

# RELIGION AND POLITICS

## FROM

# IMĀM KHOMEINĪ'S VIEWPOINT

*A Collection of Articles*

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*The Institute for Compilation and Publication  
of Imām Khomeinī's Works  
(International Affairs Department)*



مجموعه مقالات دین و سیاست از منظر امام خمینی(س). انگلیسی (ریلیجن اند پالیٹیکس فرام امام خمینی، ز ویو ...). — تهران: مؤسسه تنظیم و نشر آثار امام خمینی(س)، ۱۳۸۶. ۲۴۱ ص.

ISBN: 978 - 964 - 335 - 904 - 1

فهرستویسی بر اساس اطلاعات فیبا.

انگلیسی. کتابنامه.

۱. خمینی، روح الله، رهبر انقلاب و بنیانگذار جمهوری اسلامی ایران، ۱۲۷۹-۱۳۶۸-.

نظریه درباره دین و سیاست. ۲. دین و سیاست — مقاله‌ها و خطابه‌ها.

الف. مؤسسه تنظیم و نشر آثار امام خمینی(س) - معاونت امور بین الملل. ب. عنوان.

۹۵۵ / ۰۸۴۲۰۹۲

DSR ۱۵۷۴/۵/د ۹ ر ۹

۱۰۵۲۷۹۵

کتابخانه ملی ایران

کد / م ۲۲۷۸



مؤسسه تنظیم و نشر آثار امام خمینی

✓ Religion and Politics from Imam Khomeini's Viewpoint:  
A Collection of Articles

✓ Publisher: International Affairs Department, The Institute for  
Compilation and Publication of Imam Khomeini's Works

✓ Translator: A group of translators

✓ Editors: Mohsen Dehghani

✓ Technical Editor: Majid Karimi

✓ First Printing: ۱۴۰۳ دوم ۵۰۰

✓ 101018000200056



۱۰۱۰۱۸۰۰۰۲۰۰۰۵۶

مقالات دین و سیاست انگلیسی

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(مجموعه مقالات "دین و سیاست از منظر امام خمینی" به زبان انگلیسی)

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## Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, آ, ء	a, 'a, (')
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	'
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
آه	ah

### Long Vowels

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
آ, اِ	<i>ā, Ā</i>
ای	<i>ī, Ī</i>
او	<i>ū, Ū</i>

### Short Vowels

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

### Persian Letters

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

### ***In His Most Exalted Name***

*“Islam is an ideology, which unlike non-monotheistic ideologies, addresses all individual, social, corporeal, spiritual, cultural, political and economical aspects of life and does not leave any topic slightest point which, affects the education of mankind and society, and his worldly and spiritual development unanswered.”*

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In the vast expanse of the domination and diversify powers of humankind, political leaders, have marginalized cogitation, spirituality and religiousness and are exploiting religion, as a powerful and flexible tool for their own benefit. Pervasive, complex and co-ordinate propagation by those media which are connected to world powers, define religion and politics as two opposing, or at least separate entities and consider specific borders and functions for each of them, in a way—such that—by choosing any use of these frontiers, he either forfeits the others or faces constraint and contradiction.

In such an atmosphere, modern man at the height of experiences individuality and autonomy, and godlike domination, will content himself with a mechanical and industrial paradise, and will believe that the solution to social and political problems lies only in materiality and shunning God. Thus, religion can exist only in individual, personal and non-materialistic arenas, which shall ultimately lead to ever-increasing and widespread anxiety and bewilderment. This removal and alienation of spirituality and maternal life, as shown by scientific researches of sociologists, psychologists and

other scientists, cannot in any way be resolved with scientific and technological advancements.

Hence, in the era of human domination, Imām Khomeinī has by once again putting forward the subject of facts and its effective soles in society not as a personal or intellectual idea, rather as an influential movement in society and politics.

This solution was put forward a line when new individualistic schools were propagating licentiousness, liberalism and modernism and were suggesting that the only choice for human being is confined to his worldly life. What was unpredictable in this matter was the realization of a "religious" revolution with characteristics of "idealism", "justice-seeking" "spirituality" and "democracy". Such that many of the western intellectuals for long, reflected on this phenomenon (that is the Islamic republic of Iran) and studied and investigated in as an extraordinary enigma while the politicians considered it unacceptable.

The revolutionary and religious movement of Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him) not only entered the important aspect of religion into the scientific hypothesis and theories, but also was able to make it a role model for all exploited countries, especially Moslem nations, according to their religious and national wishes, goals and beliefs a model which, unlike pseudo intellectual theories, is real, is in keeping with the political and social and that finally safeguards the national and religious interest.

With this movement of the Imām those people who, because of inculcation by others, thought of Islam as the cause of intoxication, retardation and stagnation, returned to life giving and educative spirit of religion and felt the invigorating power of Islam, both in theory and practice.

Thus, once again public thought in east and west, understood the divine and spiritual values and their effect on social life, and put forward their fundamental questions; questions such as: "Can religion have any relationship with politics? If it can, then what kind of a relation is it? What are its criteria? What are its limits?"

Generally, the harbinger of religiousness and practicing religion believes that the only way for salvation of human beings is to adhere to Islam and spirituality, and believes that religion and politics are very compatible. Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), believes in the union and connection of religion and politics, and is in favor of the idea which says "Our religion is as

our politics, and our politics is as our religion”<sup>1</sup> a slogan, which after the foundation and structuralization of the theory of the primacy of the top spiritual leader, was finally realized.

In sections of this preface, attempt has been made to express the Imām’s point of view and to describe various aspects of relationship between religion and politics according to his political reflections and beliefs, after bringing up the generalities and main definitions in order to achieve a correct judgment although a profound reflection and cogitation is needed in order to survey all aspects of the discussion.

## ▪ Generalities

### ❖ Religion

#### 1. Definition

The word religion<sup>2</sup> is defined as habit, characteristic, politics, judgment, acceptance and retribution, while its literal meaning is the traditions and laws, which are sent by God as religious instructions.<sup>3</sup> The literal meaning of religion is humbleness, resignation and acceptance vis-à-vis a specific set of laws.<sup>4</sup>

In yet another translation religion is defined as “The set of principles teachings of prophets or the plan for materialistic, spiritual, earthly and heavenly living of human beings, which is sent by God using prophets in order to teach and guide humans. That is a collection of righteous rules and it beliefs which are a motive for righteousness and correct and fair discipline in society.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A famous saying by Shahīd Mudarris, one of the pioneers of the theory of relationship between religion and politics, in whose theoretical and practical doctrine, the Imām gave much attention.

<sup>2</sup> Translator: Here what we mean by religion is the Arabic word “*dīn*”, so the definition is also related to the latter.

<sup>3</sup> An introduction to social sciences encyclopedia, Bāqir Sarokhānī, PHD, 1370 AHS.

<sup>4</sup> Challenges of religion, Sayyid Faḍlullāh Ḥusaynī, Kānūn-e-Andīshaye Javān, p.15, Spring 1381 AHS (2002 A.D).

<sup>5</sup> Essay on the connection of politics and religion from the viewpoint of the Imām (peace be upon him) Muḥammad-Taqī Subḥānī Niyā, “Imām Khomeinī and the idea of Islamic government” congress, vol. 1.

Although each of these definitions reveals a part of the truth about religion, yet they have their own imperfections. For instance, the goal and the aim of religion are not taken into consideration. Therefore, we can use one of these two complementary definitions:

“Religion is a set of interconnected beliefs and an idea about the world, man and the hereafter, which is taken from the divine revelation and its aim, is to guide people to a better life and perfection.”<sup>1</sup> Yet another definition is that “religion is a set of beliefs, morals, rules and regulations for controlling an individual or human society and also to education of human beings, by means of Divine revelation and reasoning.”<sup>2</sup>

In order to maintain the brevity, other definitions will not be discussed here.<sup>3</sup>

## **2. The role of religion**

We can consider two functions for religion. One is worldly, and the other, after world function. According to one view, religion has a role in regulating people lives and gives order to social life of human being. While according to another view, it deals solely with eternity and afterlife, giving order to after world matters, affairs and has nothing to do with everyday and social affairs.

However, what is the real basis for essentiality of religion to man?

Human beings, turn toward religion because of the need for self-identification, divinity, and the need for tranquility. (True remembrance of God brings peace to the heart)<sup>4</sup> Moreover, this is realized in context of society and social and political relations. Religion establishes a coherent and harmonious order which effectively answers central questions of human beings in three fields of the individual, the world, and God, and gives a satisfactory answer to the manner of interaction and communication between

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<sup>1</sup> Essay on the connection of politics and religion from the viewpoint of the Imām (peace be upon him), Muḥammad-Taqī Subḥānī-Niyā, “Imām Khomeinī and the idea of Islamic government” congress, vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Theology, Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī, p 27, Osarā Publications, 1381 AHS (year 2002).

<sup>3</sup> It has been mentioned in the essay “The Reason of Essentiality of Religion for Man” that: “Religion consists of a set of divine laws and—morals—which are in complete harmony with human nature and basic needs of them and is backed by intellect and logic, and guarantees human material and spiritual success, whether in this world or the hereafter.”, *Hawzah-ye Andīshe* quarterly periodical, year 8, no. 35 & 36.

<sup>4</sup> Translator: A verse of holy Koran.



them.<sup>1</sup> In fact, religion is not taciturn in dealing with human affairs. Religion is both *Weltanschauung*<sup>2</sup> and ideology<sup>3</sup>, which guide man's actions, and is laid down by God. Religion finds both worldly and after world functionality with this role, religion finds both worldly. In its worldly functionality, religion is salvation. Man is freed from all worldly restraints and becomes unshackled. He denies servitude to others and being under their dominion, by devoting himself to God alone.

In its after worldly function, religion is elevating. Finally, although religion is concerned with the last resort or the after world, yet it pays attention to the preliminary—meaning the world—and the manner of living in it and regards the world to be a farmland for cultivation of the hereafter.

### 3. Islam

The regulated relationship of man and revelation, which manifests as religion, has gradually changed and evolved over time. This evolution is related to mental and social conditions of man and the kind of understanding of man such that in the era of advent of Islam, epiphany of divine decrees was realized comprehensively.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, Islam, as the last religion, should be the complete reference of God's teachings and decrees. It must be immune to change and evolution.

In Islam's point of view, the last aim of human being is proximity to God and reaching perfection and *Paragon*. With the help of religion, man can recognize the truth of his existence (We are from God, we return to Him), by setting aside numerous curtains, gain perfection, and seek his true nature in a developing movement.

The important point is that mankind can not find the way by himself, and that is only God who knows the virtues and vices lying in the way, knows the characteristics of man, can prescribe the life saving remedy. Therefore, there is only one acceptable plan, scheme and program that leads to the path of righteousness and perfection, and prevent man from decline, deviation and annihilation.

<sup>1</sup> Religion regulates the four different dealing of human being (which are vis-à-vis God, society, nature, and himself), *Theology*, Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī, p 27, *Usarā* Publications 2002.

<sup>2</sup> *Weltanschauung* is the way of thinking of a school of thought about world and universe. *An Introduction upon Islamic Ideology*, p 64.

<sup>3</sup> Ideology is a set of laws and moral convictions in a school, based upon the *Weltanschauung*.

<sup>4</sup> Holy Qur'an, *al-Mā'idah*, 5: 3.

#### 4. The Imām's point of view

Religion, in the Imām Khomeinī's point of view, guarantees salvation and perfection of humankind. Man should always be pious, in its true sense of the term, in order to reach his final goal, which is having position of esteem in front of God. In other words, Islam as the most complete religion that pays attention all aspects of human existence, whether material or spiritual. In the Imām's point of view, Islam's great value and richness is indubitable and all that one needs to reach salvation in this life and the life hereafter is provided in divine decrees and the holy Qur'an. In the Imām's opinion, Islam is "The theory of managing and guiding human from cradle to the grave"<sup>1</sup> and this theory can lead him towards virtue and blessing and keep him from committing vices. None of the economical, social, political, and individual aspects of human life is beyond religion's boundaries and worshipping God is nothing more than obeying divine rules and regulations in social and personal matters.

#### ❖ Politics

##### 1. Definition

The literal meanings of politics<sup>2</sup> are: knavery, policy, power, stratagem, dominance upon peasants, governing the country, government, management, judgment and justice, punishment, command and prohibition, etc.<sup>3</sup> Different translations have been given for this word. Some think of politics as "Policies used by government for handling the country's affairs"<sup>4</sup>, some others say that "Politics is the way of managing the society or regulating it in a way that leads it to secure its needs and interests."<sup>5</sup> Or in simpler worlds, Politics "is the rules for the administration of a state."<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, politics is a subject, for which different connoisseurs have given different definitions according to their aims and contexts, and have highlighted some points and omitted the others. This has made giving a

<sup>1</sup> *Şahîfe-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Translator: "Siyāsat".

<sup>3</sup> *Political System in Islam*, 'Alīāşghar Nuşratī, *Imām-e-'Aşr* Publications, Summer 82, 2003, p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *An Introduction to Social Sciences Encyclopedia*, Bāqir Sarokhānī, PH.D, 1370 it is also defined as "Politics is either religious or civil if it is religious, the canons are derived from religion, and if it is civil, it is a part of practical wisdom."

<sup>5</sup> *Islam, Politics, Government*, vol. 1, Professor Muḥammad-Taqī Mişbāh Yazdī, Islamic Propagation Organization, p. 54.

general explanation rather difficult. However, we have no other choice but to accept these two explanations, which are more complete than the others, as the fundamental definitions:

First, "Politics is theoretical and practical management and supervision of communicational, cultural and economic associations, in order to reach the goals which will realize social development."<sup>1</sup>

Second, "Politics means choosing the best policies, which is achieved by having a thorough understanding of situation, and knowing how to establish a peaceful relation between individuals, groups and nations. It plays a major role in development of society and achieving national aspirations, in all aspects of life (material and spiritual)."<sup>2</sup>

## 2. The role of politics

There is no doubt that every society needs policy, government and management. Therefore, politics cannot be separated from society and each society considers a function for this subject. This function is always in line with the goals and aims of that society.

In other words, the role of politics is closely related to the general fundamentals of society such as existential, anthropology, epistemology with the chosen stratagems and goals and has that objectives and aspirations.

For instance, a society, which has set profiteering as its goal, and has limited his ambitions to this world, will look at politics as a powerful tool for secreting human pleasures and benefits. Such a society regards every way of reaching personal and corporal convenience to be valid, and permits domination of other societies. In this society, the permission for doing any task in order to achieve power is permissible and the application of any tools, whether legitimate or not, is considered necessary.

However, in a society in which the goals are to educate, to reform and to reach perfection in this world and the afterworld, politics is a tool for development and elevation of humankind, which is only accessible through legitimate manners. In such a society, power is not at the service of vulgar pleasures and profiteering, while dominance and totalitarianism is prohibited. Therefore, politics can take on different roles according to its aims and objects. The effect in it of politics is such that by using it, it becomes possible to achieve the desired objective and the society will be guided towards that same goal.

<sup>1</sup> *Political System in Islam*, 'Alī-Aṣghar Nuṣratī, pp. 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> Discussions about the primacy of the foremost spiritual leader, leadership and political government in Islam, Muḥammad-Hādī Ma'rīfat, vol. 2.

### 3. Islam

To give a definition for politics in Islam's point of view, we should pay attention to ideas such as being objective oriented, belief in afterworld, religious guardianship and supervision such that, perfection and happiness of man, free will, education and so forth. So that the definition would be able to completely secure and clarify all the essentials and basis under consideration.

Politics in Islam means: to educate, govern, judge and also impart justice. In Islam, politics only in its utopian concept is which has the responsibility of governing the society and people properly.<sup>1</sup> So the application of politics is broader in Islam. Islamic politics is not merely a discipline and management of humankind's ordinary life and in his style of weapon politics not all manners of governing society is acceptable, and the politician cannot use every armament to reach his aims and purposes.<sup>2</sup> The major criterion in politics is moving towards human interests and education of society towards implementation of divine tenets.

In such a political system that is righteous, laws cannot be indifferent people's way of life. The political leader, with full answers and knowledge, should lead the society towards fulfillment. They do not have any objections against modernism, if it is not against religion and humanity.

Moving of the path of salvation of human and society, is the important characteristic in government of an Islamic Society.<sup>3</sup> It is explained in these principles as follows:

#### A- Basic and fundamental principles:

**1. Cosmology:** Cosmos has a creator, who is the source of everything and He is the one with the right to rule. Therefore, according to Divine viewpoint, sovereignty is only attributed to God, and except God (and those whom God has given the permission), there is no power and sovereignty.

**2. Anthropology:** Man is a perfectionist being. Therefore, his major inclination is to attain virtue, avoid vices and reach salvation in this world and afterlife.

**3. Epistemology:** It is possible for all individuals to find the truth in a uniform and absolute manner and relativity is rejected.

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars like Fārābī, which believe in the notion of utopia, opine, "Politics consists of different ways of enabling society to reach salvation and success."

<sup>2</sup> In a religious system, no matter how sacred the purpose, it does not justify the tool.

<sup>3</sup> Ghazālī believes that politics is showing the virtuous way to people, which is salvation in the world and the afterworld.

**B- Policy and process:** In Islamic beliefs, one should use legitimate tools in order to reach the goal.

**C- Aim and goal:** In Islamic beliefs, the aim of politics is reaching perfection and proximity to Divine.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. The Imām's point of view

According to political viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), "politics," is what moves and guides the society; it considers all of the society's interests and all aspects of society and mankind and guide them towards what is expedient for them."<sup>2</sup> Politics, according to this point of view, is an aspect of divine sovereignty over the world and is the way of guidance and leadership of people and society towards their true interests in all aspects.<sup>3</sup>

In other words, politics should lead to "reformation", "guidance" and "education" and in this way, it is against deception and subterfuge and hegemony which leads to vice and evil.<sup>4</sup> Politics according to the Imām is the leadership of a purified and pious individual who leads others towards human development and perfection. Thus, the scope of politics will be broader. In this definition, the goal is not merely material welfare or meeting the needs of people' living; rather good of this world and the hereafter determines the principle stance of the government.

With a close look at the Imām's political thinking, one can deduce that in the definition of politics, some important points have been considered:

A. Politics is of the same ilk of guidance, leadership and government. Meaning that the one who holds sway over the political system, and leads the society towards perfection, should have the needed qualifications himself.

B. Politics has a clear-cut direction and the only direction, which is acceptable, is the divine direction.

It is explained in this way that, the Imām considers three types of politics namely: 1. satanic politics, which consists of deception and subterfuge; 2. Beastly politics, which only pays attention to answering materialistic, needs

<sup>1</sup> *Philosophy of Politics, "The Pattern of Government"* pamphlet, pp. 26-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, pp. 431-432.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol.18, p. 421.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol.13, pp. 431-432.

<sup>5</sup> Public interest is ensuring rights, securing values and fulfillment of the goals of human society in different situations.

of society; 3. Islamic politics, which pays attention to both material and spiritual needs of society.<sup>1</sup>

The third type is the one, which the Imām has in mind that consists of reformation and guidance and ends in salvation of the society. Therefore, the leader cannot be indifferent towards the perception, perspicacity and actions of the members of the society.

C. The aims of politics are guidance, prudence and reformation. Therefore, the Imām does not accept any movement that leads the society towards degeneration, corruption and deterioration. Therefore, in the Imām's political definition, having a definite aim plays an important role. In the same way that personal and social interests and salvation are the essentials of politics and this interest implies virtues and avoiding vices are essential pillars of politics and this interest implies conformity with virtues and avoidance of vice.

Overall, we can reach the conclusion that the aim of politics, is to eliminate public deviations (in all its forms) from the path of development and loftiness of the society and since Islam is a "material-spiritual" doctoring, so an Islamic government should pay attention to all human aspects.<sup>2</sup>

D. Politics is in interaction with tenets such as "virtuousness", "justice" "foresightedness" "Tactfulness" which are of the special fundamentals of the Imām's political thinking. This means that—in the interaction of these four principles, divine and Islamic politics have taken shape and the interests of society is secured.<sup>3</sup>

## ▪ The relationship between religion and politics

### ❖ Theories

Throughout history, the challenges between religion and politics have been one of the major preoccupations of scholars and politicians. Sometimes humankind has advanced nearly to the unity of religion and politics, while sometimes he has denied any connection between the two.

In order to show the area of connection between religion and politics, we should identify the function and territory of each one. The appointed criterion

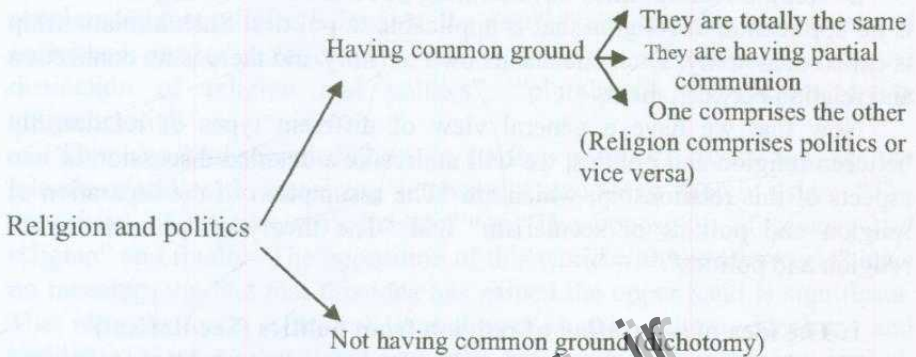
<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> Exclusive basis are those, which have a direct effect upon relationship of religion and politics, "*Basis of Public Interest in Political Viewpoint of the Imām*", Bāqirzādeh, PHD, pp. 175-179.

is either this world or the hereafter. According to logical procedure, we should build a framework in which the territory of each function is defined. This general framework is very important for evaluation, comparison and reviewing famous ideas on this subject. It can also give a general view of the relationship of religion and society.

Therefore, categorization below is suggested for entering the debate: <sup>1</sup>



In this categorization these points are observable: <sup>2</sup>

A- Religion and politics have a common territory. What are the boundaries of this joint territory? We can make these assumptions that:

1. Religion and politics enjoy a complete coherence and are similar. The logical relation is equality. Therefore, based on this assumption, everything that is connected to politics is connected to religion, and vice versa.

2. Religion and politics have partial communion, which means some of religious subjects are political and vice versa meaning that political subjects are related to religion.

3. Religion and politics have absolute common and exclusive relationship. More specifically, we will have two especial phases this assumption:

<sup>1</sup> This categorization can be done with other criteria. For example, if the criterion is changed to individual and society, the general sketch will be similar. For example, "religion deals with personal matters and politics with social" or "religion deals with both individual and society but politics deals only with society" or "politics deals with both individual and society but religion deals only with individual" and other types.

<sup>2</sup> This suggested categorization, has sorted all the possible conceivable models based upon the criteria of this world and the after life. Therefore, it is possible that in reality some of these models are not achieved or not practiced.

Phase one, the assumption that politics is a part of religion. That means religion deals both with this world and afterworld matters, whereas politics only governs this world's affairs and they have a communion in this area.

Phase two, the assumption that religions are a part of politics. In this phase, this world is the one, which is important, and a small part, which is also secondary, for me consists of the afterworld.

B- Religion and politics have nothing in common. Meaning that is there is no application of religion that is applicable to politics. Such a relationship is called dichotomy. Each one has its own territory and there is no connection and relation between them,

Now that we have a general view of different types of relationship between religion and politics, we will undertake a detailed discussion of two aspects of this relationship, which are "The assumption of the separation of religion and politics or secularism" and "The theory of assimilation of religion and politics".

### **1. The idea of separation of religion from politics (Secularism)**

The idea of secularism or separation of religion from politics took shape as preponderant idea, in the west.<sup>1</sup> This idea has been responsible for the divide between government and politics with religion. It was shaped in the renaissance period. Its causes were the behavior and attitude of ruling class of church and religion towards the idea of temporalism and the intellectual and scientific experiences of mankind.

With the help of the previous categorization (p. 8), we can conclude that these two structures are in agreement with it.

First: A dichotomous structure, which accepts that religion and politics do not have any shared boundaries and are completely different. (Part B)

Second: A structure that believes in that there is a common frontier in an absolute common and exclusive form of. However, it regards politics to be primary and incorporating religion.

According to this thinking, those who believe that there is a separation between religion and politics, opine that religion does not meddle in social matters or at least has remained silent and it is human experience that has taken over the role of managing society and the world. Religion, according to this theory, has taken care of personal and spiritual affairs of mankind, and in

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<sup>1</sup> "Secularism is a western phenomena related to the passing period from the old phase to a new one which manifested in the movement of reformation of religion, in the form of faith in originality of mind", *Criticism and Idea*, p. 7.



this subject, it has been effective too. However, it does not have a role in general, public and worldly affairs.

Some of the principles of the thesis of separation of religion from politics are: "Anthropocentrism", "intellectualism", "scientism", "indulgence", "modernism or being against tradition", "remoteness of sanctity of religion from political defilements and deceitfulness of politics", "politics being customized and intellectual", "reaching the end of era of religion and that religion belongs to the past"<sup>1</sup> "religion being a personal and individual matter", "internality and spirituality of religion", "natural distinction of religion and politics", "pluralism"<sup>2</sup>, "Theocracy being undemocratic".<sup>3</sup>

This idea has pervaded from its starting point, the West, towards the Islamic world with increasing intensity. Considering that in Islam "The opposition of religion with intellect" or "The opposition of science and religion" and finally "The opposition of this world with the afterworld" have no meaning, the fact that this idea has gained the upper hand is significant. The idea that gets a nonreligious frame in this culture, ideology and traditions. Meaning that they sever their links with religious values or with divine principles.<sup>4</sup>

Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him) explains the reasons popularity for of this theory of separation religion from politics as follows:

1- Conspiracy of colonialists and Jews for destroying Islam in ways such as training intellectuals, negation of comprehensiveness of Islam,

<sup>1</sup> The views of famous sociologist August Kent, about the transitions of mankind confirms this idea, *The Development of Philosophy in Europe*, vol. 3, p. 114 and also "Theology" p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Pluralism is caused by doubtfulness and relativity. Although the famous saying is that truth is with anybody and everybody will have a share of the truth, Islamic viewpoint rejects it, because human has affixed nature (mettle) and seeks a fixed and unchanging truth. So he cannot accept multitude of truths. In other words, the spirit of divine religions and their principles are the same and have merely expanded through out history. According to this monotheistic point of view, religions do not have apposition and dichotomy with each other. (Please refer to "Theology", Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī, from p. 185 onwards, Section 6).

<sup>3</sup> "A survey of the relationship of religion and politics", Muḥammad Mahdī Behdādvand, Islamic Government. Year 7, No. 2, "A Survey of the Idea of Separation of Religion from Politics...", Muḥammad-'Alī Barzenonī, *Imām and Religious Cogitation*, "The Relation of Religion and the World" Āyatullāh Jawādī Āmolī, Chapter 2.

<sup>4</sup> Allen Borough notes that; "We should not consider the process of making irreligious which is accompanied with differentiation of spiritual matters from materialistic ones and authorization of special functionality of intellect in virtuous deeds ... the same as the process which suggest the negation all religious ideas in life, and leads to mere intellectualism and atheism."

antireligious propagation, promotion of negative dimension of politics (deception, chicanery, trickery ...), misinterpretation of religion and worship.<sup>1</sup>

2- Conspiracy for appointment of successor for the prophet of Islam (BPUH) at the advent of Islam.

3- Misapprehension of the clergy who did not understand the principle of Islam.<sup>2</sup>

4- Lack of self confidence of Muslims vis-à-vis western progress.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore the misapprehension of Muslim scholars, the dissenters and western imperiousness are the causes of penetration of this idea in Islamic world, and the Imām with his deep and precise understanding of genuine Muḥammadan Islam, thought of complete faithfulness to Islam as the cause of salvation for Islamic nation and reaching true success, and with pathology of Islamic society promulgated the theory of connection of religion and politics with the introduction of "Islamic government" and "The supremacy of the supreme spiritual leader." He believes that subterfuges like the idea of separation of religion from politics are artificial and are result of lack of correct knowledge of religion and politics.<sup>4</sup>

He believes that the aim of religion and politics is education and transcendence. Therefore, both religion and politics are installed for the same goal, but perhaps by means of two different ways.

There is no difference in existence or non-existence of a religion which chooses seclusion and has no effect on social relationships of the society and will naturally fail to achieve its goal- education and transcendence- and will become a mere tool in service of politics and power.

## **2. The idea of integration of religion and politics**

This idea, as opposed to secularism, believes that religion and politics are sharing some boundaries together and are enjoying a kind of union. In this point of view, not only religion participates in politics, but also connection

<sup>1</sup> *Şahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 338, vol. 4, pp. 16-17, vol. 5, p. 185, vol. 9, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Şahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> "*Şahīfeh-ye Imām*", vol. 8 p. 79, "A survey of the relationship of religion and politics", Muḥammad-Mahdī Behdādvand, "The separation of religion from politics from the Imām's viewpoint, Īraj Tabrizī, Collection of Ideology, leadership and process of Islamic revolution vol.1.

<sup>4</sup> The Imām (peace be upon him): "Islam is a devotional and political religion.", "*Şahīfeh-ye Imām*", vol.13 p. 274, vol.10 p. 158, vol. 11 p. 463, vol. 5 p. 268 and also: "Islam's politics is mingled with its other commandments" vol. 3, p. 516.

between religion and politics is necessary and religion can give politics a special motivation and drive it towards the final goal of man, which is perfection and salvation.

According to categorization of relationship of religion and politics, (p. 8) two types are suggested for this integration:

First- The equal structure that believes the domain of religion and politics are one and the same and have similar topics. Terms such as "union", "uniformity", "sameness", and "connection" are observed in this structure. (Section A, No. 1).

Second- The structure, which believes in, shared domain of religion and politics such that one complements the other but in a way that religion complements politics. (Section A, number3, phase 1).

The idea of integration has a long history in religious societies<sup>1</sup> such that the divine prophets have been the first political leaders of the society and did not differentiate between a religious and political leadership.<sup>2</sup> This theory is nurtured in the Imām's viewpoint and it believes in the idea of integration, relationship and interaction of religion and politics.

Basically the Imām, in following this theory, was opposed to both the isolationistic and secularistic idea about religion. He pursues the fact that the final aim of religion is only attainable through establishment of a real divine government and serious participation of religion in politics.

With a prudent observation of dual structures of the theory of integration of religion and politics, it becomes clear that:

A- Religion and politics are totally the same in the sense of function, goals and general principals. This means that the goal of religion is sublimity, perfection and reformation of society and for reaching these goals, it trains and educates the society; and politics is nothing besides this.

B- The second structure, in meaning, explains the partial communion. In fact, it believes that politics is a part of religion. Since religion, being more comprehensive, includes both material and spiritual affairs and politics is about worldly matters, therefore politics shares this area with religion.

In some explanations of Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), the first structure and sameness of religion with politics is mentioned. For instance,

<sup>1</sup> There is a negative interpretation of this structure in history and that is the ecclesiastical viewpoint of this idea in medieval period. According to this viewpoint, all economical, scientific, social and cultural details should be interpreted in religious context and religion is ecclesiastical interpretation of it. In this way, any idea outside this framework is forbidden.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah Šād*, 38: 26, *Sūrah al-Mā'idah*, 5: 49.

the Imām believed in “comprehensiveness of Islam”<sup>1</sup> and that Islam and Shiite jurisprudence is “The theory of managing mankind from cradle to the grave”<sup>2</sup> or that “Islam is a political religion, it is a religion that everything in it is political, even its worship.”<sup>3</sup> Moreover, in Islam, “politics is mixed with worship.”<sup>4</sup>

Also, sometimes the second structure is mentioned. For instance, he explains the aim of Islam as: “Islam has come for mending the life of world and the afterworld.”<sup>5</sup> Or he mentions that, “installing a non-Islamic system, means ignoring the political aspect of Islam”<sup>6</sup> or that “The commandments of religion have a variety of rules which constructs a general social system. In this legal system, whatever mankind needs, is made available ...”<sup>7</sup>

In short, in political ideas of Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), both structures are considered such that Islam has not even forgotten politics in personal prayers, and does not consider politics separate from religion. On the other hand, when world and afterworld -politics and religion- have a common ground in general, they will have a communion in details too.

Islam believes that the only way of reaching the afterworld is through this world, and we cannot ignore one to achieve the other, and guidance and education of people would be impossible without indulgence in politics.<sup>8</sup> Also, one of the ideals of Islam is the establishment of justice and that is not possible without the use of politics. According to the Imām's point of view, is it possible to have justice among people without participating in political affairs? Is it possible to stand for justice without involving in politics, social affairs and the needs of nations?<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “If someone states that establishing an Islamic government is not necessary, he has denied the necessity of the execution its commandments and has denied the perpetuity of the holy religion of Islam.”, *“The Primacy of the Top Spiritual Leader”*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *“Şahīfeh-ye Imām”*, vol. 21, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> *“Şahīfeh-ye Imām”*, vol. 10, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *“Şahīfeh-ye Imām”*, vol. 4, p. 448 and other explications such as “swear to God that Islam is completely political.”

<sup>5</sup> *“Şahīfeh-ye Imām”*, vol. 19, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> *Principals of Political Morals of Imām Khomeinī*, Ashraf Borūjerdī, Collection of essays of the 8<sup>th</sup> Seminar on *Review of Theoretical and Practical Thoughts of the Imām*, p. 265].

<sup>7</sup> *The primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority*”, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> “It is apparent that Islam pays a lot of attention to government and political and economical relationships so that all the conditions would be ready for education of a virtuous and pious mankind.”, *“The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority”*, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *“Şahīfeh -ye Imām”*, vol.15, p. 215.

Therefore according to the Imām's point of view, not only religion in general and Islam in particular have an interconnection with politics; rather, this connection also is the cause of the union and sameness of religion and politics. Finally, Islam introduces a cohesive political and social system which perfectly answers all problems of human life and is capable of making a right connection with economy, education, management, sociology ...

In the Imām's point of view, there are some general<sup>1</sup> basis, which form into a orderly shape and integrate. These principles are Cosmology, anthropology, sociology, aestheticism, politics and epistemology.<sup>2</sup> According to this systematic viewpoint, the Imām as a spiritual leader, gnostic, politician, and philosopher ... was trying to unify these aspects, and his attempt of unity, was opposed to any political pluralism.

For further familiarization of the idea of integration and relationship between religion and politics, which is the principal theory of Imām, (peace be upon him), we will explain different aspects of the theory and finally take a look at its perfection under "The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority":

#### A. The political characteristics of Islam

Islam, as the last gift of God to people, claims that it can fulfill all their needs. This assertion is validated by introducing a way of life, a clear pattern for actions of human beings in different important social and political dimensions.

With the arrival of regressive beliefs, the genuine Islam which was present in all social decisions, changed to an individual, personal and neutral religion—a religion which had nothing to do with government and rulers and merely dealt with worship and fulfillment of superficial aspects of a religion; a religion which had lost all its contents and its ultimate objective was seclusion eremitism and monarchism, a religion which posed no danger and menace for global arrogance and therefore was promoted, backed and promulgated by it. According to Imām, an "American Islam" which was opposed to "The genuine Islam"<sup>3</sup> was promulgated as a religion. The Imām

<sup>1</sup> General basis, are those fundamental principles, which make the foundation of Imām's idea and at the same time, have indirect but nonetheless important effect on the relationship of religion and politics.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these are briefly explained in this essay, p. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> A message by the Imām in memory of martyrdom of Sayyid 'Ārif al-Ḥusaynī stated that: "Unfortunately even now, for many of Islamic nations the boarder and distinction between

further believes that a nonpolitical interpretation of Islam is a kind of declaration war.

Therefore, religion, and specially Islam, will not tolerate indifference towards political and social matters.<sup>1</sup> We will list some of the political characteristics of Islam, which shows the viewpoint of Islam towards politics:

1. In Islam, there is no worship, which is not combined with politics.<sup>2</sup>
2. Considering the universality of Islamic commandments, it is concerned with universal government and leadership.<sup>3</sup>
3. Justice seeking and fighting tyranny is the final end of rightful divine uprising.<sup>4</sup>
4. Islam is against any kind of dictatorship, vanity and hegemony.<sup>5</sup>
5. Political boundaries of Islam, include humanity and the entire world, it is not limited to a specific nation or tribe.<sup>6</sup>

### **B. The reasons for integration of religion and politics**

The Imām has given different reasons to justify the relationship of religion and politics. These reasons are divided into two main parts:<sup>7</sup>

#### (1) Quoted reasons

The most significant quoted reasons are:

- The tradition and policies of our holy prophet (peace be upon him) that he, himself established a government and became the political leader of society and second, on the orders of God, appointed a successor for himself.

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American Islam and Genuine Islam, the religion of the poor and the religion of sanctimonious impious people and the rich, are not defined completely...”

<sup>1</sup> Some of the political principles of Islam which are considered the unchanging principles of Imām are: “The necessity of religion and politics”, “The participation of all classes of people in all areas”, “social justice”, “seeking honor and fighting hegemony”, “protecting the poor and the destitute”.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol.3, p. 516 & “*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*”, vol. 6, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Seeking the path from Imām’s words, nationalism, p 63, “*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*”, vol.17 p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 419, vol.8, p. 342, vol. 9 p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol.1, p. 387, vo.15, p. 507.

<sup>6</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 41, vol.8, p. 520.

<sup>7</sup> For further reading, please refer to Essay on separation of religion and politics, ‘Alī Mohamed, Congress of Imām and Islamic government vol.1 and also “The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority”, p 17-23, A survey upon theory of separation of religion from politics ..., Muḥammad Barzenonī, International Congress of Imām and Religious Ideology

- The tradition of “The leader of the faithful”, the Imām ‘Alī; that after demise of holy prophet, nobody had any doubt about necessity of government, rather the only difference was about the head of government.
- Narratives from our holy Imāms about the necessity of obeying spiritual leaders during the absence of the Savior Mahdī.
- Struggle of the Immaculate Imāms, which were all-political and resulted in their martyrdom of the hand of usurpers of government.
- Intellectual reasons
- The spirit of religious commandments is political.
- Qur’an has far more social aspects compared to aspects of individual worship.
- The necessity of perpetuation in implementation of Islamic commandments and their not being limited to the time of advent of the Savior.
- The prevention of disorganization in Islamic society depends on installation of government.
- Based on a unifying perspective, everything is precisely religion.

All these reasons can be summarized in this sentence that “The relationship of religion and politics which leads to establishment of government is a matter that is quite apparent and doesn’t need that much [external] proof.”

### C. The necessity and aims of a theory

(1) **Necessities:** The necessities are the cause of occurrence of one phenomenon inevitable, or in other words, the lack of occurrence the phenomena to become impossible or at least causes disorder in the natural process.

Some of these necessities, which confirm the interrelation of religion and politics and regard the establishment of an Islamic government to be essential, are:

Firstly, Islam is concerned with this world and the world after. Therefore, it cannot do away with social programs and political interactions, which make up a major part of man’s life. Therefore, with participation in social and political matters, it sets the rules and policies of social life. In

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<sup>1</sup> “The Primacy of the Top Spiritual Leader”, p. 3.

addition, Islam believes this world is a preliminary for the afterlife.<sup>1</sup> So ignoring the world and forgetting our duties makes the afterworld lose its genuine meaning. Therefore, how we live in this world has a direct connection with the life in afterworld, and these together make the life of man. Therefore, this life consists of personal and social commandments and actions, and these two are both considered in lofty programs.

Secondly, In order for government to achieve the aim of spiritual purification and education, it has to eliminate injustice and encroachment, and practice impartiality. Lack of fairness and economic poverty, class discrimination of societies, lack of culture, promulgation of non-Islamic culture, schism between Muslims, indifference towards the destiny of Islamic nation, exploitation of resources of poor countries, especially Muslim nations, forgetting the final aim of human beings, are just a number of policies which with the intervention of religion in politics and society should be abolished and this is an important duty.<sup>2</sup>

Thirdly, Islamic commandments are always practical and do not belong to a specific period. Major parts of divine commandments are concerned with public and social affairs, and religion has enacted them for implementation and can never be neglected. Unlike the idea that believes that human material and intellectual progress, will erase the necessity of religion, social experiments of contemporary man shows that, the more he has backed away from religion, the further he has deteriorated.

Therefore, the teachings of religion oversee both material and spiritual interests, and with a complete knowledge of human beings, demand the execution all the commandments of religion and in case of omission of social and political decrees, personal commandments cannot bring about salvation of humankind.<sup>3</sup>

(2) **Aims:** In theocracy, governing and reaching power is only a tool to achieve the goals and aims, and seeking power for its own sake is never a consideration. In fact, government is a preliminary while execution of Islam's commandments is the goal. An Islamic government is established to

<sup>1</sup> Our Blessed Prophet, *"The world is Preparation for the Afterworld"*, *"Kunūz al-Ḥaqhāyiq"* ch. Dāl.

<sup>2</sup> "The idea of prevention of non-Muslims from taking control of Muslims" "admonishing others to do right and to avoid sin" "protecting the weak" "reformation of society from corruption" and many other social mottoes of Islam depend on establishment of a government, and on interconnection of religion and politics. Islamic government pays attention to public interest and with the execution of commandments of religion society will be cleansed of hegemony and weakness.

<sup>3</sup> *"Saḥīfeh-ye Imām"*, vol. 15, p. 214.



reform an undesirable situation and to attain a favorable condition. In other words, the final aim of theocracy is to guide and educate people so they are freed from bondage and move toward spiritual purity. Therefore, by establishing an ideal religious government will guide people towards that goal by educating them and implementing reforms. In such a government, decisions are taken based on the interests of the society.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, profiteering, greed, racism and hegemony are condemned. In such a system, power in Islamic government is only used to reach the final goal (we are from God, and we will return to him) and its policies are considerate of "admonishing others to do right and to avoid sin."<sup>2</sup>

But this goal is only attainable with installation of justice, fighting against transgression and atrocity. Therefore, an Islamic government is equivalent to a government of justice and a fair and just government must be in harmony with man's pure nature and a government, which is thus, will inevitably have public assent<sup>3</sup> and is coordinating and in keeping with its divine legitimacy. People will support such a government that guides them towards the final destination and uses all legitimate tools in order to break the obstacles in the way of this worthy goal. In such a government, there is always a struggle against blasphemy, apostasy, civil government and discord in human societies.

In short the aims of religious government are these:

- a) The ultimate aim of repeating and guiding people towards the truth
- b) The middle aim of establishing justice and equality in society

#### **D. The primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority<sup>4</sup> is a product of integration of religion and politics**

When Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him) introduced the theory of "The primacy of the Superior Leader Authority," the majority in seminaries (Ḥawzah) were against establishment of a religious government and leadership of a religious leader. Even in religious assemblies, concepts such as waiting for the Savior were altered in such a way as to lead to satisfaction of the people with the current social conditions and indifference toward the

<sup>1</sup> "Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām", vol. 6, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Also principles such as "advising the Muslims" "becoming closer to God" and the principle of "Priority of refinement of the soul and ethics."

<sup>3</sup> Assent and legitimacy needs a different chapter for explanation. However, legitimacy in religious government is given by God himself, and assent is acceptance of people.

<sup>4</sup> Translator: *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*.

lack of execution of divine commandments. Even those who attempted to reform social conditions would lose their sacred status.

In Shiite history, political passivity and negation of government were propagated. Especially in the period of absence of Savior the Imām Mahdī (peace be upon him), the impressions of negation of legitimacy of non-innocent governor, and even negation of any effort for establishing a government was promulgated. Although efforts by spiritual leaders such as Mīrzā-ye Shīrāzī, Āyatullāh Nā'inī, Mudarris, Āyatullāh Kāshānī and others shows the emergence of a new notion of integration of religion and politics, but in truth, for the first time in Shiite history, with the theory of primacy of the Superior Leader Authority, Islamic government was theorized within a philosophical and political framework. In a way that, the principles of political and social system of Islam, while keeping all the principles in a systematic manner, depended on installation of this framework. This theory was capable of answering religion and engagement in politics in a way that they were in harmony with each other in this theory, a pious and religious Muslim, in addition to paying attention to the principles of religion, obliges himself to arise for God's sake for restoration of the genuine Islam, and never give up until the establishment of the true divine government. He thinks of this obligatory uprising, as a preliminary to the universal reign of The promised Savior of mankind, Mahdī (peace be upon him).<sup>1</sup>

In the Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint, not only should one try to establish such a government, but also the safeguarding of the Islamic government—which, if it is achieved, is an obligation, and is of the basic necessities and Islamic commandments.

The Imām as a spiritual leader, who follows the traditions of the holy prophet, with a dynamic knowledge of religion in keeping with religious tenets, regards establishment of Islamic government as a religious obligation and duty, and considers negligence and hesitation on this subject to be irredeemable.

In his viewpoint, the top spiritual leader has the religious and political leadership and is responsible for proper execution of divine commandments. In fact, Islamic government is legitimized by the will of God, and its power is derived from the will of people, so it has a difference in spirit with current democratic governments. In this type of government, the objection is not the leadership of leaders of religion. The criterion of theocracy is the

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<sup>1</sup> "The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority" p. 39: "God has provided the era with that same governmental feature which was present at the beginning of Islam and until the advent of Imām Mahdī, for the era after the disappearance of the Savior also."

administration by religious leaders who try to implement religious laws and commandments. In fact, leadership of the Supreme Religious Authority [in society], is the leadership of religion<sup>1</sup>, and all are obedient to divine commandments, and since they all follow religion, there is no opposition between the will of people and the will of God. In this view, Islam and divine teachings, which never change, make up the contents of the government. However, the form and framework of theocratic government—can change and be transformed in keeping with the demand of the period meaning that theocratic government—accepts evolution and transformation of human society in forms that are in harmony with religion.

Although in an Islamic government the religious leader has authority like the prophet and the Immaculate Imāms, however, because these empowerments are for purpose of implementation of divine canons, there will be no evil<sup>2</sup>. Also this matter does not negate the idea of people choosing their own destiny, and people have a basic role in accepting the Islamic government and finding and identifying the top spiritual leader.<sup>3</sup>

In this genuine political-religious idea, that was introduced by Imām, especial characteristics are visible, which we should pay more attention to, but here we only make a list of them, and refer to some of the characteristics of Supreme Religious Authority:

1- The primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority is a government of law and ordinance.<sup>4</sup>

In the Islamic government that the Imām has in mind, everybody should obey the laws and are responsible to implement them. In other words, only divine law and religion oversees all actions and even the spiritual leader is equal with other people in this context. Therefore, nobody can create laws, unless it is in the framework of laws, ordinances and divine commandments. Thus, the government is constitutional and its condition is obeying the commandments of religion.

<sup>1</sup> In the idea of primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority, both people and the leader of Islamic society are obliged to obey the rules and there are no exceptions in this matter.

<sup>2</sup> The sensitivity and importance of this matter is so much that with committing just one of the cardinal sins, he will lose both leadership of society and religion.

<sup>3</sup> There are two aspects to the top religious leader: A. being a representative of Imām Mahdī (‘a) so except the position of Imāmate he has complete judicial powers and responsibilities.

B. being the representative of people, and the Chosen one. So he is also a symbol of “divine dominance” and responsible for guarding public interests., Derived from essay “Interaction of Intellect and Religion according to Islamic government” Muḥtabā ‘Attārāzādeh, *Imām Khomeinī and Islamic Government*, vol. 1.

<sup>4</sup> “*The Primacy of the Supreme Religious Authority*” p. 34.

2- People have a decisive role in Islamic government.

Although the Supreme spiritual leader is the appointed deputy of Holy Imām, but people have a role in recognition, achieve presence, and provide support to the Islamic government. It means that if there is no public desire for establishment of government, divine government will not be manifested and in this way, people will have the right to choose their own destiny. Therefore, unlike in a democratic system, the notion of freedom and rights does not mean the absolute sovereignty of will and demand of human beings.

3- The Supreme Religious Authority has the authorities of the Immaculate Imāms ('a).

By having the required qualifications (wisdom and justice), and paying attention to interests of Muslims, he can possess the absolute authority as that of holy Imāms', and without his approval, no law and commandment is legal and imperative.

4- The boundaries of Islamic government are the geographical boundaries of Islamic world and Islamic nation

Political decisions and attitudes in international relations are not limited to geographical or national boundaries. The Supreme Religious Authority, is the representative of all Islamic nations, and is concerned about their interest vis-à-vis the world. In Islamic government, nationalistic notion changes to brotherhood and unity between Muslims, and the borders of Islamic world are the boundaries of an Islamic government, and diplomatic rules are executed in a way so as to maintain self-esteem of Islamic nations and guard Islamic spirit and identity.

5- The condition of Supreme leadership is knowledge of religious jurisprudence

The primacy of Supreme Religious Authority is government of religion and commandments. Therefore, the one, who is chosen to have this responsibility, should have two qualifications: first, he should be the most knowledgeable of all people about religion and religious commandments and second, he should have the political ability for managing the society.

Therefore, whoever has religious knowledge of the holy religion of Islam has not yet attained the position of leadership, but he only has the sufficiency. To become the supreme leader, people have to see in him as having judicial and management abilities.

6- Government is one of the necessities of religion

Establishment of a government is one of the primary commandments of Islam and has priority to anything else. If there were any government based on principles of Islamic laws, not practically all other commandments would

not be executed completely. Therefore, according to statement of the Imām that, "Government which is a branch of the absolute religious authority of the Prophet of Allah (s), is one of the primary commandments of Islam, and has priority over all other secondary commandments and even over saying prayers, fasting and *Hajj* ... (The religious leader) can prevent any action whether devotional or non-devotional that is against the interests and benefits of Islam ..."<sup>1</sup>

7- The main role of government, is to execute commandments, guide and supervise

In an Islamic government, there is a functional system designed for the laws established and the tradition of Imāms demonstrates that they had the responsibility to perform this duty. Power and government in Islam implies the ability to implement Islamic commandments. In fact, the leaders are the executive powers of enacting the sacred laws; and with policies and planning they attempt to prevent deviation from the right path.<sup>2</sup>

## Conclusion

Imām Khomeinī (peace be upon him), by understanding historical events, and having a thorough knowledge of history of Islam and likewise, modern history of Iran and the world, has understood to find the causes of weakness and decadence of Muslims. On the other hand, his mastery in other fields such as religion, philosophy, sociology, ethics and politics made it possible for him to look at every social matter from different perspectives, and find complete and correct answers.

In fact, his personality characteristics, deep studies and keen judgment of social and political issues of Iran and the world, led to a movement that changed every ordinary transaction of the world and created a new impression of religion in the mind of the people of the world.

In general, the Imām's viewpoint is observable under several sub-headings:

<sup>1</sup> "*Ṣaḥīfeh -ye Imām*", vol. 20, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> The Imām in the context of authorities of The top spiritual leader believed the leader of Islamic society not only can legislate the secondary commandments and governmental laws, rather, according to interests of Islamic society he also can even temporarily change the primary commandments which are the unchangeable in religion., *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*", vol. 20, pp. 451-452.

### **A- Islam is a universal and complete religion**

Man, in order to answer his personal, social, worldly and spiritual requirements, is in need of religion and religion has a solution for each of these affairs. The Imām (peace be upon him) believed in universality and comprehensiveness of religion, and found the answer to all questions and ambiguities within religion. In other words, the Imām thought of religion as the answer to all needs of modern man.

### **B- There is union between religion and politics**

This can be explained from different angles:

**The Scientific Angle:** Since the Imām had undertaken various studies in the fields of religion, philosophy, theosophy, ethics, politics, history... and had an especial theosophical disposition, he had a comprehensive view of the sciences. He not only believed that all human sciences are different manifestations of one truth (God), but also thought of all creatures as a sign of God. Therefore, the truth is one and the same, and the differentiation between sciences is only nominal and subjective.

In addition, according to a monotheistic view, all the multiplicities are from a single source and generally, all multiplicities belong totally to a single source.

**Second- political and social:** The Imām, considering his contemporary historical experiences like the constitutional crises, nationalization of oil industry, the reign of Pahlavī and also contemplation in political history of the world and Islam, reached the conclusion that whenever religion has entered politics and society, it has been able to step one step further and be the cause of goodness and bliss; but whenever religious leaders have chosen seclusion or, because of eclectic reasons lost their role, that movement of society has been doomed to failure. The Imām has discovered the strength of the idea that "our politics is as our religion and our religion the same as our politics" in schools of people such as Mīrzā-ye Shīrāzī, Shaykh Faḍlullāh, Mr. Kāshānī, and finally Shahīd Mudarris.

**Religious and Theological Angles:** In categorization of spiritual leaders, the Imām belongs to the category of doctrine of fundamentalists and traditional theologians and firmly believes in traditions of our prophet and Imāms and the holy Qur'an. In this point of view, execution of the commandments is only possible with establishment of a government, and religion which is the genuine Islam, shows that politics is not only a major principle, but is also a tool for establishment of justice, and prevention of tyranny and therefore implementation of divine laws and commandments.

### **C- Expedience and paying attention to time and place is necessary**

Expedience, common good, universal salvation, interest of Muslims and Islam and interest of the poor all have the same meaning which is, "The benefit or loss—whether material or spiritual—caused by a decision or an action and its effect on and its effects and all those that are affected by that decision or action."

According to the Imām's, who believes that politics is nothing more than common good of society and securing the good and interests of people, common good is the sum of four principles of "Truth seeking", "wanting the worthwhile", "objectivity" and "sagacity". In other words, common good, is "respecting the rights, values and goals of human society in different situations that secures every policy, decision and action in this regard."

The fact that all commandments—whether devotional or not—follows the good and harm, is an important principle which the experts of Islamic sciences have accepted, unless somebody denies the logical aspects of virtue and vice.

Therefore, considering the situation of society, Islamic leader chooses the decision that is appropriate, and governs according to that and prevents corruption and evil.

According to this view, those secondary commandments that are against the interests of Islamic country, may be omitted.

### **D- Islam has a system which is moral-based, and politics follows that**

We can deal with the relationship of morality and politics from different aspects. Some of those aspects are:

First) The final goal of religion is to reach human perfection. Man is the essence of the world, and can reach to the height of humanity with his action and will. The only path for reaching this goal is through refinement of the soul and performing virtues deeds. Therefore, man traverses a path of perfection to reach God, and religion does not have any goal other than this.

Second) Islam outlines a guiding role for the government. It believes that the goal of politics is removal of public corruption and aberration—in all its aspects—from the path of development and perfection of society. Therefore, it uses all tools to propagate virtues and prevent social and ethical corruption.

Third) Religion is against profiteering. In ordinary politics, national interests consider every tool to reach its goals to be valid, and believe that using every instrument to be permissible. However, Islam believes that the end does not justify the means. We cannot use any method to reach the goal.

Therefore, political behavior in Islamic government follows moral values and the dominance of virtue upon politics is a clear fact.

Fourth) Religion is concerned with the welfare of all humanity. The universality of Islam causes it to firstly, consider welfare and good; and secondly, not only the welfare of the Muslim society, rather, generally, the reformation and welfare of all human societies. Therefore, the propagation of truth is of special importance and divine and Islamic teachings, and spreading the genuine Muḥammadan Islam.

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