in the Holy Najaf, too, Sayyid Mustafa made use of the presence of the Great Ayatullahs including, Khui, Shahrudi, and Hakim. Through putting forward deeply scientific problems in the discussions, he proved that the graduates of the Qum Theological Center enjoy a high level in the theological and Islamic sciences and teachings. He, therefore, played a great part in changing views as to the Qum Theological Center's students and scholars.²

Sayyid Mustafa made also use of the presence of Ayatullah Sayyid Hasan Musawi Bojnurdi. In this regard, Ayatullah Khatam Yazdi says,

The late Bojnurdi had a brilliant paraphrase concerning Aqa Mustafa to the effect that, "I make use of him—just the very same reference that the late Naraqı made as to his pupil, Shaykh Ansari."³

In Najaf, till the end of his life, he would make use of the Imam's lessons and take part in his classes.

As regards Sayyid Mustafa's salient feature as a theological student in Qum and Najaf and also his talent and genius, one can talk a lot. Many of his fellow students or professors have expressed their views in this regard to some of which we made reference at the beginning of this discourse. For the completion of this discourse, however, we shall add some points. Concerning his father's views on the manner of discussing and examining the intellectual

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 272.

² Ruhullah Husayniyan, *Setareh-ye Subh-e Inqilab* [Morning Star of the Revolution], p. 80.

³ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 122.

and philosophical sciences, Sayyid Husayn Khomeini, Haj Aqa Mustafa's son, says,

He was of the opinion that one is supposed to discuss all these issues while observing the *ijtihad* manner. I heard of him four times this point to the effect that a *mujtahid* ought to be *mujtahid* in *sarf* and *nahw*, *maani* and *bayan*, *fiqh* and *usul*, *rijal* and *maqul*, and, in a nutshell, in all sciences. To practice *ijtihad* only in *fiqh* and *usul* is not enough. In this regard, he always discussed a lot with Hadrat Imam.¹

As regards the scientific aspect of Sayyid Mustafa, Hujjat al-Islam Ferdowsi-Pur says,

Scientifically, he was well-versed on *usul*. As to *fiqh*, he was considered a high-ranking *faqih* and fully qualified *mujtahid*. Concerning philosophy, he was a philosopher and from among the distinctive pupils of Hadrat Imam and Allamah Tabatabai. As regards gnosticism, he was taken into account as an all-out gnostic. In relation to the practical knowledge [*ilm*] and study of narrators [*rijal*], he had a strong memory and could call to mind any of the narrators meticulously... During the lesson sessions, when a scientific discussion was put up, he would discuss and give utterance very well. He was one of the answerers [*mustashkil*] of the Imam's class...²

In the jurisprudential essentials, Sayyid Mustafa had difference of opinion with Imam Khomeini. He expressed his views straightforwardly. This stance of Haj Aqa Mustafa was also noteworthy and valuable. Owing to this, he would pay attention carefully to the problems made by Sayyid Mustafa.

Second discourse: teaching

On account of enjoying an overflowing genius and studying a lot, when educating in the Qum Theological Center, he gradually started teaching some lessons. Of course, it is to be noted that he could teach every textbook he acquired. He had a strong memory and learned by heart the book details. Some times, while he had not finished a book, he was ready to teach it.³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201.

³ Abbas Miri, *Negahi beh Zendegi-ye Ilmi va Athar-e Shahid Aqa Mustafa Khomeini* [A Glance over the Scientific Life as well as Works of Martyr Aqa Mustafa Khomeini], Hawzah, year 14, no. 34 (Mordad, Shahrivar, Mehr, and Aban 1376 AHS), p. 362.

As mentioned before, after acquiring the Sabzevari's *Manzumah Hikmat* in the Qum Theological Center, he himself began teaching it in the Hujjatiyyah School of Qum. Also, when finishing *Asfar*, he engaged in teaching it to a small group of the theological students and wrote an appendix [*hashiyah*] for it too.¹ In his *Khatirat* [Memoirs], Ayatullah Khamenei says in this regard, "He was a well-known instructor. He would teach philosophy and was known among the theological students of Hawzah as well as scholars and instructors as a distinctive figure."²

During the exile period, after being transferred from Turkey to Iraq, he allocated a part of his time for teaching in the Holy Najaf. He was involved in teaching the *karij al-usul* lesson. Owing to the fact that he would teach the *karij al-usul* lesson around the age of thirty, this feat can be considered unique. Therefore, some even did not believe this and thought he is not able to finish teaching this lesson. In this regard, Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur says,

There were around twelve persons in Najaf who asked Haj Aqa Mustafa to teach them the *karij al-usul* lesson. He accepted. At that time [there were a few in] Najaf being proud of the erudition in the *karij al-usul* lesson, approving no one save themselves. On account of this, they imagined that Haj Aqa fails to teach it. As their arrogance in the jurisprudence lesson faded away by the Imam, once again, their views on the *karij al-usul* lesson turned out to be baseless.³

As regards his father's teaching, Sayyid Husayn Khomeini, Haj Aqa Mustafa's son, says,

While [learning] the Imam's jurisprudence lesson, my late father started teaching the *usul* lesson. At first, he would teach at home. Later on, he transferred his class to the Shaykh Ansari Mosque (wherein Hadrat Imam would hold his class). Hadrat Imam would start teaching lessons two hours before noon and continue it for 45 minutes. My late father, however, would begin teaching lessons one hour before the sunset and continue until the

¹ Imad al-Din Baqi, *Mururi bar Zendeginameh-ye Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [A Survey of the Biography of Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Ittilaat* Newspaper, (Aban 1, 1376 AHS), p. 1.

² Abbas Miri, *Negahi beh Zendegi-ye Ilmi va Athar-e Shahid Aqa Mustafa Khomeini* [A Glance over the Scientific Life as well as Works of Martyr Aqa Mustafa Khomeini], Hawzah, year 14, no. 34 (Mordad, Shahrivar, Mehr, and Aban 1376 AHS), p. 362.

³ *Ashenai ba Muhajir-e Shahid Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [To Get Familiar with the Emigrant Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Yad*, year 3, no. 12 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 111.

sunset. Owing to the fact that my late father would elaborate on each lesson lengthily, during twelve years of teaching, he did not get the chance to teach the entire *usul* lesson. He put forward only up to the end of *istishab*. The manuscripts left by him are up to the very subject matter.¹

According to the memoirs of Muhammad Ali Razi Zadeh, in order for the Iranian government agents to empty the Imam's and Sayyid Mustafa's classes in the Najaf Theological Center, they made endeavors a lot. Therefore, in order to preventing dispute over political issues, there were a few who did not take part in Haj Aqa Mustafa's classes, and outwardly, they did not believe in him scientifically. "Apart from this, like Haj Shaykh Abd al-Karim Hairi and Ayatullah Borujerdi, Haj Aqa Mustafa would teach the *usul* lesson with the Qummi method. This method did not have any follower in Najaf. Theological students of Najaf were following the fundamental essentials of Ayatullah Naini in the Najafi method."² Concerning the teaching of philosophy by Haj Aqa Mustafa, Muhammad Taqi Muttaqi also says, "He would teach privately but not formally; for the atmosphere of Najaf at those times would denigrate the philosophy. On account of this, he would consider that."³ While approving the aforesaid points, one of the close friends of the Imam and Sayyid Mustafa, Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur recalls that most of the Imam's and Mustafa's pupils were those who either knew them in Qum, or were from their enthusiasts, or were generally indifferent. As to the *kharij al-usul* class pupils of Aqa Mustafa, he goes on to say that,

In 1346 AHS, there was a need for the sessions of discussion on the *usul al-fiqh* to be held by Hadrat Imam in the Najaf Theological Center. Owing to the erudition on the scientific issues and full command of Ayatullah Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini in the intellectual sciences as well as *fiqh* and *usul* and his careful perception on the valuable fundamentals of Hadrat Imam and other intellectuals of the Theological Center and the recent eminent *ulama*, a group of the distinctive theological students and illustrious scholars of the Najaf Theological Center including, the late Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Haj Shaykh Ali Asghar Tahiri (kani) and Hujaj al-Islam Messrs. Ali-Pur, Sajjadi, Shariati, Ruhani, Burqii... and I decided while taking part in the Hadrat Imam's *fiqh* class ask Haj Aqa Mustafa to start teaching the *kharij al-usul*

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 236-237.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

lesson to the theological students and scholars in Najaf. This request was granted by His Eminence and since that date to the end of his noble and blessed life, for ten years, he taught an *usul al-fiqh* course by the modern research method. This further made manifest his scientific brilliance and gave rise to writing the voluminous book, “*Tahrirat fi al-Usul*”.¹

In Najaf, Sayyid Mustafa would also teach the interpretation [*tafsir*] published now.² Concerning his lesson classes as well as his behaviors in the professor position, too, many explanations have been given by his students and persons having a close tie with him. In this regard, Hujjat al-Islam Muhy al-Din Fadil Harandi, one of Haj Aqa Mustafa’s pupils says,

He was a freedom-lover, not having excessive entangling ceremonies and formalities, and enjoying a particular freedom-seeking morale. He paid heed mostly to the view of the religious law not that of tradition. He, therefore, would make jokes. However, no one dared to backbite or insult in his presence. What mattered to him was the very divine enjoining [what is good] and prohibiting [what is evil].³

Sayyid Abbas Miri has also classified his lesson classes’ features as follows,

1. To Revise [*Tanqih*] the subject matter: while putting forward an issue of discussion, he would give importance first and foremost to the *tanqih* of the subject matter. Then, he would examine and distinguish the difference point of opinions of the eminent and clear-sighted persons on that issue. He would maintain that many of the scientific viewpoint clashes manifest as a result of the ambiguity of the subject matter. To him, in case these two aforesaid cases are examined better, one can come to the conclusion sooner. In the book “*Tahrirat fi al-Usul*”, this feature can be seen.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-137.

² Muhammad Ali Razi-Zadeh, *Ijmali bar Hayat-e Ilmi-ye Shahid* [To Glance Casually at the Scientific Life of the Martyr], *Majmuah Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], p. 130; see for more details in this regard: Abu al-Fadl Shakuri, *Sharh-e Ha va Rawish-e Tafsiri-ye Aqa Mustafa* [The Exposition and Interpretation Method of Aqa Mustafa], *Bayyinat*, year 4, no. 3 (Fall 1376 AHS) pp. 50-67; Muhammad Abd al-Lahyan, *Tarh-e Jami-e Tafsiri-ye Aqa Mustafa* [Comprehensive Interpretation Plan of Aqa Mustafa], *Bayyinat*, pp. 168-183.

³ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 309.

2. Extension of the discussion: while putting forward the discussions on *usul* and *fiqh*, his method was to examine the discussion from all aspects and present in with full research.
3. To explore and research: to be informed of all aspects of the subject matter and to benefit from various sciences and viewpoints of the clear-sighted persons were from among the salient features of Aqa Mustafa's lesson classes. However, he would not agree with putting forward the *fuqaha* viewpoints as usual – by the method of elaborating on them lengthily – and would regard it time-consuming. He, therefore, would suffice to touch on the principle of evidence fundamentals and the discussion examining clearly. In the end, through his own particular clear-sightedness, he would set right the discussions according to the intellectual and canonical evidence fundamentals, and objective historical witnesses.
4. To take into consideration the Imam Khomeini's viewpoints: in his lesson class, the viewpoints of the contemporary *fuqaha* would put forward. He, however, would particularly take into account the viewpoints of Imam Khomeini. Owing to this, one of the salient features of the works left by him is full command in theoretical essentials and viewpoints of the Imam. Thus, one can deduce the jurisprudential, fundamental, and philosophical viewpoints of his father in his works.
5. Realism: he paid attention to the objective realities existing in the human beings' course of life and in society. He outlined the issues far from subjectivity and fiction. In this regard, once in a while, he would open a new horizon to the discussion which would give rise to the discussion's transformation.
6. Self-refinement and self-purification: in the Aqa Mustafa's lesson classes, to pay attention to the innermost being, soundness of the soul, and priority of self-refinement over teaching and training would take precedence. He would regard self-molding as one of the prerequisites of being a theological student. Accordingly, before starting giving lesson, in order to giving an advice, he would read a narration from the religious leaders.¹

¹ Abbas Miri, *Negahi beh Hayat-e Ilmi va Athar-e Qalami-ye Shahid* [A Glance over the Scientific Life as well as Books of the Martyr], *Majmuah Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid*

In the conclusion of this discourse, we shall introduce some pupils of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini in Qum and the Holy Najaf:

Ayatullah Muhammad Mumin, in the lesson *Sebsevaris' Manzumih Hikmat* in Qum;¹ Hujaj of Islam, Sayyid Muhammad Sajjadi, Ibrahim Fadil Ferdawsi, Shariati, Halimi Kashani, Ali Asghar Tahiri (Kani), Sayyid Rida Borqii, Hamid Ruhani, Muhammad Hikmat Gonabadi, Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur, Muhammad Ali Razi-Zadeh (Ali-Pur), Imami, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini,² Muhammad Rida Rahmat³ in Najaf and in *Usul* and *Tafsir*; Hujaj of Islam, Muhy al-Din Fadil Harandi, Ayatullah [Muhammad Mahdi] Rabbani Amlashi, and Hujjat al-Islam Turbati in Qum were from among his private pupils;⁴ Hujjat al-Islam Ali Hasan Sharifi from Pakistan in Najaf in *Tafsir*;⁵ Hujjat al-Islam Ismail Ferdawsi-Pur in Najaf;⁶ and others.

Third discourse: writings

During his residence in Iran and exile to Turkey and Iraq, despite the existing difficulties and entanglements mostly emanated from the Imam Khomeini's struggles in which he was entangled from the very outset, Sayyid Mustafa

Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], pp. 60-62.

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 80.

² Abbas Miri, *Negahi beh Hayat-e Ilmi va Athar-e Qalami-ye Shahid* [A Glance over the Scientific Life as well as Books of the Martyr], *Majmuah Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], p. 63.

³ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 281; *Bunyad-e Tarikh-e Inqilab-e Islami* [The Foundation for the Islamic Revolution History]; *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), p. 335.

⁴ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 308.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁶ *Ashenai ba Muhajir-e Shahid Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [To Get Familiar with the Emigrant Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Yad*, year 3, no. 12 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 116.

could take a third step along with education and teaching; i.e. writing and authoring various books.

From the very beginning of the theological education, he was practicing to write. One of his fellow students says in this respect:

From the very outset He would write down all the discussions he made and whatever came to his mind. He has many writings and books in such fields as literary sciences, jurisprudence science, *usul* science, and philosophical sciences.¹ One of the reasons behind his inclination toward writing and his success in this regard, in addition to his genius and mental talent, lies in his broad studies in different sciences.

His education and intelligence is praiseworthy in this regard. As it is understood from the SAVAK interrogations, after the Imam's exile to Turkey, when he was only 34 years old, he has named numerous books which have been authored by him or written interpretation or exegesis on the existing texts. He enumerates his writings as follows:

1. *Dawreh-ye Falsafah-ye Qadim* [Old Philosophy Period] some part of which has been remained now;
2. *Muqaddameh bar Asfar* [An Introduction to *Asfar*] especially to *Tabiiyyat-e Asfar* on whole of which I have written exegesis;
3. *Hashiyah bar Sharh al-Hidayah* [An Exegesis on *Sharh al-Hidayah*] by the Akhund Mulla Sadra-ye Shirazi;
4. *Hashiyah bar Mabda wa Maad* [An Exegesis on the Origin and Destination] by Late Akhund Mulla Sadra-ye Shirazi;
5. *Hawashi bar Wasilat al-Nijat* [An Exegesis on *Wasilat al-Nijat*] by the late Aqa Sayyid Abu al-Hasan Isfahani, and *Hawashi bar Urwah al-Wuthqa* [An Exegesis on *Urwah al-Wuthqa*] by the late Aqa Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Tabatabai Yazdi;
6. All Verbal Discussions on *al-usul* as well as Intellectual Discussions on *al-usul*.
7. *Tatbiq-e Hiyat-e Jadid bar Hiyat-e Nujumi-ye Islam* [Modern Astronomy Compared with Islamic Astronomy];

¹ *Keyhan*, Aban 1, 1359 AHS

8. *Hawashi bar Khatimah-ye Mustadrak Muttaqin* [An Exegesis on *Khatimah-ye Mustadrak Muttaqin*] by Mr. Haj Mirza Husayn Nuri;
9. *Kitab al-Ijarah* [The Book on Lease];
10. *Kitab al-Salat* [The Book on Prayer], unfinished;
11. *Matn-e Fiqh* [The Jurisprudence Text], unfinished;

The aforementioned books are yet to be published.¹

After his exile to Turkey, Sayyid Mustafa did not stop writing. In spite of such existing difficulties as library, and needed reference books, he wrote new books. In fact, Haj Aqa Mustafa seized the opportunity and made use of the presence of Imam Khomeini, viz. his professor. In this alien and desperate land, when they were busy discussing, they would raise so hue and cry that the security officers would think the son and father were disputing. The scientific result of this compulsory stop in Turkey was the writing of the priceless book “*Tahrir al-Wasilah*” by Imam Khomeini that bespeaks of his erudition on jurisprudential issues. Haj Aqa Mustafa, too, authored the books, “*Al-Wajibat fi al-Salat*” and “*Al-Fawaid wal-Awaid*”.

In writing the books, Haj Aqa Mustafa made mainly use of the knowledge of Imam Khomeini and his strong and reliable mentality and memory. While writing “*Al-Wajibat fi al-Salat*”, he has made reference to some historical points. Along this line, he has pointed to the Pahlavi government’s representatives’ coming to the Imam and declaring his expatriation from Turkey. The treatise “*Al-Fawaid wal-Awaid*” is a collection of dispersed notes on different issues and sciences including fundamentals [*usul*], jurisprudence [*fiqh*], scholastic theology [*kalam*], and gnostics [*irfan*].²

After Sayyid Mustafa’s and Imam Khomeini’s expatriation from Turkey and change of their exile place to Iraq and the holy city of Najaf, alongside the extension of the political activities, their scientific activities also entered a new phase. That was because unlike Turkey, there, the ground was smoothed for writing and authoring more important books. The Najaf Theological

¹ *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), Yad Quarterly, Mehr 1376 AHS, p. 97; the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini’s Works has published some of the said works.

² *Athar-e Allamah Shahid Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Works of Allamah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini] *Hudur* Quarterly, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 224-225.

Center had a 1000-year background of the Shiite scholars' presence and was the cradle of theological centers.

One of the goals of Sayyid Mustafa and the Imam in Najaf was to authenticate the position of the Qum Theological Center and its graduates. Because, the imperialistic countries were planning to create an atmosphere to belittle the Qum Theological Center. One of the reasons behind the exile of them to Najaf was to belittle the Imam before the Najaf Theological Center's scholars so his position be diminished to a normal cleric one. Haj Aqa Mustafa and the Imam, however, proved that all these scene-makings and propagandas are lies and are put forward by the political enemies of Islam.

For removing the existing atmosphere of strangulation and seclusion and introducing the Imam, Aqa Mustafa made extensive scientific efforts. He took part in the classes held by the professors of the Najaf Theological Center. While expressing his criticisms, he paved the ground for revising unrealistic viewpoints. One of the other measures made by Haj Aqa Mustafa was writing new books. In addition to teaching the *usul* course, he wrote down his viewpoints and at last authored the book "*Tahrirat fi al-Usul*". In this book, the author hints at sayings of most previous *usuli* books. This book is indicative of Haj Aqa Mustafa's erudition on the *usul* science as well as intellectual sciences. In this book, he has intertwined sayings of the later scholars [*mutaakhkhirun*] and earlier ones [*mutaqaddimun*] and has not been heedless of any of them.¹ This book has been published through Sayyid Muhammad Sajjadi's endeavor and by the Islamic Guidance Ministry in 1372 AHS.² Once more, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works has printed it in 1376 AHS in seven volumes.³

Another book written in Najaf is "*Kitab al-Sawm*". He has written this book as a result of teaching discussions on fasting in the month of Ramadan in one of the years dwelling in that city. This book may be his one and only jurisprudential book either taught or written by him. Other jurisprudential books have been just studied and written by him. This book has once been published by two of his pupils named Hujaj al-Islam, Sayyid Muhammad

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-230.

² Imad al-Din Baqi, *Mururi bar Zendeginameh-ye Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [A survey of the Biography of Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Ittilaat* Newspaper, (Aban 1, 1376 AHS), p. 5.

³ Mustafa Khomeini, *Tahrirat fi al-Usul* (8 volumes), the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, Tehran, 1376 AHS

Sajjadi and Muhammad Ali Razi-Zadeh (Ali-Pur) through Maktab Alam al-Islami Publications in 1412 A.H. In 1376 AHS, it has also been reprinted by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works.

Another writing of Sayyid Mustafa in Najaf is the book "*Al-Taharah*". It seems that Aqa Mustafa has written this book, a discursive jurisprudential one, as an introduction or prologue for the collection "*Tahrirat fi al-Usul*". This book has been published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works in two volumes in 1376 AHS

Another book of Haj Aqa Mustafa is "*Kitab al-Bay*". This book consists of three volumes; however, today only its first volume and also the discussion on *Wilayat al-Faqih* from the second volume are to the fore. Probably, when transferring this book from Iraq to Iran, the second and third volumes have been missed. Stylistically, this book has been written like the book "*al-Bay*" by Imam Khomeini and the book "*Makasib-e Muharramah*" by Shaykh Ansari. The existing parts of this book have been published by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works in 1376 AHS

Haj Aqa Mustafa's "*Kitab al-Khiyarat*" has also been subject to the same destiny as "*Kitab al-Bay*". Since, this book has been composed of 958 pages, the first 540 pages of which have been missed. Given the book's completion date, it seems that simultaneously with learning "*Khiyarat*" before Imam Khomeini, Sayyid Mustafa have been writing the book. This book has also been published by the aforesaid institute in 1376 AHS¹

From among his other books is "*al-Makasib al-Muharramah*" the name of which is among Haj Aqa Mustafa's works. No trace of it, however, is found. Also, it is not clear that if it is written in Iran or Iraq. It the meanwhile, some trace it back to the time of exile in Iraq.

His other work is "*al-Khilal fi al-Salat*". Since its discussions are intertwined with those of *usul*, it is indicative of the author's erudition in *usul* as well as *fiqh*. "*Al-Hashiyah ala al-Urwah al-Wuthqa*" is another book on effort [*ijtihad*] and imitation [*taqlid*] some part of which is related to purification [*taharah*] and fasting [*siyam*]. "*Tahrir al-Urwah al-Wuthqa*" is also another small book. According to Haj Aqa Mustafa, the reason behind writing this book, is that the book "*Al-Urwah al-Wuthqa*" by Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Yazdi" is replete with many derivative issues [*furuat*] and narrations

¹ *Athar-e Allamah Shahid Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Works of Allamah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini] *Hudur Quarterly*, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 233.

[*amthilah*] to which there is no need and some points of which are repetitive; so he decided to refine that book. In this book, he has written down his *fata*-like views. Along this vein, as regards leadership [*ziamat*] and religious authority [*marjaiyyat*] there are some points based on his own viewpoints. This book has also been published and printed by the said Institute in 1376 AHS

His other book “*Al-Hashiyah ala Tahrir al-Wasilah*” is in fact an exegesis and introduction to the book “*Tahrir al-Wasilah*” by Imam Khomeini. Of course, like other works of Sayyid Mustafa, it is scattered and imperfect. These exegeses are in form of exposition, objection and argument. In this book, he has referred to a book called “*Kitabuna al-Kabir*”. Since this title has been applied in his other works, it seems that he has been planning to write a great and immense book on jurisprudence, though that has not come true until his martyrdom.¹ This book entitled “*Mustanad Tahrir al-Wasilah*” has been published and printed by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini’s Works in 1376 AHS.

“*Tafsir al-Quran al-Karim*” is from among Sayyid Mustafa’s other lasting works. Meanwhile, this exegesis is unfinished and being from the beginning of the Quran up to the verse 46 of *Surah al-Baqarah*. This book has once been published by Sayyid Muhammad Sajjadi in four volumes in 1362 AHS and reprinted by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini’s Works in 1376 AHS in five volumes. The book has been written simultaneously with teaching the Quran in the Mosque Shaykh Ansari in the Holy Najaf. As to the exegesis style, it is one of the current most thorough exegeses from the outset of Islam till now. Regrettably, Haj Aqa Mustafa did not have the opportunity to complete it and it remained uncompleted by his martyrdom.

In this philosophical and mystical exegesis, Sayyid Mustafa has made use of the exegesis sources from the Islamic period up to his time. Most of the sources have been used in the first and second volumes. The third and fourth volumes have fewer sources. In this exegesis, every chapter [*surah*] as regards name, excellence, number of verses, cause of revelation [*shan-e nuzul*] order of revelation, and date of revelation; and every verse [*ayah*] according to the knowledge of terms [*lughah*], barter transaction [*sarf*], syntax [*nahw*], expression [*irab*], calligraphy [*rasm al-khatt*], writing [*kitabati*], meanings [*maani*], rhetoric [*bilaghat*], recitation [*tajwid*], reading

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 233-237.

[*qaraat*], jurisprudence [*fiqh*], fundamentals [*usul*], wisdom [*hikmat*], philosophy [*falsafah*], scholastic theology [*kalam*], gnosticism [*irfan*], ethics [*akhlaq*] and knowledge of numbers [*adad*] have been interpreted. From among other salient features of this exegesis is to make use of mystical Arabic and Persian poems.¹ A part of this exegesis related to the *Hamd Surah* entitled “*Sarmanzel-e Insanyyat, Tafsir-e Akhlaqi-ye Fatihah al-Kitab*” [The Humanity’s Destination, the Ethical Exegesis on *Fatihah al-Kitab*] has been published by Muhammad Tahrir-Chi in 1362 AHS²

Another book which belongs to him is “*Durus al-Alam wa Naqdha*”. This book or 70-page pamphlet is about lessons of Imam Khomeini and Great Ayatullahs, Sayyid Mahmud Shahrudi, Abu al-Qasim Khui, Muhammad Baqir Zanjani, and Sayyid Muhsin Hakim—points come to mind after taking note of the lessons have been written in a critical manner in their continuation.³

From among his other works, one can touch on “*Dirasat fi Wilayat al-Faqih*” [Some Points on the Governance of the Jurist], “*Qawaid al-Hakamiyyah wa Hashiyah wa Taliq beh Asfar Arbaah-ye Mulla Sadra*” [Rules on Judgment and Exegeses on Mulla Sadra’s *Asfar al-Arbaah*], “*Al-Qawaid Rijaliyyah*” [Rules of the Study of Narrators], “*Hashiyah bar Khatimah Mustadrak al-Wasail-e Mirza Husayn Nuri*” [An Exegesis on Mirza Husayn Nuri’s *Khatimah Mustadrak al-Wasail*], “*Sharh-e Zenegani-ye Aimmah (a)*” [Exposition on the Imams’ (a) Life], and “*Qadiyyah-ye Aqa-ye Hakim wa Dawlat-e Iraq*” [The Issue of Mr. Hakim and the Iraqi Government].⁴ ❧

¹ Ghulam Rida Jalali, “*Alamah Shahid Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini dar Tafsir-e Surah-ye Hamd*” [Alamah Martyr Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini in Exegesis on *Surah al-Hamd*], *Hawzah*, year 14, no. 34 (Mordad, Shahrivar, Mehr, and Aban 1376 AHS), pp. 194-231.

² Muhammad Tahrir-Chi, *Sarmanzel-e Insanyyat, Tafsir-e Akhlaqi-ye Fatihah al-Kitab* [The Humanity’s Destination, the Ethical Exegesis on *Fatihah al-Kitab*], *Bija, Bina*, 1362 AHS

³ *Athar-e Allamah Shahid Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Works of Allamah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini] *Hudur Quarterly*, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 241-242.

⁴ Abbas Miri, *Negahi beh Hayat-e Ilmi va Athar-e Qalami-ye Shahid* [A Glance over the Scientific Life as well as Books of the Martyr], *Majmuah Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], pp. 65-66.

PART TWO

Political Life

- **Chapter 1: From the Onset of the Movement to the Imam Khomeini's Exile to Turkey**
- **Chapter 2: From the Imam Khomeini's Exile to Turkey to the Exile to Iraq**
- **Chapter 3: Najaf, the New Center for the Islamic Movement**

Chapter One

From the Onset of the Movement to the Imam Khomeini's Exile to Turkey

First discourse: first political activities

Prior to the beginning of the Imam Khomeini's movement, Sayyid Mustafa was partly familiar with the society's political courses. He would express sympathy and inclination toward the religious courses. One of the most effective political and religious formations was the Community of Fada'iyan-e Islam. Through relying on the religious intellectual principles, it embarked on full-fledged struggles from 1320 to 1334 AHS Fada'iyan-e Islam made endeavors to do away with the existing sociopolitical occasions and draw a new plan entailing the Islamization of society and government. Fada'iyan-e Islam's aim was struggle with all aspects of faithlessness and secularism in the society. Their way and policy was a combination of the revolutionary and reformist ways. Being reformist to the effect they would accept all existing organs and systems with a little change in form; and being revolutionary, because they would like to transform the cultural and religious essence of the society in all its aspects. They would regard their function being based on the Islamic school of thought and values and according to the religious duty.¹

¹ Dawud Amini, *Jamiyyat-e Fadaiyan-e Islam wa Naqsh-e an dar Tahawwulat-e Siyasi-Ijtimai-ye Iran* [Fadaiyan-e Islam Community and its Role in the Sociopolitical Transformations of Iran], p. 75.

The famous motto of Fada'iyān-e Islam was, "Islam is superior to everything, and nothing is superior to Islam."¹

Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini was familiar with the leader of this community, namely, Sayyid Mujtaba Nawwab-e Safawi and took part in its sessions. He had a friendly and close connection with the community's second number person, Abd al-Husayn Wahidi. In this regard, Ayatullah Sadiq Khalkhali says in his memoirs,

[Sayyid Mustafa] was never ready to be under oppression and cruelty. Along this vein, he was attached to the late Nawwab and the late Wahidi very much. He took part in their private sessions, particularly, in [the sessions held in] Hadrat Ayatullah Martyr Saduqi's house wherein Martyr Wahidi was hidden for a while.²

Sayyid Mustafa's familiarity and connection with the founder of the Community of Fada'iyān-e Islam made him pay particular attention to the struggle with the Pahlavi regime from the very youth. In this relation, Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini himself says,

In Iran, there was a community known as Fada'iyān-e Islam. Their headman called (Mujtaba) Nawwab Safawi was really bold and potent. Affectionately, he would leave no stone unturned for Islam. One can not regard him away from the reality. Their number-two man was my beloved friend, Martyr Abd al-Husayn Wahidi. This tribe lived in Qum for a long time. We were Qum at that time and watched over them from afar. One night, they came under attack and were beaten by a group before the very eyes of hundreds of theological students. They could not stay in Qum anymore. As a result, they took abode in Tehran... Finally, they were arrested by Rida Khan and shot to death with the deadly silence of the *ulama*'. Although my friend, Abd al-Husayn was killed somewhere else we are still bereaved of him...³

For the lack of documents, there is not further information on Haj Aqa Mustafa's connection with Fada'iyān-e Islam and other religious courses.

¹ Husayn Khosh-Niyyat, *Nawwab-e Safawi, Andisheh-ha, Mubarizat wa Shahadat-e u* [Nawwab-e Safawi, his Thoughts, Struggles, and Martyrdom], p. 235.

² The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 111.

³ *Shahid-e Thani az Tabar-e Imam Khomeini* [Martyr, the Second, from the Family of Imam Khomeini], 15th Khordad Quarterly, no. 4 (Mehr and Aban 1370 AHS), p. 24.

At the time of the State and Provincial Associations ratification (Mehr 16th, 1341 AHS) during which the plot of Islam-elimination and religion-fighting had been entered a new phase, and in reaction to which the Imam's serious and formal struggles against the Pahlavi regime began, Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini was dwelling in Iraq alongside his mother and was busy going on pilgrimage to the Holy Places.¹ The SAVAK came to the conclusion that Imam Khomeini has sent his wife and son to Iraq so as to intensify the struggle.² In one of the SAVAK's accounts of the fifth province (Kermanshahan), Sayyid Ahmad Zanjani is quoted as saying, "Sayyid Mustafa is opposed to the government. He has taken with him some tapes on which the Imam Khomeini's speeches is recorded and has broadcasted them in Najaf and Karbala by a loudspeaker."³

After the departure of Ayatullah Borujerdi in Farvardin 1340 AHS, the Pahlavi government made endeavor to transfer the religious authority base from Qum to Najaf so as to weaken the Iranian religious authorities and clerics and to diminish their influence among people and their pressure on the government. Therefore, the condolence message of Ayatullah Borujerdi's departure was sent to the Najaf religious authorities [*maraji*]. However, the reaction on the part of the Iranian combatant clergies and religious authorities was different from what the Pahlavi regime had foreseen. One of the most important reactions was on the part of Imam Khomeini so he waged an all-out struggle in this regard and smoothed the way for neutralizing that plot.⁴

Next stage of the presence of Imam Khomeini in the scene of struggle against the Pahlavi regime was the story of the ratification of "the State and Provincial Associations Bill" in Mehr 16th, 1341 AHS. The Most important points of this bill which incited the rage of the religious forces, was the elimination of the Islam term from the conditions of the electors, elects as well as from the oath of the elects in the ceremonies of giving oath to one of the heaven books instead of the Quran. Imam Khomeini reacted against it

¹ Muhammad Hasan Tashayyu, *Chehreh-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [The Political Face of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Majmua Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], pp. 72-73.

² *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), Yad Quarterly, Mehr 1376 AHS, p. 61.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴ Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, pp. 225-228.

immediately and called on the high ranking *ulama*' of Qum to make a decision in this regard. The result of the consultation session was to telegraph to Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and while announcing their opposition to the bill, the *ulama*' call for its immediate cancellation. Likewise, it was supposed to continue these sessions and let the *ulama*' of Tehran and provinces know through possible ways the details of the issue. From then on, extensive activities were made and many telegrams were sent to Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and the court. Many notifications also released all over the country. In the speeches delivered by preachers and clergies, they touched on the aspects and aftermaths of this ratification which was repugnant to the religious law and the Constitution.¹

Through reaching the zenith of the people's as well as the political and trade formations' support from the clerics stances vis-à-vis the aforesaid ratified bill and the similar reactions in the course of the six-principle referendum of the White Revolution, the Pahlavi regime came to the conclusion to embark on intimidation and pressure in the center of these activities, i.e. Qum and that city's Theological Center. Prior to this measure, during speeches made by Muhammad Rida Pahlavi in Dey 19, 1341 AHS, he addressed the *ulama*' and religious authorities opposed to the referendum with insulting phrases and intimidated to suppress them impedingly.² In reaction to this insult and in order to continuing the struggle and to informing the people, Imam Khomeini issued an announcement to the effect that he declared the New Year 1342 AHS as public mourning.³

Days of New Year 1342 A.H.S were coinciding with the sad demise of Imam al-Sadiq (*a*). Therefore, during the announcements issued by Imam Khomeini (*s*) and other religious authorities and *ulama*' in this connection, they declared the New Year feast as the public mourning. They made endeavors to pretend outwardly that this mourning is on the occasion of the coincidence with the sad demise of is devoid of any political motive.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-231.

² See, *Majmuahe-ye Talifat, Nutqha, Payamham Musahibeh-ha, va Bayanat-e Alahadrat Humayun Muhammad Rida Shah Pahlavi, Ariyamehr Shahanshah-e Iran* [The Collection of Writings, Speeches, Messages, Interviews, and Statements of His Excellency Muhammad Rida Shah Pahlavi, the Iranian King of Kings], vol. 4, pp. 3046.

³ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihadat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, pp. 344-348.

In the wake of these measures, the SAVAK tried to prevent the release of announcements and holding the mourning ceremonies and delivering speech in Farvardin 2nd. In despite of all endeavors it made, not only the announcements released but also the mourning ceremonies were held. In order to preventing holding the ceremonies, a group of the guard soldiers of the court entered Qum in disguise and went to the mourning ceremonies and tried to disturb the gatherings. These officers, for instance, had gone to a ceremony held in the house of Imam Khomeini (s) and tried to cause trouble. This, however, was neutralized by the Imam Khomeini's reaction to the effect that in case they continue causing the trouble, he will go to the Holy Shrine of Hadrat Masumah and will deliver speech for people. Meanwhile, another mourning ceremony was held by Ayatullah Golpayegani in the Qum Faydiyyah School the same day afternoon. The said officers entered the gathering and while disturbing the gathering's order, they beat the participators. For the reaction of the participating theological students and people, the armed forces surrounded the Faydiyyah School and wounded and injured many people. This conflict continued until 7 p.m. and at the end of the clash, the officers set on fire the books and necessities of the theological students in the middle of the Faydiyyah School court and then left there.¹ At the same day, they assaulted to the Tabriz Talibiyyah School, beating those participating in the ceremonies. The Pahlavi regime imagined such a suppressive measure will give impetus to the fear of the religious authorities, clerics and Imam Khomeini in particular. They thought this will lead to their seclusion or create a rift among them. The response to this occurrence, however, was the stressed reactions of the clergies including Imam Khomeini. In condemning it, Imam Khomeini made a suppressive speech paid a visit to the Faydiyyah School site. A wave of disgust and hate formed among people and clergies of Qum, Tehran and other provinces.² It infiltrated even beyond the borders, and the Najaf Theological Center religious authorities also reacted to it.³

Suppression, intimidation, and humiliation of the clergies on the part of the Pahlavi regime, on the one hand, and their resistance and activity despite all troubles and difficulties, on the other, continued. Imam Khomeini, for

¹ Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, pp. 247-249.

² *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 1, pp. 166-167; Hamid Ruhani, *Nihad-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, pp. 382-386.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents, vol. 1, pp. 89-91; *ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 38-40.

example, on the occasion of the fortieth day of the Qum Faydiyyah School catastrophe issued an announcement addressed to the Iranian people, expressing his sorrow and sadness on the dishonoring of the clergy and the theological centers.¹ Likewise, Imam Khomeini (s) set up a funeral service in the Qum Azam Mosque, too. The regime, however, prevented holding such a gatherings in Tehran.²

After his return from the Holy Places, Sayyid Mustafa stood alongside the Imam and was engaged in political activities against the Pahlavi rule. In his memoirs as to Sayyid Mustafa's activities, Hujjat al-Islam Taqi Dorcheh-i who himself was busy struggling against the regime during these days alongside Sayyid Mustafa and others, writes,

[At the days prior to the 15th Khordad, 1342 AHS] through his guidance, in a house next to the Hujjat School, a group of the theological students were covertly and privately drew up the text of the Imam's speeches such that one or two of them separated and compiled the printed pages of the speech, one pressed it, another one counted and classified the pamphlets and the next one was active in releasing and distributing them in provinces (especially in Tehran). Every one did a role with utmost calmness and silence lest God-forbid an incident happens on the part of the SAVAK and all the troubles are wasted. We witnessed that Martyr Haj Aqa Mustafa once would sit down bravely and at times walked around the theological student friends and guide them like a prudent manager or an action commander. He encouraged the people to have more enthusiasm and since he believed to the origin of the matter and regarded it a mere Islamic deed, he made them have more belief by setting forth due talks and some sentences from the narrations of the immaculate Imams (a). once in a while, for removing tiredness and for a change of taste, he would make a joke... in the struggle, he strived heartily and with utmost eagerness.³

¹ *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 1, pp. 196-198.

² Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, p. 255.

³ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, pp. 221-222.

Second discourse: Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and the 15th Khordad (1342 AHS) uprising

As mentioned in the first discourse, Sayyid Mustafa was familiar with the political activities. He had partially begun it prior to the movement of Imam Khomeini. These activities, however, were not so worthy to be noted in reports. In 1342 AHS, and particularly after the 15th Khordad (1342 AHS), he entered the movement seriously and widely. Until the end of his life, he did not stay away from it even for a moment. In all the ups and downs of the movement, he rendered assistance to the revolution and its leader wholeheartedly.

The 15th Khordad (1342 AHS) uprising is regarded a serious prologue to one of the biggest happenings, i.e. the Islamic revolution, during the Iranian history. Its roots and causes had a close connection with the Pahlavi rule programs and policies. It was, in fact, a practical reaction to those policies and programs. On the other hand, it was indicative of the Iranian Muslim people's desires and ideals under the leadership of Imam Khomeini (*s*). During the first and second Pahlavi period, the Iranian history experienced establishment of a dictator rule with all its means and requirements. Although this dictatorship was afflicted with lethargy at some junctures for historical grounds, through the victory of the Anglo-American coup in Mordad 28, 1332 AHS—which can be called the reestablishment of the Pahlavi dynasty—the Pahlavi rule established and stabilized the dictator political system once again. It made endeavors to create a united political party system. Soon, democrats became victorious in the US presidential elections by the leadership of John F. Kennedy. According to their doctrine, and in order to preventing popular uprisings in the Third World countries—which could bring about overthrow of the governments affiliated to the West bloc and the US in particular—they made reformations in an open political atmosphere. The Iranian political regime was also among one of these governments which was supposed to make some reforms with the very same motivation and goal. These reforms took the opportunity to appear with the title of “the White Revolution” or “the Revolution of the Shah and People” encompassing all aspects of the political, economic, social, and cultural life of the Iranian society.

Given the foreigners role in planning and administering it and its practical opposition to the deeply-rooted religious and cultural beliefs and ideas of the Iranian people, from its very onset, this policy faced with the critical reactions of the people and, especially, the clerics. Imam Khomeini was the

most outstanding leader of the moves opposed to the American reforms in Iran entering the scene from the time of the State and Provincial Associations Bill ratification. Although the Pahlavi regime also declared the reforms as immutably possible, suppressing the opponents an obvious example of which being the happening of the Qum Faydiyyah School and the Tabriz Talibiyah School in Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS, it failed to achieve a desirable result and these moves were gradually organized and turned into a main current continuing till the victory of the Islamic revolution in 1357 AHS

The 15th Khordad (1342 AHS) happening was, in reality, the continuation of the opposition of the clergies and religious authorities to the oppressive reforms and ways of the Pahlavi regime. As such, the clergies considered the arrival of the Muharram days of that year a due opportunity for propaganda against the plans and policies of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi. By holding sessions, exchanging letters, and issuing announcements, they improved their connection with the people and prepared themselves. Of course, the government made endeavor to take full and complete hold of these activities. For doing so, addressing to the preachers and clergies, it declared to and obliged them that they must shun stating three points in the speeches they deliver during the Muharram days in gatherings. Firstly, they must not talk against the First Person of the country, secondly, no point has to be uttered against Israel, and thirdly, they should not say time and again that Islam is in danger.¹

In spite of all the endeavors made by SAVAK as well as other persons and organizations, the clergies succeeded to equip forces and especially to organize the preachers and clergies for the Muharram days. One of the reports of the SAVAK dated Ordibehesht 2, 1342 AHS, a few days before the Muharram month, reads:

According to the received information, a great number of the theological students have been sent to the provinces of Iran by the cleric officials to deliver speech in the months of Muharram and Safar against the government, some of which carry the portrait of Ayatullah Khomeini (s).

¹ Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, p. 263; *Qiyam-e Panzdah-e Khordad beh Rawayat-e Asnad-e SAVAK* [the 15th Khordad Uprising Narrated by the SAVAK Documents], vol. 2 (*Faydiyyah*), pp. 233-239, 247.

Thus, in case His Eminency wills, if the respected SAVAKs are ordered to wholly prevent ascending to pulpit and delivering speech of the unknown individuals, it will be extremely effective.¹

After the beginning of the mourning days of Muharram, the preachers and clergies embarked on delivering speech and admonition. While making speech after ritual prayers, Imam Khomeini would talk against the ruling system and the Pahlavi regime as well. Imam Khomeini's announcements were also released and posted in the walls of religious and university sites including the Tehran University to the effect that Islam is in danger and there is a need to defend it and to propagandize against the ruling system. Meanwhile, all the attentions of the disciplinary and security organs was paid to the days of *Tasua* and *Ashura*. According to the SAVAK's account dated Ordibehesht 31, 1342 AHS, numerous disciplinary and security plans had been arranged to confront with the clergies propagandas.² Naturally, in these days, numerous rumors were also prevalent among the public in opposition to or in favor of the clergies or the government. As to the clergies' activities and Imam Khomeini's role, one of the accounts of the SAVAK Third General Office dated Khordad 11, 1342 AHS such reads,

Receiver: SAVAK officials by the hierarchy order

Sender: 333 (Investigation Office)

Subject: The clergy's measures

I beg to inform you that during the past eight days, on the occasion of the Muharram days, religious gatherings and mourning ceremonies have been held in different parts of the country. The preachers and other religious missionaries have engaged in delivering sermon which is still going on. In the first days of Muharram, the pulpit people did not go up against the government harshly. Just a few of them criticized allusively. After the release of the new announcement of Ayatullah Khomeini, however, in which some orders have been given as to the intensification of the propagandistic activities against the government, their ways have been changed and they incite the people and publicize against the government sternly in the religious gatherings.

¹ *Qiyam-e Panzdah-e Khordad beh Rawayat-e Asnad-e SAVAK* [the 15th Khordad Uprising Narrated by the SAVAK Documents], vol. 2, p. 261.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 307-348.

In the announcement of Ayatullah Khomeini has been written when some heresies are made in the religion, it is incumbent upon the *ulama*' to express their knowledge and disclose the realities. Therefore, they are obliged to act upon their religious duties without the fear of imprisonment, intimidation and pressure. In this announcement, it is also said the pledges that the disciplinary officials make the preachers give are not legal and the pledge-givers are law breakers. The release of this announcement has changed even the ways of those religious speakers who did not enter the political brawls. According to the decree of Ayatullah Khomeini since they hold themselves accountable canonically, they have started criticizing and inciting...

The obtained information indicates that the opponent clergies are going to make the best use of the religious communities during the days of *Tasua* and *Ashura*, embarking on provocations and even holding huge demonstrations...¹

By and large, the *Tasua* and *Ashura* days arrived. The existing reports indicates that during these two days, most of the preachers and religious speakers allocated a part of their speeches to the criticism and attack on the Pahlavi regime, and its actions and function. During these days, the populations from several-hundred-people groups to several-thousand-people groups poured into streets in different cities, particularly in Qum and Tehran, in different parts of the city. While mourning they chanted slogans against the Pahlavi regime and in support of Imam Khomeini.²

In the *Ashura* of 1383 AH (Khordad 13, 1343 AHS), at 6:30 p.m., Imam Khomeini got ready in the Qum Faydiyyah School and delivered his historical speech. In this day, the disciplinary and security forces were in a state of full readiness. Understandably, there was the possibility of any kind of danger for the Imam and suppression of the people. This day was one of the hardest days for Haj Aqa Mustafa. According to Ayatullah Muhammad Ali Gerami, Haj Aqa Mustafa was sternly worried about the Imam's life. Unlike the way of the preachers, the Imam first commemorated the martyrs of Karbala, and then started speaking. After explaining the heart-breaking event of Karbala, he compared the Pahlavi rule officers' attack to the Faydiyyah School in Farvardin 2, 1342 AHS to the event of Karbala. He considered the suppression of the clergies and people at that day as a result of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 349-350.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 351-412.

the Israel provocation and called the Pahlavi regime as a puppet of Israel. Ayatullah Gerami says,

When the Imam spoke about the Shah during his talks, Haj Aqa Mustafa was in a state of agitation as if he felt danger for the audience. Haj Aqa Mustafa, therefore, told me: tell Aqa to finish the speech... Aqa Mustafa felt the danger and seemingly before the Imam's entering the Faydiyyah, soldiers had gotten off around 16 trucks and paraded...¹

Imam Khomeini allocated a part of his speech to the pledges given by the preachers and clergies through the SAVAK's coercion to the effect that they ought not to revile the Shah and Israel and not to say that Islam is in danger. He criticized it harshly and warned Muhammad Rida Pahlavi off demagoguery and affiliation to the foreigners.

As such, in different cities of Iran, the *Tasua* and *Ashura* in 1342 AHS turned out to be a scene of open criticism from the Pahlavi rule and its function. In the wake of the previous days, the 11th and 12th days of Muharram also became changed into the political demonstrations of people against the Pahlavi regime and people chanted slogans in favor of Imam Khomeini and against the Shah and its rule. In the 11th day of Muharram, the Tehran University students joined the demonstrators, too.

The harsh and disclosing speeches delivered by the clergies and preachers, especially Imam Khomeini, against the Pahlavi regime injured seriously the reputation of the Shah and his government and made Imam Khomeini become an undisputable religious and political leader. In reaction to these happenings and in order to intimidating and bringing to an end the demonstrations, the regime planned to arrest Imam Khomeini and many of the preachers and clergies.²

Along this vein, they made endeavor to arrest Imam Khomeini in an hour of the night when the mourning groups are dispersed and people are at their homes. Therefore, the officers encircled the Imam's home at the midnight of Muharram 12th coincided with Khordad 15th away from the peoples' sight, went up his home's wall noiselessly, and entered the home. However, on account of the people's comings and goings during the Muharram days and

¹ Muhammad Rida Ahmadi, *Khatirat-e Ayatullah Muhammad Ali Gerami* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Muhammad Ali Gerami], pp. 244-245.

² Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, pp. 267-271.

especially in that night, for they had a mourning ceremony, the Imam would sleep in the home of his son, Haj Aqa Mustafa near his home. At the time of the officers' entering the Imam's home, since they thought the Imam has been hidden, they raised hue and cry. When the Imam had woken up for the optional night prayer, as soon as hearing the officers' hue and cry, he had put on his clothes immediately, come to the officers and said: "I am Ruhullah Khomeini! Why are you beating them? What a savage behavior is this? Why are you climbing down the wall like the thieves?"¹ As such, he was arrested and transferred to Tehran right away. In Tehran, he was at first taken to the Officers Club and imprisoned in a solitary confinement. After a few hours, he was transferred to the Qasr [Bisim] Garrison and imprisoned temporarily.²

Imam Khomeini would sleep at Muharram nights in the house of Haj Aqa Mustafa, therefore, the first one to be informed of his apprehension course was Haj Aqa Mustafa. He tried at first to prevent taking the Imam; however, his endeavor was of no avail. Because the officers intimidated him in case he comes close, they will shoot. When witnessing this condition, Sayyid Mustafa cried loudly, "O people, they took Khomeini..."³ In his accounts on those days, while approving the said points, Mahmud Borujerdi (the Imam's son-in-law) recalls that after the Imam's apprehension, Sayyid Mustafa was not calm and tranquil, thought of a remedy, telling the relatives, "What should be done?"⁴

Although, Aqa Mustafa was alongside the Imam from the very onset of the movement, since then his presence in the scene of the Imam's movement entered a new stage. From the first hours of the morning, he started his heavy mission in the absence of the movement leader. Mahmud Borujerdi, a close witness to his activities, in his memoirs of that day goes on to say,

People gathered group by group. After an hour in front of the Qum people, Haj Aqa Mustafa proceeded toward the Holy Shrine [of Hadrat Masumah]

¹ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, pp. 509-510.

² Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, pp. 287-288.

³ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, p. 511; Ismail Ferdowsi-Pur, *Hamgam ba Khorshid, az Iran ta Iran* [In Step with the Sun, from Iran to Iran], p. 100-102.

⁴ Mahmud Borujerdi, *Haj Aqa Mustafa Lahzih-yi Imam ra Tanha Nagozasht*. [Haj Aqa Mustafa did not leave the Imam (s) alone even for a moment.], *Nida*, year 7, no. 22 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 29.

court. At 9 a.m., the Holy Shrine court was replete with the population of people. Different slogans reached the ears, including “either death or Khomeini!”, “Khomeini, the idle-breaker, should be released!”, “we want our religious authority.” ... Haj Aqa Mustafa had sat in front of the mirror veranda in the court on a short pulpit while people had surrounded him. All of a sudden, the military forces attacked on the people in the Qum streets. There was comings and goings to the Ayatullah Zanjani for discerning the duty. So that a person from among the Hawzah teachers called Haj Shaykh Ismail Malayiri came on the part of the religious authorities and gave the message that people are supposed to go home. While crying and being very upset, Haj Aqa Mustafa thanked the people, saying as such, “I thank you, the good and zealous people of Qum who are so worry and sad on the occasion of my old father’s apprehension and express such feelings. The continuation of your presence in the scene will give rise to the sooner release of my father and come to your presence.”¹

With the arrest of Imam Khomeini (s) and in his absence, a heavy responsibility was shifted on the shoulders of Haj Aqa Mustafa, his older son. Of course, he had the ability to manage and guide the movement and supervise the Imam’s family. He proved to be the man of this arena, being determined to tread the path of his father. From the 15th Khordad morning onwards, the Qum people and other cities embarked on a full-fledged objection. In Tehran, the Tehran University students cancelled the classes and joined the people’s demonstrations. The workers also moved from the city center toward joined the marchers. Marchers whose numbers increased steadily were planning to occupy such key governmental centers as the Marmar Palace, Radio Office, Army Ammunition Office... The bazaaris also declared their lucid objection by closing the bazaar, gathering in mosques, or joining the marchers, to the extent that the Tehran bazaar and its adjacent streets turned into a center for the demonstrations and, in sum, the 15th Khordad (1342 AHS) uprising. A 14-day strike shaped up in the Tehran bazaar. So to speak, in the 15th Khordad day, the whole Iran objected unanimously and monolithically in reaction to the arrest of Imam Khomeini. In Qum—now the center for the uprising and movement—Sayyid Mustafa along with other supporters of Imam Khomeini was also helpful in the materialization of the 15th Khordad uprising’s goals. One of the most central axes of his activities in this day was that while consulting with different people, he would make endeavors not to let the then Qum religious

¹ *Ibid.*

authorities keep silence. He also incited the public against the Pahlavi regime actions and was successful along this way. In this regard, Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Hasan Tashayyu says,

The firm speeches and sermons of this divine scholar after the arrest of Imam Khomeini was so that it was said oftentimes, this is the oppression-removing fire of Haj Aqa Ruhullah which is flaming from within Haj Aqa Mustafa. As if he is he himself, he is speaking so masterfully as though this is the Imam's voice which is ruining the oppression walls with its loud echo. And this was not possible unless he would know well with his profound understanding of the within and without of the Islamic movement of the Imam that what he was supposed to say and in which direction he must guide the people.¹

After the 15th Khordad (1342 AHS) happening and the Imam Khomeini's (s) apprehension, differing responsibilities were placed before Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini. On the one hand, he was supposed to make efforts for the Imam Khomeini's (s) release, and, on the other, to keep active the Islamic movement network. By and large, he ought to assume the management of the Imam's family. He would prepare some manifestos and sent for the clergies and carry out the Imam's orders received by him through different tricks. According to one of the SAVAK accounts,

In the Qum province, the son of Ayatullah Khomeini is an outstanding person. He has sat in his place, putting into effect his orders. He is preparing some manifestos and sending them to clergies.²

It is worth noting that the first thing Sayyid Mustafa received from Imam Khomeini of the prison was the Imam's will.³

Third discourse: the Imam's imprisonment's change into restriction and continuation of the activities of Sayyid Mustafa

In Tir 29, 1342 AHS, many of those arrested in the 15th Khordad (1342 AHS) uprising in Tehran and provinces obtained liberty. Imam Khomeini and some others, however, remained still in prison. Even, it was put forward to exile

¹ Muhammad Hasan Tashayyu, *Chehreh-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [The Political Face of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Majmueh Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], p. 73.

² The attached documents, document no. 3/1.

³ *Uswah-ye Jihad wa Ijtihad* [A Role Model for Struggle and *Ijtihad*], *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution], year 3, no. 70 (Aban 8, 1361 AHS), p. 50.

Imam Khomeini to Sanandaj, a Sunni-dwelling city. The Social Security Council of Qum endorsed, but the Qum court and Public Prosecutor's Office rejected it.¹ In Mordad 11, 1342 AHS, in a letter to the Army Adjudication Office, the SAVAK issued the Imam Khomeini's release order. Having changed the temporal apprehension order to the agreement of not to exit from the Tehran judicial precinct, The Army Prosecutor's Office issued his release order. In Mordad 12, Imam Khomeini was transferred to a house in Dawudiyah, belonging to the SAVAK, around 12 kilometers away from Tehran, by the SAVAK agents. A few days later (probably three days) he was sent to a house in the Tehran Qaytariyyah region—a garden belonged to Rida Rowghani, one of the famous tradesmen of bazaar who had a good relation with the SAVAK head (Hasan Pakravan).²

From this date onwards, Sayyid Mustafa was at the Imam's service. He succeeded to have a direct and immediate connection with him. During the residence time, under their supervision in Qaytariyyah, Sayyid Mustafa played a main and effective role in establishing and continuing relation between Imam Khomeini and the people and strugglers. Despite the SAVAK's controls, this connection remained in place.³ In this regard, one of the SAVAK accounts reads,

According to the received information, recently, the son of Ayatullah Khomeini is in touch with the influential people opposed to the government. Since the aforesaid person can meet his father, he is a mediator among his father and those opposed to the government.⁴

By and large, in Farvardin 15, 1343 AHS, the SAVAK issued the release order of Imam Khomeini. At 22 o'clock of the same day, the SAVAK officers betook him his home in Qum. This time, the SAVAK's goal was that in the night silence, people are not informed of his release so no gathering is formed for welcoming him. The people, however, were informed in a short

¹ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, pp. 690-695.

² *Ibid.*, p. 699; Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, p. 298.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 6 (attached documents, document no. 8).

⁴ *Shahid-e Thani az Tabar-e Imam Khomeini* [Martyr, the Second, from the Family of Imam Khomeini], 15th Khordad Quarterly, no. 4 (Mehr and Aban 1370 AHS), p. 20.

while, and while chanting slogans and *salawat* for his release welcomed him enthusiastically and zealously.¹

From then on, Sayyid Mustafa accompanied the Imam everywhere. He took part in all ceremonies and festivals and watched over him. Being alongside the Imam, and seeing that much transformations and political issues, were an opportunity so Sayyid Mustafa attains the political puberty, can make decisions in the critical and grave times with further experiences, and deal with possible crises.

Fourth discourse: the story of the Capitulation Bill and Imam Khomeini's (s) exile

Imam Khomeini's reaction to the revival of the Capitulation was the most important transformation the Islamic movement experienced after the Khordad 15, 1342 AHS. According to the Capitulation Bill, the head and members of the military consultative delegations as well as the American technical and administrative employees along with their families could enjoy judicial immunity and exemption. This was to mean obvious breach of the political authority and judicial independence of Iran. This bill was put forth by the Mansur cabinet in Khordad 1343 AHS and ratified by the Senate Majlis as an attached article to the Vienna Agreement in Mordad 3rd of the same year. In Mehr 21, 1343 AHS, it was also put forth in the National Consultative Assembly (Majlis). After a lot of discussions and disputes, it was finally passed and communicated to the cabinet to be put into practice while there were 74 votes for and 61 votes against it from the overall 135 votes.²

Imam Khomeini was aware of the foreigners' presence in Iran and their damaging function. Particularly, as regards the US country, he was very sensitive. In most of his speeches and manifestos, he would raise objection as to the negative aftermaths of that country's presence and infiltration as well as those of the countries with similar functions in different arenas of the country. He would warn and give necessary advices to the country officials

¹ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, pp. 830-831.

² Ali Rida Mullai Tawani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini: az Layehih-ye Anjuman-ha-ye Iyalati wa Wilayati ta Tabid-e Imam beh Turkiyah* [Imam Khomeini's Movement from the State and Provincial Associations Bill to the Imam's Exile to Turkey], *Tahawwulat-e Siyasi-Ijtimai-ye Iran, 1320-1357* [The Sociopolitical Transformations of Iran, 1320-1357 AHS], Muftaba Maqsudi, p. 378.

in this regard. After having been informed of the aforesaid bill context, now changed to a law, and examining its details, he let the clergies of different parts of the country, particularly the Qum religious authorities and scholars know the course of action through holding sessions and sending numerous messages. He then declared that he will deliver speech in this connection in his house in Aban 4, 1343 AHS.¹

After the decision of Imam Khomeini (s), the Pahlavi regime officials planned one way or another to dissuade him from putting this decision into practice. For doing so, they dispatched a courier to Qum to meet with him. The Imam, however, did not accept to visit that person. The courier inevitably met with Sayyid Mustafa, telling him,

For gaining reputation among the Iranian people, the US is trying its best, and expending money. From the view of power, it is in such a position that any sort of attack on it is much more dangerous than the attack on the First Person of the country! In case Ayatullah Khomeini is going to deliver speech these days, he should be very watchful not to talk against the US administration, for it is so dangerous and will be faced with their harsh and bitter reaction. If he utters anything else, even against the Shah, it will not be that important.²

In response to these intimidations expressed by Hasan Mustawfi, Sayyid Mustafa said resolutely,

Ayatullah Khomeini will act upon his duty the way he deems it expedient. These kinds of talks can not compel him not to fulfill the duty and mission he has undertaken.³

Time elapsed and according to the predetermined programs and regardless of the intimidations and advices of the Pahlavi regime, Imam Khomeini (s) delivered his historical and famous speech in front of around six thousand persons in Jumadi al-Thani 20 coincided with Aban 4, 1343 AHS

¹ Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, pp. 331-332.

² Hamid Ruhani, *Nihadat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, p. 1032.

³ Hasan Ashuri Langarudi, *Negahi beh Zendege-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini wa Naqsh-e U dar Ravand-e Piruzi-ye Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [A Glance to the Political Life of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and His Role in the Procedure of the Iranian Islamic Revolution's Victory], *Majmuah Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], p. 108.

simultaneous with the birth anniversary of Hadrat Fatimah (s). While explaining the ratified capitulation bill, he said in a part of his speech as such,

Iran no longer has a festival to celebrate; they have turned our festival into mourning. They have turned it into mourning and have lit up the city; they have turned it into mourning and are dancing together with joy. They have sold us, they have sold our independence, and still they light up the city... Our honor has been trampled underfoot; the dignity of Iran has been destroyed. The dignity of the Iranian army has been trampled underfoot!

All American military advisers, together with their families, technical and administrative officials, and servants—in short, anyone in any way connected to them—are to enjoy legal immunity with respect to any crime they may commit in Iran! If some American's servant, some American's cook, assassinates your *marja al-taqlid* in the middle of the bazaar, or runs over him, the Iranian police do not have the right to apprehend him! Iranian courts do not have the right to judge him...

They have reduced the Iranian people to a level lower than that of an American dog. If someone runs over a dog belonging to an American, he will be prosecuted. Even if the Shah himself were to run over a dog belonging to an American, he would be prosecuted...¹

In another part of his speech, he criticized harshly the government, the Senate Majlises, the National Consultative Majlis, and the country officials for leaving the country resources and facilities to foreigners and marring the country's independence.² In addition to this speech, with releasing a declaration, he referred to the capitulation as “the slavery document of the Iranian nation”.

The speech and declaration of Imam Khomeini (s) provoked the political and security officials of the regime. After a few days of study and investigation, they decided to exile Imam Khomeini (s) to Turkey. For doing so, they apprehended him in the midnight of Aban 13, 1343 AHS, and after transferring to Tehran, exiled him immediately to Turkey.³ ✍

¹ *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 1, pp. 415-416.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 417-424.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

Chapter Two

From the Imam Khomeini's Exile to Turkey to the Exile to Iraq

First discourse: the Imam Khomeini's Exile to Turkey and the apprehension of Sayyid Mustafa

In the wake of the Imam Khomeini's harsh speech (s), he was arrested in the midnight of Aban 13, 1343 AHS, and transferred to Tehran. From there, also, he was immediately transferred to the Mehrabad airport and together with the security forces sent to his exile place in Turkey by a C-130 military airplane.¹ He stayed in Ankara until Aban 21st, and was transferred, in this day, to the city of Bursa 46 km. to the west of Ankara.²

This time, Haj Aqa Mustafa faced a heavy responsibility. Like the Imam's apprehension happening in Khordad 15, 1342 AHS, another time, from the beginning hours of the day 13th Aban, 1343 AHS, he made endeavors to let

¹ Ittilaat Newspaper, Wednesday, Aban 13, 1343 AHS (no. 11531); Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, pp. 1053-1057; Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, pp. 337-338.

² See for more information as to the reason behind the selection of Turkey for exiling Imam Khomeini, Amir Rida Sutudeh, *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], *Gofteh-ha wa Nagofteh-ha az Zندهgi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Said and Unsaid on Imam Khomeini's Life]; vol. 1, p. 72; The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), the file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, pp. 45-47.

the people and clergies know of the course of action. For doing so and for meeting and taking counsel, he proceeded toward the homes of *ulama'* and *maraji*. At first, he met with Mirza Hashim Amoli, one of the outstanding clergies of the Qum Theological Center. Then, he met with Ayatullah Shahab al-Din Marashi Najafi. Soon after this meeting, the Pahlavi regime officers apprehended him at 10:15 a.m.,¹ taking to the Qum Police Headquarters and then to the Qum SAVAK.²

The clergies and *maraji* of Qum and the country over objected sternly to the Imam Khomeini's and Aqa Mustafa's apprehension through issuing declarations. In this regard, a part of the declaration made by Ayatullah Marashi Najafi reads,

...once again, our dear brother, Hadrat Ayatullah Khomeini, may his blessings endure, was apprehended with utmost impudence in the darkness. According to the newspapers and propagandas, he has been taken outside Iran. After His Eminence's entanglement, his esteemed son who had come to this humble servant's house with a broken and sad heart was taken, too, by the officers in the bright day shamelessly. My resistance and insistence was confronted with the officers' aggression. Whereas this cruel behavior is inconsistent with the rules of the holy Islamic religious law and those of theirs, for the *maraji* houses were so far immune and their view is creditable according to the law...³

The reason behind the rapid and hasty apprehension of Sayyid Mustafa lied in the fact that the Pahlavi regime had the record of his role after the Imam Khomeini's arrest in the 15th Khordad 1342 AHS and in mobilizing the people and clergies against the regime, so to shun repetition of the 15th Khordad issues and his actions, he was taken into custody.⁴ The account of the Qum Police Headquarters addressed to the Information Office of the Whole Country Police Headquarters dated Aban 13, 1343 AHS reads,

Since after the apprehension of Ayatullah Khomeini, Sayyid Mustafa, his son, called on the clergies, and incited the tradesmen to close their shops,

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), no. 391, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*, the file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, pp. 43-44.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents, vol. 1, pp. 261-262.

⁴ Hamid Ruhani, *Shahid-e Hijrat wa Jihad-e Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [The Martyr of the Migration and Jihad of Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini]; *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution], year 1, no. 18 (Mehr 30 1359 AHS), p. 44; *ibid.*, p. 45 (an interview with Mahmud Duai).

therefore the aforesaid person was arrested by the help of the SAVAK officers at 10:15 a.m. and transferred to the Qum SAVAK.

Colonel Partow¹

In another account given to the Information Office of the Whole Country Police Headquarters in Aban 14, 1343 AHS by the Qum Police Headquarters, it has pointed to the endeavors of some clergies to release Sayyid Mustafa,

With reference to no. 2943 r.l. dated 13-8-1343 AHS, Ayatullah Golpaygani by means of his servant contacted me by phone and declaring, Mr. Shaykh Amoli has resorted to me to ask you to release Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini for his and his father's families are guardianless. He was answered, since the aforesaid would provoke and it was possible that his provocations give impetus to conflicts, therefore, he has been arrested by the officers and dispatched to Tehran. However, he has not yet given answer.²

Through the communication between Ayatullah Shahab al-Din Marashi Najafi and Ayatullah Muhammad Hadi Milani dated in the very same day, the clergies activity is also taken for granted.

The Holy Mashhad

Hadrat Ayatullah Mr. Milani, may his shadow endure,

I acknowledge the receipt of the copy of the telegram dated 13-8-1343 AHS As regards the entanglement and exile of Hadrat Ayatullah Khomeini, may his blessings endure, you had expressed sorry saying he is a *marja al-taqlid* and has legal immunity. It is really regrettable. In a country where, according to the law, the then *maraji* should have immunity, are exiled to abroad for objection to the bills contrary to the religious law. His Eminence's son who was in the humble servant's house was taken into custody regretfully.

Shahab al-Din al-Husayni al-Marashi al-Najafi³

In the afternoon of Aban 13, 1343 AHS at 5 o'clock, Sayyid Mustafa was transferred to Tehran⁴ and detained in the Qizel Qalah Prison.⁵ In Aban 14,

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents, archive, no. 272, p. 22; see, *ibid.*, no. 391, pp. 32-33. Attached documents, document numbers 13/1 to 13/4.

² *Ibid.*, no. 272, p. 26, attached documents, document no. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, the file of Ayatullah Muhammad Hadi Milani, no. 981, p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, the file of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 31; attached documents, document numbers 15/1 and 15/2.

1343 AHS, the Branch 7 of the Army Persecutor's Office's Investigation issued his detention order and informed the SAVAK's head as follows,

From: The Branch 7 of the Army Persecutor's Office's Investigation-no. 1/7/4575-14-8-1343 AHS

[To]: Head of the Country's Immunity and Information Organization (SAVAK)

With reference to the number 321/26879 - 14-8-1343 AHS

As regards the nonmilitary person, Sayyid Mustafa, son of Ruhullah, family name Mustfawi, known as Khomeini, on the charge of action against the internal immunity of the country dated 14-8-1343 AHS, the order for temporary detention has been issued.

While submitting the original file, please ordain that the issued arrangement is seen by the accused person. Please return the file after its completion.

The Head of the Branch 7 of the Army Persecutor's Office's Investigation

Colonel Sitad Behzadi

[The place of the sign and seal of the Army Persecutor's Office]¹

After seeing the aforesaid issued order, Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini wrote the following sentence under it,

I object strictly to the original agreement, the manner of detention, and the detainee's agreement. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini²

It is to be noted that his objection was not taken into account. In 23/8/1343 AHS, the Branch 7 of the Army Persecutor's Office's Investigation informed the SAVAK head of the detention order confirmed by the Number 1 Normal Court of the Army Legal Procedure Office and as such the detention of Sayyid Mustafa went on.³ Since the detention date, he has been in the solitary cell of the Qezel Qalah Prison for 57 days.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35; attached documents, document no. 17/1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38; attached documents, document no. 17/2.

³ *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad* Quarterly (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 90.

⁴ Muhammad Tahrir-Chi, *Sarmanzel-e Insanyyat, Tafsir-e Akhlaqi-ye Fatihah al-Kitab* [The Humanity's Destination, the Ethical Exegesis on *Fatihah al-Kitab*], p. 79.

In the prison, he has been under investigation for 9 days since 19/8/1343 to 28/8/1343 AHS recorded in his SAVAK file. In it, he has given answer elaborately on the study and scientific activities, political activities and his relation with Imam Khomeini (s) and other individuals.¹ In a part of this investigation as regards the reason behind the harsh and bitter reaction of Imam Khomeini (s) to the issue of the Capitulation Bill ratification, while referring to it as “the slavery document of the Iranian nation”, he says,

... this is an issue imposed on the nation, and it is nearly tantamount to losing the reputation, freedom, and character. The fact that immediately or after a few days, they take a loan from the US indicates that the foreigners desired such a thing in lieu of giving the loan...

In another part of the investigations, with regard to the reason behind the Imam Khomeini's (s) interference with the cabinet job, he has such answered,

Interference is for enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil. This is a basic principle, the rejecter of which is regarded polytheist, and the abstainer of which has committed a Capital Sin. In case, one commit this sin is for three times or four times, and according to a possibility five times, if the religious limitation which is arbitrary punishment [*tazir*] is carried out in the intervals, he or she is supposed to receive the assassination permission.²

He goes on to give also answer from another angle as to the interference with the government affairs compared to the democratic and progressive countries,

... this manner of objection is customary and usual in all democratic countries. They even form a party against the government party and even a number of journalists will revile the government...³

The documents and files indicate that Aqa Mustafa's answers are well-reasoned, documented and indicative of his awareness concerning the domestic and foreign political issues of the day. He has also made endeavors to give serious answers to the accusations.

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, pp. 43-52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, 48.

After his exile to Turkey until 30/9/1343 AHS, Imam Khomeini (s) did not have any information on the detention of his son, Sayyid Mustafa. In this date, he was informed of the Aqa Mustafa's detention by Sayyid Fadl Allah who had gone to Turkey to meet him.¹ Having imagined that Sayyid Mustafa is in Qum, he, therefore, assigned him as his plenipotentiary attorney in a letter dated 19/8/1343 AHS (coincided with Rajab 5, 1348 A.H.) to receive the religious funds and pay the theological students' tuition.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

Praise be to God for both happiness and hardship; may peace be upon Muhammad and his pure progeny.

Hereby I appoint my dear son, who is a trustee of mine, as my proxy to do all my tasks for me. He will be given all I am owed for supplying the esteemed *tullab*'s monthly salary. He is my representative to collect and circulate the two blessed Shares, and any other payments that should be delivered to me, and to deliver them to where they belong. He is also my executor. My will is kept in one of the notary public offices. I owe the performance of fast of several years, just for assurance, and prayers of two or three years should also be performed for me for assurance. My books will belong to Mustafa. The furniture of the house will completely belong to Mustafa's mother. Do the rest according to my will. By "my dear son" mentioned above, I mean my eldest child, Aqa Mustafa Khomeini (may God Almighty assist him); "and I advise him to be God-fearing and to follow His commands, and I hope for his prayers for me both during my life and after death."

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini²

Rajab al-Murajjab 5, 1384 AH

¹ Muhammad Hasan Tashayyu, *Chehreh-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [The Political Face of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Majmua Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], pp. 83-84.

² *Chand Nameh va Payam*, [A Few Letters and Messages], *Hudur Quarterly*, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 9-10; The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Imam Khomeini, no. 824, pp. 47-48. *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 1, p. 431.

Other than this letter, he has written other letters from the exile place in Turkey to Sayyid Mustafa which are to the fore today, in them he has kept his relation with his family, and pointed out the necessary advices and talks.¹

With the arrest of Sayyid Mustafa and continuation of his apprehension—which was one of the tactics of the Pahlavi regime for suspending the Imam's imitator [*muqallidun*], the clergies, and his supporters, and, finally for inciting them to convert to another religious authority [*marja al-taqlid*]²—it seemed that a vacuum and disorder will come into existence in this regard. Sayyid Mustafa, however, realized this issue and its possible aftermaths on time. Without making excuses, he introduced Hujjat al-Islam Shahab al-Din Ishraqi as his attorney and representative from inside the prison through the following order to deal with the religious issues of the imitators,

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

After praising God, and offering salutation; His Excellency Alamah Hujjat al-Islam Haj Shaykh Shahab al-Din Ishraqi, may his blessings endure, has the power of attorney on my behalf to collect the religious funds which are supposed to be received by me, who has the power of attorney on my father's part and to spend them in religious matters and in determined places, or keep them so the duty is determined later on. He can also receive them and sign the its receipt.

Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini

Rajab al-Murajjab 25, 1384 AH²

Through some letters from the prison, Sayyid Mustafa would inform his family of his health.³ He followed the procedure of Imam Khomeini in the prison. He did not propose any request save to go to Imam Khomeini in Turkey and did not accept any suggestion on the part of Colonel Mawlawi other than joining Imam Khomeini. Dariyush Furuhar, a fellow prisoner of Sayyid Mustafa, restates his actions and behavior as follows,

¹ *Chand Nameh va Payam*, [A Few Letters and Messages], *Hudur Quarterly*, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 9-11.

² Attached documents, document no. 44.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), no. 391, p. 68.

With the self-confidence emanated from his unconditional reliance on God, I did not ever see any sign of concern in him while hearing unpleasant news from the outside. He was very kind and friendly with every prisoner, regardless of his belief. He would spend most of his time reading the Quran... once a month, some officers from the Army's Legal Procedure, the Second Office of the Army Headquarters and SAVAK, would visit the prison. I myself was used to going to my cell in these occasions and having no encounter with them. The encounter of Hadrat Ayatullah Haj Aqa Mustafa was very interesting to me. When he was informed of their coming, he would recite the Quran. He would start reading the Quran loudly and I would hear his voice of reading the Quran in my cell so long as these persons were visiting that section.¹

In another interview with the Memoirs Unit of the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works, Furuhar has pointed to another issue in connection with Sayyid Mustafa in the Qezel Qalah Prison,

... he was never given any pencil or paper. They would give a few papers but at any rate, they had given the means of writing. I would give him some asking, "What do you write here?" He would say, "I am calculating." For, at that time, the issue of the astronauts had come to the fore and they would go to the moon planet. He would say, "I am calculating that how the time and direction of *Qiblah* should be determined in such voyages..."²

Furuhar reminds that he would eat together with Sayyid Mustafa till the end of the prison period.

Second discourse: release from the prison and exile to Turkey

During his 57-day detention, for being affected by the thought and action of Imam Khomeini (s), Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini did not ever ask the security or prison officials for the amnesty and release from the prison. Historical documents also hold with the issue. Some efforts, however, were made by the religious authority [*maraji*] of Qum and other clergies and strugglers to

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, pp. 369-370.

² Imam Khomeini, Farah Izadi (an interview with Daritush Furuhar), *Hudur* Quarterly, no. 25 (Azar 1377 AHS), pp. 359-362.

release him. Since, they tried to make use of the existence of Sayyid Mustafa who was, in practice, another Khomeini to consolidate the objection of people as to the exile of Imam Khomeini (s) so as to reach the desirable conclusion.¹

The only thing of which Sayyid Mustafa was not heedless was the health condition and physical constitution of the Imam (s) in the exile place of Turkey of which he was unaware after the imprisonment. Therefore, in one way or another, he made endeavors to get some information in this regard. The reports of the SAVAK bespoke that he has sought assistance from the religious authorities and clergies in this connection. The SAVAK's report dated 19/9/1343 AHS reads,

During the other day, the son of Ayatullah Khomeini (s) has informed some of the clergies and *ulama'* of the Qum Theological Center that after Ayatullah Khomeini's (s) exile, the aforesaid person (son of the Ayatullah) does not have the least information on the destiny and even on the aforementioned one's health and life. As such, he has sought help from them and, particularly, from Ayatullah Khwansari for getting some information on Ayatullah Khomeini...²

From the very beginning of the detention and in its continuation, the one and only request that Sayyid Mustafa had from the security officials was to let him go to Turkey before his father, Imam Khomeini (s). Because, he was fully aware of the Imam's morale and knew that he will not ask for anything whatsoever. Owing to this, he has very concerned about his physical condition. Thus, in the first investigations made of him in the Qezel Qalah Prison, and printed in the SAVAK reports, he has requested to let him go to his father in Turkey and take care of him.

The head of Section 321 of the SAVAK's Third General Office has written the following footnote in a report,

¹ Muhammad Hasan Tashayyu, *Chehreh-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [The Political Face of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Majmua'h Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], p. 84.

² The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 71, attached documents, document no. 21.

The head was informed. He ordained that it is not a bad thought. In this regard, the due decision will be made. 25/8/[1343 AHS]. Section 321.¹

The SAVAK officials thought that Sayyid Mustafa's getting away from the movement center, i.e. Qum and even Tehran which was one of the other centers for the strugglers' and the Pahlavi regime opponents' activity, will very likely render a serious damage to the movement procedure and the status and position of Imam Khomeini (s) will also be marred. It was for this reason that finally they agreed with the Sayyid Mustafa release from the prison on the condition of his exile to Turkey.²

Because, in case after the release he was present in Qum, this condition would be inconsistent with the SAVAK's, and generally with the Pahlavi regime's goals and plans. That city was replete with the zealous supporters of Imam Khomeini (s). Sayyid Mustafa could consolidate and organize their activities and, by doing so, recentralize Qum.

By and large, after enduring 57 days of imprisonment, Sayyid Mustafa was released from the Qezel Qalah Prison at 6 o'clock p.m. dated 8/10/1343 AHS,³ and entered Qum at 10 o'clock a.m. dated 9/10/1343 AHS. The Qum SAVAK head, gave an account to the Tehran SAVAK head of the Sayyid Mustafa's entrance as follows,

From: The Qum SAVAK

To: The Tehran SAVAK Head

With reference to the telegram no. 20/21700 a, dated 8/10/1343 AHS, Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini entered Qum at 10 o'clock a.m. dated 9/10/1343 AHS. After going on pilgrimage to the Holy Shrine, he went to a ceremony held on the occasion of Mr. Najafi's theological students' graduation and then he proceeded toward his house. The inhabitants will visit the aforesaid inside the house. There is no noteworthy occurrence.

606 – 9/10/1343 AHS

Badii⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75; attached documents, document no. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76; attached documents, document no. 29.

After being informed of his release, the clergies, theological students and people went to his house and visited him.¹

As mentioned before, the condition for his release from the prison was to join Imam Khomeini (s) in Turkey after visiting his family in Qum. After entering Qum, he met with clergies and eminent Ayatullahs, particularly supporters of Ayatullah Khomeini (s). After having examined the aftermaths of his absence in Iran, and especially in Qum, the eminent Ayatullahs, Muhammad Rida Golpayegani, Kazim Shariatmadari, and Shahad al-Din Marashi Najafi did not deem his going advisable and objected to him.²

The opposition of the aforesaid eminent Ayatullahs was based on the fact that this exile was according to the will and expedience of the Pahlavi rule. In order to removing him from the movement center and discontinuing it in the absence of the movement leader and to his effective activity, they did not agree with it.

The SAVAK officers brought Sayyid Mustafa under inspection from the moment of his release and going to Qum by the order of the Tehran SAVAK head. They would control all his meetings and negotiations with clergies and other supporters of Imam Khomeini (s). They were aware of this important point that in case he stayed in Qum for a long time, since the Ramadan month was approaching, widespread propagandas would be done to the benefit of Imam Khomeini (s) in this month. Therefore, they made hard endeavors to persuade him to change his mind and go to Turkey. However, since they did not come to any conclusion, in Dey 13, 1343 AHS, i.e. five days after his release from the prison, they rearrested him and sent to Tehran immediately. He passed the night in the Prime Ministerial Club and was sent to Istanbul by airplane on the morrow, Dey 14, 1343 AHS, at 5:30 p.m.³ He was also transferred from Istanbul to the exile place of the Imam (s) in Bursa. This was the last time that Sayyid Mustafa went abroad and did not come back any time.

When the officers made an attack to his house and arrested him, his wife who was expecting miscarried as a result of shock and terror. Therefore,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82; The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 116.

² The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 83, attached documents, document no. 30.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 84-86, attached documents, document no. 33.

according to the letter written by Haj Aqa Mustafa to his family after going to Turkey, he was unaware of this remorseful accident.¹

In his first encounter with Mustafa in Bursa, the Imam asked him prior to everything else, “Did you come with your own feet or they took you?” He answers that they took me. The Imam says, “Had you come with your own feet, I would have turned you back right away.”²

Third Discourse: activities and measures of Sayyid Mustafa in Turkey

During his stay in Turkey, Sayyid Mustafa, as before, was at the service of Imam Khomeini (s). The natural disposition of Imam Khomeini (s) was such that he would not ask for anything whatsoever from the Turkish security officers as well as the SAVAK ones. In view of this, he was in an undesirable condition as to eating. Sayyid Mustafa could remove this problem to some extent. He brought under supervision the food condition of the Imam (s) as well as the manner of preparing it. Once in a while, he would even do it by himself. Due to his particular morale, Imam Khomeini (s), prior to the Sayyid Mustafa’s going to him, he had also even pushed aside the curtains of his residence place so as to watch its surroundings perspectives. All in all, regarding the welfare condition, Aqa Mustafa’s going gave rise to the improvement of affairs.

Given the atmosphere prevailed over Turkey, its laic system, and the impossibility of establishing connection with the Iranian strugglers easily, we are witness to diminishing the political activities and enhancing the scientific ones of them. Both of them authored several books. Since they were both expert, they engaged in discussing with each other. Of course, Imam Khomeini (s) was in higher position compared to Haj Aqa Mustafa. However, Haj Aqa Mustafa would declare his view straightforwardly on the proposed discussions.

In this connection, Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad Rida Nasiri quotes Sayyid Mustafa a memoir as saying,

¹ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini’s Movement]; vol. 1, p. 1100.

² Hasan Ashuri Langarudi, *Thamareh-ye Paydari, Negahi beh Zendegi-ye Siyasi-ye Ayatullah Shahid Mustafa Khomeini va Naqsh-e U dar Ravand-e Piruzi-ye Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [The Fruit of Resistance, A Glance over the Political Life of Ayatullah Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and His Role in the Procedure of the Victory of the Islamic Republic of Iran], *Hudur Quarterly*, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 139.

Haj Aqa Mustafa (*r*) was a companion and friend of the Imam (*s*) in Turkey. When writing the book, *Tahrir al-Wasilah*, the Imam would discuss on its issues with him. Haj Aqa Mustafa (*r*) said, “At that time, when discussing, once in a while, we would cry so loudly that the SAVAKis would come, saying, Do not quarrel, fathers and sons are not supposed to quarrel. After finishing the discussion, when we would sit together and drink tea, they would say, What a quarrel is this that after it they sit together and drink tea’!”¹

During his stay in Turkey, Sayyid Mustafa was busy studying. He wrote two of his books there. During this time, he would discharge the message-delivering duty of the Islamic movement to his best possible.

After a few months of stop in Turkey, gradually, the issue of Sayyid Mustafa’s return to Iran was raised. Due to Imam Khomeini’s (*s*) being away from Iran, and unique salient features of Sayyid Mustafa to fill the vacuum emanated from the absence of Imam Khomeini’s (*s*) and the need to keep active the Islamic movement and to preserve and extend its connective and informative network, Sayyid Mustafa’s return to Iran was paramount. Imam Khomeini’s (*s*) also agreed fully with this feat.

During this time, the Pahlavi regime was under increasing pressures of the public opinion and mounting objections of the strugglers, especially the clergies, to bring to end the exile of Imam Khomeini’s (*s*) and Sayyid Mustafa and was in quest of finding a way to get rid of this crisis. Having realized this situation, Sayyid Mustafa made efforts to persuade the SAVAK officials through the Bursa Security Organization’s head to come back to Iran. Accordingly, either for the domestic pressures or the communications and talks of the Bursa Security Organization’s head, the SAVAK agreed with the request of Sayyid Mustafa while determining some conditions. Of course, through proposing entangled conditions, the SAVAK tried to dissuade Sayyid Mustafa. In order to throwing a new light on the issue, we shall refer to the communications of Sayyid Mustafa with the Turkish security officers as well as the SAVAK reports in this regard,

The request of Sayyid Mustafa from one of the Bursa security officers is as follows,

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 221-222.

In His Most Exalted Name

Esteemed Colonel Ali Chatner,

I beg you to kindly take an action so I can go back to Iran, for I have no information on my family conditions. My father is also concerned in this regard. I hope you may not withhold from obliging me the favor. My concern for my children makes him concerned as well.

I hereby appreciate your swift action.

Esfand 29, 1343 AHS

Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini¹

It is to be noted that whatsoever is mentioned in this letter on unawareness and concern has been to some extent true. The truth of the matter, however, was that he wanted to obtain permission from the Iranian officials to return to Iran or freely traffic between Iran and Turkey. It is worth mentioning that simultaneous with the endeavors made by Sayyid Mustafa in Turkey, it is recorded in one of the accounts of the Markaz Province SAVAK dated 7/6/1344 AHS as such,

To: The Head of the SAVAK

From: The General Director of the Third Office (316)

Subject: Imam Khomeini's Release by the Request of Ayatullah Najafi

The Qum SAVAK gives account that,

Ayatullah Najafi has written a letter to the Mr. Prime Minister, requesting the Khomeini's release, and if it is not possible, Mr. Mustafa, son of Khomeini, be released and given the permission to traffic between Iran and Turkey. Otherwise, the permission be given that the two persons go to Turkey and visit Khomeini in Bursa (not Ankara).

On behalf of the Markaz Province SAVAK's Head, Mawlawi²

[Signed]

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 96, attached documents, document no. 37.

² *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad* Quarterly (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 126.

Following the dialogue and communication between the officials of the Turkish Security Organization and those of the Iranian government, in reaction to the request of Sayyid Mustafa, the SAVAK head wrote under the account: “The is no objection for him to come, however, in case he commits a minor offence or has unreasonable contacts, or receives undue persons, he will be imprisoned in the southern parts of Iran.”¹

Similarly, he wrote below another account: “The Turk friends pay attention that the above-named is supposed to undertake with his own handwriting. His stop must also not be in Qum. He can dwell in Khomein or everywhere the organization determines.”²

In order for the Part 321 of the SAVAK’s Third General Office to prevent every aftermath emanated from Sayyid Mustafa’s return to Iran, it wrote to the SAVAK officials, in the order of their ranks, the following explanations:

Meanwhile, I deem it necessary to inform you that since Sayyid Mustafa has the power of attorney on the part of his father to interfere in his movable and immovable properties as he deems proper, upon his return to the country the wave of the religious funds, which were dull until now for the absence of Ayatullah Khomeini and Sayyid Mustafa in Iran, will transfer again to the account of Khomeini. It is clear that how these funds will be expended by Mustafa. In addition, the attached written undertaking has no sanction whatsoever. It hinges on the will of His Excellency.

26/1/[1344 AHS]³

[Signed by] Tahami

Sayyid Mustafa who was planning to come back to Iran, in one way or another, and under any condition to advance the Islamic movement goals and the intentions of Imam Khomeini accepted the proposed conditions on the part of the SAVAK. Since they had asked him to write the undertaking, he wrote a text as follows,

In the Name of Allah, the All-compassionate, the All-merciful

It is stated that:

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

1. I in no way interfere with the politics and make action against the government;
2. I in no way will be in touch with the opposed individuals and have contact with them;
3. I abstain to be in touch with the individuals or communities who are against the government, though they ask for.

Dated March 211 Farvardin 11, 1344 AHS

Sayyid Mustafa Musawi Khomeini.¹

The SAVAK head did not accept the above undertaking, ordering that Sayyid Mustafa have to undertake what the SAVAK has in view straightforwardly. The SAVAK officials took it for granted that his return to Iran would result in many effects and aftermaths. They, therefore, made endeavors to dissuade him from putting into practice such a decision by proposing more difficult conditions and severity. Thus, after rejecting the undertaking of Aqa Mustafa, they drew up an undertaking desired by them and sent it to him in the hope that Sayyid Mustafa would abstain to sign it and they would use it as subterfuge not to let him return to Iran. The text of the drawn up undertaking by the SAVAK is as such,

I, Sayyid Mustafa Mustafawi known as Musawi Khomeini, son of Ayatullah Ruhullah Khomeini holding the ID no. 38 issued in Khomein hereby undertake that firstly, do not interfere with any political affair; secondly, do not take part in any political party; thirdly, do not talk, have social intercourse, or be in touch with any individual, group, party whose aim, goal or activity is against the government and the country's interests; fourthly, I undertake to live, after my return to Iran, in any part that the government deems it expedient; and not to change my residence place without leave.

The following points are added to the below of the text,

Otherwise, the righteous officials are deserved to deal with me as they deem proper.²

Sayyid Mustafa accepted this undertaking as well. He signed it's bottom in 12/4/1344 AHS¹ and closed the way of excuse again. Having witnessed the situation, the SAVAK head issued a worse and unbelievable order as follows,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104, attached documents, document no. 38/3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110, attached documents, document no. 41/2.

He can come provided that he lives in his village near Khomein. Two gendarmes and two intelligence officers of the Police Headquarters are supposed to keep a good lookout so he would not be in touch with any person other than that of his family members or relatives. In case anyone passes around his house, he/she should be shot dead. Otherwise, he can not come.²

Having witnessed the enthusiasm and will of Aqa Mustafa to go back to Iran – in view of the conditions he had undertaken and was ready to undertake – and studied comprehensively the possible aftermaths, the SAVAK officials forbade Sayyid Mustafa's return to Iran under any condition.

Fourth discourse: exile to Iraq

After the Imam Khomeini's exile to Turkey, his combatant forces and supporters, apart from continuing the struggle in his absence, took other measures. There were combatant forces inside Iran, and active ones in different countries who were acting for the movement of Imam Khomeini (*s*). They wrote numerous letters, telegrams, and scrolls to the Turkish officials and organs including the President, cabinet and parliament members of that country, and also went time and again to the Turkish embassies at different countries, expressing concern as to the Imam's exile, and objecting to the Turkish government. Having perceived and owing to the fact that Imam Khomeini (*s*) was not merely a national character, but also he had a transnational one, the Turkish government found itself to be in a political tight corner.

Through the activities of the supporters of the Imam in Europe and the US and their resort to the international organizations and authorities, gradually Turkey gave an international and global dimension to the exile of Imam Khomeini (*s*). In the meantime, the Turkish government's fear was that in case as a result of a natural or unnatural event something happens and the Imam sustains an injury, its consequences will befall on the Turkish government and it is probable that a big crisis comes about.³

Turkey was concerned to be an exile place for the Muslim strugglers. Given this, it exerted pressure on the Iranian regime to transfer Imam Khomeini (*s*)

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

² *Ibid.*, attached documents, document no. 42.

³ Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur, *Khatirat-e Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur* [Memories of Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur], pp. 451-454.

and Haj Aqa Mustafa to another place.¹ Because, during the compulsory residence of the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa in that country, the Turkish government officials did not find a persuasive answer to this question, “Is Turkey a prison for the Iranian strugglers?” Therefore, from the middle of the year 1344 AHS it was taken for granted by the Pahlavi regime officials that they are supposed to solve this problem as soon as possible for the Turkish government. In an oral message sent to Ayatullah Ahmad Khwansari by Jafar Sharif Imami dated 17/6/1346 AHS, Muhammad Rida Pahlavi declared that, “I will send Khomeini to Iraq or call to Iran.”²

In the meanwhile, through studying the reaction that the Pahlavi regime had shown vis-à-vis the efforts made by Haj Aqa Mustafa to return to Iran, one could come to know that the return to Iran is completely to be obviated. This point, however, can be acknowledged that the Iranian government officials had no option but to transfer the two outstanding and influential characters to Iraq. The Pahlavi rule, as a matter of fact, preferred the removal of the serious de facto problem to the potential danger and problem of residence in Iraq. As such, it endorsed to transfer and exile the two to Iraq and the city of Najaf. However, it should be borne in mind that Imam Khomeini (s) did not ask for anything as regards the transfer to Iraq.

Sayyid Hamid Ruhani who had a close connection with that struggler, in line with acknowledging this point says,

According to some writings, the Imam’s transfer from Turkey to Iraq has been proposed and asked for by the Imam himself; while I bear in mind that in reply to the question I asked him in this regard in Iraq, he said, “Neither in this matter nor any other one, I did not put forward or ask for the least thing.” My martyred brother, Haj Sayyid Mustafa, said the same, pointing out, “Almost 24 hours prior to our move to Iraq, we came to know the issue.”³

The Turkish Security Organization’s account also approves this view,

Radio message, no. 70, September 21, 1965 [Shahrivar 30, 1344 AHS]

Through his son, Mulla Sayyid Mustafa, Mr. Ayatullah Khomeini came to know that he is permitted to go to Iraq.

¹ Ruhullah Husayniyan, *Setareh-ye Subh-e Inqilab* [Morning Star of the Revolution], p. 70.

² Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini’s Movement]; vol. 1, p. 99.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 119.

Mr. Khomeini and his son are extremely pleased with this suggestion. They expressed their enthusiasm to go to Iraq. They stated that apart from having many friends there, many of the people living there are from their sect (the objective should be Shiah – translator)...¹

The important point that exists in the course of the transfer of the exile place of Imam Khomeini (s) and Sayyid Mustafa to Iraq and particularly to the holy city of Najaf is that on why the Iranian government officials, including Muhammad Rida, made such a decision. Because, on many accounts, Iraq was more favorable than Turkey for the continuance of the movement. The Holy Places and Iraqi theological centers were aggravating the situation. Based on the existing sources, the answer to the aforesaid question can be taken into account from different aspects,

A) Severance of relation with people

The Iranian people's relation with Iraq was separated and the people either could not travel to Iraq at all, or they could hardly travel. As a result, it was supposed that in this way the declined connections be bettered step by step and the character of Imam Khomeini (s) be wiped away by the elapse of time.

B) The social and cultural situations of Iraq

The Iraqi people were Arab. It was not likely that the Arab-speaking people associate with a Persian-speaking person. Similarly, the Iraqi people's following a non-Arab *mujtahid*, owing to the existence of Arab *mujtahids*, was either impossible or very unlikely. The absolute *marjaiyyah* of Ayatulla Hakim would also support these presuppositions and conjectures.²

C) The Iraqi people's inattention

Since time immemorial, the Iraqi people were known as being indifferent and promise-breaking. They were not so sensitive to the political and religious issue. It was assumed that the Iraqi people do not have political feeling and concerning the religion, politics, and fate of their country and people are indifferent and do not ponder over anything save their material interests.³

¹ Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur, *Khatirat-e Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur* [Memories of Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur], p. 455, attached documents, document no. 45.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 455-456.

³ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 1, pp. 101-103.

Accordingly, they looked at the current political issues of their country pessimistically. They essentially did not have a high opinion of the clergies and were inattentive to the religious issues and duties. In general, it can be said that they had confined the religion to such mere individual and religious spheres as worship, prayer, remembrance and the like. In sum and in practice, they regarded the religious as being separate from the politics.¹

D) Lack of an open sociopolitical atmosphere

Lack of an apt political atmosphere as well as the political groups and parties with Islamic and revolutionary, or at least independent, thoughts was from the salient features of Iraq. Intellectual environments of Iraq were subject to many diversities and assortments. The political poles of that country were not connected to and compatible with the thoughts, ideas, and movement of Imam Khomeini (s). Collection of the Sunni parties could not also have any connection with Imam Khomeini (s) materialistically.

E) Conditions and situation of the Najaf Theological Center

The colonialist countries, particularly England, had sustained fatal blows on the part of the Najaf Theological Center during history in such episodes as the Tobacco Movement, the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, the Iraq's occupation by England and so on and so forth. Along this line, they made endeavors to remove its anti-colonialist center and slowly but surely eliminate its role in the political issues and happenings by replacing their agents in the decision-making pillars of the Najaf Theological Center. Along this vein, one of the most central endeavors was to exacerbate the difference between the Shiite and Sunni clergies and drive the Shiah into corner. The rather petrification and sanctimony of the activists, managers, and the current prevailing in the Najaf Theological Center had prepared the ground for the activity of fundamentalist clergies. In sum, it was assumed that this situation alongside other aforesaid factors and grounds will prevent Imam Khomeini (s) and Sayyid Mustafa to be active or have connections.²

¹ See for more information, Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur, *Khatirat-e Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur* [Memories of Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur], pp. 454-457; Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 2, pp. 104-108.

² Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur, *Khatirat-e Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur* [Memories of Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur], pp. 468-459.

F) Authority of the Sunnis and weakness of the Shiah

During the Iraq's history, especially the contemporary history and simultaneous with the Imam's exile to that country, the political authority was in the hands of the Sunni people and the Shiah with their great population were forced to endure the anti-Shiite policies of the Iraqi rulers. The Iraqi rulers, intellectually and ideologically, were not at all familiar with the thoughts and ideals of Imam Khomeini (*s*). Even the Shiah had a particular viewpoint as to Muhammad Rida. Since he was the only Shiah ruler in the world over, to some extent, they regarded their life to be indebted to the Shah's regime power. This was the thought and logic of the majority of the Shiah clergies in the Najaf Theological Center that the only Shiah Shah of the world is supposed to be preserved and it is a must to ignore his lapses and support him.

G) Scientific position of the Najaf Theological Center

The Najaf Theological Center's another salient feature to the Iranian regime officials was its 1000-year historical background and the higher level of its graduates' scientific condition than other theological centers. More important than this was that scientifically the Najaf Theological Center's clergies would not acknowledge the Qum clergies. It was assumed that after going to Najaf, Imam Khomeini (*s*) would be dominated and subjugated by its scientific atmosphere and under the shadow of those distinguished in jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and fundamentals [*usul*] his fortune would fall into decline.¹

Having these presuppositions into view, and perhaps on other similar accounts, by and large, the Pahlavi rule sent Imam Khomeini (*s*) and his son, Sayyid Mustafa, to Iraq in Mehr 13, 1344 AHS (Jumadi al-Thani 9, 1385 AH). They went to Iraq from Turkey by an airplane. The airplane landed in the Baghdad Airport at 2 p.m. This moment was a fresh start for Imam Khomeini (*s*) and Sayyid Mustafa.²

Since the decision on the Imam's and Haj Aqa Mustafa's exile to Iraq was made in a short time, so at the time of their transfer to Baghdad, no one was informed of the story.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.

² Hamid Ruhani, *Nihadat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 2, p. 119.

In this regard, Hujjat al-Islam Ali Akbar Muhtashami quotes Haj Aqa Mustafa as saying,

Just one day prior to moving to Iraq, the Turkish agents came and told us: “You are supposed to go to Iraq, before that we did not know that they have decided to take us to Iraq. Of course, it was rumored as a possibility and those who went to visit the Imam on the part of the *ulama*’ and *maraji* would once in a while talk in this connection. The regime and its officers murmured that possibly the Imam’s exile place will be changed. However, the *ulama*’ and the Imam did not clearly and exactly know and were not aware that if this decision has been made or when it will be put into practice?”¹

Owing to this, when Haj Aqa Mustafa and the Imam get off the airplane in the airport, no one came to receive them. On the other part, they were of the opinion that the Iranian, Turkish, and Iraqi governments have come into agreement and naturally the Iraqi officers are supposed to receive the Imam and guide him to the predetermined place. However, such was not the case and no Iraqi officer came to receive them. The Imam and Sayyid Mustafa, therefore, like other regular travelers completed the formalities of entering to Iraq and after an hour they took a taxi and headed toward Kazimayn.² ✍

¹ Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur, *Khatirat-e Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur* [Memories of Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur], p. 465.

² *Ibid.*, p. 466.

Chapter Three

Najaf, the New Center of the Islamic Movement

First discourse: residence in the Holy Najaf

Aqa Mustafa and Imam Khomeini (s) left Baghdad for Kazimayn. They stayed two days in this city in the Jamali Hotel whose owner was of the Iranian origin. The Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa did not choose this hotel with any preceding information. Rather, the taxi driver who took them to Kazimayn was familiar with its owner. On account of this, he took them to that hotel. The hotel owner, Abd al-Amir Jamali, was more or less familiar with the *ulama'* and clergies coming from Najaf and other parts to Kazimayn. By virtue of the fact that they had arrived to Baghdad at 2 p.m. in Mehr 13, 1344 AHS, their arrival to Kazimayn has been the same day's afternoon.

A few hours after arriving to Kazimayn and taking a short rest, since Haj Aqa Mustafa did not have any money with him and the Iranian clergies and strugglers residing in Iraq were unaware of their arrival, he phoned to Najaf from the same hotel. He phoned Shaykh Nasrullah Khalkhali, from among the old and trustworthy friends of Imam Khomeini to let him know of the course of actions. Shaykh Nasrullah Khalkhali would back up the *mujtahids* and *faqih*s and had a good financial ability. In this day, however, he was not in Najaf and had taken a trip. Haj Aqa Mustafa inevitably phoned Ayatullah Khu'i, for Ayatullah Khu'i and those around him were from among the friends of Shaykh Nasrullah Khalkhali. Ayatullah Khu'i's waiter got the

phone. Finally, the Imam Khomeini's and Haj Aqa Mustafa's arrival news was made public in Najaf. At the late afternoon, Shaykh Nasrullah Khalkhali came back from the trip and the Imam's supporter rushed toward the Ayatullah Burujerdi School in Najaf. Shaykh Nasrullah Khalkhali would go there every afternoon. One of the reasons why the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa had not been known until their arrival to Kazimayn was that in the Imam's passport his family name had been mentioned as Mustafawi—their more famous name, viz. Khomeini, had not referred to in the passport. While Haj Aqa Mustafa was busy being in touch with Najaf, Imam Khomeini seized the opportunity going on pilgrimage to the Shrine of Imam Musa Kazim (a). When Haj Aqa Mustafa was talking [by phone], Jamali, the hotel owner, recognized him and the Imam, insisting to take them to his home to have more comfort. Jamali himself also made efforts to inform others of their arrival. When the authenticity of this news was taken for granted by the people gathered in the Ayatullah Burujerdi School in Najaf, Nasrullah Khalkhali and others took immediately means of transportation to go to Kazimayn. As such, the eager people headed toward welcoming the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa. Such individuals as Shaykh Mujtaba Lankarani, Shaykh Ghulam Rida Ridwani, Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Qadiri, Shaykh Nasrullah Khalkhali and others, each one along with his own supporters and pupils, proceeded toward Kazimayn as soon as possible. Since night was ahead, other ones prepared themselves to go the next day.

Having seen the heartiness and vigor of the Imam's friends and eagers, two days after the Imam's arrival, the Iraqi government sent one of the cabinet ministers called Abd al-Razzaq Muhy al-Din (the Iraqi Unity Minister) to meet the Imam. The aforesaid person was sent on this mission by Abd al-Salam Arif, the Iraqi President. Seemingly, he has cheerfully welcomed the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa. Meanwhile, he declares that the government is ready to provide them with any kind of facilities they might need. In the second day of the Imam's arrival to Kazimayn, each one of the high ranking *ulama*' of Najaf sent one of his sons to welcome them.¹

In the third of the Imam's and Aqa Mustafa's arrival to Kazimayn – in the evening – Thursday, Mehr 15, 1344 AHS, they moved toward Samirra' together with those come to welcome them. The situation in Samirra' was more different than that of Kazimayn. In Samirra', their arrival news had

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 465-470; Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 2, pp. 199-200.

been rumored and a caravan was along with them. They, therefore, were welcomed by the slogan “Al-Khomeini will live on, so the Shah will fall.” A celebration was held in the School of Ayatullah Mirza Hasan Shirazi known as Mirza-ye Shirazi. In addition to theological students and clergies, different strata of people and governmental officials also took part in the party. In this ceremony, Shaykh Said al-Badri, one of the great Sunni clergies and Dr. Muhammad Sadiqi delivered speech on glorification of the scientific and jurisprudential position as well as struggles of Imam Khomeini (s).

On the Friday evening, Mehr 16, 1344 AHS, the Imam, Haj Aqa Mustafa and the welcoming people proceeded toward Karbala. 30 kilometers away from the city, in Qasbah Musayyib, some people from among the theological students and the people of Karbala and Najaf had come to receive them.¹

Therefore, they entered Karbala with a remarkable reception. Prior to everything else, they went on pilgrimage to the Holy Shrine of Imam Husayn (a). The time of stop in Karbala lasted more than the two previous cities, viz. two weeks. Given the Shiah population majority in Karbala who were mostly of the Iranian origin, despite the widespread preventions, plots, and rumors, Imam Khomeini (s) and Haj Aqa Mustafa were received very well.²

The ultimate destination of the struggling father and son in Iraq was the Holy Najaf. Shaykh Nasrullah Khalkhali had provided them with a house full of necessary furniture.³ At last, on the Friday evening of Mehr 23, 1344 AHS, the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa along with a huge caravan headed toward Najaf. After entering Najaf, they firstly went on pilgrimage to the Holy Shrine of Imam Ali (a) and then proceeded toward a house rented in the Alley Shurbahiha, Rasul Street.

At the first night, some of the high ranking and distinguished *ulama*’ of Najaf including, Ayatullah Shahrudi, and Ayatullah Khu’i and a number of the Najaf Theological Center *ulama*’ paid a visit to them. Ayatullah Sayyid Muhsin Hakim met them too at the second night of their arrival. During all of the stages of the Imam’s and Haj Aqa Mustafa’s transfer to Iraq until their

¹ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini’s Movement]; vol. 2, pp. 201-202.

² Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur, *Khatirat-e Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur* [Memories of Sayyid Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur], pp. 471-475.

³ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 33-34.

residence in Najaf, there were hidden efforts to manifest their arrival as a usual thing.¹

At any rate, with the residence of the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa another stage of the Islamic movement commenced which was more different than the previous stages. At this stage, Sayyid Mustafa, after the Imam, played the leading role in guiding the Islamic movement. During this period, lasted for around 13 years, Sayyid Mustafa was connecting the Islamic movement parts in Iran and different parts of the world to their center in Najaf. In the following, we shall study his role in connection with diverse issues.

Second discourse: Sayyid Mustafa, the connecting and unifying element of the strugglers

Definitely, prior to the exile of Imam Khomeini and Haj Aqa Mustafa to Najaf, there had been connections among the Iranian strugglers having Islamic, and at times non-Islamic, ideological inclinations. There has not been, however, enough consolidation and firmness. With the emergence of a religious, political, and powerful leader like Imam Khomeini (*s*), the Muslim strugglers of Iran, Iraq, Islamic countries, Europe, and the US kept an eye on Najaf. Regardless of the difference of opinions and having different intellectual and struggle levels, they recognized the leadership of Imam Khomeini (*s*). At junctures, even the leftist forces opposing the Pahlavi regime with non-Islamic inclinations also made endeavors to enjoy the support of Imam Khomeini (*s*) but they failed to succeed. In the next discourses we shall point to some cases in this regard.

Given the diversity of the strugglers' viewpoint, intricacy of the struggle course, the efforts made to infiltrate into the Islamic movement network, the attentions paid to the Imam's family and his friends, Haj Aqa Mustafa assumed one of the most important and severest roles to establish connection with the strugglers opposed to the Pahlavi rule in different levels. As mentioned before, Muslim strugglers formed the center and core of the relations of Sayyid Mustafa. It is worthy of note that Haj Aqa Mustafa was not preoccupied with the Imam's House [*Bayt-e Imam*] financial affairs. He would merely endeavor in line with the executive affairs, relations of the Imam Khomeini's (*s*) movement, and vigilance over them. In this regard, one of the SAVAK accounts dated Isfand 18, 1352 AHS reads,

¹ Hamid Ruhani, *Nihdat-e Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Movement]; vol. 2, pp. 204-205.

Mustafa Khomeini who has undertaken directorship of the administrative part of the Khomeini's activities. In the meantime, he has also assumed the responsibility of the communications outside Iraq. He has brought under inspection the outside activities through taking trips.¹

His action to disseminate the revolutionary thoughts and ideals of Imam Khomeini (s) through distributing the practical treatise, manifestos, messages, letters, and speeches of Imam Khomeini in Iran and other countries was made by the strugglers' network.

Guidance of the Imam's companions, making use of and seizing the opportunities through his companions, consulting with them at due times, receiving and paying financial aids, receiving religious funds and so on and so forth were on the shoulders of Haj Aqa Mustafa. It should be borne in mind; however, that there were other individuals in the Imam's Bayt who were active in this regard with utmost care and Haj Aqa Mustafa was not alone in doing these feats. This is more applicable to the financials affairs than other ones. The most main motivation behind the numerous trips of Haj Aqa Mustafa to such Muslim countries as Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Kuwait was to establish connection with the Iranian Muslim strugglers and non-Iranian supporters of Imam Khomeini (s), to guide them, and even to propagate the military training thought and armed struggle. In most cases, these were done in the form of a bilateral meeting. In this regard, we shall study and discuss documentarily in the next discourses. As such, after Imam Khomeini (s), the Islamic movement axis was Haj Aqa Mustafa. Ali Akbat Muhtashami-Pur says, "In the examinations conducted by the SAVAK experts, he had been recognized as a very hazardous personality for the existence and entity of the Pahlavi regime, after Hadrat Imam."²

As regards the connective and political role of Haj Aqa Mustafa, Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Rida Burqii says,

There [Najaf], Hadrat Imam had not regarded the Qum restrictions for him. This had several reasons including, there was a clear-cut need for Haj Aqa Mustafa's presence in the scene. There were many individuals who could serve as a messenger for the Imam in different forms. Hadrat Imam's relation with all of them was a difficult task. Haj Aqa Mustafa had brought under

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Imam Khomeini, no. 859, p. 117.

² *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad Quarterly* (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 348.

inspection a nearly 20-member group. These people were politically in contact with the entire environment outside Najaf. Perhaps, during all the time when Hadrat Imam was in Najaf, there were a few who could directly be in touch with him. Haj Aqa Mustafa had a telephone in his house by means of which he could fulfill many of the deeds.

The deeds outside Najaf, with regard to the Imam, were coordinated by Haj Aqa Mustafa. Through his particular meticulousness and precision in the political issues, he would regulate the limits of people's relations with the Imam. He would not at all let some people meet the Imam. For example, Teymur Bakhtiyar made endeavors to establish connection with the Imam. He would send regards and messages by many individuals to meet with the Imam for saving his face in the opposition to the regime, but the permission was not given to him...¹

It is worth noting that the Imam was informed of this. He himself had said straightforwardly, "On no condition, he is ready to cooperate with Teymur Bakhtiyar against the Pahlavi regime. According to one of the SAVAK accounts from Iraq dated Khordad 26, 1352 AHS, the individuals close to Imam Khomeini (s) were as follows,

The individuals who are from among the band of Khomeini in Iraq are as follows:

1. Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i;
2. Sayyid Muhammad Baqir Musawi Mazandarani;
3. Shaykh Hasan Ali Karubi;
4. Shaykh Hasan Rustami Mazandarani;
5. Shaykh Muhammad Rida or Shaykh Muhammad Rahmat;²
6. Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Thaqafi;
7. Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Imla'i Khawzani;
8. Shaykh Ahmad Nafari;
9. Shaykh Ghulam Rida Ridwani;

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 282.

² Shaykh Muhammad Rida Rahmat is correct.

10. Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Shariat (Jafari);
11. Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Tawusi Bujnurdi;
12. A person called Niknam.

These individuals are trafficking regularly between Iraq and other countries.¹

Of course, there were other individuals less known to the SAVAK. In his memoirs, Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i points to two of them called Ali Akbar Abu Turabi and Shaykh Mahmud Muhammadi Yazdi who were in contact with Haj Aqa Mustafa. They would send the messages, manifestos... in the worst conditions to Iran.² Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i was from the closest individuals to the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa from 1346 AHS to the victory of the revolution. He made tireless activities during these burdensome and onerous years. The beginning of his activities was simultaneous with the zenith of the differences between the Iranian and Iraqi governments. He says in his memoirs,

When I went to Najaf, one day the late Haj Aqa Mustafa, may God bless him, entered the school of the late Mr. Burujerdi, prior to the Imam's prayer, for the late Imam would say prayers in the Mr. Burujerdi's school in Najaf. We would usually gather half an hour to the sunset to get ready for the congregational prayer. Haj Aqa Mustafa came and told me, "Do you have any means of copying in Iran for copying manifestos." I said, "Yes, we have." He said, "For the first time after his exile, Aqa has given a letter and a manifesto... he has given an open letter to Huwayda and a manifesto addressed to the clergies. The manifestos have been discovered under publication. The SAVAK has raised many hues and cries. Since the Imam succeeded to issue and distribute his manifestos against the capitulation distributed throughout the country and no one was captured and it was a successful distribution; these manifestos have been found under publication and the SAVAK also lays the claim that the Imam has no more companion. The core elements of the Imam have been discovered. They are not able to take action anymore. Are you able?" I said, "Yes we are able. We have the means of distribution and publication. We would prepare the *Bithat* Publication in Qum. I was in charge of it..."

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 112, attached documents, document no. 75.

² Amir Rida Sutudeh, *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], vol. 2, p. 19.

I came back from Najaf, duplicated the manifestos and distributed them very successfully...¹

As regards the relation of Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i with the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa, the SAVAK says in its account dated Bahman 25, 1347 AHS,

The aforesaid person [Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i] presently being in the School of Ayatullah Burujerdi situated in the Holy Najaf had left Iran for Iraq around two years ago. He is currently from the supporters of Imam Khomeini (s). Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini renders assistance to the aforementioned one. Supposedly, there exist some confidential relations between the aforesaid person and Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini from the manner of which we have no information to the fore. In the meanwhile, he has pointed out some points to some of the clergies living in the Holy Najaf as to his detrimental activities in Iran...²

In another account dated Esfand 6, 1347 AHS, the SAVAK has also related that,

Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i who from the very onset of his arrival to Najaf until now is going and coming to the house of Ayatullah Khomeini is in regular contact to Mustafa Khomeini. He has declared that according to the advice of Mustafa Khomeini, he is receiving 15 *dinars* monthly from the funds relating to Ayatullah Khomeini. Accordingly, Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i is planning to prepare a passport by means of which he can still reside in Najaf.³

Ali Akbar Muhtashami-Pur who was from the close friends of the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa in Najaf, as regards the connection of Sayyid Mustafa with the religious and political strugglers says,

Haj Aqa Mustafa was a political personality having particular thought and idea, and special policy as to the political and struggle issues. When from Iran such personalities as Ayatullah Dr. Beheshti, Ayatullah Mutahhari, Hujjat al-Islam wa'l-Muslimin Hashimi Rafsanjani, Ayatullah Jannati, Ayatullah Musawi Ardabili, Mr. Shaykh Ali Tehrani and others would come from Qum, Tehran, and other regions to Najaf as regards the struggle issues,

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), an interview with Mahmud Duai, date of the interview: Mehr 14, 1379 AHS, no. 11493, pp. 23-25; see Amir Rida Sutudeh, *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], vol. 2, p. 16.

² The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, p. 38.

³ Attached documents, document no. 65.

they would have some sessions with Haj Aqa Mustafa. They would receive and deliver his ideas, for the internal forces would ask for the viewpoints and ideas of Haj Aqa Mustafa either in relation to the quality of the struggle and the manner of forming the revolution. Similarly, those coming from the Europe, the US including, Bani Sadr, Qutb-Zadeh, Sadiq Tabataba'i, Dr. Yazdi, and others, after meeting with the Imam, would hold numerous sessions with Haj Aqa Mustafa, in relation to the political and struggle issues.¹

In the SAVAK documents, it is referred to the relation of Sayyid Mustafa with such individuals as Sayyid Murtada Gharawi Nakhjawani,² Sayyid Hasan Bujnurdi (father of Muhammad Kazim Bujnurdi),³ Musa Qummi,⁴ Sayyid Muhammad Rida Eshkevari (from the relatives of Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani),⁵ Sayyid Murtada Faqih (Mubarqa) known as Haj Dadash,⁶ and Shaykh Muhammad Taqi Buhlul^{7,8}. From among other individuals who had a close relation with Sayyid Mustafa and, in line with the struggle, held numerous sessions are, Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani, Dr. Muhammad Sadiqi, and Muhammad Ali Mawlawi Arabshahi. One of the accounts of the SAVAK dated Bahman 20, 1344 AHS reads, "Mustafa Khomeini, son of Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Isfahani, and Dr. Muhammad Sadiqi living in the Holy Najaf are in contact with each other. They are going to publish a magazine called *Jumhuriyyah* in Iraq and put out some points about Iran in the aforesaid magazine."⁹ However, there is not any information to the fore on the possible printing and points of such a periodical. Another account

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 142-143.

² The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, pp. 25-26.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30; attached documents, document no. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ He was one of the agents of the Gawharshad Uprising in 1314 AHS. After that accident, he fled to Afghanistan wherein he was imprisoned for a while. A few years prior to the revolution, he also went to Iraq and after triumph of the Islamic revolution came back to Iran.

⁸ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, p. 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 130; attached documents, documents no. 47-48, 53-54.

dated Tir 25, 1345 AHS, on Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani and his relation with Sayyid Mustafa and other strugglers, reads,

From the very beginning of his return from Egypt and residence in Iraq, Dr. Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani has followed his activities against Iran and is striving hard. This person is continuously in touch with Khalil Ibrahim Abd al-Hamid, the leader of the al-Tahrir al-Islami Party whose headquarters is in Egypt. Dr. Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani hold covert meetings three times a week with Shaykh Musa Qummi, Mustafa Khomeini, son of Ayatullah Khomeini, Dr. Muhammad Sadiqi, Sayyid Murtada Nakhjawani, and Muhammad Ali Mawlawi Arabshahi, a member of the Central Committee of the Islamic Nations Party, fled to Iraq. These sessions are held in the new place in Najaf, i.e. the house of Shaykh Musa Qummi. Other than the aforementioned individuals, no one else is permitted to take part in the sessions. The points put forward in the sessions are not fully known; however, the discussions might be about the internal news of Iran and the current issues. Dubious activities are also being done...¹

The relation between Sayyid Mustafa and Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani was in place until the start of the activities of Taymur Bakhtiyar against the Pahlavi regime in Iraq. Since then, however, on account of the Imam's and Haj Aqa Mustafa's lack of cooperation with Taymur Bakhtiyar whose mediator was Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani, his relations were limited and finally severed.

The relation among Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and different individuals whose level of commitment to Islam and the Islamic movement was variable is indicative of the principle that in relation to those struggling against the Pahlavi rule, he laid emphasis more on "the struggle principle" than other affairs. Along this vein, he would make endeavor to create unity among the strugglers. The case in point is Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani with whom he had common contacts, struggles, and covert cooperation, however, when he came to know that Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani has strayed from the main path of the Imam's movement, directed his steps to serious and extensive cooperation with Taymur Bakhtiyar and the Iraqi government, he separated his way from that of him. In the meanwhile, existence of slight differences among the strugglers was an ordinary feat to Sayyid Mustafa and could be renounced. What mattered was not to cause a loss to the main objective. In this regard, Hujjat al-Islam Ali Sattari says,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154; attached documents, document no. 53.

As regards Haj Aqa Mustafa's planning on political issues related to outside Iraq or the Shah's government, many occasions arose when I would see some are going to the extremes, and some are acting conservatively. He would so advise them in the sessions, "Your goal is one thing, all of us have chosen one way; however, there is difference of opinion in details, but it does not cause a loss to the main objective. We have to solve these differences among ourselves so these details may not give rise to fundamental difference among us. He would never go to the extremes when guiding and side with any anyone. He would talk to them and warn about the enemies' making use."¹

If Sayyid Mustafa saw one of the strugglers strayed from the Imam's line and the revolution, or thinking spitefully, he would cut off relations with him completely. However, in case he realized that a person is misguided, he would make endeavors to make him refer to the right path. In the trips he took to the Muslim countries, there were many cases that he would behave in the said manner.² In his mamoirs, Ayatullah Sayyid Muhammad Bujnurd points out that, "In dealing with such Iranian strugglers as liberals, members of the Mujahidin-e Khalq Organization of Iran and others coming to visit the Imam and exchange views in Najaf, but having a deviated thinking line, Haj Aqa Mustafa would say to me, I do not like to intercourse with them. Please do something they never come to us...' He would continue, They are corrupt people, they are not from Muslims, their harm to Islam is worse than that of an irreligious faithless, for they are going to do away with Islam by the name of Islam'."³ Cooperation of the Islamic combatant forces and combatant clergies with the forces who were Islamic but to them Islam was placed after nationalism and with those known as liberals after the revolution, according to Ismail Ferdawsi-Pur, "was tactical not ideological". In order to improve the struggle trend against the Pahlavi regime, the strugglers would cooperate with them and even sought their assistance.⁴

Sayyid Mustafa would entrust the strugglers in line with the Imam Khomeini's (s) line, his struggle goals and thoughts and to whose words and actions he was sure, with the missions in line with the Islamic movement.

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 393-394.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 166.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

These missions, of course, were taken into account to be on the part of Imam Khomeini (s) as well. Some were in charge of transferring the religious funds from Iran to Najaf. At times, this transfer took place through a third Muslim country like the Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, or Syria. And, some times, it was put into practice directly with the journeys the companions of the Imam and friends of Sayyid Mustafa made to Najaf. The sociopolitical missions were also discharged in the same manner. Some instances of these missions and activities are mentioned below. The Isfahan SAVAK has given an account dated Murdad 10, 1345 AHS as follows,

Through the letters written to Mr. Mustajabi, the Isfahan's notary public 168 director, Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini, son of Mr. Khomeini, had reminded that Mr. Khomeini had become annoyed for having heard that some Isfahani clergies have established an institute by the name of the religion and are making use of the Imam of the Time's (may god hasten his glorious advent) rights. Mustafa Khomeini has asked the aforesaid person to investigate if this issue is true or not?¹

According to the following accounts of the SAVAK, Haj Sayyid Murtada Mustajabi is from the friends of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and in touch with the combatant clergies opposing to the Pahlavi rule.²

The SAVAK's representative in Lebanon has given an account dated Dey 1353 AHS to the effect that,

An Akhund called Musa Deh-Surkhi owns a mosque named Imam Mahdi (aj). During the Hajj pilgrimage, he has been in charge of arranging the dates of Mustafa Khomeini's visit with Iranians. Supposedly, he has collected some money for Khomeini. The Iranians could visit with Mustafa Khomeini through this person's mediation outside the caravan place.³

There are numerous accounts in this regard to some of which we shall refer in the discourse on Hajj. Meanwhile, one of the important missions delegated to one of the Imam's companions called Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i by Haj Aqa Mustafa was making use of the radio wave. In line with its differences with the Iranian government, the Iraqi government had provided the Iranian

¹ *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad* Quarterly (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 144; attached documents, document no. 55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 149.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 170; attached documents, document no. 87.

struggling forces with it. As regards the essence of this course, Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i says,

In the wake of the expansion of the struggles and clashes which at any rate existed between the two regimes [of Iran and Iraq] and the differences which had reached their climax, the Iraqi officials made the decision to provide the Iranian strugglers with some facilities to exert pressure on the Iranian regime. In this regard, they made endeavors to call on the strugglers living in Iraq. Accordingly, they invited all the student and non-student struggling formations present across the Europe and the US and acting against the Shah's regime... by and large, the Iraqis could succeed to persuade and gather the powerful formations from the Iranians abroad and make them come to Iraq. They had called on the Confederation, the Tudeh Party, the National Front [Jebheh-ye Milli] as well as differing struggling groups acting outside the country... apart from all of these, they had called out Taymur Bakhtiyar to come to Iraq, establish a base, and create a powerful front against the regime's establishments. Naturally, apart from the educational and ammunition facilities, and the bases for training the forces willing to struggle with the Shah's regime, they provided the strugglers with such facilities as propagandistic ones... at the onset, they granted the authority of the Persian news of the Baghdad radio, save the section related to the political news and analysis, to the Iranian struggling forces...

Along this vein, they would draw the attention of the enthusiasts of the Imam, especially Haj Aqa Mustafa, his son, to seize such an opportunity. It shall not be so that such propagandistic facilities be merely at the disposal of the irreligious and unspiritual agents; so that day the late Haj Aqa Mustafa said to me that it is possible for us to profit by the radio. It has been offered to us, either from the inside or from the local officials in Iraq, those connected to them have offered to us that you can bring to the ears of the listeners the manifestos, programs, and goals of Hadrat Imam by the radio.¹

In his memoirs, Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i goes on to say that I told Haj Aqa Mustafa that I am afraid and worried that making use of the radio propagandas and of the Iraqi governments facilities may damage or hurt the face and reputation of Imam Khomeini (s). It would be better to know Imam Khomeini's (s) view in this regard in advance. In reply, Haj Aqa Mustafa deduced that, "Naturally, if we go and ask Aqa, he will be driven into a

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents; archive, an interview with Sayyid Mahmud Duai, date of the interview: Azar 3, 1379 AHS, no. 11547, pp. 2-6.

corner and it is natural that he won't give a clear answer and may oppose. That is because it is not expedient, anyway, to initiate a move with his permission and with his awareness, which is risky and may yield negative undetermined aftermaths, and then attribute it to the Imam.”¹

Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i adds, “We began the job and after the elapse of one month it was echoed far and wide. We were also encouraged from the inside of Iran. After coming to know of it, Imam Khomeini (s) also asked Haj Aqa Mustafa for explanation on it to the effect that, What is the program and do you have any information?’ He had said, Yes such a program so and so [Dua'i] is in charge of it.’ One day he summoned me, saying, Bring the programs you have carried out hitherto so I see.’ I had written a one-month-period program, I brought it to the his presence, he studied and summoned me the day after, while praying for me, he said,

May god grant you success. You should make efforts not to exaggerate and tell the truth. You are not required to praise us a lot. You should state the truthfulness of the struggles, and the injustices done to the people. You are supposed to state the goals and programs that the Islamic strugglers have, the statements we had, and the issues like these. You are to put forward them lucidly and simply and make efforts not to go to the extremes.”²

At any rate, the program continued by the consent of Imam Khomeini (s) and his affirmation. The radio program would be broadcasted under the title “the Clergy Movement in Iran”. Later on, they provided Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i with an independent [radio] frequency so he could broadcast the program for 45 minutes. This radio activity continued for seven years.³

In relation to the movement program of the clergies in Iran, Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani was the program's connector with the Iraqi government. One of the SAVAK accounts dated Murdad 28, 1345 AHS reads,

... recently in Iraq, the program of the clergies movement in support of the way of Khomeini supported by the Iraqi government has come into existence on the top of which is Sayyid Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani. In line with this and for drawing the attention of Khomeini, Sayyid Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani leaves Baghdad for Najaf three times a week to pay a visit to

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

³ Amir Rida Sutudeh, *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], vol. 2, p. 18.

Khomeini. Apparently, he has failed to draw the attention of Khomeini to the said program...¹

In a section of the radio program performance, it was said that Taymur Bakhtiyar was planning to form a liberating front composed of all the forces opposed to the Pahlavi regime in Iraq by his leadership. Through his mediator, Musa Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani, he proposed cooperation and support in the clergy's movement radio to Haj Aqa Mustafa,² which was rejected absolutely and even the program performed by Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i was closed for a while. Dua'i says,

He [Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani] came and intimidated us that if you do not go on with your programs, it is regarded as stabbing in the back of the strugglers against the Shah's regime in Iraq. And we will arrest you as traitors and you will be prosecuted. I delivered a message by the person brought the message on their part that if we were supposed to submit, we would submit to the Shah's regime. Why should we submit to Bakhtiyar. And Iraq is not the only safe place of the Iranian strugglers. In case, here is not safe for us, we shall go outside Iraq; to Syria, or somewhere else...

We did not submit. In the wake of our resistance, other friends there who were rather independence resisted too. As a result of that, the Bakhtiyar's endeavor to make the radio serial be a subdivision of his programs failed. As such we could restart the program successfully and with our independence.³

The radio program's name, after its independence, was changed to "Voice of the Iranian Combatant Clergy".⁴

In preparing this program, Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i was alone and Martyr Muhammad Muntaziri helped him for a short while. The turning point of its activities was in the wake of the gaining altitude of the armed struggles and activities against the regime from 1349 to 1353 AHS when the manifestos, news, information on the trials of the struggles and reflection of the works of Dr. Ali Shariati would be broadcasted at the side of the news of the Islamic movement as well as the Imam Khomeini's measures and activities. Some

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents, archive, file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, an interview with Sayyid Mahmud Duai, no. 11547, pp. 13-14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

points would also be prepared and released as regards the struggle methods and tactics.

From among other entrusted missions, one can hint on the military trainings and armed struggles. Some of the strugglers were even entrusted with the mission to infiltrate into the Baath Party pillars, while acquiring the military training in the framework of the Pahlavi regime's opponents' cooperation with the Iraqi government, to gain trustworthy information so as to know of the Iranians acting against the Iranian government inside the Baath Party. Hujjat al-Islam Shaykh Hasan Muhajir was one of these individuals who performed such a mission. In his memoirs in this regard, he says,

I was entrusted with the mission by him [Sayyid Mustafa] to establish connection with the pillars of the Baath Party, prepare some oral reports on their condition, and see how and in what fields we can work with them. For doing so, I went to Baghdad and got familiar with Ali Rida, one of the three main pillars of the Baath Party, by Dr. Musa Musawi [Ayatullah-Zadeh Isfahani], grandson of the late Haj Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan Isfahani. In this manner, I established connection with the Iranians acting against the Iranian government in the Baath Party or rendering assistances in this regard. I was acquainted with their morale and their anti-Islamic nature was to some extent divulged to me. That is, while being opposed to the Shah, they had nothing to do with Islam, too. I came to know their viewpoint, scientific activities, and also their relations with the groups inside Iran. I gave all these account to Haj Aqa Mustafa...

In addition to this mission entrusted to me by Haj Aqa Mustafa (*r*), he had entrusted me with another mission as to training combatants so as to be able to stand in front of the Taghut regime. I went to the Iraqi army, passed a full period of the guerrilla wars, and got familiar with a range of arms. Thenceforth, I took a colt so as to safeguard the Imam vis-à-vis the possible risks. Beside this, I acquainted Mr. Muhtashami with arms... at the time, we would train the guerrilla wars to the Muslims in Lebanon and Najaf the basis of which had been laid by Haj Aqa Mustafa. At that time, he made a trip to Lebanon, coming to my house and I was at his service for ten days...¹

In line with the goals of the Islamic movement, Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i also passed a military training course for three months in the al-Fath Organization

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 313-316.

base in Lebanon.¹ Concerning the military training, Jalal al-Din Farsi was in contacts with Haj Aqa Mustafa, too.²

According to the SAVAK's reports, given the position and influence that Sayyid Mustafa had, he could render assistance to solve the problems caused for the Muslim strugglers. In case, a person was apprehended, he would make endeavors to release him.³ Or in case a struggler would encounter a problem as to passport or visa, he tried his best to solve it.⁴

Third discourse: Hajj, the center for exchange of news and information of the Islamic movement

After the transfer of Imam Khomeini (s) and Haj Aqa Mustafa to Iraq and their residence in the Holy Najaf, unlike Turkey, they established connection with the supporters of the Islamic movement in Iran and other parts of the world in different manners. One of the connective channels was the pilgrims going on pilgrimage to the Holy Places, Mecca, Medina, and Syria from Iran and its neighboring Muslim countries. It was impossible for Haj Aqa Mustafa to go on pilgrimage every year and exchange visits, news and information with the strugglers and opponents of the Pahlavi regime coming there. This came true, however, for several times. While enjoying the divine and spiritual blessings of the Hajj, Haj by making use of it, Aqa Mustafa rendered noteworthy assistances so as to advance the movement.

There is an account from the SAVAK's representative in Baghdad to the Center dated Esfand 12, 1344 AHS. It reads, "Sayyid Mustafa is going on pilgrimage to Mecca in the year to come." Below that account an endnote is added as follows, "Inform all the sources to be on the alert. Inform the Colonel Shaykhan, the aforesaid person's photograph is to be duplicated and given to the sources and colleagues. The sources who cooperate with the Tehran SAVAK are supposed to be informed."⁵ In Esfand 17, 1344 AHS, in correspondence with the SAVAK's Second General Office, the General

¹ Amir Rida Sutudeh, *Pa beh Pa-ye Aftab* [In Step with the Sun], vol. 2, p. 20.

² The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 316.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, p. 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 142; *ibid.* the file of Imam Khomeini, no. 860, p. 6, attached documents, document numbers 65, 73, 74, 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, archive, file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 134.

Director of the SAVAK's Third Office (Muqaddam) has asked that the SAVAK's representative in the Saudi Arabia is to be given order to bring under inspection and control the actions and deeds of Sayyid Mustafa and his companions.¹ The account given by the SAVAK's Second General Office dated Esfand 25, 1344 AHS bespeaks that Sayyid Mustafa has entered the Saudi Arabia on Esfand 23, 1344 AHS.

General Director of the Third Office

With reference to no. 613/64243-18/12/1344 AHS

According to the received information, the above-named person at 20:00 O'clock on 23/12/1344 AHS has entered Jeddah by the Saudi Arabian airplane. He was welcomed by a member of the Hajj caravan being fully trustworthy to him. A cursory inspection has been done on the only means he has had with him; yet, no noteworthy thing was seen in it. After passing the customs inspection, the aforesaid person has gone to the office of Mr. Abu Zayd. After getting some rest, he has gone out for a walk around Madinah al-Haj about one hour. Then, approximately at 23:00 o'clock he has gone to the Abu Zayd's house, spending the night there. He is supposed to make a journey to Medina by car and dwell in the house of Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Lawasani. While speaking, the above-named has pointed out that he is waiting for a person called Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Lawasani who is going to leave Tehran for Jeddah by the flight no. 145 and he is surprised that the Shahanshahi government has granted him the exit visa.

Please issue an order so as to inform this General Office of the records of Mr. Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Lawasani and that whether he has been given the exit permission or not.

General Director of the Second Office [of SAVAK]-Negahbani.²

After this account, the SAVAK's Third General Office prevented Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq Lawasani to go on pilgrimage to the Hajj.³ The Iranian embassy to the Saudi Arabia has also been alert of the actions of Sayyid Mustafa. In the visit the Iranian ambassador paid to the Mecca and Medina

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139; *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad* Quarterly (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 131, attached documents, document no. 50.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 391, p. 140.

Emir, he asked him not to let Sayyid Mustafa have any political activity against the Iranian government.¹

Despite that much controls and inspection over Sayyid Mustafa, he succeeded to get in contact with a number of the Iranian strugglers and to deliver the message of Imam Khomeini to them and by means of them to Iran. It is reported that in paying visit to some of the regime opponents, he has talked and exchanged views with them on the manner of delivering speech and activities in the months of Muharram and Safar.² Concerning his exchange of views with the Iranian strugglers and planning for the months of Muharram and Safar, one of the accounts of the Tehran SAVAK to the SAVAK's Second General Office dated Farvardin 24, 1345 AHS reads,

Subject: Sayyid Abd al-Rida Hijazi's remarks

According to the remarks made by Sayyid Abd al-Rida Hijazi, Mr. Shaykh Majd al-Din Mahallati and Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, son of Ayatullah Khomeini have talked with each other in Medina and Mecca, making some decisions for the Muharram days. In the meantime, Sayyid Abd al-Rida Hijazi has added that a number of the clergies are leaving covertly for Iraq to pay a visit to Ayatullah Khomeini and take some orders from him.³

Following other accounts in this regard, the SAVAK's Third General Office issued the following orders to the SAVAKs of Qum, Shiraz, and Mashhad:

To: the SAVAKs of Qum, Shiraz, and Mashhad

From: 316 [the SAVAK's Third General Office]

The received information bespeaks that Mustafa Khomeini, son of Ayatullah Khomeini, who has left for Mecca in the current year has been in touch with such extremist agents as Majd al-Din Mahallati, an opponent clergy in Shiraz, and making some decisions for the the months of Muharram and Safar. Since it is possible that when coming back to Iran, such people embark on some provocations, please issue order so due anticipations be done in this regard while being fully alert of the known agents. Please let us know of the results. Muqaddam.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

³ *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad* Quarterly (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 136, attached documents, document no. 52/1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138, attached documents, document no. 52/2.

In another account prepared by the Part 216 of the SAVAK's Second General Office, it is referred to the visit Sayyid Mustafa paid to a person called Nowdudi, an Iranian living in India, during the Hajj. The aforesaid person has declared his preparedness to put into practice the intentions of Imam Khomeini (s), to prepare a periodical in India and distribute it in the intended regions including foreign embassies to the benefit of Imam Khomeini (s).¹ Other documents are to the fore, to the effect that in the course of the Hajj, Sayyid Mustafa has received some religious funds sent from Iran to submit to Imam Khomeini (s).²

In this journey, Sayyid Mustafa met with Hujjat al-Islam Fadlullah Mahdi-Zadeh Mahallati, a combatant clergy, in Mecca. After the completion of Hajj, they went to Najaf altogether to meet Imam Khomeini (s). In his memoirs, Mahallati says, "During the Hajj, we released the manifestos which we had prepared and gave an account of our activities in Mecca to Imam Khomeini (s). During his stop in Najaf, he has been residing in the house of Haj Aqa Mustafa. Similarly, he recalls that in the next years I went on pilgrimage to Mecca and the same manner went on. That is, he has embarked on the activities against the Pahlavi regime, gone to Imam Khomeini (s) in Najaf, and come back to Iran after meeting and exchanging information with him."³

In the SAVAK's correspondences on Esfand 1346 AHS, it is referred that this year Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini together with his mother will take part in the Hajj ceremonies; there exist no information if this journey has been made or not.⁴

Sayyid Mustafa went to Mecca and Medina in 1353 AHS, on the Hajj occasion, too. While performing the Hajj, he met with the Iranians supporting Imam Khomeini (s). The SAVAK was sensitive toward his taking part in the Hajj and had made inquiries in this regard since months before. It was informed that he is going to take part in the Hajj ceremonies. One of the SAVAK accounts by the SAVAK representative in Lebanon to the Section

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 145.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents; *Khatirat wa Mubarizat-e Shahid Mahallati* [Memoirs and Struggles of Martyr Mahallati], pp. 78-80; The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 388-391.

⁴ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents, archive, file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, pp. 12, 15-19.

334 of the SAVAK's Third General Office dated 27/8/1353 AHS reads as such,

Mustafa Khomeini is supposed to go to Mecca for the Hajj ceremonies. On account of this, it is rumored that some of the Iranians who are adherents of Khomeini are planning to seize the opportunity in the Hajj ceremonies so as to meet him.¹

In the months prior to the Hajj occasion, the SAVAK would bring under inspection and control the people supposed to establish connection with Sayyid Mustafa during the Hajj course—especially those submitted the religious funds from Iran to him. It is stated in an account given by the SAVAK representative in Lebanon on 16/10/1353 AHS to the Section 334 of the SAVAK's Third General Office as such,

An Akhund called Musa Deh-Surkhi owns a mosque named Imam Mahdi (*aj*). During the Hajj pilgrimage, he has been in charge of arranging the dates of Mustafa Khomeini's visit with Iranians. Supposedly, he has collected some money for Khomeini. The Iranians could visit with Mustafa Khomeini through this person's mediation outside the caravan place.

Below this account the General Director of the SAVAK's Third Office has added,

He is to be brought under investigation by the Tehran SAVAK, then apprehended, his house be inspected, and inquiries is to be made of him. 18/10/1353 AHS²

Fadlullah Mahallati who has also been from the Hujjaj has met with Sayyid Mustafa several times during this year's Hajj.

One of the accounts given by the SAVAK as quoted by Mahallati himself reads,

I talked to him softly in the mosques and sidewalks several times and asked about Mr. Khomeini's health. I also spoke to him on the afflictions and oppressions brought about recently by the SAVAK.³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146, attached documents, document no. 86.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153, attached documents, document no. 87/1.

³ *Ibid.*, file of Imam Khomeini, no. 1107, p. 68, attached documents, document numbers 87/2, 87/3.

For his relations with Sayyid Mustafa during the Hajj pilgrimage, after coming back to Iran, Mahallati was prohibited by the order of the Tehran SAVAK to deliver speech in the months of Muharram and Safar. The SAVAK issued the order of his apprehension by the Common Committee against Sabotage.¹

In an account given by the Tehran SAVAK on the manner of Sayyid Mustafa's visits with Iranians, it is such stated,

At the nights of 30/9/1353, 1/10/1353, and 2/10/1353 AHS, Sayyid Mustafa would seat in a position higher than that of Ibrahim. At this time, the individuals met with him are, Shaykh Fadlullah Mahallati, Sayyid Zanjani known as Shabestari, librarian of the Chehel-Sotun Library of the Tehran's Jami Mosque, Shaykh Abu'l-Qasim Nijat, Shaykh Ghulam Husayn Maraghi'i and some other ones being unknown... Mahallati would go to Mustafa times and again and took some individuals with him to kiss his hands. A few of them gave him some money.²

In the course of the same year's Hajj, one of the SAVAK agents could have a meeting with Sayyid Mustafa. The goal of Sayyid Mustafa was to obtain information from different channels on the conditions of Iran and the clergies' position in Iran. This agent gave an account to the effect that he has made inquiries from him on the conditions of Iran and the clergies, particularly conditions of Ayatullah Muhammad Hadi Milani. The SAVAK agent goes on to say that Sayyid Mustafa said, "Is it good, if my father supports Milani?" I said, "What do you mean?" he said, "Mr. Milani is to be supported vis-à-vis Shariatmadari, for he is no longer qualified." Sayyid Mustafa has asked him some questions on Ayatullah Mutahhari, Dr. Beheshti, and Muhammad Jawad Bahonar, too."³ It is said in another account that,

At 21:30 o'clock of 29/9/1353 AHS, in the Kabah, Sayyid Mahdi Lavasani was teaching a number of the Hujjaj how to circumambulate [*tawaf*], including Ismail Muhammad Ismaili, Mashaallah Changiz-Pur, Yaqub Hajjyan, Ibrahim Maragheh-Chi, Wali Allah Rahnama, Sayyid Mahdi Ibrahim... all of a sudden, after completing the circumambulation, Sayyid Mahdi Lavasani cried out, "O' Hujjaj, Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini is here,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

² *Ibid.*, p. 66, attached documents, document no. 87/4.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 1049, p. 92.

come and kiss the hands of Aqa. Right away, all of them rushed toward him and kissed him in a manner that he was turned and Lavasani said, "Do not disturb Aqa, and then all became detached from him while crying."

The Saturday view: all of the aforesaid persons are from the imitators [*muqallidin*] of Imam Khomeini (s).¹

There are also some accounts tackling with the visit of Sayyid Mustafa with some of the clergies who are from the Iraqi returnees living in the cities of Khorramshahr, Qum, and the country of Kuwait.²

In 1355 AHS, it is stated in the SAVAK's accounts that Imam Khomeini (s) will go on pilgrimage this year. Or else, he will send his son, Sayyid Mustafa, to Mecca. Such an event is yet to be taken place. In one of the accounts, it is referred to the Sayyid Mustafa's and his brother, Sayyid Ahmad's going on the lesser pilgrimage altogether in 1356 AHS. In this journey, it is not referred to the visits of them with the Iranians.³

All in all, achievements of the journeys made by Sayyid Mustafa to Mecca to advance the Islamic movement have been valuable and noteworthy. Because, in despite of all the SAVAK agents' full control and supervision, he could exchange views and meet with the Iranian strugglers and imitators of Imam Khomeini (s). And, through them, he could also send the manifestos, letters, and other documents and orders of Imam Khomeini (s) to other countries.

Fourth discourse: diverse journeys to Muslim countries

A part of the political activities of Sayyid Mustafa, after his transfer to Iraq, was to make journey to Muslim countries. These journeys would be made during the summer months, and once in a while during the Hajj pilgrimage. The main aspect of these journeys was the political activity in line with and for the sake of the continuation of the movement of Imam Khomeini (s); however, at times, they had an excursion and pilgrimage aspect.

Given the existing straitened circumstances in the political atmosphere of Iraq, some of the issues related to the Imam's movement could not easily be attended to or removed. In the meanwhile, in the apt atmosphere of such

¹ *Ibid.*, file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, p. 156, attached documents, document no. 87/3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³ *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad Quarterly* (Mehr 1376 AHS), pp. 179, 181.

countries as Syria and Lebanon, and through the connections established by the strugglers who would make journeys to those countries, it was easy and possible to advance the struggle affairs. Through these connections, the information related to the movement was exchanged and the movement was strengthened.¹

Another aspect of the political activities of Sayyid Mustafa in the Muslim countries was related to the Imam Khomeini's thought in struggling with the reactionary rulers as well as the political system of those countries. As such, the strugglers followed the Imam's line and Sayyid Mustafa played the role of establishing direct connection with the strugglers. A good few of the strugglers would also be active against the domination and aggressions of Israel. In the meantime, the Resistance Movement of Palestine enjoyed a particular position.

After Shahrivar 1349 AHS when the Black September Event took place in Jordan during which the Jordanian army massacred the Palestinians, particularly the Palestinian guerrillas learning the military trainings in that country's land, and in general, the Palestinians were driven into corner, the struggling and armed Palestinians were forced to emigrate to the southern part of Lebanon.² Since then, adherents of the Resistance Movement of Palestine paid attention to the south of Lebanon either for the military training or the political and economic assistances. Sayyid Mustafa was also one of them who made journeys to Syria, and Lebanon times and again. It is worthy of note that the Resistance Movement of Palestine was led by the al-Fath Organization. In Jordan, and after that, in the south of Lebanon, in some cases, the Iranian strugglers were trained in those bases so as to continue their activities in the form of armed struggle in Iran.³

In relation to the armed struggle, contrary to the idea of Imam Khomeini, Haj Aqa Mustafa believed in that type of struggle. Sayyid Mustafa followed up this type of struggle against Israel. Moreover, he was on belief that we have to resort to that that method against the Iranian government, too.⁴ In is to be

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

² Jalal al-Din Farsi, *Zawaya-ye Tarik* [Dark Angles], p. 218, Mustafa Chamran, Lebanon, pp. 114-116.

³ Jalal al-Din Farsi, *Zawaya-ye Tarik* [Dark Angles], pp. 235-236; attached documents, document numbers 76-78, 81, 89.

⁴ *Keyhan*, no. 11124, p. 9 (an interview with Hujjat al-Islam Fadlullah Mahallati).

noted that Imam Khomeini (s) refused the armed struggle and prohibited those believed in it. In this regard, Hujjat al-Islam Hashimi Rafsanjani says,

During the history [of struggle], the Imam would never say to us to embark on the armed struggle, quite the contrary, he would forbid us, too. This is an important issue. In case he would forbid us, we did not embark on it, if we came to know that the Imam is not dissatisfied, we would not do that; however, he did not highlight it, say, to give a decree in this respect. Perhaps, the reason behind this issue is that he would not like to meddle with the struggle form. The essence of struggle was important to him. There were a few who would make a distinction by themselves and follow the armed struggle. In the meantime, there were some other ones who followed his manifestos and speeches. Everyone would struggle in a form.¹

Sayyid Mustafa would give great importance to the military training. He himself had also trained. He would advise the Iranian strugglers and clergies in Najaf to train in the al-Fath bases in the south of Lebanon or Syria. In line with this, he would help people as much as he could. Sayyid Hamid Ruhani quotes Sayyid Mustafa to have said,

... duty of the clergy is the very duty of the prophets. As the prophets' (a) duty against oppression and injustice is the armed uprising, the same goes for the clergies. This reality is clearly inferred from the noble verse "*Make ready for them all thou canst of (armed) force and of the horses tethered that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy.*" It can be said that the meaning of being seal [khatamiyyah] in Islam is the openhandedness of the rulers of Islam and religious authorities [maraji al-taqlid].²

In order to put into practice his goals, he would be in touch with the Iranian strugglers and direct them toward the armed struggle against the Pahlavi regime. At times, he would appoint some individuals to acquire the military training. Hujjat al-Islam Hasan Muhajir says in his memoirs,

I was commissioned on behalf of Haj Aqa Mustafa to train the combatants so as to be able to stand against the Taghut regime. He appointed me to go to the Iraq's army. I passed a full guerilla course there. I got familiar with different arms. Thenceforth, I took a colt so as to safeguard the Imam vis-à-

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 36.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 207.

vis the possible risks. Beside this, I acquainted Mr. Muhtashami with arms...¹

Muhajir goes on to say, “Sayyid Mustafa did not agree with such armed actions as the Siyah-Kal Event which was a primary military move. He would say, through these moves and creating chaos a number of people will be murdered.’ He, therefore, believed in the move from up to down. For attaining this goal, a great number of people in Najaf and Lebanon trained the guerrilla trainings under the supervision of Sayyid Mustafa.” Mahdi Karrubi has said in his memoirs, “From the struggle point of view, he would call upon the theological students in Najaf to pass the military and guerilla courses in Lebanon and become an armed guerrilla.”²

Sayyid Mustafa made journeys to Syria and Lebanon times and again and met with the Iranian strugglers there. Jalal al-Din Farsi was one of these strugglers who met with Sayyid Mustafa many a time. Farsi says in his memoirs,

A few months prior to his martyrdom in Najaf, Martyr Ayatullah Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini left Iraq for going on the lesser pilgrimage. At first, he went to Damascus and then to Beirut. Also, the year before when he came to Damascus along with Mr. Bujnurdi he spent some days in my house. We would have agreement and understanding with that esteemed martyr on the issues of Lebanon and Palestine. He would be pleased with the accounts I gave on the issues in this respect. In gratitude and reward for what he would regard as good and right, he would do a favor.³

As mentioned, a part of the Haj Aqa Mustafa’s activities was related to the Islamic liberation movements such as the Resistance Movement of Palestine and supporting the struggles of them and the Shiahs of the south of Lebanon. The south of Lebanon was an area whereof both the Palestinian guerrillas made use as a base to attack on Israel and wherein Lebanese Shiahs would be under the aggressions and oppressions of the Israelites. Imam Musa Sadr made all-out efforts to remove the economic and political crisis as well as to train and equip the Shiahs vis-à-vis Israel. One of them was “the Industrial School of Jibil Amil” the head of which being Martyr Mustafa Chamran for eight years. In that school, the Shiah orphans, oppressed and deprived would

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.

³ Jalal al-Din Farsi, *Zawaya-ye Tarik* [Dark Angles], p. 392.

educate. The majority of them had lost their families as a result of the attacks made by Israel. The students of this school and its graduates enjoyed a very high level scientifically, theoretically, and intellectually. The students of this school would become familiar with the struggle techniques and the guerrilla wars.¹

From 1349 AHS onwards, Imam Musa Sadr formed a religious and political organization named “Harikat al-Mahrumin”.

Since 1971 when I entered the south of Lebanon, I have initiated courses for the Islamic ideological lessons in the style of the university student’s Islamic associations. From each village, I chose one or two faithful and Muslim teacher(s) being in sum around 150 persons... the very these people formed the first cores of the *Harikat al-Mahrumin* Organization in the south [of Lebanon]... The Shiahs would enter this movement in scores. I was in charge of organizing this move, too. They would leave the parties and join this organization; i.e. an ideological organization based on the line of Ali and Husayn (a).²

Gradually, for the need to the armed struggle, an armed organization based on the Islamic ideology was formed. In fact, it was known as the military party of the *Harikat al-Mahrumin* and named as “*Harikat-e Amal*”. Amal is derived from the first letters of the three [Arabic] words of *aafwaj*, *muqawimah*, and *lubnaniyyah*.³

For his prior familiarity with Imam Musa Sadr, after establishment of the said organization, Sayyid Mustafa established connection with him and was informed of the said organization’s activities. Ayatullah Muhammad Musawi Bujnardi, a witness to the contacts and activities of Sayyid Mustafa, says in this regard,

Mr. Musa Sadr would so much seek his intellectual assistance; especially as regards the Harikat al-Mahrumin that Mr. Sadr had formed armed forces in the south of Lebanon, and I myself was a witness that in this issue Haj Aqa Mustafa helped him so the goals be delineated in the framework of the religion and to define the form of the armed forces. Haj Aqa Mustafa would highlight this point to Mr. Musa Sadr that if you would like to set up the armed organization, it should be a religious one so the people have a sense of

¹ Mustafa Chamran, *Lebanon*, pp. 63-65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 91-92.

duty and say in case we kill, we will go to the paradise, and if we are killed, we will also go to the paradise. The title of martyr should be cleared for them... Haj Aqa Mustafa would mainly lay emphasis on the religious form of this establishment.¹

As to the journey of Sayyid Mustafa along with his brother, Sayyid Ahmad, to Lebanon and Syria, one of the SAVAK accounts dated 17/5/1356 AHS reads,

The journey of Sayyid Mustafa from Najaf and Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini from Iran to Syria and Beirut is affirmed. According to the arrangement made by the aforesaid persons, they entered Damascus. Thence, they went on the lesser pilgrimage to the Saudi Arabia. After their return to Damascus, in 15/5/[1356] Sayyid Mustafa and in 16/5/[1356] Sayyid Ahmad left for Najaf.

Sunday's analysis: the news is affirmed. More likely, Sayyid Mustafa has met with Shaykh Nasrullah Khalkhali, the representative of Khomeini, in Syria. In Lebanon, too, he has been in contact with Musa Sadr, the leader of the Shiah in this country, and probably he has negotiated with him as to the Lebanese war and the damages inflicted on the Shiah. Given the declaration issued by Khomeini in Bahman 1335 AHS on the Lebanese war and that he has called upon Muslims to help the Lebanese Muslims, it is probable that Sayyid Mustafa has rendered some [financial] assistances to Musa Sadr to be paid to the Shiah.²

In the accounts given by the SAVAK's representative in Lebanon, some other activities of Sayyid Mustafa have been referred to. One of these accounts dated Shahrivar 29, 1352 AHS reads,

... every year around four millions *tumans* are delivered from Iran to Khomeini in Beirut by tradesmen, and different personalities. These sums of money are collected by Mustafa Khomeini in Beirut, coming to Beirut every once in while, and taken to Iraq.³

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 162-163.

² *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad Quarterly* (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 181.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents, archive, file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, p. 123.

It has also been pointed, in the SAVAK's accounts, to the activities of the Iranian strugglers in Lebanon made by Sayyid Mustafa's leadership. It has been mentioned in an account dated Esfand 4, 1352 AHS, that,

Subject: Shaykh Hasan Karrubi

The above-named is one of the close friends of Khomeini. He has entered Beirut some times ago. For the time being, he is dwelling in a hotel. The above-named person usually comes to Beirut once a year. His residence in Beirut, also, lasts for a few months. This year, seemingly, he is going to stay in Beirut for a few months, too.

Sohrab's view: the news is affirmed. The above-named is conformed. The above-named is from the close ones of the son of Khomeini while being the head of some of the Akhunds living in Najaf and acting against Iran. Supposedly, he is the head of the Iranian Islamic Liberating Community.¹

Elsewhere, it is referred to in another account dated Esfand 28, 1352 AHS that Sayyid Mustafa is supervising over the strugglers' activities through the journeys he makes to outside Iraq, the most main of which being Lebanon and Syria.

While being in charge of the executive section of the Khomeini's activities, Mustafa Khomeini has assumed the responsibility of the communications outside Iraq. Through the journeys he makes, he is supervising over the outside activities.²

Fifth discourse: Sayyid Mustafa and the Iraqi government

During his 12-year residence in Iraq, in relation to that country's government, Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini followed a policy in line with that of Imam Khomeini, and, in sum, he was not involved in contradiction and inconsistency. The affections, alluring, and intimidations of the Iraqi government did not weaken his political will, too. The relation of Sayyid Mustafa with the Iraqi government can generally be examined in two periods; i.e. prior to the Baath party's assuming power and during the rule of the Baath party. The policy and procedure of the Iraqi government vis-à-vis Imam Khomeini (*s*) and Sayyid Mustafa were, to a large extent, influenced by its relations with the Iranian government. During the times when the relations between the two countries were tarnished, the Iraqi government

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136, attached documents, document no. 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 139, attached documents, document no. 84.

would try to make use of Imam Khomeini as an axis against the Iranian government. When the two countries' relations were improved, the Iraqi government would direct its steps towards further cooperation with the SAVAK against the Iranian strugglers living in Iraq and as such drive them into corner. This procedure, of course, did not have a stable and durable pattern. Rather, the ideology of the Baath party which, from 1347 AHS onwards, had the Iraq's destiny under its sway, and affected the regional and international relations of Iraq as well as the issues related to the Shiah and Sunnis and others, played an effective part in this regard. The 1975 Algerian Agreement and the diminution of the tension in the relationships between Iran and Iraq were also a turning point in connection with the Iranian strugglers and the movement of Imam Khomeini (s).

As to the manner of agreement between the Iranian and Iraqi governments for the transfer of Imam Khomeini (s) to that country no trustworthy information is to the fore. However, during this period, on account of the border differences, the Iraq's claim as to Khuzistan, and the Iranian nationals' apprehension in Iraq, the relations between Iran and Iraq was strained.¹ After Imam Khomeini's (s) and Sayyid Mustafa's entrance to Iraq in Mehr 13, 1344 AHS, Dr. Abd al-Razzaq Muhy al-Din, the Iraqi Unity Minister, met Imam Khomeini (s) in Kazimayn in Mehr 15th. In Mehr 23rd, the aforesaid person met Imam Khomeini (s) again. After delivering the Iraqi President's regards, he made endeavors so as to make propagandistic use of him against the Iranian government through offering the propaganda facilities. This was a usual feat in the politics world. Opponents of different regimes would also take such an opportunity. As a matter of fact, they followed a bilateral advantage. However, Imam Khomeini (s), as it happened over and over again, opposed it. Until the end of his exile in Iraq, he did not accept to cooperate with the Iraqi government against the Iranian government.²

The Iraqi government's goals behind accepting the Imam and Sayyid Mustafa becomes more comprehensible if we know that during the days and months ended in the exile of Imam and Sayyid Mustafa to Iraq, according to the accounts given by the Iranian embassy to Baghdad and the SAVAK, the

¹ Asghar Jafari Waldani, *Barrasi-ye Tarikhi-ye Ikhtilafat-e Marzi-ye Iran wa Iraq* [Historical Study of the Border Differences between Iran and Iraq], pp. 306-309.

² The Center for the Study of Historical Documents of the Information Ministry, *Rawabit-e Iran wa Iraq beh Riwayat-e Asnad-e SAVAK* [the Relations between Iran and Iraq as Narrated by the SAVAK's Documents], p. 186.

Iraqi government had announced to the Iranians living in that country that they had to leave Iraq. Moreover, the Iraqi government was planning to provoke the border-dwelling tribes and the Kurds against the Iranian government.¹

In Farvardin 25, 1345 AHS, Abd al-Salam Arif, the Iraqi President, was killed in an air accident. His brother, Abd al-Rahman Arif, succeeded him. Contrary to his brother, Arif would follow a moderate policy and procedure in the Arab World, and in general, in the foreign policy. Particularly, after the Arabs' defeat in the 1967 war by Israel, which gave rise to the decline of the nationalistic feelings in the Arab World, the relations between Iran and Iraq was improved to some extent, too.²

It has been referred to in the SAVAK accounts that Abd al-Rahman Arif was planning to execute the good-neighborhood policy and closeness to the Shiahs living in Iraq, especially to Ayatullah Hakim.³ The Abd al-Rahman Arif's rule, however, ended soon. That government's life and the improving ties between Iran and Iraq was brought to an end, too, by the July 17, 1968 Coup. As such, Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, assumed the Presidency as the coup government leader.⁴

After the Baath party's assuming power, from looks of the things, it was supposed that the relations between Iran and Iraq would be improved. In order for the high-ranking officials of the two countries to remove the existing differences, they made many journeys and negotiated to one another. These negotiations were carried on in the last four months of the year 1347 AHS. In Farvardin 1348 AHS, the Iraqi government declared that Shtt al-Arab (Arvand River) is a part of the Iraqi territory. The Iranian government's reaction to this action of the Iraqi government was annulment of the 1316 [AHS] Border Agreement. The agreement had formally been affirmed by the Iranian Foreign Ministry in the Senate Majlis in Ordibehesht 30, 1348 AHS.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 175-198.

² Asghar Jafari Waldani, *Barrasi-ye Tarikhi-ye Ikhtilafat-e Marzi-ye Iran wa Iraq* [Historical Study of the Border Differences between Iran and Iraq], pp. 300-301.

³ The Center for the Study of Historical Documents of the Information Ministry, *Rawabit-e Iran wa Iraq beh Riwayat-e Asnad-e SAVAK* [the Relations between Iran and Iraq as Narrated by the SAVAK's Documents], pp. 210-219.

⁴ Asghar Jafari Waldani, *Barrasi-ye Tarikhi-ye Ikhtilafat-e Marzi-ye Iran wa Iraq* [Historical Study of the Border Differences between Iran and Iraq], p. 342.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-361.

In the wake of these courses, the relations of the two countries were fully strained. The Baath party's heads regarded unity with the opponents of that country as one of the ways of struggle and, at last, weakening the Iranian government. They, therefore, formed some activities based on that. For instance, they draw near to Imam Khomeini (s) and asked him to condemn the actions and behaviors of the Iranian government through issuing a statement. Imam Khomeini (s), however, did not accept it and declared that our difference with the Iranian government is an ideological and basic one and is not removable. But, the difference that presently exists between the Iranian and Iraqi governments is transitory and removable. Thus, he did not get ready to cooperate with the Iraqi government against the Pahlavi regime.^{1*} After losing its hope for cooperation with Imam Khomeini (s), the Baath party went to Ayatullah Hakim. Given the time and place conditions, he accepted it coercively. However, later on, the Baath party officers apprehended his son, Sayyid Mahdi Hakim, and made him be confined at home.

Under such circumstances that it was forbidden to meet anyone and no one dared draw near to his home, Haj Aqa Mustafa was the first to meet Mr. Hakim after his return from Baghdad to Kufah. This meeting could not be ignored by the Baath party. Therefore, in Khordad 21, 1348 AHS, the Security Organization's Head and Commander of Najaf went to the presence of the Imam and declared that they are appointed on behalf of the Baath Party's Commandership Council to dispatch Sayyid Mustafa to Baghdad. Seemingly, they had taken the Imam's permission in this regard. He said, in case his dispatch to Baghdad hinges on my permission, I will never give such permission, however, if it is not so, you yourself know [what to do]. At any rate, the officers took Haj Aqa Mustafa with them and dispatched him to Baghdad.² In Baghdad, "After holding Sayyid Mustafa in high esteem, Hasan al-Bakr says to him, We asked your father several times to take measures to the benefit of the Iraqi government and against the Shahanshahi country of

¹ Muhammad Hasan Tashayyu, *Chehreh-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [The Political Face of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Majmueh Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], pp. 95-96.

* A document will later be presented in this regard.

² Muhammad Hasan Tashayyu, *Chehreh-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [The Political Face of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Majmueh Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], pp. 95-96.

Iran; however, he refused to do so each time; you ask your father to satisfy our intention.’ Sayyid Mustafa declares, I am not permitted to give promise on my father’s behalf. I guess his words are the very first ones.’ He, then, leaves Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr.”¹ It is also mentioned in the account given by the Iranian embassy to Baghdad dated Tir 5, 1348 AHS,

With reference to the letter having the serial no. 1/4/8538 dated 31/3/1348 AHS as to the news of the apprehension of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, it is to be noted that the subject is affirmed. It is rumored that the Colonel Ali Hadi Waqut, a few days after being appointed as the Karbala Commander, asks Ayatullah Khomeini to issue a decree against the Shahanshani government. While bowling out and throwing away his passport, the above-named says, I will not sell my homeland for Iraq, do whatsoever you want. He refuses to take part in the Friday congregational prayer, too, as a token of objection. Supposing that Sayyid Mustafa, son of the above-named, has inculcated him, the Iraqis apprehend him for a few days. Later on, however, they change their minds and release the above-named, supposing that he will affect his father further.

Ambassador of the Shahanshah Ariyamehr – Izzat Amili²

It is also hinted on in one of the SAVAK’s accounts that the Iraqi officials have asked Sayyid Mustafa to make his father issue a statement against the Iranian government and in lieu of this action they have promised to expatriate Ayatullah Hakim from Iraq and make arrangements so Imam Khomeini becomes replacement for Ayatullah Hakim. This suggestion is also sternly rejected to the effect that Mr. Hakim is superior to us and he can not do this.³ Probably, with the apprehension of Haj Aqa Mustafa, the Iraqi government would have followed the following goals,

1. To neutralize any action through creating the atmosphere of fear and terror so as not to let Ayatullah Hakim come out of the seclusion.
2. A serous warn to Sayyid Mustafa to turn down open objection to the Baath party.

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 392, p. 58.

² *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad* Quarterly (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 161, attached documents, document no. 66/2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

3. To affect Imam Khomeini (s) by Sayyid Mustafa so as to acquire his cooperation against the Iranian government.¹

Another test given to Imam Khomeini (s) and Haj Aqa Mustafa and behind which there was the Baath party was to cooperate with Taymur Bakhtiyar against the Iranian government. In order for Bakhtiyar to assume power and overthrow the rule of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, he left no stone unturned to establish connection with the opponents of the Pahlavi regime and to reach an agreement with them for common cooperation against the Pahlavi rule. At the time when Imam Khomeini (s) had undertaken the all-out leadership of the Islamic movement and struggle against the Pahlavi rule, Bakhtiyar would make endeavors to draw near to and cooperate with him against the Iranian regime. Taymur Bakhtiyar failed to succeed despite the efforts he in collaboration with the Baath party made during the years 1348 to 1349 AHS. Imam Khomeini (s) reiterated the very same response he had given to the Baath party heads for Taymur Bakhtiyar. As a last resort, Taymur Bakhtiyar took part in one of the meetings of the Commander of Karbala with Imam Khomeini (s) unknowingly and without any prearrangement. However, during that session, neither anyone introduced him to the Imam, nor did the Imam speak to him even a word. After his going, the Imam came to know that he has been Bakhtiyar. Owing to this, in the next stage, when the Commander of Karbala asked to meet the Imam, the Imam said in reply, "He will accept the meeting provided that no non-Iraqi personality be along with him."² ✍

¹ Muhammad Hasan Tashayyu, *Chehreh-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [The Political Face of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Majmua'h Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], pp. 97-98.

² The Center for Examining the Historical Documents of the Information Ministry, *Sepahbod Taymur Bakhtiyar beh Riwayat-e Asnad-e SAVAK* [the Lieutenant General Taymur Bakhtiyar as Narrated by the SAVAK Documents], vol. 1, pp. 179-180; *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 63-75.

PART THREE

The Mysterious Departure and Its Aftermaths

- **Chapter One: The Open Political Atmosphere and its Consequences**
- **Chapter Two: The Mysterious Departure**

Chapter One

The Open Political Atmosphere and its Consequences

First discourse: the ties between Iran and the US and the human rights policy of Carter

From the early 1350's AHS, compared to the last decade, parallel to the advance of military and economic cooperation, the political ties between Iran and the US have further been developed based on "full good understanding". During the 1340's AHS, Iran was merely taken into account as a rings of the defensive chain of the US vis-à-vis the East bloc. While during the 1350's AHS, on account of the power-showings of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, it had been turned into a distinguished ally of the US.

During the presidency of Richard Nixon and ambassadorship of Richard Helms in Iran who was previously the CIA Organization Head, the relations between Iran and the US became closer and more amicable than before. The US Embassy to Tehran changed into the main information center of the US in the Middle East region. After the Nixon's resignation, in the wake of the Watergate event, Jerald Ford, from the US Republican Party, attained the presidency. He and his Foreign Minister, Henry Kiesinger, also, maintained and continued amicable relations. In general, the two countries' relations during the presidency of the Republicans (1969-1977), the period of extensive political, economic, and military hegemony of the US over Iran, have been in line with the materialization of the Nixon-Kiesinger doctrine—that is, to change Iran into the US's most important base in the Persian Gulf

region and the Indian Ocean. In an account dated May 27, 1976, given by Richard Helms, the US Ambassador to Iran to Herbert Perdis, the Head of the US Foreign Services General Examination Delegation, he pointed out the importance of the Muhammad Rida Pahlavi's role and the position of Iran for the US. The Shah plays the desirable role of the United States in the region. He has given permission to set up its military and espionage equipments in Iran. Moreover, he has paved the ground for the US to have continuous access to the country's markets, mineral and oil resources.¹

In January 1976, the 4-year presidential period of Jerald Ford came to the end. Jimmy Carter, from the Democrat Party, succeeded him. The Democrats victory made worried the Iranian government a lot. Antony Parsons,² the then British Ambassador to Iran, says in this regard, "The Shah would not conceal his worry for the Carter's victory in the US presidential elections in November 1976. He would never experience a feeling of ease and comfort, for they paid attention to the moral issues and took into consideration the element of Liberalism as well as the moral principles in their foreign policy more than the Republicans. The planned opportunism of Nixon and Kiesinger and the policy based on the political and strategic interests followed during the Ford rule were more compatible to the Shah's nature. Carter had straightforward viewpoints on the issues related to the human rights in the Third World countries including Iran. He also laid emphasis on the need to reduce the arms exportation from the US to these countries. These would give impetus to the Shah's further fear of and worry about the US new president policy. The Carter's victory brought about a period in suspension and of distrust in the relations between Iran and the US."³

Muhammad Rida Pahlavi was aware of the consequences of the Carter's victory. As such, during the electoral campaign, he had ordered Ardeshir Zahidi, the then Ambassador of Iran in the US, to pay some of the Jerald Ford's electoral propaganda expenditures. Zebignio Berzhinski, the Head of the National Security Council during the Carter's reign, called the Zahidi's behavior and function "disgraceful" for arranging splendid parties, and

¹ Ali Rida Azghandi, *Rawabit-e Khariji-ye Iran, Dawlat-e Dast-Neshandeh, 1320-1357* [Foreign Relations of Iran, the Puppet Government, 1320-1357 AHS], pp. 353-357.

² The England's last ambassador to Iran whose memories were published and translated into Persian after the revolution; see, *Ketabshinasi-ye Pazhuhesh-e Hadir* [Bibliography of the Present Research].

³ Sullivan, William, and Antony Parsons, *Khatirat-e Dow Safir* [Memories of Two Ambassadors], p. 319.

for his habit of offering priceless gifts to the US Congress representatives as well as to the US journalists. He criticized sternly the activity of the Iranian embassy for its financial support of the Republican Party.¹ Husayn Fardust has also affirmed this issue in his memoirs.²

At any rate, Jimmy Carter's assuming power and return of Richard Helms, the US Ambassador in December 1976, and the embassy position's being empty until June 1977 when William Sullivan was elected as the new ambassador, made Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and the Iranian political elites worried a lot. Although the human rights policy of Carter affected many of the authoritarian regimes in the world over, none of those countries might be afflicted with to the extent of the Pahlavi rule in Iran.

The new political conditions had arisen at a time when the Iranian government was subject to the increasing criticisms of the political opponents, both inside and outside the country, the human rights supporting communities, and the foreign newspapers. The Shah, therefore, had no way ahead but to submit to and endure the situation. It is to be taken into consideration that at first it did not seem that creating an open political atmosphere might end in dangerous aftermaths. Perhaps, "the Shah would erroneously believe that in case of creating an open political atmosphere and modifying his stance as to the oil prices, the internal and external opponents will treat more mildly with him and the White House will agree to sell to him his demanding weapons." Similarly, "the western allies would maintain that he is experienced enough to know that continuing an autocrat rule is not possible any longer. They would regard the Shah such an intelligent and prudent person that he could be able to drive his extremist opponents out the scene by coming to terms with the moderates and as such to ensure his son's future."³

Muhammad Rida Pahlavi would hold that his role in increasing the oil price and his insistence on changing its consumption pattern has given rise to the reaction of the economic courses affiliated to the oil in the west against him. He, therefore, would regard the objections and criticisms on his regime's

¹ Ali Rida Azghandi, *Rawabit-e Khariji-ye Iran, Dawlat-e Dast-Neshandeh, 1320-1357* [Foreign Relations of Iran, the Puppet Government, 1320-1357 AHS], p. 358.

² Husayn Fardust, *Zuhur wa Suqut-e Saltanat-e Pahlavi* [Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Regime], vol. 1, p. 565.

³ Jahangir Amuzegar, *Faraz wa Furud-e Dudeman-e Pahlavi* [Rise and Fall of the Pahlavi Dynasty], p. 437.

function in lieu of the human rights issue as just an excuse to avenge his oil policies. This assumption of the Shah shows that not only he was heedless of the political realities given impetus to the following up of the human rights policies, but on the basis of “the plot theories”, he would regard them merely a plot to attack his government.¹

Having witnessed the current circumstance, Muhammad Rida Pahlavi would make endeavors to follow a job-making tactic to deceive the public opinion. Owing to this, he tried through the mass media to inculcate that the Shah has made himself voluntarily committed to the human rights actions and creating an open political atmosphere in the country. In line with this, and to show practical steps towards this, he allowed the news related to different demonstrations be published in the newspapers. For the first time, the newspapers and magazines published the picture and biography of Dr. Shariati. After years of keeping silence, the Iranian Authors Association through issuing a declaration regarded the personality of Shariati to be worthy of “praise and high esteem”. Huwayda spoke about the freedom of writing and so on and so forth.²

Second discourse: dismissal of Huwayda and appointment of Jamshid Amuzegar as the prime minister

Muhammad Rida Pahlavi submitted dealt with the current situation, which was on its turn a political crisis, submissively. Through following policies and creating changes in the political infrastructure, he made efforts to present himself harmonious with the Carter’s administration’s policies. As such, perhaps, he would like to maintain and continue the amicable relations of the Jerald Ford term. Therefore, in the course of his visit with the US Foreign Minister, Cyrus Weans, in the Annual Conference of the SENTO Ministers Council held in Farvardin 1356 AHS, he accepted the Weans’ advices to the effect that, instead of storing arms and military equipments, to adjust the dictator regime and observe the human rights. Weans advised the Shah to mitigate the conviction of some of conscience prisoners. He also accepted the feat he had never done before.³

¹ Sadiq Ziba-Kalam, *Muqaddameh-i bar Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [An Introduction to the Islamic Republic of Iran], p. 156.

² Yusuf Mazandi, *Iran-e Abarqudrat-e Qarn?* [Iran, the Superpower of the Century?], pp. 592-593.

³ Amir Asadullah Alam, *Goftegu-ha-ye man ba Shah* [My Talks to the Shah] (the confidential memoirs of Asadullah Alam), vol. 2, pp. 592-593.

The second step towards the Carter's administration policies was to dismiss Amir Husayn Huwayda and to replace him with Jamshid Amuzegar, the adherent of the US policies in Iran. Given this, the conditions were akin to the Kennedy's assuming power and appointment of Ali Amini in 1340 AHS as the prime minister. Although there were many differences between the political circumstances of the year 1340 AHS and of the year 1356 AHS as well as between the personality of Ali Amini and that of Amuzegar.¹ Amuzegar was formally appointed in Murdad 16, 1356 AHS.

Amuzegar was a graduate of the US Kernel University and holding the P.h.D degree in the Hydraulic Engineering field. From 1330 AHS on, he had been working in the Truman's Principle 4 Office in Iran. He was elected as a minister in the cabinets between 1344 to 1355 AHS several times. In 1355 AHS, he was appointed as the Director General of the Rastakhiz Party by the Shah's order.² Most of the Amuzegar's cabinet ministers were the technocrats inclined towards the West, especially the US. While declaring the economic mortification program and the propagandas of bringing to the end the ambitions, Amuzegar began his cabinet job. The technocrats' cabinet was adherent of curbing the expenditures and maintained the economic shrinking policy. They started their work under the conditions that to draw the attention of the poor people and the civil middle classes, the dictator rule was in urgent need of granting financial and welfare privileges. In the meantime, corruption and crystal discriminations could be seen everywhere. The Shah and his American pros, however, would hold that the regime has such a power and consolidation that along this path the cabinet programs will sustain no harm. This theory which later on found some serious adherents in the US did not let the worries of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi be taken into account seriously there.

Simultaneous with declaring his cabinet program, Jamshid Amuzegar gave the glad tidings of the outset of the period of "an open political atmosphere" in the country. This glad tidings was, in reality, tantamount to affirmation of the domestic opponents' views. They would say and write covertly that under the pressure exerted by the human rights policy of Carter, the Pahlavi rule is to embark on some retreats vis-à-vis the people. The goal behind the

¹ Abd al-Rida Hushang Mahdawi, *Siyasat-e Khariji-ye Iran dar Dowran-e Pahlavi* [The Foreign Policy of Iran during the Pahlavi Period], pp. 464-465.

² Ali Rida Ismaili et al, *Dowlat-ha-ye Iran az Mirza Nasrullah Khan Mushir al-Dawlah ta Mir Husayn Musawi* [The Iranian Governments from Mirza Nasrullah Khan Mushir al-Dawlah to Mir Husayn Musawi], pp. 355-356.

Amuzegar's cabinet programs was to create an atmosphere to set the Shah free of the existing dead end.

Following the "freedom" policy, in Murdad 1356 AHS, two other reformative programs including the price controls, and attending to the properties of the governmental officials were declared. Other measures were the following, 1) to reduce the sternness of the press censorship, 2) to form commissions to attend to the peoples' complaints, 3) to invite the organizations watching over the execution of the human rights to tour Iran including the International Red Cross Organization and the International Lawyers Commission which have been effective in improving the political atmosphere.¹ This improvement, however, was not to the benefit of the government; rather, it was to the advantage of the political opponents. Some of the then statesmen of the US like Berzhinski, the National Security Advisor of Carter, would regard the pressure on the Shah to put into practice those programs as a political mistake and an untimely measure. He would recall the unfavorable consequences of such an action. In this regard, Berzhiniski says,

As regards the pivotal role of the Shah in the power system which was merely a personal one, I would hold that the deliberate weakening of the Shah who was under an all-out pressure of the US to grant further privileges to his opponents would lead only to the increase of instability and by and large to the creation of a full chaos... my opponents would assume that the way to confront with the Iranian situations was to reduce the Shah's authority, swift move towards "the government being relied on the constitution" and to come to terms with the aggressive parties by a coalition government. I, however, understand that how changing the Shah into a ruler being dependent upon the constitution like that of Switzerland or England could keep the rising masses calm?...

To me, the policy of reconciliation and granting privileges to the opponents could be effective provided that this policy had been put into practice two or three years before, i.e. before the crisis' entrance to a political aggravation stage.²

¹ Ghulam Rida Nijati, *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye Bist-o Panj Saleh-ye Iran* [The 25-year-old Political History of Iran], vol. 2, pp. 18-20.

² Berzhiniski, Zebegnio, *Asrar-e Suqut-e Shah* [Secrets behind the Shah's Fall], pp. 11-12.

Third discourse: reaction of the political opponents

Quite contrary to the assumption of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and his advisors as well as the Carter's administration, the creation of an open political atmosphere not only did not give rise to the balance of power between the ruler and his opponents, but yielded the unique and historical opportunity for the activity of the Pahlavi rule's opponents. This atmosphere gave chance to the traditional enemies of the Pahlavi rule including the intellectuals, fundamentalist clergies, Muslim strugglers, nationalists, and other political forces to attack and criticize sternly and increasingly the Pahlavi regime and become united at that sensitive juncture. It can be said that in this atmosphere "the suppressed complexes" of the last few decades erupted all at once like a volcano. It opened the gates and ways of revolt in front of the opponents. While criticizing the policies of Muhammad Rida Pahlavi, Antony Parsons says in this regard,

The issue I could never perceive it is that why a smart and prudent man like the Shah should choose such an inopportune time for exerting his new policies. The Shah put into practice his new policy of freedom at a time when the promises of economic progress and social welfare had not materialized, the endeavors to change the society's infrastructure were unsuccessful, and brilliant horizons to which the Shah's had given promise were concealed behind the dark clouds. No time more inopportune and inauspicious than this could be imagined to reduce the political control and grant freedom to the people.¹

The issue which gave impetus to the aggravation of the crisis was the Iranian government's being mixed up and confused vis-à-vis the US policy of "human rights". Since, the profundity of this policy, how much it could be practical, and to what extent it was a propaganda or motto were all unknown. Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and his advisors were seriously in doubt that the US administration has disturbed its strategic relations with an important ally like Iran merely on account the ethics, and human rights. Thus, the newspapers supporting the Iranian regime such as the Rastakhiz Newspaper, *Ittilaat* Newspaper, Ayandegan Newspaper and others, too, began publicizing on the human rights and its manifestation. They were in tune with the new political wave and even called Iran as the human rights forbearer in the world over, and Kurush Hakhamaneshi in 2500 years ago as its initiator. In his

¹ Sullivan, William, and Antony Parsons, *Khatirat-e Dow Safir* [Memories of Two Ambassadors], p. 139.

travel to the US in Aban 1356 AHS, Muhammad Rida Pahlavi said in a press conference,

To observe the human rights began in Iran many centuries sooner than the West. Rather, in terms of the slave selling, too, the Iran's record is much more brilliant than that of the West, for Iranians have never sold slaves.¹

The turning point of this procedure was when the Iranian government officials called upon the westerners and the world people to follow the Iran's example as to the human rights. They declared that Iran is ready to take measures in the world level to teach the human rights to the nations in need of acquisition in this regard.

However, the Iranian government took it for granted that the Carter's administration policy is not a passing breeze and the issue is more serious than what they imagined. As such, the praise and eulogy of the human rights were replaced with wrath, criticism, and attack on the human rights. The Iranian mass media were also kept step with this policy. The reason behind this U-turn in the policy of the Iranian government was that the opponents of dictatorship and arrogance in the world level and the political opponents inside Iran embarked on extensive efforts on the real condition of the human rights in Iran and the blatant breach of it. Some of these conditions were the following: torture of the conscience prisoners, censorship, political strangulation, illegal apprehensions, and other illegal and inhuman acts of the SAVAK, and non-observance of the primary principles and norms of the human rights in the domestic and international newspapers.²

To remove or reduce the press censorship enabled the regime opponents to enhance their criticisms and propagandas palpably. In the meantime, the religious forces and adherents of the Islamic movement could take actions to release the tapes and manifestos of Imam Khomeini (s) in different manners including the mosques network. To perceive the gravity of the political conditions of the country no instance is better than the case that when the *Keyhan* Newspaper raised this question that "What is the pain of the country?" more than forty thousand letters gave answer to this question. In the second half of the year 1356 AHS, a few open too critical letters were

¹ Sadiq Ziba-Kalam, *Muqaddameh-i bar Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [An Introduction to the Islamic Republic of Iran], 1372, p. 71 (quoted by the Rastakhiz Newspaper, Mehr 24, 1356 AHS).

² *Ibid.*, p. 172, see *Keyhan* Newspaper, Khordad 30, 1356 AHS (Muhammad Rida Pahlavi's interview with Edward Sablie).

sent directly to the Shah and other high ranking officials of the Pahlavi regime. From among these letters was a bold 200-page analysis of the political and social issues of Iran by Ali Asghar Haj Sayyid Jawadi. Another important letter signed by Dariyush Furuhar, Karim Sanjabi, and Shapur Bakhtiyar however it was short, but embodied harsh criticisms. Or, the announcement of forty writers who called for freedom of speech and a declaration signed by sixty four lawyers and judges who called for the establishment of the rule of law. It was at this juncture that the superficiality of the liberalization, reforms, and contradictory measures were taken for granted for the people and opponents.¹

In an apt political atmosphere, in addition to the mentioned objection cases, tens of announcements and declarations were also released by the influential personalities and tradesmen such as the religious and national figures, authors, artists, lawyers, bazaariz, university-goers and the like throughout the country. They had criticized the lack of democracy and freedom, the adverse economic conditions, inattention to the agriculture issue, breach of the human rights, the calendar's change from Islamic into Shahanshahi, break of the Constitution, and so on.² To hold the poem-reading night ceremonies in the Goté Institute with the approval of the Iran-Germany Cultural Association from 18th to 27th Mehr, 1356 AHS in which a population of 8000 to 10000 people would take part, was another chance to object to the existing strangulation in the country. After coming to the end of the ceremonies in this Institute, the Ariyamehr Industrial University (the present Sanati Sharif University) students kept it on from Aban 25 onwards. Gradually, the regime resorted to aggression and did not let the poem-reading night ceremonies be held by arresting a number of the participants. The opponents, gradually, wrote some letters to the international communities qualified on the human rights and called for help to materialize the freedom and democracy in Iran. It is worth of note that the restoration of the political activities of the parties which were disallowed to be active before, too, gave rise to the crisis aggravation against the regime.³

An incident which played an effective role in the mobilization of the masses of people and strugglers as well as unifying them against the Pahlavi rule was

¹ James Bill, *Uqab wa Shir* [Eagle and Lion], vol. 1, pp. 359-360; Barry Robin, *Jang-e Qudrat-ha dar Iran* [War of the Powers in Iran], p. 142.

² Ghulam Rida Nijati, *Tarikh-e Siyasi-ye Bist-o Panj Saleh-ye Iran* [The 25-year-old Political History of Iran], vol. 2, pp. 21-23.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-33.

the mysterious passing away of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini in Aban 1, 1356 AHS in the Holy Najaf. The commemoration ceremonies held as to his role during the struggle period and his close connection with the Imam went soon beyond a funeral ceremony level and turned into a tempestuous wave. The doubtful passing away of Dr. Ali Shariati a few months ago had also incited the public opinion as to the Iranian regime's and SAVAK's having a hand in this happening to a great extent. Although, it is said today that Dr. Ali Shariati has died in his bed and as a result a stroke, the departure of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini has yet remained a secret. With mentioning some reasons, his family members and relatives hold that the SAVAK has martyred him. We shall deal with this further in the next discourse. Owing to the fact that the passing away of Sayyid Mustafa is as one of the accelerating factors of the Islamic revolution victory, we shall to embark upon its reasons, manner, and aftermaths in the wake of this discussion. ❧

Chapter Two

Mysterious Departure

First discourse: death or martyrdom?

After passing the periods replete with pain, endeavor, and struggle, Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini passed away suddenly and secretly in his home in Najaf on the Sunday dawn of Aban 1, 1356 AHS while being 47 years of age.

The first one to be informed of the incident and informed others, too, was the servant of Haj Aqa Mustafa's home called Sughra Khanum. He recalls her observations as follows,

The last night, Aqa [Mustafa] was supposed to have some guests. Since it was late in the night, he came and told me, "Sughra, you go and sleep, I myself will get the door." So, I went to the Shrine, said prayers, went on the pilgrimage, and then returned home and slept. In the morning, as usual, I took Aqa's breakfast upstairs. I saw that Aqa was bending over his prayer book. I supposed he has gone to sleep. I called him saying, "Aqa... Aqa, have you gone to sleep... then I realized that he is not giving any answer. The color under his eyes had been turned into a reddish brown. I went downstairs and called his wife who was ill. I myself went to the alley and cried that Aqa Mustafa has fallen sick. In the meantime, Mr. Dua'i saw me.

He came upstairs along with one or two other ones. They took Aqa to hospital. I don't know what happened then.¹

Lady Masumah Ha'iri Yazdi, the wife of the late Aqa Mustafa, was the second person to be aware of the passing away of his husband. He has also said in this regard,

He [Haj Aqa Mustafa] was a very strong man enjoying good health. He had no illness and poor health whatsoever. On account of this, contrary to what is rumored that he has fallen into a stroke, it seemed very unlikely. The very same night that Haj Aqa Mustafa was martyred, he came home sooner than usual, for he was supposed to have company that night at 12 p.m. I had severely fallen sick. Mr. Dua'i, our neighbor, took a physician to examine me. On the other hand, Aqa Mustafa was used to study at nights. We had a lady servant called Sughra. Aqa Mustafa told him, "You go and sleep, if the guests come, I will get the door." We did not realize when the guests came, when they left, and what happened?

After the meeting, as usual, he had studied and worshipped. He was not used to sleep at nights, just after saying the Morning Prayer, he would sleep a few hours. Early in the morning, when the servant comes upstairs, she sees that Aqa Mustafa is sitting behind his desk, while his hand is on the book, his head is bending down and he is not moving... when I went hurriedly upstairs and reached to him, I saw Aqa Mustafa's hands' color has turned violet. I also saw violet spots on his chest and shoulders. We took him swiftly to the hospital. They told us there that, "Haj Aqa Mustafa has been poisoned and it is two hours now that he has passed away."²

While affirming the mentioned memories, as a third person to be informed of the incident, Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i highlights the unnaturalness of Haj Aqa Mustafa's death, given the signs on his skin caused by poisoning. He hints on another issue, saying,

Outside the hospital where we transferred Haj Aqa Mustafa (*r*), there was a car with the Tehran plate-number. Upon hearing his death news, it moved toward Baghdad.³

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 408.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 404-405.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 194-195.

Sayyid Rida Burqii, a companion of the Imam and Sayyid Mustafa and a witness to the course of affairs, refers to a similar point,

When exiting the hospital, I saw a scene to which, perhaps, I alone was a witness. It was not more than a moment and it was I saw a Chevrolet in front of the hospital having the Iranian plate-number. It was stopped a few meters away of the hospital. When we came out of the hospital, the said car turned from that distance and went away. My feeling at that moment was that they had come from the Iranian embassy to see is the job done or not! And after obtaining the news they went back.¹

In his memories on this incident, Sayyid Husayn Khomeini, the son of Haj Aqa Mustafa, points to another point,

... in the hospital, Dr. Ayyad Ali al-Bayr came to examine him, saying, "Regrettably, he has passed away and his death is not natural. If you let, I will examine his dead body to prove this point. He was a surgeon and graduate of the Imperial University of London. My late father's body was not examined, for at that time it was traditionally an abominable act. The religious law, too, did not deem it lawful, especially, as to a person like my late father such a matter was more indecent and was regarded a kind of disrespect. It was natural that the Imam (s) would also not give such permission."²

By and large, Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini maintained that his brother has been martyred unnaturally and as a result a poisoning,

What I can say and on which I have no doubt is that he has been martyred. Because, existence of the spots on his body skin, on his chest, on his hands and feet, on his face as well as the big spots indicated that he has been poisoned severely. There is no doubt that he has been poisoned. However, I don't know how this has been done, but as far as I know a few hours before the martyrdom, he has taken part in a mourning ceremony wherein some of the Pahlavi regime's agents were in charge of bringing tea and coffee.³

¹ *Ashenai ba Muhajir-e Shahid Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [To Get Familiar with the Emigrant Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Yad*, year 3, no. 12 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 130.

² The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 92.

³ *Ashenai ba Muhajir-e Shahid Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [To Get Familiar with the Emigrant Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Yad*, year 3, no. 12 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 126-127.

As such, all of the close relatives, companions, and friends of Haj Aqa Mustafa unanimously maintain that his death has been unnatural. They also believe that most probably the SAVAK officers or other agents of the Pahlavi regime have had hands in this regard. Of course, according to the previous signs and documents, some also regard it probable that the SAVAK agents have had hands in that. They hold that it probably goes that he has been killed in a mysterious manner by which the Pahlavi regime would murder some of its opponents. Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i has also put forward such an idea,

It is certain that the late Haj Mustafa Khomeini has been poisoned by the treacherous Shah's regime. That is, he has been martyred. However, I can not exactly state the mystifying method used by the past regime ended in his martyrdom. The night before, he had company and we don't know if those gone to his home are the very same agents of this course or not? I cannot tell that it was rumored that the Shah regime's agents have poisoned him by a poison having a long term effect. Or it was even rumored that they had poured cyanide in his shoes so as to be absorbed by the skin and gradually by the blood.¹

Those who believe that the SAVAK and the Pahlavi regime has had hands in Haj Aqa Mustafa's death will also cite other signs as an example to prove their claim. Abd al-Ali Baqi says in his memories,

In 1352 AHS, I went on pilgrimage to the Holy Mecca and was in charge of directing a caravan from Qum. The religious authorities [*maraji*] would also dispatch a delegation to the Hajj. That year, Martyr Mustafa Khomeini had also gone on pilgrimage on behalf of the Imam along with a delegation. Haj Aqa Mustafa and I have met each other before.

One of the Tehran preachers [affiliated to the ruling regime] told me a day: "I am afraid lest the SAVAK has been watching me. There is a point that you are supposed to let Haj Aqa Mustafa know of that. You go, find him and tell him that, "Two persons have come from Iran and are commissioned to assassinate you. Take care of yourself and don't leave the home alone." I went and I saw him accidentally in the Shrine. He was busy worshipping.

¹ *Payam-e Inqilab* [Message of the Revolution], p. 45 (an interview with Mahmud Duai).

After greeting, I let him know the course. He thanked either me or the preacher. From then on, he did not leave home alone...¹

Apart from this, the Pahlavi regime had provided a 63-person list of the Iranian strugglers and it was supposed to do away with them one by one. Sayyid Mustafa was also among these people. He himself was aware of that. According to what was mentioned, it seems that Haj Aqa Mustafa's death has not been natural. Rather, he has been martyred as a result of poisoning and most probably by the SAVAK officers or by the Iraqi government's security officers. The Iraqi regime was also not so pleased with him and Imam Khomeini (s). Since, it could not attract the favorable attention of them during the past thirteen years so as to make a common measure against the Iranian government. Apart from this, their close connections with Ayatullah Sayyid Muhsin Hakim, from the time of their exile to Iraq to the passing away of Ayatullah Hakim, a stubborn opponent of the Iraqi government, had made the Iraqi government furious and even given rise to the temporary apprehension of Sayyid Mustafa, too. The 1975 Algerian Agreement and normalization of the relations of the two countries of Iran and Iraq might also play a role in this regard. It is also likely that the martyred Ayatullah has fallen victim to the common plot of the two countries of Iran and Iraq.

The Iranian regime followed differing goals from the martyrdom of Haj Aqa Mustafa. From among of them were the following, 1) to strike a blow to the Islamic movement, 2) to exert a psychological pressure on Imam Khomeini, 3) to prevent emergence of next dangers on the part of another Khomeini, nay a young and powerful one, 4) to prevent politicization of the Najaf Theological Center, 5) to cause terror and fear among the strugglers and its opponents and so on and so forth.²

¹ *Ashenai ba Muhajir-e Shahid Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [To Get Familiar with the Emigrant Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Yad*, year 3, no. 12 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 125-126.

² Hasan Ashuri Langarudi, *Thamareh-ye Paydari, Negahi beh Zendegi-ye Siyasi-ye Ayatullah Shahid Mustafa Khomeini va Naqsh-e U dar Ravand-e Piruzi-ye Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [The Fruit of Resistance, A Glance over the Political Life of Ayatullah Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and His Role in the Procedure of the Victory of the Islamic Republic of Iran]; *Majmuah Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], pp. 115-116.

Regardless of all of the reasons and proofs, in its particular bulletin and in the reports of its representative in Iraq, the SAVAK declared the death of Sayyid Mustafa to be as a result of a heart attack.¹

At any rate, the fate has been such that his death remains uncertain and in doubt and bring about important aftermaths. The only proof to substantiate this claim and to bring to the end the misgivings was to examine the dead body. Imam Khomeini, however, did not let vigilantly and prudently that the dead body be examined. He said, "Mustafa will not come back with these feats."² Sayyid Mustafa's wife says in this regard, "When they wanted to examine his corpse, Hadrat Imam did not give this permission, saying, 'Some innocent ones will be arrested, and their arrest will not return Aqa Mustafa to us.' At any rate, the physicians were not allowed by the Iraqi Baath government to declare their view. They were even intimidated, for the only trouble resulted in his death was the poisoning."³

After the Imam Khomeini's opposition to the examination of the dead body of Haj Aqa Mustafa, he issued the order to bury him. The corpse of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa was taken from Najaf to Karbala. After washing it ceremoniously in the Euphrates water and moving round of the holy shrines of Imam Husayn (*a*) and Hadrat Abu al-Fadl (*a*), it was returned to Najaf. The next day, on Monday, Aban 2, 1356 AHS, after moving round of the Shrine of Imam Ali (*a*), Ayatullah Khu'i said the [*mawayit*] prayers over his corpse. Thenceforth, he was buried in the court of the Holy Shrine of Imam Ali (*a*) next to the grave of Allamah Hilli.⁴

Second discourse: Imam Khomeini's (s) reaction

After it became clear in the hospital that Sayyid Mustafa has given up the ghost, the most important problem was put forward to the Imam's family members and close companions was how to inform Imam Khomeini's (s) of this bitter news. All were afraid that it might yield a bad aftermath. As

¹ The Art Department of the Islamic Propagation Organization, *SAVAK wa Ruhaniyyat* [The SAVAK and the Clergy], vol. 1, pp. 197-198.

² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

³ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 2, p. 405.

⁴ The Publications of the Iranian Combatant Clergies Living Abroad, *Shahidi Digar az Ruhaniyyat* [Another Martyr of the Clergy], pp. 69-72.

regards the Imam's first reaction after being informed of his son's death, Sayyid Rida Burqii was a witness, saying,

A number of us stayed in the hospital beside the body of Haj Aqa Mustafa. Some also went to towards the Imam's (s) house. Along the path, we told how we should give this news to the Imam (s). Several views were put forth. Some said, "Let's take a preacher [*rawdah-khan*] to the Imam's house and he reads *rawdah*."¹ Some said, "Let's go to the presence of Ayatullah Khu'i and ask him to meet the Imam (s)." Others said, "A few of us shall go to the presence of the Imam and ask his conditions." These were the ways of giving the news. They did so. A few of the old men and esteemed ones including my father-in-law (Mr. Shaykh Habib Allah), Mr. Khatam Yazdi went to meet the Imam as asking about the conditions of Haj Aqa Mustafa. Some went to Ayatullah Khu'i. He had said, "It is not proper that I go his home now and in such a manner. Anyhow, he will be informed of what has happened, so it makes no difference that if I inform him of this or someone else. I won't like to give this bad news to him. However, I will go to his presence in a due time." Haj Ahmad Aqa was also sad and crying outside the home. He was told that, "Aqa would like to see you." Shortly after him, we entered, too. Aqa had told him, "Why did you suspend? Isn't death a truth? If something has happened to Aqa Mustafa let me know?" Haj Ahmad Aqa started crying. We entered, and saw that the Imam (s) was saying, "*Verily we belong to Allah and to who we shall return.*" He repeated the *istirja* remembrance two or three times and sat down. We were ten or so persons. Mr. Furqani who had a good voice, said *rawdah*; however, the Imam (s) did not cry.²

The late Sayyid Ahmad Aqa has also cited nearly the same remarks as Mr. Burqii as regards the happening,

... the Imam said, "Tell Ahmad to come." I went to his presence. He said, "I would like to go to the hospital and see Mustafa." I came out while being so sad and said to Mr. Ridwani that he has said such a point, it is good to tell him, the physician has forbidden the visit of Haj Aqa Mustafa so at least the Imam know of the course later. It was supposed to say so, while they were

¹ The meeting for the commemoration of the martyrs of Karbala.

² The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 296-297; *Ashenai ba Muhajir-e Shahid Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [To Get Familiar with the Emigrant Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Yad*, year 3, no. 12 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 130-131.

afraid of telling this issue. While seeing me from the upstairs' window, the Imam called me saying, "O Ahmad!" I went to his presence. He said, "Has Mustafa died?"

I got so sad and did not say anything while crying. He put his hands on his knee while sitting and shook his fingers several times, saying three times, "*Verily we belong to Allah and to who we shall return.*" His only reaction was this. He showed no other reaction. Right away, people came to the Imam to say condolence.¹

In the course of the passing away of his son who was, in fact, a pillar and hope for his movement, for different reasons, the Imam showed a strange behavior the same of which is yet to be seen. The martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa was a great blow on the Imam and the Islamic movement. Imam Khomeini, however, made the enemies disappointed and frustrated politically. He did not cry at all. On the other hand, following the *awliya* of God who take refuge in God at the time of great afflictions, he did also the same.

Mr. Sayyid Rida Burqii quotes the memories of those days saying, after the martyrdom-like passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa, one of the clergies supporting the Pahlavi regime, being the diehard enemy of Haj Aqa Mustafa, and hatching different kinds of plots against the Imam and him, came and expressed condolence to the Imam. Another case is that at the time when the people were mourning, a person would insist that the Imam should cry. He would take a look at him and say nothing. Elsewhere, Mr. Burqii is quoted to have said that some took a physician so as to examine the Imam's heart. He wanted to check the Imam's heart so no adverse happening goes for him. The Imam, however, did not accept, saying, "I am well, it is not needed, the Messrs themselves are supposed to go and examine their heart."²

The Imam's other reaction as to his son's passing away was in the course of burying him. The Imam performed the burial ceremonies the same as other ones and showed no particular behavior whatsoever. When he would take part in a burial ceremony, he would always come the last five minutes and sit. Then, they would move the corpse. Such was the case in the burial

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 53.

² *Ashenai ba Muhajir-e Shahid Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [To Get Familiar with the Emigrant Martyr Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Yad*, year 3, no. 12 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 131-132.

ceremony of Haj Aqa Mustafa. In the meanwhile, in other burial ceremonies, they would come and tell him that you are tired, please go back. However, in the burial ceremony of Haj Aqa Mustafa, when arriving the very same place, without telling him anything, he said goodbye to everyone and went.¹

Imam Khomeini's next reaction was in the course of the mourning ceremony. He did not at all cry and made everyone surprised. Haj Aqa Mustafa's mother says in this regard, "[At the time of Mustafa's death] I was a woman and crying, but he was a man, and many people were around him, and he could not cry. He would say to the people, I wanted Mustafa for the future of Islam. However, at nights I would see him crying. Is it possible that a father does not cry? During the day, Aqa would control himself, but I was awake at nights, and saw that he was really crying. He would cry for Mustafa in a particular manner."²

At any rate, with his patience and forbearance, Imam Khomeini (s) astonished both friends and enemies and taught a lesson to the people of insight.

In order to pay homage to Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and express sympathy with Imam Khomeini, the Najaf *ulama'* decided to cancel their daily lessons. The Imam, however, did not let them make such a decision. He himself would take part in the teaching classes as usual days. He would also perform the daily congregational prayers as other days.³

In reply to the condolence message of Yasir Arafat, he wrote in Aban 13, 1356 AHS,

These afflictions are insignificants compared to the afflictions befallen and befalling Islam and the Muslims.⁴

In a message to the Iranian people after the martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa dated 21/8/1356 AHS, Imam Khomeini said,

¹ *Ibid.*, p.132.

² The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, p. 36.

³ Imad al-Din Baqi, *Mururi bar Zendeginameh-ye Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [A survey of the Biography of Ayatullah Martyr Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Ittilaat* Newspaper, (Aban 1, 1376 AHS), p. 5.

⁴ *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 3, p. 254.

We are confronting tremendous difficulties and heart-rending woes in the face of which we should not mention our personal calamities...¹

Elsewhere, in a part of his statements on the occasion of the fortieth day of the sad demise of Sayyid Mustafa, he said,

These kinds of affairs are of no real importance; these things happen. Everyone experiences this kind of thing at some time. God, the Blessed and Exalted, shows His mercy in ways both manifest and hidden. He has a hidden beneficence of which we have no knowledge; a beneficence about which we are uninformed. It is because we are deficient with regard to knowledge, with regard to our deeds, and indeed in every respect that we grieve and make a fuss when these kinds of matters arise. We show no tolerance at such times. This is due to a lack of understanding on our part with regard to God the Exalted. If only we were aware of that hidden beneficence which God the blessed, the Most High shows toward his servants—*And surely He is Gracious to His servants*²—and if only we had a true understanding of these occurrences, then we would not show such a lack of tolerance in the face of such affairs—affairs which are indeed trivial and unimportant. We would realize that some kind of divine grace is involved in all this...³

In the next months and years, on different occasions, he stated similar points and phrases. In all calamities, he would try not to separate the bereavement related to Haj Aqa Mustafa from the bereavements befallen the Iranian people and the Muslim *ummah*. He would regard it a part of the overall and great calamity befallen the Muslims. This thought was, in reality, an *ummah*-viewing thought.

Third discourse: reactions in Iran and Iraq

The mysterious and martyrdom-like death of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini in Aban 1, 1356 AHS occurred under such conditions that the rather open political atmosphere caused by the US administration pressures had outwardly reduced the political strangulations. As such, the strugglers had gotten the chance to advance the Islamic movement. The Pahlavi regime and the Americans, however, did not suppose that the very creation of an open atmosphere might cause the situation get out of their control. Perhaps, had

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

² It refers to *Surah ash-Shura* 42:19: “*Gracious is God to His servants. He gives sustenance to whom He pleases, and He has power and can carry out His will.*”

³ *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 3, pp. 234-235.

the martyrdom of Sayyid Mustafa not take place, it would take a long time so the Pahlavi rule be on its knees. At any rate, what happened was otherwise. As a matter of fact, it added fuel to the fire and all of a sudden drove the Pahlavi regime into the corner. No planning whatsoever including security, disciplinary, and political ones, and even suppression served the purpose.

a) Najaf

In the wake of the release of the news of Haj Aqa Mustafa's passing away, the Najaf Theological Center [*hawzah*] and other cities of Iraq were closed. The most important and noteworthy point as to the Najaf Theological Center's closing is that it was not customary that for the sake of the death of a second-rate *Alim* and *marja* the Center be closed completely. The Center would be closed only when a first-rate *marja* passed away. For instance, at the time of the departure of the eminent Ayat Hakim, Shahrudi, and Burujerdi, the *hawzah* had fully been closed. In despite of being a *mujtahid*, having overflowing genius, diverse writings, and other illustrious peculiarities, Haj Aqa Mustafa would yet be regarded from the second-rate personalities of the Najaf Theological Center. In the meantime, the complete closing of the Najaf Theological Center for his death was indicative of the illustrious characteristics of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa and Imam Khomeini (s) from the view of that *hawzah*. After the release of his death news, therefore, the lessons postponed. From the very beginning hours of Aban 1st, on this occasion, the *rawdah* ceremonies were held in the house of Imam Khomeini. *Ayat*, religious authorities [*maraji*], scholars [*fudala*], and theological students [*tullab*] would come to express condolence to the Imam.¹ Then, the Imam held the first mourning ceremony in the Hindi Moaque, the then biggest mosque in Najaf. These ceremonies were held splendidly during three successive nights (Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday). Different strata of the people of Najaf, and of such other Iraqi cities as Baghdad, Kazimayn, Ammarah, Samirra', Balad, Karbala, Diwaniyyah, Hillah, and Kufah took part in the ceremonies. During these three nights, Sayyid Jawad Shubbar, an illustrious struggling and combating Iraqi preacher, delivered speech on different aspects of the characteristic of Haj Aqa Mustafa and the patience and endurance of Imam Khomeini (s). Other ceremonies were also held by Ayatullah Khu'i and other Lebenese, Iranian,

¹ *Khatirat-e Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Muhtashami-Pur az Zendegi va Muhajirat-e Marhum Haj Aqa Mustafa* [Memories of Hujjat al-Islam wal-Muslimin Muhtashami-Pur on the Life and Immigration of the Late Haj Aqa Mustafa], Nida, year 7, no. 22 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 22.

Iraqi, Pakistani, Afghani... religious authorities living in Najaf. The unprecedented closing of the Najaf Theological Center continued for ten days. It was even supposed that it continues, more than that, till the fortieth day of the late Haj Aqa Mustafa's death. Imam Khomeini (s), however, declared at the end of the very day that the lessons should not be postponed and the *ulama'* are to start their classes. In Aban 10th, in order for Imam Khomeini (s) to convince others to start their classes, he himself participated in the classes as well as the congregational prayers.¹

b) Qum

In the meantime, the reaction of the Iranian different strata of people to the passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa was otherwise. The first news was announced to the Imam's companions in Iran by Sayyid Ahmad Khomeini.² Upon the reach of the said news to Iran, the Qum Theological Center and its Bazaar were closed and different walks of live embarked on mourning. One of the SAVAK reports reads,

In 30/7/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar], Mustafa Khomeini, the son of Ruhullah Khomeini, has died as a result of stroke in Iraq. Owing to this, the Qum Theological Center's classes were closed for two days. The city bazaar has also been closed this day.

In 1/8/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar] afternoon, on the occasion of the said person's death, a mourning ceremony has been held in the Azam Mosque by Ayatullah Golpayegani. The eminent Ayat: Golpayegani, Shariatmadari, and Najafi Marashi as well as nearly six thousand people from different walks of life, theological students and clergies of Qum have taken part in this ceremony. During the ceremony, a few number of the theological students chanted the slogan "Long Live Khomeini" amid the population. This feat caused disturbance in the gathering and made the audience leave the ceremony swiftly.

When the audience was leaving the mosque, damaging manifestos signed by "the Qum Combatant Clergy" and "the Iranian University Student Confederation" were released in the mosque courtyard... during the

¹ The Scientific Committee of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini, *Yad-ha wa Yadman-ha az Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Memoirs of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], vol. 1, pp. 179-181.

² The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Martyr Mahallati, no. 1108, pp. 103-107.

ceremony, it was declared that on 2/8/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar] morning, another mourning ceremony will be held by Ayatullah Golpayegani, and in the afternoon, by Ayatullah Shariatmadari in the Azam Mosque of Qum. Another ceremony will also be held in the Najafi Husayniyyah of Qum on the part of Ayatullah Najafi Marashi.¹

In the second day of the passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa, the Director General of the SAVAK's Third Office issued the following order to all SAVAKs:

To: All Information and Security Organizations [SAVAKs] (save the north camp)

From: The Center

It is supposed to be codified.

Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, the oldest son of Ruhullah Khomeini, has died as a result of stroke in Iraq. Since the clergies are supposed to hold mourning ceremonies on this occasion, precautionary actions are to be made. In case the ceremonies are held simply, there is no objection. The preachers and lecturers are to deliver speech only on the deceased and not to draw the attentions to Khomeini himself. In case the preachers and lecturers point anything contrary to the country's interest or, outside the ceremonies' place, anyone wages demonstrations or provokes others, the Police is supposed to prevent these measures while observing necessary prudence.

Signed by Thabiti, 2/8/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar]²

As it can be seen, in its correspondences and reports, the SAVAK tries to make use of the phrase "stroke" as the reason behind Haj Aqa Mustafa's death by means of which shows the incident as a usual one. Numerous documents and proofs, however, is to the fore that during all the held mourning ceremonies, the lecturers have attributed Sayyid Mustafa's death to the SAVAK. For this reason, the mourning ceremonies turned gradually into the ceremonies criticizing the Pahlavi rule.

c) Tehran

After the release of the death news of Sayyid Mustafa, the bazaar of Tehran and other cities were also closed like that of Qum. Mourning and

¹ *Ibid.*, file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 393, p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13, attached documents, document no. 91.

commemoration ceremonies were held.¹ In Aban 2, 1356 AHS, simultaneous with the birth anniversary of Imam Rida (*a*), on the occasion of Sayyid Mustafa's passing away, the celebrations were closed and mourning ceremonies held. A part of the Tehran SAVAK's report dated 2/8/1356 AHS reads,

In 2/8/36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar], on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Hadrat Imam Rida (*a*), a celebration party was held in the following address, Asghar Liqa'i, no. 41, Bagh-e Hasan Khan Alley, Rey Street, started from 18:30 o'clock and in which different classes of people took part. The *maghrib* and *isha' adhan* was said by one of the individuals. Then, some verses of the Noble Word of Allah were recited. A young man of nearly 25 years of age expressed condolence on account of the son of Khomeini's death, saying, "With the death of Mustafa Khomeini our celebration changed into mourning." Then, two young persons read the Quran and one of them translated it. Then, the turbaned Sadiqi spoke about the Principle of Imamate, the Principle of Dissimulation, unity, consensus... then, Dariyush Furuhar came behind the rostrum and while expressing condolence for the death of the son of Khomeini, declared one moment as keeping silence and the audience stood up. Furuhar said, "Blessed is he who moves towards the Iran land on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Imam Rida (*a*)..."²

d) The mourning ceremony in the Arg Mosque of Tehran as the first serious warn to the Pahlavi regime

One of the salient features of the mourning ceremonies, particularly in Tehran, was the presence of the religious nationalist forces alongside the clergies and people in these ceremonies. The mourning ceremony of the Arg Mosque was held on the occasion of the seventh day of the Sayyid Mustafa's passing away. Tradesmen, bazaariz, students of some of the Tehran universities, and the religious nationalist forces played a great role in the setting up of this ceremony.³ It is such mentioned in one of the SAVAK's reports as to the endeavors made by the students of the Ariyamehr Industrial University (the present Sanati Sharif University),

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-53.

The obtained news bespeaks that on the occasion of the Mustafa Khomeini's death, the Ariyamehr Industrial University students have posted up a notice sheet in the Mujtahidi building. They have asked upon the students to take part in the Arg Mosque at 13 o'clock dated 8/8/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar]. Apart from this, some other notices were also released in this regard. The circumstances are announced for the further notice and any precautionary measure.

The Third Office's Director General, Thabiti¹

In another account, too, it has been hinted on the endeavors and journeys of the Qum theological students to Tehran to participate in the mourning ceremony of the Arg Mosque,

To: The Head of the Tehran SAVAK, 20 h 12

From: The Third General Office 312

According to the information obtained in 8/8/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar], around 3000 theological students and people of Qum left for Tehran by bus so as to take part in the mourning ceremony of Mustafa Khomeini, the son of Ruhullah Khoemini held in the Tehran Arg Mosque. Please give order so the precautionary measures as regards the said ceremony are made and let this General Office know of the result.

Signed by the Third Office's Director General, Thabiti

8/8/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar]²

In another report, it is referred to the release of manifestos in the streets around the Tehran University including Shahrida Avenue (the present Inqilab-e Islami Avenue), Azar 21st Avenue, and Esfand 24th Square (present Inqilab Square). In those manifestos, the passing away of Sayyid Mustafa is referred to as martyrdom. The university students were asked to take part in a mourning ceremony to be held in the Arg Mosque.³ At any rate, the aforesaid ceremony was held on the predetermined time. The Tehran SAVAK has given an account of the quality and proposed issues as follows,

At 15:00 o'clock of the day 8/8/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar], the mourning ceremony of Mustafa Khomeini, the son of Ruhullah

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, p. 105.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 107, attached documents, document no. 94.

Khomeini, began in the Tehran Arg Mosque with the recital of some verses from the Noble Word of Allah. At 16:00 o'clock, Mr. Ruhani delivered speech. The participants were around 3000 persons. There was no place, even in the mosque's courtyard, for other participants. Nearly 1500 theological students of the Qum Theological School as well as a number of the students from the high educational centers took part in the ceremony. In the meanwhile, a few of the participating persons made endeavors to chant slogans and create disorder. However, they were disallowed by a religious person. As regards the religious personality of Khomeini as well as the number of condolence telegrams received from other countries, Mr. Ruhani delivered speech, saying, "Two telegrams has been received from Iran. He regarded the lack of the telegram reception as the result of the people's fear or of the officers' severity. Moreover, some manifestos entitled "the Muslim Combatant University Students" were distributed among people in the Arg Mosque's upstairs. In the conclusion, the lecturer added that another mourning ceremony is to be held in the Quli Mosque situated in Pamanar and the Khatam al-Nabi' in Mosque situated in Shahr-e Rey at 18:00 o'clock...¹

According to the existing proofs and signs, the people participated in the Arg Mosque's ceremony outnumbered what the SAVAK has reported. Because, there existed many contradictory statements in the SAVAK's reports. For instance, it was mentioned in one of the reports that the people and theological students come from Qum were only 3000 persons. In case we take into account the number of the Tehrani participants who were from different strata of people, the number will certainly exceeds. Mahdi Bazargan analyzes the said ceremony as such,

A mourning ceremony was held in the Arg Mosque. Until then neither the Arg Mosque had experienced such a population in its shabestan² courtyard and the neighboring streets and, as such, submitted the police, nor had such an invitation declaration signed by different groups of the nationalists, intellectuals, clergies and bazaaris been published at the same time. It was not easy to be successful in such a feat... the invitation letter issued with the names without titles and in an alphabetical order was so evocative. That splendid gathering with those gathering holders turned into the community of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154, attached documents, document numbers 96/1, 96/2.

² Part of a mosque designed for sleeping or nocturnal prayers.

all strata in opposition to the system and inclination towards unity with the leadership of Ayatullah Khomeini, the cleric combatant man.¹

Darriyush Humayun was the Information Minister of the Jamshid Amuzegar's cabinet at that time. In an interview with the BBC Radio in the 'Revolution' Prosecutor General Program, he called the passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa and the condolence notice published on this occasion signed by many of the intellectuals, clergies, bazaaris, and university-goers as an opportunity given to the strugglers so as to be gathered in a front to express their political opposition against Muhammad Rida Pahlavi and his rule.

After the death of the son of Khomeini, the commemoration ceremony held for him in the Arg Mosque turned to be a point of departure for all such forerunner strata as the Liberals, Freedom-seekers, National Front, Leftists, and others save those of the governmental system, the outstanding figures of which were surfaced there. It was clear that a religious leader has been able to gather and mobilize them all.²

It is such inferred from the two cited analysis that the martyrdom of Haj Aqa Mustafa has had a noteworthy effect on the unity and consolidation of the differing political courses and forces against the Pahlavi rule. Essentially, when such a unity has taken place during the Iranian history, the dictator system has been enforced to submit and lend the ear to the requests of the opponents. The apt political atmosphere had also smoothed the ground for the creation of such union and unity.

The noteworthy and important point witnessed in the activity of the religious strugglers during the gatherings and commemoration ceremonies is their foresight and preparation for enlightening the public opinion and mobilizing the people for the fortieth day ceremonies of Haj Aqa Mustafa's death. From the seventh day to the fortieth day of his death, the strugglers and the clergies, in particular, released the speech tapes of the preachers and clergies in a wide range throughout the society. The SAVAK's account bespeaks of this reality more than anything else,

Subject: the preachers' speech tapes as to the mourning ceremonies of Mustafa Khomeini

¹ Mahdi Bazargan, *Inqilab-e Iran dar Dow Harikat* [the Iranian Revolution in Two Moves], p. 24.

² Imad al-Din Baqi, *Tahrir-e Tarikh-e Shafahi-ye Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [The Writing of the Oral History of the Islamic Revolution of Iran], p. 261.

The tapes of the speeches delivered by the preachers and orators in mourning ceremonies held on the occasion of the passing away of Mustafa Khomeini in different parts are prepared. The Qum tape stores are presently distributing and selling these tapes at good prices and making a lot of money. The most important and best selling of them is the speech tape of Messrs, Abd-Dust, KhazAli, and Burqii in Qum, Dr. Abd al-Rida Hijazi and Dr. Ruhani in Tehran, and Shaykh Muhammad Ali Gerami in Kermanshah. The tape sellers which are distributing and selling these tapes are the following, 1) Mu'min-Zadeh, 2) Muhammad Husayn Zanjani, 3) Sadiqi, and another one who owns a store inside Gozar-e Khan in the opposite of the sangaki bakery. These people are putting the recorded tapes on which there is no sign or writing on the shelves related to the unrecorded tapes to deceive the officers so in case of their inspection nothing is found. Apart from these, they are selling the recent tape of Khomeini's speech in Najaf...¹

Fourth discourse: the global reaction

The passing away of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini resulted in a great reaction among the Muslims in the world over and the Muslim countries. During his 12-year-old political life in Iraq, Haj Aqa Mustafa played a vivid and effective role in relation to keeping the movement of Imam Khomeini active. This happened through the Muslim combatant forces in Europe, the US, and many of the Muslims countries. Owing to this, his unique position and role in guiding the movement was fully clear.

The mysterious death of Haj Aqa Mustafa and the great possibility of the SAVAK's interference in this painful event gave rise to the reaction of all Muslim strugglers throughout the world. In addition to the roaring wave formed in Iran, with the endeavors and programs made by the strugglers beyond the Iranian borders, sending thousands of condolence messages, holding the mourning ceremonies and airing its news in the mass media, Haj Aqa Mustafa's death found a global aspect.² Even the elapse of time, too, could not decrease or lower its waves. Rather, in spite of the SAVAK's and the Pahlavi regime's conjectures and imaginations, its dimensions increased day by day.

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents, archive, file of Imam Khomeini, no. 869, p. 73.

² Muhammad Hasan Rajabi, *Zendeginameh-ye Siyasi-ye Imam Khomeini* [Imam Khomeini's Political Biography]; vol. 1, p. 379.

In the European and American countries, the biggest efforts and most noteworthy reactions was made by the Islamic Association Unions of the University Students in Europe, the US, and Canada. One of the declarations issued by the Islamic Association Union of the University Students in Europe dated October 22, 1977, on Sunday, in reaction to the passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa is as follows,

Dear sister and brother,

Presently, we came to know that our combatant and esteemed brother, Hadrat Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Haj Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, the oldest son of the eminent religious authority of the Shiah World, Hadrat Ayatullah Khomeini has departed this world in Najaf last mid-night. According to the information obtained from Najaf to us, our late brother has passing away mysteriously.

The late Haj Aqa Mustafa Khomeini was beside his venerated father during the events of the years 1342 and 1343 AHS (Khordad 15th and the Capitulation Revival). After passing a period in prison, he was exiled from Iran to Turkey and then to Iran alongside His Eminency. The biography of the late brother will soon be accessible by everyone. While expressing our profound and deep concern for the sorrowful loss, we express condolence on the untimely and mysterious passing away of our honored brother, Hujjat al-Islam Mr. Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, to the presence of the Leader of the Time, the great struggler, and the eminent religious authority of the Shiah World, Ayatullah Khomeini. We beseech God, the Exalted, long life for our wise leader and patience and endurance for all of the remaining ones of the deceased.

All of the units of the Islamic Association Union of the University Students in Europe, the Islamic organizations of the university students affiliated to the Islamic Association of the University Students in the US and Canada as well as the Islamic associations of the university students of India will hold commemorations and mourning ceremonies on Friday and Saturday coincided with Aban 6th and 7th (October 29th and 29th) simultaneous with Dhu'l-Qadah 14th and 15th.

Islamic Association Union of the University Students in Europe¹

After the release of the Sayyid Mustafa's passing away in the countries of Pakistan (the cities of Karachi, Lahore, and Kuwaitah), Afghanistan,

¹ The Publications of the Iranian Combatant Clergies Living Abroad, *Shahidi Digar az Ruhaniyyat* [Another Martyr of the Clergy], p. 140.

Bahrain, Qatar, UAE, and India, ceremonies were held and manifestoes published, too. Some of these ceremonies have been so splendid and unprecedented.¹ Some manifestoes were issued by the Muslims and Iranian strugglers residing in the European countries, particularly France, England, and Sweden, and mourning ceremonies were also held. The reactions have been noteworthy in the cities of London and Paris. During these ceremonies, too, like the ceremonies held in Iran and the Holy Najaf, the Iranian government and the SAVAK have been introduced as the cause of Haj Aqa Mustafa's martyrdom. While praising his status as well as the *marjaiyyah* and leadership of Imam Khomeini, the orators, who have been the Iranian Muslim strugglers, have attacked harshly to the Iranian regime.² It is also been referred, in the SAVAK's report, to the statement of "the Iranian Freedom Movement" in Paris,³ and the declaration of "the Iranian Combatant Clergies" in that city,⁴ the condolence telegram of "the Karachi Imamiyyah Ulama' Community",⁵ the publication of some periodicals in Kuwait,⁶ the statement of "the English Muslims",⁷ the materials of the French daily of "Zaban al-Mujahid" printed in Algeria,⁸ etc.

It was impossible for Imam Khomeini (s) to give answer to the thousands of condolence message. He, therefore, save some cases, have given general answers. From among of them is the Imam Khomeini's reply to the messages and telegrams of the university students and Muslim groups abroad a part of which is cited below,

In the Name of Allah, the All-compassionate, the All-merciful

To all the respected students abroad and all the other worthy people and groups in Europe, America and India and the other countries, who are spending their time and lives in the pursuit of the sublime goals of Islam in

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-131.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 137-139.

³ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 393, p. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁷ *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad Quarterly* (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 207.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

order to attain the perfect state of humanity, and to rescue mankind from the clutches of people who are outwardly human, and from the savage beasts in human garb.

I thank all the esteemed gentlemen who have been kind enough to commiserate with me on this tragedy, which is but a paltry part of the calamities besetting the children of Islam. I also pray beside the grave of the Master of the Pious (Imam Ali), may peace and salutations be upon him, for all those people or groups who have emigrated from their beloved country because of the chaos and police repression...

I would like to give the hope of triumph and victory to you and all the other brothers within the country who are living under police heavy-handedness, and in prisons and torture chambers, grappling with enervating privations and hardships. Also, to the families of those who, under the Shah's torture, have sacrificed their lives in the way of God, on condition that the efforts continue for the sake of righteousness and the triumph of the creed of Truth, by adhering to which you will be blessed with God-given victory. Also, on condition that you strive for unanimity and solidarity in the way of God, and for the salvation of your country, as well as all the other Islamic countries under the pressure of aliens.

I am hopeful about this widespread movement and vigilance that has emerged in Islamic countries in general and Iran in particular, and about the general disgust and abhorrence felt for the organs of oppression and brutality, as well as of expansionism and expansionists. This public vigilance and disgust is not temporary or fleeting; it will continue until the despotic establishment is put to an end and the tyranny of the oppressors terminated...

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dhu'l-Hijjah al-Haram 4, 1397 AH¹

One of the important replies of Imam Khomeini (*s*) which embodies valuable content is the reply given to the condolence message of Yasir Arafat, Head of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Owing to its paramount importance, we hint on some parts of this reply, too,

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file Imam Khomeini, no. 869, pp. 77-81; *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 3, pp. 265-267.

In the Name of Allah, the All-compassionate, the All-merciful

The Honorable Yasir Arafat,
Head of the Executive Committee
Palestine Liberation Organization

Thank you for your esteemed letter and for the sentiments expressed therein. These sorrowful events are trivial as compared to the calamities that are being visited upon Islam and the Muslims.

Owing to the influence of foreign powers, the sacred religion of Islam has, for centuries, been faced with deviations and misconceptions... During the era of the previous Shah, we witnessed the killings, plunder and intolerable repression. We were witness to the massacre in the Gauhar Shad Mosque; adjacent to the sacred mausoleum of the Eight Imam (*a*). We witnessed the imprisonment of the leading *ulama'* of Khorasan and Azerbaijan and the killing of some of them...

Also, in the reign of the incumbent Shah, we have witnessed and are witnessing atrocities being perpetrated that have made Genghis¹ appear honorable. We saw the outrageous, inhuman massacre of Khordad 15 [Muharram 12]... We witnessed the assault on the theological centers and the universities where there was much slaughter and destruction, as also the irreverence shown to the Holy Quran and holy Islamic books; dishonoring and beating up the seminarians and burning their books, while in the universities we saw the young men and girls being beaten up. We saw the prisons full of *ulama'*, scholars and those yearning for freedom, and where tortures of medieval times were, and are, an ordinary occurrence.

Ruhullah al-Musawi al-Khomeini

Dhu'l-Qadah al-Haram 21, 1397 AH²

As it is inferred from these replies, messages, and the answers given to the Iranian people, some of the religious authorities, and the eminent Ayat, these communications are beyond the personal relations as well as beyond the passing away of an ordinary man. To sum up these messages and replies, it

¹ Genghis Khan: the Mongolian conqueror of the 13th century.

² The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file Imam Khomeini, no. 869, pp. 91-94; *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 3, pp. 254-256.

seems that the Islamic movement is leading in a planned and purposeful manner, and the small and big waves are joining to form a great storm.

Fifth discourse: the fortieth day of the death of Sayyid Mustafa and aggravation of the crisis

The commemoration and mourning ceremonies of Sayyid Mustafa continued alternately. They dealt a great blow on the regime's body like a roaring blow. These ceremonies yielded disclosures and enlightenments and gave impetus to the excitation of the Iranian Muslim people and strugglers against the Pahlavi rule. As such a significant mutation emerged in the movement. In the meantime, the ceremonies planned by the strugglers for the fortieth day of Haj Aqa Mustafa's death in Tehran, Qum, and some other cities, owing to seizing the opportunity by the revolutionary forces to express their faithfulness to the Imam and the Islamic movement, is paramount.

From several days before the fortieth day of the Haj Aqa Mustafa's death, in a coordinated measure, the struggling and revolutionary forces were warning that this historical chance is to be made use of in the manner. In this regard, many propagations and declarations were also released. It is worthy of note that a kind of union existed among the various revolutionary forces, too. In the accounts given by the SAVAK of Tehran and the Third General Office of the SAVAK, it has repeatedly been referred to the decision of the clergies, members of the Iranian Freedom Movement, the Iranian National Front, and others as to holding the fortieth day ceremonies.¹

In some of the regions and cities, the permission to hold the ceremonies was not given. We shall point to a case, in this regard, exists in the Shahr-e Rey SAVAK's account,

To: 20 h 12 [the Head of the Tehran SAVAK]

Subject: the fortieth day ceremonies of Mustafa Khomeini's death

With reference to: 24196/20 h 12 – 6/9/36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar]

On account of the attentions paid by the Shahr-e Rey Police Station, no ceremony was held in 8/9/[25]36 and the Ghadir Feast day, 9/9/[25]36 on the occasion of the fortieth day Mustafa Khomeini's death. In the meanwhile, a number of the traders and people of Shah-e Rey sought the Shah-e Rey's

¹ *Ibid.*, archive, file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 394, pp. 82-90.

Police Station's permission to hold ceremonies. But the Police Station's head has not given them the permission to hold such ceremonies.

Masumi Al-e Aqa,

The Head of the Information and Security
Organization of Shahr-e Rey¹

In the fortieth day of Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini's death, all of the disciplinary and security forces were on full alert and brought under inspection the circumstances meticulously. These severities, warns and notices, however, did not serve the purpose in such cities as Tehran and Qum. While being aware of the consequences of this action, the holders came face to face with the officers. It was planned so the orators of these ceremonies are selected from among those released from the prison recently.²

Numerous ceremonies were held in Qum. Those participated in the ceremonies of the fortieth day of Sayyid Mustafa's death confronted with the disciplinary and security officers and attacked on several governmental places. In the SAVAK's accounts, the number of the participators are mentioned to be twenty thousands people. Given the importance of the account which recalls diverse points, we shall cite it,

In 9/9/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar], on the occasion of the fortieth day of the passing away of Sayyid Mustafa, the son of Ruhullah Khomeini, a commemoration ceremony was held in the Amir al-Mu'minin School of Qum. At the end of this ceremony, around 300 ones of the participators in the commemorative ceremony chanted some slogans in favor of Khoemini which were dispersed by the disciplinary officers. During the commemorative ceremony some declarations were distributed among the participators to the effect that in 11/9/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar] another commemoration ceremony is to be held on the occasion of the fortieth day of Mustafa Khomeini's death. (The circumstances have previously been declared.)

Immediately after, in the morning and evening of the day 11/9/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar], other ceremonies were held on the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

² *Raz-e Tufan* [The Secret behind Storm] (In Commemoration of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini), *Yad Quarterly* (Mehr 1376 AHS), p. 17.

occasion of fortieth day of the above-named person's passing away in Qum. They have caused unmanageable demonstrations the quality of which is as follows,

At 8:30 o'clock in 11/9/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar], a commemorative ceremony has been held by the teachers of the Qum Theological Center in the Qum Azam Mosque in which around 10 thousand ones from different strata of the people including clergies and theological students have taken part. At the outset of the said ceremony, some verses of the Noble Quran were recited. Then, two extremist clergies, being adherents of Khoemini, named Muhammad Mahdi Rabbani Rankuhi and Muhammad Sadiq Sadiqi Khalkhali have stood near the pulpit and made some points having provocative aspect. After finishing the above-named one's speech, Shaykh Muhammad Jawad Hujjati Kermani has sat on the pulpit. After mentioning some preliminary points, he read a resolution in 13 articles as follows. At the end of the reading of each article, the audience would affirm it while saying "that's correct, bravo."

- a) The swift return of the eminent *marja* and strugglers, Hadrat Ayatullah al-Uzma Mr. Khomeini (repeated three times);
- b) Release of the prisoners of conscience, particularly Hadrat Ayatullah Taliqani and Hadrat Ayatullah Muntaziri;
- c) Restitution of the Faydiyyah School, the base of the Qum Theological Center;
- d) Opening of the closed buildings of the Qum theological schools;
- e) Freedom of communities, speech, and writing and cancellation of the prohibition of delivering speech by the scholars, particularly His Excellency Mr. Falsafi, as well as removal of censorship of the newspapers and mass media;
- f) To forbid presentation of the cinema movies, theatres, and the so-called art celebrations, and as a while, to prevent the citizens' corruption;
- g) To reopen the mosque and library of the Tehran University students;
- h) To reprimand and pursue the apprehension agents in relation to the veil of the girl university students and to prevent repetition of such anti-Islamic acts;

- i) To reprimand, reproach, and pursue the club-in-hand ones assailed on the helpless people and to prevent repetition of such savage acts;
- j) To dissolve the university guard, remove strangulation from the university, and create an open atmosphere for education of the university students;
- k) Full attention to the abnormal condition of the workers, farmers, third and fourth classes of the society, to make endeavors to revive the agriculture, to keep full economic order, to amputate the hands of foreign powers, international capitalists, and their internal agents, particularly the Jews and the misguided sect of Baha'is from the country's economic affairs;
- l) To sever fully all political, economic, and military relations with the anti-Islam government of Israel;
- m) To restore the formal calendar of the, i.e. on the basis of the Noble Prophet's migration (repeated three times).

After the ceremony's termination, the audience chanted the slogan of "Long Live Khomeini". They were going to occupy the Faydiyyah School; however, the officers made the demonstrators be dispersed by shooting bullets. Some became wounded in the clash. Following the previous report, it is referred to the holding of another ceremony at 16:00 to 18:00 p.m. in the Azam Mosque on the part of Muhammad Sadiq Sadiqi Khalkhali.

Almost 20 thousand people from among different strata of people including clergies, theological students, students of the Tehran's and Isfahan's high educational centers have taken part in this ceremony. At the onset, some verses of the Noble Quran have been recited. Then, Abd al-Majid Maadi-Khah delivered a speech, while referring to the change of the origin of the Iranian calendar and those being wounded, as he claims, by the club-in-hand ones. As such, he has made provocative and critical remarks.

At the end of the aforesaid ceremony, a great number of the participants held street demonstrations in the Qum streets of Eram, Muhammad Rida Shah, Azar, and Astaneh. They have chanted such slogans as, "Long Live Khomeini", "Death to the Yazid-Like Government", "the Link between the University Student and the Clergy is Inseparable". They have broken some windowpanes of the branches of the banks of Sepah, Milli, Sadirat, Bazargani, and Umran... in the meanwhile, during the aforesaid rowdy demonstrations and the demonstrations held in 9/9/[25]36 [according to the

Shahanshahi calendar], in all 34 persons of the saboteurs have been arrested by the disciplinary officers.¹

Apart from Qum, in other cities including Arak, Najaf Abad, Isfahan, and Tehran, too, the ceremonies of the fortieth day of Sayyid Mustafa's death led to demonstrations and offensive clashes. The people attacked on some of the governmental centers and showed their revolutionary rage and aversion.²

After the end of the ceremonies of the fortieth day of Haj Aqa Mustafa's death, the Qum's Social Security Keeping Commission held session. As a result, five clergies playing an effective role in holding the ceremonies and critical speeches were exiled to different cities. The SAVAK's report in this regard is as follows,

Subject: the decision made by the Qum's Social Security Holding Commission to the effect of the exile of five extremist clergies intervened in the days of 9th and 11/9/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar] in Qum. In the days of 9th and 11/9/[25]36 [according to the Shahanshahi calendar], on the occasion of the fortieth day of the passing away of Mustafa Khomeini, the son of Ruhullah Khomeini, commemorative ceremonies were held in the Amir al-Mu'minin School and the Azam Mosque of Qum. Four extremist and bad record clergies, through delivering provocative speeches incited the audience to do sabotage as a result of which a great number of the participants at the end of the said ceremonies poured into the Qum streets and created public disorder and broke the windowpanes of the banks situated on the route.

The actions made by the intended clergies and another one of the clergies of Qum who had a hand in these provocations according to the law can be pursued in the Social Security Commission. As such, their records and situation on have been put forward in the aforesaid Commission in Qum on 15/9/[25]36. According to the said Commission's vote, everyone has been sentenced to three years of compulsory residence in the following regions,

1. Muhammad Mahdi Rabbani Rankuhi, place of exile: Shahr-e Babak, Yazd Province;
2. Abd al-Majid Maadi-Khah, place of exile: Sirjan, Kerman Province;

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

² *Shahid-e Thani, az Tabar-e Imam Khomeini* [Martyr Thani, from the Family of Imam Khomeini], Khordad 15th, no. 4 (Mehr and Aban 1370 AHS), P. 27.

3. Muhammad Sadiq Sadiqi Givi (Khalkhali), place of exile: Rafsanjan, Kerman Province;
4. Abd al-Rahim Rabbani Shirazi, place of exile: Kashmar, Khorasan Province;
5. Muhammad Jawad Hujjati Kermani, place of exile: Iranshahr, Sistan wa Baluchestan Province.¹

However, the harsher reaction, being a bigger mistake in its turn, emerged on the part of the regime in Dey 17, 1356 AHS. It was an article published under the title of “Iran and the Red and Black Imperialism” in the *Ittilaat Daily* signed by Ahmad Rashidi Mutlaq. In the regard, there are enough study and examination in the historical resources.² As regards the Pahlavi regime’s reaction, it should be borne in mind that instead of paying attention to the demands of the people and strugglers, and keeping step with the Iranian nation, the regime was following suppressive resolutions. The regime was unable to analysis the political conditions of the society so as to attend to the issues logically. As a result, the solutions themselves were bringing about crisis. As such, the crises prevailed the whole government and the solutions turned to be totally ineffective in Bahman 22, 1357 AHS.

Sixth discourse: aftermaths

In spite of the Pahlavi regime’s assumption, the martyrdom-like death of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini not only did not have any negative effect on the advance of the Iranian people’s Islamic movement by the leadership of Imam Khomeini, but it was on its own an effective cause giving momentum to the final victory.

One of the most important effects of the passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa in the rather open political atmosphere was the propagation of the name and memory of Imam Khomeini (*s*) and the establishment of his leadership status. During the ceremonies held in Iraq, Iran, European countries, and other part, the preachers and orators would analyze and highlight different aspects of the characteristics of the Imam and Sayyid Mustafa. In many of the commemoration and mourning ceremonies, some slogans were chanted

¹ The Center for the Islamic Revolution Documents (archive), file of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini, no. 394, p. 111; attached documents, document no. 107.

² Imad al-Din Baqi, *Tahrir-e Tarikh-e Shafahi-ye Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [The Writing of the Oral History of the Islamic Revolution of Iran], pp. 263-272.

in favor of Imam Khomeini (s) and his leadership. What matters here is that the forbidden-to-mention name of the Imam was mentioned loudly in the ceremonies and gatherings. It is worthy of note that, since then, to mention Imam Khomeini's (s) name during the speeches was tantamount would result in least 6 months of imprisonment.¹ As such, the mourning ceremonies of Sayyid Mustafa turned into the ceremonies of praising Imam Khomeini's (s). In the following months and the year to come, Imam Khomeini's (s) increased the extent of his criticisms on the regime more resolutely. He called for the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty and establishment of the Islamic government.²

From other effects of the passing away of Aqa Mustafa, one can refer to the politicization of the Holy Najaf Theological Center. As we know and mentioned before in some cases, this Theological Center has been under the sway of the British imperialism. It was intended to keep away it from the philosophy and politics. Imam Khomeini's (s), Sayyid Mustafa and some of their companions had been able during their 12-year-old residence and incessant endeavors in the form of teaching, preaching, and so on to change the atmosphere to some extent. The passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa was another chance for the Iranian and Arab orators and preachers. Having praised the scientific and struggling position of the Imam and guided the people towards the Imam's movement and his leadership in the Najaf Theological Center and other Iraqi theological centers, they gave rise to the further politicization of these centers.³

Its other effect was the creation of unity and solidarity among the combatant forces opposing the regime. The past history of Iran, particularly during the

¹ Hamid Qazvini, *Athar wa Baztab-ha-ye Shahadat-e Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Effects and Reactions of the Martyrdom of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Hudur Quarterly*, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), pp. 149-150; The Art Department of the Islamic Propagation Organization, *SAVAK wa Ruhaniyyat* [The SAVAK and the Clergy], vol. 1, p. 202.

² Imad al-Din Baqi, *Tahrir-e Tarikh-e Shafahi-ye Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [The Writing of the Oral History of the Islamic Revolution of Iran], pp. 261-262; *Sahifeh-ye Imam*, vol. 3, pp. 233-287.

³ Hasan Ashuri Langarudi, *Negahi beh Zendegi-ye Siyasi-ye Shahid Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini wa Naqsh-e U dar Ravand-e Piruzi-ye Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [A Glance to the Political Life of Martyr Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini and His Role in the Procedure of the Iranian Islamic Revolution's Victory], *Majmueh Maqalat-e Kongreh-ye Shahid Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini* [The Collection of the Articles of the Congress on Martyr Ayatullah Mustafa Khomeini], p. 116.

occurrences led to the nationalization of the oil industry and the uprising of Tir 30, 1331 AHS, had indicated that in case the internal political forces are united, they will definitely gain victory in confrontation and struggle with the internal arrogance and the external imperialism. At this time, given the expansion of the political activities of the government's opponents and their unity, they could also make the Pahlavi rule retreat. The case in point for such unity was during the seventh day commemorative ceremonies of Sayyid Mustafa's departure in the Arg Mosque. There, all the Islamic, and national-religious forces issued a declaration alphabetically and held a great gathering.¹ As can be inferred from the SAVAK's reports, apart from the unity among the political forces with differing inclinations, various strata of people of the society, too, including the intellectuals, clergies, bazaaris, university-goers, and commoners took part in the ceremonies and gatherings.² This unity played an effective part to diminish the Pahlavi rule's authority.

Undoubtedly, the mysterious passing away of Sayyid Mustafa enhanced the struggling morale among the political and revolutionary forces. The ceremonies were more often than not held in a similar manner throughout the country. At the end of the ceremonies, the marches and protest demonstrations would be held which at times would result in some clashes with the disciplinary and security officers, too. This indicates that the people's rage for the actions and measures taken by regime had reached an eruptive point. The passing away of an outstanding figure like Haj Aqa Mustafa fanned the flames of the fire. In an interview with the BBC Radio in the serial, "The Story of the Revolution", Muhammad Shانه-Chi says in this regard,

It was a political trend, not that the passing away of the son of Mr. Khomeini raised that cue and cries, for the people were seeking an excuse and ground so they can hold a demonstration and initiate a movement. The death of the son of Mr. Khomeini was an issue being so good to raise hue and cries and take steps to...³

¹ Mahdi Bazargan, *Inqilab-e Iran dar Dow Harikat* [the Iranian Revolution in Two Moves], p. 24.

² Hamid Qazvini, *Athar wa Baztab-ha-ye Shahadat-e Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini* [Effects and Reactions of the Martyrdom of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini], *Hudur Quarterly*, no. 21 (Fall 1376 AHS), p. 199.

³ Imad al-Din Baqi, *Tahrir-e Tarikh-e Shafahi-ye Inqilab-e Islami-ye Iran* [The Writing of the Oral History of the Islamic Revolution of Iran], p. 262.

It is also referred to in the SAVAK's reports that from the passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa to his fortieth day ceremonies, extensive activities were made on the part of the religious and cleric forces in the form of street demonstrations. The people attacked on the corruption centers, bars, and governmental offices. These actions were indicative of their rancor against the regime as well as lack of compromise with the Pahlavi regime.¹ These actions continued even after the fortieth day ceremonies of Haj Aqa Mustafa,

After the fortieth day ceremonies of Haj Aqa Mustafa's passing away, the religious extremists, in the wake of their sabotages during the month of Muharram, once more got the chance to follow the damaging activities on a larger scale. In some cases, the fifteen- to twenty-member groups have embarked on holding street demonstrations and breaking the windowpanes of two branches of the Sadirat Bank in Mashhad and Ahwaz.²

In sum, the vagueness on the passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa on the one hand, and his most effective role during the struggle and his lack of compromise during the political life, on the other, gave rise to the SAVAK's having hand in his death. Given the bad and black record of the SAVAK in the society which was automatically related to the Pahlavi regime's structure, an atmosphere liable to criticism was formed. Having taken into account the apt political atmosphere, it changed into an uncontrollable crisis for the regime. Until the victory of the revolution, none of the policies and precautionary measures taken by the regime could curb its thunderous waves.

Since then, Imam Khomeini (s) and the Islamic movement turned to be the titles of the mass media in an international level. Many of the reputable and great journalists of the world made endeavors to hold interview with Imam Khomeini (s) as to his viewpoints and ideas. This, in its turn, made the movement acquire an international dimension and gave rise to the further introduction of the movement's leadership and essence. Owing to this, one can perceive the Imam Khomeini's (s) saying when he hinted on the divine unseen favors on the occasion of the fortieth day of the passing away of Haj Aqa Mustafa. ✍

¹ The Art Department of the Islamic Propagation Organization, *SAVAK wa Ruhaniyyat* [The SAVAK and the Clergy], vol. 1, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

CONCLUSION

Conclusion

Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini was brought up in a religious and scientific family and environment. Under the influence of such an environment, after passing the primary school, according to the Imam's advice, he entered to the Qum Theological Center and laid step towards the acquisition of Islamic sciences. Owing to his genius and scientific activities, he soon went ahead of his classmates and called the attention of his teachers to him. Imam Khomeini's observations and encouragements have also been effective in the dehiscence of his genius and endeavors in education. His professors have referred to his intelligence and sagacity as "the generative thought".

Owing to the above-mentioned genius and endeavors, he learned the primary course lessons which are supposed to be acquired between four to five years, during less than two and a half years. As such he could enter the Sath course successfully. Simultaneous with finishing the primary course, he was turbaned and became a clergy. During the Sath course, he was a well-known person among the theological students and professors of the *hawzah*. He completed this course during five years, too. During this course, he came totally out of the state of obligatory obedience [*taabbud*] as regards accepting the discussions and sciences and replaced it with research, reasoning, and intellectuality. He did not even accept the theories and sayings of the outstanding figures of the theological sciences merely for their names. Rather, he would analyze them. After acquiring some sciences like philosophy, and particularly Hikmat Sabzevari's *Manzumah* and *Asfar*, he began teaching them. He entered the Kharij course immediately and in the fifth year of this course, while being 27 years of age, attained the *ijtihadh* degree and became needless of the emulation. He has been given the

permission to practice *ijtihad* by Imam Khomeini. It is worth mentioning that Sayyid Mustafa's studies did not end in here. He continued his studies even during the 1340's and 1350's, i.e. at the time the exile of Imam Khomeini (*s*) to Turkey and Iraq. During this stage, the writing aspect was added to his learning and teaching one. The result of his several years of writing has today been published in the form of several books in the Persian and Arabic languages. His teaching and writing aspects are related to the compulsory residence period in Najaf.

Another part of the social and personal life of Sayyid Mustafa is related to the naivety and the devotional, mystical, and religious particularities. The naivety was the enduring and unending style of his life. He did not try to take advantage of his being noble born and other existing grounds to change the condition of his life. He would rather be naïve. The case in point for his naivety is his testament in which, from the worldly properties, he has just referred to his books. He has even recalled that there is need for caution that some of the books might have been bought with religious funds.

From the spiritual and mystical aspect, too, he was remembering God constantly, a man of supererogatory prayer, committed to reading the Quran everyday, familiar with the individual and communal prayers, and from the enthusiasts of the Immaculate and Infallible Family. To go on pilgrimage to the holy places, the shrine of the immaculate Imams, and the Islamic holy shrines was from the spiritual aspects of Sayyid Mustafa. To sum up, in devotional and spiritual acts, he had a unity of idea, action, and endurance.

Another aspect of Sayyid Mustafa's characteristic is the political one. As the social and personal aspect, in this aspect, too, Sayyid Mustafa had solidarity, unity of expression and action, foresight, and firmness. Prior to the onset of Imam Khomeini's (*s*) movement, he was more or less familiar with the political currents being active in the society. Without doubt, he was inclined towards the sociopolitical current. The turning point, however, in this regard, is the outset of the movement of Imam Khomeini (*s*) and his complete and all-out entrance to the movement.

The political life of Sayyid Mustafa is intertwined with that of Imam Khomeini (*s*) and the Islamic movement. From the beginning of the movement to the end of his life, he was always been along and hand in glove with the Imam in all major and secondary events. The only exception was in relation to the event of the Qum's Faydiyyah School in Faravardin 1342 AHS when he had gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Places. Imam Khomeini

(s) would always give priority to the Sayyid Mustafa's endeavor in education over other affairs. However, while fulfilling that request, Sayyid Mustafa, in practice, would make dual endeavors so as to take care of the Imam's food and health conditions, relations of different people with him, interchange of the information related to the Islamic movement, particularly during the exile period in Turkey and Iraq, political journeys to the Muslim countries, extensive communications with the Iranian strugglers.

One of the noteworthy issues on the political behavior of Sayyid Mustafa is related to the Iraqi government. During his 12-year-old residence in Najaf, he was always the center of attention of the Iraqi government. By different means, that government was planning to attract the interest of Sayyid Mustafa and, through him, that of Imam Khomeini (s) for common cooperation against the Iranian government. The existing documents and proofs, however, prove that the Iraqi government has not made any success in this regard. The Iraqi government made use of different ways such as compassion, alluring, and intimidation. Along this vein, the high ranking officials of Iraq paid visits with the Imam and him and declared their viewpoints lucidly. However, none of the above-mentioned ways would bring about a change in the political will of Sayyid Mustafa. He had a procedure in line with and fully similar to Imam Khomeini's (s). The Imam would also never be ready to cooperate with the Iraqi government.

The Iraqi government's relation with Imam Khomeini (s) and Sayyid Mustafa was affected by the relations of that country with the Iranian government. Until the sign of the 1975 Algerian Agreement, the relations of the two countries was strained. During this period, the Iraqi government made different measures. One of the most obvious of them was the extensive propagandas against the Iranian government. Along this line, the political opponents of the Iranian government and Iranian strugglers were invited to propagandize against the Iranian government through the Baghdad Radio. Different groups and people did so. The Iraqi government made Haj Aqa Mustafa an offer for that. He was aware of the offshoots of such action and its being open to abuse, negative propagandas against the Imam, and the similar aftermaths. On the other hand, he would not like to loss this apt opportunity, so he made use of it indirectly. Accordingly, he asked Sayyid Mahmud Dua'i, from the Iranian strugglers dwelling in Najaf and from the close companions of the Imam, to propagandize against the Pahlavi regime through the *Sida-ye Ruhaniyyat* Program being on air by the Baghdad Radio. The goal was that in case it would result in negative reaction and aftermath, it

was regarded as a personal action. And if it had positive aftermath, they make advantage of it in favor of the movement. Such happened and they made use of this radio during seven years to propagandize to the benefit of the movement. This showed the political vigilance of Haj Aqa Mustafa.

Another case related to the Iraqi government was the training of a number of the Iranian strugglers and training of the armed struggle by the Iraqi government. In this connection, Haj Aqa Mustafa acted so vigilantly. Without having a hand in it, he could take this opportunity and the trained ones rendered service for the Islamic movement. Some of them were also commissioned to guard the Imam's life in Najaf. In relation to acquiring military training and armed struggle, Haj Aqa Mustafa made other actions too. He himself acquired the military training and some of the strugglers trained in the bases of Syria and Lebanon (al-Fath bases).

The years after the conclusion of the Algerian Agreement during which the relations between the two countries of Iran and Iraq were outwardly normalized, the strugglers were driven into corner. Some limitations were exerted on Imam Khomeini and Haj Aqa Mustafa, for in order for the Iraqis to save their appearance they could not let the most dangerous enemy of the Pahlavi regime continue his activities. Therefore, different rumors and news were proposed during these years as to the change of the exile place or assassination of the Imam and Haj Aqa Mustafa. This time was definitely from the hardest periods of the Imam's and Sayyid Mustafa's exile. One of the causes of Imam Khomeini's (s) migration to Paris in Mehr 1357 AHS is rooted in the political transformations of this period.

Another important issue being paramount in relation to Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa, his biography, and the movement of Imam Khomeini (s) is his mysterious passing away in Aban 1, 1356 AHS. This importance had either its roots in the character and function of Haj Aqa Mustafa in the framework of the Imam Khomeini's (s) movement or the similarity of his political characteristics, thought, and procedure with Imam Khomeini's (s) as well as the political conditions of Iran and the essence of the Pahlavi regime. During his political activities in 1340's and 1350's AHS which had different stages, Haj Aqa Mustafa proves to be relied on and committed to firm principles, and that the difficulties of the day and pressures cannot weaken his will. The center of the activities was Imam Khomeini's (s) movement and no expedience was superior to the movement's interests. In reality, the thought of Imam Khomeini (s) was established in him who was younger and more

active. Owing to this, Imam Khomeini (*s*) has referred to Sayyid Mustafa as “the hope for the future of Islam”.

The political conditions and function of the Pahlavi rule during several decades to remove or exert limitations and serious obstacles for the opponents and strugglers had inculcated that, in each happening and occurrence against the strugglers such as removing them from the scene of politics and community, prevalence of rumors, etc. the SAVAK and Pahlavi rule play a part. It was possible that dubious events are also analyzed in this framework in the society. The passing away of Dr. Ali Shariati in Khordad 1356 AHS led to such analysis and feedback in a high level. Whereas, the documents and proofs prove today that his death has not happened by the hands of the SAVAK. The mysterious death of Haj Aqa Mustafa in Aban 1, 1356 AHS, yielded also such reactions and analyses.

Study of the memories of the closest ones to Haj Aqa Mustafa who were with till the last day of his life indicates that his death has not been natural but it has happened as a result of poisoning. While mentioning some reasons, they maintain that the Pahlavi rule has perpetrated this action either alone or in collaboration with the Iraqi government so as to remove a great obstacle along his path. And, by doing so, the regime would like to deal a dead blow to the activities and actions of Imam Khomeini (*s*). Owing to this, his family members and close companions hold that Haj Aqa Mustafa has been martyred. However, on account of the lack of Imam Khomeini’s permission to examine the corpse, that event can not fully be proven. As such, it is impossible to determine the authenticity or inaccuracy of that theory and it will remain as a mysterious matter of the history for ever. What matters here is that the his mystifying passing away event was tantamount to wave-creating death turning into a great hurricane in a short time and putting an end to the Pahlavi dynasty. The incessant mourning ceremonies provided the strugglers with a unique chance to introduce Imam Khomeini (*s*) and his movement further, and to criticize the Pahlavi rule and its actions. This happened under such conditions that the public opinion of the society was also so receptive to perceive the criticisms on the Pahlavi dynasty rule and be in step with it. It is for this reason that the analysts of the history of this juncture have regarded Haj Aqa Mustafa’s death as one of the root causes of the Islamic revolution’s victory.

To sum up, religiosity and rule of Islam was the main motive behind the sociopolitical activities of Ayatullah Sayyid Mustafa Khomeini. His sociopolitical programs were based on the Islamic rules and norms. In order

for him to attain the goal, he did not resort to any non-Islamic solutions whatsoever. The criterion of his relations with the political strugglers and opponents against the Pahlavi rule was Islam, too. Owing to this, similar to his fruitful life, his death, too, rendered noteworthy and undeniable assistances for the authority of Islam and triumph of the Islamic movement of the Iranian nation. ✍

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