

THE REVOLUTIONARY ISLAM

and

THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

A.EZZATI



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by

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Islamic Republic of Iran

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

ForeWord

The success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1978 has been one of the most important event in the Modern history and the most significant in the history of Islam and the Muslim community. Yet the Revolution of such a magnitude has met with unprecedented prejudice and injustice. It has been misinterpreted, ignored, mistreated and accused on purpose. However the Revolution itself and the impact it has left, despite all the efforts to isolate it on the world particularly on the Muslim ummah are making clear to the impartial truth-seeking intellectuals of the world and to the ever-Widening circles of readers the need for something more than the commercial, biased, superficial, filtered information given to the world by the press and news media of imperialism. The success of the Revolution in the face of strong resistance it has been meeting from colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism (left and right), Zionism, reactionarism etc. emphasises the ever-increasing importance of the Revolutionary Islam and its newly born child; the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and as a result the desirability of fresh impartial appreciation of this great event from within and by a qualified scholar .

The ministry of Islamic Guidance of the Islamic Republic of Iran forced by its moral obligation feels it as its prime duty to give the world, the educated and the intellectual readers a true picture of the Revolutionary Islam and the Islamic Revolution; the kind of picture that the Iranian section of the Muslim ummah truly have in their mind and conscience of the Revolutionary Islam which inspired them to make the Islamic Revolution in Iran a success and the kind of picture of

their Revolution which they would like the world and the impartial masses and intellectuals of the world to have of their Revolution .

It must be emphasised that although the Ministry appreciates this valuable work by Dr. A. Ezzati, it does not regard the author's views as the official views of the government of Iran .

Ministry of Islamic Guidance .

(July 1981)

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

PART ONE

THE REVOLUTIONARY ISLAM

- Chapter 1 The concept and the definition of Revolution and the
Page 1 basis of the Islamic Politics.

The **Definition** of the Islamic Revolution.
The basis of Islamic Revolution and Constitution.
Features of the Islamic Revolution.

- Chapter 2 Legitimation of the Islamic Revolution and the sources
Page 19 of Islamic Politics.

Sources of the Islamic Politics.

Fundamentals of Islamic politics, constitution and
Revolution.
The Socio-Political responsibility and change.
Principles of Islamic Politics.

- Chapter 3 Legitimation of the Revolution in Socio-Economic
Page . 37 terms.

- Chapter 4 The legitimation of the Islamic Revolution in moral
Page 47 terms.

Islamic moral as an Islamic Revolutionary **principle**.

- Chapter 5 The concept of worship as a Revolutionary principle
Page 63 in Islam.

Islamic Echatology as an Islamic Revolutionary prin-
ciple.

Chapter 6 Martyrdom as an Islamic Revolutionary tradition.
Page 69

Chapter 7 The concept of ummah (community) as an Islamic
Page 77 **Revolutionary principle.**

Islamic universalism, Internationalistic and universalistic
character of Islamic political principles and Govern-
ment.

The concept of minority and majority in Islam.

Chapter 8 Islamic activism.
Page 91 Islamic Political activism.
Islamic concept of history.

Chapter 9 Mehdisim as an Islamic Revolutionary tradition.
Page 105

PART TWO

THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION AND OUTLINES OF SHIITE ISLAMIC POLITICS AND REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS

Chapter 10 Imamate.
Page 109

Chapter 11 The basis of Walayat al-Faqih: the guardianship of
Page 117 the Islamic scholars (ideologue).

Chapter 12 Ijtihad and Taqlid.
Page 125

Chapter 13 The concept of leadership in Islam.
Page 133

- Chapter 14** The leadership of Ulama in the Islamic movements
Page 147 in Iran: Islamic communication system.
 Ulama.
- Chapter 15** The features of Shii Islamic politics.
Page 161 The main objectives of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.
- Chapter 16** A brief account of foreign interference in Iran and
Page 167 the Ulama's leadership in the struggle **against it.**
- Chapter 17** An analysis of the constitutional law of the Islamic
Page 203 Republic of Iran.
 Independence.
 Concept of democracy in Islam: Popularization.
 Concept of the theo-democracy in Islam.
 Exploitation.
 Approach.
 The leadership.
 Muslem women show the way forward.

PART THREE

IMPACT OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

- Chapter 18** Misinterpretation of the Islamic Revolution.
Page 225 Islam and other political ideologies.
 Islam and Capitalism.
- Chapter 19** The attitude of the superpowers towards the Revolution.
Page 241 Negative Impact.
- Chapter 20** Positive Impact.
Page 253
- REFERENCES**
Page 263

PREFACE

The Islamic Revolution in Iran took the world by Surprise. The Capitalist West and the Imperialist East had been familiar with the Industrial Revolution, French Revolution, Russian Revolution, Chinese Revolution and even the deposed Shah's White Revolution and Recently the Many forms of copied Revolutions. But they could not imagine an Islamic Revolution for this did not fit into their Framework of Revolution. It did not correspond with their absolutely materialistic mentality. They did not wish to believe it. The Partisans of Social Imperialism as well as the followers of Capital Imperialism could not, and did not want to understand that a regime such as that of the Shah's, who enjoyed their full support in all forms and shapes, armed to teeth, could be overthrown by a people who were armed only with their Islamic aspiration and beliefs. Hence this Islam and its Revolution had to be contained, curtailed and this is why it has been labelled by the Zionist, Capitalist and Communist Mass Media as fanatical. The distorted image and biased filtered information concerning Islam, the Islamic Revolution and Iran given to the world population did not quench the human natural thirst for the truth. The so called academic analysts, the journalists, the entire official news and media of the world gave the Revolution all sorts of materialist and sociopolitical-economic explanations. But they have not explained it in its true Islamic light. The authors, the publishers and the news and media have done their best to exploit the Market for books and informations concerning Islam and Iran. Books of various sizes, titles, contents and shapes have appeared in the last two years. But they have not truly done the Islamic Revolution justice. The intelligent West and the world intellectual community still wonders about the Revolution in Iran and is searching for the truth, for an honest explanation of the Revolution and for the exploration of the revolutionary traditions of Islam and mutual traditional relationship of Iran and Islam.

The present work is a sincere attempt to paint the Revolution in its true colours, to explain it from within-the way the Iranian people would like it explained. The author as an Iranian Muslim scholar who has been involved in the Revolution for a long time, as a University Professor of Islamic studies, and as a diplomat is qualified to satisfy the speculations, to give answers to the questions not dealt with yet and to explore the true causes, features and objectives of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and to introduce the Revolutionary Islam and thus help the intelligent, unsatisfied observer to overcome his agony and help him understand how Islam attracted the entire Muslim population of Iran to stand against all forms of fallacies, against the superpowers and against the powerful regime of the Shah, against colonialism, exploitation and Imperialism and how Islam continues to inspire the Muslim Community worldwide in their struggle against despotism, reactionary regimes, against the puppet regimes in their lands and against foreign domination and exploitation of their lands and peoples. We have concentrated mainly on the revolutionary Islam and the Islamic revolutionary tradition. This is because the Islamic revolutions, throughout the history of Islam, find their legitimation in Islam itself. Part two deals briefly with the Islamic revolution in Iran as an episode in the entire continuous Islamic revolution. Part three deals very briefly with the impact of the revolution.

PART ONE
THE REVOLUTIONARY ISLAM,
ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY
TRADITIONS

CHAPTER I

THE CONCEPT AND THE DEFINITION OF REVOLUTION AND THE BASIS OF THE ISLAMIC POLITICS.

It is fashionable in the Western traditional academic circles whenever they discuss social, political, historical and other theoretical subjects to trace the concepts and the terms applied for them to its Greek or Roman origin. This is because for Western minds everything emanates from Western culture and history. Studies of Islamic topics are not exempted from this general rule. In fact Western scholars study Islam in the Western framework. They have no Islamic approach for studying Islamic topics. This is partly responsible, next to missionaries' vindictive misinterpretation of Islam, for the miscomprehension of Islam in the West after 14 Centuries. However, the terms and concept of revolution and evolution in Western Society have their own history. Some classical writers had some notion of the concept of Revolution and evolution, though they were not sure of what words they should use for them. The reason, perhaps, why, classical writers had neither one concept of nor one word for "Revolution" is that there was no epoch-Making or classic revolution in their history like the French Revolution of 1789. 1- Thucydides and Plato used the word *Metabole* (as well as other words), change, for revolution. Polybius by completing the Platonic cycle of "ideal state deteriorating to timocracy, a timocracy into an oligarchy and so on through democracy into tyranny" (Platonic cycle) by making tyranny pass into an ideal state again and thus introducing Revolution and change as a fully cyclic process, (Polybius cycle) brings us very close to the Renaissance concept of revolution, the direct parent of modern Western term revolution. Aristotle introduces change with violence and change without violence (*Metabole Kai Stasis*, *Metabole*). Evolution now seems to be applied to change in time whether relatively fast or slow and Revolution to swift, sudden change caused by change in Minds of the revolutionaries. However, revolution is different from revolt, civil war, anarchy, reform, and simple change of government. The

Islamic concept of revolution does not comprehend with the cyclical concept of authority and sovereignty because power and authority remains indefinitely with Allah and that of people is always responsibility. Again history in Islam is conceived as the continuous movement of causes and effects to give man the opportunity to utilize his potential as the vicegerent of Allah and to fulfil his responsibility as the servant of The God. It derives its authority in the model set by the prophet and the instructions provided by the Quran but looks to the future. Its objective is to establish truth and justice. It is not thus necessarily a cyclical movement and hence not revolutionary. But it is revolutionary in term of change in minds and matter. However, it may be considered cyclical in the sense that the authority has to return and revert to its right source-God-whenever it changes its course.

But the Islamic Revolution does not move in circle ending up exactly where it started. In another word history and revolution in Islam does not repeat itself. The concept of history and revolution in Islam takes the cyclic-developing movement shape. It may thus take a cyclic move but it has a purpose to achieve and thus develops and moves forward to the full establishment of justice, peace, tranquility, equality, the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of those who deserve it and have earned it in earnest (just, divine, pious: Theo-Meritocracy).

It should be noted that suddenness and violence as the two main features of any revolution, as suggested by some, do not seem to be of special importance in Islam, though the Islamic Revolution in Iran was sudden for the outsiders. It was also violent, for the up to teeth armed regime of the deposed Shah and his secret police Savak, did not spare any violent measures to stop the revolution and used all forms of torture and persecution against the unarmed masses. It is thus appropriate to suggest that Islam introduces its own concept for revolution and that the term revolution does not fully correspond with the Islamic term Inqilab (انقلاب) and that the Islamic Revolution is a goal-oriented, future-oriented progressive revolution.

The Quranic term for change (Revolution) is Taghyeer (تغيير).

The Quranic verse suggesting the nearest term Taghyeer to Modern concept of revolution reads as follow: "God does not change the state of a people untill they change their own state".² This verse has been quoted by traditional Muslim revolutionary scholars such as S. Jamal Al-Din, Abduh, Rashid Riza,³ to encourage the Muslim Masses to take revolutionary measures. Among contemporary Muslim leaders and scholars it has become customary to quote this verse to entice people to revolutionize thier state and society. The basic meaning of the root Gh - Y - R (غير) is to change, to alter. On the basis of this Quranic verse and similar verses and on the basis of the principle of responsibility of man and accountability of every Muslim individuals and community God only changes the state of a people if they decide to change their own state. The Quran thus introduces the change and revolution in the light of the law of causalty and introduces historical determinism in terms of causes and effects, and thus introduces Man as the Mover and changer of history. This is different for instance from dielectical Materialist historical determinism and Christian fatalism in which Man has no role. In Christian Fuedal Society, revolution was not only unthinkable but unthought. Those who knew God (The Christian God) knew that God simply did not wish it. He had had enough of political revolution "before" the comparable cosmic revolution of the creation.⁴ While the classical Greek literature introduces the change, revolution and history as a cyclic process, the Quran introduces the change in term of causes and effects. It is possible that later on cyclical theories of politics and fatalism from the new Muslim convert peoples such as Persians and Indians contributed to explaining change in cyclic and fatalistic terms, but the Quran stays firm in introducing change of minds by peoples as the Main cause for outward changes. However, it is not right to discuss the concept of revolution purely in semantic terms. Islamic theology, ethic, politics, and Islamic principles such as the responsibility and freedom of Man, Islamic revolutionary traditions such as Martyrdom, Mahdism, Islamic concepts of worship, history etc. can clarify the concept of revolution in Islam and rightly introduce Islam as the revolutionary religion. Those who try to disscuss these solely in vague Semantic terms and explain them on misunderstood quotations should pay more attention to more fundamental principles in Islam.⁵

The term Taghyeer as a revolutionary term has been used in the Quran more than once. ie. "The change of the state of a people depends on the change of their state of mind." 6 Another Arabic term which is used in Persian language to define the Islamic Revolution in Iran is the term Inqilab. The word Inqilab, which is used in Islamic terminology to mean the change in the substance of things, 7 e.g. when wine turns and changes into vinegar, is from the root. Q-L-b, meaning reversion, conversion and transmutation. The word Inqilab has been used in the Quran in this revolutionary sense: "Those who have committed tyranny (Zulm) and oppression soon will realise what vicissitudes their affairs will take and know to what end they will revert". 8 The use of the verbal noun Inqilab as the equivalent of the term revolution is very common in the Turkish and Persian languages and is applied to the constitutional Revolution of 1905-11 (Inqilab Mashrootiyyat) and is applied to revolutionary political changes. The word Thawra (ثورة) is used in the Arabic Speaking countries to define French Revolution and the local revolutions of the Arab World. Though the use of the word thawra to mean stirring and excitement has a fairly long history its use in its modern sense "Revolution" is fairly recent. (see Āli Sharati, Thaar)

The history of Islam and Shiite Islam is also another source to provide us with enough material to make us able to understand the Islamic concept of revolution. The revolution against exploitation of Islam led by the companions of the Prophet such as Abu dhar and then the Revolution against Umayyads monarchical rule led by Imam Husain and later on the shiite Islamic Revolution against Abbasids regime soon after it replaced that of Umayyads. The shiites initiated and led the Revolution against both, the Umayyads and the Abbasids because they had hoped to change them with shiite Imam and the rightful government of the Ahl al-Bait. An analysis of the history of Islam shows that Islam itself appeared as the revolutionary religion and has worked as a continuous revolutionary movement ever since. This is even more true of the shiite Islam.

In a sermon given by Āli (P.b.u.h) the Imam and Caliph reviews and analyses the revolutionary spirit of his government: "By Allah who sent the prophet with his message and truth you

should know that you will be treated with justice, you will be severely warned, bitterly shaken, as in seiving. You will be fully integrated, mixed and stirred, the way the boiling pot is stirred, until those at the bottom, (The section of the society which is being Oppressed) moves to the top and those at the top sink to the bottom and those who are kept behind and suppressed move forward and attain their right positions. Those who were at the front for no reason would move back to their position. I swear by Allah that I have never disguised a single truth nor have I told a single lie. Those doing wrong shall be punished regardless of their position and those doing right shall be rewarded...

Both extremes-right and left-lead to destruction. The road to salvation is the straight path which is neither.” 9

It is therefore more appropriate to leave the full concept and definition of the Revoltionary Islam and the Islamic revoltion to the readers after reading the book. However, this should not be used as an excuse. We shall thus deal briefly with the concept and definition here.

The Definition of the Islamic Revolution

It must be pointed out that the Islamic Revolution in Iran is an episode in the continuous overall Islamic movement worldwide which was in turn caused by Islam itself which was revealed as the revolution in the real sense of the term revolution fourteen centuries ago through Muhammad himself. The Islamic movement is in a sense also that with certain Islamic elements but covers only certain aspect or aspects of the Islamic spiritual or secular life of the individuals or community. The Islamic movement thus covers the movement caused by Islam in the fields of ideology, e.g. the Muta-zila, the Āshāira, the traditionists, the Wahabis, the Akhbaris, the puritanical and the fundamentalist Islamic movements. It can be an Islamic movement in the field of politics, e.g. the Islamic Constitutional Movement of Iran (1905–11) etc. It can be an Islamic Movement in the field of economic, e.g. the Anti-Tobacco Monopoly movement and the Islamic movement of oil nationalisation in Iran 1948–50. The Islamic movement can be a liberation movement

such as the Afghani, the Algerian, the Palestinian, the Pattani, the Eritrean, the Moro, the Kashmiri liberation movements. They are all regarded as Islamic movements caused or influenced by Islam and are parts of the overall continuous Islamic movement. But the Islamic revolution is a comprehensive, objective, continuous, dynamic, massive, voluminous, intensive, anti-imperialistic, anti-exploitation, anti-oppression, anti-dictatorship, universal, divine revolution the cause, the spirit, the content, the object, the leadership, the approach, the means, the people of which are exclusively Islamic. It is thus correct to say that all Islamic revolutions may be regarded as parts of the universal Islamic Movement but not necessarily the other way round, that is to say not all isolated Islamic movements can be regarded as Islamic revolutions for Islamic movements do not necessarily require revolutionary activities. All movements which are partly Islamic can be regarded as Islamic but an Islamic revolution is that which is wholly and fully Islamic and nothing but Islamic, e.g. the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the revolution of Islam 14 centuries ago by the Prophet.

The Islamic revolution is that which is entirely Islamic and nothing but Islamic. It should particularly and at least cover ideology, politics and the realisation of the Islamic ideology and political system. The Islamic revolution as we see is a multi-dimensional revolution. It has to have at least three dimensions: ideology, politics and actions. The true Islamic revolution is that the whole purpose of which is the full implementation of Islam in the entire Ummah (massive) covering the whole sphere of the spiritual and secular life of the individuals and community (voluminous) and working as high and as deep as possible (intensive). It has to be intensive because it is not enough to have only feelings for Islam or knowledge of Islam, or even Islamic education. It has to go deeper than that so that the fabrics of the Islamic revolution are the true model of Islam and the incarnation of the true Islam. 10

Islamic revolution is also different from the Islamic reform movements which may have the ideological and even political dimension but lack the revolutionary (military) dimension. Islam itself is a movement which tries to move humanity towards Allah. Islam regards itself as the continuation of other divine re-

ligions and Muhammad is the last of (a succession of more than hundred and twenty four thousand) prophets ordained by God to move humanity toward God. We can thus conclude that the Islamic movement is not confined even to the Ummah movement but it covers the entire divine, continuous movement of humanity beginning with Adam right through to the end of time. Islam suggests that the divine religion has always been Islam (surrender to God) and all the Messengers of God and the neutral and natural mass have all been Muslims. (Those who submitted and surrendered themselves to God). The movement of humanity towards God is the Islamic movement of the entire humanity.

Again neither the Muslims' movements nor the Muslims' revolutions are necessarily Islamic movements and revolutions. The true muslim revolutionary is the person who exploits the Islamic potential to Launch the Islamic revolution for the realization of the true Islam as the only final objective and not the man who has the Quran in his hand and Islam at his disposal in order to achieve a secular, a materialistic or an un-Islamic objective though presented in Islamic traditions. The full realization of the true Islam should always be the only objective. We may thus stress that while there could be Islamic socialism and democracy there can never be Islamic materialism, Islamic secularism, Islamic racialism as there can never be Islamic atheism, polytheism or Islamic marxism for they cannot accomodate themselves with each other. The marxists or the secularists or materialists who hold Quran in one hand as means cannot be regarded as Muslims.

We have already pointed out that the first feature of revolution is that it should follow revolution and change in the minds. Islam has fully sponsored this fact by stating firmly that "God does not change the state of a people unless they first change their own state of mind" 11-The second most important feature of revolution is that it should be massive, popular and the change in the mentality of life of the masses. Islam thus suggests change of mind and change of people and masses as revolution. Analysing Islamic revolutionary traditions and activism Dr. Ali Shariati, who feels responsible in-mobilising the intellectuals to participate in understanding Islam and thus taking part in the revolution 12 supports the following

project: What is the basic factor that causes a society suddenly to change; to change totally its character, its spirit, its aim and its form, and to change completely? What is the motor of history? The various schools of sociology part company at this point. Certain schools do not believe at all in history and consider accident to be the basic factor. They relate revolutionary activities to accident (accidentalists). Another group is composed of the materialists and those who believe in historical determinism. According to this belief, individuals can have no effect on the fate of their societies, and society is a natural phenomenon that develops according to natural factors and laws (Marxist Communists).

The third group consists of those who worship heroes and recommend personalities as the motors of change and revolution. They believe that laws are no more than a tool in the hands of powerful personalities and have of themselves no effect on society. They believe that average and sub-average persons (masses) equally have no share in the changing of society. The only basic factor for them is the powerful personalities (Fascists).

The opinion also exists that the people, the generality of society (but not the masses) do play a role in determining their destiny. But no school of thought, not even democracy in its ancient or modern forms, claims that the masses are the fundamental factor in change and revolution. Democratic schools of thought believe that the best form of government is that in which the people participate; but from the time of Athenian democracy down to the present none of these schools has suggested that the broad masses of the people are the decisive factor in social change (revolution). The democratic sociologists, thus, do not regard the people (the masses) as the basic factor of social change. Different schools thus regard accident, determinism, great personalities, the elite, mere chance or divine will as the decisive factors of change (revolution).

In Islam and the Quran, none of the foregoing theories is to be found. Now from the view point of Islam, even the Prophet Muhammad, the greatest of personalities is not recognised as the fundamental factor of Islam. He is the responsible messenger, guide and warner. The people themselves are the responsible factor of change. In Islam and the Quran the prophet is the guide to show

men the guidelines and the path of the truth. People are free to choose the truth or to reject it. Accidents also have no place in Islamic world view and have no decisive role to play in Islam and change. It is the same with materialistic historical determinism for Islam recognises man as the responsible factor of change. The conclusion we deduce from the text of the Quran is, then, that Islam does not consider the fundamental factor in social change to be personality, or accident, or overwhelming and immutable laws.

In general, in Islam, the people (masses) constitute the fundamental and effective factor of social change. It is for this reason that we see throughout the Quran address being made to '*al-nas*' i.e. the people (the masses). Al-nas are the basic factor in change; development or decline. The whole responsibility for society and history is borne by al-nas.

The word al-nas is an extremely valuable one, for which there exist a number of equivalents and synonyms. But the only word that resembles it, structurally and phonetically is the word 'mass'. to whom the Quran 'always addresses itself.

In sociology, the masses comprise the whole people taken together as an entity without concern for class distinctions that exist among them or distinguishing properties that set one group apart from another. 'Mass' means, therefore, the people as such, without any particular class or social form. Al-nas has exactly the same meaning, i.e. the masses of the people; it has no additional meaning. The words *insan* and *basher* also refer to man, but they refer to ethical and animal properties respectively.

From this we deduce the following conclusion: Islam is the first school of social thought that recognizes the masses as the basis, the fundamental and conscious factor in determining history and society - not the elect as Nietzsche thought, not the aristocracy and nobility as Plato claimed, not great personalities, not those of pure blood, not the priests or the intellectuals, but the masses.

Islam thus appears to approach the theory of determinism in history and society; but it has something further to say on the

subject, modifying the law it has established. In Islam we have both human society (*al-nas*) being responsible for its fate and also the individuals that compose society being responsible for their destiny. The Quranic verse, 'For them shall be what they have earned and for you shall what you have earned' 13 and the verse, 'Verily God does not change the state of a people until they change the state of their own selves' 14 bear the meaning of social responsibility. By contrast the verse 'Every soul is accountable for what has earned' 15 sets forth the responsibility of the individual. Both society and the individual are therefore answerable and are basic factors of change. Islam thus suggests that the change and the revolution of the masses is through the change and revolution of the individuals and thus rejecting the idea of importing a revolution.

Islam, as a scientific school of sociology, believes that social change (including revolution) and development cannot be based on accident, for society is a living organism, possessed of immutable and scientifically demonstrable norms. Further, man possesses liberty and free will, so that by intervening in the operation of the norms of society, once he has learned of them, and by manipulating them he may plan and lay the foundations for a better future for both the individual and society. Maybe this constitutes one of the meanings, from the viewpoint of sociology, of the well known dictum attributed to Imam Jāfar as-Sādiq, 'Neither determinism nor absolute free will, rather a position intermediate between them' (*Lā jabra wa la Tafweed bal Amron bain al-Amrain*)¹⁶ لا جبر ولا تفويض بل امر بين الامرين the opposing poles of absolute determinism and absolute free will may be reconciled by the truth that lies between them. 17 In short, in Islam, four factors affect the destiny of societies: personality, accident, norm and people (*al-nas*). Among them the two most important are *al-nas* and norm, because *al-nās* represents the will of the mass of the people, and norm, the scientifically demonstrable laws extant in society. It must be pointed out that the mass or *al-nas* as a factor of change is the mass with the revolutionary mind and not the ignorant mass.

The basis of Islamic politics and revolution

It should be made clear from the very beginning that an Islamic

Revolution by nature is based on Islamic ideology and therefore bears its own special identity, features and characteristics which make it totally and completely different from any other materialistic, liberation and independent revolutions which the world has witnessed. In fact the Islamic revolution cannot be compared with any other revolutions. This is not to say that an Islamic revolution does not take into consideration liberty, independence, material welfare of the society and freedom into consideration. On the contrary, they are fully incorporated but as the secondary objectives and as the by-products of a more comprehensive concepts of freedom, equality, justice, development and so forth because Islam unlike other religions does not confine itself to purely rituals but it is an all-inclusive way of thinking, way of living and has its own world-view taking the entire humanity and-human activity into consideration.

(a) The Basis of Islamic Revolution and constitution

In short, the spirit of the Islamic revolution, politics and constitution is Islam itself. The fundamental doctrines of Islam and consequently of Islamic revolution and politics are as follows:

- (1) Power, authority and sovereignty belong exclusively to Allah (Tawhid). Man is free and cannot be subject of any power or oppression. In Islam, the power and authority belong to Allah and not to man (Tawhid. توحيد).
- (2) Muslim individuals and community are responsible towards Allah, towards each other and toward themselves, humanity and the universe. Religions have been revealed, prophets have been sent and scriptures have been revealed by Allah to explain this responsibility (Risalat). Islam is the most inclusive and comprehensive religion in which the eternal message of Allah and the responsibility of man and its fulfilment is fully explained. (Risalat رسالت).
- (3) Muslim individuals, community and humanity must treat each other, the non-Muslims, the humanity, the Universe and nature and its resources with justice, moderation and Consideration (Idalat عدالت).
- (4) Mankind is the vicegerent of Allah (Khalifat-o Allah) and is the noblest of all creatures. All human beings are created

equal and are to be treated as equals in the sight of God and as members of human community. Being the vicegerent of Allah, man is to bring about the government of Allah for Allah. Muslims are guided by Islam to lead humanity towards understanding and the realization of this task (Imamate and Khalafat امامت و خلافت).

- (5) The responsibility of implementing Allah's sovereignty and establishing justice is vested directly with mankind collectively and is delegated to their representatives through their free choice (Islam is the government of Allah by the Muslim community for Allah). **The freedom of choice and man's direct responsibility leads man to be rewarded for fulfilling his responsibility and to be punished for not doing so, hence Resurrection (Ma'ad معاد).**

In the world-view of Tawhid man fears only one Power, and is answerable before only one judge (Hakim). He directs his hopes and desires to only one source. And the corollary is that all else is false and pointless—all the divers and variegated tendencies, strivings, fears, desires and hopes of man are vain and fruitless.

Tawhid bestows upon man real independence and dignity. Submission to Him and dependence upon Him alone—the supreme norm of being—impels man to revolt against all lying powers, all the humiliating petters of fear and of greed. One further consequence of the world-view of Tawhid is the negation of the dependence of man on any social and political forces: The true source and cause of real independence and freedom. 18 Tawhid sets up the guidelines for many Islamic principles including independence and freedom; Islamic and Tawhidi freedom.

Although capitalism also recognizes freedom of the individuals there are no spiritual constrain on this freedom. The constrains that do exist are determined primarily by the pressure of competition or the coercive power of the state and secondarily by changing social norms without any spiritual sanctity. In the Islamic system, however, the individual is subject to invisible spiritual values, in all aspects of life, including the acquisition, spending and distribution of wealths. Islam normally recognizes, like capitalism, the

freedom of enterprise with the institution of private property, the market system and the profit, but it differs from capitalism because property in Islam, is a trust from God and man as trustee and vicegerent (Khalifa) of God is responsible to him and subject to His guiding principles. 19 Tawhid thus sets the guidelines for Islamic social, political, economic and spiritual principles at the **same time**.

FEATURES OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

Islamic revolution is thus catching, dynamic, militant, resilient, diffusive, resolute, deterministic, insistent, stubborn, resistant and thus bound to be progressive. 20 This leads us to the following conclusions:

1. Islamic revolution is first and foremost Islamic. It follows its own deterministic course. Its failure in an area, nation or circumstances does not necessarily mean its total failure. It is a continuous-movement covering all the various Muslim movements since the appearance of Islam 14 centuries ago and is going on until a truly universal and just Islamic community and state is established.
2. It does not have to be exported from one Muslim land to another for it follows Islam wherever it goes. It is not, for instance, the Islamic revolution in Iran which is being exported to other Muslim lands, for it was not, for example, exported to Iran in the first place. The same Islam which led to the revolution in Iran can lead other Muslim peoples to Islamic revolution in their own lands.
3. Because of its anti-oppressive nature and because it is the religious duty of the Muslims to help the oppressed and because of its deterministic nature it leaves its impact on the non-Muslim peoples. It is in fact a universal anti-oppressive revolution. Its universal victory has been promised.
4. It is Islamic and thus cannot accommodate itself with racism, nationalism, class system, secularism, materialism and all alien "isms".
5. The Islamic movement is a global movement, and, therefore a local war against Islam and Islamic movement is not possible. Similarly attack against Islam and Islamic revolution at a specific junction of history is not possible for it renews itself automatically and appears at another time. Islam is not bound by time and space.

It is the revolution of Ummah which is a three dimensional institution. It is beyond time, space and relativity.

6. The Islamic movement is the revolution of the masses, it will not be defeated by war against the ruling party, group, family etc. This is one of the main features of the Islamic movement in the world and certainly in the Muslim lands. The two major revolutions of the modern history, namely the Russian revolution of 1917 and the Chinese revolution of 1949 were Marxist and they were based on an ideology alien to the peoples of Russia and China, hence the mass persecution and Stalinistic style mass extermination of the people and unprecedented oppression. But the Islamic movement is the movement of the oppressed people, mobilised by the spirit of Islam and thus indigenous and popular. While almost all revolutions of the modern time were thus based on foreign and alien ideologies and forced themselves upon the people, the Islamic revolution because of Islam's independent nature, is based on native Islamic value system; the religion of the Muslim peoples and the Muslim lands for centuries.

7. Islamic movement is a positive self generating movement. It may therefore assert itself against the existing power. This can be clearly seen in the Islamic revolution in Iran which challenged not only a 2,500 old monarchy but it challenged also the powers and the superpowers (U.S.A., Russia and China). The two major revolutions of the world occurred after the 1st and 2nd world wars in situation of internal collapse of the authority. They succeeded mainly because they were the only alternative, because there was neither an internal nor an external threat, alternative or challenge. But the Islamic revolution of Iran succeeded because of its own positive values and force despite all universal, integrated, imperialist, Zionist, communist, reactionary challenges. Islam in Iran as a part of the Muslim world rose and survived against the internal imperialism (Shahanshahi) supported by various forms of international imperialism. It was a choice and one of many alternatives and not the only alternative.

8. The Islamic movement worldwide is based on both a revolutionary ideology and on a civilisation, cultural, legal and value system. It therefore can modify revolutionary hazards and succeed with very little post-revolutionary obstacles and difficulties.

9. As the Islamic movement is a universal Ummah movement, the enemies of the Islamic revolution are not only local and national ones but are international capitalism, communism, Zionism, reactionarism, feudalism, materialism, racism, and atheism; in short, all un-Islamic and anti-Islamic elements of the world, for "al-Kufro Ummaton Wahida". In other words, universal Islamic revolution is challenging its global united anti-Islamic enemies - Western cultures and the imperialist systems. The Islamic revolution in Iran is not an Iranian revolution, but it is the Islamic revolution in Iran. Its enemies are the enemies of Islam worldwide. This is why all the Muslims all over the world identify themselves with it irrespective of their nationalities and thus all Kufr finds itself against it.

10. The unity of the Ummah and of the ideology naturally challenges the united imperialism and the united global oppression. The entire Ummah can relate its ideal, history expectation, aspirations and identity with the Islamic Revolution in Iran as the first model for a long time, in fact since the model set by the prophet. In the same way all the enemies of Islam and Ummah find it a major challenge to them. The world view of Islamic revolution is that it is the movement of the oppressed Ummah as a single unity challenging both the oppressing and the anti-Islamic elements of the world at the same time. The Muslim land is divided into forty or so countries, but the Muslim Ummah is a single unity. The Ummah is undivided. This point has been clear in the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The most popular slogan of the revolution demonstrating the Islamic aspiration and identity has been "Neither East nor West, only Islam" (Na Sharqi, na Gharbi, jumhoori Islami). This slogan explains the position of the Islamic movement against other ideologies. The next very important slogan of the revolution in Iran has been "Neither Shiite nor Sunni, but Islam" (Na Shiáh, na Sunni, Inqlabi Islami). This slogan explains the position of the revolution as the movement of the entire Ummah as a single unity. We may conclude that the Islamic ideology and the unity of the Ummah are the two most important centre pieces of the world view of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

The leader of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini, has always made it clear that it is not a sectarian revolution.²¹

He has always been candid that the issues that have traditionally divided Ummah into the Shiah and the Sunni are no longer relevant. He has said in more than one occasion that the revolution in Iran is the Islamic revolution and not the Iranian revolution or the Shiite revolution.

Consequently the following points must be taken into serious consideration in any analysis of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

1. Islam took politics very seriously from the very beginning and established itself as a comprehensive way of life as a spiritual, physical and material, social and political system. Unlike Christianity which entered politics through the back door, Islam entered it through the main gate and Muhammad himself established the first Muslim state and government and introduced the Islamic political system for the first time.

2. Due to many obstacles, difficulties and unfavourable circumstances, Islamic political system stopped functioning, though Muslim civilisation flourished and Muslim governments continued for a long time.

3. The model Islamic government established by Muhammad has been giving aspiration and hope to the Muslims all over the world as the political framework to establish justice, freedom and dignity of man.

4. The present Muslim community, their forefathers and ancestors have been looking forward to and struggling hard to establish Islamic government system, state and they wish it for their children and descendents. Muslims all over the world have been striving hard in the past and present to reintroduce Islamic political system as the future political order for the Muslims all over the world in the future. Hence the continuous struggle and hence the famous tradition in the history of the Islamic movements: "In the beginning of every century God will raise one who shall reform and renew the faith".

5. The Islamic Revolution in Iran, e.g., is thus the Muslim's revolution and not only the Iranians revolution. It has succeeded as the result of the continuous dynamic Islamic movement since the early history of Islam. It thus belongs to all Muslims and is by nature to continue, spread and cover at least the Muslim world if not the

world.

6. It has cost the Muslim world quite a lot in lives, time and physical and spiritual efforts. It has cost the Iranians alone 70,000 martyrs and 100,000 injured and has cost the Muslim world many times over. It has thus to be looked after.

7. It is the last aspiration which has just been realised. And it is the missing identity which has just been regained, and it is the independence which has just been restored.

8. It is not threatened by external enemies; Western or Eastern, for they in fact cause the solidarity of the Muslims and strengthen the revolution. The real threat to Islamic Revolution is an internal threat by opportunists, hypocrits, reactionary elements, Westernised liberals and communist oriented Muslims, right and left.

CHAPTER 2

LEGITIMATION OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION. THE SOURCES OF ISLAMIC POLITICS.

The Islamic Revolution as an episode in the continuous Islamic Movement seeks its Legitimation in the followings:

- a) Islam itself, in the revolutionary traditions of Islam and in the spirit of Islam and in the continuous Islamic Movement.
- b) The cultural heritage of the peoples concerned. The cultural identity of the Muslim peoples is strongly intertwined with the Islamic culture and their Islamic identity.
- c) The consent of the Masses. This is particularly so of the countries with Muslim majority for the Muslims by the nature of being Muslims wish to establish the Islamic state, community and order. If they cannot voice their wishes and hopes the silent majority always would like their dreams to be fulfilled. The case of Turkey explains this. The forced secularism of Turkey have not been able to deprive the Muslim masses of Turkey of their dreams to regain their Islamic culture, their Islamic identity and their true aspiration for true independence. The protest marches and mass processions of the Millions of people from all sections of the Iranian people and the repeated Multi - Million demonstrations of the Iranian people all over the country both during the Shah's regime and after his overthrow explains the legitimation of the Islamic Revolution and its Continuation.
- d) The social, political and religious activities of the Islamic community under the general umbrella of the Islamic Movement throughout the history of Islam particularly during the last two centuries. e.g. the socio-political-religious movement of the Iranian people demonstrated in the forms of campaign against concession to foreign government, foreign interference, in form of Constitutional Revolution, nationalization of oil and natural resources, in the form of violent measures against the illegal regime of the Shahs, specially during the five decades preceding the Revolution.
- e) The Shiite Islamic, shiite traditions and culture, the Imamate,

the leadership of Ulama and Martyrdom.

The Islamic Revolution finds its legitimation in the continuous dynamic Revolution of all Monotheistic religions and in the Revolutionary Messages of the true prophets before Moham-mad. It claims to be the continuation of the Abrahamic revolution. (Quran. 16:36; 57:25;4:163-5;).

Sources of the Islamic politics.

It is now an established fact for the Muslims that Islam is a way of life covering physical, political and spiritual aspects. As we know the Shariah or the Islamic way of living covers legal, political, ritual and moral codes. Islamic law or Fiqh is not confined only to civil and criminal matters. It deals with politics, economic, social, national and international affairs too. Fiqh is variously defined by classical Muslim jurisconsults. But they all agree on this point that it is the knowledge, the discipline and the science of the rights and obligations of man and what is good and evil for man individually and collectively by means of their detailed guides and through their proper sources and reasonings. A glance at the contents and definitions of this all-embracing discipline (fiqh) would reveal that it covers all aspects of human life; political, economic and social as well as spiritual. 1 In view of the definitions and the contents of fiqh and the works compiled on it there remains no doubt that politics, constitution, national and international laws form part of Fiqh. Political, social and constitutional principles and rules are dealt with in Fiqh and books and works on it. A Muslim lawyer (faqih) is a constitutionalist as well. But this does not mean that there is no specialisation in the field of politics and constitution in fiqh. Many Muslim lawyers (Fuqahā) have become specialists in the field of politics and constitution such as Al-Mavardy, Al-Baghdadi, Al-Ghazali, Ibn Jama'ah, Ibn Taymiyya, Khaja Nasir al-Din Toosi, Allama Hilli, Muhaqiq Hilli, Sheikh-i Mofid, Mir-zaye Nainy and Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. Thus the question of separation of religion and politics which is now being taken for granted in the Western and Christian world has no legal ground in Islam. Besides, Muslims recognise Allah as the only law-giver and the real sovereign giving the rules of the conduct of the state and expressing provisions for further elaboration in political, economic and social affairs as well as personal, ritual and legal affairs.

The province of law (fiqh) and the scope for the law giver (Allah) and the space for the legal responsibility (Masoolit al-Amal wa al-Natija) of the individuals and the society in Islam is thus much wider than that in other religious and legal systems. Law (fiqh) in Islam is defined as the system designed by Divine commands to explain the rules of conduct and the way of life of the Muslim individuals and society in Muslim land (Dar al-Islam) or outside it in all fields. In Islam, religion is not reduced to personal faith and private rituals. Subjects of Muslim political and constitutional law and affairs are thus part of Islam (Shariah) and are included in the overall Islamic legal system (Fiqh) and thus political and constitutional law, rules and principles in Islam enjoy as much sanctity, divinity and sacredness as the law of inheritance and private law.

The sources and roots of the political and constitutional law in Islam also are the same as the sources of civil and private laws, (the Quran, the Sunnah, the consensus of opinion (Ijma') and analogy or rational principles Qiyas or Aql.).

(the practice of devoted Muslim Caliphs and Imams, rulers and their awards, arbitrations, treaties, pacts, instructions, and the opinions of qualified Muslim jurists (Mujtahids, Fuqaha), and the customs and usage of the Muslim community as sources of Islamic political and constitutional laws are to be sanctioned by the four main sources of law and they certainly should not contravene the classical sources).

- a. The Quran as the collection of the Divine revelations deals with political and constitutional subjects directly and indirectly, e.g. it states with clarity that sovereignty and authority is vested in God alone. 2 The Quran unequivocally condemns disorder and anarchy. 3
- b. The Sunnah: Prophet Muhammad as the messenger of Allah established the first Muslim state and explained by his words, actions, and approvals political and constitutional principles and rules. The Sunnis believe that the practice of the Caliphs and the Shiites believe that those of Imams are just as valid as those of Muhammad himself and are regarded as Sunnah. The Prophet and Imams stressed the need for order, organisation and authority in Muslim community.

- c. **Ijma'** or the consensus of Muslim community and jurists (including Imams according to Shiites) has been recommended as one of the main sources of law by the Quran and the Sunnah e.g. my people will never be unanimous in error. (لا تجتمع امتي على خطأ - على الضلالة). **Ijma'** also vividly stresses the need for an Islamic government. 4
- d. **Qiyas** (analogy) according to Sunni schools and **Aql** (human reason) according to Shiit school are also accepted as one of the four main sources of Islamic law (**Fiqh**) in general including political and constitutional law. **Aql** and **Qiyas** too emphasise that there could be no Muslim community without Islamic government.

As we have already mentioned the following sources are also accepted as supplementary and auxiliary sources of political and constitutional speculation.

1. The practice of devoted Muslim caliphs and rulers.
2. Works on political and constitutional precedents.
3. Usage, practice and customs of the devoted Muslim community.
4. Works on political, constitutional, social sciences and other relevant disciplines.
5. Works on administrative, fiscal, military fields and allied subjects.
6. Works on general and private international law.
7. Literature dealing with political and relevant topics.
8. Works on Islamic law (**Fiqh**) in general.
9. Works on Islamic theology, particularly works of theopolitical values.
10. Works on the history of Islam and works on the philosophy of history.

It should be borne in mind that political science and constitutional and international laws in Islam enjoy greatly from Islamic theology and they therefore may benefit tremendously from works on Islamic theology and may use the sources of Islamic theology. Islamic theology and philosophy and Islamic theological and philosophical schools, thoughts and works may serve Islamic political, constitutional and international sciences greatly. In fact there is a very strong relationship between Islamic political and constitutional law and science on one side and Islamic theology on the other.

We can thus recommend Islamic theology and philosophy as one of the main sources of Islamic political science. The conclusion cannot therefore be avoided that the Islamic political discipline as part of overall Islamic law (Fiqh) enjoys from the same sources of Sharia.

Islamic theology and the Muslim theologians define Islam as a system which covers faith, practice and declaration of faith (Al-Islam Howa al-Itiqād, wa al-Iqrar wa al-Ámal) all at the same time. Thus all rules of the conduct of the state and the society and their relations must be based on the commands of God and must be included in the overall scope of Sharia and be sanctioned by Allah. Political and constitutional affairs must be finally determined by God and the ultimate right of sanctioning good and evil in this field, like other fields, belongs exclusively to Allah alone. Islamic concept of sovereignty lies in Sharia and Islamic political theories are discussed in the Islamic law proper, fiqh. In other words they draw their validity from the eternal principles of Islam which are divine in origin and form the legal principles which are accepted by the Muslims as the guidelines for social, political and religious activities of humanity and the Muslim community. Explaining the divine nature of politics in Islam, Imam Khomeini suggests: 'If we believe that those rules and laws which Islam has founded have a permanent validity and that Shariá does not approve of anarchy and lawlessness then it clearly follows that to establish an Islamic government is obligatory upon us...'.⁵ Islam regards religion as the way to conduct life in its totality, on earth. Religion has no other business than this purpose. It is a dimension of earthly life, realised in full when that life is lived morally under God, i.e. responsibility to nature, to oneself, to the society and to God. Unlike the other religions which erect for themselves a whole kingdom other than the world where they rule 'beyond' life on earth, Islam declares itself the conscience of this earth, this life.⁶

We do not intend here to enumerate the sources of Islamic political and constitutional laws. Nor are we in a position to speculate in length on Islamic political and constitutional sciences and topics. Our concern here is mainly to explain briefly how politics and constitution are included generally in the general Islamic law (fiqh) and that political and constitutional sciences benefit from the same

reverence and veneration that Islamic personal law and even Islamic rituals enjoy. In fact Islamic political and constitutional topics are usually discussed by the same Fuqaha and Mujtahids along with Islamic rituals in the same books and works, except in cases of specialized books and specialized lawyers and jurists. The objective and purpose of political and constitutional laws is considered to be the same as that of, for instance, personal and family law, that of salvation (السعادة) and comprehensive happiness and felicity of mankind. Some of the Muslim jurists, indeed, give special prominence to Islamic political and constitutional sciences, for they provide the Muslim community with the orderliness and discipline required for fulfilling one's overall duty and responsibility. They introduce peace and orderliness (النظم والنظام) as the pre-requisite (مقدمه - شرط) for the fulfilment of one's responsibility towards his God, his community, his fellow human beings, his co-religionists, his family and himself. 7 Imam Khomeini suggests that reason and common sense (aql) dictates that in the absence of an Islamic government, Islam itself will disappear. This is to say that the establishment of the Islamic government is a pre-requisite for the fulfilment of Islam itself. 8

We may thus conclude that Islamic political and constitutional disciplines share with the general law (Fiqh) the same sources, the same goals, the same reverence and even the same ultimate sanction.

Comparing Islam with Christianity we would like to explain briefly that unlike Christianity which on the basis of 'Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also' (Matthew V. 39) or 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesars; and unto God the things that are Gods' (xxii: 21) or 'put up again thy sword into his place: for all they take with the sword shall perish with the sword' (xxvi: 52); 'My kingdom is not of this world' (xviii: 36) and many similar saying, has separated faith and politics, Islam strongly believes in the unity and harmony of religion and politics. A review of the sources of Islamic law proper provides us with justification of this view. The Quran frequently invites peoples and the Muslims to run their political affairs and invites the oppressed people to change their own state of affairs. This is the basic legalisation and theological

explanation for revolutions and revolutionary activities of the Muslims throughout the history and this is the cause and objective of the many Islamic movements in time and space.

The Rational conclusion of what has been said regarding the reverence and sanctity of political activities is that not only politics is not a dirty game but it is a religious duty which must be met and fulfilled and it must satisfy the Divine objectives and cannot and should not lead to tyranny, corruption, inequality or anything contrary to the divinity of law and politics, thus making it the responsibility of every Muslim to fight for a Divine cause and against oppression and tyranny and hence the revolutionary nature of Islam. It must be clear from the origin, sources and objective of politics and political activities that they should be taken seriously and that Islam attaches great importance to them and that it is the religious responsibility (المسؤولية الشرعية - فرض الكفا) of every Muslim to participate in social and political activities. The conclusion cannot therefore be avoided that in Islam, political activities and socio-economic endeavour constitute not only the main parts of the whole Islam but are intertwined with other parts of Islam as one whole. Islam is indeed an ideology in the sense that the Sharia and fiqh, its law, have given us a pattern of political responsibility and principles with which we put in order our society and our socio-economic and political lives. Islam is a consistent whole and a goal-oriented way of life in which all aspects of human life including social, economic and political aspects are taken into consideration. The Islamic way of life, being goal-oriented, is inconceivable without an organised community governed in accordance with the tenets of Islam. 9 (Islamic political system and Islamic government).

Nevertheless, although the whole political and constitutional laws are in a sense parts of the overall Islamic legal system they have been treated by many specialized Muslim jurists mainly because of the prominence that they enjoy. But despite the status of independence that political and constitutional disciplines acquired later on in the course of the development of Islamic studies they have kept their religious, spiritual and ethical values and they still retain them and hence the full harmony of religion and politics in Islam. Political and constitutional theories and activities still have to be

sanctioned by original Islamic sources and they still have to enjoy full religious approval. Political and constitutional sciences still have to remain subservient to the Shari'a and fiqh and political and constitutional activities have to meet divine, religious, ethical and spiritual objectives and be in full harmony with Islamic doctrines and principles in order to contribute to the well-being of man, the Muslim community and in order to enjoy the approval of Islam. Political, constitutional and revolutionary activities always have to retain their ethical, spiritual and Islamic basis and have to continue to be guided by Islamic principles, doctrines and standards and have to fit within the Islamic framework. If they do not provide the basic principles of justice, equality, dignity of man, the emancipation of humanity from any bond and loyalty except that of Allah then they must be got rid of by all means and all measures including revolutionary means and measures.

FUNDAMENTALS OF ISLAMIC POLITICS, CONSTITUTION AND REVOLUTION.

It is high time the non-Muslim world understood the true Islam and the devoted Muslims and stop introducing their own brands of socialist Islam (mainly introduced by communists and their sympathisers and those who try hard to introduce Babrak Carmal as the true Muslim, like Halliday and leftist orientalisists) or capitalis Islam (mainly introduced by the west and its sympathisers and its offspring, the orientalism, 10 Who introduce Islam as a fanatical religion and try hard to project the deposed Shah as the true Muslim). It is also high time that the non-Muslims or the Muslims who are fed by the non-Muslims or by anti-Islamic media to adopt an impartial attitude towards understanding Islam and the Islamic revolution of Iran and stop introducing it only in socio-economic terms or as a fanatical or as a sectarian revolution.

Islamic political, constitutional and revolutionary thoughts, principles and activities have their roots and basis first in Shari'ah in general including Islamic creed and theology and secondly in Islamic legal system, Fiqh, and thus giving them a strong legal and juristic character and nature and finally in Islamic ethical and

spiritual systems.

The most important and fundamental principle in Islam is the doctrine of monotheism. Monotheism in the strictest sense of the term. Monotheism in Islam is not only a theological principle but it is the cornerstone of Islamic epistemology and the most basic principle of the methodology of Islam and all Islamic studies. According to this principle authority, sovereignty, judgement and power and the right of giving commands exclusively belongs to Allah.¹¹ Even the Prophets have no authority of their own but are the representatives and the messengers of Allah.¹² Allah's authority is not confined to only metaphysical issues but it is inclusive and covers political aspects too. This doctrine emancipates and liberates the whole humanity from all forms of subordinations, dependency, and subjugation and provides Muslims with a strong revolutionary spirit and with a strong sense of independence. This doctrine provides Muslims with the legal, political, spiritual, social, theological and ethical justifications for trying to establish a divine order, a just government and political system and to fight against imperialism, dictatorship, colonialism, subordination, oppression, tyranny, power politic, authoritarianism, totalitarianism and all forms, shapes, kinds of rule that is contrary to monotheism. In fact to be a good Muslim is to be a good monotheist (موحّد). Mowahid and a good Muslim community with an Islamic sociopolitical system is a society with true monotheistic system (al-Nizam al-Tawhidi).¹³ The doctrine of monotheism and its impact on all Islamic systems makes Islam a rational revolutionary religion with consistence but revolutionary system of belief and with legal but liberal system of politics and government for an Islamic political system is not only the system which is based on monotheism and is emanated from it but it should continue to be monotheistic all the way through. This is not indeed a revolutionary interpretation of Tawhid and Islam but it is Tawhid and Islam itself. We can thus conclude that it is not enough for the Islamic political system to be set up by revolutionary measures but also has to continue to be revolutionary. We can also conclude that legalisation and constitutionalisation of the Islamic political system does not contradict with its revolutionalisation. These two in Islam are in harmony and they both draw their justification from the same source (Tawhid, the revelation

in its direct form (Quran) and indirect form (Sunnah, Ijma and other sources).

The negative aspect of tawhid (rejection of the value and authority of anything other than that of Allah) though indicates a process as it must precede the fullest expression of the positive content is indeed of no less importance than the positive aspect. Ali Shariati, the Iranian intellectual revolutionary leader, is greatly influenced by the negative aspect of tawhid which is of special significance in revolutionary ideology against dictatorial and despotic systems. Some scholars even believe that 'what is distinctly Islamic - and hence novel - in Tawhid as a metaphysical principle, is the negative aspect of its statement'. A positive aspect of Tawhid, namely that of believing in a universal God, instead of many tribal, national, regional or even racial God, also holds a special position and significance in unifying revolutionary activities and in establishing a universal popular government and a global just system. The doctrine of Tawhid or inclusive monotheism which gives the right of authority, power, loyalty, sovereignty and giving commands exclusively to Allah leaves no authority and power for human being but leaves man with only the responsibility of carrying out Allah's commands which is entrusted to mankind individually (فرض الممين individual responsibility) and collectively (فرض الكفاء collective responsibility) in the form of making humanity the vicegerent of Allah (خليفة الله). The Divine government, according to Islam, is not God's kingdom in heaven but it is the fulfilment of Allah's wishes in this world too. 14

We may thus conclude that:

1. Sovereignty belongs exclusively to Allah. The real status of an Islamic state is not that of a sovereignty but that of responsibility in the form of vicegerency.
2. The responsibility and vicegerency is vested with state, individuals, as well as the community and they should not contradict each other.

Let us now elucidate how these two principles work together and how they accommodate themselves in modern political system.

To say that an Islamic state possesses absolute authority, power and sovereignty with regard to Allah is un-Islamic. But an Islamic state is no doubt a sovereign state with regard to non-Islamic states in the real sense of the term, for its sovereignty is really that of the true and real sovereign (Allah) in the form of vicegerency of the Muslim state. As Allah's sovereignty is continuous and eternal, man's vicegerency and responsibility is also continuous.

As we have mentioned earlier the most striking characteristic of Islam is its strict monotheism, which has introduced Islam as a Tawhidi system (al-Nizam al-Tawhidi). We are not in a position here to explain how Islamic monotheism is a unique feature of Islam.¹⁵ Not only has Islamic monotheism contributed directly to Islamic dynamism and continuous rejection and revolt against all Taghooti regimes (tyrannic, oppressive Satanic government) but it has also contributed indirectly to it too by contributing directly to other Islamic revolutionary traditions and principles such as Islamic brotherhood, universalism, egalitarianism, Islamic worldism and the ethic of action, and thereby it accomplished multi purpose; e.g. that of acknowledging God as sole creator of the Universe, that of equalising all men as creatures of God with one God, one religion and one entity, endowed with the same essential qualities of creaturely humanity, with the same cosmic status.¹⁶ Tawhid commits man to an ethic of action; that is to an ethic where worth and unworth are measured by the degree of success the moral subject achieves in bettering the flow of space-time, in his body as well as around him.¹⁷ Thereby investing every individual Muslim with individual responsibility (فرض العین) as well as investing the Muslim community and humanity with an overall responsibility (فرض الكفایة). The idea of the individual's responsibility for everything he/she does and believes; a principle of great importance for revolutionary movement seeking to detach people from habits of obedience and deference to established authorities, traditional systems and customs. ¹⁸ Disturbance of the flow of space-time, or transformation of creation, therefore, is the moral imperative of the Muslim. He/she must enter the rough and tumble of history and therein brings about the desired transformation.¹⁹

This in turn leads to Islamic activism. What does it mean to

say that Islam is activist and Muslims are activists. It means that Muslim individuals and community are responsible for their own felicity (Falah), salvation (Saadat) and for their own life and worldly affairs. 'God does not change the state of a people unless they change themselves;20 Men make their own history and are responsible for their own state of affairs individually, and socially. It is the religious duty of every Muslim to struggle to bring into being and maintain a perfect Islamic just community by Ijtihad or Jihad or by both (individual initiative or collective struggle).

The concept of comprehensive individual and collective responsibility, including political responsibility for Muslim has legal explanation as well as theological one. The Islamic - principle of Amr bil al-M'aroof wa al-Nahy A'n al-Munkar (the duty of encouraging, spreading and enjoining the good and forbidding the bad) is a religious, moral, legal and political precept. That is to say that since the full implementation of Shariah is not possible unless the right political and social conditions are provided it is imperative to establish the Islamic political system. This doctrine forms the centrepiece of Shii theory of government and Shii concept of politics more than it does in Sunni schools. This principle justifies, grants or even makes it imperative to protest and challenge the un-Islamic or anti-Islamic governments and political regimes and replace them with the Islamic ones. The prophet is reported to have said: "there is no obidience (duty of) in sin"; "Do not obey a creature against his Creator". And thus providing the ground for the Islamic doctrine of the duty to resist and revolt impious, unjust, curropt, oppressive government and rulers which in early times was of crucial historical significance (B. Lewis. Islamic concept of Revolution). This principle is responsible for many Islamic movements, rebellions and revolts and is the basis for martyrdom (Shahadat). The principle of Amr bi al-Ma'roof also makes it the responsibility of the Muslim community (Ummah) to fight oppression, tyranny, exploitation and imperialism at the international level and thus making Islam the religion of the oppressed peoples throughout the world and an international and universal revolutionary religion. The injunctions in the Quran 21 that the Muslim community is the community of justice, that should command and spread good and stop the bad and the wrong and oppression forms

the main feature and characteristic of Islam. The Quran says: 'Let there arise out of you a community inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong, that is the community that attains felicity and salvation'.²² Another verse reads: 'Ye are the best community evolved for mankind enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong'.²³ Another verse which is more relevant reads: 'Why do not you fight for the sake of Allah and for those oppressed men, women and children'.²⁴ In fact the principle of Jihad is based on the principle of Amr bi al-Mar'oo'f wa al-Nahy An al-Munkar. We may conclude that the Islamic principles of social responsibility (من اصبح ولم يهتم بامور المسلمين فليس بمسلم) (He who wakes up in the morning and is not concerned with the affairs of the Muslim community is not a true Muslim), of Amr bi al-Mar'oo'f, and of Jihad have all contributed towards Islamic political activism and revolutionary spirit. For Muslims in general there is no divorce between secular and religious affairs. For them the issues of politics and government cannot be avoided. Combatting corruption, oppression, tyranny and exploitation and power politics is sanctioned by Islamic law, theology and by Islamic traditions and verses from the Quran. Corruption of government and corruption on earth is to be fought against. The principle of Amr bi al-Mar'oo'f holds a very special position in Shiite Islam. A prominent Iranian Muslim activist, politician and intellectual, Mehdi Bazargan, believes that for the Shiah the issues of politics and government cannot be avoided. He believes that it is the religious duty to struggle against the corruption of government (*hukumat*) by the predatory actions of secular authorities. Moreover, it is insufficient to fight this corruption on an individual basis. What is needed is *muqavimat* (struggle and resistance), *irtibat* (communication), *Tashkilat* (organisation and discipline) and *tujammu* (co-operation and association).²⁵ Bazargan cites and quotes the very same Quranic verses dealing with Amr bi al-Mar'oo'f to support his thesis concerning Islamic political activism. He quotes the verse 'you are the best community evolved for mankind enjoining what is right and good and forbidding what is wrong and bad'.²⁶ The Shiah must remember that out of eight practical branches (*Furu'*) of Islam, four deal with government and politics: Khums (Islamic tax of the fifth of income), Jihad, Amr bi al-Ma'roof and

finally al-Nahy an al-Munkar. 27 In fact one of the channels for incorporating social, economic and political issues into the religious ones is the principle of Amr bi al - Maroof. Because this principle has been treated in so many different subject areas of the religious sciences (Fiqh, Usool Fiqh and Akhlaqu) by many distinguished and eminent classic authors and scholars such as Nasir al-Din Toosi, Allamah-i Hilli and Muhaqqiqu-i Hilli, there can be no doubt that the principle is meant to be 'the foundation for the reform of society'. 28 The contemporary Iranian scholars complain that the principle of 'Amr bi al - Ma'roof has become a cliché and a limited concept for people who pay no attention to that aspect of it that is concerned with improving social, political and economic affairs and aspects of their lives. 29 The principle of Amr-i bi al-Ma'roof is really an inclusive principle in which religious, social, political and economic responsibility is formulated. There are other Islamic principles, besides Amr bi al - Maroof, Shahadat, Tawhid, Khalifato Allahi, and Riayati Ijtima'i رعاية الاجتماعی (collective responsibility,) that have contributed to Islamic activism, revolutions and movements and Islamic dynamism. Some of these are the principles of striving for justice (Idalat), Islamic universalism, Islamic brotherhood, Islamic egalitarianism, legal activism (or Ijtihad), Islamic concept of leadership (Imamat), Jihad, Islamic ethical values such as moderation, austerity, condemnation of oppression, aggression, greed, voracity, sorcery, luxury, extravagance, gambling, usury, alcohol etc. and the principle of consultation (Shura), Islamic view of the world, Islamic view of history as the living process, and other Islamic principles and doctrines of special interest. Some of those with special significance for Shiite are the principle of Imamat, Ijtihad, Martyrdom, walayat al-Fuqaha or the Guardianship of the Ulama and Mehdimism.

Imam Khomeini appealed frequently to the principle of Amr bi al-Ma'roof to support his political revolutionary thoughts and activities. He argues that the two Faru' of the faith, namely Jihad and Amr bi al-Ma'roof, have provided the justification that 'from the beginning of mankind prophets and the clergy were charged... with rebelling against despotic governments...' 30 The doctrine of Amr bi al-Marooof holds a very important position in his very well known series of lectures published as a book under the title 'Huku-

mat-i Islami' (Islamic Government).

Islamic universalism is also closely associated with the principle of Amr bi al-Marooḥ, for if Islam is to be the religion of the world it has to be spread by the Muslims by the means of Amr bi al-Ma'roof. Amr bi al-Ma'roof and revolutionary nature of Islam seek to establish a model Islamic community on a worldwide basis. The Quran certainly introduces the Islamic society as a model society (Uswat *اسوة*). 'Thus have we made of you an Ummat (Community) justly balanced, that you might be witnesses (models) for the peoples as the apostle has been a witness (model) for you'.³¹ A Muslim or the Muslim community thus have a goal to achieve (the spread of Islam, the eradication of oppression and tyranny, the establishment of justice all over the world and thus making their faith a dynamic and revolutionary religion.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND CHANGE

The principle of individual and collective responsibility of man and Islamic activism lead us to conclude that:

- a. Man is responsible for socio-economic-political changes. There is no historical determinism and thus there is no social fatalism or even religious fatalism for 'God does not change the state of a community unless they change themselves'³² according to the Quran.
- b. Man as the vicegerent (Khalifa) of Allah possesses a great potentiality as the active agent of change and all other forces have been subordinated to him in his capacity as God's vicegerent. 'Allah hath made subject to you the night and the day'.³³ 'It is God who has subjected the sea to you... and He has subjected to you all that is in the heaven and on earth: Behold, in that are signs indeed for those who think and reflect'.³⁴
- c. Changes thus include external changes and internal (heart and soul) changes.
- d. Changes consist of religious changes and socio-economic-political changes. The Holy Quran severely condemned the destitute refugees as people responsible for the politico-economic predicament in which they stood: 'They say in what (plight) were you?

They reply: weak and oppressed were we on the earth'. They say 'was not the earth of God spacious enough for you to move yourself around?' Such men will find their abode in Hell, what an evil refuge'. 35

e. 'Life is a network of inter-relationships. Change means some disruption in some relationships somewhere, as there is a danger of change becoming an instrument of disequilibrium within man and in society. Islamically oriented social change would involve least friction and disequilibrium, and planned coordinated movement from one state of equilibrium to a higher one, or from a state of disequilibrium towards equilibrium. As such change has to be balanced and gradual and evolutionary. Hence the revolutionary-evolutionary balanced, emotional-Rational Islam. Innovation is to be coupled with integration. It is this unique Islamic approach which leads to revolutionary changes through an evolutionary trajectory'. 36 Islam thus proposes a synthesis of evolution and revolution, of reason and feeling and of quantitative and qualitative, of matter and spirit of physic and mind, something which is missing in other religions and political ideologies. To be more concrete, the Islam that caused the revolution in Iran, the type of Islam that inspired the leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran, Ayatollah Imam Khomeini, is a balanced Islam with a complete system of ideology and a set of defined goals, and ways of behaving (way of life), that rise out of this system which can mobilise and tranquilise, revolutionise and evolutionise, pacify and excite, constitutionalise and institutionalise at the same time with proper balance.

PRINCIPLES OF ISLAMIC POLITICS

- a. Sovereignty and the right to command (governing and ruling) belongs exclusively to Allāh. God alone holds control over heaven and earth. 37 Discretion (Hukm, the power to govern or the authority to make decision) belongs only to God. 38 (Tawhid توحيد)
- b. The position of the Prophet and the Muslim community is that of responsibility in carrying out God's commands. It is that of judging and arbitrating amongst the peoples according to the commands of Allāh. 39 (Risalat رسالت).
- c. Mankind is the vicegerent and representative of Allāh with

responsibility to establish the kingdom of Allah on earth (Khalifa) and man has been entrusted with this mission.

d. As the vicegerent of Allah man has been appointed as the trustee to look after and restore things entrusted to him (rule, government) as God's trust (Amanat) to its rightful owners. 40

e. God extends (Sirayat سرائت), He does not transfer (Intiqal انتقال) some limited authority to the Prophet, Imams and those leading the community to fulfil His commands. 41

f. The Islamic community and Islamic way of life is inconceivable without law and order. Islam and the Quran condemns disorder and anarchy. 42

g. The responsibility of establishing order and organising the affairs of the Muslim community is directly vested with the community as collective religious duty (Wajib al-Kifai; the community with Imam according to Shii Islam) and through the community to the representatives or representative of the community.

h. Islamic political system and government, is goal oriented; -felicity of man-and cannot be power politics or cannot find its goal in politics itself (politics for politics).

i. Islam sets the basic principles of its political system but leaves the form of government to the Muslim community.

j. i.e. Islamic politics and government has to be consultative and representative 43 but the forms of consultation is not predetermined. It is left to the Muslim community.

k. Islamic political system is closely intertwined with other Islamic systems specially Islamic jurisprudence for they share the same sources and find their roots and justification in the Shariah.

l. Islamic government is a constitutional system with its well defined principles set in the Shariah.

Islamic political system and government cannot be:

a. not dictatorial, for it contradicts the sovereignty of Allah.

b. not power politic and power oriented for man is only responsible.

c. not secular, for it contradicts the spirit of Islam and faith.

d. not purely spiritual, for it contradicts Islamic worldism.

e. not theocratic, because of the absence of priesthood and priestly hierarchy in Islam.

f. not democratic, because it contradicts the sovereignty of Allah.

- g. not despotic, totalitarian, autocratic, for it does not agree with the consultative nature of Islamic political system.
- h. not regional, racial, national, sectarian, for they contradict with the universal nature and spirit of Islam.
- i. not imperialistic, exploitive or colonial, for they contradict the religious nature and Islamic spirit of Islamic political system. 44
- j. not oppressive, aggressive and tyrannic because Quran has strictly forbidden them. 45

CHAPTER 3

LEGITIMATION OF THE REVOLUTION IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC TERMS

It is often suggested that the Islamic revolution in Iran benefitted from the decay, corruption and the disintegration of the Pahlavi dynasty. It is also suggested that the revolution benefitted from the socio-politico-economic difficulties and conditions of the time, or the motives, the contents and the characteristics of the revolution were socio-economic though the means, leadership, strategy and the features were Islamic. As a criticism and analysis it is meaningless amounting to no more than an acknowledgement that Islam made a timely impact on the people of Iran and a timely appearance on the geo-political scene. What these critics intend to do is to deprive the revolution of its Islamic contents. Neither Islam's nor the leader of the revolution in Iran, Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's achievement is minimised by the admission. If we measure the validity of a phenomenon by its achievement then we must admit that it is a credit for Islam to make such a revolution a full success. Islam and the leader of the revolution succeeded in mobilising the people and taking full advantage of the current situation in Iran. Islam as a way of life worked as the umbrella under which even socio-politico-economic aspects of life were taken into consideration. Islam took over where other ideologies such as communism, capitalism, nationalism, secularism, Westernisation, liberalism etc. failed, and where other revolutionary aspirations failed. They were tried before in the political scenery of Iran but they failed. Islam and the leader of the revolution succeeded. Where professional politicians and international conspiracy and co-operation (Russia, China, Britain, U.S.A. and others) failed a simple religious leader succeeded. His faith, sincerity, insight, aspiration as a statement, revolutionary leader, religious scholar established for the Iranians and the Muslims all over the world a model of leadership which remains ideal for humanity. For the Iranians Islam was the ideolog and the way of life and Imam Kho-

meni was the leader they could trust and follow for he was the incarnation of Islam. After all, Islam and its Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) succeeded in the same way. The Prophet was a man to be trusted. This is why he was known as "Ameen". (امين) Islam was the true challenge to the socio-politico-economic as well as spiritual conditions of the world and the only answer to multiple problems at the time of its appearance and its prophet was the promised leader. It has been the same 14 centuries later in Iran. The role of Islam and its prophet was then a revolutionary one against the then Western and Eastern imperialism in the same way that the role of Islam and Khomeini, as a true Muslim and follower of the prophet, has been a revolutionary one against the contemporary Western and Eastern imperialism. These similarities in the message, leadership, circumstances etc. have been the source of aspiration for the Muslims in Iran and also in other parts of the Muslim world. Islam provided the answer to the question of power politics then as it has done so in Iran now. The Muslims including the Iranians have had this cultural heritage for 14 centuries and thus not difficult to identify their 20th century Islamic Revolution with the model which have had in their sub-conscious for 14 centuries. This may be too difficult for the non-Muslims to appreciate and hence their taking pain to explain the Islamic Revolution in Iran in purely socio-economic terms, but not for the Muslims.

It is interesting to know that both capitalist news Media and Analysts and the Socialist news Media and their local agents use more or less the same arguments to explain the Islamic Revolution. beleive that it is not the Islamic Revolution.

Despite their differences the two Camps would like us believe that it is a socio-economic Revolution. They both try to make us beleive that it is not the Islamic Revolution.

Both "Pravda" and "New York Time" justify the Islamic Revolution in socio-economic terms.

We know that an analyzer would have difficulty coming up with an instance in which "Time" differed with the U.S. government's foreign policy or "Pravda" differed with the U.S.S.R. go-

vernment foreign policy. We know "Time" is as loyal to Uncle Sam as "Pravada" is to the Big Bear. What is surprising is that in dealing with the Islamic Revolution both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. government and both "Time" and "Pravda" have the same explanation: "If you read the articles and commentaries that appeared in "Pravada" you will see that in their tone and contents they were almost identical with those in the "New York Time". I let us now see how the "Time" justifies the Islamic Revolution and we can conclude that it is exactly how "Pravada" would justify it. "Time" presents us with what is supposed to be analysis of the process which led to the overthrow of the Shah. Corruption disparities, Westernization and socio-economic conditions are seen as the causes. This is how "Pravada" would explain it. "Both "Time" and "Pravada" machines never pause to reflect that these causes are also available in many other countries but they do not have revolutions. Islam, the revolutionary spirit of Islam, the leadership of the Revolution, the Islamic contents, means, approach, the thousands of the Muslim martyrs, the continuous Islamic movement and all Islamic factors do not figure neither in "Time" nor in Pravada's Soap Opera". Instead both systems with their respective news media systems and empires explain the Revolution in solely socio-economic terms and want us to believe that only Islam was absent in the Revolution.

The second answer to those who try to explain the revolution in only socio-economic terms lies in their understanding of the religion based on its reduction to personal faith. Islam treats socio-economic questions as part of its actual message. It does not leave them outside the sphere of religion. Those who try to find the legitimation of the revolution in purely socio-economic terms are either materialists and have to see everything in this colour or are those who adopt the Western approach towards religions and treat Islam in the same way that, for instance, Christianity is treated. An Islamic revolution and a Muslim revolutionary leader should be appreciated in the light of Islam. Its legitimation should be explained in terms of essential principles and concepts of the message of Islam. Misconceptions of this message and its principles cause misunderstanding of anything Islamic including the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The Western reader who is unfamiliar with Islam is bound to explain Islamic movements in un-Islamic terms if he is sincere, and in anti-

Islamic terms if he is biased. The corner stone of understanding Islam is understanding of the doctrine of Tawhid, which the non-Muslim particularly Western readers not only find unfamiliar but difficult to understand. Based on this doctrine is the concept of the unity of life in Islam. "If all things are contained within the unity of God - both nature in its multiplicity and man in his many aspects - there can be nothing, whether it be on the individual level or in the functioning of society, which is not embraced by it. There cannot be a spiritual sphere as distinct from a temporal sphere. There can be no division between state and religious, sacred and profane, lay and ecclesiastic, public and private, national and international, all the dichotomies which Islam has steadfastly refused to countenance".²

Islam has been defined as "the faith, the declaration of the faith and the practice of the faith (Al-Islam howa al-Ītiqād, wa al-Iqrār wa al-Āmal)."

Islam is the religion of faith and action, neither only one nor the other. Its prophet also communicated the message of Islam not in words alone but through a life of action. In his life and mission, words and deeds, politics and religion, material and spiritual, economic and ritual were fused into a single supreme entity, an infinite and glorious moment of perfection. A model state was established reflecting unity of thought and purpose in which the same laws and principles governed all facets of life. The unity of God embraced all other unities and this is what constitutes the uniqueness of the message of Islam.³ Islam was thus born with the unique feature of amalgamation of secular and religious and with a clear approach to socio-economic affairs and with a well-defined political system and structure. Islam unlike Christianity does not recognize the demarcation of the two spheres of spiritual and temporal. The conduct of political, social or economic affairs are as much a religious responsibility as the conduct of ritual affairs. The object of both is the same, the understanding of Allah. Islam, unlike Christianity, which produced the irrevocable separation of the church and the state, believes in the irrevocable unity of life and it is this idea more than any other which distinguishes Islamic thought from any other ideologies. ⁴ A Muslim sees life as a unity incapable of division into segments or compartments. The same principles run

through man's life and govern all his activities regardless of whether they may be labelled as temporal or spiritual, public or private. The concept of worship in Islam is very inclusive. Man's entire life can be regarded as worship. West has found this idea unacceptable. Hence its misunderstanding of Islam and consequently of anything Islamic, including Islamic movements and the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The failure to understand, analyse and interpret the Islamic Revolution in Iran is mainly due to the misunderstanding of Islam. Those who regard Imam Khomeini as only a religious leader and criticise him for getting involved in political affairs do not understand the role of the prophet of Islam and may criticise him for that matter as well. They do not understand that both Imam Khomeini himself and the people of Iran see it his religious responsibility to get involved in the affairs of the society, for "any Muslim who wakes up in the morning and does not care about the state of affairs of the Muslim community is not regarded as a Muslim".

We may thus conclude that just because socio-politico-economic conditions of Iran helped the revolution to succeed, we cannot brand it as not Islamic. Both the leader of the revolution and the people who made it a success took it as their religious responsibility to solve their socio-politico-economic problems of their society through Islam. On the other hand a revolution does not have to be wholly and only spiritual to be Islamic. As long as questions and problems are approached in an Islamic way and are dealt with in the Islamic framework and Islamic answers and solutions are found for them everything is Islamic. This is another reason why the Islamic revolution is a universal revolution, for Islam deals with all questions which are central to the existence of man.

Finally we would like to remind those who try to explain the revolution only in socio-economic terms that long before the final success of the revolution, the Iranian people determined the course of their revolution. The most popular slogans of the revolution were those slogans which identified it with Islam, i.e. "Neither East nor West, Islamic Republic" (na sharqi, na gharbi, jumhoori Islami), جمهوری اسلامی، نه شرقی، نه غربی، جمهوری اسلامی، freedom, independence, Islamic government (آزادی، استقلال، حکومت اسلامی، آزادی، استقلال، حکومت اسلامی).

Another point to be made here is that Imam Khomeini is not the author of the revolution. He is the leader. The author of the

revolution is Islam. Khomeini is the incarnation of Islam and a true Muslim. We are not thus discrediting Imam Khomeini by saying that his political thought is neither unique nor original ⁵ but it goes to his credit that his thought reflects a fourteen century old-Islam and tradition of Islamic social and political inquiry in general, the Shiite Islamic political thought in particular, and specifically the application of this intellectual tradition to the analysis of Iran's political and social problems. Imam Khomeini himself has always made it clear that he is only a humble student (Talabeh) of Islam and a servant of Allah. ⁶ "I prefer to be called the servant instead of the leader of the People."

It is not therefore a sound scholarly approach to attribute a complex phenomenon such as revolution to only one of the factors; -socio-economic factor - and leave out all the other factors; on the contrary Islam is an all inclusive umbrella which covers all other factors. It is thus more scholarly to find the legitimation of the revolution in Islam itself which in turn admits the role of each factor in the light of Islam. The modern materialists or dialectical materialists who explain everything exclusively in socio-economic terms are not very much different from the people of the ancient world who divided life into two compartments - the religious and the secular. They are justified to explain the revolutions in the Christian lands in this manner, for Christianity has driven a wedge between those who select one or the other of these modes of life. This is why this kind of critical analysis has become a fashion. But they are not justified in treating an Islamic revolution in the same way. The Islamic revolution in Iran is the first of its kind and has to be approached on its own ground and rights, and not exclusively by comparing it to the revolutions by non-Muslim peoples. It cannot even be dealt with by comparing it to a hypothetical Christian revolution or to the revolution in Christian countries. A modern dialectical materialist like a Christian is forced by the dichotomy to choose between the state and religion, between the socio-economic approach and a spiritual one, hence their one-sidedness and extremism and seeing everything in black and white. Neither a dialectical materialist nor a Christian is qualified to analyse the Islamic revolution exclusively in the light of their own ideologies. The Islamic revolution should be understood, approached and analysed as the

Muslims, the Iranian Muslims who carried it out understand, approach and analyse it. It should be dealt with in an Islamic manner, context and framework which are completely different from both the materialist and the Christian ones. Islam believes in the full integration of the spiritual and temporal spheres of life, a principle completely alien to both the wholly materialist and the solely spiritualist. This integration is even more implemented in Shiite Islam in which the principle of Ijtihad is continuously applied as a problem solving approach to the day to day affairs of the individuals and community and thus Islamic theoretical and intellectual values, and inquiry have been carried directly to the people through the central role of the Úlama and mosque. The Mujtahids are thus in close contact with the problems and pathos of their community, make Islamic thought relevant and stay as close to the community as possible.

On the basis of Ijtihad, the close contact of the community and the Ulama on one side and the contact between the temporal and the spiritual affairs and authorities on the other, Shiite Islam make it the responsibility of the community to take their day to day problems to the Úlama for solution and make it the responsibility of Úlama to get involved in the process of day to day problem-solving. A dictum states that "take your day to day problems (Hawadith) to those who know our (Imams) opinions" (Al Hawadith al Yumiyya, fa arji'uha Ela rowati Ahadithena (واما الحوادث اليومية فارجموها الى رواة احاديثنا).

The life pattern and the model set for the Ulama and the community by the prophet justifies this. He in his age was a revolutionary. So were other prophets. We distinguish them from ordinary reformers and secular revolutionaries by the quality and extent of their concern for the affairs of their communities and the extent of change they brought about in the social order, and the moral means they adopted. It is well known that the prophet was known as "the truthful and the trustworthy one" (امين) even before his prophethood. Yet the fundamental revelation that he was seeking to bring about left his people aghast. The revelation covered financial as well as moral, physical as well as psychological, material as well as spiritual. His people were willing to make him a king over them if he would only give up a part of the revelation

he was seeking to bring about. He sought to change the entire priorities within the community and to establish a community based on egalitarian principles incomprehensible to a mind brought up in tribal traditions. Power was henceforth to be harnessed for completely novel uses. Honours were to go not to nobility of birth but of conduct 7 and superiority in knowledge. 8 Increase in the power of an individual was now to mean only an increase in his responsibilities. The weak and the needy within the community were given a right to be protected and provided for and to participate. 9 The revelation required and brought about vast changes in social, political, economic and religious fields. The members of the community of Islam were henceforth required to act as vanguards of an abiding international revolution in the cause of justice aimed at protection of the weak and the oppressed. Referring to this latter mission the Quran says: 10 "Why do not you fight for the cause of Allah and the oppressed". 11 The prophet in his time, revolutionised the human environment of his time. His companions continued his mission and revolutionised the world of their time. The principles by which they revolutionised the world dealt with all aspects of life, with life itself, economic and social aspects included. Imam Khomeini thus himself follows the prophet and sticks to the model set by him. He is not a politician or activist, but he is a Muslim, a responsible Mujtahid, a committed "álim" simply fulfilling his duties. Just because socio-economic factors were involved in the revolution in Iran we cannot brand it as an un-Islamic revolution.

Thus Islam and its prophet emerged as revolutionary ideology and leader. It is a tradition of Islam that is always opposed by the status quo. Islam comes to overthrow the existing systems. This is precisely what the original Islamic movement led by the prophet himself (peace be upon him) had achieved. Soon after the prophet Islam emerged from Arabia and overthrew the East Roman and Persian empires (the great powers of that time). The Islamic Revolution will also ultimately lead to a new order in all parts of the Muslim world. Unlike other revolutions, the Islamic revolution will not have exported itself, it will be imported by other Muslim peoples. 12 The Muslim peoples feel a deep old and strong commitment to Islam and their Islamic heritages and culture and against

those of un-Islamic origins. It is of interest that in 1881, when she was travelling in Persia, it was from her Muleteers that Mme Dieulafoy heard complaints of the effects on old Persian (Islamic) institutions of the spread of European influence. 13 This is the case with all Muslim peoples. They have very old loyalty towards their Islamic Identity.

CHAPTER 4

THE LEGITIMATION OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN MORAL TERMS

Islamic Revolution in Iran as a link in the chain of the continuous worldwide Islamic movement finds its legitimation in the actual ideology of Islam and in Islam itself as a behavioral system of faith, as a way of life combining action (amal) and intention and faith (Iman and niyyat). "Unlike Augustinian and Lutheran Christianity" which makes salvation a function of faith and assigns little or no value to works, Islam assigns to the confession of faith, the value of a condition, only a condition. Unlike the act of faith in Christianity, which is personal and secret, works are public. 1 The Quran clearly states that man can have nothing but that which he has earned.2 In Islam, works earn merit with God.3 Islamic ethic is totally world-affirming, positive, of the world and governed by public law.4 Islam claims to be the inherent religion (din al Fitrah) for the natural man (Hanif). Therefore it has to take the totality of life of the perfect and complete man into consideration. It cannot leave the socio-Political-economic needs of man out and take only part of the man into consideration. Islam has defined the Will of God, the norms of human conduct and ends of human desire, in terms of values which are societal. The Ummah, or Islamic society, is therefore a condition "sin qua non", necessary and indispensable if the Muslim is to achieve the Divine imperative. 5 This necessity of society derives partly from Islam's world affirmation, and partly from its insistence that ethics is concerned more with both action and intention. Both of these considerations require the Muslim to engage himself in the warp and weft of the web of society and discourage, nay, condemn individualism and isolationism.6 Islam condemned monasticism as an unfortunate invention of some Christians not commanded by God.7 Islam demanded that Islamic life takes place in the midst of the rough and tumble of village, city, state and community. The Ummah, furthermore, is not a mystical body, but a concrete, real and political body, membership in which cannot be exercised except in the open and under the

vigilant eye of public laws and institutions by participation and contribution. The Muslim cannot fulfil his religious obligation and responsibility fully, unless he lives in a Muslim community which must be established. The Muslim community cannot rest until all men have achieved the Divine Will to the full extent of their personal abilities; until every inch of ground in creation has been transformed by his effort into the fullest possible actualisation of the Divine pattern. The true Muslim, thus, is an active man and the Muslim community is thus a universalist one. The Muslim is thus a world missionary, a world guardian and a world worker. He not only calls men to God but carries them there if they are lethargic, for his life purpose is to get them there.⁸ Ali, the first Imam, became very upset and angry with himself when they brought him the news that an anklet was taken from a non-Muslim woman by force in the area under his responsibility. The Muslim is thus required to participate in the establishment of the Muslim community and its affairs and the Islamic community is requested to participate in the human society and its affairs.

Islam entered the world politics and the political field through the main gate. The Prophet saw it his responsibility to both spread the message of God and to see into it that, it was implemented by establishing the Islamic community and asking the Muslims to participate in their affairs and the affairs of the community. Islam did not preach abstract morality and did not ask man to think in political vacuum. The Prophet communicated the message not in words alone but through a life of action. The Muslim also must fulfil his responsibility through faith, suffering, sacrifice, active participation and socio-political activities and by both words and deeds, thought and purpose. The Prophet established a model state and community. The unity of words and deeds, thought and purpose, faith and action, religion and politics etc. constitutes the uniqueness of the message of Islam.

Christianity entered politics through the back door. It was born into a large and powerful state (or instead of challenging them, like Islam, it accommodated itself into the powerful state)-The Roman Empire. The early Christian co-existed within an established social order and political structure which they necessarily approved. The Church was "established" in an empire under Con-

stantine in 312 A.D. It became part of the establishment that protected it but it was never more than an unequal partner which could be used and misused as the circumstances required. Christianity and its leaders were forced to acknowledge the exigencies of the situation, saw the need to proclaim the benefit of such a relationship and justified, therefore, the part played by the state in the divine plan and were content with the role which was given to them by the state and the Emperors. The church and the state were two separate entities. Their relationship might be summed up by saying that they were visualised as if being of mutual society, help and comfort, the one to the other: the state to govern, order and protect, the church to support. The church was born into power, authority, government and thus accepted "*de facto*" politics, rule and power. The distinction of roles of the state and the church led to the demarcation of the two spheres of influence and activity. The church was to attend to those aspects of man's life deemed spiritual, the state would govern man's temporal concerns. According to this job specification, the church had nothing to say in the conduct of political, social or economic affairs. The church was not and is not of the World, though it may be in world. Its jurisdiction is limited to its own realm which christianity has clearly separated from the realm of Ceaser, the secular realm. Paul's statement "whatsoever is not faith is Sin". has been understood for nineteen centuries as meaning that everything other than the religious in short, the world-is evil. The later development of the church and the state delimited the spiritual zone more narrowly and led to the final irrevocable separation of the two. The final division of the two had far reaching consequences in that man was divided in his loyalty and torn between two duties. The spread of the Western civilisation, culture and thought naturally produced this Christian tradition (the dichotomy of religion and politics) into other peoples and cultures. The position of the other religions concerning this point was defined according to this Western Christian principle. Islam and the Muslims too were supposed to think and act accordingly. But Islam was born challenging the established Roman and the Persian powers. It rejected "*de facto*" rule and authority rightaway from the very beginning. It replaced political pacifism with political militancy and revolution and thus introducing "*de jure*" political system. It emphasised the fundamental unity of life and it is this idea, more than any other, which

distinguishes Islam from other religions and differentiates Islamic thought from any other ideology. 9 This is in fact the cause of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and this is what made Imam Khomeini revolt. The struggle for liberation of the community from foreign domination for a Muslim is not thus caused by political consciousness but it is a religious duty.

To some extent the position of Islam and the Muslims with regard to the foreign powers is the same as it was at the time of the rise of Islam; Islam challenging the powers and championing the oppressed people, with this difference that this time the un-Islamic powers have gained the upper hand and although the Muslim lands are autonomous but are by no means truly independent. The Muslim lands cannot exercise full independence because they cannot fully and truly realise their Islamic culture and ideology and they are unable to order their lives in the Islamic way, because they are not really and truly independent. This vicious circle has been broken for the first time in the history of colonial and neo-colonialism by the Islamic Revolution in Iran led by Ayatollah Imam Khomeini, hence the Western obstinate refusal to recognise its Islamic nature, objectives and characteristics and their willingness even to accept it as a socio-economic revolution. This also explains Khomeini's firm and resolute stand to produce only an Islamic political system with only Islamic characteristics and his unyielding attitude against anything un-Islamic let alone anti-Islamic. He said "we also understand that in the republic system all people vote" (Islamic Republic) But we do not add the adjective democratic to the Islamic Republic because it is an insult to Islam. If the word democratic is put alongside Islam, it implies that Islam is not democratic by itself whereas the highest form of democracy exists in Islam. So our people approved the name "The Islamic Republic of Iran" (only Islamic without any adjective) as the new name for the system. 10

The true danger of the Islamic revolution is that (a) the political monopoly of the world by the super powers is in danger because of the emergence of Islam as the militant ideology of the oppressed Third World; (b) the Muslim masses, whose true deep loyalty is to Islam, do not think in vacuum any more. They have regained their hope in the supremacy of Islam established at least in their

own lands. It is the new horizon of true independence and the beginning to finish up colonisation, exploitation, imperialism and foreign domination in their lands and in the whole world. The Islamic Revolution in Iran has proved to the Muslims that Islam can provide them with the ideological resources to stand against foreign domination and regain their own true Islamic independent and identity.

The governments in the Muslim lands today are either vested or open dictatorships, some blatant, others subtle, some unpopular others Charismatic, yet dictatorship and all relying on foreign support. Because foreign domination and exploitation cannot be exercised by the masses, they need their local dictators and agencies and the local dictators need them for they have no place amongst the masses. In certain areas foreign powers have recruited local élite groups as the means for their domination to disguise their exploitation. There are various measures to control economic resources and sources of the power by the superpowers which are applied accordingly. Systems of education, economy, social, culture, politics etc. are imposed and implemented to safeguard their interests. This is even done in the name of progress, liberalisation, civilisation, industrialisation and modernisation, etc. which are all identified with Westernisation and alienation of the people. The Muslims cannot restore their identity, and regain their independence until all agents, measures, means, institutes, systems and strategies designed and utilised to secure foreign domination and exploitation are reorganised and got rid of. Western style constitutions, political systems, regimes, institutions dismantled and dictators, elite groups, classes, parties, families, minorities which are all created by the foreign powers (Eastern or Western) and are in turn the creators of all the miseries of the Muslim people dethroned. The elite suffer from inferiority complex and are in turn the cause of inferiority complex of their victims: - The Muslim people. The designed half measured limited gauges and steps such as nationalism, autonomy, modernisation, assembly industry, goal oriented Islami-sation, enslaving liberalisation etc. should not deceive and satisfy the Muslim peoples. "The Gordian knot can be cut only with the sword of Islamic revolution, revolution of thought, action and ideology etc. As the dictators, agents, elite groups, classes, families etc. do not really believe in Islam or in its political implication.

they try their utmost to stop the Islamic movements and the Islamic revolution. In their fight against Islam the communists, the capitalists, the reactionaries, the so-called intellectuals, elites, liberals, even some so-called Muslims, the super powers, the medium powers, the opportunists, the Zionists etc. unite and help each other at the local, national, regional and international levels, for "al-Kufro Ummaton Wahida" (الكفرامة واحده). They do this both to suppress the Islamic revolution and kill it in bud and to destroy it, isolate it, stop its impact and spread after its preliminary success, as is the case with the Islamic Revolution in Iran. A new technique has been evolved in many Muslim lands. That is to produce various brands of Islam; (a) leftists, progressive, communist and socialist Islam; the Babrak Carmel's and Russian form of Islam; (b) The Western, capitalist, liberal, democratic and reformed Islam; the Islam of the deposed Shah and the American Islam. All this is done in the name of Islam, for with the name of Islam, under its cover and umbrella and even with some cosmetic, superficial Islamic actions the anti-Islamic elements remove the suspicion regarding their bona fides, they spread anti-Islamic ideas, they strengthen foreign domination and destroy the Muslims and the true Islam. In this manner they exploit Islam and thus fool not only the masses but they even cheat the Muslim thoughtfuls and deceive the Muslim intellectuals and thus they sustain their own power and prolong the foreign domination, exploitation and influence. Selfish, spineless intelligentsia with inferiority complex, with neither qualification and ability nor faith, value system and stamina in the Muslim lands helped by selfish, greedy, decadent, materialist, corrupt but strong and well equipped foreign powers together run, rule and destroy the Muslim lands, peoples and Islam. Only the Islamic revolution can bring this vicious circle and cycle to an end. Only Islam is able to make the Muslims and the oppressed throw off the shackles of slavery, break the yoke of foreign domination, cut strings of depending on great powers and develop their unique identity, regain their culture and restore their dignity. Only the collective strength of the Islamic community worldwide can help the Muslims regain their respect, pride, characteristic, dignity and identity and can enable them to stand on their own feet, fight their enemies, help their friends, solve their problems, secure their interests, invest their resources, develop their conditions, change their status

and run their lands, rule their peoples and administer their affairs.

The Muslims of the world as an international community and Islam as a way of life are strong enough, have enough resources, experience, and history and the Muslim lands have enough natural resources to provide all the requirements of future full independence and development. The Islamic Revolution of Iran has provided the Muslim community with a model, experience, strategy, know how, confidence, hope and cause. 11 Islam and the Muslim community in Iran managed to regain its strength, identity and independence despite strong opposition at the world level and despite the unfavourable conditions, for the Shah and his supporters were enjoying favourable conditions at the time of the Revolution. If the people of Iran could manage this other Muslim peoples can manage it more easily.

However, neither the socio-economic conditions of Iran nor its powerful monarch were in a bad shape so that the revolution could benefit from their disintegration. Rather Islam and its revolution was strong enough to challenge one of the most highly organised machines of repression ever built. The political machine was at its highest strength. It was in fact at the zenith of its power and international prestige. The vast bureaucracy, the best equipped oppressed forces outside the industrialised world, a large security and intelligent service and personnel (SAVAK), the vast oil revenues and financial power supported by all means by the super powers and the small and the great powers. Carter, the former U.S. President, visited the Shah only a few months before his fall, as late as 31st Dec 1977, only few months before the Shah's downfall (he left the country on 16th January, 1979). The U.S. Defence Intelligence agency predicted that the Shah "is expected to remain in power over the next ten years".¹² The CIA in August, 1978 reported that "Iran is not in a revolutionary situation".¹³ One of the main differences of the Islamic revolution and the two major revolutions of Russia in 1917 and China in 1949 is that the last two occurred in the wave of major world wars in which the home of revolution had been greatly weakened. The political, economic and social systems of both had been eroded by the forces other than those that brought about the revolution. These two revolutions therefore occurred in situations of internal collapse of autho-

rity. The Islamic Revolution on the other hand challenged one of the most powerful regimes, imperial, majestic and armed to the teeth by the self-proclaimed "greatest power" ever to emerge on this earth and dreamed of the "great civilisation" 14 (Tamadduni Buzurg). Whilst the regime enjoyed the international support, the Islamic Revolution was challenged and discredited by all forces and authorities internal and external even in the world of Islam. Carter, the former President of U.S.A., whilst visiting Tehran, the Shah and the U.S. armed forces in Iran on December 31, 1977 declared that the Shah "shared his views" and thus declared his support of the Shah which encouraged the Shah to tighten up the security measures even more. The then former Foreign Secretary of Britain, David Owen, declared the full support of the British government for the Shah at the height of revolutionary activities in Iran only a couple of months before the Shah's downfall. The then Prime Minister of China, Hua Quo Pheng, visited the Shah only a couple of months before the Shah's downfall, a day after "the Black Friday". All other powers, great or small, Islamic or un-Islamic, including Saudi, Moroccan and Jordanian monarchs, declared their full support for the Shah and their denunciation of the Revolution and its leader, Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. We can thus see that the world's governments did everything possible to keep the regime and the Shah in power and did their best to impoverish the people of Iran and its Revolution and to discredit Islam. Even the Soviet Union and other so called communist, socialist governments because of their economic exploitation of Iran, supported the Shah and did their best to keep a tight lid over Islam. USSR agencies (Tas and Radio) openly condemned the revolutionary activities particularly the anti-Shah demonstration in Tabriz. They all still do the same. It was Islam and the people of Iran which were at a disadvantageous position politically, militarily, economically and internationally. Thus the Islamic Revolution was opposed and the Shah was supported by everyone outside Iran, including the great powers and their clients in the Muslim world. Islam was challenging the entire world powers. It is a tradition of Islam that is always opposed by the status quo and always challenge the oppressive systems and regimes.

In fact it was the military, political and economic strength of the Shah which concealed the Islamic revolutionary activities in

Iran and caused the Western observers regard Iran as "the island of peace" in the Middle East. Neither the Islamic Revolution nor its leader, Imam Khomeini, were born overnight. A revolution of such a magnitude as that of the Islamic Revolution in Iran takes a long time, needs plenty of favourable conditions, involves many people and activities to succeed. But the Islamic Revolution in Iran and its leader were little known outside Iran, particularly in the West, because of the publicity facilities which the regime of the Shah had at its disposal both inside Iran and outside Iran. Many foreign newspapers, news agencies, reporters and people and organisations of international influence were silenced by the Shah by promise or threat; even the U.S.A. agencies and authorities who regarded themselves as the guardians of the Shah's throne and regime. The American themselves considered it as their international political commitment to look after their friends and allies (their puppets and agents) when they face troubles.

The CIA engineered the coup in 1953 and brought the Shah back to power after he had left Iran (see Harkness, 1954: 66-68; Halliday, 1979, 25-26) and for this reason always sent their best CIA agents as diplomats to Iran. Richard Helms, the former head of CIA, worked as the U.S. ambassador in Iran until he was officially asked by the Iranian people to "be removed and tried for his spy and intelligent activities and for his support of the Shah and for oppressing the Iranian people as late as the last year of the Shah's regime." He was recalled but was appointed as an advisor to the Shah and registered his business as "Consultant to Iran" (Firouz, 1976, 26). The world and the West did not really know about the revolution because of the Shah's powerful grip over Iran and its entire affairs. The Shah enjoyed American and Western support to the last possible moment.

The Americans, like other Western people, were ignorant of Islam, the Muslims, the Iranian history, religion and culture. This ignorance of course was a blessing in disguise, for it made a direct contribution to the success of the Islamic revolution. The Western experts of Iran admit the Western ignorance about Islam, the Islamic revolution and Iran. James Bill of the University of Texas at Austin, one of these experts writes: "America knows astonishingly little about Iran." According to another, Richard Cottam of the Univer-

sity of Pittsburg, "American diplomacy has seemed to be ignorant of Iranian history". 15 The strength and stability of the Shah's regime and Western support for him on one side and the prudence, experience and the subtlety of the habit of concealing true political opinions from outsiders of the Iranian people fooled the outsiders and the Western intelligent services. Only the following people knew what was happening in Iran:

- (a) Those who were leading the revolution.
- (b) Those who were directly involved in the revolutionary activities.
- (c) Those who had proper knowledge of the true Islam, its ideology, history and were familiar with the Islamic movements at the international level, with the revolutionary nature of Islam, those who had an inside knowledge of the Islamic movement in Iran during the last century, those who were in close touch with the Ulama's activities in Iran and outside Iran and with Islamic establishment and its heritages. 16

The Shah's political control and grip over the country, the unlimited and unconditional Western support of his regime based on a mutual secured interest, his effective apparatus of repression, the internal autocracy and external hegemony, the vast oil resources at his disposal etc., all helped keep him in power since the CIA coup of 1953. Not only he had a well equipped, well trained largest army in the area, but American forces were in Persia to keep order. A large number of American, British and Israeli advisors including military advisors, were constantly controlling all areas of civil and military administration. They enjoyed all kinds of privileges in Iran including judicial and diplomatic immunities. As early as 1962, the first open clash between Imam Khomeini and the regime in Iran took place because Shah officially extended diplomatic privileges to all Americans living in Iran. The so-called Shah's parliament passed a law granting Americans in Iran immunity from prosecution in Iranian courts. 17 Imam Khomeini reacted to this angrily by saying "If any of the Americans commits a crime in Iran, they are immune. If an American servant or cook kills or injures your religious authorities in public, the Iranian police does not have the right and authority to stop him or arrest him. The Iranian courts cannot put him on trial or interrogate him. He should go to America where the "masters" would decide what to do with him... We do not con-

sider this a legitimate government. They are traitors to the country".¹⁸ As a result of this and further clashes Imam Khomeini was imprisoned and later on, was sent on exile first to Turkey (1963) and then to Iraq.

This statement by Imam Khomeini explains clearly the following major points:

- (a) The presence of a large American army in Iran, the use of Iran by Americans for military purposes and as military base by American armed forces.
- (b) The Americans physically occupied Iran since CIA coup in 1953 as the guardians of the regime they established in Iran.
- (c) The Americans and their allies, enjoyed all forms of privileges.
- (d) The Shah not only had a big army to keep him in power, but he had the American and the allied forces to support him and keep him in power. In fact the Shah's infamous secret police (SAVAK) was established and supervised by the American CIA and Israeli secret service, Mossad.
- (e) Imam Khomeini's attitude to the political question and considering them as religious ones, taking Islam as a way of life for the individuals and the community in spiritual and secular affairs.

In fact because the Shah enjoyed full American and Western support and because of his strong friendly relationship with them the Shah's Iran was regarded as a very friendly country. The Western authorities and intelligent services did not think it necessary to get intelligent information and hence their ignorance about Iran and the Islamic movement in Iran, for they could not think that one day Iran was to revolt against the Shah and his foreign supporters. Because of the Shah's friendly relationship with the Western powers, the CIA was forbidden by U.S. authorities to make contact with the opposition. ¹⁹ The U.S. Embassy staff in Tehran did not bother to get information about the anti-Shah and anti-American activities. They were concerned with financial, commercial and oil affairs. The Western media did not bother about Iran for they could write nothing which would not offend the Shah and his regime. The Shah was feeling so secure about his future that he changed the constitutional law to make his wife, Farah, the vice regent and his minor son Riza the Crown Prince to rule Iran after his death.

It should be recorded as one of the established facts of the history of Iran that nothing, absolutely nothing could challenge his regime and his allies except Islam. If it was not for Islam and the Islamic revolutionary spirit and the Iranians commitment to Islam and their loyalty and trust in Imam Khomeini the Pahlavi dynasty and the Americans would rule and exploit Iran for a long time. The people of Iran would not sacrifice everything except for their faith Islam.

The Shah fed the Western media and foreign press and intelligent services a diet of ready made news from his ministries and organisations in charge of publicity. He implemented sophisticated public relations organisations in all countries with whom he had diplomatic relations. His ambassadors and diplomats were really his personal servants. The Western academic institutes and specialists were almost fostered by him ²⁰ and their own governments who did not want to offend him. Iran and her problems were pushed under the carpet. Out of some 6000 Ph.D. holding political scientists who work in the U.S.A. for instance less than ten of them, by some counts only three, specialised in the contemporary domestic politics of Iran. Senator Edward Kennedy's sudden conversion from regarding the Shah a progressive modernist monarch while he was in power to the viewpoint that he was a criminal to be put on trial after his fall illustrates the point. ²¹

The Shah and his regime inflicted continuous pressure upon various active groups. High paying government positions enticed materialist opponents into the regime. He co-opted his opponents too. His rigged parliament and a blatantly political system of justice kept the cost of disaffection high. Against those who refused to be co-opted, the Shah's sanctions were exile, house arrest, imprisonment and lately, torture, execution and other coercive measures. ²² Only Islam could mobilise the masses to stand against such a rigged regime. Nobody but Imam Khomeini was able to develop the mass base necessary to make the revolution a success. ²³ He was the only one to be trusted because he had no selfish acts of his own to grind. This comes over so clearly, even after his success, when one watches Imam Khomeini sitting cross-legged on the floor, sleeping on the floor, wearing the same clothes he used to wear and eating the same diet that the poorest Iranian eats. No

worldly trapping, associating with people in a modest manner, staying in touch with the masses in a humble manner. It is not difficult to compare him with the other secular revolutionary leaders of much less calibre, popularity, strength and power. It was only Islam that changed the people of Iran and made out of them the revolutionaries, because it taught them that "martyrdom is an act necessary for the will of Allah" and that "life is a lesson and a struggle" 24 and that "death is better than a life of humiliation". 25 Imam Khomeini often states: No other way out but continuation of the war by every means... to achieve honour and glory. Resistance must be based on a long term strategy because the establishment of an Islamic state requires "emancipating efforts". Immediate success should not be the prerequisite for action because "great men plan for the next generation and for the eternal life". 26

ISLAMIC MORAL AS AN ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE

Islamic morality like other Islamic system is founded upon the Islamic concept of Tawhid. It is suggested that Islamic moral system, like Islamic political system, is based on the doctrine of absolute sovereignty of Allah. All men are His subjects and as such He alone may be worshipped and obeyed. He alone controls man. All men are responsible only to Him and shall be presented before Him on the Day of Judgement to account for their performance in this life and for everything they have done. 27 Islam, thus, in a word, means liberation from all sorts of slavery, subjugation, dictatorship. It means absolute freedom of man from all forms of fear and oppression. Nothing and nobody can deprive him of his dignity, pride, freedom, honour, etc. He is liberated from lust, sensual pleasure, prejudice, superstition and worldly power and authority. He is born really free in the true sense of the word freedom because for him authority is vested in God alone. He values his freedom, liberty, pride and dignity and nobody is able to restrict him, restrain his freedom and impose his will upon him. He is truly emancipated by his ideology. He is therefore bound to revolt against all temporal powers, fears, desires and anything or anybody that may lead to his enslavement. A Muslim Muwahid (موحد) finds himself above everything for he is only below Allah. He finds all

men like himself and no more, as helpless or powerful as he is and no less subject to the will, power and authority of God Almighty than he himself is. Dignity, pride and freedom are the most natural and the most fundamental rights of every Muslim; his God-given rights and thus very precious. His right to fight and struggle against oppression, tyranny and dictatorship is part of his ideology and faith, and is not only a right but it is a religious duty. Muslims are not only duty bound to free themselves from all forms of dictatorship but they should feel committed to free humanity from all kinds of oppression. An Islamic political system and state will not only liberate its citizens from all tyranny at home but shall safeguard their freedom against any outside aggression and dictatorship. Furthermore an Islamic state and community is commanded by Islam to help non-Muslims, the entire humanity to liberate themselves from oppression. They are asked to struggle and fight tyranny and oppression at the world level.²⁸ Islam regards man as the vicegerent of Allah and cannot tolerate his degradation and his submission to imperialism and capitalism in their various forms. Islam cannot tolerate man's misery and his surrender to dictatorship in all its forms, monarchy, minority dictatorship, party dictatorship, majority dictatorship, class or race dictatorship. "There is still another class of dictators who rule with sword, usurp people's liberties and claim that they are merely instruments in enforcing the people or the proletariats will".²⁹ Islam is the real way to freedom and liberation. It is the religion which makes the struggle against oppression and tyranny, fight for freedom, liberty, man's dignity and for his rights holy war and regards it part of the most fundamental principle of Islam (the doctrine of Tawhid). The negative aspect of the doctrine of Tawhid is not less important than its positive one. The two are in fact the same for submission to God is indeed the rejection of submission to anything else. Islam is the way to real freedom, one which allows no serfdom, promises all men freedom and independent in thought, ideology, action, property and religion, jealously safeguarding their integrity as well as honour and even recommending struggle and war against any threat to freedom and liberty. For Muslims, concepts such as freedom, liberty and justice are more than just political, social or moral principles. They are spiritual and ideological principles in origin and thus worth fighting and dying for. Their concepts also have wider, vaster and deeper

dimensions than their concepts in secular systems.

Besides, giving a high and noble concept of man as the vicegerent of Allah (Khalifa) which in turn makes man resist against any humiliating, enslaving and oppressive attempts. Islam also frees man from lust, including lust for life, as it is this very weakness of man which is exploited by new colonialism and by tyrants and dictators, intentionally or otherwise in enslaving their fellow human beings. But for it no man would silently accept subservience to men like himself or sit idle to watch tyranny on the rampage and dare not challenge it. It is a great blessing of Islam that it teaches man to fight and revolt tyranny and oppression bravely rather than cringe before them in abject servitude. The Quran says: "If it be that your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your mates or your kindred, the wealth that you have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, or the dwelling in which you delight - are dearer to you than God or His apostle, or the striving in His cause - then wait until God bring about His decision: and God guides not the sinner".³⁰ Man is the most noble of God's creatures. Whatever is there in this world is for man and at his service. He should be the master. He should not allow himself to be made slave to these, rather he should use them as means for a noble end. He should stay as the master over his lust, consumption, luxury, extravagance and other means of his humiliation. The Muslim should resist and fight against moral and cultural anarchy and exploitation. Sensual pleasures should not tempt and corrupt him. ³¹ Corruption, sensual pleasure, drinking, permissiveness, gambling, night clubs, mixed social activities, bad moves, abortion, fornication and adultery, sex outside marriage, pornography, overspending, conspicuous consumption, arrogance, greed, alien ideology (capitalism, communism, nationalism, liberalism, secularism, etc. or anything inspired by the West or the East) have all been used both in the middle ages and present time as the pretext for colonialism, domination, exploitation and imperialism. They must be fought against as anti-Islamic and as pretext to impose foreign domination. Hence Islamic cultural-moral revolution and revolt against morally corrupt regimes.

There are dangers of colonisation of peoples' minds which results in the alienation from one's own culture, identity and moral values. This alienation is a result of the importation of a foreign

culture and a foreign economic system which destroys the individual's ties with his own culture and spiritual heritage.³² The answer of this problem, Islam and the Iranian Islamic Revolution argue, resides in the concept of a "unified man". The aim of this concept is to unify people with their ideologies, cultural and moral values. The principle of "higher economic return" which has governed Western societies at the expense of humanity and moral values led to consumer society in the West and to the creation of state capital and the man of the state in the East. Both societies have turned the individual into a "tool of production". The "unified man" is achieved by "forcing the Muslim, for instance, to solve his own internal contradictions, i.e. the contradiction between the man and his Islamic beliefs, his ideology, in order to consolidate or unify the Muslim and his ideology... so that he becomes capable of building a unified society."³³ The crucial factors in creating unity between person and ideology are "continued practice and purification". Thus, a dynamic Islam will be created whereby one can reject passive circumstances, and Islam will enable one to continually assess new issues in the light of new conditions. (Ijtihad) to be able to play this role persons must be free to make their own decisions and organisational restraints must be abolished. ³⁴

CHAPTER 5

THE CONCEPT OF WORSHIP AS A REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE IN ISLAM

Another explanation for Islamic activism and revolutionary spirit in the term of the unity of religion and politics in Islam is suggested as follows. Man is an instinctive worshipper though the nature of the worshipped deity or the way he is worshipped differ. God's love abides in every person's heart. The creatures by the nature of being created have to submit to their creator. All creatures including Man are thus Muslims (submitters) and obey the rules of creation willy nilly.¹ Having established that God is the really natural deity to be worshipped by natural man, the Quran explains the right way to worship Him. It stipulates the uniformity of worship just as it stresses the unity of God; the unity of the worshipped and the unity of worship. There must be unity between man's worship and his attitude towards life. The deity addressed by man in his prayer and devotion is the same deity addressed while studying, earning a living, attempting to better conditions on earth, eating, drinking, copulating, as well as while communicating with his family, with other individuals, with other societies, peoples and states, whether in peace time or during war. "Say: Lo, my worship and my service and behaviour, my living and my dying are for Allah, Lord of the worlds."² In all that he does, the constant reiteration of God's name in his heart has the practical effect of recalling to him God's commands, so that he may obey them. In Islam God's commands deal with all such matters and indicate the permitted as well as the prohibited.

When this happens something of considerable significance occurs in man's life. To begin with man will be giving due worship to his creator. Man would never appreciate God as he truly should if he worshipped Him in prayer once during the day and considers this to be the end of it. God says "I created the jinn and human kind only that they might worship me"³ meaning by this wide range of worship which comprises prayer and devotion, living and dying.

To do otherwise would be to worship two deities, one in the holy shrine through prayer and devotion, the other (or others), though eventually they culminate into one, through obedience in affairs of everyday life. "Allah hath said: choose not two Gods. There is only one God, so of He, He only, be in awe".⁴ The uniformity of worship during man's span of life and the unity of the object of his worship (the worshipped: God) provide man with a revolutionary spirit. Man is bound to revolt against all other false deities that usurp the right of the true deity and the uniformity of worship makes him revolt against all forms of governments that are un-Godly for he takes the entire life as a continuous worship. The unity of the object of the worship and the uniformity of the worship give man first of all an inner security which is nowhere to be found outside the frame of faith. This security is not a placid resignation to events. Rather it is the search for the good life wherever it is to be found, the Jihad under God's name to instal God's justice in the world; the opposition to all forms of injustice abhorrent to God.⁵ The revolt against oppression and tyranny, the struggle against domination, power game, corruption, dictatorship and all other forms of un-Godly governments, the search and struggle for establishing the Kingdom of God on earth. In all these activities the Muslim, the believer, the faithful will rely on God and will consider himself working for God's pleasure because everything is moved by and returns back to Him. The believer, moreover, is confident that God promises only goodness to him, and this is why no anxiety overshadows the earning of a living, the pursuit of study, the Jihad, the Amri bi al-Ma'roof, and the establishment of justice, government, civilisation, culture, the socio-politico-economic order, a fact that was once apparent in the early Muslim period. A Muslim worshipper, is a politician, an activist participating in all day-to-day activities of life individually and collectively. Islam regards the entire life as worship. If man's life in its totality is to be regarded as worship of God, as the Quran suggests,⁶ then it follows that all his social, political, economic activities as well as his ritual activities should be regarded as worship. This Islamic concept of worship requires that Muslim take part in all forms of activities which make up his individual and social life.

The unity of the deity worthy of worship requires the unity of man's life, that is the harmony between his spiritual activities and

his physical secular activities. The uniformity of worship brings together spirit and matter, body and soul, religion and politics, rituals and socio-political activities, moral and science, nature and God, piety and material development, this world and the Hereafter, this life and the eternal life, in short religion and life. The unity of life requires the harmony of instinct and moral. Islam never accepted the duality of life, the conflict between religion and politics or the two spheres of spiritual and secular activities.⁷ Islam never recognised the duality of rituals and the day-to-day activities. It has always supported the unity of the worshipped and the unity of worship. Prayer and worship is not only hymns, rituals and thought, it is the remembrance (Tadhakkrur) of God as the cause and the purpose of the life as a whole.⁸ Islam does not recognise two deities, the deity of religion and the deity of politics, the religious sovereignty and the political sovereignty, the God of science and the God of morals, the object of prayer and the object of knowledge, the God of feeling and faith and the God of reason and action.⁹ Islam does not recognise that religion and worship is only spiritual activities and that the daily affairs of life and political activities are not religious and are only secular. As the result of the misunderstanding and misconception of worship, ritual and religion in the West, life and politics moved away from religion until finally they occupied completely separate scope and ambit. The unity of worship requires that politics should be conducted in the divinely designed way and approach. This guarantees the reverence of politics and its purity. Islam presents the true concept of worship. Worship is both faith, rituals and actions and laws. Worship encompasses the whole range of human activities, the life itself whether religious or political. As far as everything is conducted and performed in an Islamic way and intended to please God, whether ritual or political, it is the worship of God. Thus politics becomes Islamic politics and Islamic worship at the same time. In this way a continuous happiness, satisfaction and security of man and a constant interconnection between religion and life and the unity of this life and the Hereafter and the continuity of internal (Tazkiya) and external revolutions (Inqilab) is maintained in Islam.¹⁰ In Islam there is not a single deed which is concerned exclusively with worldly life or with the Hereafter; its purpose is always twofold. Offering prayers, for example, which people may think of as a deed motivated solely by

concern for the Hereafter, also has its purpose in the worldly life. As God says in the Quran: "Prayer retains from shameful and unjust deeds".¹¹ In a public address by Ayatollah Imam Khomeini on 24th August, 1979, he explains how Islamic prayers, rituals such as Friday prayer, pilgrimage to Makka (Hajj) have socio-political implications.¹² This particular feature of Islam has been noticed by some orientalist too.¹³ The unity of God and the unity of worship is the most important principle in Islam. It is the spirit of Islam. We would leave it to the reader to conclude for himself the revolutionary significance of this principle and concept. Islam introduces the whole life span between cradle to grave as worship or sin and this is exactly why it provides the worshipper, the Muslim, the man with guidance throughout life of the individuals and the community from the beginning to the end, from cradle to grave. In fact the true religion should take man in his totality into consideration with all his natural and innate needs and deal with them and thus punish or reward him for doing or not doing them (worship or sin, obedience or disobedience) and not only half of man or half of his needs. Everything which is done or not done in accordance with Allah's purpose and in the framework of His guidance (Islam. Obedience of Allah) is an act of worship. Islam thus teaches us that human life should develop constantly, scientifically, politically, economically and socially - but that in its continuous development it should not abandon the constant values derived from the permanent and unchanging facts related to Allah, in His creation the Universe, life and man. Life based on this concept will be continuous worship and obedience of Allah.¹⁴ By providing with the three unities and concepts: unity of divinity, sovereignty, unity of worship, life and the unity of guidance Islam makes it the duty of every Muslim to prepare the ground for the establishment of the sovereignty of Allah on earth, the Islamic political system and government.

ISLAMIC ECHATOLOGY AS AN ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE

The doctrine of resurrection in Islam and the Islamic principle of man's responsibility for his/her final salvation or downfall, that any good or evil act, no matter how small it is, is to be rewarded or punished eventually, for nothing is lost;¹⁵ "Then shall anyone

who has done an atom's weight of good see it and anyone who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it",¹⁶ are regarded as Islamic revolutionary principles. They are directly responsible for the most revolutionary principle of martyrdom, for nobody can be persuaded to sacrifice his /her own life and the lives of his/her nearest and dearest, for materialistic objectives. Even the most atheist materialist who is prepared to sacrifice his life for the happiness of the others has to evaluate his material goals in terms of spiritual rewards to be able to offer his physical life for martyrdom.

However, the doctrine of resurrection provides man with a bright eternal future and life worthwhile fighting for. The man whose this worldly short limited life is devoid of belief in an eternal life in the Hereafter and is an end in itself has nothing worthy of fighting for. Belief in the continuity of life in the next world is a revolutionary concept. Under its impact, man's life upon earth assumes new dimensions opening higher horizons of progress before him, in the absence of which he is inevitably oppressed by a torturous sense of nothingness, as it means a virtual cutting short of man's total life span which sometimes not worth going through and hence suicides. For a Muslim who believes in the eternal life this short worldly life is a means to eternal happiness (al-Sa'adata al-abadiyya) every minute of which should be utilised to prepare the ground and obtain the pre-requisites for the eternal happiness. He sees the struggle against un-Islamic or anti-Islamic regimes and the fight for establishing Islamic political system as a holy war. (holy struggle:jihad) He sees the establishment of the Islamic government and community as a means for being able to live a full Islamic life to be followed by the eternal life, happiness and salvation and hence his willingness to be revolutionary martyred and this is the spirit of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the main objective of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's political activism and this is why he regards the establishment of an Islamic political system and government obligatory upon all Muslims.¹⁷ A man who does not believe in the eternal life is blinded by selfishness, greed, lust and other short term material goals and does not have noble, holy and eternal causes to fight for. His imagination, perspectives and ideals (if he has any) and the means to achieve them sink low. He is bound to be shortsighted for his life is confined to this worldly short life with no long term ambitions concerning humanity, justice, brotherhood

etc. He does not see and cannot pursue higher, nobler and divine ends in life to make him able to fight and struggle, for such a person cannot strive for lofty aspirations. His materialism so spoils his life that even his material achievements are rendered useless and senseless and thus his abjectness, his boredom, his apathy and purposelessness. He cannot be a true revolutionary for he does not believe in any ideals, the threat to which makes him revolt. Islam does not reduce man to an animal and his life to animal's life. He is a noble or the most noble creature with the most noble aspirations, ideals and objectives, which are bound to be fulfilled, if not here then in the Hereafter, the fulfilment of which is bound to make him revolutionary. Success for a revolutionary Muslim is not confined to material and secular success and in secular terms. This is why a Muslim revolutionary can afford to believe that he has really succeeded whether he is killed (martyred) or kills his enemy for he is not regarded as a dead person. "Do not regard those who were slain in the course of Allah as dead. But they are alive finding their sustenance and joy with their Lord."¹⁸ This is why we may regard the Islamic revolution as the true and real revolution and the revolution of revolutions and the Muslim revolutionary as the most noble, selfless and the most liberal revolutionary and the revolutionry of the revolutionaries. Many Muslim men fell fighting in the noble cause of truth spending the whole of their lives in the struggle yet achieving nothing in the materialistic sense of the word. This is one of the products of the faith and the belief in the eternal reward. Such behaviour can never be expected from atheist materialists and can never be produced in pursuit of short term materialist and selfish motives. Avarice, greed, lust etc. can never make a man revolutionary or achieve anything really good, noble, human and universal. Short term and immediate incentives and gains cannot equip a man with a noble character, and revolutionary spirit, nor can it give him the courage to stand fast suffering patiently for long for a lofty ideal, unselfish objective and human cause.¹⁹

CHAPTER 6

MARTYRDOM AS AN ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

It is clear that the army with no ideology and spiritual cause is the army of mercenaries. It is also becoming clear that materialistic ideology such as nationalism (in its negative form), racism, secularism etc. are not able to move soldiers to give up their lives in the course of fighting. The fighting man should envisage goals and be inspired by objectives worthwhile fighting for, defending and giving up his/her life for. If a man or a woman is to give up his/her life, he/she would like to give it for something more precious.

Islam introduced fighting for Islamic State, land and community and defending Islamic values as fighting in the course of Allah (Jihad Fi Sabil al-Allah) and regards those killed for this cause as Martyres. The concept of Martyrdom plays a very important position in the history of Islam and plays a crucial role in the defence of Islamic State and community in the future.

If the Muslim states are to secure their future independence, integrity and existence they have to promote the Islamic objectives and values so that their defence system and forces are equipped with the suitable and inspiring ideology worthwhile defending and fighting for and considering themselves as martyres if killed in the course of defending it just like those who fought for the cause of Islam in the early days of the Islamic history. In the following pages we discuss briefly the concept of Martyrdom in Islam in the light of the role of the Martyrdom in the course and success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The Iranian people have proved to the Muslim community that once a Muslim nation is equipped with the Islamic values and zeal it can stand against a very strong and well equipped and Modern army such as that of the deposed Shah of Iran who enjoyed the support of foreign powers.

Imam Khomeini's handling of the most crucial problem in the course of the revolution - the problem of the Iranian strong army -

illustrates the role of moral forces and the concept of Shahada in the success of the revolution. From Paris, Imam Khomeini issued many declarations (إعلامیه) dealing with the current affairs of the revolution. In some of them he warned that if his followers waged an armed struggle against the army this would create what he called "a chain of revenge." Bloodshed would make the army close ranks. The attack had to be a religious and a moral one. "So we must fight the army from within", he said, "We must fight from within the soldiers hearts" (He used the Islamic term "Wujdan" meaning that area of religious belief in each man's heart, part of his inherent self, his feeling, his conscience, his culture, a word loaded with meaning and implication for a Muslim).

"Face the soldiers with flowers", Imam Khomeini said, "Fight through Martyrdom, because the martyr is the essence of history. Let the army kill as many of us as it wants (we shall be martyrs) until the soldiers are shaken to their hearts by the massacres they have committed. Then the army will collapse and thus we will have disarmed the army". This kind of tactics can only be applied if the people are willing to challenge death and be prepared to be martyred. Of course, his request from the people was coupled with a warning to the soldiers that if they fired at their own people "it is just as though you are firing at the Quran". This tactic was successful. People faced the soldiers with flowers, with no arms, prepared to be martyred (some were fired on and were martyred). But on the whole the troops began to desert and the Shah felt he could no longer rely on the loyalty of the armed forces. He went into exile and Imam Khomeini returned in triumph to Iran.1

The importance given to the concept of martyrdom (shahada) (شهادة) in Islam and particularly in Shiite Islam and the very significant role that it played both in the revolutionary activities, the success of the revolution in Iran and in strengthening it and defending it after its preliminary victory makes it imperative to explain the concept of Shahada as an Islamic revolutionary principle. In fact Shahada has been playing an important role in the history of the Muslim community from the early days of Islam up to the present days. This is probably the reason which led the orientalist to one of their fatal mistakes about Islam - to mistake Muslimism revolutionary, militant, dynamic and sacrificial spirit for violence, fanaticism,

intolerance etc.

However most of the outside but qualified analysts² of the Islamic Revolution in Iran suggest that martyrdom played a great role in the victory of the revolution. Martyrdom is neither a monopoly concern of Islam nor in any way a monopoly concern of the Shiah. But Islam and Shi'ite Islam laid a great emphasis on martyrdom right from the beginning. Many of the companions and relatives of the prophets and Shi'ite Imams became martyrs in their struggle in the course of establishing Islam. Yet martyrdom has acquired a certain particular flavour and importance in the context of Shi'ism.³ This has been through the martyrdom of all Shi'ite Imams (it is attributed to the Shi'ite sources that all Shi'ite Imams were either killed or poisoned and thus martyred (*Masmoom* مسموم *Maqtool* مقتول) particularly the martyrdom of the first and the third Imams (Ali and his son Husain), especially the third Imam, Husain, who is doubtless the most important figure in the religious consciousness of the Shiah. The Shiah consciousness is deeply influenced by their emphasis on Karbala and the defiance of the introduction of power politic, dictatorship and monarchy into Islam in the very early stages. The fact that the Imams attained martyrdom and that Imam Husain met his death in battle and attained martyrdom through open revolt against dictatorship and un-Islamic government is seen by the Shiah not simply as a fact of history, it is seen as a fact of profound and continuing spiritual significance which has given the Shiah that extra sharp edge which the Sunni political behaviour has been lacking.⁴ The struggle between Imam Husain and Yazid for justice and against the overwhelming power of tyranny and dictatorship is shared by both the Shiah and the Sunni Muslims. But the significant position of the incident of Karbala and the concept of martyrdom in Shi'ism and through Shi'ism in the Islamic Revolution in Iran is beyond doubt.⁵ In the course of the revolution in Iran and also in the struggle of the revolution against its internal and external enemies and in its fight against the aggression of the Baathist, Aflaqui racial regime of Iraq and in all the mass demonstrations of the Iranian peoples throughout the country, one of the most interesting slogans that was constantly raised and which shows clearly the importance of martyrdom, Imam Husain and the incident of Karbala, not only for religious but also

for political consciousness of the Shiah was: "Every day is Ashura (the day on which Imam Husain was martyred) and every place is Karbala" (the place where he was martyred). In fact the revolution gained its unbeatable crucial momentum after the Muharram processions and demonstrations on the ninth and tenth (Ashura) of Muharram 1398 (1978). It was then that both the Shah and his external and internal supporters realised that they could not put up any more resistance. The slogan of "every day is Ashura and every place is Karbala" explains that wherever the Muslim is, is a field of struggle where the forces of justice and legitimacy are confronted by the forces of tyranny. Every day of his life is a day of battles in which he should seek either triumph or martyrdom. He must follow **the example set by his Imam (leader) and be a good Shi'ah (follower)** Muslim. He thus has an important contribution, with the concept of martyrdom, as exemplified in particular tragic and significant fashion by Imam Husain to make to his faith, to the truth to the justice, to his community and to the eradication of tyranny, aggression and dictatorship. Professor H. Algar regards the rejection of *de facto* authority and the belief in the virtues of martyrdom as the twin features of Shiism which have given Shiism particularly at certain points in its history, an attitude of militancy, which he believes is sadly lacking in a large number of Sunni segments of the Muslim Ummah.⁶ But as we have pointed out already neither of these two is in any way a monopoly concern of the Shiah. The Sunni Muslims both in the past and in the present have strongly propagated *de jure* system and the concept of martyrdom and have often made use of them. The history of the Islamic movement throughout the history of Islam and many open revolts and revolutions in almost all parts of the Muslim lands illustrate the point. The Palestinian, Eritrean, Pattani, Moro, Kashmiri and other Islamic liberation movements explain this. The Mahdist movement in the Sudan, the Islamic movements of Africa all testify this. The movement of Ikhwan al Muslimin (The Muslim Brotherhood اخوان المسلمين) in many Muslim lands and other Islamic revolutionary movements explains how bravely and courageously the Muslims are volunteering for martyrdom for the sake of establishing the Islamic universal state and community (*de jure*) and how vigorously they are fighting the forces of evil (*de facto*). Throughout the history of Islam there has been a legion of activists, rejectionists and revolutionaries re-

jecting *de facto* authority and proclaiming themselves the guardians of unadulterated orthodoxy. The Mujahids of the seventh century, the Hashimyya of the eighth century, the Carmathians of the tenth, the followers of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-wahhab in the eighteenth, the Salafiyya of the nineteenth and many more sects and group both in the past and contemporary history of Islam testify to the persistence of groups of sunni Muslims claiming that theirs is the voice of pristine revolutionary Islam. 7

The term used for martyrdom in Islamic literature is *Shahada* (شهادة) meaning to witness, to testify to set a good Model and example. The Quran says "thus have we made of you an Ummah justly balanced, that you might be witnesses (Shuhada; sing: Shahid) and examples over the masses as the Prophet has been made a witness (Shahid) and a model over you".⁸ It is as if the martyr by his act of martyrdom witnesses and feels the truth and sets a good example for the masses. The term *Shahada* thus has not been used in the Quran to mean martyrdom, though it is used by the Prophet to mean martyrdom. This is perhaps because the Quran does not want to confine martyrdom to death. However it should be noted that Islam does not regard martyrs as the only holy warriors or those who fall in the holy war for there is no holy war (fight for the sake of imposing religion upon unbelievers) in Islam, for the Quran disapproves the use of force in religion.⁹ The term *jihad* which is misinterpreted by orientalist as the holy war (from the root j-h-d) means to strive and struggle. This refers to any effort, mental, moral and physical made to make God's word supreme. It covers a whole range of activities from fighting with one's own evil to fighting in the cause of Allah, e.g. to establish justice, Islamic community, Islamic state, to defend one's honour, life, property, to fight the enemies of the Muslim community (Ummah) and land (Dar al-Islam) to fight the oppressors, the usurpers of the Muslims rights, the transgressors (all are regarded as being engaged in war for the cause of Islam because of the unity of state and religion in Islam). The term *jihad* does not automatically mean war and fighting, for the term used in the Quran for war is *Harb* (حرب) and the term used for fighting is *Qatl* (قتل). The struggler (Mujahid) in the cause of Islam is identified as martyred (shahid). A mujahid is a committed Muslim struggling for a cause for the sake of which if he/she is

martyred he/she becomes a *Shahid*. A *Shahid* thus is the *Mujahid* who makes the most out of his life for the cause of his *jihad*. A *Mujahid* is a living *shahid* and a *shahid* is a martyred *mujahid*. But neither of them has to be engaged physically in a battle or in a holy war in the Christian concept of the term holy war, though they both have to be engaged in a holy cause and struggle; in the cause of Islam. *Jihad* is thus the Islamic struggle for a holy cause in the cause of which if he dies he becomes a *Shahid*.

As the Shiite Muslims of Iran are under the great influence of the sermons by their first Imam, 'Ali, (called *Nahj al-Balagha*) it is appropriate to quote his sermon on *Shahada* and *jihad*. "Jihad is one of the gates to Heaven and Paradise which Allah has opened only to His chosen friends. It is the garment of piety and the protective armour and shield which Allah has provided them with. Whoever ignores it and abandons it lives the life of humiliation, disgrace and misery. He will be treated with contempt, scorn and his heart will be covered with neglect. He will be deprived of the truth for he has neglected *jihad*. He will suffer ignominy and will be denied justice".¹⁰ *Shahada* in Islam can be obtained only when the following conditions are fulfilled in advance:

- a. It must be pursued by choice. A *Shahid* must volunteer for *Shahada*. He must challenge death and not be challenged by death. He must face it and not scape it.
- b. It must pursue an objective or objectives, a goal or goals, for it is struggle for a cause and in the course of obtaining an end.
- c. The objective or objectives must be sanctioned and approved by Islam. That is to say that the cause must be holy and Islamic and not any cause or objective.
- d. It must be fulfilled with good intention, (salvation, pleasure of Allah, felicity) for in Islam all acts are evaluated on the basis of the intention for the sake of which a good act is done. The prophet was asked "Is the person who takes part in *Jihad* to show off his bravery regarded as *shahid*"? The prophet's reply was negative.

The fulfilment of the above conditions is imperative if *Shahada* is to be obtained. This is to make *Shahada* different from various forms of death for *Shahada* is not regarded as death.¹¹ There seems to be many ways of ending one's life mainly as follows:

1. Natural death or death caused by natural causes such as old

age and senility.

2. Accidental death or death caused by natural disasters such as earthquake, flood or death caused by epidemic and diseases.

3. Criminal death when a person falls victim of murder, manslaughter etc. such as war, massacre, genocide. The main difference between Shahada and these three forms of death is that only Shahada is death by choice for there is no choice in the three forms of death.

4. Suicidal death or any death in which the people concerned cause their own death by choice. The difference between Shahada and suicidal death is that although they are both by choice, but the three other conditions of Shahada are absent in suicidal death - that is to have objectives sanctioned by Islam with a good intention of fulfilling them. Another difference is that the person who commits suicide is scared of life instead of death.

5. Finally death by shahada or martyrdom. It is the death of a person who in spite of being fully conscious of the risks involved, volunteers to face the risks for the sake of a sacred cause, or as the Quran states, in the way of Allah with good intention.¹²

What makes Shahada very significant in Islam is neither giving up life nor facing death voluntarily, for neither life nor death are by the virtue of being life or death either good or bad. In fact death is nothing but the termination of life. And life itself is neither good nor bad in Islam. What makes life good or bad is what one makes with it, in it, for it by it and through it. It is what we do with our lives and in our lives which makes life good or bad. An Islamic dictum states "This world is the farm in which we sow in our worldly life in order to harvest and collect the fruit of our labour in the world to come" (الدنيا مزرعة الآخرة). This is what makes life worth living. The one who makes the most out of his life in order to earn his salvation, eternal happiness and God's pleasure through good acts intended to help his faith, strengthen his community, establish justice and to bring about Divine Kingdom is the dearest to God.¹³ He struggles in the cause of Allah (Jihad). He lives the life of a Mujahid (holy warrior) and dies the death of a Shahid (martyr). Shahid is the person who makes the most out of his life by being Mujahid, struggling constantly for a sacred cause and making the best with his life by doing good deeds, Witnessing the truth and trying to establish it and spread it and finally at the end of his life-

he makes the most out of it by giving it up for the sake of the truth and the cause for which he was living and in which he was trying to establish it and finally for which he volunteers to give up his life that is this worldly life. Islam suggests that a Shahid does not die. He simply changes this worldly temporary life for the eternal life, and for the reunion with his Lord. The Quran says: "Do not think of those who were slain in the way of Allah as dead. Nay they are **alive, enjoying the reunion with their Lord**".¹⁴ This is because a **Shahid gives up his own temporary life so that his faith, his community and justice and truth survive and live permanently. His blood will be transfused to that of his faith, to the truth which is urgently in need of it. He gives up his temporal life with bravery and courage so that the thing for which he does that live not in humiliation. But both he and his faith, community and the truth and justice live permanently in pride and dignity. A Shahid has a duty to fulfil, a message to give, a cause to establish and an eternal dignified life to live. He in fact witnesses (Shahada) the truth so clearly, vividly and positively that he wants to demonstrate his conviction and belief in its establishment by setting up a good example (Shahid: model) and thus constantly struggling (Jihad) and finally making the best with his life and sacrificing it (Shahid) for its sake.**

CHAPTER 7

THE CONCEPT OF UMMAH (COMMUNITY) AS AN ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLE.

Another Islamic revolutionary tradition and principle which has always been a source of revolutionary aspiration is Ummah which is closely associated with the Islamic concept of brotherhood and universalism. The most striking feature of Ummah is that it is a four-dimensional principle:

a. It is not restricted by time. It therefore covers all the Muslims since the appearance of Islam to the end of time.

b. It is not restricted by space. It thus covers all the Muslims all over the world.

c. It is deep and comprehensive. It is thus brotherhood and membership in all aspects of material and spiritual life. It is based on the Unity of man on the basis of Tawhid. It therefore rejects racism, nationalism etc. as criterion for discrimination. The concept of Ummah, like other Islamic principle is based on the Islamic world view of Tawhid of absolute unity and harmony of creation and being.

d. This Tawhid cannot accept legal, physical, class, social, political, racial, national, territorial, genetic or even economic contradictions. Islamic world view of Tawhid implies a mode of looking upon all human beings as a unity - Umma-and eliminates all contradictions between black and white, ruler and the ruled, employers and employees, intellectuals and the masses, politicians and religious, noble and vile, clergy and laity, eastern and western, Greek and barbarian, Arab and non-Arab, capitalist and proletarian etc. Tawhid (Monotheism) is unity and shirk (polytheism) is feudalism. Ali Shariati believes that all contradictions are reconcilable only with the world view of shirk - dualism, trinitarianism or polytheism but not with Tawhid - monotheism. It is for this reason that the world view of shirk has always formed the basis for shirk in society with its discrimination among classes and races.1 Tawhid is unity, shirk is feudalism.

At the back of every Muslim revolutionary head is the hope of re-establishing the ideal Islamic society. - The Ummah - taking the place of all the similar concepts which in different languages and cultures designate a human agglomeration or society, such as society, nation, race, people, tribe, class etc. is the single word Ummah, a word imbued with progressive spirit and implying a dynamic, committed and ideological social vision. The Ummah is, therefore, a society in which a number of individuals, possessing a common faith and goal, come together in harmony with the intention of advancing and moving towards their common goal. By choosing the word Ummah, Islam has made intellectual responsibility and shared movement toward a common goal the basis of its social philosophy.² The infrastructure of the Ummah is the economy, because 'whoever has no worldly life has no spiritual life' (من لا معاش له لا معاد له) Man la Ma'ash laho la Ma'ad laho). Its social system is based on equity, equality, justice, and brotherhood, a truly Tawhidi (monotheistic) society - The classless comprehensive inclusive society-. This is a fundamental principle, but it is not the aim, as in Western socialism, which has retained the world view of the Western bourgeoisie - shirk world view. The political philosophy and the form of the regime of the Ummah is not the democracy of heads, nor irresponsible and directionless liberalism which is a plaything of contesting social forces, not putrid aristocracy, not anti-popular dictatorship, not a self-imposing oligarchy. It consists rather of 'purity of leadership' (not the leader, for that would be fascism), committed and revolutionary leadership of Ummah, responsible for the movement and growth of society on the basis of its world view and ideology and for the realisation of the divine destiny of man in the plan of creation. This is the true meaning of Imamat (leadership).

The Islamic concept of Ummah on the basis of Tawhid is one of the characteristics of Islam. Islam is fully committed to human brotherhood with social and economic justice, to equitable distribution of income, and to individual freedom within the context of social welfare. Although both socialism and mixed capitalism also claim to pay allegiance to social justice, the concept of justice in socialism or mixed capitalism is not based on human brotherhood reinforced by inviolable spiritual criteria for social and economic

justice. In fact Marxist socialism under the influence of dialectics condones injustice done by one group to the other and even approves the annihilation of one group by the other. In Laissez Faire capitalism with its slogan of 'Do not interfere, the world will take care of itself' there was no innate ideal of social justice to be attained through conscious state effort, while in mixed capitalism the roots of social justice lie in group pressures rather than in an intrinsic belief in human brotherhood. ³ Closely associated with the concept of community (Ummah) in Islam is the concept of the "Masses" (al-Nas) in Islam as the factor and the engine of change. Ummah is made of al-nas (the Masses) in Islam, with no discrimination whatsoever. Al-nas (the Masses) plus only faith (Iman) makes Ummah. Nothing else such as sharing race, language, history etc. is required. Nothing is more universal than al-nas and thus no social concept is more universal than Ummah. The concepts of al-nas and Ummah are regarded as revolutionary traditions in Islam, for the establishment of Ummah both as an Islamic principle by itself and as the prerequisite for the establishment of the Islamic State is one of the objectives of Islam and occupies a very important position in the mentality of the Muslims. Furthermore, Ummah is a factor of Revolution as the motor of change.

Ayatollah Imam Khomeini from the beginning made it clear that the true Islamic state could not be actualized without Ummah. In his lectures on the concept of Islamic Government which were later published as a book and called "Hukoomat-i Islami" he states: "It is historically proved that colonial powers have cut down the (Islamic) Ummah and homeland into several pieces and split Muslims into various nations. The colonial powers strove very hard to break up the strong and United Ottoman State. The Russians, the British and their allies joined hands to fight against the Umma. Eventually they split the Ottoman state and shared among themselves the Muslim homelands. Now the Islamic Community and Umma (Millat) must unite and liberate the occupied Muslim Territories and get rid of the stooges of colonial powers and establish the Islamic state"⁴. We can clearly see how the concept of Umma, its unity and its realization had been working as a Revolutionary factor in the mentality of Imam Khomeini both as an independent principle and as the prerequisite of the establishment of the Islamic

State.

One of the very interesting revolutionary slogans of the Islamic Revolution was "Na Sunni, Na Shiah, inqilabi Islami" (Neither Shia, Nor Sunni, Islamic and Ummah Revolution). So the concept and the Unity of Ummah has been one of the motors and revolutionary traditions and the centre-piece of the world-view that the Islamic Revolution led by Ayatollah Imam Khomeini presents to the Muslim World. In one of his first interviews after he arrived in France he was asked about the Shiah origins of the Revolution. He was very candid. He simply said that the issues that have traditionally divided the Ummah are no longer relevant. "We are all Muslims". This is an Islamic Revolution. One of his famous catch phrases is "Wahdat-i Kalima": The Unity of word. He means the Unity of Ummah. He hardly addresses the public without bringing up this point.

Now let us see what is the concept of al-Nas: The people, the masses that is responsible for the formation of the concept of Ummah which is responsible as a factor of change (Islamic) in Islam.

ISLAMIC UNIVERSALISM -INTERNATIONALISTIC AND UNIVERSALISTIC CHARACTER OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL PRINCIPLES AND GOVERNMENT

The universalistic characteristic of Islam and Islamic government is based on many Islamic universal traditions, some of which are:

- (a) Islamic concept of the universal God in the form of an all inclusive monotheism (Tawhid); the unity of the Creator and the creation. In Islam even God, nature and man are not remote from each other nor are they alien to each other and certainly not opposed to each other. This is neither "Unity of existence" (wahdat al-Wujood) or unity of beings (wahdat al-Mujood) nor multiplicity of existence (Kathrat al-Wujood) but it is Tawhid of the cause and source of existence and Tawhid of creation and world in the light of the relationship between God, the entire universe and this world on the basis of the Quranic Light verse (Ayato al-Noor).⁵
- (b) Islamic concept of the universal man by coming into existence

from the same act and origin, (one God, one man) from the same parents (Adam and Eve).⁶ and by rejection of social, geographical and biological discriminations. The Prophet is reported to have said: "Your God is one, you are from Adam and Adam is from dust; an Arab has no superiority over non-Arab nor a white over a black except by piety and righteousness".⁷

(c) Islamic concept of the universal religion by introducing Islam as submission and surrender to God alone which is the natural corollary of the unity of the creation and of the Universe and thus introducing Islam as the natural submission of the entire Universe including mankind to its Creator.⁸ One God, one man and one religion and absolute equality of man.

(d) Islamic concept of community (Ummah) based on Islamic brotherhood. Islam introduces all believers as equal members of one community (Ummah) united by bonds of brotherhood and affection like members of one single family created by one God from one couple created by one single act and submitting to one God. It is a universal community and brotherhood and not parochial. It is not restricted by any artificial boundaries and encompasses the whole mankind⁹, led and guided by the same divine message and the same prophets. ¹⁰ Mankind is the family of God (al-Nāso Āyalo Allah (الناس عيال الله)) and "the most dear of them before Him is one who is the best of His family".¹¹

(e) Unity and universalism of the objective of mankind, that of comprehensive solvation (saādat) and all embracing felicity (Falah), unity of man's responsibility for restoring man's dignity, for the welfare of mankind as a whole, for temporal and spiritual well-being of the entire humanity, for establishing peace and justice, the establishment of which on earth at the world level is unequivocally declared by the Quran to be the one principle objective of the teachings of all the messengers of God the last of whom is Muhammad.¹²

(f) Introducing Allah as the only sovereign and the only source of power including political power and authority.¹³

The most natural corollary of unity and universalism of all these concepts is mutual co-operation, universal government and world political unity at least particularly amongst monotheists, specially amongst the Muslims. In fact the Islamic political system

and government cannot be recognised as fully and completely Islamic unless it is a universal one uniting all Muslim peoples all over the world. Universalism is one of the main characteristics of the Islamic political system and government. Islamic government should always be administered on the basis of universal, international united and federal forms. Since Islam proposes the unity of God, unity of the sovereignty and source of power, unity of man, his religion, his objective and his family it is logical to conclude that it does suggest universal international political principles and government the form of which can vary according to circumstances, from one period, one place, one people to another.

A brief reference to the universal objectives of the Islamic political system explains the universal nature of Islamic politics. The objectives of the Islamic political system are:

1. The establishment of the sovereignty of Allah as the only source of power including political power.¹⁴
2. The restoration of human dignity by restoring his independence and freedom as the result of his dependence only on God and the sovereignty of Allah and the vicegerency of man.¹⁵
3. Educating the individuals and the community to understand, acknowledge and fulfil their inclusive responsibility towards Allah, nature, each other, community and themselves.¹⁶
4. The establishment and the maintenance of the Islamic government, community, brotherhood and temporal and spiritual principles, standards and values. The establishment of human unity. ¹⁷
5. The establishment of justice, peace, tranquility and socio-politico-economic and legal justice and equality.¹⁸
6. The spread of Islam, encouraging good and forbidding evil, the enforcement of Shariah and Islamic law. ¹⁹
7. Preparation of the conditions for the actualisation and realisation of human physical and mental, material and spiritual, secular and religious potentials²⁰.
8. Provision and maintenance of the basic material necessities of life; i.e. food, housing, clothing, medical relief, education, work and other needs, for "He who has no financial security has no religion" (Man la Maash Laho la Maad Laho). ²¹
9. Granting the Islamic and human rights of all citizens and re-

gious rites of the minorities (Ahl al-Kitab).²²

10. Provision and maintenance of the rights of peoples to participate in their affairs and their consultation and approval of the form of government and the running of state.²³ According to Ayatollah Imam Khomeini the functions of government are:

1. To enforce the laws of the Sharia justly and correctly.
2. To combat oppression of the rights of the people and to eradicate corruption.
3. To fight heresies and errors that are legislated against Islam.
4. To prevent foreign domination and intervention in the Muslim affairs.²⁴

THE CONCEPT OF MINORITY AND MAJORITY IN ISLAM

It would be appropriate to define first the terms used in the Islamic literature for minority and majority, then explain the Islamic concepts regarding them and finally the justification and explanation concerning the concepts.

The term minority (al-Aqalliat الأقلية) as against the term majority (al-Akthariat) applied to religious minority and majority are importations of the West into modern literature of the Muslim world and are the productions of the Western influence on the Muslim world. The term used in the Quran for Jewish, Zoroastrian, Christian and any other or all other truly monotheistic religions, as well as Muslim communities, regardless of whether they form minorities or majorities, is the term "the people of scripture", Ahl al-Kitab: the people of Holy book (or the people of scripture).²⁵

The choice of the term 'the people of scripture' implies that: (a) there is no discrimination in the use of the term between the Jews, the Christians, the Zoroastrians and the Muslims; (b) the term 'the people of scripture' not only does not convey the sense of inferiority but it even carries a sense of respect, veneration, honour, value and esteem; (c) the term does not make any distinction between the majority and minority and thus does not explain their responsibility and rights in numerical and statistical terms which can

change; (d) the followers of the religions mentioned are regarded as communities and thus Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and Muslims living in communities different from their own are regarded as part of their own respected communities; (e) the use of the same term for the followers of the monotheistic religions goes very well with the principle of monotheism for the unity of God naturally requires the unity of His Message and religion; 'submission to God' (Islam) which is the spirit of the monotheistic faith, and requires the unity of those who received and spread His unique Message; 26 (f) the use of a single term for them all shows the unity of religions, universal revelation.

As a result the term applied in the Islamic literature for the non-Muslim communities in the Muslim state is the term 'protected' or 'protected community' (Ahl al-Dhimmah اهل الذمة) which indicates the following points:

(a) The choice of the term 'protected' makes it an obligation on the Muslim state to protect her non-Muslim subjects and the term 'dhemmi' thus provides them with a sense of security and protection and not a sense of powerlessness or inferiority which the term minority naturally conveys. (b) The term 'protected' applied to the non-Muslims living in Muslim States implies that the Muslim state is the protector, a mandatory obligation which must be fulfilled and not tampered with in any way. (c) The term 'dhemmi', unlike the term 'minority', does not place the non-Muslim communities living in the Muslim community in an antagonising position against the majority and thus makes the relationship between them not that of animosity but that of friendship and affection.

The recognition in the Quran by God of the Jews, Zoroastrians, Christians and Sabeins as 'the people of scripture' has been extended by the Muslims to the followers of other religions such as Hindus, Buddhists.²⁷

On the other hand, the Muslim communities living in non-Muslim state are not regarded as minorities either. The term used for the Muslims all over the world is '*Ummah*' which is a multi-dimensional concept not restricted by time, space, race, etc. The term '*Ummah*' has at least four dimensions:

(a) it covers the Muslims throughout time and history from the

rise of Islam to the eternity (length);

(b) it covers the Muslims all over the world regardless of geographical restrictions (width);

(c) it covers all races, colours, shades of humanity (vastness);

(d) it establishes bounds amongst the sections and members of the community covering all fields of human, physical, spiritual, financial, social, etc. activities (depth).

The term '*Ummah*' as the Muslims understand it thus consists both of the peoples in the Muslim lands and countries as well as of the Muslim peoples, minority communities and individuals living in non-Muslim countries. They all form the *Ummah* which includes them equally.

THE CONCEPT OF MINORITY AND MAJORITY IN ISLAM

The topic should not mislead us to the belief that Islam does recognise the division of humanity into various forms of minority and majority but suggests its own concept. As we have already pointed out, 'the unity of God' as the only single basis of the edifice of Islam necessarily leads us to the (1) unity of His Message (and thus rejecting religious and sectarian minority and majority) and (2) to the unity of man (and thus rejecting racial minority and majority) and (3) to the unity of the source of authority, power and sovereignty (and thus rejecting political minority and majority) as well as to other unities (and thus rejecting other forms of minority, majority). The topic has been used simply to make it easy for us to continue the discussion in English.

However, as all know, almost one third of the one billion world Muslims live in non-Muslim States. It is thus natural for the Muslims to suggest a logical concept for the minority-majority so that religious, social, political minorities, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, can be treated with justice e.g. Islam does not recognise racial minority and majority. The Muslims thus do not expect to be treated on this basis as they do not treat others with injustice on this basis. Islam does not recognise national majority and minority. The Muslims thus do not expect to be treated with prejudice on this basis as they do not treat others with prejudice on this basis. Islam does not recognise class minority and majority. The Muslims thus

do not expect others to treat them on this basis as they do not treat others on this basis. Islam does not recognise any power, authority and sovereignty except that of the God (Allah). It does not thus recognise political minority and majority. The Muslims thus do not expect to be treated with prejudice on this basis as they do not treat others with prejudice on this basis, and so on. As the Muslim majority does not regard itself as a group occupying a dominant position, exploiting the minorities by force and power and does not view itself as constituting a distinctive privileged group with the right to rule over the minorities with power and force, but it considers itself as the protector of the minorities, the Muslim minorities naturally expect the non-Muslim majorities to treat them with at least the same consideration.

The western concept of minority and majority in all its forms is based on the Western concept of democracy, power and politics. In fact, the Western concept of minority and majority in all its forms, including religious minority and majority, is based on a secular, political and materialistic (certainly non-spiritual) basis. But the Islamic concept of minority and majority in all its forms, including the political minority and majority, on the contrary has theological, spiritual and religious explanations. Since the division of life into purely ritual and secular, religious and political, since the reduction of religion into solely formal rituals, since the introduction of politics in authoritarian terms and in terms of power and authority and specially since the introduction of democracy and hence regarding the people as the source of authority (and thus rejecting the sovereignty of God) and hence the evaluation of law and legal concepts purely in secular, temporal, authoritarian, political terms and in terms such as authority, power, force and sovereignty and thus depriving law and legal concepts of their moral and spiritual values and finally since the definition of democracy as the 'government of people, by people, for people' and thus replacing God with substitutes such as people, nation, kings, etc. as the sovereign and the sole source of power and authority, the concept of minority and majority also in accordance with other terms of national and international laws are evaluated in secular and authoritarian terms. That is to say, as the people (demo) are recognised as the sole source of authority and power (democracy) a criterion must be introduced to measure popular opinion, as the public is seldom unanimous

on matters of importance, the criterion of the majority (over 50%) has been introduced as the reliable standard and thus the principle of absolute democracy which proved to be impractical was replaced with the principle of 'the majority role' (wherever it is claimed) or majoritocracy. The minority (less than 50%) thus lost its power, authority, sovereignty and the right to rule and participate in government. As we see the majority and minority thus introduced are nothing but the ruling power, party, authority and winner and the section of the society with force (majority) and the powerless losing section of the society (minority). Islam, on the contrary, neither recognizes the people as the source of power and authority nor evaluates right and wrong, good or bad in terms such as power, force, domination, etc. It does not also recognize number and statistical figures as means of evaluating right and wrong. We know that the entire edifice of Islam, legal and political principles included, rests upon the doctrine of 'the unity of God' (*Tawhid* توحيد : absolute monotheism) from which stems the whole Islam as the inclusive way of life and all Islamic teachings and principles. The Islamic concepts and teachings concerning majority, minority, the masses, populace, etc. are no exceptions from this general rule. They must thus be examined and evaluated in the light of the doctrine of '*Tawhid*' and if they do not measure up against this unique standard they should be consequently rejected. The introduction of the concepts of the majority, minority, populace and masses in authoritarian terms such as power and force certainly is not compatible with the doctrine of *Tawhid*. In Islam, authority follows the truth (al-Haqu) and God alone is the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Islam does not recognize the modern political principle of '*de facto* power' but suggests that truth is the source of authority not the other way round. **Sovereignty and authority exclusively belongs to God. The Islamic government is not 'the government of the people, by the people, for the people'. It thus does not measure the truth and authority in terms of numbers - the majority and the minority. The Islamic government is 'the government of God, by people, for God', the objective of which is to establish the truth and justice. It is thus neither a democratic nor a theocratic government in the customary sense of the terms democracy and theocracy. Since the government of Islam does not derive its authority and *raison d'etre* from the people and its objective is not to please people at whatever cost,**

it does not recognize the concept of democracy, majoritocracy and majority-minority. Even the authority of consensus and unanimity, let alone majority or minority, in Islam is not based on the mere mass consent and unanimity. Consensus and unanimity in Islam carries authority because it contains, conveys and reveals the Divine truth and sanction. The Prophet is reported to have said: "My community does not come to unanimity on a wrong decision." (لا تجتمع امتي على الخطاء - الضلالة). The relationship between the government and the people in Islam is not that of power and force. The relationship between the majority and minority is not based in power and force either; power by itself does not convey superiority. The majority is not thus the superior section of the society with force and power. The minority is neither the inferior nor the losing section of the society.

As sovereignty and authority belongs entirely to *Allah*, the Muslim community, the Muslim majority, minority and individuals are only responsible (not powerful) to establish the kingdom of God (so to speak) on earth and to spread the truth and establish justice. Man is responsible regardless of forming unanimity, majority or minority. The Islamic community, or majority, is not the community of power or the ruling majority - for power and authority belong exclusively to God. Its relationship thus with the non-Muslim minorities living in the Muslim community or majority, is not that of power and force. It is the same with the Muslim minorities living in non-Muslim states. Muslims are responsible whether they form majority or minority. The Muslims are to establish justice and fight oppression. Justice in the exercise of authority should be absolute in Islam. Discrimination and oppression on any grounds racial, religious, national, colour, political, or simply number-minority-majority-is condemned whether by Muslims or against them, whether the Muslims form majority or minority, whether they rule or are ruled. The Prophet (peace be upon him) introduced the Muslim as "He who is in absolute peace with others" (المسلم من سلم المسلمون من يده ولسانه). An analysis of the Muslim history reveals that the Muslims practised these principles with the minorities living amongst them. In Islam, the dignity of man as the vicegerent (Khalifa) of God cannot be tampered with on majority-minority grounds. It is too essential to be associated with a changing variable such as number and

statistical measures. This is why it has been claimed that history knows of no religion which has addressed itself to the non-believer except to condemn him - except Islam. 1 In most ancient civilisations, the non-believer simply did not exist. Jewish judaism, upon which christian's Christianity is built, divides humanity into the chosen people (God's favourite) and the ordinary man (even when they form unanimity or majority) and thus introduces religious, racial, political, etc. prejudice and barriers and justifies this in divine terms. This is the case with other ethnic religions such as Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. As for the universal religions such as Christianity and Buddhism, they too condemn the non-believers religiously. It is only Islam that introduced universal humanism and unity of religions on the basis of 'religio naturalis' (دين الفطرة) and 'human naturalis' (الانسان الفطري). The unity of God leads to the unity of His Message (revelation universalism) and the unity of man as the recipient of His Message. In Islam, all human beings are originally Muslims unless proved otherwise for every creature by the nature of creaturiness submits to its Creator (Islam: submission to God).

The Islamic government is the government of Allah established by the Islamic community which covers even the protected non-Muslim minorities living in the Muslim States for Allah who has enjoined the establishment of justice as the prime objective of the Islamic government. It also covers the Muslim minorities living in non-Muslim territories. Islam introduces freedom and tolerance by denouncing dictatorship as politheism. As the only source of authority is God, nobody: group, class, race, nationality, majority or minority may proclaim itself as the source of authority and thus rejecting dictatorship in its various forms - individual dictatorship, majority, minority, class, racial, party dictatorships - on theological grounds. It provides minorities with the same status as that of majorities - that is the status of responsibility and not authority, regardless of whether the majority or minority is Muslim or non-Muslim. Authority and power is the monopoly of *Allah* and not the product of man, class, race, grouping, majority or minority. Unlike the Jewish 'chosen or Holy nation' which covers only the children of Israel, hence Zionist racism and unlike 'Zoroastrian society' which goes as far as permitting even incest to keep its society pure from any racial impurity; unlike Hindu society which is based on the caste

system and unlike modern negative nationalism which is based on race, colour, historical, geographical, cultural, political and likewise basis (majority, minority and similar basis), the Islamic community is an open community (*Ummah*) which includes Muslims all over the world and the non-Muslims living in the Muslim state, with no discrimination whatsoever including majoritism and minoritism. Converts to Islam automatically enter the Muslim community and become full members regardless of their race, nationality, culture etc. Islamic history testifies to the fair and just treatment that the non-Muslims in Muslim States received from the Muslims since the early days of Islam.²⁸ The truly Islamic state has never known any discrimination between its subjects, Muslims living outside its territory and non-Muslims (*dhemmis*) living in its territories. The imposition of the *Jizya* جزیه tax on its non-Muslim subjects who would be able to take part in defending the State had they been Muslims is simply in return for the protection they receive from the State and is to pay for the cost of the defence.

CHAPTER 8

ISLAMIC ACTIVISM

Islamic moral system is different from that of Judaism or Christianity. Whereas Judaism bases moral values on action and *Halakha* and action matter more than faith, and whereas Christianity on the other hand places faith above all else, Islam requires both faith and action together. The stress is on action caused by faith in the framework of *Shariah*. Islam asks for a balance of faith (Iman, Niyat) and action (Amal) and does not recognize one without the other or at the expense of the other. This principle requires the actualisation of Islamic political principles and makes it the religious duty of all Muslims to establish Islamic community and government for it is not good enough just to believe in the political principles as it is not enough to have a political system which is not based on Islam. Pauline Christianity explicitly rejects law and action in favour of faith - faith in Jesus - hence the reduction of Christianity and from Western Christians' point of view, the reduction of religion into only personal faith. The Christian who has only two laws (love of God and love of neighbour) giving redemption through internal devotion, not external compliance reduces his religion to faith. As the result, Christianity has no decreed way of life and certainly no political system.¹ Islam on the contrary is a way of life with its own political system which must be established otherwise Islam and Islamic law has not been fulfilled. The balance between Faith and action in Islam has made it the religion of balance, and the Muslim the community justly balanced. ²

In Islam the realisation of the law is as important, if not more, as the faith. Islam is obedience inspired by feelings and not only one or the other. The realisation of law (Fiqh) of which politics is an important part is considered to be the religious obligation of the Muslim community and individuals, hence fighting for the establishment of Islamic political system is regarded as the holy war and those who are killed in the course of its realisation are considered martyrs. ³

Unlike the pious Christian who usually expresses his devotion to God by withdrawing from mundane affairs, the pious Muslim demonstrates devotion by living closely by the law under Islamic political system. In contrast to the ideal of the retiring Christian, the Muslim actively involves himself in the affairs of this world in order to implement God's commands. "To emphasise this point, I call a particularly pious Muslim an activist Muslim"⁴ - politically active too. Islam has its own socio-political order. The realisation of this order necessarily means that un-Islamic, anti-Islamic or alien culture, politics and foreign masters, that may interfere with its realisation, must be stopped, got rid of and fought against. Thus an activist pious Muslim invariably struggles and fights to eradicate alien influence, impact, interference and domination. He thus strives either for legalism the full implementation of Islamic law or the establishment of the Islamic political system.

Islamic activism, on the basis of Islamic moral values, as revolutionary principle is also explained in terms of Islamic positivism compared to, for instance, Christian pacifism. Christianity came forward with a complete abrogation of war in the word of Jesus: "But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also... And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain"⁵ A Christian is not ideologically to resist oppression and tyranny against himself let alone against others. Islam on the contrary emphatically sanctions war and struggle against oppression.⁶

Islam declares war against the oppressor and in aid of the oppressed regardless whether the oppressor or the oppressed is Muslim or non-Muslim, as a religious obligation and as *jihad* or holy war. Quran say: "why do not you fight in the course of Allah and for the cause of the oppressed"⁷ "And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them doeth wrong to the other, fight ye that which doeth wrong till it returns unto the ordinance of Allah. Then if it returns make peace between them justly, and act equitably, Lo! Allah loveth the equitable"⁸ The Quran, *Sunnah* and *Ijmá* concur in regarding justice as the ultimate aim of the *Shariah*. The establishment of justice necessarily means fighting and struggling against tyranny and oppression. Therefore, to fight in support of the oppressed,

whether Muslim or not, is a command deserving reward. In this context, when the Islamic state or the Muslim community rises and declares war, it is within the bounds of the *Shariah* provided the goal of the war and the revolt is to establish justice and suppress tyranny and oppression. The prophet inserted in his treaty of alliance "not to support his allies if they turned oppressors and to aid them if they became oppressed".⁹ At the time of this treaty his allies were still polytheists (Mushrik). In fact the prophet vowed to aid any oppressed person including a polytheist and to fight oppressors including a Muslim. This is exactly fighting against oppression and is struggle for justice, the most revolutionary principle. The main forms and causes of injustice and tyranny are: oppression, transgression, discrimination, exploitation, congruous consumption and corruption, colonialism and racism, the fight against which has been emphatically recommended and ordered by the Quran,¹⁰ Sunnah and Islam. It is not therefore beyond the jurisdiction of the Islamic state or the Muslim community to declare open revolt and to wage Jihad or holy war against them and against those people and states that practice, spread and cause them. In fact the principle of "Amr-i be al-Ma'roof wa al-Nahy an al-Monkar" and the obligation of holy struggle or *Jihad* or revolt against oppression derive their legitimation from the very nature of Islamic spiritual values and of the Islamic moral code, hence its holiness and the martyrdom of those who fall in the course of fighting against oppression and tyranny. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini has often explained this point in his lectures and speeches. ¹¹

Probably the reason why Islam explains the obligation of struggle and war against oppression in terms of spiritual values and moral law is that Islam tries to introduce it as innate to all humans as well as upon Muslims, to human wisdom and thus introduces it as a universal principle and thus encourages the entire humanity to struggle and revolt against it and hence universalism of the Islamic revolution.

The most revolutionary Islamic principle with regard to oppression is that not only it is an obligation to fight it but it is a great sin to stay abject to it and to accept it. In Islam man is neither free nor allowed to accept oppression and be subject to oppression for this encourages further tyranny, injustice and oppression. A man

prepared to be killed and oppressed is as guilty as the killer and the oppressor. This is the meaning of a dictum attributed to the prophet: "The murderer and the murdered shall both go to hell" or "the oppressor and the oppressed are both in hell".¹² By giving spiritual and moral validity to the struggle and revolt against oppression, Islam is trying to introduce the war as the war on principle ground, regardless of the result. In this light, the actual struggle and revolt is good and obligatory for it is regarded as *Jihad*.

Similarly, "rights" are not only to be "given, granted or bestowed" by the dominant power but are to be "taken", "appropriated", "sized", "captured", "acquired" and "secured" if necessary by force. This can be clearly illustrated by the Islamic Revolution in Iran and its leader Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. Indeed, championing of the cause of the oppressed all over the world and the world revolutionary movements has been an essential component of the image of Islam and the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The conferences of the world revolutionary and liberating movements in Iran shows this.¹³

ISLAMIC POLITICAL ACTIVISM

To evaluate and discuss Islam, its theology and history purely in terms of compatibility with the Western culture and in terms of response to the West, as it is the habit of many orientalist and the policy of the Western media is misleading and the result of ethnocentricity and conceitedness and is not scholarly at all. The most important fact about Islam is that it is in its essence a divine revelation of the nature of truth, and reality, with its own method and approach equally as old as Islam itself and also of divine origin for anchoring consciousness of truth and reality in every sphere of human life, including socio-political sphere. On the basis of its divine origin and the nature of truth, Islam is austere, detached and neutral. Its authenticity thus exists totally apart from confirmation and rejection by men. It is thus a "*de jure*" system with the belief in the final victory of the truth. Islam is not thus merely disinterested truth but the active and determined effort to make truth supreme and acknowledged in the world, or in the words of the Quran, to "make the word of God the uppermost". (Quran, 9:40) Under

this aspect, Islam is a combative force, a revolutionary religion with an active dynamic political system, with a mission to achieve, with a duty and purpose to establish the truth and justice and to repel falsehood, injustice and oppression.¹⁴ Even the strategy and the tactics to conquer the world for truth and to establish the justice are of divine origins. The *Jihad* and *Amri bi al-Marooof* are two of these divinely authenticated tactics. The Quran, the Sunna, the life of the Prophet and Imams and their true successors explain the right approach to make the truth victorious and set for the Muslim the example of an active and combative Islamic life, one that made possible the establishment of a world order that bore witness to the truth and thus complimented rather than contradicted the contemplative and serene dimension of his blessed character which was in turn another divine tactic for the establishment of the truth. Islam, thus, in its aspect of disinterested truth is impervious to any challenge and in its aspect of combative truth it presents a challenge itself to all systems of thought and belief, in the fields of theology, politics and in the various assumptions and habits of mind that go to make up the modern mentality. In fact the challenge posed by Islam to the modern mentality is manifold. Of greatest and most radical importance is the supreme assertion of God's creativity and sovereignty,¹⁵ hence Islamic political challenge to the modern political thought and system and hence Islamic inherently revolutionary nature.

Truth, according to Islam, is closely associated with the absolute (Allah) and it is not the produce of individuals. It is not therefore subject to relativity and to variation of personal inclination, disposition, circumstances and individuals whim and fancy. Truth by virtue of its nature must be indifferent to the varying circumstances. Islam makes it plain that truth is not of man's own definition but resides with Allah and is of divine origin and is in a sense, external to man which must be revealed and realised by its Islamic divine way, approach and means.¹⁶

The challenges, militancy and revolution of Islam thus possesses a challenge to the modern mentality, to all modern "isms" thus usurp the authority of absolute truth. Professor H. Algar concludes his valuable discussion regarding this point as follows: "We do not wish to give the impression, however, that

Islam is merely an aggregate of opposites to the modern mentality. It is rather an autonomous integrated and coherent set of doctrines and practices that rest on a world view utterly separate from that of modernity. Islam offers to modern man not a set of solutions for his problems, but a radically different choice of direction".¹⁷ This choice of direction is certainly demonstrated in the field of Islamic political system as a means to the establishment of the true Islamic community by which the truth and justice is realised, obtained, achieved, protected, preserved and defended. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini has often referred to the question of Islamic activism in term of unity of religion and politics: "Our religion is the religion of politics. Even Islamic rituals are of political significance. Friday prayers, festival prayers and their sermon, the pilgrimage to Makka and the grand demonstration of solidarity at Makka, Arafat and Mina are all of great political significance. But they (those who misunderstand Islam) try to separate Islam and religion from politics... I do not believe that Jesus agreed with oppression. He was certainly against oppression. He was sent by God to fight oppression by all means (including political). But he is being now associated with a system that does not introduce him justly and correctly".¹⁸ In a public message upon the occasion of Ido al-Fitr (the end of ramadan) on 24th August, 1979.

Khomeini explains the unity of the religion and politics in Islam frequently.¹⁹ Āli Shari'ati says: "The belief in the Imamate must be useful to this world in order to bring results in the other world",²⁰ and thus introduces Islamic activism and militancy in religious and political fields. Sayyed Hasan Modarres also based his political activities on the Unity of Religion and politics and on Islamic activism.

We would like to point out again that the inclusiveness of Islam and the unity of religion and politics does not mean that secular and material well being is an end in Islam, nor is it a component part of Islam. It always remains as means to give man the security to enable him to fulfil his religious obligations so that man can secure his eternal salvation. Secularism and materialism certainly contradict and reject Islam and vice versa. Human happiness and well being in Islam is not measured in material and secular terms. This in a sense makes the Islamic political system a unique system and a re-

volutionary system. Any system of thought that does not consider God and the unity with Him as the final end, objective and goal of human creation is un-Islamic. In Islam the ultimate concern of man is not even man as an independent entity. Islam does not propose the unity of secularism, materialism with spiritualism, for they cannot unite. Islam propose the unity of religion and politics, the unity of public and private, the unity of national and international and the harmony of physical, material and secular needs with spiritual and religious needs.

Islamic activism has provided Islam with its revolutionary feature and has introduced it as a militant and active religion. A brief analysis of political and revolutionary activities of the Muslims in the last two centuries shows this.

The longest and the fiercest war against colonial and imperialist forces of the world, Western and Eastern, has been fought by Muslims. Nothing could bribe them or hinder them in their holy war. Without politically Militant Islam, freedom and independence would have taken decades longer, that is if revolutionary Islam and the freedom struggle had not won and the something earlier on in Indonesia, Afghanistan, the 'Sudan, Somaliland, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Western-Central Africa and other places in addition to the very large infusion of Islam in the national movement of Iran and some in that of Egypt. 21

The Iranian Movement for the nationalization of oil and their campaign against British imperialism in the 1950's would not have succeeded without Islamic aspiration and without help from religious leadership. De lesseps the builder of the Suez Canal, speaking in an Algerian context, expressed this intertwining (national, social, political and Islamic aspirations) very concisely when he said: "What nonsense has been written about the intractable fanaticism of the Algerian Arabs.... Fanaticism had not nearly so much to do with the resistance of the Arab as patriotism, religion was the only flag around which they could rally." 22

A contemporary observer of the third world and the Afro-Asian movements believes that "without Islam the Afro-Asian movements would probably have aborted. And without the Afro-Asian move-

ment there would have been no 'non-aligned' group of nations, and without that group there would not have been the economic group of "seventy seven". 23 By being prepared to pay the price and joining the movement of people, Islam for 150 years received successive blood transfusions from the struggle to push Europe out of Asia and Africa and back into Europe. 24 The struggle of Asia and Africa against Neo-Colonialism in the future could succeed only with Islamic aspiration.

His answer to the question, why in many diverse Muslim countries, should Islam and the freedom movement have been so close together as to be in action one and the same thing? is that: "There are three answers: Firstly there is at base the totalist (inclusive) Islam itself. Its refusal to make any distinction and separation between religion and politics is necessarily the appropriate and just concern of the faith. Secondly, what other forces or organization was there that could guide, inspire and channel the struggle? There was no nationalism, structured or unstructured; that came later and was the product not the cause of the national movements which for many decades were simply movement or revolution against the Western presence. Not until the 1920's did the secular nationalist political parties appear, and then only in a few Afro-Asian countries.

So it was left to Islam with such traditional structures as it had—the Quranic school, the Mosque, the Haj, to provide some sort of organized structure for struggle. Thirdly, Islam through its Ulama, provided the only educated group of leaders available. This was so because in most Afro-Asian countries the usual leadership groups, the princely rulers, aristocrats or landlord class (and recently Westernized elements, intellectuals and Western educated class) usually sided with the foreign ruler. But the village sheikh, being that much closer to the people partook of their nationalist feeling and could not but become local leader. The future success of the Afro-Asian movement, the security of the independence and freedom of the Muslim peoples in the future rests with Islam as it did in the past.

The success of the liberation movements in the Muslim world rests with their success in Islamicizing of their movement and being inspired by Islam. The unselfish leadership and forces and the ideology required for the success of these movements can be provided

only by Islam and can be only produced by Islamic aspiration. The first halting of the ever expanding tide of Western imperialism was by the Muslims and that was by the Muslim Afghans in 1842, the last year of the First Afghan war, when a British column retreating from Kabul was wiped out. This was when British imperialism was at her peak of power. 25 Almost all independence and liberation movements in the Muslim world were Islam inspired and Ulama-led. The most exemplary of these namely that of Algeria enjoyed greatly from the Islamic aspiration. Both the great spasms of Algerian nationalism, the first being the struggle under Abdol Qadir from 1832 and the second the war of independence, had strong Islamic content. The green and white flag of independent Algeria was the flag designed and used by Abdol Qadir. 26 By adopting it the Algerian asserted the continuity between their struggle and that of its politico-religious progenitor—a reminder of the umbilical link between militant Islam and the freedom struggle. 27

The campaign of the Muslims living under Russian domination against Russia which continued for a long time and took the form of series of wars and battles had but one pattern and feature: They were movements of religious nature, something as jihad, led by religious leaders. 28

The colonialist and imperialist forces, whether western or Eastern (Russians) always branded anti-colonial, anti-imperialist movements by the Muslims as fanatics and called the Muslims as fanatics, exactly the same terms used in Modern history by Imperialist News Media to discredit the contemporary Islamic movement particularly the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

The anti-British movement in India, which is not a majority Muslim country, including the Indian Mutiny, was led partly by Ulama and had Islamic content. 29 Both the anti-colonial and independence Movement in Libya and the contemporary Revolutionary Movement of Libya had Islamic content and enjoyed greatly from Islamic aspiration and ideology including Sufi Islamic inspiration. 30 As a rule the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist Movements, the struggles against the West as well as against the Russians were originally for Islam and by Islam and led by Muslim scholars. This is the case with almost all the struggles throughout the width and

the length of the Muslim world both in the past and contemporary history. It shall be the same in the future.

Probably one of the reasons why the Palestinian Liberation movement has earned its success more slowly is that secularist elements have left their impact on it and deprived it from Islamic content and leadership. The Muslim and Christian Palestinians have to equip their Liberation movement with religious content, aspirations and ideology and stand together against their common enemy to be able to make their Movement a success.

Islamic concept of History

Also contributing to the revolutionary and dynamic tradition of Islam is the concept of history in Islam. For the Muslim, history is a living process with a goal to achieve and with a determination to make it achieve the goal; the establishment of a universal, just Muslim community. 'While referring back to the past model, Muslims look forward also to the achievement of a transformed and perfect Islamic community in the foreseeable future. Revolutionary Islam, particularly in its Mahdist form, proposes a concept of history as involving a continuous conflict between oppressors (Taghoot) and the oppressed (mustadafin), leading, by a process conceived as historically necessary, to the ultimate victory of the oppressed'³¹ 'Allah has promised to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds, that He will most surely make them His vicegerents.'³² 'We have decided to be gracious to those who were being oppressed on earth to make them leaders and make them heirs.'³³ As we know Islamic traditions or Sunnah, the second source of Shariah, are not those dead traditions belonging to the past but are those patterns and models which make the future of mankind. 'There is for you an excellent example to follow in Abraham and those with him'.³⁴ 'Ye have indeed in the apostle of God a beautiful pattern of conduct for any one whose hope is in God and the final day'.³⁵ History thus for Muslims is the 'science of making man the vicegerent of Allah and is a forward looking discipline and not a discipline looking back.

The Quran and Sunnah suggest that there is a divine plan in history. Islam thus believes in divine historical determinism which

is completely different from the Marxist materialistic historical determinism. The Quran explains the historical determinism in terms of the obedience or disobedience of Allah and in terms of the realisation of the Divine Law including universal laws of nature. The Quran says: "God has promised to those among you who believe and work righteous deeds, that He will of surely grant them inheritance of the earth, as He granted it to those before them, that He will establish in authority their religion".³⁶ The fulfilment of the man's responsibility is bound to lead to the divine victory for "God does not change the state of a people unless they change their own state"³⁷, and "He refuses to do things except by their means and through the proper channels" (Aba Allaho 'An Yajria al-Umoor Illa be Asbabih (أبي الله ان يجري الامور الا باسبابها) It thus follows that if people change themselves (i.e. revolution), fulfil their responsibility and prepare the conditions and use the means, then the divine plan is that their state is necessarily changed too and they therefore receive what they deserve which is the ultimate and definite victory and success. This is because Islam believes in the law of causality in the sociopolitical sphere too. It is the divine plan and law of the history and it is determined by Allah to make the deserving meritorious peoples (al-Salehoon) who have been oppressed despite their struggle (al-Mustadafin) the heirs of the earth. The Quran says: "Before this, we wrote in the Psalms, that the righteous (deserving: al-Salihoon) shall inherit the earth".³⁸ "We decided to be gracious to those who were being oppressed on the earth to make them leaders (Áima plu of Imam) and make them heirs".³⁹ Allah has thus made it a divine law that the deserving people who are being oppressed should ultimately and definitely become the leaders and the heirs. Allah has commanded the faithful to fight and struggle for the sake of the oppressed and in the course of justice.⁴⁰ We can therefore conclude that if the oppressed peoples decide to change their state and faithfuls all over the world fight to help them earn their victory, then the divine plan of the history is that they surely will succeed. The final victory of the revolution is thus guaranteed. This is the spiritual explanation of Mehdism too. Islamic activism, Mehdism, historical determinism and Islamic universalism and inclusiveness etc. have made Islam a universal revolutionary religion by nature.

It should be borne in mind that the generating sources of Islamic determinism of history is man. Islamic determinism is not thus based on fatalism. It is indeed based on activism rather than fatalism. There are two kinds of historical determinism: The negative one suggests that salvation and the reign of justice will be established finally and that in the meantime the prevailing corruption and injustice are natural historical necessities. To oppose them is fruitless. Islam condemns this attitude, and advocates the positive activist historical determinism. Historical determinism in Islam and the coming of the Golden Age of justice is owed in the revolution and activism. It is the revolution and the active participation of man in his future and the future of his community that bring about the ultimate salvation, peace and justice to the world. It is a progressive future-oriented ideology, opposed to conservatism, pacifism, negativism, anarchism, classicism, traditionalism and fatalism. The Quran say: "God does not change the state of a people unless they change their own state". 41 "Those who have done injustice to themselves, when they are asked: "Why is your conditions so miserable?" They answer: "Our weakness was exploited by our enemies." Then they will be told: "Is not the earth of Allah large enough?" (for you to move and refuse oppression and stand against exploitation). Why then did not you emigrate and get out from under your yoke?". Such people will have the eternal fire as their abode. Theirs will be a sad fate, except the impotents among men, women and children, who are utterly incapable of means of action." 42 Many Quranic verses like those quoted leave us in no doubt that Islamic historical determinism is an active positive determinism and not the negative fatalism.

This is true also of Mehdism. It is in the nature of messianic faith (Mehdism) to believe in the "comeback of the Golden Age" in the revolution that will bring about and in the future reign of peace and justice. It is also a progressive, future-oriented ideology opposed to conservatism, classicism, traditionalism and *de facto* systems. 43 Ali Shariati explains Mehdism and expectation (Intizar) as follows: "The expecting man is a ready man, ready to fight the final *jihad* which will definitely take place" for Intizar (expecting the coming of the saviour, hence the title of his book) is historical determinism. There will be a revolution. This revolution will triumph.

Man therefore has to say no to what is, to revolt against the existing conditions.⁴⁴

CHAPTER 9

MEHDISM AS AN ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION. 1

The doctrine of Mehdism, though originally associated particularly with Shiite Islam, early became an integral part of popular Sunnism hence the constant recurrence of Mehdis and Mehdist movements through the Muslim world at all periods of Muslim history. Some became major world figures who established their rule over extensive regions, like Ubaid Allah, the founder of Fatimid dynasty in the tenth century, Ibn Tumart the founder of the Almohad dynasty in the twelfth century and in modern times Muhammad Ahmad, the Sudanis Mehdi inspirer of one of the last great pre-colonial African Islamic states. These Mehdist movements in Africa adopted the revolutionary features of anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic movements. The Western colonialists and imperialists were generally identified as anti-Christ or Dajjal. According to the lurid and sometimes fantastic Tomlinson Lethern Report a factor contributing to the spread of Mehdist propaganda was: "The widespread belief that the end of the world, which is to take place in A.H. 1400 (1979 A.D.) will be preceded by the supremacy of the false prophet (Dajjal or anti-Christ) followed by the second coming of Nabi İsa (Jesus Christ), after which all the world will be converted to Islam. It has been the practice of agitators of late to identify the European conquerors of Muslim countries with Dajjal".² The principle of Mehdism plays a major role in Shiite revolutionary spirit, for any unjust secular government is regarded as illegitimate. Dr. Ali Shariati, the Iranian revolutionary leader, gives a very important role to this principle in Revolutionary Shiism (Red Shiism).³ Mehdi Bazargan, another Iranian leader also explores the positive values of Mehdism. He rejects the notion that anticipation of the Mehdi, whose re-emergence will mean the overturning of the existing order and inauguration of the Golden Age of justice, is a passive principle. If Shi'ah resign themselves and sit back to wait for the Messiah, this would be an invitation to evil men to usurp authority. If the Shi'ah adopt a passive interpretation of the meaning of the occultation (Ghaibat) of the

Imam, then this means that they do nothing, the Imam will do everything. In that event, no one should pray, no one should teach and no one should exercise Ijtihad. 4

Dr. Ali Shariati explains this point as follows: "The period we are living, the period of the Great Occulation is the period of *ilm* (knowledge). This period is also the period of Great expectation (Intizar) for the return of the Mehdi the saviour. There are two kinds of Intizar. The negative one suggests that salvation and justice will be obtained only with the coming of the Hidden Imam. That is to say, in the Meantime the prevailing corruption and injustice are natural historical necessities. To oppose them is fruitless.

This attitude is condemned. The positive aspect of Mehdism is the desired attitude. This is the activist belief in the Messianic expectation of the Mehdi the saviour. It is in the nature of Messianic faiths to believe in the come back of the "Golden Age of justice" and peace in the revolution that will bring it about. It is a progressive future-oriented ideology, opposed to conservatism, to classism and to traditionism. Intezar or expectation is futurism by nature. It is the Move towards the future which must of necessity come. A man in expectation is in expectation of future. One can not expect past. Intizar is hope and hope means life and future. The belief in the inevitable victory of justice over tyranny, peace over war, freedom over oppression is the main dimension and feature of Mehdism.

Ibn Khaldoon believes that all Muslims believe in Mehdism. 'It has been well known and generally accepted by all Muslims in every epoch that at the end of the time a man from the family of the Prophet will without fail make his appearance. One who will strengthen the religion and make justice triumph. The Muslims will follow him and he will gain domination over the Muslim realm. He will be called Mehdi. Following him the Anti-christ will appear together with all the subsequent signs of the hour (the Day of Judgement). After the Mehdi, Isa (Jesus) will descend and kill the Anti-christ. Or Jesus will descend together with the Mehdi and help him kill the Antichrist and have him as the leader in his prayer'.⁵ It is not thus just a Shiite belief. Mehdist beliefs early became an integral part of popular *Sunnism*. Nevertheless, it is an essential

part of Shiism. It was brought up time and again by leaders of Iranian revolution during the oppressive regime of the deposed Shah. Ali Shariat and Mehdi Bazargan are the two prominent leaders who used the doctrine of Mehdism to encourage people in their fight for the Islamic revolution.⁶ Of particular interest is Mehdi Bazargan's book, "The Inevitable Victory". He bases his argument on the Quranic verse suggesting the inevitable victory of the righteous: 'God has promised, those who believe, have faith and work righteous deeds, that He will surely grant them final victory and inheritance of the earth, as He granted those before, and that He will establish in authority their religion which He has chosen for them, and that He will give them security after the fear'.⁷ 'We wrote in the Psalms before this that my righteous meritorious servants shall inherit the earth'.⁸ 'Truth has arrived and falsehood has perished; for falsehood is bound to perish'.⁹

The doctrine of Mehdism also provides the Muslims, whether Shiite or not, with a special concept of history as a living and dynamic process with a goal to achieve, the inevitable victory of the faithful righteous, and provide them with Islamic historical determinism and Islamic universalism and brotherhood. Mehdism and Islamic historical determinism and universalism and brotherhood also give martyrdom a special position in Islam as the means for establishing God's kingdom on earth and justice and thus make it popular. Thus among the common people the themes of Mehdism and martyrdom was infused during the revolution in Iran and after its success with new meanings and significance. They became powerful instruments for fighting foreign influence and the anti-Islamic regime of the ex-Shah. During the last two decades attempts have been made both within and outside traditional religious institutions to redefine and reintroduce Islamic and Shii Islamic concepts which have in turn given Islam a sharper socio-political edge, a more direct appeal to the young generations and modern believers.¹⁰

As we have pointed out the concept of Mehdism plays a very important role in Shiite ideology. It is nevertheless of importance in the Sunni ideology too. Even the various signs that are supposed to indicate the coming of the Mehdi are identical in the Shiite and Sunni sources. Many general descriptions, eschatological descrip-

tion of the last days that will precede his coming are common to both Shiah and Sunni sources.

i

CHAPTER 10

IMAMATE

Being an all inclusive way of life, Islam does not recognize the separation of social, political and religious aspects. Thus political or social movement has never been separated from religion. We can therefore discredit the proposition put forward generally by non-Muslims to introducing Shiism as only a political movement caused by the political succession to the Prophet Muhammad. As there are different interpretations of Islam in Sunnism from which developed Sunni schools and Madhhabs there exists an interpretation of Islam as a whole from which Sunnism and Shiism developed. Shiism is related more to the question as how to interpret Islam. As to the question of succession of the Prophet, the difference between Caliphate and Imamate is mainly due as to what the function and qualifications of the successor to the Prophet are rather than who he should be. Imamate for Shiite is an institution in which both exoteric (Zahir) and esoteric (Batin) aspects of traditional authority is united and Imams are those in whom both political (Ryasat-Syasad) and religious (Walayat-Diyanat) functions are vested. Hence they must be divinely appointed and must be infallible (Másum). Imams rule and guide the community, administer and interpret Shariah at the same time though they may relinquish the administrative functions and the political responsibility (Khalifat) to others.

Shiah which literally means partisans or followers and in Islamic literature refers to those Muslims who believe in the Imamate form of succession to the Prophet, instead of the Caliphate form, is really a term which introduces those Muslims who understand and interpret Islam in the light of Shiism in the same way that Hanafism, Malikiism, Shafism and Hanbalism interpret Islam in the light of their schools. Shiáh believe that, according to many Quranic verses and according to many more sound authentic prophetic traditions reported by both Sunnis and Shiites, succession to the Prophet is the right of Ali and his descendants through Fatima and that Shariah can be interpreted in this light by the Household of the Prophet. The Shiah thus believe that guardianship (Walayat) of

Islam and the Muslim community and religious authority (Marjā'iyat-i ilmi) after the prophet, exclusively belongs to Ali and his descendants. They thus rejected and protested against all other forms of successions and interpretations of Islam. Shiism believes that Islam and Shari'ah as understood from the Quran and authentic dictums attributed to infallible persons is valid and remains valid to the end of time and that the main duty of any Islamic government is the realisation of Shari'ah and the establishment of justice as instructed and explained by the right authority - the Prophet and the members of his Household through Fatima and Ali.

The Shi'ah believe that Shiism existed right from the beginning. The term Shi'ato Ali, (the followers or partisans of Ali) was used by the Prophet himself.¹ Soon after the death of the Holy Prophet the group who rejected the Caliphate on the ground of Imamate of Ali and were headed by Salman, Abu Dharr, Miqdad and Ammar was known as Shi'ah. The Shi'ah on the basis of Islam refused to recognise the separation of socio-political authority in the form of Caliphate and religious authority in the form of Walayat and Marjā'iyat-i Ilmi. They recognise their unity in the form of Imamate. They believe that there is no divorce in Islam between the temporal and the religious aspects of life and affairs of the community. Thus for the Shi'ah, Ali is the first Imam though he is recognised as the fourth Caliph. After Ali Hasan, his son, became the second Imam. He was poisoned by Muawiyah. Husain is the third Imam. He was martyred in his fight against Umayyads. Shiites believe that the fourth Imam, A'li ibn al-Husain and the fifth Imam, Muhammad ibn Ali, were also killed by the Umayyads. The sixth Imam is Jafar Ibn Muhammad al-Sadiq. Due to the political dispute between the Umayyads and the Abbasids during the lifetime of the fifth and the sixth Imams, they managed to expand the principles of Shiism. This is why the twelver Shiites are known, after the sixth Imam, as Jafari Shiites too.

The anti-Umayyad movement in support of the Household of the Prophet led by the Persian general Abu Muslim-i Marwazi from Khurasan was finally diverted from its proper course and was diverted in favour of the Abbasids and ended in establishing Abbasid Caliphate instead. The seventh Imam, Musa al-Kazim was poisoned by the Abbasid Caliph, Haroon al-Rashid. Mamoon

the Abbasid Caliph who was trying hard to please the Persians, who were supporting the Household (Ahlo al-Bait) of the Prophet, made the eight Imam, Áli Ibn Musa al-Rida, his successor. Shiite scholars took full advantage of the intellectual freedom of this period. Shiites believe that because Mamoon feared the influence of the eight Imam he was poisoned under Mamoon instruction. The coming to power of the Shiite dynasty of the Buyids in Persia helped the Shiites to spread and strengthen Shiism specially in Persia. Ahwaz and the coast of the Persian Gulf, Tabaristan and other parts of Persia were Shiites. Hasan Ibn Zaid al-Álawi and Nasir Utrush and their descendents reigned in North Persia, Tabaristan, for many years. Buyids, Álawites and Utrush families established Shiite authority in Persia. The fatimid Shiites reigned over Egypt and North Africa. Isma'ili (Sixers) Shiites also established their independent authority in Central Persia. Also the Sadat-i Marashi (descendents of the Prophet) ruled for many years in Mazandaran. Sultan Muhammad Khuda Bandah, a well-known Mongol ruler became Shiite and his descendents ruled in Persia for many years as Shiite Sultans. The Aq Qayunlu and Qara Qayunlu Shiite dynasties also ruled in Tabriz, Fars and Kerman. Finally the Safavid Shiite Álawite (so claimed) dynasty came to power and spread Shiism all over Iran and made it the official religion of Iran and has stayed as the official religion ever since.²

The Shi'ah believe that all their Imams were martyred, either killed or poisoned: they quote a dictum attributed to one of the Imams saying 'Ma Menna illa Maqtoolon aw Ma'moom': We are all either killed or poisoned. The seventh Imam was imprisoned for seven years until he was poisoned. The Shi'ah believe that the ninth, the tenth and the eleventh Imams respectively, Muhammad Ibn Áli, Ali Ibn Muhammad and Hasan Ibn Áli al-Askary also were poisoned. The twelfth Imam, Muhammad Ibn Hasan the promised Mehdi known as 'the Lord of time' was born in 256/868. His father was martyred in 260/872. By divine command he went into what is known as minor occultation (Ghaibat Sughra غیبت صغری) until 329/939 during which his four private deputies (Nuwwāb -i Khas نواب خاص); Uthman Ibn Sa'id, his son Muhammad Ibn Uthman, Husain Ibn Ruh, and finally Ali Ibn Muhammad, alternately represented him. He went into the major occultation (Ghaibat Kubra غیبت کبری) in

329/939 and has continued in occultation ever since during which the qualified Mujtahid Faqihs are authorised by many authentic dictums to represent him in establishing Islamic government, justice, fulfilling religious responsibilities of the Muslim community and Walayat which is termed as Walayat-i Faqih or the Guardianship of Faqih. A dictum is attributed to the Prophet saying 'Whoever dies without having known and acknowledged the Imam of his time, dies as an infidel'.³ Obviously this Imam cannot be identified with the elected Caliph for he is known by the people because he is elected. Another prophetic tradition states: 'If there were to remain in the life of the world but one day, God would prolong that day until He sends in it a man from my community and my Household. His name will be the same as my name. He will fill the earth with equity and justice'.⁴

We may thus conclude that the majority Shiites, twelvers or Imamiyyah or Jafariyyah trace the history of Shiism right back to the lifetime of the Prophet and to Salman al-Farsi, and other followers of Āli who differed with the rest of the community on religious ground mainly on the question of the unity of temporal and spiritual leadership, the qualifications and functions of the successor of the Prophet which they believe to be a divine right explained by the revelation and the Prophet to belong to the Household of the Prophet through Āli and Fatima, starting with Āli as the first Imam right up to the twelfth Imam, Muhammad al Mehdi, thus protesting against other forms of succession and Caliphate. The Shiite were under pressure during the rule of the three 'rightly guided Caliphs' (11/632-35/656). This pressure increased during the reign of Umayyads. (40/661-132/750). During the political dispute between the Umayyads and the Abbasids and for a while after the establishment of Abbasid dynasty, Shiism enjoyed some freedom (from mid 2/8 century to the middle of 3/9 century). Shiites faced hardship to the end of 3/9 century again. With the rise of Buyids at the beginning of 4/10 century and other Shiite dynasties specially in different parts of Persia Shiism gained strength until the end of 5/11 century. Due to political disputes and Crusades Shiites were left free. The conversion of some Mongol rulers of Persia to Shiism and the establishment of local Shiite dynasties in various parts of Persia helped the spread of Shiism specially in Persia up to the end of 9/15 century. The rise of Shiite Alawite family and dynasty

of Safavids at the beginning of the 10/16 century helped to introduce Shiism as the official religion of Iran which has continued as such up to the present day. The Shi'ah believe that Ijtihad which was practiced since the lifetime of the Prophet has continued to be practiced for there is no reason why it should be stopped. They therefore regard the Mujtahids as the legitimate temporal and spiritual leaders of the community and as the authorised guardians of Islam. It is clear that every Muslim should acquire knowledge of the theological principles of Islam directly and through his/her own efforts, initiative and by his/her own reasoning. These principles which are called Usool al-Din are five as follows:

- a. Belief in the existence and unity of Allah (Tawhid).
- b. Belief in the prophecy of the messengers of God and Muhammad (Risalat, Nubuwwat).
- c. Belief in resurrection and that good deeds will be rewarded and evil deeds will be punished (Ma'ad).
- d. Belief in the justice of Allah. Human intelligence (Aql) can judge justness or unjustness of an act (Adl). This is why only the Shi'ah are called the people of justice (Ahlo al-Adl) as against the Sunnis who place the emphasis on the Will of Allah instead of His justice and this is why they are called the people of tradition and community (Ahlo al-Sunnat wa al-Jam'at).
- e. Belief in Imamate as an Islamic institution in charge of both temporal and spiritual affairs. Thus to acquire knowledge is a religious duty in Islam. But leaving aside these theological principles in which there is no imitation (Taqlid), acquiring detailed knowledge of all practical rules and regulations of Shari'ah (way of life) through the sources of Islamic law and by the use of technical juristic reasoning (Ijtihad) for all Muslims is not possible. Only the qualified, capable Muslim jurists (Mujtahids, faqihs), on the basis of the collective responsibility of the community (Wujoob-i Kifai) have to fulfil this responsibility for the rest of the community and the rest of the community have to follow them (Taqlid). Since following dead Mujtahids is forbidden Shiite Islamic jurisprudence has stayed alive and the door of Ijtihad has been kept open.

The legitimate authority of these Mujtahids and Faqihs in the guardianship of the community and Islam is called Walayat-i Amri

Faqih and is the subject of the article 5 of C.L.I.R.I. (Constitutional Law of Islamic Republic of Iran) The Mujtahids are recognised as the public deputies of the Imam in his absence during the major occultation. They are therefore known as Nuvvābi Āmi Īmam. (نواب عام امام) 5.

The Shiites believe that the Shari'ah and the Prophet that have explained the minute rules and regulations naturally have also explained the important task of the guardianship of the community and Islam in the absence of the Prophet and Imams. Consequently the Shi'ah base this doctrine on the Quranic verse and on authentic traditions.⁶ The Shiites believe that the human species is not an exception to the general law of general guidance ruling the entire universe. (ولايت تکوينى walayati Takvini) Just as the Divine compassion (bounty: Lutf) necessitates the sending of Prophets, the existence of general universal divine guidance and the existence of persons who could fulfil the responsibility of guardianship (Imamate) there must always be individuals who could shoulder this responsibility in the absence of Imams. The prophets receive revelation directly while Imams exploit the exoteric and the esoteric aspects of revelation and explain the message given by the prophet. The Mujtahids likewise exploit revelation, prophetic traditions and Imams' dictums. Thus the belief in God and the knowledge of God and of the Imams are inseparable in the same way that the knowledge of God and submission to Him is inextricably connected to the knowledge of Shari'ah, use of Ijtihad and the knowledge of oneself.

The Shiites base the legitimacy of Imamate on three principles:

- a. Divinity of the Imamate. That is to say although Imamate is different from prophethood, it is nevertheless a divine position given ultimately by Allah through the prophet to persons with certain divine qualifications like purity, infallibility etc, as prophethood would be given by Allah only to persons with special qualifications.
- b. The first principle leads us to the second principle which is Nass (نص) or explicit designation. That is to say because Imamate is a prerogative bestowed by God upon a person chosen because of his qualifications, God through his qualified messenger and under His own guidance appoints the person by an explicit designation

(Nass) as an Imam to continue the Divine Work of succeeding the Prophet. It is for this reason that the Shiite scholars attribute traditions and Nass to the Prophet concerning his explicit appointment of the twelve Imams by God through him as his legitimate successors.

c. The third fundamental principle embodied in the doctrine of Imamate as elaborated by the Shiite scholars is that of *Ilm* (علم). This means that an Imam is a divinely inspired possessor of a special sum of knowledge which includes exoteric (*Zahir* ظاهر) and esoteric (*Batin* باطن) knowledge concerning the Quran and the details of religion. Imamate is not thus based on:

1. Inheritance for if it was based on inheritance it should always be passed on to the oldest son of the previous Imam, while it was not always passed on this way. The case of Hosain (the third Imam) and Musa al-Kazim (the seventh Imam) does not follow the pattern of universal inheritance.

2. Election by popular vote. The main difference between Imamate and caliphate is that the Caliphs were elected while Imams were designated.

3. *De facto* authority, for it is not regarded as a secular position and power. With the Imamate thus being a movement between God and mankind, and based on explicit designation (Nass) and on knowledge it should be absolutely clear that it is *de jure* institution and does not depend on the secular power.

4. On secular power. The Imam is not thus a king, a caliph etc. It is thus the duty of the believer to recognise the Imam of his age. It is attributed to the Prophet to have said "He who dies not knowing the Imam of his time has died the death of an infidel."⁷

This clearly distinguishes the position of Imamate from Caliphate and kingdom for everybody knows the King or the Caliph of his time and place.

5. Time and space. The Imam is not the Imam of certain and particular people, time, region, race, language etc. It is the Imam for the community throughout ages and over the whole world. His Imamate is not restricted by time, space, race, etc.⁸ The institution of Imamate is the guardianship of Islam (walayat ولايت), the trusteeship of the community (wasāyat وصايت) the custodianship of the Islamic institutions (neqābat نقات), the legatee of the Islamic

heritage. (waratha وراثت).

CHAPTER 11

THE BASIS OF WALAYAT AL-FAOIH:

The guardianship of the Muslim scholars (ideologues)

Most of the anti-Islamic, non-Muslim elements and those who are not qualified either to analyse the Islamic revolution in Iran, to adopt an scholarly approach towards Islam or are partial for many reasons but mainly to stop its spread to other lands, try to justify the Islamic revolution in Iran as purely a Shiite revolution and thus rationalise it in Shiite terms. Neither the leadership of the revolution nor the people who carried it out and those qualified scholars who have an inside knowledge of it explained it this way nor are they pleased with those who try to introduce it as a solely Shiite revolution. To begin with, the Shiite Muslims and the Shiite Muslim scholarship only see Shiism as a school of thought and law in the light of which Islam is seen and understood in the same way that followers of other Islamic schools of thought and law see Islam in the light of their respective schools. None of the followers of the Islamic schools of thought and law including the Shiites, take their schools or sects (Madhhab) as something against Islam. It is Islam that they all follow but in the light of Shiism, Hanafism, Shafism etc. and they all regard themselves as Muslims. Shiism is not a religion standing against Islam as, for example, Malikism or Hanbalism are not religions standing against Islam. In fact all Islamic schools and sects claim to be the true orthodox Islam and find their legitimation in Islam itself and in being the true expression of Islam. Secondly Shiite Muslim scholarship explain the legitimation for Islamic political system and state, in the absence of Imam (occultation: ghaibat), in the same terms that the Sunni scholarship do. Both Ayatollah Muhammad Husain Naini and his treatise *Tanbih al-Ummah wa Tanzih al-Milla* تنبيه الامه وتنزيه الملة (admonition to the community and exposition of religion. Pre 1909 Arabic text translated, forwarded and published by Ayatollah Taliqani in 1953 to explain his own political opinions in Naini's language mainly because of political restrictions in Iran) and also Ayatollah Ruho Allah Imam Khomeini in his lectures published as a book under the name *Hukoomati Islami* (and also Taliqani and Bazargan) explain

the legitimation of Islamic politics and political system in terms absolutely similar to terms and explanations used by the Sunni scholarship. They base Islamic political system on the principles of:

1. The unity of religion and state in Islam.¹
2. The principle of collective responsibility of the individual and community (Fard. al-Kifai) to establish peace, order, government, justice and to implement Islamic law and Shari'ah fully.
3. The principle of Amri bi al-Ma'roof wa al-Nah an al-Munkar.
4. The principle of Jihad (comprehensive struggle for the implementation of Islam).

Imam Khomeini suggests that these two last principles had provided the justification that "from the beginning, the prophets and religious leaders were charged with fighting against despotism and despotic governments".²

5. The establishment of peace, order, Islamic state and political system is imperative as the pre-requisite of the full implementation of Shari'ah. ³ For if they are not established Islam cannot be implemented.

6. Explicit designations (Nass). Quranic verses and dictums explain the obligatory nature of political activities and involvement,⁴ e.g. whoever starts the day not feeling involved in the affairs of the Muslim community he is not a Muslim ⁵ and the very well known verse "Why do not you fight for the cause of Allah and the oppressed".⁶

7. The position of Ulama as the guardians of faith, custodians of religious institutions, the trustees of the community and the most important of all as the successors of the Prophet. The Prophet is reported to have said "Ulama are the heirs and successors of the Prophets" (العلماء ورثة الانبياء). Both the Shi'ah and the Sunnis believe that the sovereignty belongs to Allah alone. The prophets were all responsible to spread the message of God and see into it that it was implemented. Whatever authority and rights the prophets had (if they had any) was not their own. But it was simply an extension (Sirayat سرايت) of God's authority. The Shi'ah believe that this authority and right was extended to the community (including the Ulama) from God first through the prophet and then through the Imams. But the Sunnis believe that this authority and rights was extended (Sirayat) and not transferred

(انتقال) to the community (including Ulama) from God directly through the prophet (not necessarily through Imams). The responsibility and the authority of Ulama as the scholars and ideologues of Islam, the guardians of faith, the trustees of the community is regarded as Walayat al-Faqih (ولاية الفقيه) or the responsibility of the Muslim jurist. This is the same both in Shiism and in Sunnism. The differences between the two schools regarding this point are:

- a. The Shiites regard their Ulama as the deputies and successors of Imams or Nayib al-Imam (نائب الامام) for they see the extension of the authority of Allah to the Ulama first through the prophet and then through the Imams. The Ulama are originally the heirs to the Prophet ultimately both in Shiism and Sunnism.
- b. Sunnism closed the door of Ijtihad soon after the four Sunni schools were established. The Sunnis thus confine the right of Ijtihad to only the four heads of the schools and regard their Ulama not as Mujtahids and Faqih but simply as the followers (Muqallids and Muftis) of the four grand Mujtahids and Imams (namely Abu Hanifah, Malik, Shafi and Ibn Hanbal). But if they open the door of Ijtihad again as it seems to be favoured by many of the contemporary Sunni scholars the case is different. It is true that the Shiah scholarship quote many dictums attributed to the Imams in support of the idea that the Fuqaha (Muslim jurists) are the deputies of Imams (Nayib al-Imam) in the guardianship of the faith but they also quote prophetic traditions to explain that the authority and right of the guardianship of the faith has been extended both to the Imams and through them to the Ulama from the prophet himself. The discussion of this point by Ayatollah Imam Khomeini illustrates the point.⁷

Explaining this point Ayatollah Imam Khomeini quotes a hadith (tradition) attributed to Imam Ali, who is said to have related about the prophet's supplication to God to bless those coming after him. The prophet of God (blessing and peace be upon him) said: "O, God bless those who will come after me (he repeated this three times)". The prophet was asked who will be your successors? And he answered: "Those who come after me (succeed me) and transmit my sayings and traditions and teach them to the people in my absence". Imam Khomeini in a scholarly debate makes it clear that there is

legal and doctrinal justification for an active role on the part of the Úlama in bringing about an Islamic government under the principle of Walayati Faqih. If it can be shown that the prophet thought his successors would not only transmit his sayings and traditions but also that they would teach them to the people, then obviously this suggests a dynamic role for Úlama and Fuqaha, not passive one but a positive one.⁸ Imam Khomeini follows this debate carefully and makes this point frequently in his collection of lectures,⁹ and makes it a religious responsibility of Úlama and fuqaha to see into it that the Islamic government and state is to be established and that Shariáh is to be fully implemented. He suggests that the Ulama must not confine themselves to routine rituals. They have an obligation to tend to political issues. They must commit themselves to oust corrupt, tyrannic, un-Islamic regimes.¹⁰ Islam and Shariáh are revealed to be implemented and Islamic political, social, cultural and economic systems are established.¹¹ He believes that in the absence of Islamic state and political system Islam itself will disappear. It is the duty of Úlama and Fuqaha to see that Shariáh is enforced.

It is interesting to know that Imam Khomeini's debate concerning the role of Úlama (Walayati Faqih) in politics is equally valid for Sunni scholarship for he bases his argument mainly on general Islamic sources and foundations and not on Shiite foundations. His juristic reasoning is as valid for Sunni scholarship as it is for Shiite scholarship. His concept of Walayat al-Faqih is valid for the entire Islamic scholarship regardless of sects and schools.

As for the closure of the door of Ijtihad which seems to be the only main difference here between the Shiites and the Sunnis it is interesting to note that a similar argument existed in the Shiite school three centuries ago (early 18th century) between the traditionalist Shiites (Akhbaris (اخباريون)) and the supporters of the continuity of Ijtihad (Usoolis (اصوليون)). The Akhbaris, like Sunnis, believed that there was no need for religious scholars to exercise Ijtihad. The Usoolis, on the contrary suggested that the only way to appreciate Shariáh was by acquiring proper knowledge of Shariáh (Iftitāhi babi Ilm (افتتاح باب العلم)), was to exercise independent juristic judgement (Ijtihad: اجتهاد) with the help of human intellect (Aql) along with the other sources of Shariáh

(Adela or Usool). The Usoolis triumphed over Akhbaris in this argument and thus the door of Ijtihad stayed open in Shiism while it stayed closed to the majority in Sunnism. We believe that it is high time the Sunni scholarship benefit from the experience of the Shiite scholarship and thus produce fresh Ijtihad and produce new Mujtahids and Faqihs so that the last obstacle in the way of exercising the principle of Walayat al-Faqih is removed in sunnism too. Aya-tollah Imam Khomeini seems to have been aware of this need hence he invites all Úlama to take an active part in the community affairs and establish Islamic political system. He suggests "Reason dictates that in the absence of such a system Islam itself will disappear". Countless scholars (Úlama) of Islamic law (Fuqaha) exist today; it is only a matter of uniting them "in order to establish a government of universal justice in the world. Such a government would be walayat-i Faqih". 12

Taking into consideration the role of Ijtihad, Mujtahids and hence the revolutionary dynamism of Shiite Islam and regarding the defeat of conservatism and traditionalism in Shiite Islam, we would like to point out that traditionalists tried to change the course of Shiite Islam too, but they failed. The debate between the Akhbaris (اخباريون) or traditionalist Shiite Úlama and the Usoolis (اصوليون) or those Úlama who believed in the continuation of Ijtihad as a technical matter and the victory of the Usoolis was the greatest of political consequences which in turn helped the success of the Islamic Revolution. For if the traditionalists (Akhbaris) succeeded the Úlama in Shiite Islam would have been reduced to simple narrators of traditions and to following the classical Mujtahids like Sunni Úlama and would be only speculators (مفتى-مقلد) of the opinions of the early Mujtahids.

To summarise briefly Akhbaris as their name indicates (Akhbar is the plural of Khabar which mean dictum and tradition) believed that it was not permissible for religious scholars to use reason (Aql) and to appeal to reasoning (Ijtihad) to enact judgement and to apply the principles of Shari'ah to specific problems and the day-to-day legal matters (المسائل المستحدثة - الحوادث اليومية - الحوادث الواقعة). Akhbaris argument regarding Ijtihad is very similar to that of Sunni schools. They held that every Alim should only be scholar of Khabar (Hadith: tradition) and that he had no legitimate competence beyond

that. It is obvious that once the field of Islamic juristic speculation is limited the authority of Úlamā is curtailed which lead to the final reduction of the authority of Islam. For Akhbarism leads to the final abolition of the law of jurisprudence and to the total restriction of the authority of Usoolis (Mujtahids). The Usoolis (اصوليون) by contrast believed in the authority of reason (Áql) the feasibility of coming to definite legal conclusion (Iftitāh bab al-ilm العلم باب الافتتاح) and the continuation of Ijtihad. Hence the designation given to them Usoolis (Mujtahids), the qualified jurists. The Mujtahids in Shiite Islam unlike Mujtahids in Sunni Islam are not the heads of sects, Madhhabs, schools of thought and theology. Mujtahids by the virtue of being ideologues, specialists in Islam (Islamicists) drive their authority from Islam itself and hence their views must be sought and followed (Taqlid) by those who do not have the qualifications and the necessary power of comprehension of the law and independent reasoning to attain the state of Ijtihad (they are called Muqallids). The principle of Ijtihad and Taqlid and the continuation of Ijtihad is believed by outside but qualified observers of the Islamic Revolution in Iran as the contributing factor to the success of the revolution. This is because given the fact that Shari'a and Islam does not recognise any limitation of its scope and of no distinction between the secular and the religious, it follows that the Mujtahids' opinions in matters of economy, society, politics as well as religious should be sought and followed. The Ummah, the state and the individuals should follow their guidance. Were it not for the triumph of the Usoolis in their debate with Akhbaris, there would have been no Mujtahid and no Muqallid and the Úlamā would have found themselves condemned to an extremely marginal position to sifting Akhbārs with no ability to provide living and continuous guidance for the affairs of society, and politics at large.¹³ One may say that the revolution in Iran, at least the particular shape that it has taken, the form of leadership that it has enjoyed and continues to enjoy would also be unthinkable without the continuation of Ijtihad and Mujtahids in Shiite Islam which can be easily reintroduced in Sunni Islam. The importance of the position of Ijtihād and Mujtahids in Shiite Islamic revolutionary stand is of historical background. "An early example of the opposition of the Úlamā or the Mujtahids to dictatorship, to

the royal power is to be seen in 1826 when Muslims inhabiting territories that had been captured from Iran in the first Russo-Iranian war were subject to religious persecution at the hands of the Russians. The *Úlama* then delivered a judgement (fatwa) to the effect that it was the duty of Iran to go to war against Russia. The most (Mulla ahmad naraqi) influential of the Mujtahids of the day was reported to have issued a fatwa against the reluctant monarch saying: ' Unless this present Shah does our bidding and obey our fatwa, we shall remove him and put another dog in his place' ".¹⁴ Another example is the opposition of *Úlama* to the foreign domination is that of opposition to the British monopoly of tobacco in 1891-2, and then the active role of *Úlama* in the constitutional revolution in 1906 - 11. This brings us to the question of the concept of the leadership in Islam.

CHAPTER 12

IJTIHAD AND TAQLID

Another Islamic principle which is of particular importance particularly in Shii Islamic revolutionary traditions is the principle of Ijtihad. Ijtihad if taken only at its face value and from Islamic law point of view is a legal principle. In Shiite Islam it is related to the Shii concept of Imamate too (leadership as a Shii revolutionary principle) on one side and to Islamic cultural revolution and to the continuation of revolution on the other. (See Áli Shariati, *Ijtihad and the theory of continuous revolution*.) We are not in a position here to go into the legal aspects of Ijtihad. What is of special interest is that Ijtihad was accepted as an Islamic legal principle by both the Sunni schools and by the Shiites. But the Sunnis closed the door of Ijtihad soon after the establishment of the four Sunni schools while the Shiites have kept the door of Ijtihād open and have continued to act accordingly and have benefited from it as a revolutionary principle. The principle of Ijtihad is also closely associated with the doctrine of Walayat Faqih 1 (the political authority of ideologues and jurists), which played a great role in the leadership of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and also holds a very special position in the Constitutional laws of Islamic republic of Iran.² Let us make no mistake that the principle of Ijtihād is Islamic in origine though its continuation is Shiite Islamic. The re-opening of the door of Ijtihad can serve the entire Umma and can serve as an Islamic revolutionary tradition.

It should be pointed out that Ijtihad is a legal principle first and foremost and because of its legal value is a constitutional, political and revolutionary principle. It is thus imperative to explain its legal significance briefly first. Although the principle of Ijtihad was equally accepted by all Islamic schools, the Shiite school not only differed from the Sunni schools by believing in the continuation of the authority of Ijtihad but the Shii concept of Ijtihad too is to some extent different from that of the Sunnis. The concept of Shii Ijtihād is closely associated with the Shii doctrine of the authority of human reason (Aql) as the fourth source of Islamic law replacing Anology (Qiyās). Ijtihad to a great extent is the way

to use juristic human reason or Taaqul (تعقل). It is in fac juristic human reasoning itself.

Ijtihad, infinitive from the root Jahada (J.H.D.), literally means exertion of one's self. It has been translated incorrectly as independent reasoning (Schacht), freethinking (Gibb), private judgement, personal opinion, individual decision or private interpretation. The inaccuracy of these definitions is obvious, for Ijtihad is not Ray (رأى) or personal opinion, unless they are intended to refer to independence of texts in the absence of texts and not to personal judgement. However, Ijtihad as a term of jurisprudence and as a legal principle has been defined by most of the Shii jurists as 'the competency or mental legal ability to find out what the rules of law could possibly be through juristic speculation in the absence of definite authentic decisive texts'.³ However, Ijtihad should not be confused with Ray or Qiyas which are rejected by the Shiites. The contrast between the terms Ijtihad and Taqlid (following a Mujtahid, accepting a Mujtahid's authority in Shariah), Mujtahid and Muqqalid (follower, adherent) clarifies the concept of Ijtihad. It must be noted that the Shiah base the authority of Ijtihad on the very same foundation on which they have based the actual authority and concept of Fiqh itself (the indispensability and needfulness of law for the community and state), the doctrine of legal responsibility of individuals and the society (Taklif) and the doctrine of the authority of Aql. Thus learning of law (Fiqh) and the reasoning of it (Ijtihad) and following a Mujtahid as a specialist in Shari'ah is an obligatory religious duty of the society (Wajib-i Kifai واجب كفا) (فرض الكفا) The obligation (Wujub) of learning Fiqh, its reasoning (Ijtihad) and following Mujtahids by Muqqalids have been expressed by texts too; by the Quran (9: 122) by the traditions (The Case of Muadh Ibn Jabal, the well known dictum attributed to the Prophet (peace be upon him). However, this is believed to be a subject of unanimity. All Islamic schools agree that Ijtihad was practiced by the companions and the heads of the Sunni schools for a long time till Sunnis unofficially declared the door of Ijtihad closed. We do not need to go through all the explanations and justifications that the Shiah offer for the doctrine of the continuation of Ijtihad. It seems to be unanimously accepted by all Shiah except for a small minority called Akhbaris (traditionists as against Usoolis or rationa-

lists for suggesting the authority of Aql; reason). Nevertheless the Shiah quote many dictums attributed to the prophet and the Imams in support of the need for the continuation of Ijtihad and obligation of following Mujtahids by Muqqalids. A well known dictum reads as follows: 'Any jurist (Faqih) who knows the law (Shari'ah) the best must be followed, he must be accepted as a judge. We (Imams) have appointed him as an arbitrator. If his legal authority is rejected the sacred law is neglected. Denial of his authority is rejection of loyalty to us and the rejection of our authority would be objection to God's authority'.⁴

However, the authority of Ijtihad and Mujtahids is based on their expert knowledge of Shariah and not on their spiritual rule, for Islam has abolished all forms of mediation between God and man. The continuation of authority of Ijtihad and Mujtahids is a fundamental principle of Shii Islam, though Sunni schools under the influence of many other well known scholars such as Abu Hanifa,⁵ Imam Fakhr al-Din Razi,⁶ al-Zarqani, Ibn Taymiyyah, al-Suyuti, Ibn Hazm, al-Shahristani,⁷ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya⁸ and Ibn Khaldoon,⁹ have recently shown their willingness to re-open the door of Ijtihad. An analysis of the historical, theological, socio-political backgrounds of Islamic jurisprudence makes one tentatively suggest that probably the reason why the door of Ijtihad did close to the Sunnis but stayed open for the Shiah are as follows:

1. Political, social and specifically historical factors which led the Sunni schools concentrate only on preserving preformed rules made by the early doctors.
2. Acceptance of *De facto* principle and the authority of the ruling power as 'Ulu al-Amr' by the Sunnis and accepting *De jure* principle and the authority of the right Imams instead of just caliphs, by the Shiah. Submission of Ulama to secular authority as the legitimate authority.
3. Rejection of the authority of Aql as a source of law and restricting the sources of law to only text and its various implications including qiyas by the Sunnis.
4. Conservatism and traditionalism of the Sunnis as against the shiah rationalism.
5. Elements of mysticism, asceticism and casuistry dominated as the result of long domination of Ummayyads and Abbasids monar-

chical rule and as the result of authoritarian rules of Sultans and Khans upon Muslim masses. Kashf or mystical illuminational aspiration (Ishrāq اشراق) took the place of Aql or reason.

6. Formation of local but loose consensus and groups inside the classical schools. The Sunnis, therefore provided great facilities for the formation of Ijma' which in turn restricted the authority and the limitation of Ijtihad and Mujtahids.

7. Complacent attitude towards text and forgery of traditions.

8. Political totalitarianism of the Caliphs, Sultan and kings and their intervention in religious affairs and establishing official and government religion and sects and introducing themselves as religious heads, leaders and as the shadow of God (Zilo al-Allah ظل الله) and as divine sovereign.

It must be noted that although the Shii Mujtahids base their authority on their knowledge, specialisation in the field of Shariah and their expert qualifications, they also regard themselves as the legal and legitimate representatives of the Imams (نائب الامام Nayib al-Imam) and as such the right guardians of faith for they have been introduced as such by many dictums attributed to Imams and are authorised to work as the guardians of Islam (نكهبان Nigahbān) and have as such a special responsibility to implement Islam (Wala-yat Faqih). However the main source of their authority is their juristic qualifications as jurists (Mujtahids) and as lawyers (Faqih).¹⁰ Their authority therefore rests with the level of their juristic qualification and their level of expert knowledge of Shariah. On the other hand the followers of Mujtahids have really no choice but to follow the most qualified Mujtahid (Marj'ai Taqlid) and the most superior of them all (Aalam اعلم). This is why the Mujtahids are grouped as follows:

- a. The jurist of absolute superiority who is recognised as such. (Mujtahid al-Āalam)
- b. Mujtahids of the second grade (grand Mujtahids) compared to the Mujtahid al-Aalam.
- c. Jurist of high qualification in all branches of Fiqh (Mujtahid al Mutlaq).
- d. Specialised jurists who are of absolute qualification but in certain sections, fields and branches of Fiqh (Mujtahid al-Mu-tayazzi).¹¹

The Shiite school insist that both the Imams and their deputies (Naib نايب Nuvvāb نواب) leadership and responsibility (Walayat, commitment, mandate) rests with and depends upon their knowledge (Fiqhahat and hence Walayati Faqih) piety and justice, (*de jure*) as against power and ability (*de facto*) suggested by the Sunnis. Their mandatory status is due to their right of Ijtihad as the result of their acquisition of knowledge of the Shariah, a right which has been denied for Sunni scholars who are regarded merely as speculators of the legal opinions (Mufti) of the four heads of the Sunni schools and thus their consequent powerlessness. The Shii Mujtahids on the authority of their Ijtihad can also claim doctrinal legitimation by Imam. There does not seem to be any conflict between the two: Ijtihad and representation of Imam. They are both Mujtahids and Naib al-Imam at the same time. In fact they are Naib al-Imam by the virtue of being faqih and Mujtahid. The Shiāh hold that the highest ranking (A'alam) Mujtahid can lead the community to conduct its way of physical and spiritual life individually and collectively according to Shariāh, the true Islam and this is by his right and superior knowledge of Shariah and his piety, justice and ability to lead the community according to ordinances deduced properly from the sources of Shariah, deduced directly by him. It should also be pointed out that undertaking of the entire religious scholarship and Islamic studies is regarded in Shiism as the fulfilment of the religious duty of Amr-i bi al-Marooḥ, hence the activism and the role of Úlamā and Fuqahā.

A Quranic verse is usually quoted to explain the obligation of studying Fiqh so that the principle of Amr-i bi al-Marooḥ can be fulfilled. The verse reads as follows: *فلولا نفر من كل فرقة طائفة ليتفقهوا في الدين*: Why does not every contingent of every community devote itself to seek knowledge and to study religion so that they may admonish their people when they return to them so that they (may learn) guard themselves (against evil).¹²

We can thus see how the position and the responsibility of Ulama and Fuqaha is explained in terms of religious duty and Amr-i bi al-Marooḥ. In fact this principle forms the centrepiece of both Shii theory of religious scholarship (Fiqh-Ilm) and the Shii theory of government. Both the acquisition of religious knowledge and scholarship and the responsibility (Walayat) of implementing Islamic

government are explained in terms of Amr-i bi al-Marooḥ. The responsibility of Shii Ulama and Fuqaha is thus cornerstone of the sound authentic Islam itself and the cause of their rebellious position and their revolutionary status. Sunnis view this principle as a moral and non-obligatory percept and hence the powerlessness of their Ulama. Their lack of initiative because of the closer of the gate of Ijtihad has led them to be regarded as part of the state administration. But Shii Ulama have kept their independence and autonomy from the state. This is why many Shii thinkers have looked upon Ijtihad as a revolution principle in Shii Islam.¹³ They recommend Ijtihad as the backbone for the continuous Islamic cultural and political revolution. Ali Shariati believes that unless and until the principle of Ijtihad is not fully utilised and until the gate of Ijtihad is not reopened again there is no hope for Muslims cultural and political independence. He regards the authority of Ijtihad as the most distinguishing feature of Shiism. He suggests that all necessary steps must be taken to reopen the gate of Ijtihad to all other Islamic schools.¹⁴

It is true that the Shii scholarship, or indeed Shii school enjoy a very long history of revolutionary traditions and political activities, protest and martyrdom. The Islamic revolution of Iran would not have succeeded if it did not enjoy a thirteen hundred year history of martyrdom and activism, protest and if it did not enjoy the leadership of the activist Ulama the revolutionary symbol of which is Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. It certainly would not have succeeded and would not survive the post-revolutionary difficulties if it was not led by Imam Khomeini as the Marja' and Nayib al-Imam. But it should be realised that the Sunni scholarship can also earn itself the same respect and position; the position of responsibility of the leadership of Umma. The theological, religious, philosophical, theoretical and legal grounds on which Shii scholarship is founded and their activism and revolutionary activities are justified mainly on general Islamic principles and can be utilised by scholarship of other Islamic schools. Shii scholarship explains its position, role and responsibility mainly in terms of Amr-i bi al-Marooḥ wa al-Nahy an al-Munkar, the authority of Ijtihad, the recognition of Islam as a comprehensive way of life, spiritually and politically, for individuals and the community, the respon-

sibility of every Muslim to participate in the affairs of the Muslim community and in terms of obligation of following the pattern set by the Prophet and taking him as a model of true Islam. All these principles are Islamic and can be enjoyed by all Muslims and Muslim schools and the scholarship of all Islamic schools should take their responsibility seriously and should lead their community towards full independence based on an independent ideology; Islamic ideology. Despite the attempt made by non-Muslims to introduce the Islamic revolution in Iran as a sectarian revolution and despite their attempts to base the responsibility of Shii scholarship (Úlama) on Shii principles, such as Imamát, Marjáyyat etc., the revolution is truly Islamic and the position of its leader should be explained in general Islamic principles shared by all Muslims. Even the principle of Imamát and Waláyat al-Faqih can now be explained in the light of Sunni Islam. The Sunnis too continued to propagate the Imamát to be the true Islamic form of government. They accept the Imam as the *de jure* ruler and the caliph as the *de facto* one for both the Sunnis and the Shiáh.¹⁵ The doctrine of Walayat al-Faqih also drives its justification mainly from the principle of Amr-i be al-Maróof. The position of Ulama in Shiite Islam is also explained in terms of the principle of Ijtihad which can be equally enjoyed by the Sunni scholars by reopening the gate of Ijtihad. Dealing with both Imamát and Ijtihad al-Mawardi states: Imamate is the caliphate of prophethood in safeguarding religious and temporal affairs.¹⁶ The Imamah, guided by the Shariáh and by reason, was to follow the 'right path'. The Imam should be characterised by the following: justice, knowledge for the purpose of 'Ijtihad', no handicaps in his physical or sense faculties, wisdom in ruling the community and running its affairs, courage to protect Islam and fight its enemies.¹⁷ Al-Mawardi's statement is very close to the state of leadership (Imamat) of the community in the constitutional law of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Article five states that the Walayat and Imamát (leadership of the Ummah (community)) is vested with a Faqih (supreme Mujtahid, jurist) characterised by the following: justice, piety, abreast of the time, knowledge of the world, brave, administrator and organiser with wisdom (Mud-dabir) in ruling the community and running its affairs who is recognised and accepted by the majority as leader).¹⁸

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CHAPTER 13

THE CONCEPT OF LEADERSHIP IN ISLAM

Islam is the only religion which is not called after a person, persons, a group or a race. It is the religion the name of which explains, though briefly, its ideology and its view of the world. Other religions are associated with persons, groups or a race.

The word "Islam" is a noun formed from the infinitive of verb (salama), meaning submission, surrender, commitment; and means submission or surrender to God.¹ Another word derived from the same root is "Muslim" or "Moslem" which refers to "those who submit".² To Allah, the all-powerful and omniscient, everyone who is in the heavens or on the earth resigns (submits, surrenders) himself willy-nilly.³ Such resignation - for which the Arabic term is Islam - is the essence of the Prophet's message (God's message through the Prophet). We may thus completely reject the term used by non-Muslims, "Muhammadanism". To understand Islam as its adherents do it is well to purge the word "Muhammadan" and Muhammadanism from one's vocabulary. The Muslim looks upon his faith as the religion established not by Muhammad but by God Himself. The reference to Islam as Muhammadanism is the result of a false analogy with Christianity. Muslims do not worship Muhammad as Christians worship Christ and Islam was not made by Muhammad as Christianity was made by Christ. Muhammad was neither a great God, nor a small God nor even an auxiliary God or even divine. It is thus clear that the role of Muhammad in Islam is different from that of Jesus in Christianity. Muhammad never claimed to be more than a man who had received revelations from God. He did not make Islam, he simply received the Message of Islam. He is not partly divine or partner of divinity or anything of the sort. He is not God incarnate but Islam incarnate for he was the first who believed in his own mission and acted accordingly.⁴

In short, the religion took the title of "Islam" because submission and surrender to Allah is the essence and spirit of the religion of Islam and thus Allah Himself decreed the term in the Quran "Lo, the religion with Allah is Islam (the surrender to His guidance

(Hedayat)). 5 And he who professes adherence to the faith is a Muslim (submitter). He has named you Muslims.” 6

The Muslim's loyalty is to Allah as the only head of the Muslim community and as the only source of guidance, revelation and Islam and as the first leader (Hadi) of Ummah and humanity. Muhammad worked as a road sign on the straight path (Serat al-Mustaqim) of felicity and salvation for which everyone is personally responsible. The life of Muhammad is not the life of a God, but of a man; the whole of it is intensely human. 7

The organized clerical and ecclesiastical system of Christianity stems originally from Christian theology and Christology. But Islamic theology and its doctrine concerning God and His messenger Muhammad do not conform with the doctrine of mediation and intercession (a purely spiritual work), and, therefore, Islam rejects the doctrine of professional spiritual leadership, mediation and ecclesiastics. A corollary of Islamic theology and Islamic brotherhood is equality: equality amongst Muslims themselves and before God. At the head of Islamic community is God Himself, and His rule over His people is immediate and direct, without any intermediary. Even Muhammad is not the head of this community of equals.

Islam is the direct government of Allah, the rule of God, whose eyes are upon His people. In Islam, God is not distant from His people and needs no mediator. Islam does not therefore need clergy, church, priest, sacraments or symbols. What is the good of a mediator between man and his maker, who has known him before His birth and is nearer to him than his jugular vein? 8 Man is alone in the presence of God in life and death; he may address Him directly without introduction and without ceremony. The most rigid Protestantism in Christianity is almost a sacerdotal religion compared with this Islamic monotheism; unbending and intolerant of any interference between man and His creator. 9

Man may surrender only to God, surrender directly only to His mercy, “From Him to Him” according to Muslim formula. 10 This surrender of man to God directly is the true faith. That is why Islam is the only true religion. It alone sets a religious soul in the presence of God and nothing else. This direct exclusive surrender dispenses with all forms of mediation, intercession, interposition

and intervention. In Islam, Muhammad and religious leaders are not in a position to mediate, monopolise the relation between God and His servants, or to accept repentance or forgive sins; only God can do these. The Quran says: God is the one who accepts repentance from His servants and forgives sins. 11

The term used in Islam for guidance is "Hedayat" and the term used for leading and leadership is "Imamat". 12 In Islam, guidance is always ascribed to God. He is the guide (Hadi) and guidance comes only from Him for only He knows the best and leads best. The Prophets do not guide, they simply convey the guiding divine message and God Himself guides. Thus, guidance and leadership in the Islamic community originally and basically belongs to God alone and He bestows it upon others, in the same way that He alone is the all-knowing but lets others have access to some of His knowledge. 13 We know that leadership originally belongs to Allah and He has bestowed it to the Muslim community. 14

But did Allah bestow this leadership directly to the community of the faithful or did He do it through His messenger? The Sunnis believe that Islam is a democratic system, for the Caliphs are elected by people directly. The Shiites suggest that Imams are to represent divine will and Allah, they therefore must be appointed directly by Allah, because Islam is not the government of the people, it is the government of Allah. Allah is at the head of the Muslim community. 15

Christian theology lays great emphasis on the doctrine of original sin and atonement. It is claimed that by disobeying God's order not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, Adam committed a mortal sin. The sin of Adam is inherited by all children of Adam: all human beings are born sinful. Now it is only by the shedding of blood and through intercession and the mediation of Jesus that the original sin of mankind can be wiped out. As St. Paul put it, "Without the shedding of blood, there is no remission." 16 So, Jesus the Son of God, who came down from Heaven, gave his blood, suffered indescribable agony and died on the cross to atone for the sins of men. The bible says, "For as much as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold... but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish

and without spot.'¹⁷ No one can be saved unless he accepts Jesus as his redeemer.

Thus, the role of Jesus as the first leader in Christianity is a purely spiritual one and so is the role of those who claim to be his successors. Their main or their only task is redeeming, intercession and mediation. This is why crucifixion plays a very important role in symbolic significance and clergy and spiritual mediation cannot be ignored in Christianity. In fact, Christianity without the cross, clergy, spiritual mediation, church, intercession, atonement, etc. is not Christianity any more. This has made the concept of leadership in Christianity a purely spiritual one.

Islamic doctrines are not only theological doctrines, only to be believed in. They influence Muslims' thinking in all spheres and fields. The Muslims' notion of God's oneness (Tawhid) must be and is reflected in their own striving towards a co-ordination and unification of nature and man, religion and politics, faith and science, of the cosmos and man, and of the various aspects of human life. The position of Islam in this respect (complete harmony and perfect co-operation of body and spirit, nature and man, and unification of the various aspects of man's life) is unmistakable. It is reflected in its ideals and its realities. It teaches man first that the permanent worship of God in all the manifold actions of human life is the very meaning of this life; secondly, that the achievement of this purpose remains impossible so long as we divide our life into two parts, the spiritual and the material. They must be bound together, in our consciousness and our action, into one harmonious entity. The unity of God in Islam has influenced Islam's entire ideals and realities. The role and responsibility of Muhammad was neither only a spiritual nor only a material role, but a spiritual-material, physical-psychological, religious political role. If the object of our life as a whole is to be the worship of God, we necessarily must regard this life, in the totality of all the aspects, as one complex moral responsibility. Thus, all our actions, even the seemingly trivial ones, must be performed consciously as constituting a part of God's universal plan. Such a state of things, for the man of average capability, is a distant ideal; but is it not the purpose of religion to bring ideals into real existence? Worship of God in the wide sense constitutes, according to Islam, the meaning of human life.

A logical consequence of this attitude is a further difference between Islam and all other known religions and between the concept of leadership in Islam and religious and spiritual leadership in other religious systems. Islam, as a teaching, undertakes to define not only the metaphysical relations between man and his creator but also - and with scarcely less insistence - the earthly relations between the individual and his social surroundings. God Himself is a unity not only in essence but also in purpose, and therefore His creation is a unity, possibly in essence, but certainly in purpose. 18

The natural consequence of this is that the message of Islam is an inclusive message covering religious and political affairs and is not confined only to spiritual subjects and that leadership in Islam is not merely spiritual and religious leadership, but is a comprehensive and inclusive leadership. The doctrine of the unity of **regnal** and sacerdotium, religion and politics in Islam is certainly partly responsible for the absence of priesthood, church, orthodoxy, papacy, hierarchy, council of synods, formalism, symbolism, religious ceremony, in the Christian sense, in Islam. 19

Islam is a God-centred faith. The realities and powers beyond man's ordinary experience are sharply focused in monotheism. No Islamic theology can begin anywhere except at the crossroad between polytheism and theism where the edifice of heathenism is shattered and idolatry (in its various forms including clerical intercession and spiritual mediation) is made an anathema in the name of pure monotheism.

The Christian idea of making Jesus, for instance, central to the Christian faith is more than idolatry. Professional spiritual leadership is nothing but the monopoly of access to divinity and is used to deprive laymen from the right of direct access to divinity. Judaism has its race and its Moses; Christianity its Jesus; Buddhism its Gautama and so on. But in Islam nothing and no one shares divinity with God. Muhammad is a man with the message. He is not the saviour in the same way that Christians regard Jesus as the saviour, for everyone is responsible for his or her own salvation and is his or her own saviour. He is the messenger of God, the teacher of the message and the leader of the community. It is thus clear that the role of Muhammad, as the first human leader of the Muslim

community in Islam is different from that of Jesus, Buddha and Gautama or other founders of religions, because Muhammad did not found Islam but spread it. God is the founder of Islam. Muhammad in Islam, as the first leader of the Muslim community, is the prime example of a kind of personality that stood on its own merits. This is why his words, deeds and approval are taken as an ideal pattern and regarded as the Islamic tradition and was accepted as the leader of the Muslim society, but not as the mediator, redeemer, saviour or divine. The soul of Islam is its declaration of the unity of God; its heart is the inculcation of an absolute resignation to His will. 20

Islam does not mix divinity with humanity, which leads to confusion, contradiction and complexity. Islam is the meeting between God as such and man as such, God as such: that is to say God envisaged, not as He is introduced or reached through intercession, not as He manifested Himself in a particular way at a particular time, but independently of history and directly: in as much as He is what He is: and also as by His nature He creates and reveals. Man as such: that is to say man envisaged, not as a fallen being needing a miracle, an intermediary to be saved, but as man, a theomorphic being endowed with an intelligence capable of conceiving of the absolute directly and with a will capable of choosing what leads to the absolute. In Islam there are no such things as half God, half man or God the son. To say God is also to say "being, creating, revealing, leading, guiding, saving"; in other words it is to say reality, manifestation, reintegration: to say Man is to say theomorphist, transcendent, intelligent and responsible free will. 21

The doctrine of Islam hangs on two principles: first, 'there is no divinity (or reality or absolute) outside the only Divinity (or Reality or Absolute)' *La Ilaha Illa Allah*; and second, 'Muhammad (the glorified, the perfect) is His envoy, the Mouthpiece, the messenger (*Muhammadun Rasoolo Allah*).'

Muhammad is introduced in the Quran as *Rasoolo Allah* (the messenger of God) and so are the other Prophets. 22 Their authority is based on two principles:

(a) receiving the divine message and (b) spreading the message and seeing that it is carried out. The authority of other Muslim religious leaders likewise is based on two principles:

(a) to understand the message revealed to Muhammad and (b) to spread it and see that it is carried out. Neither the Prophet nor his successors have any authority to change the message, to add to it or to omit anything from it. The titles given to Muhammad, besides Rasool Allah (the messenger of God) are the teacher, the purifier 23 ,leader, guide and moral example. 24

The Muslim concept of religious leadership is derived from the doctrine of Tawhid and started with Muhammad himself. He never claimed to be more than a person unto whom God revealed the truth. The ultimate authority is God and He is the source of knowledge and law and His knowledge is the only truth. Muhammad's authority is accidental and not original. Muhammad, unlike Jesus who is claimed to be the Alpha and the Omega and the light of the world, did not claim to be more than a man whose authority was merely based on his knowledge of the will and intentions of God. In Islam, God is the Alpha, the Omega and the light of the world.²⁵ Muhammad himself said "I am the complete, perfect man". A man came to him who was overawed by his presence and became reverential towards him. He said to him, "Be at ease. I am not a king. I am only the son of a woman of the Quraysh, who eat dried meat." His answer to his name was "At your service".²⁶ Muhammad is not worshipped, deified or made into a symbol in Islam. He is being accepted by Muslims as witness of how things are, as being a completely open person in flowing harmonic accord with existence so that he knows it inwardly and outwardly. The preachers of Islam cannot claim for themselves what he did not or more than he did. ²⁷ When the chief of a tribe that had adopted Islam said to Muhammad, "Thou art our prince", the messenger of God answered quickly, "The prince is God, not I".²⁸

Islam is societistic, because the object of Islam is the totality of humanity. In Islam, human face, man's humanity and the entire humanity counts. Islam is submission to Allah, who is the solid truth, the whole truth, the eternal, the continuous, the entire, the full truth, the only truth and nothing but the truth. The truth cannot be the property of a person, persons, a group, groups, a race, a nation and cannot be monopolised. It belongs to everybody, to all creatures and to the entire humanity. If there is an alternative at all to the rule of might and the play of the big stick in intersocietal

relations, it must be that of idealism and intellection. The human mind or soul has no vision of a relation between man and his fellow greater or nobler than that of intellectual intercourse, and certainly no vision of a world other than that in which any man may influence, determine, transform or refashion his fellow men by argument or examples.²⁹

For a Muslim it is not enough to know the truth, to believe in it and to behave accordingly. The spirit of truth (Islam) in the hearts of Muslims cannot rest unless it manifests itself in thought, word and deed to everybody. ³⁰ Pursuit of felicity for the Muslim cannot be a pursuit of the subject's own felicity as this would not earn him the felicity or salvation he seeks. His duty is simply to bring about that actual felicity of the others; his salvation is the measure of success he achieves in the performance of this duty. This is why the Muslim community (Ummah) is the community of guidance and the leading community whose duty is to lead humanity to salvation, felicity and comprehensive happiness. This is clearly explained in the Quran: "Thus have we made of you an Ummah justly balanced that ye might be Guidance (witness, example, pattern, leader) over mankind."³¹

Thus, the Muslim community is the leading community and leadership belongs to the community. Instead of only understanding the truth, the Muslim is supposed to seek the truth, to convey it and introduce it to others, to transform this world into the divine pattern, to recognise and mould its materials, including man, the masterpiece of creation, into the likeness of the ought-to-be of the content of divine will and command. The Quran declares that: "You are the best community of mankind who have been appointed to bid to the good and forbid from the abominable (al-Amr bi al-Ma'roof va al-Nahy 'An al-Munkar)". ³²

Indeed, transformation of the world into the divine pattern (Islāh) and the realisation of divine will (Falah) is the subject of many verses of the Quran. The Quran calls the prophets reformers, transformers (Muslih)³³ and thus leaders, and examples (Shuhāda) and has made the Muslim community the leading, guiding, transforming and the reforming community for mankind. The Muslim and the Islamic community is under the duty to lead humanity to

the doing of the good and the prevention of evil. The doctrine of 'Amr bi al-Ma'roof va al-Nahy An al-Munkar' is not only an Islamic doctrine but it is the spirit and the sole purpose of all divine religions and certainly of Islam. The Muslim community is the community of 'Amr bi al-Ma'roof' and thus leads humanity and deserves the leadership. This duty is the duty of the community first and through it the duty of its members. The leadership thus basically belongs to the community and then to its members, and to its Ulama.

Those persons undertaking to fulfil this social responsibility (Wajib al-Kifai) and achieve the leadership of the society do the job on behalf of the society and represent the Muslim community. The Quran in this respect declares: "You must be the community who preach doing of the good and preventing of evil."³⁴

It is the duty of the Muslim community and every Muslim first to know clearly what the truth is and second to try to bring all men to the knowledge of the truth, and third to make the realisation of the truth possible. This is exactly the concept of leading and leadership in Islam; to lead humanity to decency, happiness, salvation and felicity. The absence of priesthood and church magistry in Islam clearly shows that leadership in Islam truly belongs to the community and through the community to the individuals. The individuals lead on behalf of the community. Nobody possesses a monopoly of the truth. The truth is a public divine trust the realisation of which is the responsibility of the community. What belongs to everybody should be the responsibility of everybody and its realisation should concern everybody. Every Muslim is a minister unto himself and a possible minister, not only to all other Muslims, but to mankind as well. This is leadership and this is why the Muslim community has been made responsible to lead humanity³⁵, and declared the leading community over humanity.

It has been frequently stated that there is no priesthood and spiritual leadership in Islam. The absence of professional priesthood and ecclesiastical orders in Islam is partly because the responsibility of leading mankind to the truth is a public, social and collective responsibility and has to be carried out by the Muslim community. The responsibility, leadership, religious activities should be a col-

lective concern.

But the absence of priesthood in Islam is mainly due to Islamic theology. The doctrine of unity of God has many implications - intellectual, social, political, etc. It is so fundamental and basic in Islam that even Muhammad, God's last messenger, is only His servant, though the dearest one because of his piety and knowledge. This is why Islam does not admit any intermediary, clergy, place, time or anything else between God and His servants. Muhammad is not an intermediary between God and His servants. He is His messenger who had received God's message and spread it and Muhammad's authority rests with his piety and his knowledge of the message.

Although it may seem strange to people used to a sacerdotal regime, professional priesthood, mediation and intercession, Islam entirely rejects all these. A child is born innocent. He therefore does not need anybody to baptize him. Everybody is equally and directly close to God, and does not require anybody else to confess his sins to or mediate between him and his God or anything of the kind. Nothing can share deity with God. In a word, there is no intermediation between God and His servants in any sense of the term. The authority of religious leaders in Islam including the messengers of God, is based entirely on their piety (Taqwā) and their knowledge of the truth (Haqiqa: Shariā). This is why the religious leaders have never been called spiritual leaders in traditional Islamic literature. The term spiritualism and spiritual leaders are alien to Islam and are un-Islamic terms. The leaders have always been referred to by the terms which explain their specialised fields, such as Fuqaha (jurists), Hukama (philosophers), Mufasserin (commentators on the Quran), Mutokkalemin (theologians), etc. and they are generally called *Ulamā* (scholars) and not clergy, priests or similar terms.³⁶

This is not to say that leaders in Islam are not responsible for the spiritual and religious affairs of their community. In fact, Islam establishes spiritual and religious purpose for all physical and material activities and it is the duty of the leaders to see that this is implemented. It is to say that they do not fulfil only spiritual tasks because there does not exist any line between religion and politics, secular and spiritual, spirit and matter.

It is not correct to call only a certain group of people spiritual because everybody and everything is spiritual in a sense.³⁷

We can thus understand why there is no professional religious leadership, priesthood or hierarchy in spiritual matters in Islam. The role of religious leadership in Islam is not only a spiritual role or the role of the people who claim the right of mediation and intercession (an entirely spiritual task) between man and God, but it is the role of specialists who know Islam because they have studied it and have become specialised in it.

The logical consequence of Islamic theology, tradition, Quranic verses and of what has been suggested so far is that the concept of Islamic leadership bears the following features:

1. The concept of leadership must be harmonious with the doctrine of Tawhid.
2. God is at the head of the Muslim community. 38
3. Leadership has been given to the Muslim community and to the Prophet as the divine trust. 39
4. Leadership is not a political power, it is a social responsibility to provide security and peace for the Muslim society to enable it to fulfil its divine purpose and goal.
5. Leadership is closely associated and actually based on the doctrine of *Amr bi al-Ma'roof wa al-Nahy 'An al-Munkar* (bidding the doing of good and forbidding the abominable).
6. Leadership as a social responsibility (*Wajib al-Kifai*) originally belongs to the community as a whole and the government and leaders simply represent the community. (Government responsibility does not release the community from its own responsibility but it simply becomes a double responsibility of the community and government).
7. Leadership as responsibility in Islam started with Muhammad and his leadership was based on his *resalah* (his mission as the messenger of God) and his authority was purely accidental and not original.
8. Prophethood is the responsibility of spreading the word of God, leading and guiding the society and teaching and educating it, so that it is able to fulfil the divine purpose.
9. Prophethood and leadership are not power or political power, they are responsibilities.

10. It is not correct to add the adjective "religious" to leadership (religious leadership) in Islam because it is not only leadership in religious affairs but it is the general leadership because there is no separation between religion and politics in Islam. Islam is an all-inclusive religion and leadership in Islam is also an all-inclusive leadership.

11. Islamic leadership is not only a spiritual leadership because there is no place for the doctrine of original sin, repentance, redemption and intercession in Islam. Man is a free responsible being and cannot be charged for the wrong done by others and cannot be redeemed by others for the wrong he has done.

12. Leadership in Islam is not a profession.

13. Leadership in Islam cannot be monopolized by a group, a race, a nation, etc.

14. Leadership in Islam is associated with specialisation and responsibility. The line between the leaders and ordinary people is that of specialisation not that between spiritual leaders and laity.

15. There is nothing which must be performed only by religious leaders which cannot be done by ordinary people except those which need knowledge of Shari'ah and specialisation in Islam.

16. It is forbidden to earn money for performing religious duties. Religious leaders are not therefore allowed to ask for performing them. Leadership is not thus a secular or a commercial position.

17. Anybody who has knowledge and piety can be accepted as the leader by the community.

18. Leadership is a responsibility not a position, it is associated with duties not with privileges.

19. Religious leaders cannot form a class in the Muslim society because Islam believes in a monotheistic classless society.

20. There is no hierarchy and military order in Islamic leadership.

21. Religious leaders are not infallible, though they are excused for their mistakes and rewarded for their sincere efforts.

22. Leadership in Islam is not a selective affair but an elective responsibility and is done by natural election of the suitables.

23. Leadership is not an hereditary office.

24. Since leadership is based on the knowledge of Islam, specialisation, sense of responsibility and piety, superiority in these is associated with superiority in leadership. The most suitable is the most superior.

25. Mosques in Islam are different from churches in Christianity. Mosques are not only the place for performing rituals, because the concept of worship in Islam covers all various kinds of activities for a holy and divine purpose. Mosques are socio-political-religious institutes. Mosques are not sacred in themselves. The most useful they are the holier they become. They must lead to piety and the more they lead to piety the better they are.⁴⁰ Leadership in Islam is not thus based on the physical authority of the Mosque.

26. Leadership in Islam is not a symbolic institute and is not associated with symbolism and symbols.

27. Leadership is not a formal and ceremonial institute. It is not associated with special uniform, costume, investiture, coronation, etc.

28. The Islamic terms for leadership are Imamát, Zeámát, Hedáyat and similar terms, not spiritual leadership, religious leadership and similar terms.

29. Religious scholars and leadership are independent institutions in the sense that they are not attached to secular governments (illegal governments) and are therefore capable of challenging the forces of oppression and of fighting injustice and un-Islamic authorities. The true religious scholarship and Islamic leadership has always honoured its independent status and has always remained by the people and against the tyrannic rulers, foreign intervention and colonialism. The study of the revolts and revolutions led by many religious scholars against tyrannic rulers and colonialism explains this; revolutions led by such scholars as Uthman Dan fodio, Al-Haj Úmar, in West Africa, Al-Mehdi, in the Sudan, by Sayyed Jamal al-Din in the Middle East and recently by Ayatollah Rooho Allah Imam Khomeini in Iran.

CHAPTER 14

THE LEADERSHIP OF ULAMA IN THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS IN IRAN

ISLAMIC COMMUNICATION SYSTEM

It was quite clear for the Iranian people from the very beginning and it is clear by now for the world that the Islamic Revolution has succeeded under the leadership of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. But there is more than the simple leadership of Imam Khomeini. His leadership was systematic and based on Shiite Islamic concept of leadership and missionary tradition as a distinct, organised (loosely though) system of communication operated by a group of professional communicators.¹ We know that this type of communication and leadership is of historical precedence in Shiite Islam. The well organised pro-Shiite systematic public missionary activities which broke the Umayyad rule down was the first of its kind in Islam. It is true that the Abbasids, rather than the Shiite Imams, replaced the Umayyads but the actual vast publicity that caused the fall of the Umayyads was originally aimed at establishing the authority of the prophet's Household (Ahl al-Bait: Shiite Islamic state) and not the Abbasids. The well organised systematic public anti-Umayyad campaign began in the name of the Household of the prophet as a secret Shiite movement in Khurasan, Persia and other pro-Shiite lands. The public were even asked secretly to give allegiance to a qualified member of the family of the prophet. The publicity campaign however succeeded in bringing down the Umayyads but the movement militarily changed course and the Abbasids introduced themselves as the Household of the Prophet.

The second case of a successful public campaign, missionary work and mass communication in the history of Islam and Shiite Islam is the case of the Ismailiyya. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century the missionary activity of Ismailism brought the Fatimids in Egypt and another branch, the Ismailiyyat in Iran to power. Ismaili missionary activities (dawat: دعوت) and the Ismaili missionaries (Duat: دعاة) were well organised, professional and articulate.

It is in the nature of Islam, like other missionary religions, to establish its own system of mass communication and missionary activities. It is also obvious that the communication process in traditional societies is not as distinct, well organised, systematic, professional and as equipped as the mass media communication process in modern societies for many reasons and simply because of the unavailability of modern communication facilities and techniques. The old traditional missionary and public communication is therefore reliant on face to face communication. It should also be realised that because of the absence of hierarchical order and spiritual leadership in Islam the missionary and communication activities lack the organisational and systematic features. Nevertheless Shiite Islam in Iran enjoys a large semi-professional but fairly traditionally qualified groups of preachers.

The leadership of Imam Khomeini is therefore based originally on the concept of the leadership, missionary duty and communication in Shiite Islam and is an example of the overall leadership of Ulama and was transferred to the masses through a fairly large class of preachers in Iran. Preachers (Mubaleghin) in Iran have been working as substitute for mass media for quite a long time. They have been playing a major role in the political movements in Iran since the middle of the last century. The role of the preachers and Ulama in the anti-British movement against smoking tobacco because of the British monopoly of tobacco (Nihdati Tahrimi Tanbacoc) in 1890s, in the constitutional revolution (Inqlabi Mashrootiyyat) at the beginning of the twentieth century (1905-1911) and the political movement of anti-British oil nationalisation (1949-1953) and the anti-imperialist anti-monarchical movements and the Islamic Revolution since 1950s is a fact which cannot be ignored by the students of the history of Iran and Islam. It should be pointed out that the preachers form the communication wing of the Islamic spiritual leadership symbolised by the Ulama. It is thus fairly correct to say that though there are many amongst the Ulama who do not preach publicly they may be involved actively in the Islamic movements. In many cases the preachers work under the leadership of the Ulama as has been the case with the preaching activities under the leadership of Imam Khomeini. Imam Khomeini's message and ideas were communicated to the public mainly by the preachers. The role of the preachers in all movements and revolutions in Iran

in the past and in the contemporary Islamic Revolution in Iran, as communicators and as agents of change, have been very significant. Informing, guiding, awakening, agitating and communicating the public by the preachers has been an integral part of the revolution, of Islamic leadership and of Imam Khomeini's leadership. Due to many socio-political factors the public can trust *Ūlamā* and the religious leadership more willingly than other groups. In fact secular intellectualism has proved itself to be incapable and unqualified to lead the masses in Iran. The public does not yet trust the intellectuals for they proved themselves to be not trustworthy. Even in the purely political movements the politicians and the intellectuals have not been able to convey their legitimate aspirations to the masses without the help of the religious leadership, *Ūlamā* and preachers. The liberal intellectuals and the honest politicians always sought the assistance of preachers. The constitutional movement and the oil nationalisation movement illustrate the point.

The preachers were educated, at least in Islamic fields, fairly qualified (with enough practice as public communicators), trustworthy and committed. They had the means to stay in touch with the people through religious activities such as public prayers in the mosques (Namazi Jamaat), Friday prayers, religious festivities and the most important of all in Shiite Islam through Shiite public mourning (Taziyah: Azadari) ceremonies and anniversaries. Religious occasions and holy places (mosques and shrines) provided them with the sanctity and means to communicate their message to the public. The role of the holy places and religious occasions and the preachers in the spread of Islamic revolutionary spirit and the messages of Imam Khomeini have been of a very special significance. A glance at the early messages of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini and the way they were communicated by the preachers explains the point. If it was not for the role of Islamic and Shiite Islamic leadership, and the *Ūlamā* and the preachers the Islamic Revolution in Iran would not have succeeded.

The space does not permit us to explain in detail the role of mosques, *Ūlamā*, preachers, religious occasions and facilities in the Islamic movement in general and the Islamic Revolution in Iran in particular. There are hundreds of recorded revolutionary preaching cases which illustrate how the religious leadership, *Ūlamā*

and preachers worked as agents of public communication and substituted for mass media. In fact we can introduce the Islamic leadership and preaching as a goal oriented, qualified, professional system of communication with its distinct means, personnel and objective. The interest of the public, besides that of Islam, was championed by religious leadership and preachers because of the unity of life in Islam. For instance in 1898 a preacher, S. Muhammad Yazdi in Tabriz championed the protest against the rising prices and hoarding of wheat. Some of the preachers managed to establish themselves as the champions of public cause such as Malik al Mutakalemin and S. Jamali Isfahani in the constitutional revolution. This revolution would not succeed if it was not for the active role of preachers specially those in Tehran and Tabriz. M. Taqui Kheyabani in Tabriz held a very prominent position in regard to his use of preaching and his use of Minbar (pulpit), the mosque and the religious aspiration of the people.

The role of Ulama and the preachers in informing the public about foreign influence, corruption, misgovernment, dictatorship, despotism and encouraging them to revolt and rise during the constitutional Revolution (1905–1911) was very similar to that of them in the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The anti-British, the anti-Russian and the anti-foreign feelings amongst people were usually aroused by the preachers in the past and the anti-American and anti-Russian and the anti-right, anti-left, anti-capitalist, anti-communist and anti-Shah propagandas in recent times were launched by the preachers. They were the only group who had the necessary means, enjoyed the required trust and could stay in close touch with the masses. The use of pulpit (Minbar) and preaching was so successful that the authorities sometimes had to imprison, expel, send on exile and even murder the preachers to stop them preaching. The case of the murder of Hujat al-Islam Ghaffari and Saïdi and the imprisonment of Ayatollah Muntazari and Taliqani and banning the preaching of M.T. Falsafy by SAVAK during the Islamic revolution illustrates the point. Religious occasions such as the months of Ramadan, Muharram, Safar and the fortieth day commemorations of those killed (Arbaeen) like the role of the preachers and like the position of the holy places is of great importance in communicating with masses. Preachers command a larger audience and a more successful work on religious occasions, in holy places,

and under popular leadership. Again an analysis of the messages of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini explains the importance of these factors in the success of the revolution. The reputation of the preachers of course was of significance in the public communication process too. At the time that modern technological means of mass media and public communications such as radio, television, tape recorders, newspapers did not exist, preaching certainly provided the masses with a substitute. The Modern Media Technology helped them too, for their Messages and sermons would be recorded and in a short time would reach all parts of the land. Many of the Messages of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini would be read over telephon in Iraq and France and would be recorded in Iran and in a matter of very short time would reach all parts of Iran in the forms of tapes, declinations and sermons. Some of the sermons, preachers and places were so popular that large crowds of tens of thousands of people would attend the sermon. Some of these preachings were so popular that the crowd even occupied the roof, the hallways and the nearby street of the mosques.² The preachers were of importance in encouraging people to take up arms against the un-Islamic authorities.³ The significance of the Minbar, preachers, Úlama, Islamic leadership, mosque, religious ceremonies, occasions and places in many political, social, economic and religious movements throughout the Muslim world and in Iran during the past revolutionary movements and in the Islamic Revolution in Iran can be testified by innumerable historical facts. These facts provide us with many cases which explain that there used to be a traditional system of public communication created by Islamic culture and that many Islamic movements would not have succeeded if such a system did not exist. In the case of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the Islamic, the Shiite Islamic leadership and the leadership of Ulama and of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini came to realisation through the preachers, the traditional Islamic system of public communication and through the preachers following the line of Imam Khomeini. The whole leadership and communication system was Islamic through various channels of communication. It is not an exaggeration to state that without the Islamic leadership, without the traditional Islamic system of public communication and without the active role of Úlama and the preachers in leading, informing, encouraging, agitating and communicating the Islamic revolution

and many other Islamic, political and social movements and resistances would have been impossible. It is a system which could not be replaced with any other system. Considering many cultural and traditional factors we cannot imagine how the revolution of such a magnitude could succeed without the use of this traditional Islamic system of communication. We are not in a position to explain how irrelevant some of the modern means of mass media are in non-Western communities.

Úlama

The Islamic Movement worldwide owes its continuity a great deal to the committed Islamic Scholars (Úlama). Its future also rests where its past has rested. The prophet (P.B.U.H.) introduced the Úlama of his community as the successors to the prophets undertaking their responsibility. He thus entrusted them with the task of securing Islam whenever and wherever it is endangered and promoting its cause. The present Islamic Revolution in Iran owes its success not only to the present religious leadership headed by Ayatollah Imam Khomeini but it also owes its success very much to active religious leadership in the past particularly to S. Jamal al-Din Asad Abadi (in Iran), Ayatollah M. Husain Nāini and specially to Ayatollah S. Hasan Mudarris who fought Riza Khan, the founder of Pahlavi dynasty vigorously and for whom Imam Khomeini has always shown a great deal of respect and to whom he has made frequent references in the course of his struggle and leadership. In the following pages we discuss briefly the role of active contemporary Úlamā.

Of a very particular interest about Mudarris is his doctrine of "Negative Balance" (Tawāzoni Adami) based on the fundamental Islamic doctrine of Unity of the God (Tawhid) which negates the authority and sovereignty of anything, group, class etc. except that of the God (Allah). Mudarris introduced the doctrine of "negative balance" as the obvious consequence of the doctrine of Tawhid (the unity of Allah and the Unity of the source of authority and power). We shall discuss the doctrine of negative balance later.

Sayyed Jamal al-Din, Mirza Kuchek Khan, Sayyed Hasan Mudarris and H. Naini,

We have already pointed out that the present Islamic movement is the continuation of the original Islamic Movement started 14 century ago by the prophet Muhammad. During the last 14 centuries many factors have helped to keep this Islamic movement alive and dynamic. One group of the committed Muslims who have continuously helped to keep the spirit of the Islamic movement alive has been Ulama who were given this task by Islam. It is attributed to Muhammad that he had said "The Ulama (Islamic Scholars) are the heirs to the prophets" and are thus entrusted with the task of leading the Muslim community and the Islamic Movement. They have carried out their responsibility in the past and they shall do this in the future. Almost all Islamic movements in the past have been led somehow by the Ulama. This is even more apparent in the Islamic Movements in the last two centuries from Uthman Ibn Fodio in West Africa to the Mehdi in the Sudan down to Jamal al-Din, Naini, Mudarris and Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. "The future of Islam rests where it has rested in the past on the insight of the orthodox leaders and their capacity to resolve new tensions as they arise by a positive doctrine which will face and master the forces making for disintegration."⁴

Islam and the Muslim revolutionary leaders such as Jamal al-Din, Naini and Imam Khomeini argue that tyrannical, oppressive and dependant rule turns human beings into slaves and destroys human dignity, pride, identity and freedom; it is therefore the duty of every Muslim to fight it. Jamal al-Din was the first Muslim revolutionary leader of modern time who left his influence on almost all Muslim activists and revolutionary leaders who came after him. He advocated the unity of the Muslim Ummah oppressed by United Western imperialism of which British imperialism was an outstanding example. He explained Islamic political and revolutionary theories in terms of Islamic ideology and philosophy. He suggested the reopening of the door of Ijtihad (for the Sunnis). He believed in the full ability of the Muslim masses equipped with Islamic ideology and political principles to fight against oppressive imperialism and to regain their liberty and freedom. He had great hope in the unity of Ummah and is considered as the father of pan-Islamism. He even

tried to unite the oppressed Hindus and Muslims against British imperialism. He was a staunch believer in Islamic activism and frequently appealed to the often-quoted, ever-since, Quranic verse: "Verily, God does not change the state of a people until they change themselves inwardly".⁵ He also publicised the doctrine of Mehdism in anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism revolutions. He praised the Mehdist revolutionary movement of the Sudan and hoped that it would lead to the Ummah uprising against Western imperialism because all Muslims await Mehdi and consider his coming to be an absolute necessity.⁶

One of the most influential leaders in the Islamic movement in Iran and in the constitutional revolution (Inqilabi Mashrootiyyat) was Mirza Muhammad Hosain Naini. (1860-1936) In fact after the fatwa (juristic opinion) of Ayatollah Haj Mirza Hasan Shirazi in 1891 against British held monopoly of tobacco, (Tahrim-i Tanbaco) which was against both British imperialism and monarchical authoritarianism, the most formidable and enlightening anti-foreign and anti-authoritarian step was the treatise by Mirza Muhammad Hasain Naini entitled "Admonition to the Community and Exposition to the Nation" (Tanziho al-Milla wa Tanbiho al-Ummah)⁷ written in 1909. Naini in this treatise tries to explain the harmony of religion and politics, the role of Ulama in guiding the people, and the guardianship of religion and the community against authoritarianism. Naini was the champion of the Islamic Reformist Movement in Iran in modern time. He explains how constitutionalism reconciles with Islamic politics. He explains that there are two forms of governments: (a) "Tamallukiyya or tyrannic authoritarianism and (b) Walayatiyyah or constitutional responsible government. He rejects the first kind because it turns human being into slave (very un-Islamic). It is therefore the duty of Ulama and every Muslim to change it into a constitutional government for "the rulership here is based on the performance of duties in the interest of the community. The ruler's responsibility is to carry out these duties and he has no right to transgress his limits. Everyone has the right to protest and is not to be subjugated or subdued by the ruler" Naini believed that the ideal government is that of the Imam who is infallible and the only qualified government. But in the absence of the Imam the constitutional form of government

is the best and the only alternative in which necessary steps can be taken to keep it inside the framework of Islam and the Imam's authority. It is the responsible government under the guidance of Islamic principles.

To understand that Naini and his work left a great impact on the following Islamic movements and on the present Islamic Revolution in Iran, it is necessary to point out that the two prominent figures of the revolution, in fact the most influential after Ayatollah Imam Khomeini, namely Ayatollah Taliqani and Mehdi Bazargan have been under his influence. Ayatollah Taliqani wrote an introduction, commentary and footnotes on the Naini's famous treatise and published it. (1952) He was in fact trying to explain his own political opinions in the form of Naini's ideas during the oppressive reign of the Pahlavi dynasty. Taliqani obviously thought that the publication of the work would help political awakening of the Iranians and would accelerate the process of the revolution. Similarly Mehdi Bazargan has a great deal of respect for Naini and regards him next to Jamal al-Din.⁸ In fact his lecture on the harmony of religion and politics, which was published later,⁹ follows the same line of argument and shows Naini's influence on him. Sayyid Hasan Mudarris, another prominent constitutionalist Alim, to whom Ayatollah Imam Khomeini frequently refers in his public addresses, also follows the same line of thought that Naini adopted.

Sayyid Hasan Mudarris was the authentic author of the doctrine of what he himself termed as "Negative Balance" (Tawāzoni Ādami توازن عدمی) in internal and foreign affairs and in individual and social behaviours. He said: "The doctrine of negative balance (not the balance of fear and power) must be applied in all fields. Negative balance means you work for yourselves and we work for ourselves (Live and let others live)".¹⁰ He also strongly believed in the unity of politics and religion: "Our religion is exactly our politics and our politics is exactly our religion".¹¹ He was strongly against foreign interference, exploitation and oppression. He did his best to break the 1919 Irano-British treaty which legitimised British exploitation of Iran and interference in Iran. He saw Reza Khan as the British agent and as the man appointed by the British to execute the 1919 treaty. He thus fought Pahlavi rule from the

very beginning and thus fought the British colonisation of Iran. This was his first political fight from which he came out victorious. When the representative of the British government asked Mudarris what will you do with Reza Khan if we abandon him? He replied "When you abandon him we shall still sue him" (for playing at the British hands and working as a foreign agent).

The doctrine of "Negative Balance" was the foundation of his political thoughts and activities. It is quite understandable that at the period concerned and under the political, social and economic circumstances the principle of Negative Balance was the only practical political framework that could secure the Interests of Iran and her peoples. The doctrine of negative balance would set Iran free from power politics and would free Iran from the interfering powers and thus provide Iran with true independence and freedom. For Mudarris the "Negative Balance" emanated from the Islamic doctrine of socio-politico-religious responsibility.

We have explained that Islam does not base politics on power for power and sovereignty belongs exclusively to Allah. Islam does not recognise any power politics or political powers. It introduces only political responsibility. Power politics is the foundation for "the balance of power", "balance of fear", which in turn has produced the present "geopolitical" framework, "superpowers policy." the division of world between the oppressed (the Third World) and the oppressors (the superpowers and the Western and communist imperialists).

Mudarris introduced the doctrine of "Negative Balance" based on the principle of "politico-religious responsibility as not only a political principle, but as the cornerstone of the Islamic political system and thus influencing and formulating all fields of activities.

The doctrine of Negative Balance like other Islamic principles is closely associated with the doctrine of Tawhid (توحيد). Mudarris believes that the criterion for distinguishing the monotheistic community (Jamei' Tawhidi جامعہ توحیدی) from the non-monotheistic society is the doctrine of negative balance. For the community that believes in the exclusive sovereignty and power of Allah does not introduce politics as power, does not recognise power politics, political powers, power and superpowers, but understand politics

as pure responsibility. On the other hand, those who take politics as power are in fact challenging the absolute authority of Allah and thus regard themselves as sources and agents of power and this is nothing but "balance of power and fear". Negative Balance (absolute responsibility) represents monotheistic political system as the power balance and balance of fear and power represents non-monotheistic polytheistic (شرك) thinking.¹² Negative Balance makes it obligatory upon the believers to be neither oppressors nor to let themselves be oppressed and thus negates oppression completely. The social and individual relations should be regulated accordingly not on the basis of power, oppression, domination and exploitation, but on the basis of responsibility, justice, independence and freedom from fear and power. This should also be the case at the international level. The international relations should not be regulated on the basis of power, fear, oppression, imperialism and colonialism but should be based on responsibility, justice, freedom, sovereignty of God, dignity of man and his equality

The doctrine of negative balance on the basis of the doctrine of Tawhid should influence all human's individual and social activities at all levels. There should be full harmony between the foreign policy and internal policy, national and international policy according to the negative balance. The Muslim state does not only refrain from oppression amongst the members of the community but fights oppression at all levels and at the international level and regards this as the "Holy war". All relations should be formulated on the basis of responsibility and not on power. The negative balance condones the political positions of individuals, societies, nations and governments. The principle of negative balance is indeed the negation of oppression: "not to oppress nor to be oppressed." The oppressor and the oppressed are both responsible for oppressing and for letting be oppressed. Man must live free from fear, oppression, power, domination and exploitation. He must live free and let others live free. Mudarris suggests that peoples, policies, states, systems and their relations must be evaluated and examined against the doctrine of negative balance. He earned success in his campaign against the 1919 British concession in Iran in the light of his political stand.¹³ He strongly believed in absolute neutrality on the basis of negative balance.

Mudarris who rejected domination in its totality let alone being dominated helped Mirza Kuchek Khan Jangali and rose against the puppet central regime. They succeeded in forming their own independent government but unfortunately this government did not last. After their defeat, Mudarris emigrated to Ottoman Turkey and lived there for a while. He returned to Iran later and found himself confronted with the British inspired *coup d'etat* of Riza Khan whom he fought vigorously until he met his death in his anti-colonial, anti-dictatorial and anti-British campaign.

Mudarris was the religious scholar (Âlim) and leader who knew colonialism, imperialism, despotism and exploitation very well and fought against them throughout his life and finally gave up his life in the course of the struggle. He did not fight Reza Khan as a person but as the dictator agent of colonialism brought to power by the British *coup d'etat* in the same way that his son Muhammad Riza was brought back by the American coup of 1953. Mudarris fought Riza Khan as the dictator who was enthroned to destroy Iranian Islamic culture to prepare the ground for the colonization of Iran.¹⁴ In his time and campaign he was very much like Ayatollah Imam Khomeini and was his forerunner. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini has been inspired and influenced by Mudarris. He has always shown special regards and respect for Mudarris.¹⁵

Mudarris even planned to have Riza Khan removed physically.¹⁶ He was against dictatorship. The forms of dictatorship and persons of dictators did not matter very much to him. He realised that dictatorship could be imposed against a nation even in the form of republic. He told Ahmad Shah, the last Qajar king, that he did not mean to support him. He was simply fighting foreign exploitation, domination and foreign agents.

Nothing could stop him in his holy campaign. Reza Khan, his arch enemy one day lost his nerves and became physically angry with Mudarris. He got hold of Mudarris physically and asked him what on earth was he after in his campaign against him. Mudarris simply answered "I want you dead".¹⁷ His only sources of inspiration and power in his campaign were God and the masses. Riza Khan could not defeat him. He destroyed his supporters one by one and cut his relations with the people until finally he was left isolated. Riza Khan sent his agents to Kashmar where he was living

in exile to destroy Mudarris physically. Riza Khan's agents gave Mudarris a dose of poison which he took bravely at the end of his long fasting day of Ramadan. The poison did not affect him and he survived this attempt. Riza Khan's agents assassinated him. There had been several attempts on his life by his enemies already from which he survived very bravely. He lived a very simple life and was in a close touch with people. This is why Riza Khan decided to send him on exile to a very remote village and finally removed him physically. Reading his political activities, campaign and biography one can easily see the likeliness and strong similarity between Mudarris and Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. Without any doubt Mudarris was the greatest leader of his time. Nobody had worked as hard as he did in awakening the masses in their task and their campaign against despotism and colonialism - imperialism. He did his best to awaken the political consciousness of the masses. Mudarris, the name by which he was known, means the teacher for he was regarded as the teacher of the masses. He taught them to fight against despotism and imperialism and for freedom, independence and Islam.¹⁸ He himself believed in the full unity of religion and politics. He was accepted as the religio-political leader by the people and he taught the people the unity of religion and politics. His very well known idiomatic phrase: 'Diyānati mā 'Ain Siyasati mā ast' (دیانت ما عین سیاست ما است) "Our religion is exactly our politics" has been quoted frequently during the Islamic Revolution of Iran specially by Imam Khomeini.

Nothing could stop him fulfilling his religio-political leadership and responsibility. He practiced his well known doctrine of "negative balance" throughout his life and for his personal life. Neither the threat on his life nor bribery could stop him from carrying on his duty. Riza Khan sent him a large sum of money. He took the money and told Riza Khan's man - Yazdan Panah the man who brought him the money - to tell Riza Khan that the money is going to be spent in the campaign against him and his masters. The elimination of his friends, supporters and co-campaigners by Riza Khan did not frighten him or weaken his determination and campaign. Nothing could destroy his optimism and his belief in his holy campaign.¹⁹

It is noteworthy that Religious Leadership and the leadership

of Úlama in the Islamic Movements is not by any means confined to Shiite Islam. The Úlama generally are entrusted with the task of preserving, protecting and defending Islam. The Islamic Revolution in the Central West Africa was Ulama led. It was led by Úthman Ibn Fodio (1754–1817). The Sudanese Revolt against foreign domination was led by another Muslim scholar (Álim), the Mehdi. The Islamic Movement of somaliland was also led by the Muslim scholar Muhammad Ábdollah. The Acheneese war was Úlama led and organized from start to finish. The last uprising, party led by Úlama, came in 1927 on the West coast of Sumatra.²⁰ The list is quite exhaustive. It is a very rare exception to find liberation struggle in the Muslim world and by the Muslims without Islamic inspiration and not being led at least partly, by Ulama.

The movements against imperialists and for the establishment of Muslim and Islamic state was led in Algeria under Ábd al-Qadir, in Morocco under Ábd al-Karim, in West Africa under Haj Úmar Ibn Saïd, in Íraq under a group of Úlama (S. Abo al-Qasim Kashāni, S.M.Taqi Khonsari etc). in Western Sumatra under Dar al-Islam leadership, in Masina (astride the upper Niger and Bani Rivers) under Seku Ahmado (d.1843).

Mention should be made of Mirza Kuchek Khan who declared an Islamic Republic in Northern provinces of Iran and run it for fifteen years until he was finally assassinated by a so called leftist Man who sent his head to Riza Khan and was rewarded by him. Mirza Kuchek Khan was also an Alim. Mention also should be Made of Shiekh Muhammad Khyabani who firmly supported the constitutional Revolution and fought the Royalists. He was also assassinated.

CHAPTER 15

THE FEATURES OF SHII ISLAMIC POLITICS

Although the Shii Islamic doctrines of Mehdism, Ijtihad, leadership of Úlama etc. have been used by the Sunni thinkers too, they still have a special place in Shii Islam and leave their special influence on the Shii Islamic political theories. The Shiah on the basis of Imamate regard all secular authorities as illegitimate. They recognise the authority of Imams after the prophet as the only legitimate authority. They likewise suggest that in the absence of the Imams authority is vested with his qualified representative; the Mujtahid or faqih. The Sunnis believe that since the Quranic injunction calling upon the Muslims to "Obey God, his Messenger and those in position of trust" 1 was stretched to mean that people must obey the rulers and those in authority, whether qualified or not as *de facto* the dichotomy between religion and state came to existence and the right of dissent, protest and Amri bi al-Marooif, let alone the right of revolt ceased to be practiced and mere silence in the face of oppression came to be treated as an act of great courage. 2 The Shiah on the contrary suggest that Ulu al-Amr in the Quranic verses concerned are only representatives of Imams. 3 The natural consequences of this doctrine are:

- a) They reject *de facto* political theory and accept *de jure* principle. The Sunnis seem to favour *de facto* authority. The author of "Sharhi Mawaqif" a well known Sunni scholar believes that if a person with the requisite qualifications claims the office of caliphate without being elected or nominated for the office, his claim will be recognized provided his power subdeus the people. (*de facto*).
- b) They do not legitimise the system but they take the less evil alternative and minimise the degree of illegitimacy of the political system during the occultation of the twelve Imam. (If the truer Islamic state cannot be established).
- c) The authority in the absence of the Imam is vested in the Umma as a collective responsibility (Farđi Kifai) and through them to the Ulama. The first Imam, Ali, has said: "Imamate is not established unless and until it is sanctioned by the entire community." 4 Leadership is thus a popular leadership in the form.

of Marjā' al-Taqlid elected by the process of free following and imitation.

- d) Leadership during the occultation is not originally confined to elite, not beyond the masses and thus not theoretical, abstract and irrelevant. The nature, meaning and relevance of Islamic leadership, theoretical, legal and intellectual inquiry have been carried directly to the people through the central social role of the Úlama and Mosque. The Úlama and the masses meet frequently in mosques. The contact is natural, frequent and informal. The Úlama do not represent the ruling power and are not paid by it. Their authority is that of the community. Their problems and concern are the same.
- e) The immediate object of the community and their spokesmen, Úlama, is to establish full Islamic state, political system and government if possible, and if not to minimise the illegitimacy through constitutionalism and protest. By contrast the classical Sunni politics as explained by its famous capable advocate, Al-Mawardi, is that of "*de facto* politics."
- f) Shi'i Islamic politics is that of *de jure*, protest, Mehdisim, martyrdom, Ijtihad, and the leadership of fuqaha (Walayati Faqih) as the qualified examples to be followed (Marjai' Taqlid) by the people as their followers (Muqqlids) and the overall responsibility of the superior Mujtahid (Mujtahid Aalam) as the leader of the community (Imam) e.g. Imam Khomeini in the absence of the twelfth Imam.

This is why Áli Shariáti believed "that true Islam is Shiite Islam, the religion of protest, Jihad, Martyrdom, the true spirit of revolt against the major spiritual, social, and traditional obstacles of progress"⁵ - The religion of Ijtihad and dynamism. Criticizing shiism for its revolutionary and protestant nature a contemporary historian of Iran says: Shiism insist that Islamic laws should be enforced. It fosters anti-state attitude.⁶ It differentiates sharply between the government (anti or un-Islamic government: dowlat) and the people (Millat), discourages the faithfuls from helping and serving in the armed forces, working in the administration and paying their taxes to the "Unclean Treasury". Instead it encourages people to pray to a supra-national theory, claiming that sovereignty resides in (Allah) the Imams not in the people.⁷ Dealing with the revolutionary spirit of Shiism Ali Shariati states: "If we are Muslims, if we are Shiah and believe in the Islamic and Shii precepts and yet

those precepts have had no positive results upon our lives, it is obvious that we have to doubt our understanding of them. For we all believe that it is not possible for a nation to be Muslim, to believe in Ali and his way, and yet to gain no benefit from such a belief".⁸ Shariati suggests that Islam and Shiite Islam is an ideology for revolution.⁹ It was brought about and put into practice by the prophet. But it was the task of the Imams to continue and complete the historical mission of this movement.¹⁰ The Imam is thus defined as the leader, the guardian of society, provides a model for men to follow (Shiah: followers, partisans) but he is also seen as the embodiment of the reality of an ideology.... that is within him the values and ideas.... have become flesh and blood and are alive. ¹¹

- g) Constitutionalism was supported by the Ulama of Iran as a form of protest against secular and monarchical regimes at the beginning of the 20th century. Hence the constitutional revolution (انقلاب مشروطيت) in 1905–1911. Though some Ulama, like Sheikh Fazl Allah Noori, did not find constitutionalism (Mashratiyyat) good enough and suggested the full implementation of Shari'ah (Mashrooiyyat مشروعييت Imam Khomeini also follows this line),¹² most of the Ulama supported the constitutional system as the less evil alternative. They thought "If the Ulama do not participate in the constitutional movement the politics of the Islamic country will follow the European model". They should therefore make it their concern to protect religion, terminate tyranny, aggression, dictatorship and to improve the conditions of the Ummah and the Muslim lands.
- h) The present Islamic revolution in Iran is in one way related to the revolt of Imam Husain 14 century ago against Monarchical, dictatorial and anti-Islamic regime of the Umayyad dynasty and against Yazid. It is also related to the Islamic movement in Iran started by Hajj Mirza Hasan Shirazi and his juristic opinion (Fatwa), against the British Monopoly of tobacco of 1891 and his campaign against British domination and to the constitutional revolution of 1905–1911 and then to the political movement of 1952 and to 1963 Iranian uprising and is also related in another way to the international Islamic movements at the world level such as the Sudanese Mehdist movement, the Islamic movements in East Africa, West Africa,

and the independence movements of Pakistan, Egypt, Algeria and Palestine and to the liberation movements of Eritrea, Kashmir, Pattani, Afghanistan, Moro and others. It is not an isolated revolution. In a sense, the Islamic revolution in Iran is an episode of the overall Islamic revolution of the entire Ummah, was fed and encouraged by the previous Islamic movements and is in turn feeding psychologically the ongoing and the future Islamic movements.

“When British took over the Sudan, following the defeat by Kitchener of the fifteen-year old Mehdist state which had been set up after the death of the Christian General Gordon at the hands of the Mehdists, the British administrators made it very plain that their main fear was of Islamic sentiment that was the basis of the two political loyalties. 13. During the last 150 - odd years a decade, indeed half a decade, passed without some parts of the Muslim world being occupied and usurped or without Muslims fighting and revolting against tyranny, oppression and usurpation.

During the last two centuries the Muslim lands and peoples have been constantly occupied, colonized, exploited and oppressed by Europeans, Russian and Americans and the Muslims have been continuously fighting back. If the period of resistance and uprising is added up it comes to more than 250 years of resistance, combat, uprising and continuous revolution covering the period 1800–1956 in the Muslim lands. 14. The last aggression against the Muslim lands and peoples is that of Euro-American sponsored aggression of of Baathis regime of Iraq against the Islamic Republic and Revolution of Iran and the Russian aggression against the Muslim land and people of Afghanistan in 1980 both of which have been challenged with the brave resistance of the Muslim peoples of Iran and Afghanistan.

THE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION IN IRAN

The main objectives of the Islamic movements and the Islamic revolution in Iran may be summed up as follows. In fact our suggestion in this respect is based on the analysis of the public addresses and the lectures of the Islamic leadership of the revolution namely

that of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini.

1. Establishing the unity of Islam. The unity of state and religion in Islam.
2. The unity of the Muslim Ummah. Sects, nationalities, geographical boundaries etc. should not destroy the unity of the Muslim Ummah.
3. Destroying the unity of imperialism. There is no difference between capital imperialism, social imperialism, Zionist imperialism etc. as far as the Muslims are concerned. They all should be fought against.
4. Destroying the unity of colonialism. That is to say that all forms of colonisations should be rejected for they all have the same objective. Conventional colonialism, neo-colonialism, political colonialism, cultural colonialism, intellectual and educational colonialism, information and news media colonialism etc. should be all rejected.
5. Destroying unity of imperialism and internal dictatorship. The imperialist powers use their agents: individuals, elites, minorities, fifth columns, etc. as means. They both need each other and thus help each other against the peoples and masses.
6. Destroying the unity of anti-Islamic forces, that is hypocrites, opportunists, reactionaries, heretics, imperialists, Zionists, communists, capitalists, dictators and all foreign and non-Islamic elements and their agents such as missionaries, Westernised elements, elites and political sects and creeds such as Bahá'ís, Free Masons and anti-Islamic parties such as Baathists, communists, extreme nationalists, racists etc. As far as their animosity towards Islam is concerned, they all unite in their fight against Islam.
7. Islam is a religion and civilisation. The original Islamic law should be fully implemented. Islamic rituals have social and political values too and vice versa. But the main objective of Islam is the full salvation of man, the union with God, politics in Islam is a means to this felicity, not the objective. Islam agrees with true development, progress and sciences. Islam is a dynamic religion and quite capable to rule the Ummah in modern time.
8. The objective of the Islamic revolution should be Islam itself. Islam is the objective not the means for political authority.
9. There is no authority in Islam. Everybody is responsible.
10. People must decide how to run their own affairs. They should

be fully consulted in matters of their states, their life and their society.

11. The Muslim unity which has been destroyed by colonialism so that they could exploit them should be restored. Islam is the main issue for the Muslim Ummah. Sectarianism is not relevant now as far as the unity of Ummah is concerned.

12. One of the main objectives of Islam and the Islamic revolution is to deliver the oppressed peoples from oppression both at the regional and at the world levels. Justice must be established. Exploitation, domination and imperialism must be stopped everywhere and in the Muslim world.

13. Ulama have a special responsibility towards Islam, the Muslims, the world. They should not dodge their responsibility. If they fulfil their responsibility and leadership they are good but if they do not they are worse than ordinary people.

14. Sacrifice, martyrdom, struggle, discomfort is necessary to establish Islam, to restore the right of the Muslims and to deliver the oppressed.

15. Women's rights in Islam are safeguarded.

16. Islam in its original and pure form should be adopted on its own right and by its own approach and should not be mixed with anything else. 15

CHAPTER 16

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE IN IRAN AND THE ÚLAMA'S LEADERSHIP IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IT.

The European and Western interference and domination in Iran started during the Safavid period, 1502-1722. The Safavids played at the hands of the Western powers and fought against the Ottoman rule. The Portuguese Alfonso de Albuquerque took the Island of Hormuz (the strait of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf in 1509 and controlled the sea trades in the area). The feud between the Safavid and later the Qajar and the Ottoman provided the colonial powers of the time with favourable conditions both to interfere in and dominate Iran and also to challenge the only great Muslim rule of the Ottoman. The consequence of this bitter feud between the two Muslim states has left a bitter impression on Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. He expresses his feelings in *Hukoomati Islami*. "It is historically proved that colonialists have cut down the Islamic homeland into several pieces and split Muslims into various nations. The colonial powers strove very hard to break up the strong and united Ottoman State. The Russian, the British, and their allies joined hands to fight against the Ottoman state. Eventually they split and shared among themselves this united Muslim state".¹

The Safavids took into their confidence the colonial powers and thus paved the way for their exploitation of Iran. However, the earliest recorded instance of the disputation of the legitimacy of the royal power and the institution of Monarchy in Shiite Iran is related to the period of the reign of Shah 'Abbās (1587-1629). One of the contemporaries of Shah 'Abbās, Mulla Ahmadi Ardabili, encountered Shah 'Abbās on a certain occasion and reminded him that his monarchy and his power was held not by divine right, not as a result of any particular fitness on his part, but rather as something that was a trust on behalf of the Imam and that if the trust were violated, and the hint was there that the trust was being violated, then, the Úlāmā had the right to remove the trust from the king.²

The Anglo-Persian treaty of January 1801 made the Shah of Iran a British ally against Afghanistan and thus putting Iran against her Western and Eastern Muslim neighbour states. The Russo-Persian treaty of Gulistan in 1813 and 1828 left the state of Iran and the Shah at the mercy of Russia and in a weak position against British colonial policy. The British interest in Iran revived in 1800. In 1814 British officers were sent to Iran to help train the Iranian army. The Turkaman Chai Russo-Persian treaty of 1828 deprived Iran of her legal sovereignty over a large part of Iran and humiliated Iran even more. The Ulama by the virtue of being the guardians of faith, the custodians of the Islamic community, the trusteeship of the people and the deputies of Imams could not tolerate foreign interference and the humiliation of their followers. It is reported that the Ulama rose against the royal power and humiliating treaties in 1826 when Muslims inhabiting territories that had been captured from Iran in the first Russo-Persian war were subject to religious persecution at the hands of the Russians. The Ulama then delivered judgement (Fatwa) to the effect that it was the duty of Iran to go to war against Russia. The monarch of the day initially showed considerable reluctance, whereupon the most influential Mujtahid of the day M. Ahmad Naraqı was reported to have said that "unless this present Shah does our bidding and obeys our fatwa, we shall remove him and put another dog in his place."³

The British came to Iran to obtain commercial and economic concession in the 1780s. They attained the tobacco trade concession in March 1798. The apparent greediness of the Reuter concession, the Tobacco Monopoly and the Anglo-Russian conventions and pacts against Iran and many more British and Russian concessions and interference in Iran all in turn caused feelings against foreign interference in Iran. Russian and British rivalry for the dominance and influence in Iran also came to open during the reign of Muhammad Shah. Qajar extravagance and their reliance on foreign support of their rule was another cause of discontent amongst the people of Iran. As the Shahs' indebtedness increased the rival European power, principally Britain and Russia increased their interference in the Iranian affairs and in the Royal court.

The British and Russian legations in Tehran were rebuilt in the form of compounds for greater personnel to secure their inte-

rests in Iran. Valentine Chirol, arriving in Tehran in 1884 and noticing a building towering over the rest, assumed it was the Shah's palace and was most agreeably surprised to learn it was the British legation. Designed by the same architect who had designed the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, J.W. Wild, it symbolised British Imperialism in Iran. It is the same with the Russian Imperialism. By the 1870s Tehran's foreign community trying to obtain concessions and secure their interests was already swollen by European entrepreneurs, or *chevaliers d'industries* as John Curzon called them. Commercial speculation reached a peak during the last thirty years of the century. Popular opinion found its voice over such issues as the Reuter concessions and the Tobacco Monopoly.

The leadership of Ulama was demonstrated when it forbade smoking throughout the country and imposed a ban on the sale of all Tobacco normally essential to any Iranian gathering-with such success that even the Shah was unable to smoke. His family answered the religious leadership's request positively by refusing to provide smoking facilities. The Anglo-Russian convention of 1907 divided Iran into the Russian Sphere of influence in the north who occupied Northern Iran by 1914 and the British Sphere of influence in the South. The Persian Gulf also was considered as the sphere of the British influence because it was considered vital for the defence of India and gave rise to such vehemence as Lord Lansdowne's in 1903- I say it without hesitation, he thundered in the House of Lords, we should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified place in the Persian Gulf by any other power as a very grave menace to British interests. The British hegemony of the Persian Gulf was virtually unchallenged for most of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. It gave the British the freedom to meet the stern obligation of the white man's burden. Britain was in the Persian Gulf, not only to protect an approach to India, but also under the imperialistic pretext of being in obedience to the calls that have been made upon her in the past to enforce peace between warring tribes, to give a free course to trade, to hold back the arm of the marauder and the oppressor and to stand between the slave dealer and his victim, the role which was taken up by the U.S.A. after the British withdrawal of the region through their agent the deposed Shah of Iran and later

by the ruling Shahs of the region.

These Russo-Persian treaties caused Russian domination in the north along with the domination of other colonial powers in other parts of Iran, for they left Iran with no alternative but to give Britain a dominant position in Persian and specially in the Persian Gulf. The consequences of the interference and the domination of the colonial powers were a major theme of nineteenth century Iran. The clash, largely of Russian and British commercial and political interests in Iran and the rivalry between the Ottoman state and the Western powers and the feud between Iran and Ottoman states left Iran in a weak position. In 1872 a concession was granted to the British Reuter Agency for the exploitation of all minerals and forests in Iran. This led to the open opposition of Ulama. Nasir al-Din Shah made frequent trips to Europe and each time he made further concessions. In 1889 he granted more concessions to foreign agents.

The Ulama's opposition to the foreign domination of Iran by the British appeared in the form of Anti-British fatwa of the grand Mujtahid of the time - Mirza Hasan Shirazi against the British monopoly of tobacco (in 1891-92). Iran was practically divided into the ruling court with no organisational roots among the population (because of the foreign influence in the court) and the population itself which was for political reasons, fragmented vertically into a number of groups. With the foreign domination, the unpopularity of the Shah and the court and the opposition of the Ulama and the people to the ruling power increased. The Shahs even encouraged group rivalry which was in full agreement with the British colonial policy in Iran of "divide and rule". As long as this rivalry and division served their purpose and was directed at one another groups and not at the ruling and the colonial powers it would be regarded as a blessing and was welcomed. The Kings were content to obtain only outward obedience, not inward conviction. The foreign powers were also happy to look after their own interests. The divine right of the kings, though rooted in the old Persian history, never appealed to the Muslim Iranians who by the virtue of being Muslims were also bitterly against foreign domination. Furthermore, increasing contact with the West encouraged people to explain their rights and ideals in concrete

terms of constitutionalism and replace traditional relationship between the state and society and propose a new approach based on representative government. First Ayatollahs M.K. Khurasani, S.A. Mazandarani and then Ayatollah S. Abdullah Bihbahani and Ayatollah Muhammad Tabatabai led the constitutional revolution of 1905-11. But the constitutionalists met strong resistance from the Shah and royalists who were openly supported by the Russian government. The Swedes established gendarmerie in 1911. The British created the South Persian Rifles in 1916. The people led by Ulama particularly Mirza Kuchek Khan Jangali and S. Hasan Mudarris, challenged foreign domination. The Majlis repudiated 1919 treaty of Alliance with the United Kingdom. Russia occupied Iran in 1911 and the Allied occupied Iran in 1941. The Qajar dynasty was replaced with the Pahlavi dynasty under the British supervision after the First World War. With this change of dynasty the traditional inefficient monarchy was changed by the British with the modern dictatorship of Pahlavi dynasty and Reza Khan and his son Muhammad Reza ruled as dictators of first a modern European and later (after the CIA coup of 1953) American totalitarian kind. The coup resulting the coming to power of the pro-British and foreign agent S. Zia al-Din to pave the way for Pahlavi dynasty took place on 21st February, 1921 after the severe famine of 1918 which left Iran in a bad shape. Reza Khan took office in 1923 and the Qajar dynasty which ruled Iran from 1779 was replaced with the Pahlavi modern European dictatorship in December, 1925. Reza Khan was dismissed from his position by the British in 1941. The allied forces who officially occupied Iran in 1941 replaced Reza Khan with his son Muhammad Reza. At this junction Ayatollah Imam Khomeini issued his first declaration and openly challenged the allied decision and fought pahlavi dynasty more vigorously than before. Iran was officially divided between the Russians in the North and the allied in the central and the south of Iran according to the tri-partite treaty of alliance (G.B., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) in January, 1943. The Úlamā in Iran particularly those in Tehran have been suspicious of Reza Khan as a British instrument. Sayyid Hasan Mudarris, Tabatabai and Bihbahani openly challenged his rule and stood against his mounting the throne. Mudarris kept on his opposition until he was arrested and sent on exile in 1928 to Kashmar where he was finally assassinated by Reza Khan's

agents. The people, led by Úlama in Mashad, Tabriz and Isfahan rose against foreign interference.

The Iranian Úlama were also engaged in another battle against the British. The Iranian Úlama at Atabat (holy places) in Iraq opposed the British role in Iraq which was established after the defeat of the Ottoman rule.⁴ They were physically engaged in military activities against the British in Iraq in 1920. S.M. Taqi Khonsari and S. Abu al-Qasim Kashani⁵ were only two of those Ulama who later on played a great role in the anti-British nationalisation of oil (1951) and the anti-Western political activities of 1942–53 in Persia which led to the Shah's departure in 1953. From the beginning of this century the Úlama had to fight in many fields including the pro-Western elites. The imperialist order has depended upon the unrepresentative elites and the professional intellectuals who either sustained the status quo or introduced another prefabricated pro-Western or communist political order. The Úlama fought a harder battle in this field until finally a group of committed intellectuals with religious background appeared. The coalition of these committed intellectuals and Úlama led to the constitutional revolution of 1905–11 and later to the nationalisation of oil in 1949 and to the opposition to the Shah in 1949–53 until he left the country in 1953. He was returned by the US–UK; CIA–M16 coup of 1953.⁶ But the alliance of the liberals and Ulama in all occasions had its dangers and always left the liberals in power. They capitalised on the Ulama's popularity and left them and the masses deceived and out of the scene. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini has pointed out his bitter feeling about the past compromises of the Úlamā and the liberals. This is responsible for his uncompromising and strict Islamic stand against monarchy and foreign domination of the Muslim lands and Iran, for even at the final stage of the victory of the revolution the so-called nationalists, liberals, social democrats such as Shahpoor Bakhtiar compromised with the Shah and the foreign powers against the people of Iran. Shahpoor Bakhtiar was the Shah's and the Americans last ray of hope who could rescue them (they thought). In fact if it was not for Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's strictly uncompromising Islamic stand the Islamic revolution would face the same fate that the constitutional revolution and the oil nationalisation had faced. What made the compromise of the intellectuals and the

Úlama different this time was that the intellectuals this time were led by uncompromisingly Muslim committed intellectuals like Mehdi Bazargan and Áli Shariáti. The liberals fought their battle on the Islamic ground and thus the alliance was composed entirely of the Islamic movement. The leadership of the revolution and its ideology was wholly Islamic and strictly uncompromising. Ayatollah Imam Khømeini made this point clear in advance in the 1960s in his lectures. "The Islamic state bears no resemblance to any existing system of government. The Islamic state is neither autocratic nor does it make its head repository of all powers so as to let him play with the life and property of the peoples".⁷ To begin with, the word Islam does not need any adjective such as democratic, precisely because Islam is everything.⁸ Imam Khomeini as the true incarnation of Islam was as uncompromising as Islam itself. For him the idea that "the people rule and the Shah only reigns" was a dead slogan which was tried already but did not work. It even led to more miseries.

After the US-UK; CIA-M16 coup of 1953 both the Americans and their agent the Shah decided to take precautionary measures against further unrest. SAVAK was created in 1957. America who regarded herself as the guardian of the CIA coup of August 1953 had the lion's share of the Iranian wealth and oil. But to be fair to her Western allies almost all Western European countries were given shares of the Iranian oil and thus the oil consortium was established soon after the 1953 coup. American personnel in Iran, military and otherwise, were given diplomatic immunity in 1962. This was the last straw. Imam Khomeini protested strongly against this humiliating act and asked the people to rise against the foreign domination of Iran specially the Americans. This led to the massacre of 15th Khordad-5th June, 1962. Imam Khomeini was first imprisoned and then sent on exile first to Turkey and then to Iraq in October, 1962. Since 1960 Ayatollah Imam Khomeini has been leading the Islamic movement in Iran which led to the Islamic revolution. His leadership even in exile is of no doubt. It is part of the greatness of him to have given a leadership and direction to the Islamic revolution that is totally without parallel in the contemporary Islamic world. He has behind him a long tradition upon which he draws a tradition of assertion of the Úlamā as the directive force in society, a tradition of opposition to rule precisely in the name of the Shiāh

Islam, a tradition of ever growing militancy and constant readiness to self sacrifice. 9 What is of special interest is that religious leadership has played the most important role in the anti-authoritarian, anti-western colonialism and anti-oppression movements of Iran in the last two centuries. It has solely led to the Islamic revolution in Iran.

During the last few decades attempts have been made both in the conventional Islamic places of worship and outside, to re-define and re-introduce traditional Islamic principles to make them more relevant to everyday life at this period of history. Within the Mosques the traditional clergy such as Murtada Muttahari and outside the mosques, such as Hosainiyah Irshad, the Muslim intellectuals such as Āli Shariati and Mehdi Bazargan have utilised the sociopolitical qualities of Islam and showed that Islam is actively committed to social, economic and political justice.

Islam and Islamic principles in different way informed every part of Iranian life and all Iranians draw on a common religious tradition that has its own intrinsic value. It was thus Islam that brought people together as a political vehicle and as a religious system. Islam thus provided the Iranian people with the causes of the revolution, its timing, its form, its pacing, its tactics, strategy and its workers. Some non-Muslim critics try to introduce Ali Shariati, Bazargan, and many others as reformers and protestant Muslims with ideas quite different from Imam Khomeini's. They introduce Imam Khomeini, on the other side, as a fundamentalist. But the fact that even the so-called reformers used the same classical Islamic issues, themes and doctrines such as Mehdism, martyrdom and Ijtihad to enlighten the masses and launch the revolution shows that the alliance between the traditional clergy and the modern Muslim thinker was a natural thing. Their cause, goal and aspiration, was the same though they appealed differently to different sectors of the society. Modern Muslim thinkers persuaded the young intellectual generation of the society that they could find in Islam their own religion, traditions and ideologies that which could accommodate characteristically modern needs of modern society for development and participation. They tried to explain that the intelligentsia have a special responsibility to dedicate their lives to a struggle for the rights of the society and that Islam can provide them with all ideological requirements for this task. As

far as the actual fundamental Islamic principles are concerned there was not disagreement between the two groups. Basically it was the fundamental religious ideas that appealed to both and provided them with the right means to create the climate for an Islamic revolution. Ali Shari'ati, for example, suggests: 'One should be warned of Western arguments to give up religious fanaticism (Taassub-tenacity of belief): Taassub is our integrity. The West wants us to accept a division between politics and religion: that is a way of making us impotent'. Ali Shari'ati frequently prided himself of being a follower (Muqallid مقلد) of Imam Khomeini.

It was Islamic activism, dynamism, and revolutionary Islam that inspired Ulama, intellectuals and Iranian masses. Mehdi Bazargan talked and wrote of young and dynamic Islam in early 1960's. He wrote two books in early 1960's: *Islam-i-Javan* (Young Islam) and *Islam Maktab-i Mubārez* (The Revolutionary Islam).¹⁰ In the first book he explains how Islam is always young, strong, revolutionary, ever appealing and ever dynamic. In the second book he explains how militant Islam is and explains how wrong the orientalist are in misinterpreting Islamic militancy by introducing-Islam as the religion of sword. Islam did not use its militancy for conversion, for this is not allowed in Islam and religion cannot be forced upon people though some of the followers of almost all religions have tried it. Islamic militarism is measured in terms of Islamic revolutionarism, activism and dynamism with regard to fighting against oppression, tyranny, imperialism, exploitation and foreign domination. He explains Islamic revolutionary appeal in terms of preparing its followers for martyrdom and sacrifice for the cause of truth, justice, human dignity and human emancipation. He thus explains Islamic revolutionarism, activism and dynamism in terms of martyrdom too. He quotes Quranic verses encouraging sacrifice and martyrdom,¹¹ hardship, resistance, steadfastness and determination.¹² He explains martyrdom, activism, revolutionarism, dynamism, resilience and other revolutionary principles of Islam in terms of Quranic verses. Imam Khomeini with his intense and simply expressed appeals to the Iranian masses too, took up preaching the mission of a militant and activist Islam as early as 1940. His famous book '*Kashf al-Asrār*' (Revealing the Secrets) was published in the early post-Reza Khan period. In this book he made strong criticism of Reza Khan's despotic

and dictatorial regime. He became the symbol of Islamic revolutionarism, activism and relentless opposition to the autocratic rule as early as 1960's. He had elaborated his concept of an Islamic political system and government and state in a series of lectures delivered as early as 1960 during his exile in Iraq. These lectures were published in both Arabic and Persian under the title 'Hukumat-i Islami (Islamic Government). He made it unequivocally clear in these lectures that he intended not only to overthrow the ex-Shah and abolish monarchy but also to set up an Islamic state based on Islamic law and political system drawn from Islamic sources. This book was published time and again in Persian and was distributed on a large scale and was read vastly despite being blacklisted by SAVAK and despite torture and persecution which awaited those caught reading or keeping the book. By 1970's it was fairly clear for the Iranian masses what they were after and who they were following.

Ayatollah Murtada Mutahhari a senior revolutionary leader and a leading member of the revolutionary council and a personal friend of mine who was assassinated by the fanatic group called Furqan sums up the factors leading to the revolution in the last fifty years as follows:

1. Absolute and barbaric despotism and dictatorship in the form of monarchy.
2. Denial of freedom of every kind and denial of basic human rights.
3. Neo-colonialism including political, economic and cultural exploitation.
4. Separating religion from the state and creating a gap between the religious elements and the masses.
5. Reviving pre-Islamic culture of Iran and destroying the Islamic culture including changing the Islamic calendar to the pre-Islamic imperial calendar.
6. Imposing all forms of restrictions on Islamic activities and persecuting, killing, torturing, imprisoning, and sending on exile of the Iranian Muslims and Muslim political prisoners.
7. Ever increasing discrimination against the masses and re-establishing a kind of class system despite the so-called social reform.
8. Domination of the Muslims by non-Muslim elements in the government offices and national institutions.

9. Flagrant violation of Islamic laws either directly or indirectly by encouraging corruption in the cultural and social fields.

10. Encouraging anti-Islamic activities in the field of literature under the guise of purifying the Persian language from foreign words and terminology (Arabic).

11. Severing relations with Muslim people (Palestinian) and countries and establishing relations with anti-Islamic countries (e.g. Israel). Concluding his analysis he states: "This state of affairs persisted for about half a century and injured the religious conscience of our society and led to the state of explosive" 13

The alienation of the Muslim people of Iran from their Islamic culture took many forms; Westernisation and the revivification of the pre-Islamic Zoroastrian culture are only two of them. The second process was actually designed by the West to make their exploitation of the Muslim lands easier, though it was carried out by the regimes. The Pahlavi Shahs recognised that the best hope of making a success of their despotism and monarchical dictatorship was to alienate people from Islam and to identify monarchy and dictatorship with its pre-Islamic history and culture, for therein was found the divinity of monarchy, the Achaemenid-Zoroastrian model of divine dictatorship, imperialism and exploitation. The fostering of that identification would advance the cause of imperial monarchy (Shahanshahi) thereby justifying the dictatorship and absolute monarchy. The last Shah intensified this process.

His coronation (Taj qazari-Achaeminid style), the celebration of Iran's 2500th anniversary of Imperialism, changing the Islamic calendar to that of Imperial Iran, the celebration of 50th Pahlavi anniversary were all designed to serve the purpose.¹⁴ However, they were widely viewed by the Iranians and the non-Iranians as costly manifestations of an empty, pretentious exhibitionism which helped the cause of revolution rather than displaying to the nation and the world at large the greatness of Persepolis, of the tomb of Cyrus and of countless other reactionary symbols. It was after this empty exhibitionism of the 2500th anniversary that a preacher made use of Iranian imperialism to demonstrate people's contempt, a brave act which cost him his life. This is why some people have said that "in consigning the Shah to an uncertain exile", Ayatollah Imam Khomeini wrought not revolution but an Islamic counter revolution.¹⁵

In an interview after his deposing of Iran the deposed Shah spoke of many things including his relationship with the United States, the British etc. He said "The British and the American ambassadors promised (during the peak of the revolution): "We shall not abandon you". In exile I have had the great pleasure of visit from Henry Kissinger and former President Nixon. Mr. Nixon understood during his period in office the need of the West to have a strong and firm ally (Iran) in the Middle East. We have been good friends since 1953. Before he became President (Nixon was Eisenhower's vice-president during 1953 US-UK, CIA-M16 coup) we have long conversations together in political pinciples.16 Since his return to Iran after 1953 coup the deposed Shah stayed very loyal to his American masters who regarded themselves as the guardians or foster parents of the Shah. He regularly paid visits to the States and adjusted Iranian politics accordingly. Before his last visits to the States in 1977, he supported the increase in the oil price but as soon as he met Carter he changed his policy. During his last visit to America an interesting series of photographs appeared which showed the Shah in friendly conversation with every American president since Truman. A commentary supplied by an Iranian friend seemed apposite. He said that those pictures of the Shah shaking hands with every incoming president reminded him very much of the traditional political practice in Iran when the provincial governor, at the accession of every new King, would travel to the capital city, offer some appropriate present to the King, be confirmed by him in his position and then be sent back to the province under his control to resume plundering and looting for his own profit and that of the central government. We can say that this is a very apposite comparison for the appearance of the Shah in Washington to swear allegiance to every new American president.17

We have pointed out that the Westernization and cultural alienation, under the guise of Modernization of Iran was only a part of the de-Islamization process and the cultural alienation of the entire Muslim community and lands beginning with the fanatical secularization of turkey. In fact the Westernization and Cultural alienation of the Muslim peoples was also only a part of the Westernization of the entire world and the cultural alienation of the third world.

Lord Macaulay the architect of British Education Policy in India, wrote his famous Minute of February of 1836 that his object was "to form a class of people who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and intellect".

His collaborator, Charles Trvelyn, elaborating in his "Education of the People of India" (London 1838) says: "Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits with ourselves, they are more English than Indian. What is it that makes us what we are except living and conversing with English people and imbibing English thoughts and habits of mind. They do so too; they daily converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works and form a higher idea of nation than if their intercourse with us were of a more personal kind. These young men brought up at our seminaries, instead of regarding us with dislike, court our society and look upon us as their natural protectors and benefactors: the summit of their ambition is to resemble us"

In 1908, Lord Cromer wrote in his Modern Egypt: "England was prepared to grant political freedom to all her colonial possessions as soon as a generation of intellectuals and politicians imbued through English education with the ideals of English culture were ready to take over but under no circumstances would the British government for a single moment tolerate an independent Islamic state"

And Trevelyan writes: "Muhammaddenism is made of tougher material; yet even a Mohammadan youth who has received an English education is very different from one who has been taught according to the manner of his father"

Edward Shils speaking on the Voice of America forum said: "The universities of the states are at present almost entirely dependent on imported culture for substance of their teachings. They teach very little that has been generated or created in their own countries and they also teach very little about their own countries"

history, society and culture.”

Mr. Ewing of the Lahore Mission College while replying to a question of Urdu Digest said: “While it is true that we have not succeeded much in converting people to Christianity, our objective is not limited to conversion. We want the students to be influenced by Western culture and modes and habits and thoughts. True, they (students) did not become Christians, but it is not a measure of success that nobody passing through our institutions ever remains a Muslim in the true sense? If Mission Schools only achieve this much, our investment is fully repaid.”

Then what should we do? From the Indian Archipelago to Spain, Arabic was established as the language of religion, of literature and of law by the Muslims. The vernacular tongues were saturated with it and the youth of the conquered territories soon began to vie with their first instructors in every branch of Muslim learning. The most cultivated minds everywhere were engaged on the side of the same system. Should we not help popularise Arabic language in order to dig deep into the real spirit of Islam?

The grip of the West over our existence has not died with the official and institutionalized decolonialization nor in our implicit rejection (of western domination), because we still liked to be scoffed at and humiliated in our attempt to create a Western model.

The current belief in certain sectors is that political decolonialization has given birth to an era of more effective Western domination by more subtle and insidious means. To live Islam implies a complete vision of the world from an Islamic perspective and not the mere observance of a number of rituals. And it is clear that this complete Islamic vision of the world cannot exist as long as our minds are imprisoned and enslaved in this mold that it is a constituent part of our Westernized education and its subsequent effects on our thinking.

The master of yesterday is still the master of today and unfortunately this time, the master of our minds and conscience. We read their books, adopt their language and have copied their way of life and their mentality; we have disowned our culture to follow theirs, we have renounced our ability to think for ourselves and given him the trouble of thinking for us. We have allowed his

nationality and his science to replace our Imam, we have lost our God-consciousness (Taqwa) to ape the materialism which is reputed to be the foundation of western progress.

This aculturation has not occurred by chance nor is it the product of an historical accident. It is the consequence of a very distinct imposition on our model of Western culture and knowledge. For the simple reason that we have been moulded by the western school which we continue to allow to dominate our thinking and our way of looking at things. This is not merely because we simply do not have the choice of books, schools, newspapers, and media in general, but it is because we have allowed ourselves to be deluded through our complacency in regard to a system which is fundamentally in contradiction to Islam, our civilization and future, because we have folded our arms and give up to a more powerful enemy than us, because we have forgotten that Allah has graced us with Guidance and made us the guardians of a Book which is the source of Supreme Knowledge, the Holy Quran.

It is not sufficient only to write about finding an answer to the problems. The answer lies in our hands provided our imaan (faith) is strong and stable enough to put into practise what we believe. The eventual remedy is found in the general precepts of Islam, in our effort to Islamicize knowledge, through our personal and collective endeavours.

This condition, the Islamicization of knowledge, can only be hindered by alienating our present and future generations (from Islam), and it is only this condition which will save us, our civilization and our culture from being absorbed by a foreign and opposite culture.

It is being understood by the Muslims that the Neo-colonialism has its own means and approach. While colonialism was practiced by Military invasion and the official forces of the colonizing powers, the Neo-colonialism is imposed through "cultural invasion" and the Western educated and Westernized indiginous section of the colonized peoples who work as the fifth column. The "cultural invasion" manifested in most of the national programmes of education which is far more dangerous than military invasion. The secularization of Turkey by Mustafa Kamal and of Iran by Pahlavi

Shahs are two examples of the Western designed process of this cultural invasion and the de-Islamization of the Muslim peoples. The cultural invasion and thus the identity crisis is certainly more permanent and effective in its effect than the forces of arms. It erodes from within and is disguised by being dressed up as modernization, nationalization and similar terms and is publicized by the indigenous section of the population. One of the worst effects of the materialistic, de-Islamization and cultural invasion trend emanating from Western colonizing sources was the birth of nationalization in the forms of Arabism, Turanianism, Aryaism etc., among the Muslims. The final intention was to replace Islam with vague and hazy nationalism, and to replace love and worship of God with negative love and worship of one's nation which is in fact a collective version of egoism. What is more tragic is that in some forms of nationalism. e.g. Arabism, Islam is being used as an element contributing to nationalism and thus exploiting and employing Islam for un-Islamic or even anti-Islamic purposes. This is being practiced in Baathist nationalism too. It is for this purpose that Islam was being identified and associated with certain nationalities and thus introducing Islām as a national or racial religion (Like Judaism). To the average non-Muslims, the Westerners in particular, not only are the Arabs and Turks, for instance identified with Islam, but Islam itself is being misconceived by its unfair, unjustifiable identification with the Arabs and Turks. Islam from the very beginning disassociated itself from racialism and negative nationalism. By stressing on the unity of God, Man and religion Islam introduced itself as a universal faith and religion. Islam has helped some peoples gain independence and identity but it has never allowed itself to be introduced as a racial or national religion and has certainly not contributed towards extreme nationalism which is a form of racialism. Certain nations have identified themselves at times with Islam but Islam never identified itself with nationalism and racism. Not only was negative nationalism and nationalistic concept exported by the colonial exploiting powers and imported by their agents to the Muslim world as the pretext for the cultural invasion and de-Islamization but the nationalistic and racial means, approaches and Western style nationalistic slogans were exported to the Muslim world e.g. the Trinitarian slogan of "God, King and the country" which is simply translated into Persian and Arabic languages in the countries with monarchical regimes.

The cultural invasion mainly through Westernized educational process has created the vacuum which the neo-colonialists hope to fill. The omission of Islamic values and traditions from much of the educational systems specially in such countries like Turkey with fanatical secular policy, has on the contrary led to a spiritual vacuum for young people which communism and national socialism changing cards, approaches and disguised in various forms are trying to fill. But unfortunately, for the West, and fortunately for the Muslim masses, the vacuum is being felt more and more by the Muslims themselves and they feel the need to fill up the imposed vacuum with Islamic values and ethics. During the first two and a half decades of the republic, the Turkish educational system worked on a secular basis. But as the first waves of fanatical secularism receded and the cultural invasion and the identity crisis were felt religious education in schools, even in secular Turkey and Americanized Iran, began a gradual revival. In Turkey religious education gradually revived initially at the primary level and reaching the secondary level by 1956 and the high school level by 1967 on a voluntary extra curricula basis. As a second step new courses in Islamic ethics were started by 1974 for elementary to high school levels. Now the government being forced by popular feelings has announced a plan to introduce Quranic courses into elementary schools from the schoolyear 1980-81. Since 1978, new Islamic courses have been introduced into university curricula and the history of Turkish Islamic civilization, culture, human relations and Islamic ethics are taught in some engineering academies. Islamic studies at the university level restarted in 1949 after a hiatus of 20 years, first at the faculty of Theology in Ankara in 1949, then at the Islamic research Institute at the University of Istanbul in 1954 and the faculty of Islamic Sciences in the University in Erzurum. High Institutes of Islamic studies have been established. Other Islamic educational steps have been taken too.

The failure of "the cultural invasion", the urge for the re-introduction of Islamic education and the need to refill the vacuum with Islamic ethics, values and education in the secular Turkey explains Muslim's true feeling towards Islam. It proves the theory "Once a Muslim always a Muslim." Nothing can fill the spiritual vacuum left by Islam except Islam itself.

“The failure of the Western educational system in Turkey to instill moral values in the new generation of secularist Turkey has led to a spiritual vacuum (Islamic values and traditions had already been omitted), and the Western ideologies such as materialism, secularism, communism or national socialism, turanism, Turkism (Arabism, Baáthism and Aryaism as well) tried to fill the vacuum, fermenting anarchy in schools and society from which Turkey is suffering greatly, the anarchy which has provided often the Military dictators with the excuse to impose military regimes, martial law and curfew. The intellectuals, students and the society are often confused by contradictory values introduced through secularism, materialism and nationalism. The confusion shall continue until Turkey, e.g. finds the cure for its identity crisis and return to Islam to which she owes her culture, identity, history and true independence in the future.

Going back to our topic of the leadership of Ulama and their role as the guardian of the community and Islam we must explain that Most of the people outside Iran have very little knowledge of the role of the Ulama in the socio - political awakening of the people and of the foreign domination in Iran which made the religious leaders duty bound to rise and lead their followers and of the events which took place in 1960s which led to the Islamic revolution. This lack of knowledge makes it appear as if the present Islamic Revolution in Iran and its leader Imam Khomeini was a sudden and unforeseen parapsychic event in the political history of Iran.

The story of the Ulama's resistance to the modern dictatorship of the Pahlavi dynasty goes back to the early days of its establishment by the British colonial power. The Ulama rose against Riza Khan in Tabriz, Isfahan, Mashhad and Tehran. Sheikh Muhammad Khayabani led the Ulama's opposition in Tabriz until he was martyred by Riza Khan's men. In Mashhad the Ulama took sanctuary in the shrine but they were attacked and many people were killed. Sayyed Hasan Mudarris of Isfahan fought against Riza Khan until he was imprisoned, sent on exile to Kashmar and was assassinated by Riza Khan's agents there. Mirza Kuchek Khan led the Islamic republic in the north. The Ulama's opposition to Riza Khan continued until he was removed by the British in the

same way that he was installed by them. He was replaced with his son Muhammad Riza also by the British.

As the deposed Shah indicates in his own memoir in a very interesting sentence, "It was deemed appropriate by the Allied that I should succeed my father"

The allied forces occupied Iran and Iran was physically divided between the Allied forces.

Foreign intervention in Iran goes back to the early 16th century. But it was intensified in the last two hundred years. The grip of colonialists in Iran reached to the extent that particularly all political and economic independence of the country had vanished and the countries resources were in the hands of the foreigners. British at the beginning and the Americans later took the lions share of the spoils. The British exploited Iran's oil all for themselves until it was seen better to share it with Americans who in turn thought it would be better to share it with their Western allies. This was done entirely through supporting the institution of monarchy and through their chief agents, the Shahs, the Pahlavi Shahs.

After the Second World War the Ulama's opposition to foreign domination and their agents was initiated by a fairly young energetic group of Ulama led by Sayyed Mujtaba Navab Safavi who had close relationship with Ayatollah Kashani who later worked with Musaddiq. They established the liberating organisation of Fidayani Islam. That was an activist militant organisation that openly challenged monarchy, and the Shah, and sought complete political independence of Iran and sought the full implementation of Islam and its political system. This organisation earned the credit for the removal of prominent obstacles towards the establishment of an independent Islamic state. The activities of this organisation led to the premiership of Dr. Muhammad Musaddiq, the nationalisation of oil and consequently the isolation of the Shah. We know now how Musaddiq's government was toppled by the U.S., U.K., C.I.A. M16 (British-American) coup of 1953. Iran by 1953 experienced failures of two Revolutions.

a) The Constitutional Revolution through the British coup d'etate launched by Riza Khan.

b) The British-American coup of 1953 by his son Muhammad

Riza.

These two failures were mainly due to the fact that Ulama left the continuation of the Revolutions to the nationalists who either exploited the revolutions or did not enjoy enough national support to resist foreign interference and hence their failure. Iran also had tried a semi-Islamic independent state and government of Mirza Kuchek Khan and had failed.

After the overthrow of Riza Khan and before Musaddiq the movement of Fidayani Islam led by Navab Safavi and his deputy leader Sayyed Husain Wahidi against foreign intervention, the Shah and for the full implementation of Islam was very significant in the history of the Islamic and Ulama's struggle in Iran. The colossal figure of Navab Safavi and his deputy Wahidi rise over all their contemporaries as men of supreme faith, courage and strength with charisma and personality. This movement and its leaders with the help of Ayatollah Kashani paved the way for Dr. Musaddiq.

It was the provision of diplomatic immunity to all the American personnel in Iran, the exploitation of Iran, the foreign interference in Iran and the process of de-Islamisation of Iran that brought Ayatollah Imam Khomeini to full open conflict with the Shah. He made use of the traditional position of Ulama, Islamic means of communication (Minbar) and the Islamic scholarship. He lived in the holy city of Qum where the traditional Islamic centres of education (Hozehi Ilmiyya) have been training and producing scholars in Islamic studies. He mounted the minbar in the most important of the religious seminaries, namely "Fidiyya" school where he delivered his famous anti-dictatorial, Anti-Imperialists and anti-Shah speech. In that speech he objected strongly to the foreign domination and exploitation of Iran, to the provision of diplomatic immunity to the Americans in Iran, to the de-Islamisation of Iran and to the oppression of the Iranian peoples. He analysed the imperialist and Zionist interference in the affairs of Iran and other Muslim countries. He openly encouraged the people to rise against the regime and asked them to unite in their struggle to establish justice and enforce Islamic law. The traditional Islamic students who worked as professional agents of public communication as preachers (Mubalighin) spread his message to the masses all over the country. At the same time Mehdi Bazargan a respected

national figure and a highly respected professor at the University of Tehran together with Ayatollah Mahmood Taliqani and their close associates took up the work of establishing the Muslim Students Association which became involved in Islamic activities at the University level. In 1961 the Shah's army and security forces attacked both Madrasah Fidiyya and the University of Tehran hitting the students and professors and leaving many hundreds injured and killing some.

On 22nd March, 1963 on the occasion of a ceremonial gathering to commemorate the death of the sixth Shiite Imam, Jafar al-Sadiq in Madrasah Fidiyya with Imam Khomeini present, a large number of Shah's commandoes in disguise attacked the assemblage all of a sudden injuring and killing the participants. They broke into the residential sections breaking doors, windows and causing damage. They burned books and copies of the Quran. They even pursued the students to the school roof and threw them down from top of building while others jumped down in despair for life breaking legs, bones and even killing themselves. This was not the end. The injured were denied medical treatment and the bodies of those killed were returned to their relatives only on the condition of paying a large sum of money as the cost of the bullets used on them and on the condition that they would not be publicly mourned for and not ceremoniously buried. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini issued a declaration in which he said "this attack by commandoes and security forces in disguise on centres of Islamic studies brings back to mind the memory of the barbaric Mongols. It seems as if loyalty to Shah means destruction, sacrilege to Islam and violation of the rights of people. Loyalty to Shah requires burning of the Quran and insulting religious institutions and destroying Islam. Silence is no longer justified and declaration of the truth is incumbent".²⁰

Far from stopping the people the events in Qum encouraged the people all over the country. The preachers and religious elements used Minbar, Mehrab, Mosques, Husainiyyas and religious centres to spread the news, the messages of Imam Khomeini and to encourage people to rise.

At last came the month of Muharram, 1963 (1383 H.Q.), the month in which the third Shiite Imam and his companions and relatives were martyred in their brave fight against illegitimacy,

dictatorship, tyranny and injustice (Taghoot), the month of symbolic mourning, the month of sacrifice in the course of Allah and the month of just and holy struggle; the struggle to which Imam Khomeini refers as the struggle in which fists overcame armour and blood overcame sword - meaning "truth is always victorious" however obvious may seem to be its defeat during the course of struggle. Surprisingly enough the Islamic revolutionary activities reached their climax in this month and through religious symbolic mourning ceremonies.

In Tehran, Mehdi Bazargan's and Ayatollah Taliqani's movement which had come into existence since 17th May, 1961 under the name "Nehdati Azadii Iran" (Iran's liberation Movement) intensified its activities. It played a very crucial active role at the university and intellectual levels.

Ayatollah Imam Khomeini asked in a printed declaration the preachers all over the country to make the utmost use of Muharram, Minbar and religious ceremonies to inform the people of their religious duty to continue with their struggle for Islam, to intensify their religious activities and their campaign against foreign domination, exploitation and against the agents of imperialism. The popular slogans of Muharram 1963 were: "Reform yes, dictatorship no". (The Shah introduced his "White House" planed reform as "the white revolution" and the Ulama as anti-modernisation elements). "Neither oppress, nor let yourselves be oppressed" (referring to a dictum attributed to the Prophet and Imam Husain), "this is the way of Husain, this is the logic of faith", "Imam Khomeini, Imam Khomeini may God be with you. Imam Khomeini, Death to your enemy".²¹

On the tenth of Muharram, 1963, Ashura - the day on which Imam Husain was martyred and thus the religious ceremonies reach climax - Imam Khomeini addressed a very large audience in Madrasahi Fidiyya and delivered his famous speech. In this speech he compared the existing conditions of Iran and the Shah's regime with those of Yazid. This is of special significance. According to H. Algar, the tradition of opposition to autocratic power and injustice stems from the fundamental paradigm of Shiite belief, the martyrdom of the righteous Imam Husain at the hands of the wicked ruler Yazid. When the Shah started to be denounced as

the "Yazid of the age" by Imam Khomeini a powerful mixture of religion and politics was brewing. 22 Imam Khomeini's target and objective were the same then as now; the Shah's autocratic rule, the foreign influence in Iran and the full implementation of Islam. When Imam Khomeini called the Shah "the Yazid of the age" it should have been realised that the Shah had to go. One of the interesting slogans of Muharram 1978 was "our struggle is Husaini and our leader is Khomeini (Nihdati Ma Husaini, Rahbari Ma Khomeini).

Imam Khomeini also said in that speech: "They (the imperialists and the Shah's regime) do not want that any intellectuals and men of learning be left in this country. They do not want that religious scholars exist. They want to uproot Islam from this country; and so the black agents of Zionism at the order of their masters attacked us and this Madrasah (Fidiyya school). They want to exploit and control all the resources of this country and deprive its people. As they see that the Quran is an obstacle in their way, they try to destroy it. As they see Ulama as the barrier in their course they want to remove them, they must be wiped out. Since Madrasah Fidiyya is a hindrance in their way it must be ruined... "We will not allow you, the nation will not let you live in this country. They (Shah and his men) tell us to leave alone three things: Do not say anything about the Shah, do not say anything about Israel and imperialism do not warn the people that Islam is in danger. If we put these three issues aside, then what is left to talk about. All our problems are related with these issues... What is the relationship between the Shah and Israel? Is he an Israeli?... I am worried about this country. I am worried about the miserable conditions and dangers that this country is facing..."²³

The following day, the 11th Muharram was the day of public protests, demonstrations and marches in many cities including Tehran. Ayatollah Taliqani the co-founder and the co-leader of Nihdati Azadi was arrested in Tehran in the afternoon of 11th Muharram 1963. The Shah was scared and felt the danger to his regime. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini was seized at his home in Qum in the early morning hours of 12th Muharram, 5th June, 15th Khordad 1383/1963/1343, in order to avoid the crowds that surely would have attempted to restrain the authorities from arresting and

dispatching him to Tehran.

The news of his arrest in the early morning of 12th Muharram spread very quickly and caused peaceful demonstrations and protest marches which led into open conflicts with the armed forces. Thence the peaceful demonstrations changed into open revolt and revolution. In Qum, Mashhad, Tabriz, Isfahan, Shiraz and many other cities people filled up the streets in open protests against Imam Khomeini's arrest and denouncing openly the Shah himself for his seizure. Seventeen religious leaders and thousands of people were arrested on this day. The rising tide of revolution threatened to carry away the Shah and his throne. He thus took personal charge of the command of the anti-revolution forces, issued the orders: "Shoot to kill". Tanks and heavy war machinery were brought to use against the defenceless people. They set many places on fire including the Bazar of Tehran as the centre of protest. Twice the radio and television centres were occupied by the people but the heavily armed attacks of the Shah's forces broke the people's protest. People were machine gunned in the streets. Fifteen thousand people were killed in Tehran alone on this day. Many more thousands were injured. The unrest and protest against the Shah spread all over the country and even in the villages. Three to four hundred farmers from Waramin were massacred in cold blood on their way to Tehran to protest against Imam Khomeini's arrest. Their bodies were left in the fields for many days because their relatives were scared to collect them. The protests and public revolt continued on the following day, the 13th Muharram. The leading religious leaders from Qum and other cities left for Tehran for the release of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini.

Describing those days one of the prominent Úlama in a recent interview said "At that time we went to Tehran and gathered Ulama from all over the country in the Shirine of Haqdrati Abd al-Ázim (in the city of Ray, 6 kilometers south of Tehran). We also asked Ayatollah Milani from Mashhad to join us. The Taghooti regime meant to put the arrested religious leaders, particularly Ayatollah Imam Khomeini on trial and the Shah's press and media even talked of the possibility of his execution. This was why we thought it necessary to act quickly and moved to Tehran. We stayed in Tehran until the government changed its mind".²⁴ The regime

anxious to calm the situation was forced to release Imam Khomeini. But he was arrested again on the 4th November, 1964, 13th Aban 1343 and was sent on exile first to Turkey and then to Iraq. After 15th Khordad the regime became much more repressive than before. It increased its security measures and oppression. It tried its best to create a gap between the Úlama and the people, to divide sections of the nation to rule and to humiliate and destroy religious institutions. The regime encouraged indirectly the use of drugs, alcohol, pornography, prostitution by the youth so that they would not get involved in politics. Night clubs, gambling casinos, dancing halls and similar places were encouraged to keep the people away from Islamic activities. All these were done in the name of modernisation, Westernisation and cultural activities. This process was at its peak when a group of dedicated Muslims decided to do something about it. Husainiyya Irshad was established very close to the Shah's youth palace. This newly established Islamic institute managed to draw the attention of highly intellectual Muslim youths. Mehdi Bazargan, Ayatollah Taliqani, Murtada Mutahhari and specially Dr. Áli Shariati were actively involved in the activities of this institute. Áli Shariati owes his fame to this institute and vice versa. The religious - intellectual awakening of the Iranian youths in the 1970s is mainly due to the activities of Áli Shariati, Mehdi Bazargan and Husainiyya Irshad. So much so that the regime could not tolerate its activities. Mehdi Bazargan, Ali Shariati and Ayatollah Taliqani were arrested and imprisoned for a long time. Finally Husainiyya Irshad was closed and its activities stopped by the regime for good in 1973 until it was reopened again after the success of the revolution in 1978. Husainiyya Irshad had a nationwide impact. It was introduced as the modern version of Minbar (pulpit), Mehrab (place of religious worship) and Mubaligh (preacher), the traditional Islamic public communication. The speakers, the contents of the speeches and the way they were introduced were Islamic but different from classical Islamic traditions of public communication.

Going back to the question of the 15th Khordad, I would like to mention that surprisingly enough the Islamic revolution started its militant revolutionary activities in the month of Muharram, kept gaining strength from this Shiite tradition until finally it delivered its final blow to the regime as the main obstacle towards

establishing the Islamic state in Muharram 1978 particularly in the ninth and tenth (Tasua and Ashura).

The significance of Minbar, Mihrab, Mosque, religious occasions, gatherings and celebrations and mourning was so significant that the Shah's regime decided to stop these activities by establishing his own brand of Sipahi Din wa Muravijin (religion and preaching corp). The Shah celebrated the 2500 year anniversary of Iranian imperialism very lavishly beginning October, 1971 and declared officially the separation of religion and state. He also celebrated the golden jubilee of Pahlavi dictatorship, each for a full year. He then changed the Islamic-Persian calendar to that of imperial Iranian calendar, each of which further annoyed the Muslim people of Iran.


Bazargan, Shariati, Ayatollahs Muntazari, Taliqani, Tabatabai Qummi and many others were arrested or sent on exile. Hujjato al-Islams Saidi and Ghaffari were killed under torture by SAVAK for protesting and using Minbar and the mosque to publicise Islamic ideology. The oppression, torture, persecution of the revolutionary forces continued until the Ettelaat evening newspaper with a high circulation was forced by SAVAK to publish a very insulting article about Ayatollah Imam Khomeini on 7th January, 1977 and on 17th Dey 1356/1397. The Shah being ensured by Carter of American support for his policy decided to finish up Ayatollah Imam Khomeini and his influence, his only resolute challenge, for good. The Shah visited U.S. in November, 1977. On the threshold of the White House Carter praised the Shah and declared complete identity of the Shah and Carter and Iran and U.S.A. policy. Visiting The Shah and the American forces in Iran as late as 31st December, 1977 Carter openly declared his full support of the Shah. Hence the publication of the article. The people who were already annoyed by the murder of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's son Hujjato al-Islam Mustafa Khomeini by SAVAK agents could not tolerate the regime's attitude any longer. They then came out in masses in many cities including Qum to demonstrate peacefully their protests against the article. They were met with armed forces who opened fire on the demonstrators. Some people were killed and injured particularly in Qum including some students of Islamic centres of learning (Talaba). On the occasion of the 40th day (Chellah) of their martyrdom, memorial services were held in many cities. The mourners were machine-

gunned in Tabriz and thus many people were killed and injured in Tabriz. From then on the 7th day (Haftah) and the 40th day (Chellah) memorial services created a pattern and a cycle of demonstrations, protest marches and mourning services which in turn led to further bloodshed, injuries and martyrdom in various cities and towns in Iran. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini issued a declaration (Ilamiyyah) on the occasion of Ramadan asking the peoples and their leaders to protest against the Shah's regime in the mosques and religious centres. The preachers (mubaleghin) benefitted greatly from the occasion of Ramadan so much so that at the end of Ramadan after Ido al-Fitr public prayers people launched public protests throughout the country. In Tehran Hujjat al-Islams Yahya Noori and Muhammad Mufatih led mass demonstrations for the return of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini, the release of political prisoners etc. They were both arrested and imprisoned.

Cinema Rex in Abadan was put on fire by the Shah's agents in the middle of Ramadan (19th Aug 1978) and at least 419 people were burned alive. The scene was set so that the Muslim revolutionaries could be blamed and charged for the arson. But the people of Iran were quite familiar with the regime's tactics and intensified people's protests against the regime. One week after Cinema Rex crime the Shah under public pressure changed his Prime Minister and government from that of Amoozegar to that of Sharif Imami (27th Aug 1978) who insisted to pretend to be Islamic. But this change encouraged the people.²⁵ Demonstrations and protest marches continued and even increased. The memorial ceremonies during the last 11 days of Ramadan (the martyrdom of the first Imam, Ali) helped the intensification of protest. Many people were killed and injured during those days specially in Tabriz, Tehran, Shiraz and other major cities. This is why at the end of Ramadan in Ido al-Fitr mass protests of more than a million for the first time were directed against the Shah asking his abdication and trial and the establishment of Islamic government.

The Shah decided to put an end to the public protests. Strict restrictions were imposed. But Imam Khomeini issued a declaration reminding people of their Islamic duty to remove the Shah as the obstacle of the establishment of justice, independence, freedom and Islamic government. Seven days after the mass protest of Ido al-

First the people of Tehran decided to arrange the 7th day memorial procession (Haftah) for the hundreds who were martyred during Ramadan. This took place on Thursday, 16th Shahrivar 1358/7th September, 1978. Encouraged by their success the people decided to have another memorial procession and mass protest the next day, Friday the Sabbath in Iran. Being scared by the mass protest throughout the country particularly in Tehran the regime declared all of a sudden martial law on Friday, 8th September, 1978. in Tehran and eleven other cities (Isfahan was already under martial law administration). People who had already left their houses for public protests and had thus no knowledge of the martial law were machine gunned all over Tehran. Thousands of people were massacred by helicopters and by ground forces. Four thousand were killed in Jalah square. Hence this square has been renamed by people as "Martyrs Square" and this Friday was renamed as "The Black Friday". Nevertheless, this brutality of the regime far from discouraging the people encouraged them and changed the peaceful nature of the mass protests to open revolt and revolution. The 7th day mourning ceremony of these martyrs in the main cemetery of Tehran - Beheshti Zahra-again changed into public protest and revolt. Understanding the real nature of the regime, the people consolidated their campaign. Strikes all over the country increased, schools and universities closed. The entire people of Iran really united in their revolution. From then on the revolution became more than before The Revolution of the masses all over the country. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini and the religious leadership led the revolution. Imam Khomeini's declarations were distributed throughout Iran in a matter of hours.²⁶ The leadership of the revolution which had been since 1963 that of Imam Khomeini would not be satisfied with anything less than the abdication of the Shah and the immediate establishment of the Islamic government and political system. The government of Sharif Imami also proved ineffective to crush the protests and thus had to resign. It was replaced with the old general Azhari's government. This government put the entire country under Martial Law and military administration. Three weeks after General Azhari's coming to power the month of Muharram arrived. The month of protests, martyrdom and the month of Husain and mourning during which the Shah's regime lost its nerves. The last blow to the regime was delivered by

the people of Iran on the 9th & 10th (Tasúá and Ashura) of this month from which it could not recover. The entire people of Iran joined the mass mourning processions and public protest marches in these two days. From the beginning of Muharram people who were not allowed under strict martial law to protest openly and during day time would go up on the roofs and chant Allaho Akbar. La ilaha illa Allah (God is the Greatest. There is no deity except Allah) hence Allaho Akbar became the protest slogan and the motto of the Islamic revolution. Hence the new emblem is La ilaha illa Allah (لااله الا الله) in the form of (). 27

The 40th day memorial ceremonies for those killed in Iran on Black Friday were held in many mosques. The worshippers and mourners in Kirman who gathered in the main mosque (Masjid Jume'h Kirman) were massacred and the mosque was put on fire by SAVAK men in disguise. All means were employed. But all measures taken to stop the revolution, revolt and protest were proved useless. The Shah appeared on T.V. and repented openly and apologised to the people for the past mistakes. Knowing the nature and the features of despotism very well the people of Iran rejected his plea and appeal. The government of generals and general Azhari also proved useless in solving the crisis. He was dismissed. The Shah tried to make some cosmetic changes and a face lift. He appointed an unknown civilian nationalist called **Shahpoor Bakhtiyar** as Prime Minister. He himself had to leave Iran under public pressure on 19th January, 1979, setting the scene for his 1953 style return to Iran. By this time the American administration probably was thinking of an American Iran without the Shah too. America had found a compromise:- neither the Shah nor Khomeini. However the Shah left Iran with his family leaving behind the American Bakhtiyar. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini who had gone to France decided to return to Iran, after the Shah had left Iran. But Bakhtiyar closed all the airports. Finally Ayatollah Imam Khomeini returned to Iran to the most tremendous welcome in the history on Friday, 1st February, 1979 in a non-Iranian plane and went straight from airport to Beheshti Zahra cemetery. It is reported that one third of the population of Iran went to Tehran to welcome him. A few days after his return to Iran on 7th February, 1979, Imam Khomeini announced the formation of the provisional Islamic government of Iran headed by Mehdi Bazargan. On 10th

February the military governor of Tehran declared that curfew begins at 4 p.m. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini asked the people to defy the curfew and challenge the martial law. They did so. Later on that evening the air force cadets who sympathised with the people, at the air force barracks in east Tehran rebelled and broke into pro-revolution demonstrations demanding the establishment of the Islamic government. The top generals asked the specially trained imperial guard, the crack troops of the Shah to aid the task of repression. The air force cadets raided the armoury and the fight broke between the two sides. The people from all over Tehran went to help the air force cadets. The imperial guard was overpowered. This was the beginning of the armed uprising which led to the over-running, one after another, of all the major army barracks and finally the entire army joined the people. The government offices, army barracks, radio and T.V. stations, parliament buildings, Prime Minister's offices, SAVAK head quarters throughout the country were all liberated in two days.

Ayatollah Imam Khomeini throughout the peak of revolutionary activities had asked the people not to clash with the army for that would lead into bloodshed. The army surrendered to the people for they were in full sympathy with the people, supported the revolution, the people and the leadership. Thus the Shah's regime ended and a new era in the history of Iran and Islam began.

On 1st April, 1979 the people of Iran were asked to decide their political system. An Islamic republic was chosen as the future political system of Iran on a vote of over 98% of the entire voting population of Iran. On 3rd August, 1979 the people voted for their representatives for the مجلس خبرگان constitutional assembly. On 21st November, 1979 the people directly approved the new "Constitutional Law of the Islamic Republic of Iran" which had been already passed by the constitutional assembly. On 17th January, 1980 the people took part in the first presidential election. At the beginning of 1980 the people participated in the first democratic general elections in the history of Iran, choosing their members of parliament (Majlis Shuray' Islami).

On 22nd October, 1979 the deposed Shah arrived in the U.S.A under the excuse of medical treatment. Iran officially protested

his arrival to U.S.A. on 31st October, 1979. The American Embassy in Tehran was taken by the students on 4th November, 1979. U.S. government froze Iranian bank assets on 14th November, 1979. U.S. broke diplomatic relations with Iran on 7th April, 1980. U.S. asked her Western allies to impose trade embargo on Iran on 18th April, 1980. U.S. Military forces, planes and helicopters raided Iran but failed to fulfil their mission on 24th April, 1980. Published reports indicated that "rescue attempt" actually was a cover to destabilise the Islamic republic of Iran and destroy the revolution on 30th April, 1980. The Iranian embassy in London was taken over by the Iraqi Baathist terrorists under American supervision on 31st April, 1980 to console the Americans for their failure of military raid.²⁸ The deposed Shah died in Cairo on 27 July 1980. The Baathist American government of Iraq invaded Iran on 20th September, 1980. The Saudi Arabia and American Morocco, Egypt and Jordan declared their support for Saddam.

The aggression against the people of Iran and against the sovereignty of the Islamic revolution and against the Islamic republic is certainly beyond the Baathists and Saddam's own planning and power. The Dawah Islamic Movement of Iraq has declared that "our nation has learnt that major operations such as in this case, the Baathist invasion of Iran, may only be initiated on orders from the masters". Less than two months prior to the war, Britain withdrew its embassy staff and personnel from Tehran and advised British citizens to leave because, according to them, the situation was not safe for them. With the U.S. presidential election only seven weeks away at the day of the invasion, the Carter election campaigners had to do something spectacular to enhance Carter's chance of victory. Thus they had to tell the American public that something big is going to happen soon. With the hostages issue as deadlock as ever, and with the mounting failure of U.S. policies in the world, this big thing must not be less than a complete destruction of the Islamic Republic and the military occupation of Iran. The rerouting of the Iraqi military supply line from Basrah in Iraq to the port of Aqabah in Jordan, the open support of the American agents of Saddam's invasion such as Shah Hosain of Jordan, Shah Khalid of American Arabia, the dispatch of the British and American war ships to the war zone, near the strait of Hormuz, despite the Iranian

assurance to keep the strait open, the dispatch, by the U.S., of the AWACS (the special spy planes) to American Saudi Arabia and the absence of any form of condemnation of the flagrant aggression against Iran all explain the superpowers conspiracy against the Islamic Revolution.

All this evidence shows that the aims of the invasion is not limited to what the Baathist regime had declared, but principally, aims at the complete destruction of the Islamic Republic and removing this threat to imperialism, reactionary elements, the dictators and the ruling agents of foreign powers in the area and the threat to the American state of Israel, by hitting hard at Iran's main source of income - the oil fields, refineries and ports - a blow according to them - will destroy the Iranian economy, paving the way for popular discontent and eventual downfall of the Islamic order, to be replaced by a more favourable puppet regime loyal to the West.

The events, so far, have shown the unanimity of the imperialist countries in their unprecedented support to Saddam's aggression against Islam. Their news media have spared no effort showing their wholehearted advocacy and support of Saddam's abortive attempt to dislodge the Islamic order.²⁹ The big lies of the Baathist regime have been echoed almost instantaneously by the over joyous Western media. Despite the disgrace in which it finds itself following its blind belief in the capacity and capability of the overstrained Iraqi army, the Western media has not yet shown any sign of repentance, knowing that its claims of neutrality and objectiveness are not believed by their very people. ³⁰

The coverage of Iran-Iraq war by Western media once again exposed the similarities and the harmony between the thinking of the Western journalists and the strategy planners of the Western government. This "collusion" has been apparent in many occasions. At least the early days of the war which started on 20th September 1980, the tilt of the media, almost without exception, was towards Iraq with Baghdad stories of phony "victories" highlighted and an eager expectation of the collapse of the Islamic revolution. Even reporting of the issues in the conflict was tailored towards a clearly discernable pro-Iraqi direction. Basically, the media viewed the war as a Shii-Sunni conflict (Shiite Iran vs. Sunni Iraq). The support

given to Iran by the Sunni section of the Ummah and the majority of the Iraqis being the Shiites soon discredited this view, Arab-Iranian conflict (Iraqi Arab vs. non-Arabs, i.e. Iranians). The sincere condemnation of the Baathist aggression against Iran by the Arab section of the Ummah soon discredited this view too.³¹ Underlying such thinking and reporting of the Western media was the assumption that:

Iran was weakened and divided, politically and militarily by the revolution.

Iran would not be able to withstand the calculated, well-planned Iraqi invasion as its army had been destroyed. The article in point is by John Cunningham of Guardian (September 23, 1980): "Both sides have sophisticated hardware from both East and West". However it began with an insulting remark about Ayatollah Imam Khomeini, which in fact was a confirmation of the hate campaign of Western media against Iran and her religious leader. Mr. Cunningham wrote: "perhaps Iran should be glad that Imam Khomeini is not commander-in-chief of its armed forces, for the Ayatollah vociferates wildly in his ideas of necessary military strength". On the other hand Mr. Cunningham tried to establish the Iraqi military superiority only because "British influence can be seen still in the uniforms of Iraqis, the lingering outward sign of a forced organised on a Western imperial model; at the same time it is tough and well organised". Similarly, Clare Hollingworth, the Defence Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph (September 23) reported: "Iraq's forces are better trained than Iran's".³² A close observation of the Western correspondents reporting from Iraq in the early days of the war clearly led to the fact that the Western media was preparing for the Iraqi army's victory celebration. Obviously underlying such pro-Iraqi coverage of the Western media were the vested interests of the West - the selfish motives which take priority above everything in the world. The Daily Telegraph reporting the full scale war expressed this concern immediately. "The border dispute between Iraq and Iran... could threaten Persian Gulf oil - source of 50% of the West's supply".³³ A typical, example of this linkage between the Western policy and the Western media is the editorial of the Daily Telegraph (September 23) entitled "Iraq's Revenge". It asked: "Where the Western interests lie.? First and foremost, the

West needs to see the Gulf kept open for the continued passage of the oil tankers which provides the overwhelming bulk of its energy requirements". It continued: "The West would probably benefit from the strengthening of Iraq at the expense of Iran. Although armed by Russia, and with a treaty of friendship with Moscow dating back to 1972, Iraq is now the second largest Arab oil producer (to West) after Saudi Arabia. It even seems possible that the present hostilities may deal a death blow to the Imam Khomeini shambles in Iran. That is something the West should be provisionally prepared for".³⁴ It was this collusion between the Western imperialist-Zionist media and the Western government on one side with their local agents, reactionary forces and the Zionists which tilted the reporting of the issue in the conflict towards a clearly pro-Iraqi direction and explained that the Baathists of Iraq led by Saddam were really working as tools of international imperialist Zionist conspiracy against the Islamic revolution. The West and its imperialist media system tried to highlight the Iraqi success and eagerly awaiting and forecasting the collapse of the Islamic revolution. It was not in fact the conflict between Iran and Iraq, for the peoples of the two lands share the same hope and aspiration, but it was the war between Islam and Kufr, between the oppressed and the oppressors, between imperialism, Zionism, reactionarism on one side and Islam on the other. The Times wrote an editorial entitled "Will Imam Khomeini fall" in which the editor called Iran the underdog and commented: "The blame must fall on Ayatollah Imam Khomeini".³⁵ The Western media tried to introduce Shah Saddam as the champion of Arab world.³⁶ The Times made a sinister suggestion, which exposes the conspiracy of the Western media and Western power and the collaboration of the imperialists and their local agents. The Times advocated civil war in Iran and her dismemberment. It writes: "Alternatively the dismemberment of Iran could come about without Baghdad lifting a finger if the country's angry minorities which include both Arab and Kurds were to take an advantage of the power vacuum in Tehran and proclaim their independence... The whole Western media without exception sided with Iraq and assumed that Iraq will win and Iran will lose. It was only when they could no longer support their assumption that they changed their tone. The Times, which earlier dreamed and encouraged civil war and the dismemberment of Iran

wrote an editorial with the warning “Never invade a Revolution” (1.10.1980) and the Guardian wrote: “Iran takes the world by surprise” (6.10.1980). The Western media however continued its support of Saddam by not reporting the Baathists losses and thus trying to disguise their disappointment.³⁷

CHAPTER 17

AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

(CLIRI)

The basis, features and objectives of the Islamic politics and state have been explained briefly. Here we would like to analyse briefly the constitutional Law of the Islamic Republic. The objectives of the constitutional Law are as follows:

1. The implementation of the Islamic approach, framework, criterion and standard for evaluation and analysis in all aspects of life and the establishment of the Islamic state and solidification of the Muslim community.
2. The spread of the Message of Allah (Islam, Islamic ideology, Islamic moral and the fulfilment of the spirit of Islam).
3. The establishment of human liberty and emancipation of mankind from all forms of oppression, the restoration of human dignity, ethical and spiritual values and the establishment of equality, justice, fraternity, peace and tranquility.
4. Preparation of the ground for the full development of human potential; physical, material, spiritual etc. and looking after the welfare of the Muslim individuals, community and of mankind on the whole.

Taking into consideration the basis and the objectives of the Islamic government and revolution, article 2 and 3 of the Constitutional Law of Islamic Republic of Iran (C.L.I.R.I.) reads as follows:2

Article 2: The Islamic Republic is a system of government based on the faith in:

1. The one God (La ilaha illa Allah); that He establishes the shariat (canon law) and that man should resign to His will.
2. The divine revelations and their fundamental role in the interpretation of laws.
3. The resurrection and its constructive role in man's perfection towards God.
4. The Justice of God in creation and in establishing the Canon law.

5. The uninterrupted imamate and leadership and its fundamental role in the continuity of the revolution of Islam.
6. Nobility and sublime value of man and of liberty and his responsibility before God which ensure equity, justice and political, economical, social and cultural independence as well as national unity and solidarity through:
 - (a) Uninterrupted administration of Canon law by fully qualified religious jurist on the basis of the Scripture (the Quran) and the traditions of the fourteen Infallibles for whom we invoke God's blessing.
 - (b) Taking advantage of the advanced human knowledge and experience and endeavouring to further advance them.
 - (c) Denouncing oppression and being oppressed; dominance and being dominated.

Article 3: The government of Islamic Republic of Iran is bound to take into consideration all its potential to achieve the objectives referred to under Article 2 above for:

1. Creation of favourable atmosphere for furtherance of moral virtues based on faith and righteousness and struggle against all manifestations of corruption and decadance.
2. Promotion of standards of public knowledge in all fields through the sound utilisation of the mass media.
3. Providing people with free education at all levels and provision of higher studies.
4. Furtherance of research and initiative in all scientific, technical, cultural and Islamic fields through setting up research centres and encouraging researchers.
5. Fighting and eradicating all forms of colonialism and prevention of alien influence.
6. Putting an end to despotism, autocracy and oligarchy.
7. Ensuring political and social freedom within the domain of the law.
8. Participation of the people in determining their political, economic, social and cultural future.
9. Putting an end to unjust discriminations and ensuring the people all equitable possibilities from material and spiritual standpoints.
10. Creation of a sound administrative system and elimination of non-essential organisations.

11. Strengthening national defence system through providing public with means of military training for safeguarding independence, territorial integrity and Islamic system of the politics and government.
12. Adoption of a sound, equitable economic policy according to the Islamic criteria with a view to ensuring public welfare, putting an end to destitution and indigence and deprivation as regards feeding, housing, employment, health and insurance services.
13. Ensuring self-sufficiency in scientific, technical, industrial, agricultural and military domains.
14. Ensuring equal rights in every respect and equitable legal security for men and women alike and equality of all the people before the law.
15. Promotion and strengthening of Islamic fraternity and public co-operation among the people.
16. Outlining the country's foreign policy on the basis of the Islamic criteria: fraternal alignment towards all Muslims and full support of all the oppressed peoples of the world.³

The main characteristic of the Islamic revolution, community and constitution is Islam and since the only principle and foundation of Islam is the doctrine of Tawhid (monotheism) it is natural that the Islamic movement, revolution, community and constitution should be fully compatible with Tawhid and they should be Tawhidi (monotheistic). The foundation, criteria, approach, leadership, motive and contents of Islamic revolution, movement, community and constitution should be entirely and exclusively Islamic and monotheistic. They should be caused, moved and motivated by Islam and the way they are implemented and the course they take should be Islamic and monotheistic. The leadership of the Islamic revolution, community and constitution should also be Islamic and monotheistic. They should be dynamic, universal, permanent, inclusive and cannot be racial, nationalistic, power oriented, secular, regional, temporary, sectarian, and dictatorial. They must be anti-imperialistic, anti-colonialistic, and anti-exploitative. They must be theocratic-democratic, popular, independent and consultative.

1. Independence

Real and full independence begins with independence in ideology. Islam provides its adherents with an inclusive ideology; theologically, politically and otherwise. The Muslim community does not need to borrow or apply non-Islamic ideology; Western (capitalism) or Eastern (communism). Islamic political thoughts are based on Islamic theology. Islam means submission to God alone. He is the only source of power, politically and otherwise. Islam does not recognise any power other than that of God. This doctrine explains Islamic and Muslim community's political independence. There is no superpower, or indeed any power other than that of God to infringe upon Islamic independence. This doctrine also explains how Islam does not recognise power political and political power. This is why Islam provides the Muslim community with collective independence and the Muslim individuals with personal independence.

At the present junction of the world history, the only independent ideology is that of Islam for even the Third World is really left in a limbo for the members of the Third World club have to either borrow their ideology either from the capitalist or the Communist ideology and have to depend on one or the other super powers, or they have to be eclectic and borrow bits of both. Nevertheless, there is no hope of real independence for them for they do not pursue independence in ideology.

Besides being based on Islamic ideology, Islamic and Muslims' independence is based on many verses of the Quran: Ye who believe, take not into your intimacy and confidence those outside your ranks they will not fail to corrupt you. They only desire your ruin..... The unbelievers are unto you open enemies...⁵ Let not the believers take for friends or helpers unbelievers rather than believers; if any does that he does not follow God's commands;⁶ Ye who have faith in God take not for friends and protectors those who take your religion for a mockery or sport whether among those who received scripture before you, or among those who reject faith and obey God if you have.⁷ The spirit of the CLIRI is the real comprehensive independence of the Iranian people as a section of the Ummah (Muslim community) see sec.5 of article 2 of CLIRI, also see the Introduction to CLIRI, and articles 152-
154

2. Dynamism of Islamic Revolution

One of the main features of Islamic revolution is that it should be dynamic and continuous, for Islam itself is a dynamic and resilient religion. While materialistic revolutions such as communist revolutions have set materialistic goals and have to move in time-space and stop as soon as such goals are obtained, an Islamic revolution continues to move ahead without any stop for its goals are not only materialistic. There is no end for Islamic revolution, and an Islamic revolution which reflect an immense inner struggle and a continuous inclusive striving never stops. The Islamic revolution is a Holy War which is not confined to a struggle only against secular evil forces (Taghoot) which is referred to in the Islamic literature as the minor battle (Al-jihad al-Asghar) but it is also, and mainly, the fight against internal devilish desires which is referred to as the great battle (Al-jihad al-Akbar).

The dynamism and continuousness of Islamic revolution is based on Islamic ideology, for Islam claims itself to be universal, eternal and beyond the time-space limits and thus dynamic, resilient and continuous. It is not bound by geographical, racial, social and political boundaries. Islamic revolution is not only the revolt of the Muslims against non-Muslim domination, nor the revolt of the oppressed Muslims against oppressors but it is also the revolt of all oppressed peoples of the world (Mustadafeen). This is why Islamic revolution by its virtue of being Islamic has to give support to all movements and struggles of the world against oppression, tyranny, injustice regardless of whether they are launched by Muslims or non-Muslims. This is clearly stated in the Quran:

ما لكم لانقا تلون في سبيل الله والمستضعفين من الرجال والنساء والولدان

“Why do not you fight and struggle for Allah and for those oppressed men, women and children”. (Quran 75:4)

The dynamic, resilient and continuous nature of Islam and Islamic revolution explains the fact that the Islamic revolution does not necessarily need to be exported from one region and people to another to spread it, but it can be introduced by separate independent native peoples as local revolutions though finally they have to be linked and united to be fully Islamic. This point too has been taken into full consideration in CLIRI. (see introduction

to the constitutional law of the Islamic Republic of Iran see also article 154).

3 The Concept of Community (Ummah) in Islam

It has been pointed out that the Islamic revolution and movement is the revolution of the Umma to establish the Islamic state.

An Islamic revolution and constitution should be based on Islam and have Tawhid as its basis. No revolution and constitution can claim to be Islamic while it has removed Islam and Tawhid as its foundation and method. Nothing can replace or even share Islam and Tawhid in an Islamic revolution or constitution. There cannot, therefore, be any place for negative nationalism, secularism, racialism, sectarianism or similar 'ISM' in an Islamic revolution or constitution. It is therefore clear that difference in language, colour, ethnic matters and similar things cannot form the basis of minority-politics in an Islamic revolution, community or constitution. In an Islamic community even small ethnic groups, i.e. 1% is not looked upon as minority for it is part of the Muslim community.

The Islamic government is the government of Allah through the Islamic community which covers even the non-Muslims minorities living in the Muslim territories and the Muslim minorities living outside Muslim territories. Racialism, nationalism, regionalism, minoritism or majoritism have no place in Islam. Thus any revolution that derives its authority from these concepts cannot be regarded as the Islamic revolution. Article 11 of the Islamic constitution of Iran views all Muslims of the world as a single community and authorises the government to set up its general policy based on the solidarity and unity of all Muslim societies. It also does its best to realise and establish the political, economic and cultural unity of the Muslim world. The rejection of minority-majority dictatorship and absolutism has been clearly reflected in the introduction to the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

"From the viewpoint of Islamic government, authority is not the product and monopoly of any class or any particular group. It is rather the objective of the community to organise itself in order to be able to move forwards to its common ideals which is movement towards God (Allah). This is why the constitution should

provide the conditions and prepare the ground for the wholesome participation of all members of the community in all stages of political decision making and in all fields of activities in order to achieve the establishment of the government of all oppressed peoples of the world and so that the earth is inherited and ruled only by them and by those who deserve it. (see the introduction. CLIRD).

The concept of "Islamic community", like other Islamic concepts, derives its authority from the doctrine of Tawhid. Unlike Jewish "chosen or Holy nation" which covers only the children of Israel, hence Zionist racism, and unlike "Zoroastrian society" which goes as far as permitting even incest to keep its society pure from any racial impurity; unlike the Hindu society which is based on the caste system and unlike modern nationalism in modern world politics which is based on race, colour, historical, geographical, cultural, political and likewise basis, (majority-minority and similar basis), the Islamic community (Ummah) is the society which is ruled by Allah through Islam, the society with no discrimination of any kind. The concept of minority-majority rule is alien to Islam. In traditional Islamic political literature we cannot find the terms majority or minority applied even to the non-Muslims living in Muslim territories. Even the Muslims living in non-Muslim territories are regarded as members of the Muslim community. The term minority is an importation of Western culture into Muslim countries. Even the non-Muslims living in Muslim territories are not called minorities (a term which carries a sense of inferiority); they are called Dhimmi (protected) which carries a sense of security. There has never been in Islam any contrast comparable to that of Western or Communist politics between individuals and the community, between the minority and the majority. The one effect of the introduction of nationalism and secularisation of Muslim politics, in the wake of colonialism has been the spanning of the Muslim world of the old pre-Islamic ethnic and sub-ethnic affinities; mutually exclusive and ever conflicting with each other. At another level it has given rise to a strange problem of disaffection among the non-Muslim communities (Dhimmi) with their own autonomous entity and social, religious and cultural rights. The minorities so created seemed to be pleased that the new rulers did not identify themselves as Muslim rulers but as nationalists, little

realising however that a ruler who was not loyal to his own covenant and conscience could hardly be expected to remain faithful to his "social contract" with his minorities.

Moreover, the secular and nationalist rule has proved in efficient and incompetent to implement justice and equity. It was only logical that the non-Muslim communities too had to take a fair share in this situation of oppression and denial which was common. Discontent and dissatisfaction was inevitable.

It would have been rational for the non-Muslim communities to sympathise - if not actively involved - with the Muslims' efforts to restore Islamic quality to their society. This impact has been the case in the Wholehearted support of the non-Muslim communities for the Islamic Revolution of Iran and their efforts to make it a success.

Islamic revolution and constitution is not and cannot be a racial revolution. It bears all the characteristics of Islam itself and we know that Islam is not compatible with racism. Islam is the religion of mankind. The Islamic revolution is the revolution of the Muslim community which is racially and otherwise the community of equals; "Verily this brotherhood and community of yours is a single brotherhood and I am your Lord so keep your duty unto me" (The Quran). In Islam, the provision of law and power is provided by God, the Quran and Shariah. The relationship between the sections of the community is not that of minority and majority so that the concept of the majority rule or minority rule can be applied. No section of the Muslim community can have more or less power, rights and authority than the others. A Muslim community is a solitary one and is the community of equals in all sense of the term equality. "O Men, we created you from a single pair of male and female... verily the most honoured of you in the sight of God is he who is the most righteous of you" (The Quran). Since Islam itself is not the religion of special race, minority or majority, but is the religion of mankind and since Islam does not recognise racial or majority and minority rule and authority the Islamic revolution cannot be a racial or sectarian or minority or even majority revolution.

It is of course natural and obvious that a community 98% of which are Muslims, should organise itself on the basis of aspira-

tion and wishes of the community beyond any racial, sectarian, national and minority-majority barriers, and regards all its Muslim and non-Muslim members as the community of equals. Section 6 of Article 2 of C.L.I.R.I. (Constitution Law of the Islamic Republic of Iran) regards the establishment of equality as one of the objectives of constitution. It reads as follows: "Nobility and sublime value of man and of liberty and his responsibility before God which ensures equity, justice, denouncing oppression or being oppressed, dominance or being dominated". Section 9 of Article 3 (CLIRI) introduces one of the objectives of the constitution as follows:

"Putting an end to unjust discriminations and ensuring the people all equitable possibilities from material and spiritual standpoints".

As we know one of the human rights is the right of religion and the rights of religious minorities. The majority of the Iranian peoples are Shiite Muslim (Muslims) but this has not made it a Shiite revolution; it is an Islamic revolution. It has not therefore deprived other minorities of their right. Article 12 (C.L.I.R.I.) states: All other sects of Islam: Hanafi, Shafii, Maliki, Hanbali and Zaidi shall be held in great respect and the followers of these sects shall be free in performing their religious services according to their Canon law. Their religious teachings and their personal affairs and social relations (marriage, divorce, inheritance and will) and the law-suits relating to such affairs and relations shall be organised. In every locality where the followers of these sects predominate in numbers, local regulations within the jurisdiction of local councils shall be in accordance with the Canon law of the respective sects, with due consideration to the rights of the followers of other sects. Article 13 also gives non-Muslim minorities their rights and status: Zoroastrian, Jewish and Christian Iranians shall be free within the jurisdiction of the law in performing their religious services and shall act according to their canon law as far as their personal status and religious teachings are concerned.

Regarding cultural rights, Article 15 (C.L.I.R.I.) states: The state and common language and script of Iran is Persian... However, the use of local and ethnic languages in the press and for the mass

media and teaching of their literature shall be allowed. Article 19 emphasises this point and states: The people of Iran belonging to whatever ethnic or tribal group shall enjoy equal rights and the complexion, race, language and the like shall not be considered as privilege.

Dealing with the whole question of full equality of the members of the community Article 20 states: All persons, whether men or women, shall be equally under the protection of the law and shall enjoy all human, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

Political representation of non-Muslim minorities in the parliament (Majlis) is dealt with in Article 64: "Members of the Majlis shall be 270 in number and after a decade, in case of population increase there shall be added in each constituency, one representative for each 150,000 voters.

The Zoroastrians and the Jews each shall send one representative and the Assyrians and the Chaldeans shall have one representative. In case of a rise in population of religious minorities after a decade, each shall have one more representative for each 150,000 voters.

4. Concept of Democracy in Islam: popularization,

Islam is the direct government of Allah. Allah is the supreme authority and power and in a sense He is the only authority and power politically and otherwise. The term used for governing in Islam is Hokoomat and it is solely vested in God and thus the only rightful government (Hākim) is God. The government is the government of God, the ownership is that of God, the public treasury, the army are those of Allah.

In this case what is left for people is not authority and power but responsibility. The relationship between Allah and those who believe in Him is that of obedience, service and worship. Thus the foundation of politics and government in Islam when applied to Allah is Hokoomat, authority and power, but when it is applied to the Community of believers (Ummah) and the faithfuls is that of responsibility. The public functionaries are servants and employees of Allah. Explaining this principle, Article 56 of the Islamic

Islam is 'the government of God for God but by the servants of God' and not by a priesthood, clerical class or the chosen sector of humanity which absolute theocracy requires. 'From God to God' is according to Islamic formula. (Quran) At the head of the Muslim community is Allah, represented by Man as the vicegerent (Khalifatol Allah) of God. In fact the Muslim community has no direct individual physical head, it is the community of equals. It should be borne in mind that when Hokoomat or the governing of the Islamic community is applied to Allah, it is associated with power and authority but when it is applied to the people or the community it is based on responsibility (there is thus no power politic or political power in Islam) for Hokoomat is God's trust (Amanat) and Man is God's vicegerent and representative (Khalifah) in looking after this trust and thus man is responsible and is Allah's trustee. Those who are therefore chosen by the people to shoulder this great responsibility are the representatives of the representatives of Allah.

The Quran, in explaining the issue of the Hokoomat, states: "God doth command you to render back your trusts to those whom they are due and when you judge (govern) amongst the people that you judge (govern) with justice" (IV: 58). Islam has a tendency towards theocracy, and this is to safeguard the Islamic community from all kinds of dictatorship (personal, minority or majority dictatorships), but it is certainly against religious oligarchy and thus introduces overall responsibility as the basis for government instead of political authority and power. Islam is fully theocratic in the sense that all kinds of authorities and powers belong to Allah, but it is fully democratic in the sense that man is solely and utterly responsible for his own affairs, politically or otherwise. The Islamic political system styles itself as a liberal system because man is only the servant of God and nothing and nobody else. The foundation of Islamic political system is that man is free from anything except God and His rule, and thus the basis of politics is the liberty of man. This comprehensive liberty is restricted and limited by Allah, His power, authority, rules and regulations. Accordingly politics and law in Islam is divine in its origin and theocratic in theory but human and democratic in its application and practise.

It is the political system in which divine and human interest are intertwined and are both at the same time or are the same at the same time. The dichotomy that exists between God and man, between matter and spirit, between politics and religion, between theocracy and democracy in many other religions does not exist in Islam. In such a liberal theocratic-democratic political and ideological system the role of Ulama (not spiritual or religious leaders for there is no organised spiritual leadership, and intercession in Islam and no dichotomy between religion and politics in Islam in the Muslim community), is that of ideological specialists in Islamic studies and Islamologists. The Ulama are responsible for the Muslim affairs (Wali Amr, pl: aulo al-amr; guardian اولو الامر، ولي امر،) and thus the term Walayate Faqih (ولايت فقيه) means the responsibility and guardianship of those who are true and honest specialists of Islam for the Muslim affairs. The doctrine of the Walayate Faqih (ولايت فقيه) is one of the main characteristics and features of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Thus Walayate Faqih does not mean the sovereignty, authority or power of Faqih, for power and authority in Islam is vested in Allah alone but it applies to his responsibility to maintain and enhance the law and the government of Islam as the will of Allah.

Article 107 of the Islamic Constitution of Iran (CLIRI) defines Walayate Faqih or Walayate Amr as responsibility and clearly states that leadership is nothing but responsibility. Article 110, which has been the subject of criticism by the so-called liberals and which if superficially read may give the impression that Faqih or the Islamologist has some power (or as the Western media would like to put it 'sweeping power') and authority, if carefully and critically analysed in the light of Islamic doctrines proposes that even the so called power of the Faqih is nothing but responsibility. Taking precautionary measures against all kinds of dictatorship and absolutism, Article 56 of CLIRI reads as follows: authority to rule over the world and man belongs wholly to God alone. He has thus enabled man to run his own affairs. Section one of the Article 2 of CLIRI states that the Islamic republic is a system based on: 1. Faith in God (there is no deity but Allah لا اله الا الله) and the belief that sovereignty, legislative power and authority exclusively belong to

God. Section 5 and 6 of the Article 3 makes it the duty of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to fight all forms of dictatorship, autocracy, fascism, absolutism in all spheres and to combat exploitation and colonialism. Rejecting all forms of dictatorship the CLIRI clearly explains that it is thus the collective responsibility of the whole community to run their state and community by consultation, election, voting and by choice. Article 6 specifies the public responsibilities and makes it the collective duty of the people to take care of their country and community affairs. It reads as follows: In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the state's affairs are conducted according to the wishes of the community, by choice and vote: choosing the president, electing members of the parliament, voting for members of various councils or by referendum in matters which are defined by this law. Article 7 reads as follows: on the basis of the Quranic instruction and the Quranic verses: "the faithfuls are those... and those whose affairs are a matter of counsel" (Quran 42: 38), "O Prophet, consult them about the conduct of affairs" (Quran 3: 159), in the Islamic and nation assembly (Majlis Shoraye Islami or Melli), provincial cities, and rural districts councils are the decision-making and governing bodies of the country.

The Islamic characteristics of the C.L.I.R.I. is carefully safeguarded by article 72: The Majlis cannot pass laws contrary to the tenets and rules of the state religion (Islam) and against the constitutional law... 'The task of enforcing this article has been made the responsibility of the Guardianship Council (Shura-i Negahban) according to article 96. This article creates a twelve man Guardianship Council empowered to see whether the law passed by Majlis are against Islam and the constitution or not. Six of the twelve men must be Mujtahids and Faqihs (specialists in Islamic law and jurisprudence) and the other six must be lawyers. Article 91 states: to safeguard the tenets and precepts of Islam and the constitutional law with the view to ensure that the law passed by the Majlis are not contrary then a council called 'Guardianship Council shall be formed...' This body is not formed to approve or disapprove what is passed by the Majlis. It is formed to see whether or not the enactments reconcile with the tenets of Islam and the constitutional law. In cases where the council finds that enactments are contrary to Islam and the constitutional law, it returns them to the Majlis for

amendment explaining the reason for returning the enactments (Article 94). It is the Majlis itself which is authorised for the final approval and the disapproval of the enactments.

Unlike the former constitution, the new constitution provides for the *right of habeas corpus* and requires that people be charged within twenty four hours of arrest (Article 32). It forbids torture to exact a confession.

6. Exploitation

It has been stated that the authority and power belongs to God alone. The community bears only collective responsibility to fulfil Allah's wishes on earth. Administration of the community is a collective responsibility of the community which can be delegated to the representatives of the community and it is originally God's trust (Quran, al-Nisa, 59). Sections or groups or minorities, parties, or the majority have no right to impose their authority on the community and thus exploitation of mankind or part of it is not allowed whether by Muslims or those against them. This has been explained by the Quran too as follows: "we rehearse to thee some of the story of the masses and Pharaoh in truth, for peoples who believe. Truly Pharaoh elated himself in the land and divided its people into sections, depressing and oppressing a small group among them, their sons he slew; but he kept alive their femals, for he was indeed one of these corrupted and he was a maker of mischief, and we wish to be gracious to those who were being depressed and oppressed in the land, we shall make them leaders and make them heirs" (Quran 28: 4, 5 and 6). Political, economic, cultural and social exploitations of the human society, the Muslim community or part of it are all rejected and strongly denounced and forbidden by Islam. As authority and power is truly associated with the truth, i.e. Allah, Islam does not recognise "*de facto*" doctrine, that is to say that Islam does not believe that what is established is just and right or that power is equivalent to truth. On the contrary, it suggests that the truth should be established. This is why it is the religious duty of all Muslims to fight injustice, tyranny, oppression and all forms of dictatorship and inequalities: "God has promised those among you who believe, have faith and work righteous deeds that He will, of surety, grant

them, in the land inheritance as He has granted it to those before them that He will establish in authority their religion, the one which He has chosen for them" (Quran 24: 55). The righteous and those who deserve shall succeed and inherit the earth. this point has also been taken into consideration by CLIRI. (see articles 152,153, 154,155)

7. Approach

It was pointed out that Islamic revolution should also adopt Islamic approaches, tactics and strategy for the establishment of the Islamic rule and government. According to Islam, the end does not justify the means. It is not enough that Islamic revolution should try to establish Islamic rule but it should also employ the means, approaches, tactics and a strategy which are fully compatible with the spirit of Islam. In short the means employed by Islamic revolution should be Islamic in the same way that its goal, content and leadership should be Islamic. It is thus un-Islamic to employ torture, inhumane treatment, spread of rumours, false information and wrong means to make Islamic revolution, government and rule a success. (Quran 2: 257; 18, 30; 6: 105).

The Islamic revolution is a revolution in which the masses willingly accept Islam as their ideological basis for their revolution. The accomplishment of the Islamic revolution cannot be brought about by compulsion. There should be no compulsion in faith, the Qur'an states. The Islamic revolution should be brought about only by mass participation. This has been particularly taken into consideration in the Introduction to CLIRI and in articles 6,7, 32 .

8. The Leadership

The leadership of Islamic revolution and government should also be Islamic. Islamic revolution cannot be led, launched and headed by non-Muslims or by those who are not true, practising Muslims. The Quran has made this point very clear: "God is the protector of those who have faith. He will lead them from the depths of darkness forth into light. Of those who reject faith the patrons and leaders are the evil ones. From light they will lead them forth

into the depths of darkness" (2: 257) and "Let not the believers take for friends or helpers unbelievers rather than believers: if any does that he will be deprived from God's help" (3: 28). And He made them leaders, guiding (men) by our command and we sent them inspiration to do good deeds" (51: 73). The leaders of the Muslim community, revolution and government are those who are guided by Allah and guide to Allah's commands but the unfaithful, dishonest and non-Muslim leaders invite their followers to Hell and darkness (28: 41) (see articles 107,112).

9. THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Special attention has been paid by CLIRI to the plight of women and their double suffering during the previous regime. The introduction to CLIRI makes the institution of family and marriage the cornerstone of the future community. It states: In the Islamic state and society and with the establishment of Islamic order, community and political system all sections of the society and human resources who were exploited fully and were in the service of colonialism and exploitation will be able to regain their dignity, identity and respect again. The women who have suffered more and were subject to double exploitation are entitled to enjoy their rights more and special care will be taken towards restoring their rights, respect and their position in the community.

The family is the fundamental institution of the society and the main centre for educating and developing future community. Mutual understanding and ideological harmony is the basis of the family institution as the fundamental unit of the society. The Islamic government is to provide the facilities and prepare the ground for the attainment of this goal. Under such conditions women are not just commodities and will no longer be regarded as a mere object of sexual pleasure or an economic tool of consumption but will regain their respective position in the society and their proper role as mothers and teachers of future generations and thus will be able to fulfil their unique responsibility. These principles have been further cemented in some articles of CLIRI. Article 10 reads: "Whereas the family is a fundamental unit of the Islamic community, all pertinent laws and regulations (concerning family and Marriage) shall aim at facilitating the formation of family regarding its sanctity and firmness of its relations, all on the basis of the Islamic law and ethics". Article 21 CLIRI even further strengthens the principles

by stating: The government shall secure the women's rights in every respect in the light of Shariah and Islamic principles and shall proceed to:

- a) Create a favourable atmosphere for promoting and developing the rights of women, improving their conditions, restoring their material and spiritual rights.
- b) Protect mothers, specially during pregnancy and nursing and also to look after the welfair of orphans.
- c) Set up special court to protect the institution of family and Marriage.
- d) provide widows, aged and unprotected women with social securities.

Taking the equality of men and women into consideration article 20 of CLIRI reads: "all people, whether men or women, shall be equally under the protection of the law and shall enjoy all political, economic, social and cultural rights with due observance of the Islamic percept".

The women population of Iran participated greatly in the revolutionary activities. They helped both the promotion of the revolution and its continuation. Imam Khomeini has appreciated their revolutionary activities on many occasions in his public messages and speeches. The Islamic Revolution truly emancipated the Iranian women from being object of consumption and consuming commodity. They were born as people with their dignity and unique position as mothers, and the true teachers of the future leaders and generations. Celebrating the Women's day on the 6th May 1980 Imam Khomeini sent a special message.⁸

10. Muslim Women show the way forward.

The Islamic Revolution in Iran gave the world some inkling of what Muslim Women are. We witnessed tens of thousands of *chador*- clad women participating in the massive demonstrations of defence which led to the collapse of the Shah's tyranny. We heard about the thousands of women martyed in this struggle, some with their children in their hands. We heard of the rows of Muslim women who stopped the Shah's army in *Shahada* Square (the for-

mer *Jaleh Square*) on Black Friday. Many of them were shot dead by the soldiers and trampled to death by tanks and armoured vehicles. We heard of the brave young mothers and wives who sustained their menfolk in the struggle and bore their loss with the joy of martyrdom. We now see the hundreds of thousands of women participating in *Juma'a* prayers throughout Iran.

Seeing and listening to the deeds of these heroic women opens our minds to the potential and possibilities in our midst. These women who are despised under the Shah's regime, who had to do away with all traces of Islam if they wanted to study or pursue a career, who had to parade themselves as objects of lust and desire, who had to imitate the latest enslaving gadgets from the West to please the lustful eyes of men, and who had no independent status as human beings, these women discovered liberation and revolutionary potential in the Islamic doctrine.

The false gods of feminism, consumerism, fashion and women's liberation were dethroned and the *chador* clad gun-weilding Muslim women came to the fore.

Parallel developments have taken place in other Muslim countries. Throughout the Gulf it is noticeable that the number of Muslim women students wearing *hijab* is increasing at a tremendous pace. In Kuwait for instance, the proportion of female university students wearing *hijab* has shot up to seventy per cent. In Bahrein, the slow trend towards adopting Western dress has been completely arrested. In Malaysia the number of educated Muslim women adorning *hijab* is rapidly multiplying.

It must be borne in mind that these developments are occurring despite the maximum efforts of the authorities to persuade the women to do otherwise. In many cases they lose their jobs or are continually harassed and ridiculed. Indeed 'first ladies' like Jehan Sadat and Farah Diba have spared no effort to promote un-Islamic dress and modes of behaviour and ridiculing Muslim women who are taking to *hijab*.

This is not to say that the *shuyukhs* who lock up their women in golden cages and roam for lust in Western capitals are models of Muslim men. We are highlighting those Muslim men and wo-

men who have become determined to implement Islam regardless of the consequences and who have realised that true freedom comes from Islam.

In this situation it is regrettable that Islamic groups, apart from the notable exception of Iran, have not made sufficient efforts to utilise this enormous potential of the Muslim women. Seldom do we see them accorded more than a cosmetic role. No specific programmes exist for their upliftment and training. Indeed with the encroachment of factory work, more and more of them are forced to be mothers and bread-winners at the same time. At best they have to be content with platitudes about the heroic deeds of great women in Muslim history.

Now these women have sized the initiative themselves. The women who let the tanks roll over them at *Shohada* Square, or the women who sacrifice their jobs because they wear *hijab*, or the stand up to ridicule in the streets of London, Washington, Kuala Lumpur and Baghdad for wearing *hijab* - these are the mothers under whose feet lieth Paradise. They are showing the way forward into the uncompromising implementation of Islam and in so doing they are demonstrating the powerful revolutionary potential of Islam. the future dignity and identity of women has been taken into consideration in CLIRI. (see introduction and articles 2/12, 10,43)

PART THREE
IMPACT OF THE ISLAMIC
REVOLUTION

CHAPTER 18

Misinterpretation of the Islamic Revolution

The Islamic Revolution in Iran took the entire world particularly the West (Including Russia) by surprise. The West specially the capitalist west lost one of her strongest and most reliable friends in the Middle East, her Military bases, one of her source of free natural resources, one of her area of domination and exploitation and a lucrative market for her goods ranging from sophisticated military equipment to food stuff. The surprised and shocked reaction of the outside world to the Revolution was due to many factors but mainly to:

- a) Her ignorance of Islamic resilience and dynamism.
- b) Her ignorance of the Revolutionary spirit of Islam and Revolutionary activities in Iran and her refusal to take religions and Islam seriously.
- c) Her refusal to understand and admit what she did not want and did not wish to happen.
- d) Traditional prejudice of the West against Islam and anything Islamic.
- e) The Rosy picture of the deposed regime painted in the west by her news media.
- f) Refusal to believe that such a strong regime militarily could be overthrown by an unarmed people inspired by Islam.

The West has known many different revolutions; intellectual revolution-Renaissance, French Revolution, Industrial Revolution, Russian Revolution and she has known Mock revolutions in Latin America, Asia and Africa, but she did not know anything about the Revolutionary spirit and traditions of Islam. She had heard of Islamic reforms, Islamic Movements but did not think of Islamic Revolution. Even after the success of the Islamic Revolution the outside world particularly the West continued to refuse to understand and recognize Islam and the Islamic Revolution. This is why the West and her mass media has labelled the Islam that inspired and caused the revolution as fanatical, rigid or in scholarly terms the fundamentalist Islam. It is suggested that part of the trouble is Western traditional animosity towards the true Islam, her con-

ventional unjustified approach toward understanding it. This is because Islam has been either misinterpreted or distorted on purpose or misunderstood and labelled unintentionally by the West.

The intelligent Western observer naturally wonders and refuses to understand how such a backward, rigid, fanatical religion such as Islam or in fact any religion, could stir, encourage, inspire, attract, rally and mobilize "The Americanized, westernized and modernized Iran and millions of the oppressed and terrorised people of Iran and overthrow the powerful, well-equipped, fully supported by the superpowers and minor powers and major powers regime of the Shah.

Islam and other political ideologies.

Soon after the success of the Islamic Revolution of Iran various explanations and analysis have been offered. Anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim elements and those whose interests were threatened in the Muslim lands all over the world tried to misinterpret the revolution to serve their purpose. Amongst the many biased analysis put forward, two stand out:

a. Communist misinterpretation of the Revolution which intends to introduce systematically a wholly and purely Islamic Revolution of Iran in terms of materialism, communism and dialectical terms and try to deprive it from its religious and Islamic characteristics. For the communists all revolutions follow only one course - Communism - According to their historical determinism there is only one kind of revolution - communist revolution - Any revolution and all revolutions thus have to be interpreted in communist terms and ideology even against the wishes and aspirations of the Revolutionaries concerned.

b. Western misinterpretation of the Revolution which though does not openly deny the religious nature and spirit of the Revolution it tries to introduce it as an un-Islamic, anti-Islamic (in this context Sadat represents the true Islam) or as a sectarian (Shiite) Revolution. This is of course part of policies and measures which are adopted to stop its spread to other Muslim lands.

However, in both cases, generalisation and systematic misinterpretation and presentation of views are employed against facts

and against the intention and naked explanation of the people who carried the Revolution out and made it succeed.

A scientific and factual analysis and a careful study of the history, background, motives, contents, means, approaches, tactics, leadership of the Revolution and of the people who launched the Revolution and made it a success explains beyond doubt the Islamic nature, essence, spirit, characteristics and features of the Revolution and shows that it is a purely, exclusively and wholly Islamic Revolution and not a materialistic or a merely sectarian Revolution.

It is Islam itself which is Revolutionary and the Shiite Muslims in Iran simply see Islam in the light of Shiism in the same way that Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi and Hanbali Muslims see Islam in the light of their Madhhab. If we see the Islamic revolution of Iran in this light then Muslims in other parts of the Muslim world realise that they do not have to import the revolution from Iran into their land but they can have their own Islamic revolution for it was not exported to Iran in the first place. It is as indigenous to other Muslim peoples as it is to the people of Iran and it belongs to the entire Ummah and to the United Muslim community all over the world.

In short, the outside analysts and critics of the Islamic revolution can be generally divided into two groups:

(a) Those who are pleased that the old regime collapsed but are not pleased that the Islamic revolution succeeded and were indeed displeased with the new Islamic government. The communists and other opportunist sections who generally belong to this group started collecting the spoils of war by misinterpreting the revolution and giving it a purely economic justification to serve their purpose. The support that the communist and socialist groups gave to the revolution should be seen in this light. They go as far as saying that the Shah's regime was beset by ever deepening and insolvable economic, social and political crisis but they refuse to admit that the unique feature of the Islamic revolution in Iran was its cultural one, that of faith, religion and Islam. The Tudeh party (the pro-Russian communist party) goes as far as claiming itself to be in the line of Imam Khomeini. The Russians themselves have recently praised Islam for its anti-imperialist, anti-exploitation stands.¹ But all this is to exploit the revolutionary nature of Islam

to stir anti-Western feelings and to help their own purpose. The Iranian communists even go as far as explaining the progressive character of Shiism. They have suddenly become more Catholic than the Pope.

It is interesting to point out here that the Communist block (Russia as well as China) supported the Shah to the last minute. Hua Kwo Pheng, the Prime Minister of China, was the last Prominent foreign visitor who visited the deposed Shah just before the success of the revolution. The USSR supported the Shah into December, 1979. The communist blocks support for the overthrow of the Shah's regime came only when it was obvious that the Shah had to go and could not have been otherwise. They were in fact playing a "waiting game" in the same way that the Iranian communists have been playing a "waiting game" after the success of the Islamic revolution. The communists and socialists, whether Iranian or non-Iranians, attitude towards the Islamic revolution and Islam are originally the same. Being taken by surprise by the unique Islamic dynamism and by the revolution which cannot be explained in the so-called "scientific socialist and materialistic jargon" and being isolated even from the other secularist groups and outclassed by the Islamic revolution, the communists are playing the waiting game and employing the old tactics of the "end justifies the means" and thus paying lip service to the Islamic revolution. It is unfortunate that owing to geopolitical and other reasons many nations had to gain support from one superpower to face another and many genuine revolutions had to change course and many true revolutionaries had to change masters. With the Islamic Revolution of Iran a new factor emerged; a people's victory motivated, led and based on faith, without support from any outsiders. A new force with international appeal and implication has emerged. It is totally alien to the ideology of scientific socialism and cannot be explained or understood in the context of secular Western or materialistic communist concepts. This is the secularists and materialists' dilemma and hence misinterpretation of the revolution. Since the revolution in Iran did not fit into the communist systematic pattern it had to be misinterpreted. The Iranian communists try hard to misinterpret it to serve their purpose at the national level and the communists outside Iran misinterpret it to serve their purpose at the international

level. This is the case with all opportunists and true Munafiqs (Hypocrites). We cannot categorically call all the communists opportunists nor are all the opportunists communists but the majority of the communists in Iran are using opportunistic means until the waiting game comes to end in the same way that the communist countries and parties accommodated themselves with the Shah's regime.

(b) Those who had vested interests in the old regime and are not therefore pleased with the revolution of any brand - Islamic or not. The Western block and their pupils belong to this group. They are not pleased with the revolution partly because they are not able to exploit Iran any more and mainly because they think that the Islamic revolution may spread outside Iran and their secure interests all over the Muslim world are truly threatened for the first time. They have to destroy the revolution at any cost. Russia too took the precautionary measures against the spread of the revolution to the Muslim nations under its oppression, domain and authority and exploitation and hence the occupation of Afghanistan. This group has its own brand of analysis and misinterpretation. They usually introduce the Islamic revolution as fanatical, anti-modernisation and sectarian movement to isolate it from other Muslim peoples and lands. They do not deny the religious nature and character of the revolution but this religious nature is not Islamic or it is sectarian Islam which does not agree with the Islam they try to introduce or with the Islam of other Muslim lands or with the Sunni Islam. They even show sympathy for Islam and are wolves in lamb's clothing. We must point out that there are many brands of Islam: (a) Western, American, Sadat and ex-Shah's Islam; (b) Communist, Russian and Babrak Karmal's Islam; (c) true Islam, Muslim Islam and Imam Khomeini's Islam. The Russians invaded Afghanistan to rescue Islam which was endangered by the true Muslim Mujahideens of Afghanistan in the same way that the Americans brought the ex-Shah and Sadat back to power to save the Islam which was threatened by the Fedaiyane Islam and Ulama in Iran and by the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt and Iraq. Islam's comprehensive independence makes the true Muslims stand against Russia and treat communists interpretation of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in the same way that they treat the Wes-

tern explanation of it. Russia aims to abolish religion. The institution of family unit and private property, the fundamentals of Islamic society, people's ownership of means of production, a society based on work and equality, a political system based on consensus and consent are part of the Islamic heritage so alien to communism. Standard communist and Western techniques of materialistic, secular political analysis fail to understand, even if they want to, and appreciate Islam and thus Islamic Revolution in Iran. The Islamic dimension to events in Iran is often discounted or explained away by Western and communist observers, but this reflects their own priorities more than realities in Iran. In particular, the revolution in Iran, the most outstanding genuine expression of the true Islam must be viewed as the foremost and sincere Islamic aspiration of most sincere Muslims and must be identified as wholly Islamic.² To understand what Islam means and is requires above all some comprehension of Islam as an independent ideology and political force which the non-Muslims are unable to realise.

The failure to understand that Islam is an independent comprehensive way of life with its own logical approach has left non-Muslim Western (including communists) analysts and critics in a dilemma; what is Islam? Their political approaches, secularism, liberalism, socialism and capitalism etc. or even their religious approaches of Judaism, Christianity or even atheism and materialism are not applicable to Islam, e.g. they find Islam and Marxism sharing certain points and they therefore categorically introduce Islam as socialism plus God. On the other hand some find Islam and capitalism sharing certain points and they therefore introduce Islam as capitalism minus bank interest of money (Ribā). This applies to liberalism, Judaism and Christianity. But Islam is Islam and not socialism plus God, capitalism minus interest, Judaism minus racism and Christianity minus trinity or plus this or that. In a speech Imam Khomeini said: "To begin with, the word Islam does not need descriptive terms such as democratic, because Islam is everything. It means everything. It is not right to describe Islam which is perfect, by other non-Islamic terms. Besides, the term democracy which you love so much and consider so favourably does not have a definite meaning. Aristotle's democracy is one thing, the communist democracy is another thing, the capitalist democracy

is still another. We cannot afford to have such an ambiguous concept considered and placed in our constitution'. This quotation explains the independent nature and approach of Islam. At the same time that Islam can be introduced as a theocratic, democratic or even theo-democratic religion these terms cannot really fully explain the true nature of Islam and hence contradiction and conflict. The theoretical and conceptual framework of social, economic and political relationships which are embodied in the systems and structure of the contemporary materialistic civilisations are alien to Islamic tradition and the Muslim society. Capitalism, communism, liberalism, secularism etc. are all alien to Islam and therefore these philosophies and their operational forms must be rejected in their entirety. No new hybrid philosophy carrying the label of "Islam" should be acceptable. National identities and political and social and economic systems arising from them have not only failed but are also no longer relevant to Islam and the Muslims' needs.³ No analysis does Islam justice until and unless Islam is taken into consideration in its entirety. No criticism of Islam is justified until and unless the Islamic approach to the entire way of living is taken into consideration.

Now let us illustrate our discussion by a brief comparison between Islam and other philosophies. First let us examine Islam and socialism.

a) Islam and socialism

1. Both Islam and socialism believe that actions matter more than intention; as against for example Christianity in which only faith matters. But Islam, unlike socialism, evaluates actions by faith and intention and it is therefore a combination of action and faith. An Islamic tradition states that "actions are evaluated by faith and intention (Innama al-amalo bi al-Niyat). While socialism relies entirely on actions and the ends and therefore suggests that ends justify the means, Islam takes actions based on faith and intention into consideration and therefore ends do not justify the means, for the means, like the ends, should fit into the Islamic moral framework. In the same way Islam does not approve the political

principle of the “*de facto*” and suggest “*de jure*” doctrine.

2. Islam and socialism both wage war against capitalism and feudalism but Islam waged this war long before socialism and unlike communism does not replace private capitalism with state capitalism and does believe in the ownership of Allah and limited mandate ownership of individuals. There is no qualitative difference between private capitalism under bourgeoisie state or state capitalism under the so-called socialist state. Both systems are exploitive and coercive to an equal degree.

Historically, socialism is a reaction against the harshness of the capitalist system, which in itself in turn was a reaction against Pauline Christianity which suggested that devotion to God was by withdrawing from mundane affairs and this world, whereas Islam is a positive force which pre-emptes the growth of capitalism.

Islam motivates man's social and economic conduct in such a way that no one pursues greed and acquisitiveness which characterises the capitalist system; Islam enjoins the pursuit of collective good in a collective framework in which the individual goals are attained without incurring social costs.⁴ State capitalism of socialism has practically led to state exploitation of the masses, but Islam strongly disapproves all forms of exploitation.

3. Both Islam and socialism believe in the society but the Islamic society is the society of believers (Ummah) unified in a brotherhood of man which ensures more than any welfare state or socialist society and system. The Islamic society is not the source of power and thus cannot be totalitarian or authoritarian. It is responsible society both in action (*Amal* عمل) and in result (*Natija* نتيجة), believing in social responsibility (*wojoob kifai*) and not in social authority. Both capitalism and socialism have to be imposed and maintained by coercive power organised as state dictatorship of either the bourgeoisie, or after the so-called revolution, by the proletariat. In practice, socialism merely leads to state capitalism and dictatorship. Both Islam and socialism claim to be against feudalism. But the socialist philosophy merely replaces tribalism with economic classes and is based on assumption that man acts in his class interests. Islam, on the other hand, creates an economic and social order in which classes identified by their economic roles do not exist.⁵ Marxism opposes fundamental premises of human

rights and the rights of individuals especially the central importance of religion and freedom of worship which Islam strongly sanctions. The coercive approach of Marxism is in direct conflict with the persuasive nature of all religions particularly Islam.

4. Both Islam and Marxism claim to challenge colonialism and to threaten imperialism but Marxism has replaced Western colonialism and imperialism with communist colonialism and imperialism. To Islam alone belongs the unique distinction of challenging and fighting hard all forms of colonialism, exploitation, oppression and imperialism, something no other religion or ideological or political system can claim or has done. It might be said that some Muslims are to be blamed for colonisation, exploitation and oppression but they certainly have worked contrary to the spirit of Islam. Islam does not approve of these.

b) Islam and Capitalism.

Recognition by Islam of the freedom of individuals and the principle of consultation 6 along with the public's obligation to administer the affairs of their community as a collective responsibility (Fard al-Kifaya) and their right to participate in running their state and their affairs does not make the Islamic political system akin to capitalism which is claimed to be based on the freedom of individuals and consultation. The difference is significant for many reasons which are in turn due to two main reasons. Firstly, in the Islamic system, even though individuals are allowed or even obliged to participate in running the affairs of their state, land and community and are free to conduct their own lives, power and authority, including political power, belongs exclusively to Allah.⁷ Man's potential and political authority is to be considered as a trust from Allah because man being the vicegerent of God (Khalifato Allah خليفة الله)⁸ and the trustee to His authority enjoys freedom and the right of consultation and participation only in a divine fixed framework and he is not therefore allowed to go beyond his limits and cannot indulge into anarchy, lawlessness, permissiveness, dictatorship and political chaos. Secondly because man is the vicegerent of God and the trustee of His power, is bound by the conditions of the vicegerency and the trust or more specifically by the moral, spiritual, social, economical and political values and

constitutional and institutional principles of Islam particularly values and principles concerning good and bad, right and wrong, Halal and Haram, allowed and forbidden, Islamic brotherhood, Umma, justice, consultation, Amri be al-Marooif wa al-Nahy an al-Munkar. We know that an Islamic government cannot be dictatorial, tyrannic, oppressive, exploitive, imperialistic, colonial, discriminatory, extravagant, dishonest and cannot allow drugs, alcohol, gambling, prostitution, money interest, usury, bribery etc. The authority and the power the Muslim government holds should be regarded as responsibility and should be obtained and used in the framework of Islam and in the light of responsibility, used to secure the objectives for which it has been recommended.

The Islamic political freedom and participation of individuals is in a sense more inclusive, original, deeper and wider than capitalist freedom because it is based on the negation of all forms of power, at the same time subjugation and submission to anything other than that of Allah and is more restricted and limited. It may not and cannot lead to permissiveness and anarchy. On the other hand, the commitment of Islam to individual freedom and political participation distinguishes it sharply from socialism or any system which abolishes individual freedom. Political activism and participation based on the principle of Amri bi al-Marooif in Islam is an obligation. Political freedom and participation is guaranteed in the Shari'ah and Fiqh. The negation of this right is not therefore in conformity with Islamic principles. The negation of its Islamic limitations is also contrary to the teachings of Islam.

A careful review and a critical examination of the goals, objectives, principles and characteristics of the Islamic political system leads us to the conclusion that Islamic political system is neither only a temporal, nor only a spiritual, neither only theocracy nor only democracy, neither capitalism nor socialism or any one sided extreme political system. To illustrate the balance we quote here what Imam Khomeini has said. According to Imam Khomeini the Islamic government is constitutional but: "However, it is not constitutional in the popular sense of the word which means representation in the parliamentary system or in the people's councils. It is constitutional in the sense that those in charge of affairs observe

a number of conditions and rules outlined in the Quran and in the Sunna... This is why the Islamic government is the government of the Divine Law" (Imam Khomeini, *Hukumat Islami*, p. 39 Beirut 1979). Islamic constitution is thus Shariah. Explaining the Uniqueness of Islam, and refusing to incorporate Islam with other falacies, Imam Khomeini told those who wanted to add the word democratic to Islam; "To begin with, the word Islam does not need adjective such as democratic, precisely because Islam is everything. It means everything. Democracy does not have a precise meaning. **We can not afford to have such an ambiguous concept placed in our constitution**". 9 The Islamic state bears no resemblance to any existing system of government. The Islamic state is neither autocratic nor does it make its head Repository of all powers so as to let him play with the life and property of the people. 10 Material well-being, political responsibility, temporal activism based on the concrete spiritual values, divine principles and accommodated within the framework of Islamic tbeo-democracy, Allah's sovereignty and man's vicegerency constitute the plank of the political philosophy of Islam. The very foundation and framework of the Islamic system being different from that of capitalism and socialism from all points of view, including economic, social and political points of view, which are both capitalist, (private capitalism and state capitalism) materialistic (capital materialism and social meterialism), permissive and not oriented to spiritual and moral values, the philosophy and the superstructure must necessarily be different. Any attempt to show the similarity of Islam with capitalism, socialism or social democratism and to portray Islam in the light of the current one-sided "ISMS" is bound to be misleading and leads to misunderstanding. Islam suggests "he who has no financial security has no faith" (*Man lā Ma'asha Laho lā Ma'ad Laho* له لامعاش له لامعاده), but considers financial security as a means and not as an end in itself. The concept of justice, freedom, participation and responsibility in Islam are of many dimensions and are not one dimensional principles. Islam is dedicated to human unity, religious collectivism, spiritual universalism and divine politics accompanied by socio-economic justice and politico-legal equality, just distribution of natural resources and individual freedom within the context of Islam. In Islam the two sides of extremes and one-sidedness in all fields is rejected and balance is recommended.11 In contrast

with Islam both capitalism and socialism are narrow and exclusive for they are both only materialistic. "The orientation of modern capitalism to social and economic justice and to equitable distribution of incomes and to political participation is only partial resulting from group pressures, is not the outcome of a spiritual goal to establish universal Ummah and human brotherhood and does not constitute an integral part of its anexal philosophy, while the orientation of socialism, though claimed to be the product of its basic philosophy, is not really meaningful because of, on the one hand, the absence of dedication to human brotherhood and of spiritually based fair and impartial criteria for justice and equity, and on the other hand, the loss of individual dignity and identity resulting from the negation of the basic human need for freedom".¹² Islam has successfully amalgamated the temporal with the spiritual aspects of life into a harmonious system of thought and politics blended with a practical code of life.¹³ Islam thus introduces itself as the real independent ideology against individual capitalism, social capitalism, social democracy and the third theory, the third world theory and thus appealing to those in search of an all inclusive ideology and independence. This brief analysis explains that Islam must be understood on its own right and by its own approach. It cannot be measured against capitalism, communism or liberalism or social democratism. It cannot be identified with the third theory as against capitalism and socialism. The key point is that Islam is Islam and that an Islamic consciousness does not imply preference neither for capitalism nor for communism. Islam may share some points with East and West and may have some points in common with the ideologies of both capitalism and socialism but it challenges both and execrates each in roughly equal portions.¹⁴ What made the Islamic revolution too difficult and too complicated to be understood by the Western intellectual analysts who were sincerely trying to understand it can be summed up as follows:

- a. The revolution was first and foremost an Islamic revolution of its kind. The criteria and means of analysis at the disposal of the analysts were not suitable for the analysis of the Islamic revolution. Even Western religious approaches and means proved useless for analysing Islam. Even the approaches used in comparative religion did not suit the task.
- b. It was the first revolutuion of its kind. It did not therefore have

any precedent and record in the contemporary history to be compared with and analysed accordingly.

c. It is the first revolution to have been created truly by the masses. It was not the revolution of the majority, the minority, the party, the class etc. It is the revolution of the masses in the real sense of the term masses. So much so that even its leader was truly chosen by the masses. He did not put himself as the candidate for leadership. He was not nominated for this purpose. He was simply and naturally followed by the masses as their leader. Other revolutions in the modern history have been the revolution of the classes or the majority at the very most but not the revolution of the true masses.

d. It was the first revolution to find its legitimation in the past. It was based on the true Islamic aspiration and tried to identify itself with the model set by Islam 14 centuries ago. This is not to say that it is not future oriented and does not take the future hopes and wishes of the peoples into consideration.

e. It is the first revolution to be inspired by indigenous ideology, i.e. the ideology of Islam with which the Muslim peoples have identified themselves for the last 14 centuries. The Russian and the Chinese revolutions are based on a foreign ideology. It is the same with other revolutions. The Islamic revolution is founded on congenial basis. Neither the revolution itself nor its ideology was based on foreign ideology or was imported. It would not be exported to other Muslim lands either. It will develop in them in the same way that it developed in Iran in the first place and for the first time.

f. The revolution earned its own success for it gained its strength from strong, dynamic, resilient revolutionary Islam. It did not succeed because of the weakness of its opponents or because it was helped by its allies. The enemies of the revolution were as united and strong in material sense, as possible, and the revolutionary masses of Iran were as isolated and opposed.

g. Because of its Islamic nature it had no official support from any government (Muslim or non-Muslim). For even the so-called Muslim countries are either ruled by hypocrites who only pay lip service to Islam to secure their interests or are as anti-Islamic as their masters - The superpowers. All it had outside Iran (leaving aside the Muslim community) was enemies and not friends.

h Finally, the criteria, approach, methods of analysis, the frame work, research qualifications and the researchers are all unsuitable for the analysis of the only revolution of its own kind. The partiality of the analysts makes it more difficult to understand the revolution.

These unique features of the revolution have made it so unparalleled that it is difficult for non-Muslim professional intellectuals and analysts to understand it by comparison or by their routine familiar means and approaches or analyse it on its own right, for they are not qualified to understand Islam and the Islamic revolution.

The Islamic Revolution in Iran is a revolution of many dimensions. It is a revolution of the Iranian people for it aimed to free them from dictatorship and imperialism. It is a revolution of the Muslim community worldwide. Because of its Islamic nature it aims at liberating the entire Ummah from despotic and reactionary forces and from all forms of imperialism. And it is the revolution of the oppressed peoples of the world, Muslim and non-Muslim because of the universal nature of Islam and because Islam aims to liberate the entire humanity from all forms and brands of tyranny, oppression, imperialism etc. The Islamic revolution thus has its local, regional and international enemies and obstacles to fight and remove. Let us see at what levels did and does the Islamic Revolution in Iran have to fight militarily (besides ideological, political, spiritual, cultural etc.). Most of the revolutions in the contemporary history were national revolutions and they had to fight their way only in one or two fronts at the most. But the Islamic revolution in Iran is of national, international, Ummah and universal dimensions. It had thus to fight its opponents at many fronts:

- a. It had to fight the minor Shahs inside Iran such as Bakhtiyar, Azhari, Howayda and many Shahs like them.
- b. It had to fight the Shah of the Shahs (King of the kings or Shahanshah) who headed the minor Shahs inside Iran.
- c. It had, and still has, to fight the regional Shahs and the Shahs who rule with iron hands over the sections of the Muslim community in various Muslim lands; Shahs like Husain Shah of Jordan, Hasan Shah of Morocco, Saddam Shah of Iraq, Karmal Shah of Afghanistan and many more Shahs in the Muslim lands. For they are all threatened by the Islamic revolution and had to fight the revolution back to rescue their throne and power.

d. It had to fight the minor powers at the international level for they benefitted greatly from the generosity of the deposed Shah at the expense of the Iranian people. The Shah had to supply the friends and the allies of the superpowers at the recommendation of the superpowers with loans, trade and commercial treaties, gifts of large sums of money. e.g. the deposed Shah had to provide Britain enough money to pay for her budget deficit. He helped Pakistan and Turkey financially because they were members of CENTO and friends of the West etc.

e. It had to fight the superpowers for they are both threatened by the Islamic revolution. Their interests and agents are threatened. Their authority is challenged. Both Karmal as the agent of the communist superpower and Shah Husain and Shah Saddam as the agents of the capitalist superpower are equally threatened. The Islamic revolution challenges powers and superpowers of all forms and shapes for it aims at establishing the supremacy of Allah alone all over the world. The outstanding feature of uncompromising independence is partly the cause of many difficulties created by the superpowers to stop it strengthening itself and to stop its spread. The Regime in Iran has changed from that of full dependent to that of uncompromising independent. Imam Khomeini has explained this point as follows: "The United States is worse than the United Kingdom (Britain). The United Kingdom is worse than the States. Russia is worse than both. Each is worse than the others and worse than each other. 'They are all dirty'".

CHAPTER 19

THE ATTITUDE OF THE SUPERPOWERS TOWARDS THE REVOLUTION

It should be pointed out that the impact of the Islamic Revolution in Iran took two completely different forms:

(a) Its impact on the Muslim peoples, community, Muslim individuals and truth seeking, honest and impartial non-Muslims.

(b) Its impact upon superpowers, powers, governments (Muslim and non-Muslim) and on biased individuals, societies and peoples.

It should also be pointed out that this impact is manifested in different ways, degrees and dimensions. It is obvious that a revolution of such a calibre which is the most significant and profound event in the entirety of the contemporary Islamic history and one of the most significant events in the history of the Muslim community and of humankind leaves its marks on the future of the Muslims and mankind for a long time to come. Its impact is not thus confined to the contemporary history but it unfolds itself as the circumstances change and as the time passes. It is not therefore correct to speak of the entire impact of the revolution. It is certain that it has left its immediate impact, positive and negative, across the length and breadth of the Islamic world and upon the Muslims all over the world and also upon the world in general.

Negative Impact

The impact of the Islamic revolution upon the world geopolitical scene and upon the superpowers, powers, governments and their various agents is felt in the forms of reaction against the revolution, and against Islam itself; attempts to contain the effects of the Islamic revolution within the boundaries of Iran, to brand it as un-Islamic, fanatic, sectarian, chaotic, to isolate it and thus make it fade away. They thus try to suggest that the revolution has certain particular characteristics that do not permit its spread to other Muslim lands and peoples. The attempt to brand it as a Shiite revolution (despite the resolute and continuous persistency of Imam Khomeini to introduce it as only the Islamic revolution (no

more no less)) is the most obvious way in which the enemies of the revolution try to achieve and accomplish this task.

We have explained before that the Revolution is Islamic in spirit, contents, leadership, means, approach, objectives, form, tactics, strategy, motive and the people who made it a success. One of the many differences of the Islamic revolution with the other revolutions in the contemporary history is that whereas, for instance, the communist revolutions negate the past, the Islamic revolution, despite being future-oriented, derives its authenticity and aspiration from the true original Islam and Islamic sources and heritages. It claims to be a link in the chain of Islamic movements and the continuation, the culmination of an important part of the Islamic heritage, and the Renaissance of the true Islam, the re-introduction of Islam. The Islamic revolution differs from other events of the present century that have been given that designation by being firmly rooted in history. Far from being a radical break with the essential and profound developments of Islam and the Muslim Ummah and of the Iranian nation, it is, on the contrary a continuation and fruition of long history of Islam, Islamic movements worldwide and of long years of political, spiritual and intellectual development. So much so that it has been also branded for the same purpose and by the enemies as too old, fourteen centuries old, to be practical in the 20th century.

Nevertheless, those who tried to keep the deposed Shah in power and those whose interests were vested in the old regime and thus opposed the revolution (practically all powers - super or minor - Muslim governments or non-Muslim governments) have continued their animosity towards the revolution and try to isolate it, break it, oppose it and confine it one way or another at the cost of finding themselves contradicting or contradicting each other either by introducing it as un-Islamic or too Islamic, either by introducing it as fanatical and too fundamental or too radical. Let there be no mistake. The revolution has been launched and led by the Shiite Muslims of Iran and has certainly benefitted from certain Shiite Islamic principles. But the Shiites of Iran simply see, feel and understand Islam in the light of Shiism in the same way that the followers of other Islamic schools of thought and law see Islam

in the light of their respected Madhhabs (schools). It is Islam that they all see in the light of their schools, nothing else. It is neither a Shiite revolution nor an Iranian revolution. It simply is the Islamic revolution in Iran. It cannot be branded and called as anything other than what the people who have made it a success would like it to be named - Islamic Revolution. Since the success of the revolution one of the interesting slogans that is constantly raised is:

“Na Shiah, Na Sunni, Inqlabi Islami” نشیعه، نه سنی، انقلاب اسلامی

Neither Shiite, nor Sunni, but Islamic Revolution. This slogan clearly shows the Islamic nature of the revolution. The enemies of the revolution, therefore, try in vain to brand it as anything but Islamic.

It should be therefore realised that the Islamic revolution does not need to be exported from Iran to other Muslim lands, for it was not exported to Iran in the first place. It will be imported by the Muslims to other lands. Its impact is natural and inherent. The source of the revolution-Islam-exists in all Islamic lands, only the obstacles should be removed. It is ironic to see that the so-called champions of Islam and the Palestinian peoples, e.g. Saudi Arabia and Iraq adopting the same policy and approach towards the revolution as that of Israel or the most conservative countries and the most reactionary people adopting the same policy and approach as that of the most anti-Islamic country or that of the communists. The SAVAK fugitives have often helped the leftists and the leftist elements have helped the rightist in fighting the Islamic revolution. The SAVAK fugitives and pro-Shah elements have been helping the Egyptian and the Iraqi governments and armies in fighting Iran. This has been the case during the revolution and after it. It is interesting to note that the so-called champion of Islam, the Saudi regime, saw fit to imprison and torture for long periods a number of those responsible for the distribution of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's declarations, issued to appeal to the Muslim world during the pilgrimage (Hajj) for support. Therefore, it was no surprise to anyone that the Saudi regime despite its professed loyalty to Islam and that the Iraqi regime despite its claimed pro-Palestinian stand, ranged themselves with Israel, the United States and the Soviet Union in opposing the Islamic Revolution and hence the military co-operation of Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco, United

States, Israel, SAVAK, Mossad, CIA and others in fighting the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Iraqi aggression against Iran is the result of the co-operation of all Anti-Islamic and all imperialist and reactionary forces against the Islamic Revolution and against the Islamic Republic of Iran so that it is curtailed and defeated. They all have a classical stand and a long history of opposition to the revolutionary Islamic movement, Muslims and Ayatollah Imam Khomeini. The Islamic revolution in Iran stands out as the unique revolution which drew its strength from Islam itself and did not enjoy any support from outside. But please look at popular anti-Imperialist revolutions of our time, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, Cuba, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Oman, Nicaragua etc. They all enjoyed active support of the communist block. The capitalist coups have all enjoyed support from the western capitalist states too.

The same regime in Iraq that did the Shah the favour to make it practically impossible for Imam Khomeini to stay in Iraq and forced him to leave the country is fighting the Islamic Republic of Iran now with Russian weaponry under the United States supervision with the United States AWACS (the early warning system) spy airplane asked for by the Saudi regime to promote the Israeli cause. The impact of the Revolution on the world is of diverse nature. In certain places the positive and the negative results of the impact is taking place more or less simultaneously, e.g. Afghanistan. The Russian occupation of Afghanistan is a pre-cautionary measure both against the impact of the Islamic revolution on the Muslim nations in Russia and against the impact of the Islamic revolution on the people of Afghanistan and thus their resistance against the Russian occupation, oppression and imperialism. But on the other hand the people of Afghanistan have been inspired and encouraged by the success of the Islamic revolution in Iran and hence their stiff and resolute resistance despite many difficulties. As the result of the Islamic revolution in Iran the Sunni and the Shiite people of Afghanistan have buried their hatchet, long hatred and differences and are fighting together against Russian imperialism and resisting the Russian established puppet Marxist regime. The Islamic revolution is not like any other revolution. It stands against all forms of Racism and imperialism. It has been the only major setback to the cause of Zionism, Zionist imperialism, capitalist

imperialism and communist imperialism. Its enemies have been united against it and have employed all means specially the mass media to discredit it. It has provided on the other hand the Muslim peoples all over the world with spirit, zeal, confidence and ideology to fight for their identity, independence, and dignity. It is a revolution with potentiality, means and approach to fight its enemies and the enemies of the Muslims. It has potential in the service of all Muslims regardless of race, nationality, sect, language etc. It is true that the Shiite Muslims and Shiite strong minorities in other lands such as Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Turkey may find themselves closer to it but it is the Islamic revolution and should cause the Shiites and the Sunnis equally bury their long traditional prejudice against each other and fight for the same cause and the same enemies. In their campaign against the Islamic revolution each enemy makes its own contribution. The Western press specially the American press have shown their true objectives and nature. They have declared that "almost state of war exists between the United States (The West) and Islam, between one country (Western countries) and a religious bloc."² This is because the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran is regarded as the success of the "Revolutionary Islam." Adda Bozeman's analysis of the Revolution and the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty shows this: "The successful revolution of the "opposition groups" as led by the Mullahs should be seen, in essence, as a victory for the general cause of Islam"³ and as a defeat not only so much for the Pahlavi dynasty alone but thus as a defeat for all forms of imperialism, exploitation, dictatorship and for the various agents of superpowers in the Muslim lands and Ummah. General Haig, the US secretary of state told the foreign committee of the U.S. senate that "the United States will not let the Saudi Arabian regime to face the same destiny that the Shah's regime have met.

However, the Zionist controlled mass media of the Western imperialism parallel with the communist propaganda machinery together with their local agents have been engaged in fighting the Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran, its people and their leader. As far as the actual attitude of the superpowers and their media towards the Third World countries, Islam and the Islamic Revolution is concerned, there is very little difference between the

totalitarian power and the so-called democratic world, though they are very different in the approach for the indoctrination of their masses. The source of information and the indoctrination is the same (the ruling party), though its means, the method and the form of doctrines may be different. This is what I call the negative impact. No crisis and development in recent history has suffered with such prejudice, lack of objectivity and impartiality as has the Islamic Revolution and Republic of Iran. The United Zionist-Western imperialism has launched a worldwide campaign by its well-equipped mass media against it. The media reporting of the Islamic Republic cannot be divorced from its continuous prejudice against Islam itself and from its previous partial analysis and misconception of the nature of the Islamic revolution in Iran, the totally unrepresentative character of the ex-Shah's regime and the popular support that the leader of the revolution Ayatollah Imam Khomeini has been enjoying from the true Muslims all over the world. At the same time that he left his vast influence over the world and even in the States, hence religion becoming an important issue in the Presidential campaign in the States and the imitation type political involvements of the churches and church leaders and similar activities, the campaign against Islam, the Islamic revolution and revival and the Muslims is carried out at the world level. In a way the present capitalist-socialist imperialist animosity against Islam and everything Islamic and the present media's antipathy towards the Islamic Revolution and Republic of Iran is a continuation of past classical hostility. Coupled with this antagonism is the Western and the media's inability to admit that, by and large, its misunderstanding, misconception and prejudice of Islam, the Islamic revolution and of the situation in Iran both pre- and post.ex.Shah was wide off the mark, partial and distorted.

After the success of the Islamic revolution in February 1979, it was hoped that the imperialist and reactionary regimes would accept the *de facto* situation in Iran and would recognise the facts and would respect the wishes and the aspirations of the Muslim peoples of Iran and elsewhere and thus would treat the Islamic regime with respect, impartiality and on the basis of equality and non-interference in the affairs of Iran and the other Muslim count-

ries. But instead of disassociating herself with the hated ex-Shah and instead of making up for her past mistakes the United States and her allies and agents continued disregarding and disrespecting the aspirations of the Iranian people. They harboured the Shah, blockaded the Iranian assets, blocked the prosecution of the criminals and barred the legal measures concerning the return of the ex-Shah and the Iranian wealth he deposited in the West to Iran. They all intensified their mass media campaign, psychological warfare and even military raid and political interference in Iran. They mobilised their local agents, provided them with the equipment to occupy Iran militarily. This is the negative impact. The media attitude towards Iran and her Islamic revolution, because of the partial nature of the media bears all marks of prejudice and one-sidedness. The media's coverage of the Islamic Revolution, Republic, its leader and its people provides the world with the most outstanding example of the cultural, news and media imperialism and carried all features of "hate campaign". The West, the communist and their media continued their support for the Shah, their insult to Islam, Iran, the Iranian people and their leader as if nothing has happened. They even tried to repeat what they did in 1953. The occasional ad hoc impartiality of some of the media could not be of great help. The self-declared independence of the media of the so-called "Free World" like the communist media just rationalised and justified their official governments policy of the countries concerned. The oft-touted claims that the "Fourth Estate" is the "watchdog" of governmental authority in the "Free World" have been proved the tools of imperialism.

Balance appraisal of the case of the Islamic revolution has been lacking. The Iranians and their leader have been accused of all forms of baseless charges. They have been blamed for everything wrong. Their grievances have never been considered. Their opinions on matters which directly concern them have never been sought and aired. They have never been consulted in their affairs at the world level. They have been even insulted and their leader called by abusive names. Even the so-called liberal intellectual impartial newspapers have gone out of their way to heap Iran, its people and leader with all forms of insults.⁵ They have even suggested the assassination of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini.⁶ They attempted

coup and open revolt against the Islamic republic.⁷ Public opinion polls were arranged to demoralise the people of Iran and to show that different nations of the world disapproved of their revolution and their leader. In the Irano-American crisis the European media unexceptionally took the American side, blamed Iran and encouraged their governments to side with the States. The broadcasting systems of the U.S.A, U.K. and other Western countries, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Israel all give similar commentaries, follow the same policy, spread the same kinds of rumours and use the same source, means and languages about Iran, its revolution and its leader - united anti-Islamic, anti-Iran media, press and broadcasting system (al-Kufro Millaton Wahida). The capitalist, the communist, the Zionist imperialisms, their agents and the reactionary regimes have all joined forces. The American invasion of Iran, the Iraqi occupation of Iran provide us with examples of these unholy alliance.⁸ The news concerning Iran have been distorted. Even the messages and interviews of Ayatollah Imam Khomeini have been frequently changed so much so that he usually asks the reporters not to change, distort or alter his statements.⁹ Civil war has been frequently recommended.¹⁰

A recent survey analysing the attitude of the Western media towards Iran makes the following points: "West's way of looking at the world (both of governmental and non-governmental institutions as the Press), particularly the Muslim world, is quite similar. It is this world view, projected in the press, which finds its tangible expression in Western foreign policies.

Related to this is the fact so evident in this study that the West's "freedom of press" operates in a framework of largely unchallenged and generally accepted assumptions, e.g. Iran is to be blamed for everything. U.S.A. and the West's actions were correct and justified. Shah was not all that bad. Ayatollah Imam Khomeini is returning Iran to the "medieval times", only Iran has violated international law. Corruption and repression is part of peoples lives in the Muslim and the Third World, etc. The noted American activist, Noam Chomsky called the Western media a "democratic system of thought control".¹¹ His incisive analysis continues: "The indoctrination system tries to capture the entire system of

thinkable thought. That is, both the position of the officials, and also the position of most vocal opponents. And it tries to capture these apparent alternatives within a certain framework of assumptions which are really never formulated, just kind of insinuated. They lie in the background. And the discussion takes place within that framework of assumptions, then it just does not exist. Within the framework of assumptions, debate can rage. In fact, the more it rages the better the propaganda system is served because the mores, the assumptions are implanted by the very fact they are presupposed by everyone. After all, if even the most vocal and hardest critics of the system passively accept these assumptions, then who in their right mind could question them. The media builds images and creates issues aided by that great Western novelty, the public opinion poll. It becomes a vicious circle - news and views are put forward by the media, opinion polls reflect the media's news and views, published polls are then highlighted by the same media to indicate "public opinion" and naturally, the White House (the ruling authorities) respond(s) to this "public opinion".¹²

An analysis of the Western media reveals the following points:

1. Unity of imperialism and unity of cultural imperialism.
2. Existence of news and media imperialism.
3. Unity of the news and media imperialisms.
4. The superpowers have their own super news and media powers and systems.
5. The Western news and media system and imperialism is wholly dominated, controlled and mainly owned by Zionist imperialism.
6. The policy and the attitude of the Western media and communist media towards the Third World and the Muslim world is identical.
7. The policy and attitude of the superpowers' media towards Islam and the Muslim peoples are based on the unity of Islam and the Muslims.

There is very little difference between the two types of superpowers as far as their vested interest in the Third World countries are concerned. They both mean to colonise, directly or indirectly, dominate, exploit and extend their empires. There is not very much difference between the American position in Vietnam and the

Russian position in Afghanistan. They both employ their agents to work for them and look after their interest. The American coup brought back the ex - Shah in Iran in 1953 and the Russian coup put Taraky, Ameen and Babrak Karmal in power. American statelite of Israel is doing in the Middle East what the Russian satellite of Cuba is doing in Latin America. The American intervention in Lebanon is the same as the Russian military intervention in Czechoslovakia. Americans sell out the Palestinian people to Israel and Russians sell out Eritrean people to Ethiopia. Western imperialism exploit the oil resources in the Muslim lands in the Middle East and the communist imperialism exploit the oil resources in the Muslim lands of occupied Soviet Russia. The list of similarities is long and not only amusing but sad. As far as the Islamic movement, particularly the Islamic Revolution, is concerned there can be no difference between the actual attitude of the two superpowers and their media. If there is one role of thumb that is as good as a "Law of nature" or Newton "Law of gravity", it is that the superpowers are jointly determined and United, together with their allies and clients, to destroy the Islamic movement wherever and whenever it raises its head, beginning with the Islamic state in Iran. They even have their own brands of Islam which suit their systems, regimes and policy. American imperialism has its Saudi, Sadat, ex-Shah's brand of Islam and Russian imperialism has its Marxist Islam in the form of Karmal's brand of Islam. They both have their secularist priesthood with their own brand of state religions. They both control thought, though their own systems of thought control may be different. They propagate and give information within the official state framework. They both filter the information under the cover of people's interest. The American system deprived peoples from the true information about American intervention in Iran, Chile, Vietnam etc. and the Russian system has been doing it about the Russian intervention in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Hungary etc.

However, as far as the media system of the totalitarian system of communism and the so-called democratic system of capitalism is concerned, the two forms of imperialism have their own media empires, press, groups of specialists, academic staff, intelligentsia. fifth columns, journals of opinion, intellectual discourse, foreign

policy, radios, televisions, cultural and information services, special foreign languages programmes, films and other parts of their well-equipped and sophisticated brainwashing machineries to justify and rationalise their policy for their own peoples and the world at large. They both try to indoctrinate the world sometimes by using the same approach, the same doctrines etc. and sometimes very different. In the totalitarian societies the technique of indoctrination and thought control is pretty straightforward and they simply refuse to feed their peoples any information or the true information. The state formulates the doctrines of the State religion. The various institutions of the society, including the media, must conform to those doctrines. The source of the propaganda and ideology is very obvious and clear and everybody usually knows why the propaganda is launched and why the information is given, wherever and whenever is given. In the other extreme, in the so-called democratic system of thought control, the indoctrination system tries to capture the entire system of thinkable thought. The media work within a framework of assumption. If anything goes beyond that framework it just does not exist. Debates rage within the framework and the more it rages the better the propaganda system is served to make the issues more appealing. In the democratic system there are two parties that play the role of the hawks and the doves alternatively. But in the totalitarian system the doves represent the hawks directly within the same party. As far as the foreign policy is concerned the hawks and the doves in the two different systems work together and agree to agree or to disagree. Even the foreign policy of the two systems and their attitude towards the Third World is similar and they usually work together to share the booties and the spoils of their wars. They co-operate to divide the Third World into their respective domains and the area of influence. The silent or vocal balance of interests is quite mutual. The balance of fear is designed to secure their balance of interests in the Third World. There is only one balance of power, fear and interest in the world, that of the two superpowers.¹³

This balance of power could be clearly seen in Iran under the Shah. They were all supporting him. The deposed Shah himself testified this balance. In an interview after his deposing of Iran the deposed Shah said: "From september 1978, when conditions

within the country worsened, both the American and the British ambassadors assured me of their country's support. The Soviet Union's ambassador (whom I saw regularly) too assured me about their co-operation and support. The events occurring in Iran were of serious concern to the Soviet Unions as was shown by an article which appeared in Pravda at the end of November. It said: "The Soviet Union a good neighbour of Iran, declares firmly that she is against interference in the internal affairs of that country by anyone, no matter what the form or pretext..."¹⁴ On each of their visits, the British and the American ambassadors repeated: "We shall not abandon you"¹⁵ The superpowers, their colonies and their satelities in the Third World: The USA, USSR, the Chinese, the European the Middle Estern, the Indian, the Japanese governments and the satelities of the superpowers all over the world all stood United to the last minutes in their inclusive support of the currupt regime of the deposed Shah for they all had their shares of exploitation of Iran. They have all stayed all united opposing and trying to destroy the Islamic Revolution and Republic because they all have been deprived of the booties. Furthermore they all have a common view of the destiny of man and share the same concept of man. It is a materialist man and it is a destiny defined in secular, rational and "scientific" terms. In this vision there is no place for Islam or any other religion. The Islamic concept of man and the Islamic Movement's vision of the future of mankind is diametrically opposed to their view. They all must, therefore, oppose and destroy Muslims, Muslim community, states, institutions and everything Islamic as fast as possible. The capitalists and the communists support each other and co-operate in this task. There are fresh signs that the Americans and the Russians and the Chinese have reached a kind of understanding in isolating and destroying the Islamic movements. They seem to have concluded a silent deal to contain Islam, their common threat. Communism and capitalism both have the same philosophy and foundation; materialism. They are the two sides of the same coin. But they have nothing in common with Islam which has frequently challenged their power and threatened their interests equally. Communism, for the capitalists, is preferable to Islam and Capitalism, for the Communists, is also preferable to Islam. Not only communism and capitalism are compatible politically but they also share the same philosophy.

CHAPTER 20

POSITIVE IMPACT

The positive impact of the Islamic revolution is, with a couple of exceptions, mainly on the Muslim individuals, nations, minorities and communities of the world and on the suffering, revolutionary and oppressed peoples of the Third World and on the impartial intellectuals of the world. This is in contrast to the negative impact which is left mainly on the ruling powers and governments and through them to the nations concerned. The Islamic revolution and its leader have been enabled to fulfil the great and unparalleled role that they have by their spiritual, moral and revolutionary qualities, qualities the values of which cannot be disputed even by those who have no ideological commitment to Islam. "One of the remarkable things is that in the course of the revolution, people who had no particular commitment to Islam in an ideological fashion came to rediscover Islam and at the same time made a commitment to Islam as a revolutionary force hence the unprecedented solidarity and unity of the peoples of Iran in fighting the old regime and supporting the Islamic revolution. Similarly, the nations and peoples of the world who do not share national identity with the Iranians or those who have no ideological commitment to Islam have been impressed by the revolutionary qualities and spirit of Islam and find themselves inspired by them and sympathetic towards the peoples of Iran and the Islamic revolution. The international conferences of the World liberating and revolutionary organisations and their leaders in Iran in 1980 illustrate the point (with 400 representatives from all liberation organisations).

The Muslim peoples all over the world, even in the countries where they form minority have expressed their solid support for the people of Iran and the Islamic revolution. The South African, the South American, the North American, the Muslims in the Third World, Muslims of U.S.A., U.K., other Western countries, the Muslims in the Caribbean, even the Muslim in the U.S.S.R. have rallied their support of the Islamic revolution. The Muslims of South America and in the Caribbean in their 13th Annual con-

vention held in September, 1979 expressed their full support for the Islamic revolution. The common bond between the Muslims all over the world - Islam - is the only creator of the Islamic revolution. It is thus very natural that the Muslims all over the world be influenced by it and identify themselves with it. Positive interest has been aroused as the result of the Islamic revolution in consolidating the relations amongst the Muslims all over the world and between the different sects of Islam. One thing of interest in the aftermath of the revolution is the wide and the vast interest of the peoples all over the world to reunderstand Islam - the true Islam and not the Islam of the Western missionaries, orientalist and Islamologists. Even the so-called specialists in Islam, the Muslim world and Iran are reassessing their classical attitude to Islam and their traditional approach.

The impact of the revolution has demonstrated itself in many different forms - from armed uprising in Saudi Arabia (the massacre of the Muslim revolutionaries, who took refuge and sanctity in the grand mosque in Makka, by the Saudi American Arabia) to large demonstrations, to intensifying their armed resistance against the occupying forces (the armed resistance of the Muslim Afghans against Russian occupation) to echoing of the revolution among the Muslims against their governments and regimes (in Iraq, Tunisia, Egypt, Nigeria) to inspiring the liberating Islamic movements (in Palestine, Eritrea, Philippines, Patani in South Thailand etc.) to providing pride, dignity and confidence to the Muslim minorities in non-Muslim communities and other forms of Islamic impact. The Islamic revolution has demonstrated and proved to the Muslims all over the world that Islam does have the potentiality to stand against the strongest power and its most equipped agent and to establish itself as a truly independent ideology. It is only the Islamic movement, the potential and not necessarily the actual Islamic movement, in various Muslim countries which has the ability to call upon the deepest resources of the people and bring about a genuine revival and renewal. Any attempt to formulate a path to the future for the Muslim peoples other than with Islam is ultimately a waste of time and energy and a waste of the most precious of our human and natural resources. To prevent that waste, the Islamic movement must learn the fundamental lessons of the Islamic revolu-

tion in Iran. Otherwise it will contribute to the state of ideological and spiritual anarchy which persists in the Muslim world.² The Islamic revolution in Iran is no doubt the source of joy, pride and aspiration for the Islamic Ummah in general and the most brilliant triumph in the Islamic and the Muslims history. "There is a great responsibility, not only upon the Muslim leaders and the Muslims at large, to learn the lessons of the Islamic revolution, but upon the leaders of the revolution to communicate their experience to the Islamic world as a whole."³ The Islamic revolution in Iran promises the Muslims the beginning of the actualisation of their great expectation, the fulfilment of Allah's promises that "the earth shall be inherited by those who deserve it *نريدان نحن على الذين استضعفوا* 4. It is the realisation of their long hope and wishes since the coming of the Prophet. It is what our ancestors had wished it for us and we wish it for our descendants.

The Islamic revolution has provided the Muslim oppressed peoples with the chance to come to the realisation that only Islam can deliver them from their misery, exploitation, foreign domination and various forms of imperialism. It showed the Muslim masses the soundness of the Islamic stance and the true pious Muslim leaders stance. Being cheated by hypocrites, secularist elites, false ideologies, capitalist and communist selfish intellectuals and the nationalists, the Muslim masses are seeking a more comprehensive ideology and a more complete implementation of Islam. Islam is increasingly being seen as the one force which can deliver the Muslim Ummah from perpetual servitude to the imperialist powers.⁵

We can therefore conclude that the Islamic revolution has left its impact upon the world at large already. The Islamic revolution in Iran has had enormous impact on world politics. Its reverberations are still being felt everywhere. Military strategies are being adjusted, political allies are being sought by frightened regimes in the Middle East.⁶ The self-declared animosity being forgotten, the multitude guises and masks of the hypocrites are being unmasked. Israel and Egypt, King Hosain, King Hasan, King Khalid (the supposedly guardians of Islam) King Saddam of Iraq have all become friends and work for the same master, serve the same purpose, fol-

low the same policy, and fight the same source of threat - Islam and the Islamic revolution. Policies are being reviewed and the whole set up of international relations is undergoing a phase of fluidity which, when things settle down again, will have left us with a world very different from that of the post-war era.⁷ The followers of diverse ideologies are united to challenge the same threat. The so-called progressive intellectuals and the most reactionary elements at the national and the international levels are united to be able to stand against the common enemy - Islam.

The Royalists and the capitalists, the remnants of the SAVAK are co-operating with the Egyptians, Jordanians and Iraqi secret and intelligent services with the Mossad, with the CIA, the so-called nationalists (Bakhtiar and Saddam), the racists (Zionists) and the so-called socialists and internationalists, the leftists, the communists and many more groups, parties and governments with diverse ideology, policy and regimes have all ganged up against Islam and the Islamic revolution. Muslim countries are by far the most affected (the regimes threatened and the peoples encouraged). However, while the masses and the majority of Muslims show interest and sympathy, and while the governments in the Muslim world, far from being unhappy, are scared, the sector which has responded positively and is likely to benefit most is the Islamic movement in a broad sense. As soon as the revolution succeeded in Iran, the fingers of the Western press understandably pointed towards Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iraq.⁸ Egypt has changed its attitude towards Israel and now they both regard the Islamic revolution as their common enemy. America who had consistently refused to provide Egypt with financial and military help is now supplying Egypt with all sorts of military equipment for the Islamic revolution now is threatening Egypt, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and U.S.A. interests in the area. A new police dog or dogs have to be trained to watch the interests of the imperialisms in the region. New Shahs have to be crowned. The other Shahs of the area have to be rescued and looked after. Precautionary measures have to be taken. This is all because of the Islamic revolution in Iran "Even the soberest of publications on both sides of the Atlantic see a baffling and alarming connection between the events in the Persian Gulf and conclude that every regime in the Middle East has had fair warning of the "revolutionary

wave”9.

However there is no doubt that the revolution enjoys the support of the Muslim people worldwide; they have all declared so on many occasions: Iran represents the first modern revolution based on the idea of Allah and in the name of the Dean of Islam. It is imperative that Muslims pledge solidarity with the Iranian people because the Iranian revolution has given the Muslims a consciousness and awareness which they did not have before.¹⁰ “We are thousands of miles away from Iran, but our hearts beat in harmony with the Iranian. We fully support Imam Khomeini, because he is the guardian of Islam. He follows the way of truth, i.e. Quran and Sunnah”.¹¹ “We of the Muslim community of Dominica have pledged full support of our Muslim brothers and sisters in Iran in their struggle against the imperialist Shaitan”. We are committed to the struggle against “jahil” hence the struggle in Iran is our struggle also... Anyway that we can participate, we are willing”.¹² “We in Trinidad follow with interest the events in Iran, and we pray every day for the progress and success of the revolution”.¹³ “The impact of the Islamic revolution in Iran has aroused a tremendous interest in Islam” reported the Islamic missionary society and the Muslim Youth Movement in Johannesburg (S.A.). “We have received hundreds of inquiries about Islam since the Iranian revolution”.¹⁴ The Islamic Revolution has produced a sense of solidarity amongst the Muslim peoples. This has caused the Arab peoples, for instance, to support the Islamic Revolution against the so called Arab nationalism. 15

The events in Iran which are only the tip of an iceberg are not the product of a sudden short-term development as is often thought in the West. Rather they are an experiment which portends the beginning of a new historical epoch, i.e. worldwide struggle of Muslim masses for intellectual independence. Logically the first step in this effort must be liberation from the cultural domination of the Western industrial world¹⁶ and a return to the congenial Islamic culture. The Islamic Revolution in Iran and the use of the political independence by Iran as a jumping board to the Islamic cultural independence provides the Muslims with a good opportunity to follow the example which should not be missed. The Western

powers vigorously pursued the goal of establishing their cultural empire, of Westernising the elites as the means and main gate to the Westernisation of the nations, everywhere, of which Pahlavi Iran (through the so-called modernisation), the Kemalist Turkey (through secularisation), the Sadati Egypt (through Americanisation), Saudi Arabia (through Euro-American approved Islamisation), Baathist Iraq (through Aflaqui type Arabicisation), Taraki-Karmal's Afghanistan (through Russianisation), Zionist Israel (through racialisation), Hashimite Jordan (through nationalism), South Yemen (through socialisation) and Hasan's Morocco (through demoralisation) are good examples. While the military occupation was used as means to conventional colonisation, Western cultural influence has been employed as the means to neo-colonisation. The Islamic cultural revolution which followed almost immediately after the victory of the Islamic political Revolution in Iran explains the importance of the cultural revolution. In fact the leader of the revolution Ayatollah Imam Khomeini has frequently emphasised that the original objective of the political revolution is the cultural revolution - Islamisation of the way of thinking and living of the people. This is the most urgent impact that the revolution in Iran should leave on the entire Islamic movement worldwide and on the Muslim community as a whole. The pride, self confidence, self respect and the sense of identity that the Muslims feel as the result of the Islamic Revolution in Iran is only the beginning of the realisation of the cultural potentials and intellectual capability of Islam. Cultural, intellectual and ideological independence should be regarded as the actual objective of the comprehensive Islamisation of the Muslim peoples, the lesson which should be learnt from the Islamic Revolution in Iran which must be regarded as only an introduction and the beginning of the epoch ending the cultural alienation, intellectual enslavement and the identity crisis of the Muslim world. Islam is increasingly being seen by the Muslim masses as the only force which is able to deliver the Ummah from servitude, exploitation, neo-colonisation and imperialist powers. The Islamic Ummah, from Morocco to Indonesia, from Bosnia in the heart of Europe down to Africa, is feeling the impact of the Islamic revolution in different degrees and forms. A new hope is pulsating through the Muslim world today. The Muslims are responding

to the message and the voice of the Islamic Revolution in Iran which is "Islam is able to challenge any dictator agent of the superpowers and any regime; Islamic revolution is achievable by any Muslim people with the least possible military training and means. No dictator is more powerful than the ex-Shah of Iran. The other Shahs in the Muslim lands could not be compared to him powerwise. No Muslim country is more Westernised and de-Islamicised than Iran under Pahlavi. Revolution is on the horizon and before this century is over, inshallah, there will be Islamic revolutions all over the Muslim world.»¹⁷ This is the message, promise and hope that is being expressed in almost all Islamic international and national conferences, gatherings and symposiums. "As the Islamic revolution strengthens itself and defeats imperialist plots it is gradually moving towards becoming a source of support and aspiration and a rallying point for the oppressed masses of the world. The people and leadership of Iran perceive their revolution as Islamic rather than Shii, and thus is a beacon light for Muslims everywhere".¹⁸

The Islamic revolution has dealt a shattering blow to neo-colonisation. In fact the liberation of the Muslim world and the Third World has begun in Iran. It is a major watershed in human history.¹⁹

The support of the many of the peoples of the world, even some of Westerners, specially peoples of the Third World and in particular black peoples of the Islamic Revolution and Republic of Iran's stance, inspite of the hostile propaganda of the Western mass media empire and their intense lack of information of Islam, the Islamic Revolution as well as their respective government's opposition to the Islamic Revolution and Republic is sincere and generous. This is the best logical reason that Islam and its revolution have attracted great supporters amongst the people of our time and shows Islamic potentials to help the oppressed and the suppressed peoples of the world and the Muslims' struggle for a comprehensive independence and Islamic opposition to power politic and against the domination and exploitation of the super powers. If we take this fact into consideration that whatever creates historical transformation is the beliefs and ideas and not the individuals - beliefs and ideas which can even earn support for them selves- the importance of the issue will become more clear and the

reason for superpowers and their agents' opposition to Islam and its revolutionary position against oppression and suppression more obvious. Both the support of the peoples of the world of Islam, the Islamic Revolution and Republic and the hostile attitude of the superpowers and their agents and media towards Islam and the Islamic revolution explains the just and the right stance of Islam and have brought about a favourable opportunity to the oppressed masses of the world to pause and consider Islam as the only independent ideology of the Third World with the potentials to help them genuinely and earnestly.

When we see the identical approach of the medias of the Western capitalist and the communist worlds and when we see that those very mass media, regardless of their camps, try to confine and explain the Islamic revolution which is certainly the result of one of the most original and amazing spiritual ideological and psychological transformation to just an ecopolitical change and in any socio-economic terms, in this way, they intentionally ignore the depth and originality of Islam and its revolution so that it would not leave any impact on the oppressed masses of the world. In this way they try to stop the spread of Islamic revolutionary spirit.

Whatever happened in Iran and led to the victory of the Islamic revolution is nothing more than the reflection and presentation of beliefs and ideas existing more or less in the peoples of the Third World particularly the Muslim peoples. What has happened in Iran is only the beginning of the realisation of Islamic potentials at the Ummah level. Here lies the danger of Islam and the Islamic revolution to the oppressive exploiting imperialist superpowers. The outstanding experience of the Islamic Revolution in Iran is nothing more than the presentation of this reality. It proved that people cannot be ignored. Military superiority does not cause victory in fight against Muslim masses. They cannot be exploited by installing a number of puppet dictators. "The Shah's overthrow can be a model to follow. The superpowers have carved out spheres of influence".²⁰ The Islamic Revolution broke out of this model. The successful Revolution of Iran should be seen, in essence, as a victory for the general cause of Islam"²¹ and as a defeat not so much only for Pahlavi dynasty of Iran but as a defeat for all puppet regimes

and as a defeat for imperialism world-wide, and hence their animosity towards Islam and the Islamic Revolution. There is no difference neither between the various forms of imperialism nor between their agents (the U.S. type Shah of Iran and the USSR Shah of Afghanistan. - Taraki and Karmal) as far as the oppressed Muslim peoples are concerned. The Islamic Revolution of Iran is a unique exemplary struggle in the annals of the oppressed peoples of the World,²² a model to be followed to get rid of both the various forms of imperialism and their different agents. To the Muslim peoples of the world it should be regarded as an article of faith that genuine independence could only be achieved through complete detachment from the influence of all imperialist powers and only through Islamic ideology.

CHAPTER ONE

- 1- A.T. Hatto, *The Semantic of Revolution*, PP. 25-7.
- 2- Quran, 13:11.
- 3- see their writings.
- 4- A.t. Hatto, *the Semantic of Revolution* p. 25.
- 5- Bernard Lewis whose first books on Arabs appeared after the establishment of Israel and is a passionate defender of that country to the extent that he has testified in its defence to committees of the United States congress, and has continuously given biased opinion against Islam, finds himself explaining the Islamic concept of Revolution in Semantic terms and suggests that the word dawlat (alternative, state, dynasty) is the Quranic term for Revolution. Should not his political stance against Muslims and his stance against Islam affect our opinion of his objectives and make us doubt his objectivity, whenever and wherever he is giving opinion about Islam and the Muslims? (See G.H. Jansen *Militant Islam*. P. 85).
- 6- Quran, 8:53;13:11.
- 7- *Inqelab*: The change of substance or conversion is regarded as one of the Means by which the ruling is changed. i.e. it is forbidden to drink Wine but as soon as Wine changes into vinegar it becomes permissible because the substance is changed and it is no longer Wine.
- 8- Quran, 26 : 227.
- 9- Ali, *Nahj-al-Balaghe*, sermon 16, P. 162 (Qum. Iran) delivered when he was chosen as caliph in Madina.
- 10- Some scholars on the basis of the analysis of the Islamic revolution in Iran have defined the Islamic revolution as follows: "The Islamic revolution is that state of a society in which, one, all the Muslims of an area become mobilised to the point where their collective will and efforts become irresistible and undefeatable; two, the Muslim society acquires a leadership positively committed to the civilisational goals of Islam and has no class or other interests of its own; three, the energies thus released are capable of restructuring the society at all levels internally, and four, the social order acquires the confidence and the ability to deal with the external world on its own terms" (K. Seddiqui, *Islamic Revolution*, p. 19, M.I., U.K., 1980). This definition which is derived from the study of the Islamic revolution in Iran has two main shortcomings: one, that the Islamic revolution in Iran should be studied in the light of the overall Islamic revolution and measured against it not the other way round; two, we cannot define the Islamic revolution by explaining only some of the features of an Islamic revolution.
- 11- Quran. 13:11.
- 12- Ali Shariati, *On the Sociology of Islam*, p. 42 (trans. H. Algar).
- 13- Quran, 2:34.

- 14- Ibid, 13:11.
- 15- Ibid, 74:38.
- 16- A dictum believed to be attributed to Jaafar al-Sadiq.
- 17- Extract from Ali Shariati's *On the Sociology of Islam*, pp. 39-57 (tran. H. Algar, Mizan Press).
- 18- Ali Shariati, *On the sociology of Islam* (Trans. H. Algar) p. 87.
- 19- Umar chapra, *Islamic perspectives* (ed. K. Ahmad). p. 217.
- 20- For these features of Islam, see M. Bazargan, *Militant Islam (Islam Maktabi Mubariz)* and also *Young Islam (Islami Javan)*, Persian.
- 21- See Khomeini's public addresses to the Sunni Ulama and his messages to the Iranian Sunnis.

CHAPTER 2

- 1- M. Hamidullah, *The Muslim Conduct of State* (7th ed.), p. 4.
- 2- The Quran 6: 57; 12: 40;29; 22; 42, 31: 28, 70.
- 3- Quran 2: 205.
- 4- M. Shafi'i al-Risalah (Cairo, 1940), p. 419; 154; Abu Ya'la, *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyyah* (Cairo, 1938), p. 3.
- 5- Extract from 'Hokoomati Islami', a series of lectures, by Imam Khomeini.
- 6- *Islamic Perspectives* ed. K. Ahmad, p. 131.
- 7- Ibn Khaldoon, *Muqqadema* (Cairo), p. 191-6; Ibn Taimiyyah, *al-Syasaah*, p. 138-44 (Beirut, 1961).
- 8- Imam Khomeini, *Hokoomati Islami*.
- 9- *Islamic Perspectives*, ed. K. Ahmad, p. 195 (U.K., 1979, I.F.).
- 10- See Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London, 1978.
- 11- Quran XII, 40; iii, 26; vii 54, 3; v, 44.
- 12- Quran iv, 64; 80, 105, 65.
- 12- Tawhid is the key concept in Islam. It sums up the Islamic way of life and presents, in a nutshell, the essence of the Islamic civilisation. It is also the one term which describes the process of the Islamic transformation of an individual or a society. The essence of religious experience in Islam is Tawhid.
- 14- For further details concerning the positive and negative aspect of the concept of Tawhid, see *Islamic Perspectives*, ed. Khurshid Ahmad, U.K., 1979.
- 15- Ibid, p. 186.
- 16- See *Islamic Perspectives*, ed. Khurshid Ahmad, Chapter 13, (U.K., 1979).
- 17- Ibid, p. 186-7.
- 18- *Islam and the Revolutionary Traditions*, p. 233. (U.K., ISSN 03063965).
- 19- *Islamic Perspectives*, ed. Khurshid Ahmad, p. 187. (U.K., 1979).
- 20- Quran, 13:11.
- 21- Quran 2, 143; 3, 21, 103, 110, 114.
- 22- Quran 3: 104.

- 23- Ibid., 110.
- 24- Quran, 4:75.
- 25- Bazargan, Marz Miyan i Din, p. 136, 137.
- 26- S. Akhavi, Religion and Politics, p. 120, quoting from Goftar-i Mah.
- 27- Ibid, Mehdi Bazargan. Goftar-i Mah publication.
- 28- Ibid.
- 29- Ibid.
- 30- Iran-i Azad. Tir, Mordad 1350 H. Sh. 1971; quoted by S. Akhavi R.P.C.I., p. 164.
- 31- Quran 2: 143.
- 32- Quran 13: 11.
- 33- Quran 14: 32, 33; 16: 12.
- 34- Quran 45: 12, 13.
- 35- Quran 4: 97.
- 36- Islamic Perspectives, ed. K. Ahmad, p. 229 (I.F., 1979, U.K.).
- 37- Quran 2: 107; 11: 47; 4: 32.
- 38- Quran 12: 40; 6: 57; 12: 67.
- 39- Ibid, 4: 58; 5: 49.
- 40- Quran 4: 58.
- 41- Quran 4: 59; 5: 55; 9: 71.
- 42- Ibid, 2: 205.
- 43- Quran 4: 80; 3: 159; 42: 38.
- 44- Ibid. 2: 256-7; 20: 24, 43.
- 45- Quran 16: 90; 5: 8; 4: 135.

CHAPTER 3

- 1- H. Algar, The Islamic Revolution in Iran (M.I. U.K. 1980) p. 67.
- 2- Altaf Gauhar, The Challenge of Islam, p. xxi.
- 3- Ibid, xxii.
- 4- Ibid, p. xxiii.
- 5- Ismael, Political Thought of Imam Khomeini, Social Problems, Vol. 27, No. 5.
- 6- Imam Khomeini's public speeches, and messages.
- 7- Quran, 49: 13.
- 8- Ibid, 39: 3.
- 9- Ibid, 51: 19.
- 10- Khalid M. Ishaque, Islamic Law in "The Challenge of Islam", ed. Altaf Gauhar (I.C.E., U.K., 1978).
- 11- Quran, 4: 75.
- 12- Muslim Statesman, 25 January, 1980.

- 33- See Noufel (1979), 1-4.
 34- Ismael and Ismael, *Social Problems*, Vol. 27, No. 5, 5 June, 1980.

CHAPTER 5

- 1- Quran, 3: 83.
 2- Quran 6: 163.
 3- Quran 51: 56.
 4- Ibid 16: 51.
 5- M. Qutb, *What Islam can give to Humanity, The Challenge of Islam*, ed. A. Gauhar (I.C.E., U.K., 1978), pp. 316-319.
 6- Quran 51: 56.
 7- See Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's public address upon the occasion of Ido al-Fitr, 24th August, 1979.
 8- For this see M. Qutb, *What Islam can give to humanity, Religion and Politics*, (I.C.E., U.K., 1979).
 9- See Quran 2: 164, 31; 45: 13; 35: 28; 4: 77.
 10- Quran 28: 77.
 11- Ibid 29: 45.
 12- *Selected Messages of Imam Khomeini* (M.N. Guidance Tehran, Iran, 1980), pp. 22-6.
 13- Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago, 1947), p. 86-7; W.C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History* (Oxford University, 1957), pp. 26-7.
 14- For further details considering the Unity and the concept of worship, see Muhammad Qutb, Chapter 17, *The Challenge of Islam*, ed. A. Gauhar (I.C.E., U.K., 1978).
 15- Quran 69: 18-21; 75: 13; 99: 1-8.
 16- Ibid 99: 7-8.
 17- See Imam Khomeini, *Hokoomati Islami*. (Abstract. Concept of Islamic state p. 6. ICE 1979 U.K.).
 18- Quran 3: 169.
 19- For this section see M. Qutb, *Shubahat Hawl al-Islam Chapter Islam and the Crisis of the Modern World. Islam*, (ed. K. Ahmad I.C.E.U.K.) also see M. Muttahari, *The Martyr*, (G.I.L. Great Islam library, Tehran, Iran, 1980).

CHAPTER 6

- 1- **The Sunday Times** Ap. 18, 1980.
- 2- Such as H. Algar, *The Islamic Revolution*, p. 2. and K. Siddiqui, *The Islamic Revolution*, p. 16 (both by M.I. U.K., 1980).
- 3- M. Muttahari, *Islamic Movement in the 20th century*, p.63.
- 4- *Ibid*, p. 2-3; p. 10; also see M. Muttahari, *Islamic movement*.
- 5- For further details concerning Shahada, see Muttahari, *The Martyrs*; Ali Shariati's lecture on martyrdom and also Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's address, and Taqi Shariati, *Husain (G.L.I)*.
- 6- H. Algar, *The Islamic Revolution*, p. 3. (M.I., U.K., 1980). So does Ayatollah Muttahari, see, *Islamic Movement*, the last section.
- 7- **James P. Prescottorial, Paper. British Int. Studies. Dec. 1979,**
- 8- Quran 2: 143.
- 9- Quran 2: 256.
- 10- Ali (peace be upon him) *Nahja al-Balagha, Sermon 27 (Jihad)*.
- 11- Quran, 3: 169.
- 12- M. Mutahhari, the martyr, p. 11 (*Great Islamic Library, (GIL), Tehran, Iran, 1980.*
- 13- Quran.
- 14- Quran 3: 169.

CHAPTER 7

- 1- See *On the Sociology of Islam*, by Ali Shariati, trans. H. Algar, p. 86.
- 2- *Ibid*, pp. 119-120.
- 3- Umar Chapra, *The Islamic Welfare, Islamic Perspectives*, ed. K. Ahmad p. 217.
- 4- Khomeini, *Hokoomati Islami*.
- 5- Quran 24: 35.
- 6- *Ibid* 49: 13.
- 7- Tabari, *Majma*, Vol. 8, p. 84.
- 8- Quran 24: 41.
- 9- Quran 7: 158.
- 10- Shatibi, *al Muwaföat*, Vol. 2, p. 244.
- 11- *Mishkat*, Vol. 2, p. 613.
- 12- Quran 57: 25.
- 13- Quran 5: 43; 12: 40; 7: 54.
- 14- Quran 12: 40.
- 15- 24: 55.
- 16- *Ibid* 4: 58.
- 17- *Ibid* 12: 41.

- 18- 5: 8.
- 19- 3: 21; 1.3, 114; 16: 92.
- 20- Prophetic traditions.
- 21- 2: 185; 16: 97; 22: 77.
- 22- 5: 8; 4: 58; 2: 256; 13: 42.
- 23- 3: 159.
- 24- Imam Khomeini, *Al-Hokumat al-Islamyyah* 12nd ed. Beirut. 1978) p. 39.
- 25- The Quran: see verses dealing with Ahl al-Kitab 3:23,24,64,-75,98-100, 113, 199; 4:44-52, 153-162, 171; 5:5, 12-19,69,59-66, etc.
- 26- The Quran: 16:36; 10:47-49; 61:9; 57:25.
- 27- See books on Islamic History.
- 28- See the text of the Treaty concluded between Umar and the Christians of Aelia. Tabari, *Tarikh al-Rasul wa al-Mulook* 1879-1901, 13 vol. 1, 245 leydon.

CHAPTER 8

- 1- See Donald Pipes, 8 days, 28 June, 1980 (U.K.).
- 2- Quran. 2:143. "Thus have we made of you an Umma (community) Justly balanced, that ye might be a model over the people as the prophet has been model over you."
- 3- See Khomeini's public addresses on Martyrdom (Shahada) and also see Muttahari's *the Martyr* (G.I.L.) Tehran; Ali Shariati's *Red Shiism*.
- 4- Donald Pipes. 8 days, 28 June 1980 (U.K.).
- 5- Matt. 5: 39, 41.
- 6- For Islamic activism see M. Bazargan, *Islamic Pragmatism (Pragmatism Dar Islam)*.
- 7- Quran 4: 75.
- 8- Quran 49: 9.
- 9- See Abd Al-Rahman Azzam, *The Eternal Message of Muhammad*, pp. 152-9, (U.K., 1979).
- 10- Quran 2: 149; 5: 45.
- 11- See *Hokoomat-i Islami* (Najaf 1391, 1971 Persian) p. 32.
- 12- *al-Qatil wa al-Maqtool Kelahoma fi al-Nar*", *al-Zalimo wa al-Mazloom Kelahoma fi al-Nar*.
- 13- See the resolution of the International conference of the world liberating Movements held in Tehran in 1980.
- 14- H. Algar, *Islam the Intellectual Challenge*, (*The Challenge of Islam*, ed. A. Gauhar, I.C.E., U.K., 1978), p. 291.
- 15- *Ibid*, p. 291.
- 16- *Ibid*, p. 293.

- 17- Ibid, pp. 295-6.
 18- Interview, 30th December, 1979 to H. Algar.
 19- See The Message in the Selected Messages of Imam Khomeini, (M.G. Tehran-Iran. 1980.
 M. National Guidance, Tehran, Iran.
 20- Shariati, Intizar Madhhabi Interaz, p. 19, (Tehran). Persian text.
 21- G.H. Jansen, Militant Islam, p. 95.
 22- Quoted in Daniel, Islam, Europe, Empire, p. 333.
 23- G.H. Jansen Militant Islam. p. 96.
 24- Ibid, p. 103.
 25- Ibid, p. 96.
 26- Lbid, p. 98.
 27- Ibid, p. 103.
 28- Lbid, p. 106.
 29- Ibid, p. 100.
 30- Ibid, p. 102.
 31- See Thomas Hodgkin, The Revolutionary Traditions in Islam, p. 235 (U.K., 198, ISSN 0306 3965).
 32- Quran 24: 55.
 33- Quran 28: 5.
 34- Quran 60: 4.
 35- Quran 33: 21.
 36- Quran 24: 55.
 37- Ibid 13: 11.
 38- Ibid 21: 105.
 39- Ibid 28: 5.
 40- Quran, 4: 75.
 41- Quran 13: 11.
 42- Quran, 4: 97-8.
 43- Ali Shariati, Intizar, p. 25-34.
 44- Ibid pp. 39: 45.

CHAPTER 9

- 1- Mehdism is the belief in the coming of Messiah or the saviour of Mankind (Mehdi) who will establish the Kingdom of God fully and establish justice and fraternity and the final Unity of Man. The great expectation (Intizar) of the coming of the Mehdi is one of the main features of Shiism. Ayatollah M. Bagir al-sadr wrote a book titled. "The Awaited Saviour" translated into English. Thus Dr. Shariati, Mr. Bazargan, S.M.B. Sadr has each written a book on Mehdism.

- 2- C.J.F. Tomlinson and C.J. Lethem, *History of Islamic propaganda in Nigeria*, p. 10 (London, 1927) quoted by Thomas Hodgkin, *Islam and the Revolutionary Tradition*, p. 228.
- 3- For this see Ali Shariati, *Art of Awaiting the Saviour*.
- 4- Bazargan, Marz Maryan Din, quoted by H. Akhavi (Iran, 1980).
- 5- Ibn Khaldoon, *Muqqadama* (trans F. Rosenthal, London, 1958), Vol. 11, p. 156.
- 6- See Ali Shariati, *The Art of Awaiting the Saviour*, pub. The Shariati Foundation, Tehran, 1979 and Mehdi Bazargan, *The Inevitable Victory*.
- 7- Quran 24: 55.
- 8- Ibid 21: 105.
- 9- Bani Israel, 81.
- 10- See specially Mehdi Bazargan, *The Inevitable Victory*, trans. M. Yusefi, *Islam Maktabi Mobariz (Militant Islam)*, and *Pragmatism Dar Islam (Islamic Pragmatism)* and Ali Shariati's books.

CHAPTER 10

- 1- A. Tabatabai, *Shiite Islam*, p. 39.
- 2- M. Tabatabai, *Shiite Islam*. pp. 40-66.
- 3- Kulainy, Kafi, p. 462; M. Hamidullah, *Introduction to Islam*, p. 65.
- 4- M. Tabatabai, *Shiite Islam*, p. 211.
- 5- Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's right title is Nayibo al-Imam (Imam's deputy). When he is addressed as Imam Khomeini the word Imam is used in its literary sense (leader), for Imam is the title given only to the twelve Imams in Shiism. This is why the Shiah are called Twelvers.
- 6- For these see M. Tabatabai, *Shiite Islam*. English Translation.
- 7- Kulaini, Kafi, p. 462.
- 8- For further details concerning Imamate see S.H.M. Jafri, *The origins and early development of Shiah Islam* and S.M.H. Tabatabai, *the Shiite Islam* published by the Group of Muslims, Qum, Iran.

CHAPTER 11

- 1- Imam Khomeini, *Message Ido al-Fitr*, 24ht August, 1979; Nainy, *Tanzihol Umma* (all the treatise deals with the unity of religion and state, Taliqani,

introduction to Naini's treatise, Bazargan, Marzi Miyani din wa Umoori Ijtimai, the whole treatise.

- 2- Imam Khomeini, Hokoomati Islami (1971, Najaf), pp. 12, 21.
- 3- Imam Khomeini, Hokoomati Islami p. 63 (Najaf 1971), p. 53, p. 32.
- 4- Bazargan quotes some of these in his treatise "Marzi Miyani Din".
- 5- A prophetic dictum.
- 6- Quran 4: 75.
- 7- Imam Khomeini, Hokoomati Islami, (Najaf 1971), pp. 74, 96.
- 8- Imam Khomeini, Hokoomati Islami (Najaf 1971), p. 74 (cit. S. Akhavi, Religion and Politics in Contemporary Iran, p. 165 (State University of N.Y. Press, 1980).
- 9- Ibid, pp. 96, 173.
- 10- Ibid, p. 39.
- 11- Ibid, p. 32.
- 12- Ibid, p. 63.
- 13- H. Algar, The Islamic Revolution, pp. 5-6 (MI, UK, 1980) also see K. Siddiqui, Islamic Revolution (MI, UK, 1980) pp. 16-18).
- 14- H. Algar, The Islamic Revolution, p. 6 (M.I., U.K., 1980).

CHAPTER 12

- 1- See Hokumat-i Islami by Imam Khomeini.
- 2- See article 5, 107 and also the Introduction to CLIRI.
- 3- M.K. Khorasani, Kifayat al Usul; M. Hosain Bahai Amili, Zabdat al-Usul.
- 4- Sadr al-Din Sadr, Khulasat al-Fusus, Iran, Qum.
- 5- Fitzgerald, N.S.S.
- 6- Al-Razi, Tafsir, iv, 269.
- 7- Al-Shahristani, op. cit.
- 8- Ibn Qayyim, al-Itisam, 11, 114.
- 9- Ibn Khaldun, Muqqadamah, p. 24.
- 10- Imam Khomeini, Walayat Faqih, pp. 203-4.
- 11- For further and detailed information of the principle of Ijtihad and the authority of Aql in Shii jurisprudence, see A. Ezzati, Shii Islamic Law and Jurisprudence. Lahore, Pakistan, 1976.
- 12- Quran. 9: 122.
- 13- See Ali Shariati, Ijtihad and the theory of continuous revolution (Ijtihad wa Nazariya Inqilab Diny - Persian).
- 14- Ibid. (Nadeer Pub., Tehran, Iran).
- 15- A.M. Subhi, Nazariyat al-Imama, 1969, p. 24.
- 16- Quoted by H. Khan, Sherwani, Studies in Muslim Political Thought, 1977, pp. 77-9.

- 17- Ibid.
 18- CLIRI Article 5 constitutional law of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

CHAPTER 13

- 1- Quran 3:17,79; 5:5; 6:125; 39:23; 61:17.
 2- Ibid, 22:77; 33:25; 49:14.
 3- Ibid, 3:83.
 4- Ibid, 12:39; 27:91.
 5- Ibid, 3:19.
 6- Ibid, 22:78.
 7- Lane Poole.
 8- Quran, 2:16.
 9- Arnold, *The Legacy of Islam*, ch. Law and Society.
 10- Quran, 2:156.
 11- Ibid, 42:25; 2:256.
 12- "Imamat" literally means "leading" and "Imam" means "leader". in Shii Islamic terminology "Imamat" means "absolute divine leadership" of the Muslim community in all religious and secular affairs of the Imams who, in succession to the Prophet, lead the community as the viceregents of God, for mankind is the viceregent of God. The authority of Imam, however, is not direct, independent authority but he enjoys this authority as the successor of the Prophet. The Sunni Muslims believe that Abu Bakr and the other three succeeding him were the Caliphs (successors) of the Holy Prophet and Shia believe that Ali bin Abi Talib and his descendants were the Imams and Caliphs. However, neither Imamat nor Caliphate are to be associated with rulership, kingship or any position associated with power and politics in a purely secular or solely religious sense.
 13- Quran, 17:85.
 14- Ibid, 2:107, 120, 257.
 15- Islamic government is the government of Allah by the people, as the viceregent of Allah, and for Allah. This is the case during the lifetime of the Prophet (and Imam, according to Shii Islamic doctrine). But in the absence of the Prophet and Imam, both the Sunnis and the Shiites believe that the Muslim community have the divine right to choose their own leader. The Quran states, "And remember that Abraham was tried by his Lord with certain commands which he fulfilled. And when he was tried and proved right, God said to him 'I will make thee an Imam (leader) to the mankind.' Abraham asked and pleaded: 'And also (Imams) from my descendants?' God said: 'But evil-doers are not entitled to benefit from my bounty and promise.' " Accordingly, leaders have to be fully qualified and are appointed by God.

- 16- Hebrews, 9:22.
- 17- St. Peter, 1:18, 19.
- 18- Asad, Muhammad, *Islam* (ed. Kh. Ahmad), 1975, pp. 48-50.
- 19- B Lewis, *Islam*, introduction.
- 20- Edwin Arnold.
- 21- Frithjof Schoun, *Understanding Islam*, ch.1.
- 22- Quran 11:14.
- 23- Ibid 20:129; 3:164; 62:3.
- 24- Ibid 33:21.
- 25- Ibid 24:34-35.
- 26- *The World of Islam*, (ed. Kritzek), 1960, p.51.
- 27- F. Schoun, *Understanding Islam*, p. 21. .
- 28- Arnold, *The Legacy of Islam*, p. 286.
- 29- Ismail al-Faruqi, *The Great Asian Religions*, pp. 314-317.
- 30- Missionary Religions, July 1874.
- 31- Quran 2:143.
- 32- Ibid 3:110.
- 33- Ibid 11:88.
- 34- Ibid 3:104.
- 35- Ibid 2:143.
- 36- Quran 72: 38; 44:17.
- 37- Ibid 62:1; 59:24; 64:1; 17:44.
- 38- Ibid 32:4; 45:19; 47:11; 12:40; 40:12; 28:70.
- 39- Ibid 5:55; 9:71.
- 40- Quran 9:108.

CHAPTER 14

- 1- See A.S.M. Tabatabai, *Shiah*, pp. 61-2.
- 2- Kasravi, *The History of Constituution*, p. 235.
- 3- Ibid, p. 183.
- 4- H.A.R. Gibb, quoted by G.H. Jensen, *Militant Islam*, p. 83.
- 5- Quran 13: 11.
- 6- Eli Kadurie, *Afghani* (London, 1966) appendix 11, p. 85.
- 7- Published in 1952 with an introduction and commentary by S.M. Taliqani.
- 8- M. Bazargan, *Marz Miyani Din wa Umoori Ijtimai*, p. 121.
- 9- M. Bazargan (M.M.D.U.I.), *The Boundary between Religion and Social Affairs (The Harmony of Religion and Politics)*.
- 10- Cited by A. Bani Sadr, *Muqiyati Iran wa Naqshi Muddaris*, p. 125.
- 11- Ibid.
- 12- Ibid, pp. 125.

- 13- Abu al-Hasan Bani Sadr, Muqiyuyati Iran, p. 128.
- 14- Khaja Noori, Bazarganani Asr Talai pp. 143-4; 36-7; 194-201.
- 15- See Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's address on 5th January, 1981.
- 16- Bani Sadr, Muqiyuyati Iran, p. 132.
- 17- Ibid, p. 133.
- 18- Bani Sadr, Muqiyuyati Iran, p. 140.
- 19- For further information see Bani Sadr, Muqiyuyati Iran wa Naqshi Muddarris (Persian text Intisharati Muddarris, 10 Azar 1356).
- 20- H.G. Jansen, Mililant Islam. p. 97.

CHAPTER 15

- 1- Quran. 4: 59.
- 2- Altaf Gahar, the challenge of Islam. p. 306.
- 3- See Shii commentaries on the Quran, the verse concerned.
- 4- Nahj al-Balagha.
- 5- Ali Shariati, as kuja aghaz koonim, p. 56.
- 6- A. Kasravi, parcham, April 1945, An Unnecessary Uproar.
- 7- A. Kasravi, Parcham 2nd. 1942 A. message to theMullas.
- 8- A. Shariati, Intizar, p. 19 (Persian).
- 9- A. Shariati Ummat, p. 194.
- 10- Ibid, p. 149.
- 10- Ibid, p. 149.
- 11- Ibid, p. 97.
- 12- Khomeini, Hokoomat Islami 1978,p. 41.
- 13- G.H. Jansen, Militant Islam, p. 57 (pan original. U.K. 1980).
- 14- Ibid. pp. 63.65.
- 15- Ayatolalh Imam Khomeini, selected Messages and speeches. M.N.G.'Iran, Tehrani, Hokoomati Islami; interviews of Imam Khomeini; Al-Jihad al, AKbar; Dorous Fi al-Jihad wa al-Rafd. (Arabic).

CHAPTER 16

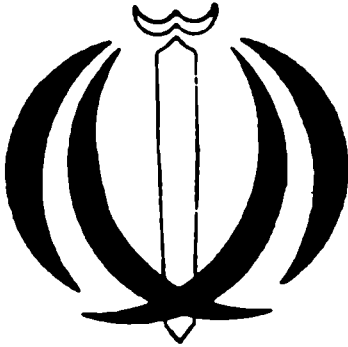
- 1- Imam Khomeini, Hokoomati Islami. (abstract. the concept of Islamic state.- ICE 1979).

- 2- H. Algar, *the Islamic Revolution*, pp 5-6, (M.I. U.K. 1980).
- 3- H. Algar, *The Islamic Revolution*, p. 6, (M.I., U.K. 1980).
- 4- Ayatollah Imam Khomeini in a message sent to Iran before the revolution explains the role of Ulama in the anti-imperialistic movement and their fight against the British in Iraq.
- 5- Ayatollah Khomeini refers to S.M. Taqi Khonsari's fight against British in Iraq. (ibid).
- 6- Guardian, 28 July 1980 p. 13.
- 7- Imam Khomeini, *Hokoomati Islami*.
- 8- Interview to Oriana Falanci.
- 9- H. Algar, *The lecture given at the Muslim Institute in 1980*.
- 10- See Mehdi Bazargan, *Islam-i Javan (Young Islam) and Islam, Maktabi-Mubarez (Persian, 1962)*.
- 11- Quran 2: 156.
- 12- Ibid 2: 214, 244, 245, 246; 5: 22, 26; 5: 35; 47: 4; 29: 2; 61: 4, 3: 92; 2: 177; 8: 60.
- 13- M. Muttahari, *Islamic Movement*, pp. 56-9, (*Great Islamic library - GIL 1980. Tehran. Iran*).
- 14- Adda B. Bozeman, *Iran.... (Orbis, 23, No. 2, Summer 1972) p. 389*.
- 15- Ibid, p. 399.
- 16- Now magazine, December 7, 1979, p. 34.
- 17- H. Algar, *The Islamic Revolution*, p. 53 (M.I., U.K., 1980).
- 18- *Al-Qalam. Vol. 4. No. 11-12. Dec 1980 safar 1401 (S A)*.
- 19- *The Guardian*, July 25, 1980, p. 13.
- 20- Imam Khomeini's famous speech and declaration.
- 21- Compare these to the slogans of Muharram 1978, e.g. every day is Ashura, every place is Karbala.
- 22- *The oppositional role of Ulama in twentieth century Iran in Scholars, Saints and Sufis*, Niki R. Keddie Ed. (U.C.P., U.S.A., 1972).
- 23- Imam Khomeini's address on the 10th Muharram, 1963.
- 24- See *News and Views*, Vol. 1, No. 135, the 15th Khordad (Ministry of Foreign Affairs publication, Tehran, Iran).
- 25- Jaafar Sharif Imami was known as Mr. Five percent in the inner government circles. That percentage was the commission that he received on every deal concluded between private enterprises and the Pahlavi foundation, the organization which acted as the royal family's conduit to carefully concealed bank accounts abroad. It was registered as a charity Foundation for tax exemption. Imami who run the foundation for 16 years escaped Iran before the victory of the Islamic Revolution. He is said to be in the United States.
- 26- I visited Ayatollah Imam Khomeini in Naugh la Chato in autumn 1978. I saw how declarations were conveyed. The entire office was not more than 20 square meters. In this office Imam Khomeini's speeches tape recorded and declarations were conveyed by telephone to some major Iranian cities. The individuals receiving the telephone calls in Iran would record the messages, transcribe them and pass them to others who would in turn make further copies, and distribute them within their area. The tapes and declarations would thus reach not

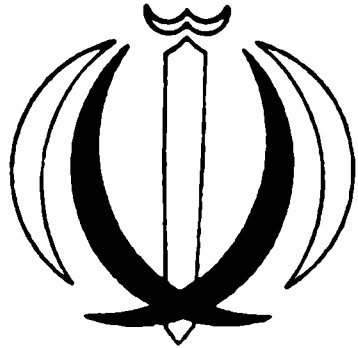
only the cities but the towns and villages throughout the country very quickly.

27- a) (ي) : ي b) (ي) : ا c) (ي) لا d) (ي) : الله =

The Official Emblem of the Islamic Republic of Iran



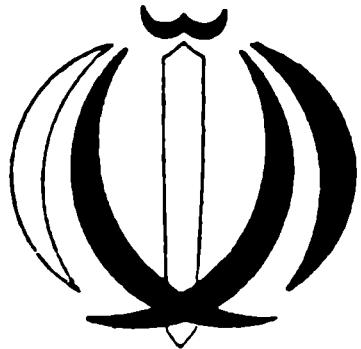
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- 28- The sole surviving terrorist, Foozy Nejat, one of the six Iraqi terrorists who occupied the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, admitted in his trial at the Old Baily (London. U.K.) that they were trained, supplied with money, plans and passports by the Saddam Baathist government in Iraq and supplied with arms and ammunition by the Baathist embassy in London. He repented to the people of Iran and confessed that the Baathist regime master minded and supervised the seige from the beginning to the end (trial 15 to 23 Jan. 1981 Old Baily. London). He also confessed that the CIA trained members of Savak helped the Baathist regime with the plan of the seige. He admitted that they were being used and Misused.
- 29- For further information concerning the attitude of the Western news media towards Iran-Iraq conflict see Islamic Press Union report, 13th November, 1980.
- 30- Al-Daawah Islamic Movement of Iraq's declaration, Al-Daawah Chronicle, 6th, issue.
- 31- Al-Fajr. Abu Dhabi, Wednesday 14th Jan. 1981.
- 32- Islamic Press Union (IPU) report, 13th November, 1980.
- 33- The Daily Telegraph, John Bullock, September 23, 1980.
- 34- Ibid, editorial, (cit. IPU, 13th November, 1980).
- 35- The Times, 25th September, 1980.
- 36- Ibid.
- 37- For further information see Islamic Press Union (IPU), 13th Novembre, 1980.

CHAPTER 17

1. The West, specially missionaries and orientalist who were knowingly or unknowingly working for colonial powers and recently mass media, radio, T.V., cinema, Journalists and the Zionist dominated neo-colonialist press have presented a distorted and prejudiced picture of Islam so that it has become a misunderstood religion. The spirit of the Islamic revolution is therefore not easy for many to understand because every revolution has its special ideology, characteristics, critieria, goals. In fact the Islamic revolution has its own spirit.
If we understand and believe that the Islamic revolution is special and different from other revolutions and movements, then we must understand what makes a revolution. The basis of the Islamic revolution is Islamic ideology and hence the Islamic Revolution is a truly ideological revolution with its own features and characteristics.
2. It has become an established fact that the revolution of the Iranian people was an Islamic revolution. It was initiated and inspired by Is'am and Islamic

ideology, it was launched to achieve Islamic goals, it was made by the Muslims of Iran, it employed Islamic tactics and strategy, its leadership was entirely Islamic and its leader a true Muslim. Finally its contents are Islamic. It is an ideological revolution, Islamic ideology. It therefore carries all the characteristics of Islam itself. The constitutional law of Islamic republic of Iran (C.L.I.R.I.) bears the main features of Islam and it therefore has its own characteristics which are naturally Islamic. We therefore illustrate our discussions with C.L.I.R.I.

3. In the following pages we shall try to explain these principles on the basis of Islamic ideology, decree and according to Islamic texts.
4. The Quran 3: 118.
5. Ibid, 4: 101.
6. Ibid, 3: 28.
7. Ibid, 5: 54, 60. Also see similar verses.

**8. IMAM Khomeini's Message on the Women's Day.
6th. May 1980**

Following is the message of Imam Khomeini on the Women Day and the Birthday of Hazrat Fatima Zahra:

In the name of Allah, the Most Kind and Most Merciful.

If there is to be a Women Day then which day is more majestic and glorified than the holy Birth Day of Hazrat Fatima Zahra? (peace be on her), The Lady with the Majesty of family and Divine Revelation has been shining on the forehead of Islam as if the sun, the Lady whose Virtue was adorned with the everlasting Virtue of the Gracious Prophet (peace be on him and his progeny), and holiness and immunity of the Household. She was such a lady about whom everybody had his own words (of admiration), and yet whose praise yet a little had been told. Hadith (traditions) came from the Household of Revelation were only limited upto the understanding ability of the listeners. That was an effort to store the water of an ocean into a pitcher! Whatever had been said of this lady also was according to the understanding of the speakers, not as per the fact regarding Her Majesty! So, let us by-pass this valley of Wonder and talk about the virtue and superiority of the women.

The intoxicated pens of the sinners, the speeches of the ill-breeding speakers during the black half century of slavery of the disgraced Pahlavi regime tried to pull the women to the level of mere "goods". Those who were responsive to the calamity had been drawn to their centres. It is unworthy to mention those pens. If any body likes to look into these crimes, he can go through the daily papers, magazines, slogans and tall talks of the "Rascal" and vile person of the time, Reza Khan, the then circumstances and the fact of forceful snatching of the women veils away and also he can look into the clubs, associations and centres of corruption and mischiefs. That period marks this sort of black pictures. Down with the pens of intellectuals of them! It is beyond imagination that the corruption on the pretext of women freedom and men freedom was without the plan of the looters of the world and international criminals. One of their schemes was to bring the youths to the prostitutions in which they succeeded and also enabled to bring in their line those prospective youths of our country who were the active

members of the society. They neutralise the thinking power of those youths so as to inflict pressure of calamity of westernisation and indulge in ordering wherever they should remain only as onlookers.

Today, for the grace and blessings of Islamic Revolution she placed herself as an important member of the society to the maximum level. There is a few people of "top class" who are the heirs of the black period of the fallen past regime. They consider the position of the women as their decoration in the assembly of luxury and enjoyment. They (women of that group) turned themselves as 'goods' only. They are the supporters and agents of that very regime of the past and are workers to execute the schemes of the foreigners and are informers and helpers of the C.I.A. and Savak.

Now the lion-hearted and responsible women side by side with the men are engaged in building the dearest Iran as they engaged themselves in education and culture. Do not consider the people of town and rural areas except they are cultured and learned society composed of the pious women and invaluable Islamic personalities. The Islamic Revolution, due to the grace of Islam, brought about such a change in the hearts of men and women of the society that it covered the long way of hundred years within a night only. You, the honourable nation observed that the honourable and virtuous women of Iran fought side by side with the men and shattered the Strongest wall of the monarchy. We and all, are indebted to the uprising and endeavours of the women. After the defeat of the big powers and crushing the roots of corruption and mischiefs we shall be able to proclaim the Women Day in its true and legal meanings and speak to the world and mankind highly of the women and their progress in the Islamic Republic of Iran with glory and credit. Today, in the Islamic Republic the women are shoulder to shoulder with the men in building themselves and the country. And this is the meaning of freedom of women and freedom of men unlike what had been shouted during the time of the dethroned Shah. They suffered prison, strangulation, molestation and torture.

I like to admonish the women to forget the tradition of the period of the Devil (Shah) and endeavour to reconstruct dear Iran of themselves and of their children meritoriously along with all the classes of people so that they free themselves from all the ties (of foreign elements) from all dimension. I greet all the women of virtue and responsible on the 20th Jamadi As Sani, the glorious Day of Women. I pray to Allah, the High and Exalted for welfare and honour of them and glory of Islam and the Muslims.

CHAPTER 18

- 1 - See the publications of the Russian Embassy in G.B., 1980.
- 2 - See Donald Pipes article in 8 Days 28 June, 1980.
- 3 - See K. Siddiqui, *Toward a New Destiny, News and Media, U.K., 1974.*
- 4 - See report on the International Islamic Youth Conference, July, 1973, by K. Seddiqui, *News and Media, (U.K.), 1974.*
- 5 - *Ibid.*
- 6 - 9 Quran 42: 38.
- 7 - *Ibid* 12: 40 .
- 8 - *Ibid* 4: 57.
- 9 - Khomeini, Interview with Oriana Fallaci.
- 10 - Khomeini , *Hukumat-i Islami.*
- 11 - Quran 2: 143; 42: 14; 35: 39; 20: 129.
- 12 - For this see Ali Shariati, *Islam Between Capitalism and Socialism and his lectures on Islam and on Insan. Also the economic implication of the part, see M. Umar Chapra , Islam (ed. K. Ahmad).*
- 13 - Jeans Bridge, quoted by M. Qutb, *Islam, The Misunderstood Religion (Shubahat Hawl al-Islam).*
- 14 - Donald Pipes's Article, 8 Days, yune 28, 1980 (U.K..).

CHAPTER 19

- 1- H. Algar, *The Islamic Revolution in Iran, M.I., U.K., 1980), p. 18.*
- 2- James. p. piscatori, *the Implication of the Islamic Revival, paper (British, International studies keele University, 17-19 Dec. 1979)*
- 3- Adda Bozeman, *Iran: U.S. Foreign Policy (orbis, 23, No. 2. summer 1979) p. 391.*
- 4- The Soviet Union, as late as November, 1978, gave its support to the Shah's regime. The articles appear in the communist press, *Pravda*, after the Revolution are almost identical with those appearing in the Western press, e.g. *New York Times*. See H. Algar, *The Islamic Revolution in Iran, p. 67 (M.I., U.K.).* The Soviet Union's support for the ex-Shah regime stopped only when it was quite obvious that the Shah was on his way out and he could not be rescued. The pro-Soviet communist element shamelessly justify this stand by saying that "early support of the revolution would have damaged the revolution". It is the same with other members of the communist Block. China did exactly the same, the then prime Minister of China visited the Shah soon before the victory of the revolution. On the individual level, it is important to note that a bank statement for a Pahlavi foundation ac-

- count in the Union des Banques Suisses purported to show that during February 1962, \$ 2 M. was paid to David Rockefeller now chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank, and another half million dollars to Henry R. Luce, owner of their Inc. Three former U.S. ambassadors to Iran - Loy Henderson, George Allen, Feldon Shabin and some American senators or their relatives (Jacob-Javite) all received millions of dollars from Iran, according to the document published in the *Canard* on 21 Jan. 1976. The Shah's government did not comment on the French magazine's documents (8 Days, 8 Dec. 1979, U.K.).
- 5- The *Guardian* weekly, in its editorial "The power and the impotence", December 2, 1979 reached unprecedented heights of abusiveness, insults and bad language.
 - 6- Carter's mother publicly called for assassination of Imam Khomeini on December 8, 1979.
 - 7- In January, 1979, the United States even attempted a military coup towards the revolution and its leader, Imam Khomeini (Former U.S. Attorney General at Ayatollah's conference, *The Times*, June 3, 1980; *Vogue*, U.S. Iran policy blamed in Fall of Shah. *International Herald Tribune*, April 12, 1980.
 - 8- "A little news item whose significance can only be gauged in light of subsequent events appeared in *International Herald Tribune* on Nov. 24-25, 1979 quite early in the Irano-American crisis: "The U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv confirmed that the American Ambassador Samuel Lewis met yesterday with Defence Minister Ezer Weizman after Mr. Weizman said in an Israeli radio interview that he had blueprint to rescue hostages in Tehran and would give it to U.S. if requested. It was later known that some so-called Muslim rulers helped the American invasion of Iran and let Americans use their air bases and air space. The Americans also helped Iraqis through Saudi Arabia in their occupation of Iran. (see *Islamic press union*, M. Hussain, *Western Media and American Iran Crisis*.). America refused to admit her involvement in internal affairs of Iran and to apologise for it. The double standard in American policy in similar, though unrelated situations, it acted differently, exposed its credibility to the rest of the world, barring U.S. media. Jimmy Carter, on March 2, not only retracted on the U.S. vote in the U.N. Security Council on Israeli settlements, within 48 hours under strong Jewish pressure, but also admitted his mistake in doing so. A week later, on March, 9, on Iran he categorically refused to admit any mistake for past American wrongs. A noted Arab journalist, M. Haikal in an article "Mideast skepticism on Carter's policy in *International Herald Tribune* March 24 wrote: "Those of us living in the Middle East cannot help but wonder why the United States should apply a double standard, whereby one category of "mistakes" can be acknowledged and another cannot. On the one hand, we have a mistake that has lasted for a quarter of a century but which cannot be admitted because this would damage the prestige of the United States; on the other a mistake openly acknowledged by the United States barely 48 hours after it had been committed (the previous source).

- 9- See Ayatollah Imam Khomeini's interview with the American C.B.S. television, November 18, 1979.
- 10- H. Algar, *The Islamic Revolution in Iran*, (M.I., U.K., 1980).
- 11- See Noam Chomsky, *The Islamic Revolution*, Vol. 1, No. 11, pp. 10-19.
- 12- Islamic Press Union (Mushahid Hossain), *Western media and America's Iran crisis* (U.K. 1980) also see Noam Chomsky, *Islamic Revolution*, Vol. 1, No. 11, (pub. U.S. Virginia).
- 13- For further information concerning the world news and media, see Noam Chopmsky, *Speech at Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. published Islamic Revolution No. 1, No. 11, pp. 10-19* (U.S., Virginia).
- 14- *Now magazine*, December 7, 1979 p. 34. U.K.
- 15- *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 20

- 1- Open opposition to the Sadat regime have been reported frequently, the last one of which was the mass uprising of the University students in the city of al-Suyoot in November 1980.
- 2- H. Algar, *The Islamic Revolution in Iran*, p. 64 (M.I., U.K., 1980).
- 3- *Ibid*, p. 64.
- 4- *The Quran*, 28:5.
- 5- K. Siddiqui, *Islamic Revolution*, p. 25 (MI., U.K., 1980).
- 6- Abd al-Rahim Ali, *The Islamic Revolution, its impact*, p. 37, (ed. K. Siddiqui, MI, U.K., 1980).
- 7- *Ibid.*
- 8- *Ibid.*
- 9- Raymond Aron "L'incendic" *L'express* No. 1481, 1 Dec. 1979, p. 71.
- 10- Resolution of the rally in December 1980 held to support Iran by the South African Muslims.
- 11- Resolution of the Annual Convention of the Islamic missionaries of the Caribbean and South America held September, 1979.
- 12- *Ibid*, the delegation of Dominica.
- 13- *Ibid*, the delegation of Trinidad.
- 14- *Al-Qalam*, Jan-Feb, 1980 (S.A.).
- 15- *Al-Fajr*, Abu Dhabi, Wednesday 14 Jan. 1981.
- 16- *Islamic Defence Review*, Vol. 5, No.3, p. 20.
- 17- A symposium on Islamic movement held at Western Michigan University. Kalamazoo., Michigan on 31 May, 1980.
- 18- *Ibid.*
- 19- *Ibid.* See also *Islamic Revolution*, Vol.2, No. 3, p.9.
- 20- Abol Hasan Bani Sadr address to the Conference on the U.S. Intervention

in Iran, Tehran, June, 1980.

21- Adda B. Bozeman, Iran.... Orbis, 23 No. (summer 1979) p. 391.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

K	ک
Q	ق
GH	غ
H	ح
H	ه
Z	ز
Z	ط
DH	ذ
D	ض
'	ء
'	ع
S	س
S	ص
TH	ث
Ā	آ
AL	ال

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THE REVOLUTIONARY ISLAM

and

THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

A.EZZATI