



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







**IMĀM KHOMEINĪ**  
*and*  
**THE MUSLIM WORLD**

*A Collection of Articles*

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



## **Imām Khomeinī And the Muslim World**

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## Transliteration Symbols

<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>
ا, ء	a, 'a, (')
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
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
ة	ah

### Long Vowels

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

### Short Vowels

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

### Persian Letters

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



Nāṣir Mazāhirī Tehrānī

*“Islam has come to unite all nations of the worlds—Arab, non-Arab, Turk, and Persian—and to establish a great ummah,<sup>1</sup> called the Islamic ummah, in the world.”*

Imām Khomeinī  
*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 443

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## Preface

The miraculous victory of the revolutionary movement of the people of Iran by the wisely leadership of Hadrat Imām (r) in the most sensitive political focal point of the world and the immediate dissemination of the deliberating message of the Islamic revolution to the entire world shook the restful and quiet camp of the world’s arrogant powers and oppressors and disturbed the languishing asleep of the West from victory over the Muslims after the lengthy period of the Crusades and collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The divine and unseen gift of the Islamic revolution which in the interpretation of its founder was distinct from all revolutions of the world in appearance, motivations, and the quality of struggle,<sup>2</sup> rolled up quickly the geographical and certain faiths borders based on the mankind schools of the world and presented the deserted and forgotten “global” and “political” dimensions of Islam to the world. Occurrence of this incident at the heart of the government domain and the imperialistic dominance of the West in the Middle East was messenger of the severance of the imperialism’s hand from the great and overflowing resources of the Muslim countries and reappearance of the Muslims’ dignity and grandeur in the contemporary world. Thenceforth, the Islam heralding the man’s deliverance from the yoke of imperialists, the political Islam and the Muslim world awakened of the revolutionary movement of the Imām (r) was taken under the considerations and decision-makings of the imperialistic states and global superpowers. The

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<sup>1</sup> *Ummah*: the entire Islamic community without territorial or ethnic distinction.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Wasiyyatnāmeḥ* (The Last Message).

hostile approach of the West toward Islam was born of the awakening and anti-oppression nature of Islam introduced by Ḥaḍrat Imām. In his interpretation:

They have studied the Qur'an, they have studied the religion of Islam and have discovered that the Qur'an is such a book that if Muslims follow its teachings closely, they will deliver a punch to those people who want to come and dominate them.<sup>1</sup>

The wide-range efforts undertaken by the West in unreal bind of Islam with terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, violence, war and bloodshed, and introducing Islam as the main factor of intimidation for the world peace and security (Green Intimidation) and direct and all-out struggle with the Muslims (in cultural, political, social, and military dimensions) is indicative of the profound effect of the Imām Khomeinī's movement throughout the world as well as the superpowers' feel of danger from the spread and expansion of this idea in the other Islamic societies.

In proportionate with this approach, the necessity for serious attention of the Muslims and scientific and political elites of the Islamic societies, in all levels, to the subject of the "Muslim World" is proved. According to many documents driven from the Ḥaḍrat Imām's works and statements, the subject of Muslim world, difficulties of the Islamic states, nations, revealing the schemes, plots of the superpowers against the Muslims, plundering and looting the Muslim countries' wealth and resources is from among the most major involvements of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) during his blessed life. His repeated advices and instructions to the internal and external officials and elites on the attention to tangled issues and problems of the Muslim world more than before and determining its real position in the political transformations and equations of the world is indicative of the particular status of the Muslim *ummah* in the Ḥaḍrat Imām's thought. With regard to the Ḥaḍrat Imām's thoughts, examining the subject of Muslim World and devising its different aspects needs extensive research and study, which requires a scope of activity more extensive than this collection and an opportunity superior than that. Meanwhile, this is not at all a cause for lack of examining this issue. As such, the present collection has been provided and compiled with the goal of presenting a general plan from the ideals, issues and problems of the Muslim World.

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 317.

## Conceptual Recognition of the Muslim world

The “Muslim world” or “Dar ul Islam” literally means the land of Islam, which is used for calling all Islamic lands under one particular unit (vis-à-vis non-Islamic lands). With respect to the comprehensiveness of the Muslim world and the criteria of its conformably application for objective evidences two viewpoints has been issued out from the part of the clear-sighted persons: in the first theory, the criteria for applying the title of Dar ul Islam to a particular land has been considered ruling over that region. However, in the second theory, the criteria for the application not ruling over a particular land, rather, the promotion and limitation of the validity of Islamic rules is taken into consideration, meaning that even if the Islamic rules are observed by a few of the Muslims in a non-Islamic land as well, theoretically that land is considered as part of Dar ul Islam.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, definition of the Muslim world with “a land where nationals of the Islamic government live in”<sup>2</sup> or “people of the societies which have accepted the religion of Islam as deliberating religion and creed in the two material and spiritual domains”<sup>3</sup> is confirmatory to these two viewpoints.

If we add up the two theories, meaning application of the “Muslim world” to all Muslims of the world (either they are under the rule of the Islamic government in a particular land or not to be) and the existing Islamic government (either the governments which, indeed, implement the Islamic ordains in their respective countries or those which merely have such a claim), we can consider the Muslim world, the governments ruling over the countries with Muslim population, the Muslim nation and people of the world, and the particular Islamic governments, and also the governments which claim they are Islamic<sup>4</sup> which this definition is acceptable and usable in this collection because of its comprehensiveness and including the two theories.

From another perspective, the phrase of “Muslim world” is indicative of a theoretical base in a collection of members and individuals (people and Islamic governments) in a virtual unit (world). This level of analysis is

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<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Karīmī Zanjānī.

<sup>2</sup> Mişbāh Yazdī, the quarterly of *Hukūmat-e Islāmī* (Islamic Government), no. 1, p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Allāmah Muḥammad Taqī Ja‘farī, the article “*Ummate Wāḥidah-ye Islāmī*” (Islamic United Ummah), published in the book “*Andīsheh-ye Waḥdat dar Andīsheh-ye Siyāsi-ye Islām*” (Unity Thought in the Political Thought of Islam), Aḥmad Muwaththiqī, vol. 1, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Firūz Dawlat-Ābādī, article “*Shikast yā Pīrūzī*” (Defeat or Victory): a discussion on relation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Muslim world, Foreign Policy Magazine, vol. 10, no. 1, spring 1375 (AHS).

confirmatory to principles of social solidarity of the people or elucidation of “*wajh*” of the union of members in that virtual whole. In other words, this level of analysis plans to answer this basic question that: For what reason and based on what can a group of people be gathered in one collection and be united?

Thus, it is necessary that the original Islamic viewpoint on the principles of granting singular identity to the human societies and the main factor of the solidarity among them and the criteria and norm of the common political delimiting or divisions be taken under consideration so as in this way the knowledge infrastructures of the subject of the Muslim world are founded and the Imām Khomeinī’s viewpoints in this regard are clearly elucidated.

The Islam religion confirms the principle of existing various ethnic and racial branches and diversities and material and formal distinctions and difference in the originality, color, language, etc. endorses the identification and mutual relation between people and nations and has regarded these varieties as a mean in the individualistic and collective growth and perfection of the people; however, it has never considered an original and axis role and denies the establishment of societies on this norms and rejects the ideologies based on them (nationalism, racism, etc.). According to this, although the factors such as language, accent, blood, historical background, existence of geographical borders, etc. are effective in the bases of bringing into existence of a society and the men’s coming to a collective agreement, however they will not have a basic and permanent role.<sup>1</sup>

In the Islamic thought the most persistent and profound factor of the collective solidarity among the people has been reckoned as unanimity in faith and belief, that is the same natural inclinations in worshiping the Sole God which has been deposited in all the mankind’s nature. Reference to the concept of the two terms of “nation” and “*ummah*” in their Qur’anic meanings, unlike the common meaning of this term in the contemporary political literature<sup>2</sup> is confirmatory to the very meaning: nation in the

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<sup>1</sup> See the following for more study in this regard:

Miṣbāḥ Yazdī, the Quarterly of *Hukūmat-e Islāmī* (Islamic Government), no. 1, p. 84.

Martyr Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, “*Khadamāt-e Mutaqābil-e Islām wa Irāniyān*” (Mutual Services of Islam and the Iranians), Ṣadrā Publications, 1362 AHS, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> The term “nation” has been defined by the following interpretations in different contemporary political dictionaries:

a. A homogenous society with the more or less equal historical backgrounds and rather the same resources and common language.

Qur'anic term means "the way, method and manner which is offered on the part of a divine leader to people and the people must act according to it. Thus, the nation and religion have the same meaning with the difference that one thing is called religion in one credit and nation in another."<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, the presented way and method on the part of the revelation and its being followed by the people will be the main criterion for the unity and solidarity among the people in a collective aimed unit. In the Qur'anic thought, "the beginning point of the mankind history has been from the time of the divine prophet and the monotheistic united *ummah*"<sup>2</sup> that gradually for negligence and fellowship from the carnal desires has inclined to plurality, difference, and disperse (polytheism and idolatry) and finally in its complementary procedure has returned to the monotheistic nature of the human beings and caused materialization of the monotheistic united *ummah* throughout the world.<sup>3</sup>

In the Islamic thought, this presented ideology has been present in all aspects of the thought and idea of Ḥaḍrat Imām and can be observed in all his works, statements and sayings. For instance, he introduces the geographical borders and real boundaries of Islam as such:

Islam is not for a country, for several countries, for a tribe, and even for the Muslims. Islam has come for the mankind.<sup>4</sup>

Our homeland is not Baṣrah or Shām; our motherland is Islam. We follow Islamic laws.<sup>5</sup>

Islam wants to remove the borders from the world and establish one universal country.<sup>6</sup>

Ḥaḍrat Imām's (*r*) attention to the "Islamic homeland" and the cause of materialization the Islamic united *ummah* throughout the world has never

- b. A big group of people who hold in common more or less the economic life, land, literal language, characteristics and natures, customs and rituals, and historical backgrounds.

<sup>1</sup> Martyr Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, "*Khadamāt-e Mutaqābil-e Islām wa Īrāniyān*" (Mutual Services of Islam and the Iranians), Ṣadrā Publications, 1362 AHS, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Yūnis*, 10:19.

<sup>3</sup> Martyr Sayyid Murtaḍā Āwīnī, "*Āghāzī bar Yek Pāyān*" (A Start for An End, Sāqī Publications, 1378 AHS, extracted from the article "*Wiṣāq-e Ijtimā'ī*" (Social Solidarity) with some emendation.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 295.

<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 392.

<sup>6</sup> Imām Khomeinī, "*Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*", (In Pursuit of the Way from the Imām's Word), *Millī-girāyī* (Nationalism), p. 63.

been negating the credit and value of the geographical boundaries of the countries and the recognized borders of non-states in the existing global system; as he says:

Every one [Islamic countries and governments] should be in its own place; however, in the general Islamic interests, in what all have attacked on Islam, they should come together.<sup>1</sup>

While maintaining their boundaries and limits, the Muslim countries should have unity in the monotheism word – the Islamic interests which are common among all.<sup>2</sup>

Ḥaḍrat Imām's (*r*) base for considering distinction between boundaries based on belief (belief homeland, Islam homeland) and the boundaries based on territorial countries and priority of belief homeland over the territorial homeland originates from the particular position of Islamic thought in his thinking.

“While respecting the homeland when it is birthplace, Islam does not place it against Islam; the basis is Islam”.<sup>3</sup>

The last worth mentioning point in this part is depicting the hierarchical view of Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*) to the world and dissemination of this thought in different areas of his political and social... thoughts. Adding up the two borders of belief and homeland, attention to different factors of collective solidarity among the people and the structures formed of such factors (such as people, tribes, races, states, etc.) and real relation among these parts with their origin (the united Islamic *ummah* is originated from the mystical-philosophical insight of Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*)). Accordingly, with respect to the two axial principles of “existence unity” and “unity while having multiplicity and multiplicity while having unity”, while having multiplicity and superiority, different collective units have a singular identity and real unity, which it is neither contrary to the existence and validity of minor units (peoples, nations, countries, etc.) nor this reproduced parts are rejecter of that unity.<sup>4</sup> In the political thought of Ḥaḍrat Imām “*ummah*” has been external incarnation and objective appearance of that very single identity which like the largest socio-political unit of the world, in addition to including smaller units (such as peoples, tribes, nations, etc.), also, paves the way for real solidarity and unity among them under the common belief and goal.

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> Yaḥyā Fawzī, the Quartely of *Muṭālī'āt-e Millī* (National Studies), vol. 4, p. 73.

Islam has come to unite all nations of the world – the ‘Arab, non-’Arab, Turk, Persian – and establish one great *ummah* by the name of Islamic *ummah* in the world.<sup>1</sup>

### **Muslim world condition**

With a combination of more than fifty countries of the world and a population more than one billion and two hundred million people, the Muslim world has allocated nearly twenty percent of the entire world’s land measurement to itself. From the geographical viewpoint, the Muslim countries have mainly concentrated in the two centers of the Middle East and North Africa. For their civilization background and very rich culture and particular geographical and political situation (access to the open seas, existence of strategic regions of the Persian Gulf and Suez Canal) and existence of overflowing on-the-ground and underground resources and having the greatest oil and gas resources of the world, these two regions enjoy an extraordinary importance. This situation is well indicative of converting of the Muslim countries into a powerful and effective pole in the world level and an active and role-creating presence in the political and international equations.

Greatness and grandeur of the Muslims during the not so much far periods have been taken under consideration by Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) and have been mentioned with various interpretations in his works and statements so as perhaps in this way the Muslims become awakened from the present state of lassitude and ignorance and be resolute in restoring their real identity and position:

The Muslims are those whose greatness once conquered the world. Their civilization excelled all others; their spirituality was of the highest caliber; their officials were the best; the vastness of their lands was greater than all others; the power of their government dominated the world.<sup>2</sup>

From Ḥaḍrat Imām’s (r) perspective, regarding their superior position for having belief on and reliance to God,<sup>3</sup> faith power,<sup>4</sup> having control over deserts, seas, and very extensive countries,<sup>5</sup> worthy underground and on-the-

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 283.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 418.

<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 279.

ground resources and<sup>1</sup> great oil resources<sup>2</sup> etc., Muslim countries can turn into the greatest global power; however, unfortunately, through taking advantage of the Muslim nations and their heads, the imperialistic powers make use of all their resources and have kept the Muslim countries in the state of poverty and indigence.

The present sorry situation of the Muslim world, from the view of the supreme leader of the revolution is effect of real attention to Islam and acting to it,<sup>3</sup> ignorance of heads of Islamic states from the foals of Islam,<sup>4</sup> affiliation of heads of the Muslim countries to superpowers,<sup>5</sup> existence of difference among Muslims and<sup>6</sup> interference of aliens in the destinies of Muslim countries<sup>7</sup> etc. in some of which we will refer in the next part.

### **Dilemmas and difficulties of the Muslim world**

As it was pointed to, today, in different levels and various political, economic... aspects, the Muslim world confronts with numerous adversities and difficulties which mostly are created on the part of superpowers and imperialistic governments with the aim of preventing the influence and spread of Islam throughout the world and continuance of plundering and looting the Muslim nations' wealth and resources. Extensive economic, political and military sanctions of the Muslim countries, military inroads and killing the Muslims, plundering properties and underground and on-the-ground resources, cultural inroad and leading astray of the youth are only a part of the adversities of the world Muslims. Undoubtedly, deliverance of the Muslims and Islamic governments from the existing situation requires exact recognition and study of the present complexities and difficulties and removing all obstacles from the evolitional and progressing way of the Islamic societies. With regard to the ideas of the reviver of pure Islamic thought at the present age, the study and analysis of these problems can be raised from different aspects and dimensions which with regard to the internal and external difficulties and factors this important task has been taken under consideration from different cultural, political areas by some researchers. In this introduction, we will examine in brief the adversities and difficulties of the Islamic societies from Ḥaḍrat Imām's (r) perspective:

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 381.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, Vol. 9, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, Vol. 2, p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, Vol. 13, p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Tibyān*, Vol. 19, p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, Vol. 1, p. 411.



#### **a. Main essence and nature of the Muslim world's difficulties**

With regard to the fact that Islam from the Imām's perspective: 1) is a universal school and has a global mission which has presented a complete and comprehensive plan for guiding and administering all material and spiritual affairs of the human beings notwithstanding the tribal, racial... distinctions; and that 2) the real Islam give response to all human needs and is able to fulfill the human beings' interests and happiness in the material world and the hereafter. The main problem of human societies (and particularly the Islamic countries' problem) from which other difficulties has been originated are as follows:

1. Inattention to the Almighty God and spiritual affairs
2. Lack of knowledge and true understanding of the Islamic teachings;
3. Not acting to the Islamic laws and ordains.

In the lofty horizon of the Imām's (*r*) thought, resolving the most complex difficulties of the contemporary world is incumbent upon true faith on the sole divine existence.

If the faith to God and action for God is entered in social, political, and economic activities as well as other affairs of the life, the most tangle current difficulties of the world will be solved easily.<sup>1</sup>

We believe that the only school that can guide and promote the society is Islam. And if the world intends to get rid of the thousands of problems it is involved in nowadays, and if the world intends to live a humane life, it should rely on Islam.<sup>2</sup>

In his historical letter to the then president of the former Soviet Union, Haḍrat Imām (*r*) declares that:

Your Excellency Mr. Gorbachev, the main problem of your country is not the issue of ownership, economy and liberty. Your problem is lack of true belief in God — the very problem which has driven and will drive the West into corner.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 221.

Under the shadow of the very thought, Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) knows the most important and greatest difficulty of the Muslim countries the avoidance from Islam and life-sustaining teachings of the Holy Qur'an, too.<sup>1</sup>

#### **b. The manner of the formation and creation of difficulties**

The quality of forming and emerging the difficulties and ways of their penetration into the Islamic societies is major axis in analyzing the complexities of the Muslim world. The considerable point in Ḥaḍrat Imām's (r) thought is his attention to the individual's role-playing level with respect to their position and status (as head of a tribe, representative of a group of people, president or ruler of a society) at different national, regional and transnational levels.

With regard to his same hierarchical view to the material world (and the man's position as the first formative element of all human communities), Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) knows the "individuals" themselves as the origin of all developments and source of all calamities, unhappiness, happiness, and difficulties of the human communities. Regarding the level of their closeness and farness to the divine immortal existence and the proportion of their making use of the true sciences and attaining moral virtues and keeping aloof from wicked actions, men are the main source of social change and transformations as well as emergence of human difficulties and involvements.

The beginning point of every reform is the man himself.<sup>2</sup>

The origin of all dangers for the human being is the man himself and the origin of reformation should start from the man himself, too.<sup>3</sup>

In another statement, he has known the emergence of all corruptions in human societies as the effect of existing wicked actions and love to the self of the human beings.<sup>4</sup> In the thought horizon of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r), every calamity which is experienced by "human being", or the "society" confronts with from the part of the powerful ones is as a result of carnal desire and egoism.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 129, vol. 13, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī *Kalimāt-e Qiṣār* (pithy aphorism), p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī *Kalimāt-e Qiṣār* (pithy aphorism), p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

In this line, effect of the actions and behaviors of non-religious individuals in occurrence of difficulties and involvements for human communities, with regard to their position and responsibilities and scope of their effect in different national, regional, and global levels, has clearly been stated in the following statements:

All the calamities of “nations” originate from non-existence of self-purification... the origin of all these calamities in everywhere is that those who are “undertakers of the nation’s affairs” have not been purified.<sup>1</sup>

Egoism and denying rise for God has rendered us unhappy and has made us defeated by all the world people and placed the Muslim countries under the influence of others.<sup>2</sup>

Muslims and Islam have been involved with carnal desires from the first and the involvements we have now originates from the same carnal desires.<sup>3</sup>

It is the presence of these non-religious people unfamiliar with the Islamic teachings in governmental posts which has paved the way for imperialistic states and foreign superpowers to have greed to the rich resources of the Muslim nations and smoothes the ground for their being under all-out influence and hegemony.

The Muslim governments’ drifting away from the Holy Qur’an has brought the nation of Islam to this gloomy and deplorable condition, and subjected the fate of the Muslim nations and countries to the compromising politics of the left and right imperialists.<sup>4</sup>

From another perspective, in analyzing the manner of formation and emergence of difficulties in the Islamic societies, we can refer to two groups of internal and external factors from among of which Ḥaḍrat Imām has paid particular attention to the effect of external factors in emerging difficulties in the Islamic societies. From the view of the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the root cause of the Muslim *ummah* difficulties is the foreigners’ and imperialistic powers’ interference in the fate of Muslim countries, which of course this very important matter is, carries out by the hand of the puppet and subservient internal agents.

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 438.

The Muslims' miseries are all from these big powers and their injecting and instilling the idea to their subjects in the region, all the involvements, which the Muslims have, are from their hands, and in case they are not deliberated from their hands, the involvements will not be removed.<sup>1</sup>

In introducing internal factors of the Muslim countries' complexities, Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) has referred to the causes such as: devotion and affiliation of heads of Islamic states to superpowers, inattention of governmental officials to the Muslims' difficulties, difference among heads of Islamic states, lack of understanding and convergence among the Islamic states and people, discord and disunion among the Muslims, weakness in management... In a statement, he has known that the main internal difficulty of the Muslim countries is the result of two fundamental issues:

In my opinion the root of the difficulties which the Muslim countries have, and beyond it, is derived from two problems; one problem, is the problem between states and nations, meaning that the states are separated from the nations by name, that is, neither the state knows itself from the nation, nor the nation consider itself from the state. The key of this problem is at the hand of the states, if the states be in such a manner that the nations feel they are their servants, the nations will be ready to cooperate... the second problem which is again from the problem of names for the states and nations of Islam is the problem which exist among the states themselves. While Islam has called for unity and the Noble Qur'an knows the Muslims and believers as brothers, we see that some of the Islamic states have difference with some other ones.<sup>2</sup>

Interference of the superpowers in the fates of Muslim countries, imperialism and plundering the Muslim nations' resources and reserves, keeping backward of the Muslim countries in different cultural, social... dimensions, adding fuel to the discord-creating factors and sectarian differences among Muslims, spreading foreign and colonialist culture, is from among the cases which has been under the attention of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) in the effect domain of foreign factors for emerging difficulties in the Muslim world.

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 208.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 486.

### c. Remedy and cure for the Muslim world complexities

Exact study of the Muslim world's involvements and complexities and analyzing the quality of its formation and progress in the Muslim societies will guide us to the ways of getting rid of them. According to the mentioned principles in the idea of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) (about the main factors of creating difficulties), returning to the same axial principles in happiness and progress of the people and human societies is the only remedy for the pains of Muslim and oppressed nations. "As long as we not to return to Islam, Islam of the Messenger of God, our problems are in their own place".<sup>1</sup>

"If the Muslims act to this very *āyah* (and cling fast to the rope of God and do not separate), all their social, political and economic difficulties without resorting to anybody will be removed".<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the grounds of emerging difficulties in the Muslim world, Ḥaḍrat Imām knows factors such as attention to the Qur'an teachings and reliance on Islam,<sup>3</sup> replacement of the Islamic culture with foreign and imperialistic culture,<sup>4</sup> unity and unison among Muslims and Islamic states,<sup>5</sup> avoidance from differences,<sup>6</sup> the Islamic states' becoming awakened,<sup>7</sup> ruling of the Muslim countries' heads over hearts of nations,<sup>8</sup> understanding and convergence of the Islamic states with people<sup>9</sup>... as a ground for the Muslim nations' getting rid of the present involvements and hardships.

In a short statement, the late Imām (r) has delineated the key to victory and defeat of the Muslim nations as such:

Oh Muslims of the world, and oh followers of monotheism school, the key to all involvements of the Islamic countries, is difference of expression and lack of coordination and the key to victory is unity of expression and creation of coordination...all should make endeavor for Islam and towards Islam and for the Muslims' expedencies.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 334.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 346.

<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 488.

<sup>6</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 368.

<sup>7</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 344.

<sup>8</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 180.

<sup>9</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 160.

## Goals and ideals of the Muslim world

From the perspective of Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*), the main goal behind the prophetic mission of the great prophets has been materialization of divine rule over the human beings' fate and establishment of laws and ordains of the revelation in all human affairs: "what the prophets wanted was to divinize all affairs; all the world aspects, and all the man's aspects—who is the world's condensation, the world's extract—the prophets came to divinize all these affairs".<sup>1</sup> with regard to the hierarchy of the material world, this goal begins from the individualistic existence of the people and with concluding all individualistic and social ties and relations is led to the formation of divine government in a society and in its most superior and complete level is led to the absolute rule of the divine religion throughout the world (which the Islamic *ummah* and the great Islamic government are its external manifestation and political presentation).

According to this, formation of the united Islamic *ummah* throughout the world and materialization of a homogeneous society under the divine rule and expedience is considered as the greatest cause of Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*) and other goals such as establishment of Islamic governments in Muslim lands, implementation of Islamic rules and ordains in the human and Islamic societies—divinization of all people was taken under consideration by him in the next levels and as a primary and preliminary goals.

In addition to introducing and delineating the lofty ideals and goals of the Muslim world and mentioning the difficulties and complexities of the Muslim countries and attention and advice to the solving and removing these involvements on the part of Muslim nations, he has repeatedly pointed to the ways and techniques of reaching those goals. The mechanisms presented by Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*) can be taken under consideration in four separated, and of course interrelated, levels.\*

### Individual level

Inspiring the lofty Islamic teachings and history and conduct of the divine prophets and *awliyā'*,<sup>2</sup> Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*) has known the mass and individualistic people as his first and most important addressees and

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī *Kalimāt-e Qiṣār* (pithy aphorism), p. 22.

\* in compiling titles of these levels with a slight difference and change we have made use of the article "*Rāḥkārḥā-ye Neyl be Naẓm-e Biynulmilāl-e Maṭlūb*" [the Mechanisms of Reaching the Sound International Order] written by Dr. Muḥammad Riḍā Dehshīrī, although content of the raised materials and ideas in this article has been from my part.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 202, vol. 7, p. 144, vol. 8, p. 291.

recognized their intellectual progress and awakening as a beginning point for all religious and Islamic movements against *tāghūtīs* (the followers of evil) and tyrants and oppressors. Inviting all strata of the people to attention and reliance on God,<sup>1</sup> vigilance and alertness of nations,<sup>2</sup> necessity for internal transformation,<sup>3</sup> returning to the self original identity<sup>4</sup>... he called for all-out mobilization of Muslim masses and formation of Islamic movement for forming the Islamic government throughout the world.

Our duty is to make endeavor from now to lay the foundations of a true Islamic government, propagate, teach, make people of the same mind, create a propagatory and intellectual wave to create a social incident and gradually the informed, duty-bound and religious masses formed in the Islamic movement rise and establish the Islamic government.<sup>5</sup>

It is not necessary that some communities are formed at first and then the man rise after the community, every one is duty-bound, one by one and two by two.<sup>6</sup>

### **The nations level**

In a credit, the Muslims' society is divided into two groups of nations and states. For their effective role in the formation and structure of states, directing decisions and goals of the heads of states, creating radical transformations and changes in governmental organs and political systems... the nations have a particular position in the thought of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r). Considering difference between states and nations, he has given priority to the position of human masses and Muslim nations in attaining to the Islamic convergence and materialization of Islamic government in national and transnational levels over the states and governments and believes that:

Nations should return to the beginning of Islam, if the governments return along with the nations as well, there will be no problem, and if they did not return, the nations should separate themselves from the states.<sup>7</sup>

They are the nations that should start a movement, rise and set themselves free from the clutches of the vicious ones. The nations should not sit so that

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 361, vol. 12, p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 55, vol. 11, p. 531.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh* (Islamic Government), Amīrkabīr Publications, 1357 (AHS), p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 89.

be deliberated from another where and by other ones. The source of deliberation is the nation itself.<sup>1</sup>

The advice of Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*) to all Muslim nations is taking pattern from and following the Iranian nation in their Islamic struggle and *jihād* against brutal rulers affiliated to the West and East of Islamic states:

I advise the Muslim nations to consider the government of the Islamic Republic and the crusading people of Iran as an ideal example and to resist their oppressive governments strongly, since they do not submit to the will of their nations. They should remember that the cause of plight of Muslims is the governments which depend on the East or the West.<sup>2</sup>

### c. The states level

The states are one of the most important political actors of the international system that “on the part of their respective country and nation, in different aspects and various ways and with different means are in contact with other units in international relations and affect on the behaviors of one another”.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the main position and duty of the governments in all-dimensional administering and guiding of the people and their extensive ability in effective and positive role-playing in national and transnational levels and having in access of all facilities and means for materialization of goals... Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*) directed another level from the phases of gaining Islamic causes toward the states, governments and heads of Islamic governments and is on the belief that in the case of understanding between governments and nations and unity and consolidation among Islamic governments:

“The Muslims will attain a great power by means of which they will be able to remove all problems”.<sup>4</sup> From this perspective the governments are the the closest and fastest way for reaching the united Islamic *ummah* and objective materializing of the Muslim world causes.

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Qurbānālī Qurbān-zādeh Sawār, M. A. thesis, “*Rawābiṭ-e Beynulmilal az Dīdgāh-e Imām Khomeinī*” (International Relations from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī), Tehran University, 1369-1370 (AHS), p. 137.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 198, vol. 8, p. 88.



The Islamic governments should have unity of expression with one another strive for Islam and under the banner of Islam to remove the weak nations' involvements by the hand of the East and West.<sup>1</sup>

However, at the present situation, for the negligence, affiliation, slackness of heads of the states, the Islamic governments have been hindered from playing the basic role in materializing the Islamic causes and creating Islamic solidarity among Muslim nations and have themselves turned into a factor for emerging discord and disunion among the Muslim countries and the influence and hegemony of foreigners over the Muslim countries fates. Ḥaḍrat Imām depicts the situation as such:

The problems of the Muslims are because of their governments. The governments are responsible for the miseries of Muslims... The governments have caused the problems as the result of their ties with and allegiance to the superpowers of the West and East.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) expressed hopelessness from the effective and practical measure of the heads of Islamic states for creating unity among the lines of Muslims and severing hands of foreigners from the fates of Muslim countries and has directed the main face of the Islamic struggle and rise toward all the Muslim *ummah* people and has asked for assistance from them for materializing the lofty Islamic causes and goals and all-out rule of divine religion all over the world:

Nations should themselves be in the thought of Islam, we are disappointed from the heads of the majority of the Muslim; however, nations should themselves be in thought and we are not disappointed from them.<sup>3</sup>

With an attractive message and audible cry, Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) has addressed the oppressed and downtrodden nations of the world, saying:

O, Muslim nations! O, oppressed people of all Islamic countries! Dear nations who are under the domination of individuals who offer your treasures to the US while you are living in hardship and wretchedness! Wake up! Rise up! O, oppressed people of the world! Rise up and stand against superpowers... You saw that the Muslim people of Iran were

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 138.

unified and rose up together; with empty hands and without arms they stood against the enormous satanic powers of Muḥammad Riḍā and the superpowers who had arrayed behind his back... drove out all of them and removed from scene this corrupt government, this illegitimate and corrupt monarch with the power of faith and the cry of *Allāhu Akbar* (God is the Greatest), sending them to hell, and replacing it by an Islamic government.<sup>1</sup>

### **Transnational and Global level**

In this level, there are international and transnational groups, organizations, organs, parties and establishments which have organized in different social, political, military... fields based on common causes and goals and ideals and proportionate with the goals, play role in transnational and global levels and are recognized and taken into consideration as independent actors in the international relations. The United Nation, Security Council, Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC), Amnesty International, Liberation Organizations, OPEC, NATO... are considered from among these organizations and organs at the international level.

From the viewpoint of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) (regarding the existing situation) most of the present international organizations and organs “have come into existence for defending the powerful ones to rule over the oppressed ones and to suck the blood of deprived people of the world...”<sup>2</sup>

Stance-taking of the international organizations and organs in the present age, contrary to their primary goals which has included preserving world peace and security, creating social, political... assistance and cooperation among the world countries, is now toward the interests and goals of superpowers and imperialists and condemning the oppressed and downtrodden people of the world. The base of the change created in the structure, goals and functions of these organizations has been well elucidated in an eloquent word of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r):

The truth is that whatever institution with which the super powers are involved, is for serving their own interests. The United Nations, its sessions and the Security Council are there to serve their interests and to mislead all the other countries.<sup>3</sup>

In the Muslim world area and Muslim countries, too, most of the organizations and agreements made by the Islamic governments for the heads

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 190.

of Muslim countries' being puppet of superpowers, dependence is in line with "implementing ominous and imperialistic targets of the enemies of Islam"<sup>1</sup> and themselves have become an obstacle on the way of materializing causes of the Islamic countries and Muslim nations.

The undesirable condition of international gatherings and organs has never been the cause of the Ḥaḍrat Imām's inattention to the potential and effective role of such organs at the international level. Rather, with regard to the cause of the united Islamic *ummah* and formation of the great Islamic government, he made use of all facilities, opportunities, and usable capacities of the international gatherings and organs to propagate the true message of Islam and announce his detestation from the superpowers of East and West and their political allies and convince the Islamic nation and states to have unity and consolidation with each other.

The plan for formation of the Oppressed Party and great Islamic government on the part of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) is originated from this base and is indicative of his profound attention to the transnational level in materializing the ideal Islamic society:

I hope that a party by the name of the Oppressed Party is formed all over the world and all the oppressed ones take part in this party all together and remove the problem on the way of the oppressed ones.<sup>2</sup>

I hope that all the nations of Islam ... get awakened and come together. And form one great Islamic government under the banner of "*there is no God other than Allah*"<sup>3</sup>

The apostasy and killing order of the author of the insulting book of "*Satanic Verses*" by Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) which led to the great wakefulness and rise of the world Muslims and their unity and oneness in front of the Western world and their political attaches was only a small manifestation of the basic role of the mobilization of masses at the transnational and global level and materialization of the united Islamic *ummah* cause and particular attention of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) to this position and its extensive functions.

Regarding the above-mentioned points and the founded strategy on the part of Ḥaḍrat Imām (r) in four individual, governmental, national, and global levels for attaining the goals and causes of the Muslim world, some points should be taken under consideration:

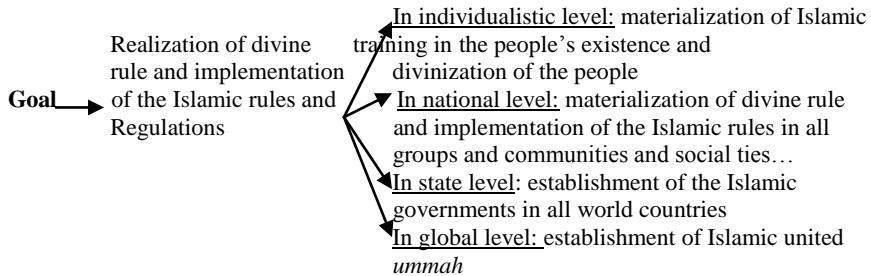
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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 234.

1. As it was pointed out, the most fundamental goal of the prophets and religious pious ones (as well as Ḥaḍrat Imām's (*r*) goal and the revolutionary rise of the Iranian people) is materialization of divine rule and enforcing the Islamic laws and orders throughout the world. This goal is in force in all the above-mentioned four levels:



2. According to the thought of Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*), access to and attaining the Muslim world causes in all the four levels is possible on the basis of two rules of *wus'* (implementing the Islamic rules in all levels in the case of ability)<sup>1</sup> and *tadarruj* (implementing the Islamic rules in all levels in a gradual manner)<sup>2,3</sup>.
3. In depicting the condition of Muslim countries and nations and their inflicting with complexities and problems and raising ideals and goals of the Muslim world, Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*) all the times in all levels has been resolute in analyzing and studying the two conditions. Analyze and pathology of the existing condition under the title of elucidating "the existing condition" and depicting ideational atmosphere and the ways of reaching it in the form of analyzing "desirable condition".
4. In line with reaching the ideals of Muslim world in all individual, national, governmental, and global levels, Ḥaḍrat Imām has made use of different ways and techniques such as weakening the people masses, all-out rise, revealing the plots and schemes of imperialism

<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> The last point has been extracted from the article "*Rāḥkārḥā-ye Neyl be Naẓm-e Biynulmilal-e Maṭlūb*" [the Mechanisms of Reaching the Sound International Order] written by Dr. Muḥammad Riḍā Dehshīrī, [published in the article collection of the Congress of *Imām Khomeinī wa Iḥyā-ye Tafakkur-e Dīnī* (Imām Khomeinī and Reviving Religious Thought), vol. 3].

mobilizing the masses, using religious ceremonies and customs, *tawallā* (friendship and amity in relation with pious government) and *tabarrā* (detaching in relation with non-Islamic regime)...

From among these techniques, making use of the Islamic and religious ceremonies, customs and organs in *sīrah* (character) of Ḥaḍrat Imām has had a very particular position. *Jum‘ah* (friendly prayers), *jamā‘at* communal prayers, mosques, *hajj*, *ayyāmullāh*, unity week... are from among the Islamic customs and organs which from Ḥaḍrat Imām’s (*r*) perspective, in the case of real understanding of their existing philosophy by Muslims, all their involvements and problems will be removed and the way of materializing the Muslims’ ideals and goals will be paved.

“If the Muslims perceive the *hajj*, the policy which exist in it from the part of Islam, if they find it, it is enough for them to find their independence”.<sup>1</sup>

The genuine link and relation of the Islamic customs with preserving and continuing the *sharī‘ah* (Islamic law) principle and vital role of these political-religious customs and gatherings in preserving and consolidating unity among the Muslims, mobilizing people masses, creating coordination among the *ummah*, firmness of the lines of Muslims vis-à-vis the enemies... are from among the reasons behind the particular importance of this technique of attaining goals in the thought of Ḥaḍrat Imām (*r*). In conclusion, the main lines of Ḥaḍrat Imām’s thought and idea on the subject of Muslim world, problems, adversities, ideals and ways of attaining them can briefly be compiled and presented in the following frameworks:

- \* Materializing divine rule and implementing the rules of Islam in all the four dimensions and levels.

- \* The Islam’s being axis and center in decision-setting goals, adopting methods, making use of means

- \* Existing condition indicative of distraction, disunion, and lack of solidarity in the Muslim world

- \* Objective materialization of the Islamic united *ummah* throughout the world, fundamental ideals of the Muslim world (desirable condition)

- \* Necessity for all-out move from the existing condition toward the ultimate goal and attaining desirable condition (materialization of divine role in all aspects as the great goal and establishment of the Islamic united *ummah* as the political goal)

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Kalimāt-e Qiṣār* (Pithy Aphorism), p. 55.

\* Attaining the Islamic united *ummah* and desirable condition requires making use of the means and techniques proportionate with goals and ideals

\* The means and techniques of reaching desirable condition: wakefulness of the nations, mobilization of masses, making use of religious ceremonies and rites, all-out rising and insurrection, *tawallā* (friendship and amity) and *tabarrā* (detaching oneself from someone or something) , *jihād* (struggle in the way of God) and so on.

International Affairs Department  
The Institute for Combination  
and Publication of  
Imam Khomeini's works

## **Imām Khomeinī, and the Idea of Grand Islamic State and Free and Independent Republics**

*Zahrā Rahnavard*

### **Introduction**

#### **Necessity of the Islamic government in the contemporary conditions: Realization of the grand Islamic state while preserving the territorial states**

Perhaps, it can be said that among the manifest peculiarities of Imām Khomeinī's thinking in the realm of political thought is the realization of Islam while keeping in view the exigencies of time. By preserving the lofty Islamic ideals, he exerted his utmost effort to understand the political conditions of the time with all their complexities and through new methods to find a way for the realization of those ideals.

One of the important discussions on the political thought in the Muslim world is the issue of unity. It seems that Imām Khomeinī has paid profound attention to this fundamental question of all the contemporary political thinkers of Islam: With the presence of the present-day territorial states and the so-called nation-states in the Muslim world, whose number is more than a hundred political units, how can the Islamic ideal of unity be realized and the grand Islamic state be formed?

Here, the territorial political units are time-bound realities of the international arena in the contemporary period while unity and the realization of the grand Islamic state is a political-religious reality and not confined to a certain period.

One solution, which is also a classical one, is that without consideration of the present-day states, from the beginning the design for an Islamic state is to be discussed and pursued. Here, national governments, territorial borders, cultures, and local as well as regional traditions would be under the aegis of “unity”; definitely, this design will be resisted. Nonetheless, the new and dynamic solution of Imām Khomeinī is this: Notwithstanding reluctance due to his faith in the political-religious teachings, he considers the territorial nation-states as the principal decision-makers in the international arena, while understanding national, political and cultural sensitivities of peoples and nations and the powers ruling over them as well as analyzing the ambitiousness of opportunistic neighbors. Under this condition, he is not in pursuit of forming an empire like the empire of the church beyond the era of the kings. Similarly, under the present circumstances, he is not hopeful that the 600-year early Muslim empire be instantly reinstituted. He is not even optimistic to compensate and redress the flaws, defects and deviations of the first 600 years. He equally considers impossible under the present circumstances the realization of a single leadership for the entire Muslim world. Therefore, based on the lofty ideal of Islamic unity and the establishment of grand Islamic state and keeping in view of the reality of the present-day territorial states, he suggests a scheme, which is precisely taking into consideration the political complexities of the time. His scheme is a blending of a timeless ideal and realities of the time; a blending of unity and political diversity. Yet, the objective is the very acquisition of Islamic authority for the implementation of the religion of God, the Sublime, and the salvation of mankind. It can be said, indeed, that at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century *hijrī*, i.e. last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Muslim world is treading a path toward a bright future with high optimism and ample hope—a path beset with enormous problems such as the imperialist plots and intrigues of the West, weak and defective performance of the dependent states, and immaturity of the intellectual, scientific and Islamic argument. In spite of the past full of discord and disagreement during last hundreds of years, the Muslims are thinking of looking for new awareness, and in the wake of the Islamic Revolution, for unity, acquiring Islamic identity and rights, and revival of past glory and grandeur. Along this way, many academic centers



such as the seminaries and universities have been exposed to changes, and as a result, new subjects have been discussed.

The main theoretical subjects, particularly the issue of government, have been discussed and studied in the two fields of political jurisprudence and political thought. Each of these two fields views the subject through a particular way and for a specific aim. Political jurisprudence deals on the “musts” and the “sacred” accumulated and integrated throughout history so as to put at the disposal of Muslims practical and feasible solutions. As the Holy Qur’an states: *“Of every troop of them (the believers), a party only should go forth (in jihād), that they (who are left behind) may gain sound knowledge in religion, and that they may warn their folk when they return to them, so that they may beware.”*<sup>1</sup>

Political thought is concerned with the “possible” and lacking the mentioned “sacredness” and executive supports. Without entering the realm of the sacred, in this field the most important investigation can be done although this search would not intend to present guideline.

The present paper embarks on the discussion of government in Islam from the perspective of political thought. A survey of the history of Islam shows that the ideal of Islam on the Muslim society and even the global community is the ideal of unity. As the Holy Qur’an states: *“Verily, this ummah [community] of yours is a single community, and I am your Lord and Cherisher: therefore fear Me (and no other).”*<sup>2</sup>

Concerning government, “integration” is the core Islamic ideal as the ideal government of the City of the Prophet was after that. In opposition to unity, “disintegration”, both in the mental, and practical and executive spheres, has been interdicted, and it has always been condemned in the sayings of the Prophet (s), the Imāms (‘a), thinkers, and reformers.

Touching on integration, the main axis of discussion and debate has been the “government,” which itself can be divided into two more secondary subjects: “leadership” and “state”. The foundation of integration in Islam is leadership which, both in the realms of political jurisprudence and political thought, has been facing problem due to the unfavorable objective and subjective circumstances. On one hand, on account of their different opinions on leadership (*imāmah* vis-à-vis *khilāfah*), the two great Islamic schools of thought—Sunni and Shī‘ah—are in a state of disintegration. In the Shī‘ah world, on the other hand, the issue of leadership is discussed within the

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah at-Tawbah* 9:122. [Trans.]

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah al-Mu‘minūn* 23:52. [Trans.]

rubric of *wilayah al-faqīh* [guardianship of the jurist], which except in Iran has roughly remained unrealized, or at least, from the realm of jurisprudence it has not yet entered the realm of political thought. Therefore, it has remained within the arena of jurisprudence and the “sacred”.

A survey of the political thoughts of the contemporary thinkers of the Muslim world, who are also at the same time the leaders of revolutions, shows that except Imām Khomeinī the other thinkers have refrained from deeply and fundamentally approaching the matter of leadership—an affair which has delayed the integration of the Muslim world as well as served as the axis of not-so value-laden theoretical discussions. Among these thinkers and leaders, only Imām Khomeinī has engaged in discussion in both the contexts of “leadership” and “state” for the attainment of unity, showing the practical solution for the attainment of integration of the Muslim world. The theoretical scheme, “free and independent republics” alongside an Islamic state is his proposed model for the integration of the Muslim world in which petty political authorities as well as sectarian and local leaderships are possible within the framework of “free and independent republics”. Of course, it is so provided that they would move toward the realization of the great power of the “Islamic state”. His scheme is a sort of blending between unity and diversity. In other words, it is the blending of petty political units (nation-state) and transcendental political units (Islamic ideological state), and the only way of obtaining this objective is to resort to the Islamic thought because it is capable of describing and realizing the grounds for the establishment of the grand Islamic state. As such, in case the Islamic thought posed as the ultimate way of defining the national interests of the petty political units and large political units, the realization of the grand Islamic state will be possible.

### **Structural Framework of Imām Khomeinī’s Political Thought**

We will begin the investigation into Imām Khomeinī’s political thought with his famous statement contained in his religious-political testament:

“You have to be heading toward the single Islamic state with free and independent republics.”<sup>1</sup>

Taking into account the innovativeness and novelty of this idea in the Islamic political thought as well as the fact that the selected terminologies and peculiar condition of its substance which is the blending of unity and

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ-ye Siyāsī-Ilāhī* [Religious-Political Testament] (Tehran: *Intishārāt-e Nashr Farhang-e Rajā’*, 1369 AHS), p. 87.

diversity, it is necessary to study some of the characteristics of his way of thinking so that the reasons for arriving at the mentioned idea will be cleared as much as possible.

The first characteristic of Imām Khomeinī's way of thinking in the realm of socio-political theorizing is its complexity and multidimensionality. In this way of thinking, many elements that are sometimes (seemingly) contradictory or conflicting, incompatible or with different contexts find concordance, compatibility and unity with one another in the end. Courage and audacity in stating new ideas is another feature of Imām Khomeinī's way of thinking, which can be examined in relation to the first feature.

While being faithful to the traditions, he is one of the trendsetters in the world of ideas. At times, he undertakes the blending of traditionalism and innovativeness with such elegance that makes it seemingly unprecedented.

Realism is another feature of Imām Khomeinī's socio-political mindset, which has been the product of dynamic presence in the arena of theory and practice—a long presence full of struggle. In this context, sometimes, like an empiricist observer, he would monitor the span of social events from the beginning to the end and wait for the appointed happening of phenomena, or through objective and ideological preliminaries and preparations he would take action for their existence or extinction.

Idealism, along with realism, is another structural feature, which gives courage to Imām Khomeinī to point out the lofty ideals of Islam in the most unacceptable conditions of presence and realization.

The totality of these structural features in the theorizations on society and politics—particularly in the abovementioned statement, which is the inspiration of the points of this article—has been influential. With a complex and multidimensional mind, he has combined two different, or seemingly contradictory, political units. It is because nation-state (free and independent republics) is a territorial political unit while Islamic state is a religious and ideological one. While acknowledging the nation-states as a reality though a not-so desirable one, he has treated the Islamic state as a lofty, yet achievable, ideal. Instead of eliminating the territorial states, which is today the greatest decision-makers in the international arena, he has led them toward the all-embracing Islamic state. He has stated the form of this movement by coining new terminologies in the science of politics, i.e. “free independent republics”. By choosing the attributes “free” and “independent” for the republics, he has actually identified the task of the territorial states in the Muslim world in order to realize the Islamic state, and at last, in a final

arbitration, he has succeeded in reconciling these two political units. Apart from the structure existence, which was mentioned before, this section of Imām Khomeinī's thought can be examined under two categorizations of the foundations of Imām Khomeinī's political thought and suggested model.

These foundations are the following:

- Pure Muḥammadan Islam and American Islam;
- Unity and establishment of the great *ummah*;
- Motives behind the establishment of government in Islam; and
- State.

## **Foundations of Imām Khomeinī's Political Thought**

### ***Pure Muḥammadan Islam and American Islam***

Throughout the life of struggle of Imām Khomeinī, a kind of view on Islam and political thought by him can be witnessed, which incessantly and consistently continue up to the end of his life, and suddenly, turned into coining particular terminologies at the autumn year of his life to such an extent that the totality of his thought on Islam can be settled in two fundamental categorizations under the terms "pure Muḥammadan Islam" and "American Islam". Pure Muḥammadan Islam and American Islam are a clear and unambiguous classification, which manifests in the political thought of Imām Khomeinī on Farvardīn 11, 1367 [March 22, 1988], i.e. one year and three months before the termination of his apparent life. However, during the period of struggle, he indicated the stated classification through his unspecified presence. For, campaign against the foreigners; avoidance of class, economic and social influences in the Islamic views; resistance against internal despots; aversion to the hypocrite and hypocrisy along with repugnance to Westoxication; as well as support for the deprived and the downtrodden along with condemnation of the affluent and the tyrant classes have been among the peculiarities of Imām Khomeinī's way of thinking, which, as what has been mentioned earlier, had finally manifested under the rubric of pure Muḥammadan Islam and American Islam.

At any rate, he states in the end that throughout the history of Islam, the amalgamation of the two views that are distinct from each other can be differentiated. The first view emanates from the text of revelation while the second view stems from the interests of the oppressors, the arrogant and the tyrants. The first one has been at the service of the downtrodden, the faithful

and the mystics while the second has been at the service of the affluent, the wealth-accumulators and the swindlers. The first is the same authentic Islam that originates from the revelation and virtues. The second is a concocted Islam and the Islam of vices, which through link with the arrogant in the international arena, particularly America, took a more ferocious shape and led to the oppression of the people of the world. These two views have been always in conflict with each other, which has continued up to the present.

In this part, we will embark on defining these two terms through his own words:

The pure Muḥammadan Islam is the Islam of the suffering indigent, the Islam of the barefooted, the Islam of the scourge of the despised ones of the bitter and disgraceful history of deprivation, the annihilator of modern capitalism and bloodthirsty communism, and the destroyer of the Islam of comfort and luxury, the Islam of ... , the Islam of compromise and ignominy, the Islam of the indolent of the affluent, and in one word, the American Islam.<sup>1</sup>

The pure Muḥammadan Islam has experienced the taste of indigence, is the defender of the barefooted of the earth, the Islam of the downtrodden, the Islam of the oppressed of history, the Islam of the combatant mystics, and the pure Islam of the naturally God-conscious ones.<sup>2</sup>

“We should make effort to separate the simplicity and purity of the pure Muḥammadan Islam from the rusts of the sanctimony and intransigence of the American Islam, and to introduce it to the downtrodden people.”<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to the pure Muḥammadan Islam, he describes the American Islam in this manner:

“American Islam is the Islam of the arrogant and the indolent wealthy, the Islam of the hypocrites, and the Islam of the luxury-mongers and opportunists.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām: Majmū‘eh-ye Rahnemūdḥā-ye Imām Khomeinī* [*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām: An Anthology of Imām Khomeinī’s Guidelines*] Volume 21 (Tehran: Cultural Documents of the Islamic Revolution Organization Press, 1369 AHS), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām: Majmū‘eh-ye Rahnemūdḥā-ye Imām Khomeinī* [*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām: An Anthology of Imām Khomeinī’s Guidelines*] Volume 20 (Tehran: Cultural Documents of the Islamic Revolution Organization Press, 1369 AHS), p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

American Islam is the Islam of the court-mullahs, of massacres and aggressions, and of the foolish sanctimonious ones, the Islam of money and gold, the Islam of deception, compromise and servitude, the Islam of the domination of the capitalists over the oppressed and barefooted.<sup>1</sup>

### **The origins of the pure Muḥammadan Islam and the American Islam**

The origin of the pure Muḥammadan Islam is revelation and the source of its power in facing all worldly powers of both people and classes is Allah. With the establishment of the Islamic government at the hands of the Most Noble Prophet of Islam in Medina, the historical trend of the pure Muḥammadan Islam aimed at regaining the dignity of the downtrodden and the deprived strata commenced.

In tracing the root of American Islam, we will arrive at the arrogance of Satan. In other words, in this trend, Satan is the epicenter of definitions and descriptions, and the embodiment of bogus, yet egotistic and worldly, authority with the aim of dominating others. The exact personification of such a mindset in the world today is America and the American mindset: “Today, the Great Satan is America.”

On the basis of this, American Islam has been dictated from America and is implemented by different forces such as the local ruling classes, court-mullahs, capitalists, multinational corporations, and others. Such an Islam is against justice and salvation, and is in opposition to the awakening of man.

### **Pure Muḥammadan Islam—the ideological conflict between two social groups**

The pure Muḥammadan Islam represents the confrontation between two opposing social groups. On one side are these combatant downtrodden, barefooted, slum-dwellers, truth-seekers, and salvation-seekers. On the other side are those *kuffār* (unbelievers), arrogant, capitalists, and religion-sellers.

In the parlance of linguistics, the perimeter of the term “pure Muḥammadan Islam” rests on a collection of important dependent terms on which it also builds a perfect ideological devise. In such a devise which is expressive of the particular outlook on the salvation in this world and the hereafter, the pure Muḥammadan Islam is like the center of a system around which revolve the other terms such as Islam of the downtrodden, Islam of purity and piety, Islam of the barefooted and slum-dwellers, Islam of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

oppressed, Islam of the mystics and mystic good ones, Islam of the tortured ones, and war between indigence and affluence.

On the contrary, the perimeter of the term “American Islam,” which is expressive of the retrogressive ideological devise, also gives meaning to a collection of terms such as Islam of the White and Red Houses; Islam of the indolent affluent ones; Islam of the court-mullahs; Islam of the sanctimonious and intransigents; Islam of aggressions; Islam of money; Islam of deceit, compromise and bondage; and Islam of the dominance of the capitalists.

In a general overview of the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī these two currents and two ideological devises are complete. In the pure Muḥammadan Islam, the trend of affairs is moving from the exterior to the interior and from this world to the next. For this reason, in such an aggregate different principles, which seem unrelated to one another, acquire meaning when combined together. Justice is situated along mysticism and both of them along with asceticism, sanctity and purity; and freedom and freeness along with power and acquisition of power.

Contrary to the first current, American Islam is a closed Islam whose direction is in reversion from the hereafter to this world. In this direction, the worldly ideology of externalism, comfort-seeking, money-worship, religion-selling, racing for superiority, colonialism, and exploitation is a rule. The Holy Qur’an states: “*They know only some appearance of the life of the world, and are heedless of the Hereafter.*”<sup>1</sup>

The proponents of the two ways of thinking, the pure Muḥammadan Islam and American Islam, are the clerics and ‘*ulamā*’ committed to Islam and the pseudo-clerics, respectively.

The first group is the combatant ‘*ulamā*’ whose hearts have been the target of the poisonous bullets of the world-devourers and the initial bullets of the event have pointed to their hearts. Yet, under the protective shelter of the gold-worshipping materialists, the pseudo-clergy have always been the promoters of falsehood or the eulogists and confirmers of their oppression. So far, I have not seen a court-mullah or a Wahnābī<sup>2</sup> cleric who might have stood against oppression, *shirk* and *kufir*, particularly against the aggressor Soviet Union and the world-devouring America. In the same manner, I have

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah ar-Rūm* 30:7.

<sup>2</sup> Wahnābī: follower of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdul-Wahnāb, the founder of the Wahnābī sect. For information on Wahnabism, see Āyatullāh Ja‘far Ṣubḥānī, *Wahnabism* (Tehran: Naba’ Organization, 1996).

not seen a single upright cleric who loves to serve God and His creatures to have peace of mind for just a moment without having extended help to the barefooted on earth and not to have resisted against *kufṛ* and *shirk* even at the cost of his life.<sup>1</sup>

The foundations of this important classification should be pursued not only in the Glorious Qur'an and the conduct [*sīrah*] of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ), but also in the political thinking, sayings and behavior of 'Alī ('a) and other infallible Imāms ('a). Here and there, such an outlook can be observed such as in the following:

In Ḥaḍrat Imām 'Alī's ('a) letter to Uthmān ibn Ḥunayf, an old friend of him and the governor of Baṣrah, he addresses him as follows:

Ibn Ḥunayf! I have received information that a person of Basra invited you to a dinner and you immediately accepted the invitation. I have also heard that very sumptuous meals were served there! Finest varieties of viands were placed before you in large plates and you enjoyed them. I am sorry to hear the news. I never expected that you would accept the invitation of a person who invites big officers and rich people and from whose doors poor persons and hungry paupers are turned away rudely.<sup>2</sup>

Or, in an astonishing classification of Ḥaḍrat Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn ('a), he groups together the deceitful Satan, the transgressing ruler and the exploitative affluent, and seeks refuge in the divine power from their evils: "I seek refuge... from the evil of all deceitful devils, from the evil of all transgressing rulers and from the evil of all exploitative rich."<sup>3</sup>

From the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, the war between these two ways of thinking anytime and anywhere in the Muslim world acquires meaning and commences only when the demarcation between these two outlooks is drawn. In this regard, he says: "Making clear this truth—which is not possible in a school and belief-system of two contradictory and opposite thoughts—is among the very important political obligations."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Islām-e Nāb-e Muḥammadī [The Pure Muḥammadan Islam]* (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1369 AHS), p. 155.

See *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 21, pp. 119-120. [Trans.]

<sup>2</sup> *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Letter 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Aṣ-Ṣaḥīfah as-Sajjadiyyah*, Supplication 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 8.

See *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 121. [Trans.]



Because of the lucidity of the demarcation line between these two ways of thinking in Iran, the war between the pure Muḥammadan Islam and the American Islam was going on during his time and as such, he says:

Today, the war between truth and falsehood, the war between poverty and affluence, the war between meekness [*istiḍ'af*] and arrogance [*istikbār*], and the war between the barefooted and the indolent affluent has begun. I kiss the hands and arms of all the dear people who, all over the world, are shouldering the burden of *jihād* for the sake of God and of enhancing the honor of Muslims.<sup>1</sup>

### **Grand Islamic organization**

One of the fundamental concepts of Imām Khomeinī's political thought is the grand Islamic organization which is the means for the realization of the lofty ideals of the pure Muḥammadan Islam, and steadfastness in confronting the West and colonialism. This organization must be taken into consideration in two distinct phases with different features. In the beginning and after the establishment of the Islamic government, it will appear in the context of the movement, and after the establishment of the Islamic government as a powerful transnational institution, it will be formed and implemented throughout the political, and not the territorial, geography of the Muslim world.

In the view of Imām Khomeinī, initially, the said organization is to be discussed under the name, "Party of the Downtrodden," which in essence expresses the deprivation of power and authority in the different levels.

I hope that a party named "Party of the Downtrodden" be formed in the entire world; all the downtrodden join in this party altogether; remove all the obstacles along the way of the downtrodden; rise up against the arrogant and plundering West and East; and not allow again the arrogant to oppress the downtrodden of the world.<sup>2</sup>

In the next phase, he calls it, "grand organization," which expresses hope for the establishment of a transnational institution with the aim of uprooting

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 234.

See *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 85. [Trans.]

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām [In Search of Imām Khomeinī's Way through His Word]*, Section 1 (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1362 AHS), p. 55.

the power of the global and domestic arrogant (powers) and observing the Islamic culture.

Today, the world is thirsty of the culture of the pure Muḥammadan Islam. In a grand Islamic organization, the Muslims will destroy the prosperity, sustenance and luster of the Red and White Houses. Today, Khomeinī has opened his bosom and breast for the bullets of calamity and difficult events and in facing all the cannons and missiles of the enemies, and similarly, all the lovers of martyrdom are counting days for comprehending (attaining) martyrdom.<sup>1</sup>

### **Unity and formation of the grand Islamic *ummah***

One of the basic foundations of Imām Khomeinī's political thought is the unity and formation of the "Islamic *ummah*" or "grand *ummah*" to which he pays attention in a historical process. He believes that the prime objective of the Noble Prophet (ﷺ) has been the forging of unity within the Muslim *ummah*. However, three immense dangers are threatening the unity of the Muslim society: racism, sectarianism and nationalism. According to his view, patriotism and love of one's own nation are respectable matters so long as they do not pose as an ideology vis-à-vis Islam. It is because historical experience has shown that glorification of one's nation and homeland is one of the stratagems utilized by colonialism in disrupting unity and disintegrating the Muslim society and expelling Islam as a potent force from the scene of international competition.

### **Unity of the Islamic world**

The mechanism for the realization of unity and formation of the Islamic *ummah* is only possible through rallying under the banner of Islamic monotheism and clinging to the Qur'an and Islamic brotherhood. This is one of the facets of Islamic thought, which is realizable not on account of environmental pressures such as imposition of rulers, territorial and economic interests, etc. but due to its ideological underpinnings.

Islam has come to unite all nations of the world—Arab, non-Arab, Turk, Persian—and to establish a great *ummah* named the "Islamic *ummah*" in the world... The plans of the big powers and their surrogates in the Muslim countries is to separate from one another the Muslim strata, which God, the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 20, pp. 235-236.

See *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 87. [Trans.]

Blessed and Exalted, has forged brotherhood among themselves, calling on the believers to brotherhood, and under the name of the Turkish nation, Kurdish nation, Arab nation, and Iranian nation, not only to divide them and make them inimical to one another. And this is precisely in contravention to the course of Islam and the Holy Qur'an. All Muslims are all brothers and equal, and none of them is separate from the rest, and all of them should be under the banner of Islam and under the banner of monotheism.<sup>1</sup>

Imām Khomeinī distinguishes this mindset, which is far from any kind of personal or class interests, from the national interests, applying it to the entire world.

We are telling you to be united and the Muslims to be united; neither do we have relations with them nor do we have relations with you. We have relations with all and treat you all equally. All Muslims, provided they observe the laws of Islam, are dear for us. The Islamic nation—Turkish, Arab, and non-Arab, from Africa, from America and everywhere—is dear for us.<sup>2</sup>

### **Obstacles to unity**

We have said that there are three main trends opposing and undermining unity: racism, sectarianism and nationalism.

### **Racism**

The Imām believes that the traces of racism in the history of Islamic civilization go back to the Umayyads, who promoted a type of Arabism. In the contemporary period we encounter another type of racism, which has been the common product of Western conspiracies, on one hand, and the assistance of internal factors, on the other hand. Finally, it resulted in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, which has been the manifestation of Muslim state and civilization.<sup>3</sup>

In his opinion, racism in the Muslim world is nothing but insinuations and plots of the West in confronting Islam because racism, which inspires selfish sense of superiority, is substantially repugnant to the Islamic principles of egalitarianism and equality of human being.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12 (Tehran: Ministry of Islamic Guidance, 1361 AHS), p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 9, "The Nation and the *Ummah*," p. 665.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 11, "The Muslim World," p. 27.

One great deception, which has come from the West, and has influenced, allured or threatened the Muslim states, can be seen by us in their press. We can see in the statements of their propaganda (materials); from the radios can be heard that important thing that has afflicted the Muslim states and keeps them away from the shelter of the Holy Qur'an—the issue of “racism”.<sup>1</sup> “This Turkish race must recite their prayers in Turkish! This Iranian race must adopt its own alphabet! The Aryan race must rule and not Islam! The Turkish race must rule and not Islam!” This racism, which is growing and increasing among the gentlemen, and which they are exacerbating such that we have to see where it will end up, is a childish matter. In my opinion... “Sir, you are an Iranian; Sir, you are a Turk; Sir, you are an Indonesian; Sir, you are so-and-so; Sir, you are from so-and-so—what shall we do with out country?”—Islam rejected this racism; it made no difference between the black and the white, Turkish and non-Turkish, Arab and non-Arab; it treated piety and fear of God as the only criteria... There is no such thing as Turk or Persian, or Arab and non-Arab. Islam is the focal point.”<sup>2</sup>

### **Sectarianism**

According to Imām Khomeinī, the most serious and effective weapon in creating discord and division among the Muslims is sectarianism. The function of colonialism and the enemies of Islam has always been the division of Muslim nations and the creation of various groups, territories and sects. Along this line, we acted very successfully so much so that nowadays we witness the existence of numerous and various governments, territories and sects.

Some Muslims are Shī'ah while others are Sunni; there are Ḥanifīs, Ḥanbalīs and Akhbarīs. The scheme in this sense is not correct at all. In a society where everybody wants to render service to Islam and be with Islam, these issues must not be discussed. All are brothers. But your ‘ulamā’ gave religious edict on certain thing, and you emulated [*taqlīd*] your ‘ulamā’ and thus, you became Ḥanafīs. One group followed the edict of Shāfi‘ī while another group upheld that of Ḥaḍrat Ṣādiq (‘a), and the latter became Shī'ah. These will not cause disagreement. The Shī'ah and Sunni brothers must shun

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<sup>1</sup> In the original text, Imām Khomeinī actually uses a more emphatic term for “racism,” *nezhādbāzī*, which literally means “playing with race”.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 31.

every disagreement... We must be aware that we are all Muslims and people of the Qur'an and monotheism. We must strive and unite for the sake of the Qur'an and monotheism.<sup>1</sup>

In looking for the solution to this problem, only two ways can be seen; first is unity and then independence from the superpowers.

“All Muslims constitute a single body. Everyone in his own environment with any existing government and any existing sect in his own environment must be independent.”<sup>2</sup>

But how could it be possible to reconcile the existing reality of the divergence of sects and the lofty ideal of Islamic unity? Imām Khomeinī believes that the Muslims must move toward unity on the basis of their religious commonalities.

The Muslims present in the holy stations (in *Hajj*), of whatever nation and sect they belong, should know well that the principal enemies of Islam, the Holy Qur'an and the Most Noble Messenger (s) are the superpowers especially America and its corrupt offspring, Israel, which keep a covetous eye on the Muslim countries and commit every kind of crime and conspiracy for plundering the enormous ground and under-the-ground resources of these countries, and the key of their success in this satanic plot would be the sowing of discord among Muslims in whatever manner they can. During the *Hajj* rituals, it is possible for some individuals such as court-mullahs to participate in order to create difference between the Shī'ah and the Sunni, and they are intensifying this phenomenon such that some simple-hearted people would believe and cause dissension and corruption.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, unity and forming the “grand *ummah*” is a noble and magnificent ideal, for which sectarianism and nationalism are important and obstructing calamities. Should the Muslims not pay attention to these intrigues and insinuations of the enemies of Islam, they will be distanced from, and deprived of, this sublime aim. The only way is to prefer the Islamic interests over the national interests in the Muslim world, which will lead to the formation of grand *ummah*. Such an affair is impossible except through reliance on Islamic thought and defining interests on the basis of Islamic thought.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 15, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 9, p. 677.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr*, vol. 19, p. 46.

### **Nationalism and definition of national interests and Islamic interests**

In the political thought of Imām Khomeinī, two types of homeland can be mentioned: ideological homeland and territorial homeland; the former being known also as the Abode of Islam [*dār al-islām*] or the Islamic homeland.<sup>1</sup> In dealing with the two, some pivotal principles in his thought can be identified.<sup>2</sup>

While giving value to the territorial homeland, because of his Islamic belief, he believes in the higher legitimacy for the ideological homeland, treating as the enemy's conspiracy the dismemberment of the Islamic homeland from the territorial homeland. He believes that if attachment to the territorial homeland goes to the extent of posing as an ideology vis-à-vis the Islamic ideology, in general the territorial homeland will lose its legitimacy.<sup>3</sup>

In the thought of Imām Khomeinī on national and Islamic interests, the following points are taken into account:

- In studying the domains of national and Islamic interests, he has appropriated legitimacy to the Islamic interests, aligning national thinking with it. Although in some cases this political behavior seems to belong to first domain of nationalism, in a broader perspective its Islamist image is made clear.
- For Imām Khomeinī, the essence of this political behavior and thinking goes back to the boundaries of interests. From the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, interests in the various political, economic, and cultural levels as well as territorial preservation, are always meaningful and conceivable vis-à-vis the foreigners, and not the Muslim states.<sup>4</sup> Of course, since he considered himself a religious-political thinker in the international arena

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<sup>1</sup> The Islamic homeland is also called the Abode of Islam [*dār al-islām*]. The Abode of Islam [*dār al-islām*] or the Muslim world encompasses all people who believe in the fundamentals of Islam and includes all followers of this school [*maktab*].

<sup>2</sup> For more information on the Abode of Islam [*dār al-islām*], see 'Amīd Zanjānī, *Waṭan va Sarzamīnī [Homeland and Territory]* (Tehran: Daftar-e Nashr and Fahang-e Islāmī, 1366 AHS), pp. 108-123.

<sup>3</sup> The first steps on the ideological disintegration (between Islam and nationalism) in the Muslim world was taken by the *Naḥḍat-e Shu'ūbiyyeh*. Initially, this movement was advancing the equality of all ethnic communities under the Islamic government with the Arabs, and thus, it was named People of Equality. Later on, however, during the 'Abbasid period it was transformed into a movement for superiority and the proponents of this movement were called, People of Superiority, and thus, *Shu'ūbiyyeh [tribalism]*.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the pioneering ideological separation tendencies (between Islam and nationalism) in the Muslim world, see Husayn-'Alī Mumtāḥin, *Naḥḍat-e Shu'ūbiyyeh* (Tehran: Shirkat-e Sahāmī-ye Kitābhā-ye Jībī, 1354 AHS), pp. 6, 89, 285.

and in the vast terrain of decisions and definition of interests of the superpowers, he knew that in many cases the boundary with an assumed Muslim state, on account of the superpowers' influence therein, also encompasses the superpowers. In similar cases, he would deal with a more complex analysis of the issue, but this complex analysis was done within the framework of two principal variables.

1. Ideological boundary is superior to territorial boundary. Therefore, national interests are definable within the framework of Islamic interests.
2. The superpowers' account in explaining national interests and defining the domains of their national interests must be taken into account in defining the extend of limits of the national interests of Muslim countries

In other words, ideological homeland has loftier value and status compared to the interests of territorial homeland. He considers nationalism and preservation of national interests against other Muslims as contrary of the explicit dictum of Islam and the Noble Prophet (s).

Patriotism, love of one's countrymen and preservation of territorial integrity are an issue for which there is no problem. Nationalism against other Muslim nations is another issue, which is against Islam, the Holy Qur'an and order of the Noble Prophet (s). That nationalism which would breed enmity among Muslims and dichotomy in the ranks of the believers is repugnant to Islam and the interest of Muslims, and is among the tricks of foreigners, who suffer from Islam and its spread.<sup>1</sup>

In essence, he used to treat the relationship between national interests and interests of the Muslim world in the form of a relationship of the particular to the general. But he used to allocate special account for the interests of Islam, considering it as the foundation.

The Muslims must be united wherever they are. That which is suffering for one group must also be so for another. The Muslims must not be divided. The fact that we are Iranians and they are Lebanese or another place in Islam is not an issue... Islam has no separate account that it might have opened for the Arabs, or for the non-Arabs... Islam wants the entire world to be a single family, a single government for the whole world, and that government is justice... Therefore, we have repeatedly stated the fact that

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Kongreh-ye 'Ibādī-ye Siyāsī-ye Hajj [The Devotional-Political Congress of Hajj]* (Tehran: Markaz-e Tahqīqāt va Intishārāt-e Hajm, 1405 AH), p. 73.

this issue, which is perhaps, discussed everywhere that the Iranian nation, for instance, is separate, that the Iraqi nation is distinct, that each should have its own prejudice, and even to the extent of having no regard for Islam, but to focus on the nation and nationality—this is an affair having no basis in Islam. In fact, it is contrary to Islam. Although Islam gives respect to homeland as one's birthplace, it does not it (homeland) to go against itself (Islam). Islam is the basis.<sup>1</sup>

For him, the Islamic homeland has always been discussed as a sublime ideal under attack by the enemies and took the form of today's territorial state.

On one hand, the despotic and greedy rulers and colonialists have dismembered the Islamic homeland. They divided the Islamic *ummah* and made it into numerous petty nations. When the Ottoman Empire came into being, the colonialists also disintegrated it. Russia, Britain, Austria and other colonialist states became united and they waged wars against it. Each of them occupied a part or subjected it to its sphere of influence.<sup>2</sup>

At any rate, in the religious account—which has always global mission<sup>3</sup>—division, dissension, and petty, regional and quasi-cultural interests have been ... for superiority on the part of domineering groups throughout history, which has manifested in any form as nowadays it has assumed the visage of colonialism.

### **Reasons for the establishment of government in Islam**

In the thought of Imām Khomeinī, the purpose behind the establishment of government is the implementation of social justice and the training of noble and faithful human beings. As such, he considers the establishment of Islamic government as a religious duty, and the '*ulamā*' of Islam as responsible for training the Islamic *ummah* for the creation of appropriate

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 15, "Nationalism," p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> As Professor Martyr Mutahharī said, "From the very beginning, firstly, Islam has a global mission, and secondly, Islamic comparisons are essentially global, not national and ethnic." For more information on the global feature of Islam, and the relationship between other peoples, nations and civilizations, on one hand, and the all-encompassing Islamic culture, civilization and power, on the other, see Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Khadamāt-e Mutaqābil-e Islām va Īrān [Mutual Services of Islam and Iran]* (Tehran: Daftar-e Nashr and Farhang-e Islāmī, 1355 AHS), particularly pp. 64-70 under the heading, "Islamic Internationalism".



conditions for the realization of Islamic laws in the society, while enumerating the reasons for it. Among these reasons are the following:

### **Islam is a political regime**

Belief in such an objective for the establishment of government acquires meaning only in the framework of the notion of fusion of religion and politics. On this basis, as a religious thinker he believes in the grand government in the Muslim world, saying: "Islam is not away from politics. It has brought into being a great government. It has brought into being a vast country. (It is because) Islam is a regime; a political regime."<sup>1</sup>

For many thinkers, this kind of outlook on the relationship between religion and politics is a rejected, and at times, impossible, affair.<sup>2</sup> Only some Muslim revivalists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century such as Sayyid Jamāl Asadābādī (Muḥammad) ‘Abduh, Rashīd Riḍā, and some thinkers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as Ḥasan at-Turābī, Rāshid al-Ghanūshī, ‘Abdur-Raḥmān,<sup>3</sup> and Madanī<sup>4</sup> are thinking within the framework of fusion of religion and politics. Nevertheless, none of them has the clarity of Imām Khomeinī’s thought, which leaves no room for discussion. Along this line, they present diverse opinions.

- The history of Islam confirms the establishment of government within the framework of fusion of religion and politics because the Prophet (ṣ) himself took a step in establishing a government.
- The nature and quality of Islamic laws reflect the expediency of establishing a government and have described the evolution of a government.
- The only correct means in implementing the Islamic laws is the formation and establishment of government.
- In a bid to form and protect the grand Islamic *ummah*, which has been the strategy of all the prophets such as the Noble Prophet (ṣ), establishment of government is a definite and necessary affair.

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh [Governance of the Jurist]* (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, 1373 AHS), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, "Factors and Causes of the Revival of Religion," *Nashriyyeh-ye Hawzeh*, Qum, nos. 1-2, 7<sup>th</sup> year (1369 AHS), p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Umar ‘Abdur-Raḥmān: a blind Egyptian ‘*ālim* (cleric) and leader of an Islamic movement in Egypt who is presently under detention in the US.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Abbās Madanī: leader of the Islamic Popular Front of Algeria who is presently under exile in an Algerian region having bad climate.

- One of the sublime goals of Islam is to lead the downtrodden people for the deliverance and salvation of humanity. This affair is not possible except through the acquisition of power and establishment of government.

With the aim of argumentation on the necessity of establishing a government, Imām Khomeinī initially points to the political society of Medina, saying:

If you take a look at the advent of Islam, you will see that from the time of the Prophet Islam has established a government. It has had military and disciplinary forces and has involvement in politics. The Masjid an-Nabī has been the center of Islamic politics and the epicenter of Islamic power.<sup>1</sup>

In his opinion, the claim on the separation of religion and politics and the confinement of Islam to merely the relationship between God and man has a long precedence. Initially, the ‘Umayyads and the ‘Abbasids have been the champions of this kind of mindset and today the colonialists:

Recently, when the way of the West and the East was opened to the Muslim states, this affair experienced its peak that Islam is a personal affair between God and His servant and Islam is separate from politics; that the Muslims must not get involved in politics and the clerics must not join in politics. They must be confined in the mosques and all their works is this that they go to pray, recite a few lines of supplication and return home. This has been a plot having root at the early period of Islam.<sup>2</sup>

### **Quality of the laws and implementation of the decrees of Islam**

In the next stage, Imām Khomeinī points to the nature and quality of the Islamic laws for the evolution of state, saying:

The reason for the establishment of government is the nature and quality of the laws of Islam and the religious laws. The nature and quality of these laws are such that they have description for the evolution of a state and for political, economic and cultural administration of the society.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 15, “Nationalism,” p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 18.

The other reason for the necessity of establishing an Islamic government is the issue of implementing the laws of Islam. Since Islamic laws are laws for all times and climes, the world will not be in need of the implementation of laws. On the other hand, because of their complexity and intricacy, implementation of which cannot be done in their entirety except under the auspices of the Islamic government, which itself is among the categories of laws, concordant with them, and in essence, has common spirit with them.

The Noble Prophet (ﷺ) has also established a government... The laws of Islam are permanent and must be enacted until the end of time. They were not revealed merely for the time of the Prophet, only to be abandoned thereafter. Anyone who claims that the establishment of Islamic government is not necessary has denied the necessity of implementing the laws of Islam as well as the universality of the laws and the eternity of the true religion of Islam.<sup>1</sup>

### **Acquisition of power for the implementation of justice**

In essence, government on one hand is the most effective means for the materialization of unity and establishment of the grand Islamic society, and on the other hand, the most powerful weapon of the Muslims against the foreigners and imperialists.

In order to assure the unity of the Islamic *ummah*, in order to liberate the Islamic homeland from occupation and penetration by the imperialists and their puppet governments, it is imperative that we establish a government. In order to attain the unity and freedom of the Muslim peoples, we must overthrow the oppressive governments installed by the imperialists and bring into existence an Islamic government of justice that will be in the service of the people. The formation of such a government will serve to preserve the disciplined unity of the Muslims; just as Fāṭimah az-Zahrā<sup>2</sup> (‘a) said in her address: “The Imamate exists for the sake of preserving order among the Muslims and replacing their disunity with unity”.

Acquisition of power and reliance on it has been one of the most essential principles for the realization of the sublime objectives of Islam. In the opinion of Imām Khomeinī, acquisition of power in the international arena, on one hand, causes the regaining of the Muslims’ lost glory, and on

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Fāṭimah az-Zahrā: Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet and wife of Imām ‘Ali. For her biography, see *Fāṭimah the Gracious* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications). [Trans.]

the other hand, sets off the exit of weapon for the weakening of Muslims from the hands of the rich and the cruel.

I do categorically declare that the Islamic Republic of Iran is investing a lot for the revival of the Islamic identity of Muslims throughout the world and it has no reason why it would refrain from calling on the Muslims of the world to follow the principles of acquiring power in the world and from stopping the greedy holders of power, money and deceit.<sup>1</sup>

In sum, he considers the acquisition of power as a means for the salvation and exaltation of humanity as well as deliverance from the clutches of the arrogant (powers), and its enactment as a form of worship: “Government is the right in favor of the downtrodden, preventing oppression and implementing social justice... It is one of the gravest obligations and its implementation is the highest forms of worship.”<sup>2</sup>

## **The State**

### **Three approaches to the state**

One of the basic enactments of Imām Khomeinī’s political thought, which forms the core power of establishing the grand Islamic state at the global level, is the state. For him, in joining with religious thinking the state has the right and power performing the ways for attaining salvation in this world and the hereafter, and this affair is only possible under a religious atmosphere, observance of social justice and grant of freedom.

Through the three approaches—critical, realistic, and idealist—he examines the legitimacy of state, which he believes has the core power of Islamism, independence and unity. Through this, he identifies three kinds of state in the Muslim world, distinguishing each from one another: “so-called Islamic state,” “Islamic state” and the “grand Islamic state”.

Critical approach deals with the study of the states existing in the Muslim world. It names as “so-called Islamic state” the group of states whose peculiar features are corrupt ruling clique, dependence on the foreigners, lack of abidance with the laws of Islam, tendency toward discord, and absence of cooperation with the people.

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<sup>1</sup> *Kongreh-ye ‘Ibādī-ye Siyāsī-ye Hajj*, vol. 2, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyatnāmeḥ-ye Siyāsī-Ilāhī*, (The Last Message) p. 87.

From the viewpoint of realistic approach, some territorial states have a ruling body faithful to Islam, committed to implement the laws of Islam, in good terms with the people, and endeavoring for the attainment of unity. Such states, which usually are the result of a revolution or any other transformative movement, have the capability to unite on the basis of Islamic commonalities. These states are actually the states which Imām Khomeinī wants them to unite under the common banner of single religion, Book, and Prophet. Along this course, not only that the Islamic interests would prevail over the national interests but the interests of the Islamic society would also be protected vis-à-vis the foreigners, preventing and shunning differences. In this framework, notwithstanding the existence of divergent governments, both the religious sects and borders will be preserved.

What is meant by the idealistic approach is the lofty ideal of Imām Khomeinī concerning government whose model is the Muslim community in Medina during the time of the Prophet (ﷺ) and the First Four Caliphs. Although this model has existed in a simple and limited form in terms of the substance, outlook on ethnics and nations, and diversity of the political geography, owing to its high capacity and richness especially during the periods of Ḥaḍrat Muḥammad (ﷺ) and Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī (‘a), it is a good prototype of the grand Islamic state, which we will deal later.

### **Critical approach: So-called Islamic state**

In the critical approach of Imām Khomeinī, that group of states existing in the Muslim world, which is officially, but not actually, “Islamic” is labeled “so-called Islamic state, enumerating some of its characteristics, hence:

1. The mode of forming and establishing these governments;
2. Tendency toward dissension and division;
3. Corrupt ruling clique and denial of Islam;
4. Dependency on the imperialist states;
5. Non-observance of the laws of Islam; and
6. Adopting despotic policy and lack of concordance and sympathy with the people.

Some contemporary thinkers of the Muslim world are pessimistic with regards to the territorial states, treating them as inauspicious. Among these thinkers, Kalīm Siddique, Rashīd al-Ghanūshī, Turābī, and ‘Abdur-Raḥmān can be mentioned.

Contrary to these thinkers, Imām Khomeinī does not consider bad and blameworthy the existence of territorial states. Instead, he takes the manner

of forming and establishing governments and their relations with the Muslim world as the criterion of his assessment and judgment, believing that the predicament of the Muslims does not lie with the nations but with the states in which they are in.

“Among the problems of Muslims is the issue of governments—the governments, which have been imposed over them and working for the interests of big states. The problem of Islam is the Muslim governments and not the nations.”<sup>1</sup> He is of the opinion that the existing territorial states in the Muslim world have unnatural borders, which are essentially imperialist plot. For instance, he cites the case of the Ottoman Empire, which disintegrated through the imperialist conspiracy, saying: “Within the scope of ten to fifteen countries a span can be found in which every span is under the hands of an agent or a group of agents.”<sup>2</sup>

This group of mercenaries naturally used to work for the whims of the foreign powers and to obliterate the existential independence of itself and its homeland.

What a painful and calamitous (reality) is it that near the Muslims and the so-called Islamic states, Israel would commit aggression with such audacity and easiness against the oppressed people of Lebanon, and the dear sisters and brothers in Beirut, and instead of rising up in defense, which is a divine-human duty, the governments of Muslim countries are showing such leniency.<sup>3</sup>

Among the characteristics of the so-called Islamic states is the tendency to engage in discord and division, which is itself one of the greatest obstacles along the strategic way of the grand Islamic state.

We are suffering from the “Islamic states”, the states that are present in the Muslim countries, and they are exacerbating this difference. You would notice how unfortunately it is that Israel... is busy working on this issue in the presence of these so-called Islamic states.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 15, “Nationalism,” p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

Corruption in faith, hypocrisy of the ruling clique, and non-implementation of the laws of Islam are among the other indications of the so-called state. In this regard, he says:

I was hoping that the Muslims, particularly the Muslims leaders, refrain from chanting Islamic slogan, which is itself a cover for their non-implementation of the Islamic laws, and think and act upon Islam as it is. At present, the suffering of the Muslims and the oppressed nations of Islam has been the fact that their leaders used to content themselves with Islamic slogans while having other aims behind these slogans.<sup>1</sup>

The other indication of the so-called Islamic states is dependency toward the foreigners. Dependency, on one hand, results in the further separation and keeping away of the so-called Islamic states from their nations in such a way that they would treat the nations as against them, considering every movement and voice from them ought to be silenced. On the other hand, they would abandon the so-called Islamic states so as to win more the pleasure of the foreign powers.

The great calamity is that these so-called Islamic states are working in compromise for the America and Israel in implementing inch by inch the Camp David plan and the like. Following this great treason, they would explicitly officially recognize Israel or so. The tragedy for Muslims is that by witnessing these tragedies some so-called Muslim states will prevent those being oppressed at the hands of the tyrants from even groaning.<sup>2</sup>

Dependency subjects these two sides of the coin, states and nations, to face each other, and finally puts a kind of dictatorial and police governments to rule over the people who are fed up of, and shun, their governments.

I deem it necessary to admonish you, gentlemen, who are on top of some Muslim governments. Strive to rule over the hearts of your own countries and not that the hearts would keep away from you. The problem of the Muslims is that many of the governments are imposed ones, and such were done by force, and as such, are not successful.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 18.

### **Realistic approach: Islamic states**

In this section, “Islamic state” refers to the kind of governments that exist or will exist on the basis of the common faith, belief and banner. For Imām Khomeinī, in the principle of such a state, there is no presence of the foreigners, or their presence is very minimal. But this thought does not mean the impossibility of the emergence of Islamic state. On the contrary, he even believes that by observing some principles the so-called Islamic states will be transformed into Islamic states. Among these principles are reliance on Islam, independence from foreigners, abandonment of hypocrisy, respecting unity, and close relations with the people.

Disregarding the presence or otherwise of Islamic states, Imām Khomeinī expresses hope for their emergence in the Muslim world.

“Whether we have Islamic state or not, we do not know, and perhaps you have to know that we do not have; it is hoped that we can find one.”<sup>1</sup>

What are the differences and similarities between Islamic state and so-called Islamic state?

Both the two kinds of state have the same general elements of nation-states, i.e. territory, population, government, and sovereignty. Their points of divergence are many. So-called Islamic states are not independent, depending on the imperialists in the international political scene. The imperialists determine their national strategy. As the tendency for division and discord among them is plenty, they are always victims of wars and aggressions against one another.

On the contrary, the Islamic states are supposed to be independent and free states. They are exercising their self-determination away from the tendencies and insinuations of the foreigners. They are states which are more or less committed to observe the laws of Islam, having an independent ruling body committed to Islam. There exists close relationship between the people and these states. Because of existential independence and religion fervors, such states are naturally inclined to have integration and cooperation with one another. Imām Khomeinī’s efforts are focused toward the systematization of a multi-faceted set. And in order to achieve this objective, he deals with the combination of national interests and interests of the Muslim world in the multi-phased process.

In the first stage, in spite of criticizing the ideal of forming a global state (at the present), in his speeches he declares that “We (the Iranian nation) are

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 15, “Nationalism,” p. 148.



not in pursuit of disturbing the present system of states and nations. We do respect the present borders of countries and do not have the aim of creating disorder and declaring war against other countries. Every country has to remain as it is with its borders.” Thus, he tries to drive the point that the existence of independent states in the Muslim world, or national interests, borders, and various governments have no contradiction whatsoever with the unity of the Muslim world. By making Islamic their laws and ruling body, culture and stances, the territorial states will also be able to preserve their national interests as well as the interests of the Muslim world.

In the next stage, he talks about Islamic unity. It is not unity among the governments or in the form of a single global government. It is instead unity on the basis of Islamic commonalities and under the banner of Islam. Through heartily acceptance of the values unity is achievable. Usually, this kind of unity can be achieved in the cultural, political and economic spheres through transnational institutions.

Finally, in the ultimate stage he deals on the ideal of “grand Islamic state”, believing that this state will act like a power on top of the existing powers and will bring about great authority to the Muslim world.

### **Idealistic approach: Grand Islamic state**

The “grand Islamic state” is the main strategy of Imām Khomeinī with regards to the issue of state and all his efforts are gearing toward paving the grounds for its realization. We have said that if the present Islamic states act on the basis of the common Islamic ideals, symbols and means, gradually they will move toward a sort of Islamic integration, which is a prelude to the grand Islamic state, which is a powerful and transnational institution. The most important features of the grand Islamic state are:

1. Presentation of Islam to the world as it is. This affair itself paves the ground for the natural unity of the people of the world and the Muslims.
2. Existence of common slogans and symbols, such as the slogan of monotheism, which is the symbol of Islamic unity and faith.
3. The existence of a political-religious force called, the Party of Allah, in the Islamic *ummah*.
4. Unity of the various Muslim nations and formation of a single community.
5. Existence of the model of Islamic government during the advent of Islam.

6. Establishment of a global government with the allegiance of all.
7. Dominance over the world.

He believes that because of the comprehensiveness and truth of Islam, if presented in its correct form, it has ample potentials. In this regard, he says: “It is for the Muslims to present Islam as it is to the human society. If Islam is presented as it is, everybody will be its customer.”<sup>1</sup>

In his opinion, the common Islamic objectives and slogans have the potential to gather all the nations beside one another, and with the monotheistic slogan the grand Islamic state is the prelude to this unity, on one hand, and the dominance over the entire world, on the other:

I hope that all nations of Islam who, through the sinister propaganda of the foreigners, have been divided and at loggerheads with one another would wake up, be united, establish a grand Islamic state under the banner of *Lā ilāha illallāh* [there is no god but Allah], and that this state would prevail in the entire world.<sup>2</sup>

Through the unity of expression, all nations of the Muslims world having diverse languages, races and cultures can be united under these circumstances. “By the unity of expression, you will also be victorious. All nations of Islam must be united.”<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, correct presentation of Islam and unity of belief and action are indispensable for the materialization of the grand Islamic state. After the establishment of this state, under its auspices a party devoid of the existing problems of the parties in the world will emerge—a party under the divine command and free from the caprices of individuals will encompass all groups and classes in the Muslim world. “We must be under a single party, and that is the Party of Allah.”<sup>4</sup>

The background model and exemplar of Muslims in attaining the said “ideal city” is the same political community at the advent of Islam, to which the hearts of all are attached.

“If there were only a government like the one at the advent of Islam, a government to which everybody pays allegiance, today we will not have this

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

state of affairs. They, the foreigners, strived hard to disintegrate and divide into pieces our government for their own interest.<sup>1</sup>

### **Unfavorable conditions for the establishment of the grand Islamic state**

The grand Islamic state has been the sublime ideal of the monotheistic society, single *ummah* and strategy of the Noble Prophet (s), the prophets and all those who are treading their path. Yet, nowadays, on account of the existing unfavorable conditions, it is not realizable. By presenting approaches and striving for the fostering of unity, Imām Khomeinī tries to clarify the ambiguous points by means of elucidating and explicating the various angles of the ideal perfect society. His usage of particular terms indicates his belief on the impossibility of establishment of the grand Islamic state under the present circumstances. In statements such as “Let us all be under the aegis of a single state” or “Let us be like a single society,” the phrases “under the aegis of a single state” and “like a single society” are equivocal ones having semblance with “state” and “society” but not exactly the “state” and “society”.

He propounds and examines the existence of Islamic states in relation to the strategy of unity in three pivots: Islamism, independence-seeking and unity under the banner of Islam and other common grounds.

Under the axis of Islamism, he is of the opinion that the states must return to the threshold of Islam in order to achieve their own independence and freedom. He labels as “awakening invitation” this return to Islam, which is the source of deliverance from the clutches of imperialism, believing that the states’ response to this awakening invitation of Islam will bring about their consolidation and as such unity. In doing so, the states will be omitted from the list of so-called Islamic states. In preparing the ruling body of the so-called Islamic states in accepting the invitation of Islam, he is saying thus:

“The colonialists colonize the heads of countries. The heads of countries are inflicting their own nations. Therefore, the Muslim states must wake up from their slumber. What bad thing they have experienced from Islam? We are striving; you must also be together. All Muslims must be united.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 9, p. 665.

Concerning the axis of cutting off dependency from the imperialists and returning to Islam, he believes that if the Muslim states were to sever their relations with the West, they can also be able to protect their borders and frontiers, and to avoid any kind of difference and infringement in relation to one another because the basis of their operation is attachment to the religion of Islam and protection of the Islamic interests.”

“Why the Muslims have to fight one another? Except the imperialist hands? You cut the imperialist hands from the Muslim states, and see what states will emerge. You have to protect also your frontiers. If religion of Islam is supposed to govern, all frontiers have to be protected; there should be no infringement of one state against another. All are Muslims.<sup>1</sup>”

As such, if the Muslims were to cling to the rope of Islam and discard the foreigners, the factors for the differences among themselves (land, sect, government, race, etc.) will be ineffective and the source of unity of the Muslim world will be fostered.

“We want this cohesion that exists here to be in all countries. All Muslims constitute a single body. Everyone in his own environment with any existing government and any existing sect in his own environment must be independent.”<sup>2</sup>

So, from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, confrontation of the Muslim world with the West and the struggle for gaining independence from it are among the most serious problems in the way of achieving unity because the West always threatens the interests of the Muslim world directly (military occupation, pillage and siege) and indirectly (influence, creation of surrogate classes, surrogate ruling body, and sowing discord). As a result, defining the interests of nation-states in the Muslim world is always problematic and it is only in confronting the West that it has meaning. The Muslim countries will succeed in protecting their national interests and that of the Muslim world only through unity and defiance of the selfishness dictated by the carnal self and the West.

“The Islamic states have to forge a true Islamic unity. They have to abandon some of their carnal desires and extend their hands of brotherhood. They

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 15, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 9, p. 677.

have to stand altogether against the West. Then, they have to form a peaceful government, a peaceful society for themselves. All countries should remain as they are. One should not commit aggression against another. All are brothers. If the foreigners wanted to commit aggression, all must be a single voice and go to the front altogether.”<sup>1</sup>

### **Despotism and freedom in the grand Islamic state**

At the outset of discussing the single and grand state, this question comes to mind: Keeping in view of the preliminary points presented in this thought such as unification, single state, single party and the like, is this government model not a ceremonial and self-centered model for the execution of force and whim of an individual or group over the entire world?

In replying to this question, the necessary prerequisite of the views of Imām Khomeinī—correct presentation of Islam in the world—must first be pointed out; that is, the statement quoted above: “You have to present Islam to the world as it is so that all will become its customers.” In other words, he treats the world of thoughts as a market of numerous intellectual commodities. In this market, without his actual presence the individual naturally has the command and dominance over the central government as well as the right of choice.

Another noteworthy point is the sociological principle on the effect of the objects or infrastructures on the beliefs and mentalities or suprastructures. Throughout the history of Islam, the outlooks of individuals and personalities, decision-makers, ruling classes, and cultural circles have left their influences on the religious reputations, and in some cases distinguishing what is right from what is wrong has been dictated. On account of this, Imām Khomeinī has discussed two intellectual sets—the pure Muḥammadan Islam and the American Islam—which represent two opposing intellectual currents, i.e. sincerity, freedom, uprightness, populism, asceticism, mysticism, and justice vis-à-vis force, oppression, pillage, tyranny, intransigence, and sanctimoniousness.

Islam that must be presented to the world is the Islam, which has emanated from the fountains of revelation and Prophetic Sunnah. Among the manifest characteristics of Islam that according to him is such a sweet commodity, which everybody is its customer, are beauty, purity, sense of justice, asceticism, mysticism, freedom, and sense of freedom. Propounding

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 15, p. 21.

the thought of the pure Muḥammadan Islam is essentially meant to defend the rights of the authentic Islam and in many aspects the rights of the deprived and the downtrodden are conformed such that he first used the term, “pure Muḥammadan Islam,” in defense of the right to freedom, justice and freely electing the candidates for the Islamic Consultative Assembly in such circumstances that through which he invites the people to cling to the Islam that they wanted (pure Muḥammadan Islam).<sup>1</sup> At any rate, it is obvious that the principle of free election on one hand, and presenting Islam to the world as it is and not on the basis of the desires of rulers and power-holders, and of course the legalization of the limits of freedom, on the other hand, are among the foundations of rational and progressive freedom of human society.

### **Democracy and dictatorship**

Imām Khomeinī reckons as similar to the bright and revitalizing sun, the divine revelation and Islam, which are source of prosperity, freedom and love of the people in the governments. In principle, the basis of his outlook and judgment with respect to the existing political regimes in the world is the scale of proximity or otherwise to the source. He is pessimistic and critical of the definitions of democracy and dictatorship existing in the contemporary world literature, considering them as defective. And in describing the ideal Islamic government, he emphasizes the correct, and not the false, notion of democracy.

“If we succeeded and implemented the Islamic Republic with the Islamic substance, and established an Islamic government in its true sense in Iran, this will become a model for all countries in which the meaning of democracy in its true sense, not in the Western sense, and the meaning of freedom in its true meaning, not the sense of beguiling others, will be implemented, God willing.”<sup>2</sup>

The substance of government in Islam is neither individual and collective freedom nor despotism, neither democracy nor dictatorship, but instead the divine revelation. This rule goes to the extent that obeying the government and guardians of the society also takes place under the criterion of divine revelation. As such, he says:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 17, p. 231.

“Islam established a government, which is neither based on the despotic government in which the opinion of the individual and his carnal desires rule over the society, nor based on the constitutional and republican government in which on the basis of human laws the collective view of people rule over the society. It is instead a government in which all affairs emanate from the divine laws, and none of the leaders has any right to be despotic; instead, all things to be implemented in governing and administering the country, including obedience to the guardians of affairs, is based on the divine law.”<sup>1</sup>

Apart from disproving the government of force and despotism, Islam has also been always criticizing it. On the contrary, the government in favor of the downtrodden has been the ideal of Islam. So, he believes that:

“What are rejected are satanic, dictatorial and tyrannical governments, which have stupefied them for domination and deviant and worldly motives. It is accumulation of wealth and riches, obsession of power, cruelty, and worldly power that make man negligent of God Almighty. But it is the true government in favor of the downtrodden, for the prevention of oppression and tyranny, and implementation of social justice that the likes of Sulaymān ibn Dāwud, the Eminent Prophet of Islam (ﷺ) and his noble grandsons were striving for.”<sup>2</sup>

While criticizing the present tyrannical governments and without using the terms prevalent in the democratic literature of the world, Imām Khomeinī emphasizes the notion of democracy between the people and the states, believing that the Revolution must be exported to those lands, which are afflicted with the cruel rulers and states, and transform the substance of governments.

“We are saying that we want to export our Revolution to all Muslim countries, nay to all countries where the arrogant (powers) are against the downtrodden. We want to bring about such a condition wherein the state would not be a tyrant, cruel, murderous, and the like state, and the nation would not be inimical to the state. We want reconcile the states and the nations. We want all Muslim countries and countries of the downtrodden of the world to be like that.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Factors and Causes of the Revival of Religion,” p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 15, p. 316. It is on this account that Ḥaḍrat Āyatullāh Khāmene’ī, the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, says: “We do not

Aimed at emphasizing the application of methods freely, in addressing the disciplinary forces and the clerics, who are the protectors of the Islamic country and identity respectively, the Imām insists on administering the affairs in a free manner and respecting the condition of people, saying that annoying and giving trouble to the people is in fact ungratefulness to the divine blessing, especially that our country has been freed from the yoke of the foreign oppressive governments and is taking its natural course.

“God has granted you with the blessing of freedom and is testing you with this freedom to see what you would do with it. Will you be ungrateful of the blessing of God, and through your freedom will you give trouble to the people?”<sup>1</sup>

In sum, in the ideal model of Imām Khomeinī, i.e. the grand Islamic state, none of the existing definitions and models of democracy and dictatorship can be included. What this model is seeking is a particular model of freedom—a structure of freedom that encompasses both the individual and the society. Freedom will be realized in such a manner that both the individual and the state follow a general principle, which is acceptable in the depth of existence of human beings and concordant with humanity.

### **Imām Khomeinī’s proposed model for the contemporary period**

The proposed model of Imām Khomeinī for the contemporary period is the endeavor to combine the “Islamic state” and the “grand Islamic state”—a model that will bridge the gap between existing reality and the ideal exemplar city. The brief expression, “toward an Islamic state with free and independent republics,” which actually bespeaks of the ideal perfect

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have such a thing named government of force in Islam.” Then, in confirming and establishing the sense of service and sympathy of the Islamic government to the people, and the absence of the sense of despotism, he believes that “The source of sovereignty is divine, and it is also God who has determined these criteria and the government of God in the Islamic system has been mixed with the government of the people. Thus, we are saying, “Islamic Republic,” that is, only the divine laws, criteria and values have no contradiction with its being republic and popular.” Āyatullāh Sayyid ‘Alī Khāmene’ī, “*Hukāmat dar Islām* [Government in Islam]” in *The Third and Fourth Conferences on the Islamic Thought* (Tehran: Amīr Kābīr Publications, 1367 AHS), p. 33.

<sup>1</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ-ye Siyāsī-Ilāhī* (The Last Message), p. 87.



government for the Muslim world in the present conditions, contains some fundamental points:

- Firstly, the territorial Islamic states, which represent numerous powers, must emerge and gradually give priority to the interests of the Muslim world than national interests. In the next stage, the grand Islamic state, which represents a single authority, shall be established in the world.
- Secondly, that group of states in the Muslim world, which are free (from domestic despotism) and independent (from foreign control), can be the founders of the grand Islamic state.
- Thirdly, by combining free and independent republics and the Islamic state, this model aims at gathering the Muslims at this period of nation-states through the shortest route under a single banner and authority without undermining their cultural peculiarities and sectarian or national emotional interests. And this affair is impossible unless the Muslims and the downtrodden of the world rise up for the implementation of truth and justice.

“O downtrodden of the world! O Muslim countries and Muslims of the world! Rise up and claim for the right through tooth and nail and do not be afraid of the propaganda hullabaloes of the superpowers and their mercenary agents. Expel from your country the treacherous rulers who are handing over the product of your labor to the enemies of the dear Islam.”<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, it can be said that while being an idealist thinker and in pursuit of the grand Islamic state, at the present conditions, i.e. at the period of territorial nation-states, Imām Khomeinī has presented a model in a realistic fashion so as to reconcile the petty authorities and the grand Islamic authority and to give a new image to the ancient grandeur and glory of Islam.

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<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*



## Imām Khomeinī and the Future of Cultural Center of the World

*Aḥmad Taqdīsī\**

### Abstract

The issue of power is one of the main subjects of discussion in political geography. For this reason, explaining the bases of the acquisition, preservation and distribution of power throughout the different periods is considered one of the important objectives of geo-politicians. The development in the new era made many theorists of our time to take the instrument of acquiring power in the future as quite different from that of the past centuries. During the past decades, various theories mostly relying on the spatial points have been presented and in the course of time they have changed the manner of dominating these places. These places are known as the “heartland”.

With economic globalization, the profound transformation that has emerged in international relations and military technologies does not necessitate the acquisition of the spatial points, and their role in controlling territories has diminished. In other words, to guarantee the perpetuity of power does not depend so much on dominance over strategic points, and the strategic role of points has given importance to the production of culture. By

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taking a survey of the historical development of the spatial theories in explaining the bases of power, this article attempts to trace the change of this role in cultural works. In short, instead of describing strategic points, cultural centers have been examined. Then, we will tackle the station and thought of Imām Khomeinī in the cultural center of the world and will explain the principal elements of Imām Khomeinī's idea on this center.

## **Introduction**

Discussion on political geography has ancient roots. Aristotle, the Greek philosopher; Ibn Khaldūn, the Muslim historian; and Montesquieu, the French philosopher, have all have explicitly paid attention to geographical factors in their writings on "politics and state" but it is usually Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904), a German, who is known as the father of political geography because his ideas have profound influence on the thoughts of other geographers.

In the initial stage, the attention of political geography was focused on the mutual relations between politics and the physical environment, especially on the roughness and climate. This focus led to the emergence of very simplistic, unscientific and fatalistic approaches. For example, Ratzel likened the political units to living creatures, believing that it is these "natural laws" that guarantee the spatial expansion of states. His beliefs on the territorial destiny of states have deeply influenced two European political geographers, viz. Rudlof Liken and Hauss Haufer. Through what is labeled as "geopolitical science" they, in turn, had influenced the Nazi Germany. With the passage of time, environmental predestination became influential in creating the global geopolitical theories of MacKinder and others.<sup>1</sup> Then, the acquisition of superior global power was given attention because the historians, statesmen and strategists since a long time ago have looked for the source of events and happenings in history in the continuous confrontation and clash among the land, sea, and air powers, or in other words, the conflict among the water, land and air (forces), theorizing therein.

MacKinder discussed the dry (continental) power, considering a region as dry heartland and control over this dry heartland as control over the world. Mahan believed in the sea power. He considered the countries having this natural gift (seas and oceans) as successful in acquiring superior global superiority, citing the superiority of British Empire in the past as a case in

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<sup>1</sup> Alasdair Dridel and Bleek Geraldacham, *Jughrāfiyā-ye Siyāsī-ye Khāvarmiyāneh va Shumāl-e Āfriqā [The Political Geography of the Middle East and North Africa]*, trans. Darreh Mīr-Šadr (Muhājirānī) (Tehran: IPIS Publications, 1373 AHS), p. 10.

point. The Italian general, Julio Duha; Gen. William Mitchell, an American; Air Marshall Tranchard (Father of the British Royal Air Force); and Dusurski believed in the strong air power. For instance, Dusurski considered the control over the heart of the north and its airbase as air superiority in the world.<sup>1</sup>

With the passage of time, some geopolitical theories on the cultural influence were formulated. Manig, a Swedish scholar, held culture as important in geography. The same is true with many other scholars such as Alexander Fan Hamlat (1769-1859), Karl Waiter (1779-1859), George Carter, Waidel Dulablash (1845-1918), Slaughter (1872-1959), Carl Saur (1889-1975), David Harvey, and finally, David Smith, who presented "The Profound Influences of Culture upon the World". Some contemporary theorists such as Alvin Toffler considered the acquisition of superior global power from those superior cultures, explaining the subject thus:

Since the future society is a cultural society and that the society's culture which has been launched within the contemporary man, is no longer the familiar culture of the past as it is always in the state of change. The present-day man has indeed experienced a cultural shock, which will amount to the dislocation of power.<sup>2</sup> The cultural power is confronting the military and industrial power, and there is no power below them.<sup>3</sup> This clash of cultures will give rise to the rich cultures' dominance over human societies. It seems that the answer to some spiritual and non-material questions of mankind at the present age could be found in the ancient and rich cultures, which are deeply embedded in history; cultures that have many things to say about the profound and meaningful relationship of man with the universe. Thus, because of having ancient civilizations and cultures, rich heritage in literature, philosophy, and culture, as well as more prolific experience, some non-advanced countries can have an active role in guiding the human society through shunning entente and moving toward the lofty human ideals, but this role playing is impossible except through the mass media.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Alī Aṣghar Kāzimī, *Naqsh-e Qudrat dar Jāme'eh va Rawābiṭ-e bayn al-Milal* [The Role of Power in the International Society and Relations] (Tehran: Kaws Publications, 1369 AHS), p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Alvin Toffler, *Shūk-e Āyandeh* [Future Shock], trans. Hishmatullāh Kermānī (Tehran: Nashr-e Mutarjim, 1372 AHS), pp. 7, 9.

<sup>3</sup> John Kent Galbright (?), *Kalbad-e Shakāfti-ye Qudrat* [The Structure of Power Split], trans. Dr. Aḥmad Shāhsā (Tehran: Nashr-e Negāresh, 1370 AHS), pp. 29, 263-264.

<sup>4</sup> Alvin Toffler and Heidi Toffler, *Jang va Didd-e Jang* [War and Anti-War], trans. Shahīdkhat Khwārazmī (Tehran: Intishārāt-e Sīmorgh, 1372 AHS), p. 16.

In the present advanced societies, owing to the development, other mass communications, speed, and transmission of cultures, emulating other cultures has become easier and the degree of cultural acceptance of people especially through mimicry has increased. From the geographical viewpoint, since speed, weakness and echo of the waves of cultures in the space must be given attention, cultures rich with substantially firm and fixed concepts are not confined to particular geographical limits and on account of dynamism, they have movement beyond borders and limits.<sup>1</sup>

Taking into account the instruments of power into punitive, persuasive and convincing, the future world the instrument of power having the most influence on the humanity is the convincing power, which takes form through cultural transmission and communications. Therefore, any culture which is rich and firm will be more powerful and the Oriental culture, Islamic culture in particular, can in the future be spread further and be more global than it was in the past.

The aim of the author is that apart from describing the future from the viewpoint of thinkers and theorists and how the postmodernist period is, to deal with the effective role of rich cultures and cultural centers—such as the Islamic culture in the future—and to encourage the Muslims to return to their primordial self (Islamic culture) and to draw the bright future of sovereignty of Islamic culture in the world.

### **Research methodology**

The method of research applied in this paper is more documentary, historical and comparative in the sense that by reviewing describing geopolitical theories and perspectives presented by political geographers and theorists, it has been tried to analytically explain the theory on superior power in the world in the form of convincing and cultural power.

### **Geopolitical theories about the cultural center of the world**

Mahan's theory: The American Alfred Tire Mahan (1840-1914) believed that the main requisite for world dominance and creation of a single global power is control over the sea. According to him, in case of conflict between sea and ground forces, forces having access to the sea have more chances of acquiring initiative for maneuver and final victory belong to them. Archipelagic countries and countries near to the open seas have the most

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<sup>1</sup> Yadullāh Farīd, "*Jughrāfiyā-ye Farhangī va Tahājum-e Farhangī* [Cultural Geography and Cultural Onslaught]," *Faṣnāmeḥ-ye Taḥqīqāt-e Jughrāfiyā* 7, No. 41 (1375 AHS).

strategic location, and Mahan regarded Britain and the United States to have superior position for global power.

MacKinder's theory: Contrary to Mahan, the British geographer and scholar, Halford MacKinder (1861-1947), believed that in the struggle for the acquisition of global power victory belongs to anyone who has control over the land portion of the world. He expressed his theory in three periods. In 1904, labeled as the "geographical axis of history" he propounded that the global island (Eurasia) has a heart and center the control over which means control over the world, calling it the "axis' region". In 1919 he changed the name "axis' region", naming it instead as the "heartland". At this point, the heartland is bigger than the axis' region. He thus writes in his book: "Anyone who controls Eastern Europe will also control the heartland. Anyone who controls the heartland will also control the global island and rule over the world." In 1943, apart from specifying the heartland as Russia, he also gave account of other important military regions including the North Atlantic Ocean, western part of the United States, and Western Europe. That is, he came to believe in two heartlands, expressing that with a combination of ground and sea forces these two heartlands can play the role of a global power.

Dusurski's theory: The Russian Alexander Dusurski gives importance to the air force and locates the heartland on the north polar region, regarding it accessible only through great air forces of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Spikeman's theory: Nicholas Spikeman (1893-1943) was the first one to make changes on MacKinder's theory by studying it and contrary to MacKinder, he considered the utmost role for the marginal lands or internal crescent, and he insisted on this issue because the combination of sea and land power is possible in this region, and besides, it has the greatest human power resources and ease in communication. Therefore, he used to encourage the United States to acquire marginal lands to check the influence of the former Soviet Union. This theory was known as the policy of containment, which later became the second principle of the US foreign policy. Under the name, "containment strategy," this policy is employed against Iran after the Islamic Revolution and the collapse of the Soviet Union. As you observed, by staging the Iraqi war against Iran they try to prevent the spread of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in Iraq. With the Israel-Turkey alliance by which Israel can use Turkey's airbases, they are containing Iran from the west. By exacerbating the disorder in Afghanistan through the Taliban group,

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<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad Mujtahidī, *Juzveh-ye Jughrāfiyā-ye Siyāsī [Political Geography Lecture Notes]*, Faculty of Literatures and Humanities, Isfahān University, pp. 5-13.

designing the Sepah-e-Sahabah in Pakistan, attempting to draw the attention of the Central Asian countries, and fanning groundless differences the Persian Gulf states and Iran, they tried to isolate Iran and prevent the spread of its Islamic Revolution and ideas. By hindering the spread of the revolutionary culture of Islam, they promote the culture of others countries the way they like it.

Following the theory of Spikeman, many of the military, political and economic alliances in the world are formed on the basis of the protection of allied countries with one another. Today, we are witness to many political and economic alliances, which consolidates the relations between states, causing some states to exert control over others.

With the passage of time, some geopolitical theories are formed in relation to cultural influence. Among the geographers who have embarked on presenting geopolitical theories on the cultural influence is the Swedish scholar, Maineg. His theory is about the cultural influence, which does not embrace the exorbitant and paralyzing cost of such expenditures as relating to military transfer, armaments and human casualties. If it would not bear fruit in a place, its effect—thought it may not be permanent—will remain for a long period of time.

It is based on this theory that with political and military influence, colonialist countries so extensively exerted their cultural influence in the Muslim lands. This issue made each of the countries under domination to be influenced in one way or another by the culture of the dominating nations. The change of script and language of the nations of occupied lands alienated them from their own past culture and from then on, these people have become the propagators of the ideas and consumers of many products of the dominant countries.

Following the culture of the colonialist countries drew millions of university and high school students or professors to the colonialist lands, the result of which was the dissemination of the colonialist ideas and separation from the valuable bases of their own culture.

In doing so, the cases of brain drain for meeting the service needs of the colonialists and encouraging the brightest graduates to reside in the colonialist lands made the capitals spent for the academic affairs of these individuals who ought to take part in the reconstruction of their country to be spent in favor of the colonialist countries without any return service to the people who had provided these moneys out of their toils.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dorreh Mīr Ḥaydar, *Uṣūl va Mabānī-ye Jughrāfiyā-ye Siyāsī [Principles and Foundations of Political Geography]*, Fourth Edition (Tehran: Intishārāt-e Sīmorgh, 1357 AHS), pp. 22-42.



The other theory of geographers about culture can be stated thus:

With an understanding of the concepts of human culture, Carl Ritter (1779-1859) has embarked on the study of the historical evolution of cultures of different regions in the world.<sup>1</sup> George Carter regards beliefs or ideologies as the main factor for the changes in the land level, adding that beliefs and ideologies determine the human exploitation of the peripheral world and that the human administration is decisive and crucial. Wydal Dulablach (1845-1918) engages more with the effects of values and traditions on the human dwelling places. The German Otwa Slaughter (1872-1959) gives particular attention to the cultural geography and morphological conception of cultural perspective. Slaughter's ideas on the influence of religion on perspectives caught the special attention of Japanese and Korean geographers. The role of religion in the perspectives of different regions of the world and Germany is among his profound influences.

Carl Sauer (1889-1975) is the founder of cultural geography in general. In the geographical analyses, he believed in the creative role of cultural elements, i.e. the common values of the people, religion, social structure, and economic organization.<sup>2</sup>

Julian Haksli has proposed the simplest classification of culture while comparing the cultural and living changes. Haksli's model has three parts: mental, social and technical realities. Mental realities such as religion, language, artistic traditions, folklore, etc. are the core and most enduring elements of a culture. In her opinion, geographical influences of religious beliefs are conspicuous in many cases, and in practice, the belief systems pass through the language barriers and occupy first priority in the cultural elements. Usually, it is the religious belief that plays the prime role in creating cultural differences. The system creates the link among values, which influence them in some geographical aspects of man. Many main political disputes in world history have religious underpinning and the lines of dispute like that of the Arabs and Israelis and the disorder in Northern Ireland can still be drawn along religious divides.

Maine's model: Donald Maine, an American expert on cultural geography, has analyzed the cases that the region occupied by a culture has gone beyond its own original position or house and has grown continuously

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<sup>1</sup> Husayn Shukū'i, *Falsafeh-ye Jugrāfiyā [The Philosophy of Geography]* (Tehran: Intishārāt-e Gitāshenāsi, 1364 AHS), p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Husayn Shukū'i, *Andishehā-ye Nū dar Falsafeh-ye Jugrāfiyā [New Thoughts on the Philosophy of Geography]* (Tehran: Intishārāt-e Gitāshināsi, 1375 AHS), pp. 31, 172, 263.

(cultural diffusion). In such places, the cultural region can be distinguished in the disorderly concentric layers.

He regarded the environmental structure of cultural region as having four parts:

1. Nucleus: The population in the central nucleus of the cultural region is more concentrated compared to the other places, and in that part religion is most dominant. The history of land occupation is longer than any other point. Visiting, viewing and paying homage to that region of the followers of that religion is many.

2. The culture's sphere of influence (contiguous region of nucleus): regions over which that culture is dominant, but population density, less influence of the nucleus region, and differences in social structures are obvious there.

3. The milieu of culture's influence (contiguous region of the pervasive realm of culture): external regions of influence and location of marginal contact, i.e. a place where followers of the said religion constitute the significant local minority is called the influence of culture.

4. External parts of the influence of culture: small regions are located in the external parts of the influence of culture.

Geographers study the spread of culture among regions as the process of transfusion. They have usually identified two means of diffusion: hierarchical diffusion (Maineg's model) and contagious transfusion (Hagstrand model).<sup>1</sup>

Each of the geographers somewhat discuss culture, the means of its diffusion, its effects on the environment, and its power. However, attention to the culture and religion can be understood better through studying the geography of global inequality. It is because out of the 191 countries in the world,<sup>2</sup> only 32 countries with about 24 percent of the world's population are above the poverty line. That is, approximately 76 percent of the world's population are living in poverty. This indicates the extent of the geography of inequality and the wide gap between the North and the South.<sup>3</sup> This inequality originates from the school of the supremacy of individual, which resulted in a kind of identity crisis in the West and the dominance of materialist values.

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Hagt, *Jugrāfiyā: Tarkībī-ye Nū [Geography: The New Combination]*, trans. Shāpūr Gūdarzī-Nezhād (Tehran: Intishārāt-e Samt, 1375 AHS), vol. 2, pp. 7, 18, 20, 34-35.

<sup>2</sup> That is, 191 countries at the time of writing the article. [Trans.]

<sup>3</sup> Pierzarzh, *Jugrāfiyā-ye Nābarābarī [The Geography of Inequality]*, trans. Mahdī Parhām (Tehran: Intishārāt va Āmūzesh-e Inqilāb-e Islāmī, 1371 AHS), p. 37.

Therefore, in the 1960s protest movements against the dominance of materialist values emerged in the American society. These movements laid down their initial effects in changing the mindset and awareness of that society's individuals, and that was the return to religion.

At the end of 1980s a certain religious movement named *New Age* surfaced. This movement has declared the preeminence and supremacy of spirituality over materialism and has presented diverse models and portraits of religion after the period of modernity.

Meanwhile, we are witness to the growth and revival of monotheistic religions along with this individualist religion. To cite an example, we witness the reemergence of Islamism through the migrant Muslims named Society of Islamic Propagators and organizations exemplifying both faith and action, return to the Torah among the Jews, and (religious) movement among the learned Christians.

Therefore, the struggle to acquire values has increased because the need for spirituality (in both institutional and non-institutional forms) is one of the basic needs for the human life.<sup>1</sup> In other words, today's world is moving toward postmodernism whose meaning is most of the intellectual trends in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The characteristics of these intellectual trends, which the scholars have mentioned can be shown. Lieutard describes the main characteristic of postmodernism in the following manner:

*Giving special importance to meaning and the world of giving meaning and the privatization and personification of meaning*

Terry Eagleton regards the postmodern era as the period of the extinction of borders between culture and sociology, and the philosophy of Gadamer introduces the combination of two trends and two movements, which we describe as the movement from regional hermeneutics to general hermeneutics and movement from epistemology of humanities to ontology.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the future world is the world of movement and more attention to values.

As such, geography must also harmonize and change along with the world of postmodernism. A revolutionary geography must emerge, focus on the solution to the problems related to the acts of justice and values in the

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Cladloneran (?), "*Buḥrān-e Ma'nawīyyat dar Jahān-e Gharb va Bājgasht-e Mujaddad beh Madhhab [The Spiritual Crisis in the West and the Return to Religion]*," trans. Behjat Yazdkhāstī, *Research Journal of Isfahān University*, vol. 5, pp. 3-12.

<sup>2</sup> Riḍā Dādrasī, "Postmodernism Ya'nī cheh? [What is Postmodernism?]," *Majalleh-ye Ḥawzeh va Dāneshgāh*, period 2, no. 6, pp. 79-80.

atmosphere of all views,<sup>1</sup> and expose to the world a geographical thought in which value reigns supreme in lieu of business.<sup>2</sup>

The concept of geography and social justice was first introduced in the geography literature by David Harvey who discussed it in his book entitled, "*Social Justice and the City*".

In 1994, the work of David Smith entitled, *Geography and Social Justice*, opened a new chapter in the science of geography. It is thus written in the said work: "Geography must be concordant with social justice both in theory and practice. Geography without social justice will be lacking the power and potential to give what is desirable for human life."<sup>3</sup>

Since extreme injustices and inequalities in the world have root in the individualistic thought and view, the individualist school is the verge of extinction, and throughout the contemporary history and the recent years it was witnessed that the collectivist school has not also been successful. Thus, the future of the world is looking for the school of fusion of the individual and society because this school is the reviver of justice and this school is the school of Islam.<sup>4</sup>

### **Cultural geography, Islam and social justice**

Along with the growth and expansion of human societies, the need to organize and give direction to the ideologies and thoughts has become manifest more than ever. Organizing the living environments of mankind and utilizing the natural gifts since time immemorial have always been made through the assistance of human thought and ideology. With the complication of the relations of the systems dominant over the human societies, day by day our notion of the future world and what to happen to its change will become more problematic. Perhaps, predicting the developments and changes in this currently moving river as well as to avoid drowning therein are not possible except through understanding of the leading factors influencing the mechanisms of this current. The main factor is the presence of schools of thought, and intellectual, political and religious ideologies, which have

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Clawell (?), *Jugrāfiyā-ye Nū [New Geography]*, trans. Sīrūs Sahāmī (Mashhad: Nashr-e Mutarjim, 1373 AHS), p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusayn Rāmshast, *Kārbord-e Geomorphology in Barnāmehrīzī [The Function of Geomorphology in Planning]* (Iṣfahān: Iṣfahān University Press, 1375 AHS), p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Andīshehā-ye Nū dar Falsafeh-ye Jugrāfiyā [New Thoughts on the Philosophy of Geography]*, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Beheshtī and Bāhonar, *Shenakht-e Islām [Understanding Islam]* (Tehran: Daftar-e Nashr-e Farhang-e Islāmī, 1365 AHS), p. 352.

served as the bedrock of all activities behind these currents, determining the orientation of programs and environmental organization.<sup>1</sup>

Since the religious-ideological principles, and at times political philosophy, have an apparent link with the geographical perspectives and phenomena, human geographical perspectives and phenomena in a sense gives color to the dominant philosophy. Thus, the degree of influence and effectiveness of an ideology in initiating and arranging geographical phenomena has a direct relation with the quality of its internal force. The more logical, deeply rooted and acceptable the ideological principles become, the speed of its geographical expansion will be faster and more expansive.

In the first centuries that Islam was organized, under the shadow of the Islamic teachings and atmosphere in the countries under the influence of Islam, great scientists, in every scientific fields, such as mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, philosophy, mysticism, literature, and human sciences, like Abūrayhān Bīrūnī, Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ghazzālī, Khwājah Nasīruddīn Tūsī, Fārābī, Rāzī... were nourished. Their scientific achievements not only challenged scientific ideals of the ancient Greek scientists, but also many centuries passed till European scientists could discover their theoretical and scientific findings<sup>2</sup> and with regard to the matter that our scientific culture background contains richness, unfortunately all these findings of our ancestors have not been kept away from the cultural inroad of the West, in such a manner that in the present scientific books nothing is reminded of them and it has such been pretended that as if the mankind has been given birth after the Renaissance and in Europe itself. When the most just scientific authors write about the science background in the introduction part [of the books] they suffice only to one or two lines and all at once with a leap of several thousands years arrive at Europe after the Renaissance, as if during this time the mankind has been asleep or at this juncture people and nations have been devoid of thinking.<sup>3</sup>

It is correct that the periods of scientific dehiscence of the early centuries declined but the it was the same sciences that as some Western scientists

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<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusayn Pāpelī Yazdī and Faṭimah Thawqī, “*Barnāmehrīzī az Dīdgāh-e Islām wa Athārāt-e Jughrāfiyā-yi Ān* [Planning from the Viewpoint of Islam and Its Geographical Effects],” *Faṣḥnāmeḥ-e Taḥqīqāt-e Jughrāfiyā* no. 42 (Mashhad, 1375 AHS), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Sa’īdī-ye Riḍwānī, ‘Abbās (1368 AHS), “*Bīnesh-e Islāmī wa Padīdehāye Jughrāfiyāyī*”, Āstān-e Quds Raḍawī Publications, Mashhad, pp. 15, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Reference no. 16, p. 2.

confess were transferred from the East to West and paved the ground for their scientific development.

Weil Durant writes:

“The Muslim world had various influences in the Christian world... this Islamic influence was done through commerce and the Crusades and translation of thousands of books from Arabic into Latin and travel of scientists like Gerbert, Scat... to Andalusia.”<sup>1</sup>

Despite what was spoken about the Muslims’ decline and defeat, our discussion is more indicative of the Islamic civilization nor Islam, as the philosopher Mutahharī says: “Islam has remained as a live, active and extensive power and compete with the most powerful new social and revolutionary powers”.<sup>2</sup>

In his great interpretation, Tantāwī has repeatedly made clear this fact that the Muslims’ decline and the Europe growth has been started from one point and that is turning away the face from the religion. We turned our face from the religion which was welfare-giving, we were humiliated and degraded and Westerners (they) put aside whatever delusions and superstitions they had accepted in the name of the religion and advanced.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, with return to the rich Islamic culture, the honor way is opened again, since this culture can like the past as a mother and true thinking treasury plays role in the creation of geographical phenomena and gives back once again the grandeur and splendid to the Muslims and manifests the guidance way to the world people, for Islam is the religion of and school of justice and also today, the scientists consider the justice as epigraph of the true move and people in pursuit of spirituality and values believe it.

With regard to the fact that in the modern world, inclination toward religiosity and justice-seeking has been increased and Islam’s purpose is the justice-seeking, and especially the Shiite religion, which knows the justice one of the religious principles of its religion basis and the purpose behind belief on the God justice is that the creator of the world has not humiliated

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<sup>1</sup> Daurant, Weil (1366), *Tārīkh-e Tamaddun* (Civilization History), trns. Abu’l-Qāsim Ṭāhirī, Publications of Āmūzish-e Inqilāb-e Islāmī, vol. 4, Tehran, p. 433.

<sup>2</sup> Martyr Muṭahharī, Murtadā (1373 AHS), *Insān wa Sarnevesht* (Man and Fate), Ṣadrā Publications, Qum, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥakīmī, Muḥammad Ridā (1375 AHS), *Dānish-e Muslimīn* (Muslims’ Knowledge), Office for Propagation of Islamic Culture, Tehran, p. 365.

right of any creation and has granted every one whatever he has been entitled to and in the world and creation system, based on the justice, equity, and order, with regard to every one's merit has bestowed capability, thus, the man who is His *khalīfah* (caliph) on the earth should behave justly and setting up of equity and justice is from the man's duties.<sup>1</sup>

. "So that men might uphold justice." (Surah Hadid, verse 25)

. "And weigh with justice, and skimp not in the Balance." (Surah Al-Rahman, verse 9)

. "Be equitable – that is nearer to God fearing." (Surah Al-Maidh, verse 8)

Through some *hadīths* narrated by the infallible Imāms (‘a) and definition of justice and its benefits and the lofty idea of Islam on it will be clarified more.

Imām Sādiq (‘a) said: "If it is behaved justly among people, all will become needless".

The Messenger of God (s) said: "one hour implementation of justice is better than seventy years of worshipping such that all its nights say prayers and all days long keep fasting."

Imām Mūsā Kāzīm (‘a) said: "no one will implement the justice except one who consider justice as good". Therefore, belief on the goodness of justice and endeavor toward it causes the justice to be implemented."<sup>2</sup>

Two things are necessary for the justice to be implemented: one is every one's vigilance to preserve his rights, or belief on the fact not to violate the boundaries and the other is the faith of the powerful.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in relation between political power and social justice, since the justice is foundation and value, is superior to power and since needs power and one of its means goes along it. In the position of superior value for the social man, justice cannot be separated from the individual nature to be materialized and limited. Thus, the social power, and the political power in particular, should take part in this important task.<sup>4</sup> This is done through the rules and the law needs to be

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Amīd Zanjānī, ‘Abbās-‘Alī (1363 AHS), *Mabānī-ye Fiqhī-ye Qānūn-e Asāsī-ye Jumhūrī-ye Islāmī-ye Irān* (Jurisprudential Principles of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran), published by Daftar-e Markazī-ye Jahād-e Dāneshgāhī, Tehran, pp. 49, 51.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥakīmī, Muḥammad Ridā (1376 AHS), the article '*Idālat az Zabān-e Imām Sādiq* (Justice from Imām Khomeinī's Tongue), "*Naqd wa Nazar*" Magazine, third year, no. 2 and 3, pp. 60-78.

<sup>3</sup> Martyr Muṭahharī, Murtaḍā (1403 AH), *Barrasī Ijmālī-ye Mabānī-ye Iqtisād-e Islāmī* (A Cursory Look at the Islamic Economy Principles), Hikmat Publications, Qum, pp. 19-21.

<sup>4</sup> Maḍār, Nāṣif, (1376 AHS), the article *Qudrat-e Siyāsī wa Aṣl-e 'Idālat* (Political Power and the Justice Principle), "*Naqd wa Nazar*" Magazine, third year, no. 2 and 3, Qum, pp. 289-290.

supported and the best support for the law is faith. Control of the community from the justice view can be facilitated only by the faith that does such a thing, for in the prophets' school, the justice idea and in other schools, it is the idea of reaching better life.

With regard to the above-mentioned points and also with regard to the cultural geography, which while having attention to the profound spatial research, considers cultural issues and transactions in the time span, that is, it has under consideration the past, present and the future and is multi-dimensional.<sup>1</sup> And also, according to the view of some contemporary scientists<sup>2</sup> in the future world countries hegemony over other countries can possible only through the cultural influence and rule and the role of ruling militarily, economically, and politically is weakened. Consequently, hegemony over the world is more effective through the cultural hegemony and the cultural hegemony is facilitated through taking control over the cultural poles and centers, since in the geography, too, like the history, the main goal is becoming familiar with the cultural centers, which creates special domains along with cultural perspectives.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, discussion over the cultural centers of the world seems necessary.

### **The center of the Muslim world as the cultural center of the world**

If we pay attention to the geopolitical balance of the world, it seems as such that from now on theories of MacKinder and SpaiKman will have very trivial comparative capability. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century many transformations have been occurred, new countries with modern structures have come into existence and constructive geopolitical factors in an unsystematic form have been interlinked and have formed a new composition. The geopolitical patterns have been disordered and it is felt that the world needs a new geopolitical pattern to be able to cover such a new phenomena. Surely, in such a pattern, the United States of America and Russia have no role by themselves, because other regional powers are also able to have a sensitive role in a manner in the international affairs and in other words, in such a pattern the second-class powers of the world, too, interfere actively in the international decision-makings.

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<sup>1</sup> Mu'minī, Muṣṭafā, (1365 AHS), "*Radyābī-ye Farhang-e Wahy*", the Quarterly of "*Tahqīqāt-e Joghhrāfiyāyī*", no. 2, Āstān-e Quds Publications, Mashhad, p.13.

<sup>2</sup> Tafler, Alvin (1364 AHS), *Waraqhā-ye Āyandeh* (Future Pages), trns. Dr. 'Abdul-Ḥusayn Nik-Guhar, Behnashr Publications, Tehran, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Reference no. 9, p. 127.



Passing through this old order will bring about fundamental changes in the economic and social conditions from the consequences of which have been the expansion of technology and advanced military hardware, social transformations such as internal revolutions, introduction of new heroes and finally undesirable distribution of the resources among the global family (unequal geography) which this part has been followed by remarkable transformations. Result of such an incidents was disturbing of the old geopolitical balances and their being substituted with the new geopolitical norm from among of which is formation of the world cultural center.

A glance at the world map will make us familiar with the fact that if with regard to its geographical stance, the Muslim world understands its real position, it can, not only, not to be the complementary for the big powers but also be recognized by itself as the main core of a big world power.

In this respect, for the first time, in 1954, Piersuer in his famous book issued out that: "In the shadow of its religious faith, Islam tends to be composed of a new and extensive group of the Muslim nations and even from the political perspective become like a third power between the two powers of the West and the East." Because with respect to the numerous which the two geopolitical domain of the West and the East have, the Muslim world, with regard to its stance, can while having the least geopolitical limitations, turns into a world power and pave its way for development and advance.

For confirming the above point, it is suitable to mention the theory of S. B. Kohen. Kohen introduces the Middle East along with Egypt, Sudan and a part of Libya as "the fragile belt of the Middle East". In his theory, the fragile belt has been defined as such: "an extensive region with the geopolitical stance...occupied by the conflicting governments... which has been entangled among contradictory interests of the big powers."<sup>1</sup> The big powers are enforced, from the part of the fragile belt, to retreat and the relatively big powers of the region are strengthening their position there.

Therefore, with regard to the geographical expansion of the Muslim world and the transformations, which are forming every day, the past geopolitical theories with water, draught and weather classifications no more can be basis of the world power strategies. Moreover, with regard to the world people inclination toward religion and justice-seeking and their avoidance from the school of individual originality, if the Muslim world domain is divided into three geographical area of west, east, and center, in

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<sup>1</sup> Reference no. 1, p. 37.

such a manner that determination of the geographical boundaries be any one based on the factors of natural and geographical environment and then with determining priorities in these areas, the geopolitical factors and its structures are analyzed, finally we can conclude that center of the Muslim world is cultural heartland of Eurasia.

Center of the Muslim world includes the peninsula of south western Asia which fixes the boundary of eastern borders of Iran and its other boundaries rely on waters of eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea, Oman Sea, and Persian Gulf. This center restricted area which in fact plays the role of communication group of the Muslim world, is either complementary the strategic military operations of the land power or the sea power and is considered in as much as an operational bridge among the three continent of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Although this role is not a new one, it has become more important today, since it has been placed at the center of the three strategic fronts. The main importance of this part is that the longitude of its shores is remarkable and in one of its rather small geographical area, there are more than six important strategic points, some of which have been the *raison d'être* of a country: Bosphorus Crossing, Dardanelles Crossing, Suez Canal, Bāb al-Mandab, Hormoz Strait, and finally the strategic islands of the Persian Gulf including: Abū Mūsā, the Greater Tunb, the smaller Tunb, and also the archipelago of Bahrain which have strategic value and each of them increases the region's importance.

Existence of the Persian Gulf in this region is important, because the Persian Gulf's position is in a manner that after the World War I, the East and West powers have all the time plundered, in a manner and by all means, the natural resources and overflowing wealth of its neighboring lands, and through creating disorder and disturbing governmental systems, Westerners, too, always, have exacerbated the extent of their plundering with more hue and cry and pretending to endeavor for establishing security in the region. From the human perspective, this region has been formed of various races and languages.<sup>1</sup>

Attributing this area to the cultural center of the world is reasonable because of the following reasons:

- a. for historical background

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<sup>1</sup> 'Izzatī, 'Izzatullāh (1372 AHS), "*Geopolitics*", Samt Publications, second edition, Tehran, pp. 138, 165-175.

b. for religious background and religious teachings and promises

c. for the present condition of the world and potential and actual facilities of this place in the world.

Center of the Muslim world was called the world's cultural center, because center of the Muslim world includes Jerusalem where at least has been *Qiblah* of three resolute prophets and includes *Ka'bah* where is *Qiblah* of the world Muslims and Divine immune place:

; And when Abraham said, "My Lord, make this land a secure, and provide its people with fruits, such of them as believe in God and the last day."<sup>1</sup>

it is in this place where many of divine prophets have attained to the prophethood and guided people and the Last Prophet, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (ṣ) has been given mission and has presented the most complete rules for the mankind perfection.

Many of contemporary social revolutions and changes have occurred here too, and finally it is in this place where Ḥadrat Imām of the Age Ḥujjat ibn al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (May Allah expedite his glorious advent) will appear and fill the world by justice with the justice-spreading culture of the Muslim worlds.

Therefore, governance over the culture of the Muslim world center is from among the arrogants' policies which as a result of the manifest cultural inroad have been slanted to this cultural pole.

Thus, the philosophy of many of the imperialistic policies in the region is related to this idea, including: establishment of the occupying regime of Israel in the Palestine land, creation of Wahhābism in Sunnīsm, and formation of Bahā'ism in Shī'ism.

The Muslim world and Muslims should make endeavor to become united vis-à-vis the world blasphemy and this will not be possible, unless they make use of all cultural means and propagandistic media in the best manner.

Regarding the above points, we can conclude that center of the Muslim world can turn into the world's cultural center; however, position of the Islamic revolution and the reviving role of Imām Khomeinī in this center can be from the important issues; therefore, we examine the Imām's role in this center.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2: 126.

### **The Imām Khomeinī phenomenon and the cultural center of the world**

In the decade of 1970s, in the international arena, introduced a charismatic and powerful figure with the name of Imām Khomeinī to the world and world people.

When the Islamic revolution in the organic shape with the systematic structure and compatible with the time needs came into the international arena, Imām Khomeinī's position and thought and the new literature which was all the time along with this phenomenon, caused every one to pay attention to it.

Regarding what mentioned, although the power notion, with its modern meaning (modern government) will pack off from the world, through cultural hegemony; rich cultures will substitute these priorities.

In such a period, with presenting his thoughts to the world, Imām Khomeinī (*r*) offered an instance of such a doctrine.

With an idea which can not be limited to a specific geographical border, addressing thoughts and awakening and reviving, Imām Khomeinī (*r*) could create a new wave in the cultural center of Islam.

In the cultural center of the world, Imām Khomeinī challenged the pluralism culture of the West, since the West with its pluralistic reality, which knew it as cure for social pains of all the world, the phenomenon of Imām Khomeinī and his thought, challenged and criticized fundamentally notions of the Western culture. Imām Khomeinī (*r*) techniques for the cultural center was not peculiar to the interests of a particular group and society, since nature of Imām Khomeinī's (*r*) thoughts had a close relation with religious principles of this center, and proposes of his thought was purpose of the thinking center of all Muslims.

Depicting the Big Satan as a deterrent factor for the Muslims in the progress and perfection procedure, placing the cultural center of Islam vis-à-vis the pluralistic culture of the West, Imām Khomeinī invited Muslims to vigilance and unity.

From among the important features which can be sought in Imām Khomeinī's (*r*) thoughts and could be taken under consideration and attention, we can refer to the following features:

#### **Unity: Unity of expression in the view of Imām Khomeinī**

Unity is one of the value elements which plays many incomparable roles in the progress process of the societies and since in religious basics such a teaching has a particular position in the process of implementing laws and

the lofty goals of Islam, in the world cultural center, Imām Khomeinī invited the Muslims to the united *ummah* and unity of expression. Defending Islam and Muslim countries and independence of the Islamic governments and the Muslims' unity of expression and brotherhood among all Muslims' sects were from among the plans of Imām Khomeinī (*r*)<sup>1</sup> who has repeatedly invited the Islamic states to the unity and brotherhood.<sup>2</sup>

Imām Khomeinī (*r*) knows the imperialistic technique as one of the deterrent factors of this unity and believes if the imperialistic culture is removed from among the Muslim's culture, the Islamic culture will attain to its original richness.

### **The *ummah*-nation in the view of Imām Khomeinī**

In the cultural center of Islam, the notions of nation and *ummah* and elucidation of their positions will be from among the causes which during the process of creating the center are from the main factors of forming this center.

Pluralism of the West in its nature is different from the collision affairs. This separation phenomenon in the world level led to the phenomenon of nation-states.

Ḥadrat Imām Khomeinī's (*r*) thought in the world center of Islam, issues out a new discussion with the name of *ummah* in Imām Khomeinī's (*r*) perspective views from one dimension to the Islamic revolution of Iran and from the other to the Muslim world.

Notion of the Big Satan in political literature of Imām Khomeinī (*r*) has always been used in confrontation with obstacles of this center. In a letter to the then president of Algeria, Sadli bin Jadīd, Ḥadrat Imām (*r*) says:

“The great revolution of the noble and campaigner nation of Iran is the aftermath of the liberating revolutions and the pristine appraisals of campaigning nations of the world particularly the brotherly heroic nation of Algeria. This was the cause that the greatest of the satanic powers was eliminated. I hope that it will serve a beacon for all the oppressed nations and Muslims of the world. Further, it could be able to emancipate all nations from the dominance of all imperialists, particularly the big Satan, America, the world devourer.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Khomeinī, Imām, “*Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*”, Tehran, Publications of Sāzmān-e Madārek-e Farhangī-ye Inqilāb-e Islāmī, vol. 1, pp. 83-85.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 38.

### **Religion and politics in the view of Imām Khomeinī**

Imām Khomeinī's approach on "religion and politics" and the relation between them forms main principles of the political thought of the Imām (r).

The Imām's (r) strategy for the world cultural center, on socio-political strategies, was the relation between the issue of religion and politics. Therefore, in expressing this strategy, the Imām (r) from the first days of his thoughtful movement to the last days of his life always was elucidating it.

The Imām's approach about religious teachings and role of all people has a particular position in Imām Khomeinī's thought; the collection of orders which merely are about the relation between "man" and "God" and has had no goal but the heavenly happiness. "In the Imām Khomeinī's (r) theory, principles and essentials of all social plans are ended to the religion of Islam. The people have an all-out role in the framework of Islam. Their vote is criteria and norm in the practice arena and religious leadership—*Wilāyat al-Faqīh* (Guardianship of Jurist) is a firm foundation in religion-loving of its political society and system".<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, pattern of the Imām's (r) political behavior "has accepted and introduced the true religion of Islam as the source of social guidance and legislation, placed administration of all affairs based on the public ideas and emphasized on the necessity of the religious and political leadership of the prudent and informed and ...jurist at head of the state system".<sup>2</sup>

The Imām's (r) approach in administering the close relation between the religious teachings and political behaviors was from among the factors which attracted the viewpoint of many of thinkers and politicians.

The Imām's (r) attention to such an approach in the international and global level was taken under consideration by many of the owners of thought and idea and created a new wave on the diplomacy and political behavior.

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<sup>1</sup> Nabawī, 'Abbās, the Quarterly of "*Dāneshgā-he Islāmī*", no. 5, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

## **Conclusion**

Although the power notion with the present meaning of modernism world will go away from the world, attaining world superiority belongs to the richer cultures (*verily the nobler one of you beside God is your more pious one*”).

Culture-adopting and selecting the more righteous one in the future world will be done very easily and geographical borders of the cultures will be removed (*then give glad tidings to My servants who listen to the Saying and obey it in the best manner*).

The power means are convincing in future.

The man of post-modern period moves toward values and from among the values is justice for which the world people will become eager and the school which is itself encourager of the justice will satisfy it and therefore that school will fill the world in future and that is the school of Islam.

Since the rich Islamic culture will be expanded more in the future, cultural center and heartland of the future world will be center of the Muslim world.





## **Imām Khomeinī's 8-Stage Proposal for the Attainment of the Muslim World's Ideals**

***Muḥammad-Riḍā Dehshīrī***

The system free from the domination of the arrogant and devoid of the weak countries' dependency on the great powers can be held as the ideal order from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī for the attainment of which, the late Imām presents an 8-phased design based on the rule of gradualism (gradual implementation of the eight phases) and the rule of ability (implementation of the said design commensurate to the Islamic country's ability and means in each of the eight phases). Concerning this, the *umm al-qurā*, as the country having the pivotal role in the Muslim world, in which the Islamic laws are observed, having a leadership acceptable to the Muslims, and in which a sort of mutual responsibility between its jurist-leader and the Islamic world in the farthest countries of the world exists, deserves to have a special and primary role in implementing this project. Then, the mission of realizing the ideal international order also involves other countries in the Islamic world, which are supposed to assist the *umm al-qurā* in undertaking the gargantuan mission. In this 8-phase design, the late Imām discusses psychological and individual, sociological and social, governmental, transnational, interstate, institutional or organizational, international confederation, and universalist approaches, each of which will be discussed below.

### **First Stage: Individual level**

In the view of the Imām, “Will is the first step.”<sup>1</sup> It means to say that there should take place a profound and fundamental transformation in the mentalities and psychological characteristics of the individuals of the *umm al-qurā* as well as in the spiritual and psychological peculiarities of other Muslim nations. Apart from understanding their personality and capabilities, preserving their own culture, absence of self-defeatism in face of alien culture, abstaining from West-struckness and East-struckness, and enhancement of the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, the Muslims should never entertain a feeling of weakness and feebleness within themselves in the face of the superpowers. By enhancing their knowledge, awareness and religious insight, and trust in God, the Exalted, they should inculcate in themselves the spirit of hope for the future.<sup>2</sup>

### **Second Stage: Societal level**

This level focuses more on the sociological elements, which are supposed to be present and observed in the *umm al-qurā* and then in the rest of Muslim countries.

#### **1. In the *umm al-qurā***

While stressing on internal coalition of the *umm al-qurā*, Imām Khomeinī believes that the preservation of the unity of expression between the two sections of the cleric and student, the survival of the clergy as the pioneer in the struggle against the imperialists, and the survival of the universities as the centers of learning are deemed necessary and indispensable affair.<sup>3</sup>

#### **2. In other Muslim countries**

Apart from stressing on the necessity of proximity among the Islamic schools of thought, Imām Khomeinī urges them to shun from emphasizing tribal differences and sectarian discords; calls on the Muslim nations to cling on the Rope of Allah,<sup>4</sup> highlight the unity of expression, oneness of goal,

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<sup>1</sup> *Payām-e Istiqāmat*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, pp. 140, 232, 358, 380, 384, 389, 402, 405.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 259, 389, 593.

<sup>4</sup> Rope of Allah [*ḥablullāh*]: “And hold fast, all together, by the rope which Allah (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves.” *Sūrah Āl-i ‘Imrān* 3:103 [Trans.].

preservation of the bond of brotherhood and cohesion on the basis of *kalimah at-tawhīd*,<sup>1</sup> enhance internal coalition, and shunning away from discord.<sup>2</sup>

### **Third Stage: Governmental level**

Imām Khomeinī's emphasis on the necessity of establishing an independent and sovereign government in the *umm al-qurā* and other Muslim countries, and the need to harmonize and complement the essence of government and the Islamic culture of the said societies are governmental reasons that will be realized in two domains below:

#### **1. In the *umm al-qurā*'**

In the view of the Imām, the *umm al-qurā* must present a successful practical model so that the other Muslim countries would imitate it. In connection with the 'expression of Islamic government in one country', apart from encouraging to internally strengthen and consolidate the political system of the *umm al-qurā* through self-sufficiency and self-reliance, the Imām reckons the independence of views and decisions as well as the adoption of the policy of 'neither East nor West' as its ingredient of success. For the Muslim country to achieve economic, cultural and military independence, he offers a set of solutions.

In the context of economic independence, the Imām is of the opinion that by applying the two factors of commitment and expertise, and the utilization of science and technology as well as the enormous talent of the people, the country of the *umm al-qurā*'s concerned officials should attain self-sufficiency in industry and agriculture.<sup>3</sup> In the field of mental and cultural independence, the Imām recommends proper rearing of the youth, making the people aware, moving toward the primordial self, inclination toward the Islamic culture, and campaign against West-struckness and East-struckness so that the culture of colonialism would turn into the culture of independence.<sup>4</sup>

In the area of military independence, by invoking the *nafyi sabīl* verse, "*Allah will not give the disbelievers any way (of success) against the believers*,"<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī discourages the Muslims from permitting the

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<sup>1</sup> *Kalimah at-tawhīd*: The declaration of the Oneness of God, *Lā ilāha illallāh* [There is no deity but Allah]. [Trans.]

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, pp. 35, 98.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 412, 421, 445, 453.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 176, 182, 342, 346, 358, 387, 447, 475.

<sup>5</sup> *Sūrah an-Nisā* 4:141. [Trans.]

entry of superpowers into their territories for the setting up of military bases as he views this affair equal to [giving consent] for the dominance of the usurper powers over the Muslim lands.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, Imām Khomeinī reckons the adoption of the policy of 'Neither East nor West' by the *umm al-qurā* as the basis of struggle against the two atheistic schools of communism and capitalism, saying: "The menace of communism is not less than that of capitalism of the West".<sup>2</sup> He views negation of the East and West as the foundation of uprooting the plundering facilities of the plunderer imperialists and socialist imperialists. He believes that this goal cannot be attained except through the formation of the Islamic government in the *umm al-qurā*. In this manner, it would be understood in other Muslim lands that America and the Soviet Union can be confronted since the best and most important reason behind its possibility is the emergence of such [formation of the Islamic government]. "The first evidence of the contingency of something is that it has happened."<sup>3</sup>

## **2. In other Muslim countries**

Imām Khomeinī gives priority to the toppling down of surrogate rulers in the Muslim countries, believing that these rulers should be uprooted because the reason behind the Muslim countries' dependency on the colonialist powers is their love for position, wealth and leadership as well as their greed and covetousness:

"The reason why the mercenary ruler will be endlessly imprisoned by desires is that as power and wealth increase, man's craving for power also increases. This increase of man's craving for power incites the unscrupulous ruler to use power for himself. By strengthening this powerful individual and installing him in power, the superpowers would realize their imperialist design and subject the nations to frailty. The superpowers' hirelings are afraid that the imaginary power granted to them by their masters be taken back. As such, they are submissive to the imperialists and offer them all the possessions of the country. The fear and dread in the hearts of the surrogate governments render them incapable of paying heed to the expression of the state of oppression of the world even in their own countries. For, abuse, self-interest and love for position do not allow them to think for their own nations. These individuals do not think of anything except their interests and

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 578.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 283, 361, 475.

that of their masters because anyone who is a puppet of others should serve his master. Therefore, the prerequisite for the lack of psychological independence of the surrogate rulers is the feeling of despise in face of the tyrant governments.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, Imām Khomeinī regards the solution to ensure independence and lack of dependency of the Muslim countries to lie on the assumption of Islamic and popular rulers whose governance is harmonious and concordant with the comprehensive religious culture.

#### **Fourth Stage: Transnational level**

After undertaking the campaign against arrogance and negation of system of dominance at the national level in the *umm al-qurā* and other Muslim countries, the elimination of hegemony of the great powers in the realm of relations between Muslim and other nations will be important because the transnational level, according to the Imām, can be a step toward the interstate level. In his opinion, the nations are the principal decision-makers in the international relations. The relations among them are more important than the inter-governmental relations. Concerning these transnational relations, the late Imām's viewpoints can be studied in three spheres below:

##### **1. Between the *umm al-qurā* and the rest of Muslim countries**

In relation to this, the *umm al-qurā* plays a crucial role as it at times helps the other nations to establish an Islamic government. Such a support is dependent on the capacity of the *umm al-qurā* and preparedness of the Muslim nations in devotion for the protection of the *umm al-qurā* in case of presence of threat to it from the atheistic and renegade countries.

The Imām of the *ummah*'s stance during the Iraqi imposed war on Iran, which while recalling the Islamic Republican Guards Corps from military deployment in Lebanon in resisting the Zionist regime's attacks, exemplifies the claim to the primacy of protecting the territorial integrity of the Iran from the Iraqi Ba'athist regime's aggressions.

##### **2. Between the *umm al-qurā* and the downtrodden nations**

This transnational relationship can take place in two spheres of commercial-trade intercourses and morale-ideological support for the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, 265, 601.

liberations movements. The *umm al-qurā*, in case of having capability will help the liberation movements in ousting the subservient rulers in their own countries. In such a way, the downtrodden nations could topple satanic agents and rise up through cooperation among the people-based new states in the campaign against the domineering imperialists.

Along this line, the Muslim people of the *umm al-qurā* should be aware of the sufferings of the downtrodden nations, for in the words of the Imām, “So long as the weak societies do not feel the pain, they will not think for the treatment, for so long as the society does not feel that it is sick, it will not think for treatment and will not consult a doctor.”<sup>1</sup> Therefore, so long as the downtrodden nations do not realize the evil of colonialism and its menacing effects, they will not resort to changing and transforming their society—“*Lo! Allah changeth not the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their hearts.*”<sup>2</sup>

### **3. Between the *umm al-qurā*’ and the free communities in the arrogant countries**

Imām Khomeinī believed that by supporting the free peoples of the imperialist countries (such as the African-origin people of America), the *umm al-qurā* should take a step in forming an anti-arrogance front. In this manner, the superpowers would also be attacked from within.

#### ***Fifth Stage: Interstate level***

The level which is based on bilateralism between the *umm al-qurā* and other countries, and the adoption of the policy of understanding among the states, can be inferred more from the practical conduct of Imām Khomeinī, which dealt on formulating the over-all policies of the (Islamic) system in its relations with other countries. It will be realized in the following forms:

#### **1. Between the *umm al-qurā*’ and the other Muslim countries**

The relations between the *umm al-qurā* and other Muslim countries will be manifested at two levels of cultural-trade cooperation and political-ideological alliance. Of course, the *umm al-qurā*’s assistance to the other Muslim countries depends on the capability of the former as well as the reciprocal cooperation of the two sides.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah ar-Ra’d* 13:11.

## **2. Between the *umm al-qurā'* and the other downtrodden nations**

In connection with this, the increase in the volume of trade-commercial dealings between the Muslim countries and other downtrodden countries can be realized, from the functionalist school's perspective, on the basis of frequency of transactions and exchanges, and from the regionalist school's perspective, on the basis of neighborhood or geographical proximity.

## **3. Between the *umm al-qurā'* and the non-arrogant powerful countries**

In view of the permissibility of establishing peaceful mutual relations with unconvinced non-Muslims based on the noble Qur'anic verse, "*Allah forbiddeth you not those who warred not against you on account of religion and drove you not out from your homes, that ye should show them kindness and deal justly with them. Lo! Allah loveth the just dealers,*"<sup>1</sup> friendly relations with non-hostile countries on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation can be established.

## **Sixth Stage: Institutional or organizational level**

At this level, multilateralism based on cooperation and coordination of a group of countries with common objectives and aspirations can be adopted. The said policy of institutionalization can be implemented on the regional, transregional or international level. The policy of equal alliance among countries, which are coequal in terms of power, can be implemented on the security and non-security levels. On the security domain, this policy can lead to the collective autonomy of the allied countries. On the non-security realm, meanwhile, it can initiate permanent alliance based on coordination of economic and ideological policies. The latter case can be implemented in the two levels of alliance within the Islamic world and Third World alliance. In such a way, it can pave the ground for the realization of the international order free from the dominance of the arrogant powers.

### **1. Islamic world alliance**

Formation of a front among the Muslim countries against the arrogant countries along with the enhancement of ideological integration and improvement of internal consolidation among the Muslim countries forms the edifice of this equal alliance.

Imām Khomeinī deems it expedient the collaboration and alliance of the Muslim countries for the struggle against imperialism. In undertaking this

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Mumtahinah* 60:8.

significant task, he admonishes the Muslim nations not to entertain a feeling of weakness and feebleness and not to fear the superpowers. Instead, they should maintain a spirit of strength and potency by the reliance on God so that they could rise up in the struggle against the imperialists to the extent of totally uprooting all forms of dependency.<sup>1</sup>

## **2. Third World alliance**

Imām Khomeinī regards the alliance of downtrodden nations or the Third World as the most important step in the struggle against imperialism. By adopting the non-alignment policy, they cut off all roots of colonialism and prevent the interference of superpowers on the destinies of downtrodden nations as well as the superpowers' domination of their countries.<sup>2</sup>

In his view, the Muslim states' propagation to incite the world public opinion against the imperialists is of crucial importance. For, by mobilizing forces against arrogance, the *umm al-qurā* can globalize the spread of the anti-imperialist struggle. In doing so, it can take a step in eliminating the dominance of the superpowers.<sup>3</sup>

## **Seventh Stage: International confederative level**

In this level in which supranational actors are of significant importance, the states strive to draft and enact a single constitution as well as to form a sort of confederation based on the essence of humanity and belief in monotheism. On account of legislation of these legal principles and standards, the states can invalidate communism or capitalism as defective and impotent schools in addressing the needs of humanity; neutralize the laws of the arrogant and domineering superpowers; abolish the order of dominance; and make supreme the rule of monotheistic ideology in the world. These legal measures can undermine national borders and sovereignties. These can be a step toward the preponderance of human standards and spiritual principles over animalistic and materialistic motives of the imperialists, and challenge the legal logic of the superpowers. For, in the opinion of Imām Khomeinī, "They (the imperialists) gauge the nations on the basis of their animalistic motives; they do not believe in values for the nations of the world, human being and humanity; they do not even give account to them."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, pp. 232, 337, 402, 413.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 232, 358, 380, 384, 389, 402, 405.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 265, 463, 555.



In the words of the late Imām, “They (the imperialists) are indeed deprived of understanding the truths and unaware of divine motives—‘*Deaf, dumb, blind, therefore they have no sense*’<sup>1</sup>.”<sup>2</sup> Thus, in order to neutralize the expansionist measures of the imperialists, which “are to make the logic of the Middle Ages prevail over all human values and international rules so as to legalize their interventions,” the formation of an international confederation founded on common constitution to make the human and spiritual values prevail over the inhuman logic of the superpowers can help the *umm al-qurā* realize the ideal international order.

### ***Eighth Stage: Universalism/universal level***

This phase, which will be realized with the elimination of international borders and finally the formation of a single global *ummah*, considers the implementation of the principles of justice and equity as well as the prevalence of peace throughout the world in such a way that not only the discriminations and class distinctions at the domestic level be eliminated but also in the international scene we will witness the end of supremacy and hegemony of the dominant powers as well as the manifestation of the free will of the single *ummah* in the decision-making and determination of their own destiny. Undoubtedly, in this phase, the endeavor of the *umm al-qurā* in the spread of Islam, revival of the Islamic government in other countries and the performance of the profound mission of the global Islamic revolution are of crucial importance. The hope and aspiration of Imām Khomeinī in linking the Islamic Revolution of Iran with the government of the Master of the Age<sup>3</sup> (may Allah hasten his glorious advent) are suggestive of the constructive role of the *umm al-qurā* in setting up the government of the downtrodden. It is through the inspiration of the noble Qur’anic verse, “*And We desired to show favor unto those who were oppressed in the earth, and to make them examples and to make them the inheritors*”<sup>4</sup> that the late Imām regards as realizable the dream of establishing the just international order free from the dominance of the arrogant powers.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:171.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 607.

<sup>3</sup> It refers to Imām Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Askari, the Twelfth and Last Imām from the Prophet’s Holy Progeny who is presently in the state of major occultation and will appear on the appointed time in the future to fill the world with truth, justice and faith after being engulfed by falsehood, injustice and unbelief.

<sup>4</sup> *Sūrah al-Qaṣaṣ* 28:5.

## **Conclusion**

From the foregoing it can be inferred that in the view of Imām Khomeinī, in the international scene an order is deemed ideal which in terms of structure will not lead to the prevalence of atheist ideologies and not provide the ground for the interference of the great powers in the downtrodden countries. In view of the fact that at present time, we live in an international system in which the powers of the North want to institutionalize their supremacy, hegemony and dominance over the countries of the South, Imām Khomeinī believes that the way to eliminate dominance is first through the reconsideration of the extant system and then in its fundamental and vital change. In view of this, conflictual or revolutionary system provides the necessary grounds for the changes in the standards, criteria and principles of international relations.

Now, in order to attain the order free from the dominance of the arrogant powers, Imām Khomeinī offers an eight-phase design, which is feasible on the basis of the rule of gradualism and capability. In this design, while believing in the pivotal role of the *umm al-qurā*, he is of the opinion that the subsequent mission lies on the shoulder of the Muslim countries and then the downtrodden countries in changing the status quo. In this respect, the nations hold more preference compared to the states.

The views of the Imām in the first stage include the reformation of the individual, society and government in the *umm al-qurā* and other Muslim countries while in the second stage it will be elevated into the level of the Islamic world transnational or interstate relations with other countries. In the third stage, transnational actors and their role in the regional, transregional and global institutions are of paramount importance. This stage will finally pave the ground for the realization of the concluding stage which is the realization of the single global *ummah* and system devoid of dominance of the atheistic and arrogant powers.

## **A Discussion on the Relationship between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Muslim World**

*Fīrūz Dawlatābādī*

Concerning the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in relation to the Muslim countries, usually, two questions can be posed:

1. What is the status of the Muslim world in the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran?
2. What is the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran with respect to the Muslim world?

Venturing to address the above questions is possible from two viewpoints. The first outlook regards the Muslim world as an external affair and parallel to the Islamic Republic of Iran. In other words, it is considered as an independent institution. The second outlook treats the Muslim world as an internal affair and an inseparable part of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the realization of the ardent desires of the Muslims.

This paper endeavors to answer the above questions within the framework of the two outlooks.

### **First outlook**

In describing the status of the Muslim world<sup>1</sup> in the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at the outset, it (Iran) has to clarify its objective for this endeavor because the following three general options can seemingly be regarded as the possible objectives of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

1. The protection of the Muslim world, individually and collectively, will prevent the formation or execution of any kind of threat to the national security or national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran;
2. The protection of the Islamic Republic of Iran will prevent the formation and execution of any kind of threat to the national security or national interests of all Muslim countries; and
3. In a mutual relationship, the expectations of one another can be appropriately answered.

As what we can notice, the three mentioned points are inextricably interwoven with one another in such a manner that they can be classified in a more comprehensive perspective. One outlook views the Muslim world as an external affair, independent institution, and an issue of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is very clear that if a country or a group of countries is assumed to be independent or even quasi-independent player or players, the scenarios of cooperation on the basis of the oneness of objectives will take form. The expectation of political units from mutual cooperation will be to maximize the national interests and minimize the security and political threats. Yet, the events and experiences of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran show that with this viewpoint, one cannot succeed in describing the status of the Muslim world as an independent and excellent affair in the foreign policy strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Religious and political precepts have taught us that through adjusting the conditions and withdrawal one cannot succeed in ultimately solving the existing differences and preserve the considerable achievements in relation to the Muslim countries.

The reason behind it is clear. The existing contradictions are traceable from the nature of the Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran. The victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran has made the political systems dominant in the Muslim world, which prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution had acquired a sense of limited and imposed legitimacy in their respective societies, to lose at once all their

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<sup>1</sup> In this paper, what is meant by the "Muslim world" is the governments ruling over countries with Muslim population, the Muslim nations of the world, Islamic governments, and allegedly Islamic and Muslim states.

political bases. The fact of the matter is that the Islamic Republic of Iran (as a system), which in the domestic and international dimensions, and above all, in the context of political and historical standards is acceptable for all Muslims (whether from the viewpoint of the Ahl as-Sunnah—consensus [*ijmā'*]<sup>1</sup>—and that of the Shī'ah—guardianship [*wilāyah*]) is a legitimate institution that enjoys strong support both from the top—the institution of leadership—and the bottom—the people. Similarly, on account of the profound link that has emerged between the people and the leadership in administering the affairs of the country, it is a sort of motivating ideal and model for putting an end to the historical isolation of Muslims in the affair of participating in determining their own destiny vis-à-vis the ruling states. As such, we can notice that the states and countries in the Muslim world are in a dilemma as far as establishing relationship with the Islamic Republic of Iran, most of whom are experiencing inconsistencies and worries—inconsistencies whose real roots must be examined in the crisis of legitimacy and not in political action. They regard themselves in a dilemma; if they would get closer to the Islamic Republic of Iran, though their clout of legitimacy will increase, they will face two crucial threats. The first challenge is with the dominant system under the U.S. leadership, which is the source of stability and permanence of the familial or political hereditary governments in the Muslim world,<sup>1</sup> and the one guaranteeing their international legitimacy. The second challenge is with the Muslim people residing in those countries who would pressure their respective government in abiding with their demand in administering the affairs of the country under the pattern of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

If they would distance themselves from the Islamic Republic of Iran, their legitimacy crisis will intensify and they will also face two other serious and significant challenges. The first is with the people because they will

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<sup>1</sup> In view of author, with only a few exceptions, the absolute majority of the political systems dominant in the Muslim world can be classified into two: hereditary monarchy and hereditary political rule. Hereditary monarchies are traditional administrative systems, in which the transfer of power naturally takes place from the king to the crown prince, who is usually the eldest son. Since 1960s, the dominant system has been trying to change the form of these systems in such a manner that, firstly, the transfer of power could be done the shortest possible time. Secondly, it would take place within a group of the officials of these countries having more commitment at anytime for the realization of the objectives of the dominant system. By the way, this matter is not applicable only to the Muslim world as it has many instances in Asia and Latin America. The emphasis on the Muslim world is merely on account of the topic of this article.

refuse submitting and obeying the governments and their inclination to rise up will increase. The second challenge is with the dominant system that will experience more difficulty in protecting and supporting them. In view of this, because of the desire to stay in power in a traditional way, on one hand, and the pressures of the dominant system in ensuring and guaranteeing the realization of their objectives and interests in the soonest possible time, on the other, in forging relationship with the Islamic Republic of Iran the Muslim governments and countries are under multiple political pressures, and in order to prevail over this critical situation, they resort to the three main strategies commensurate to the kind of the problems they have.

### ***First strategy***

The first strategy is the attempt to acquire legitimacy through severe international pressures on the Islamic Republic of Iran to adjust the situations vis-à-vis the important and serious problems of the Muslim world, such as the Arabs' compromise with Israel, which hides behind the official recognition of the Quds-occupier regime (Israel) and expansion of extensive cooperation with it. This compromise, as what a statesman has said, has been the peace (accord) and compromise between personalities and not nations, and it is natural that with the aim of making it "popular" there is no way except the conformity of the Islamic Republic of Iran with this process, otherwise Israel will remain forever in the sea of hatred.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Second strategy***

The second strategy is besmirching the image of the Islamic Republic of Iran before the Muslims through religious, political and economic problems and other possible means such as the magnification of the economic problems, problems related to human rights, religious minorities, internal differences, etc.

### ***Third strategy***

The third strategy is attack against the Islamic Republic of Iran to weaken it on issues which, on account of belief and commitment to observe the Islamic principles it has limitation in confronting the likes of them, e.g. the massacre of Iranian and non-Iranian *Hajj* pilgrims during the rites of

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<sup>1</sup> This sentence is adapted from the statement of the then US President George Bush who is reported to have said, "Israel cannot live forever in the sea of hatred".

*Ḥajj*, not allowing the performance of the “disavowal against the polytheists” ritual [*barā’ah al-mushrikīn*], etc.

As to what extent is the effectiveness of the above strategies is as of the moment not the topic of our discussion. The aim was for us to show that in the exterior perspective that has the nature of government-country, the relationship of the Muslim world with us in more cases is out of having no other option. In the same way, their opposition to the Islamic Republic of Iran is an institutional and permanent opposition having its root in the legitimacy crisis caused by the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Therefore, the attempt to find and describe the status of the Muslim world in the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the government-country tendency and with the objectives mentioned at the beginning of discussion will be a not-so-fruitful attempt and search, and so long as there are the legitimacy crisis in those countries our “*hal min nāṣir* (is there any supporter)” call will receive no response.

## **Second outlook**

In this outlook, we regard the Muslim world as an internal affair and instead of engaging in a not-so fruitful search for the status of the Muslim world in the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, our attempt will focus on dealing with the subject from a different angle—an angle that makes us immune from mistake is the current and important reality that can be realized and understood in the practical conduct of His Eminence Imām Khomeinī (*r*) and the foreign policy that the Islamic Republic of Iran has consciously implemented on the basis of those not so few years. In other words, we are not looking for a new way and strategy. Instead, based on the description of this approach, we want to know: What is the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world?

In this outlook, the Muslim world is an integral part of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its internal addressee. In this view, the victory of the Islamic Revolution is the materialization of the ardent desire and common will of the global Muslims. In this outlook, the triumph of the Islamic Revolution over the Western political system and the tyrannical Pahlavī monarchical regime is in reality the repetition of the same magnificent honors of Muslims in the conquest of Iran, Andalūs (Spain), Crusades, and the conquest of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. It is a response to the last century’s Western hounds in the onslaught to the Muslim world and the irreparable defeats such as the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire,

colonization of the Muslim countries, establishment of the Zionist usurper state (Israel), promotion of ultra-nationalism, and finally, the establishment of Westernized and anti-Islamic states in the Muslim world. The religious and political precepts, which in the first outlook used to make us feel frustrated in finding a status of the Muslim world in the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the same have achieved nothing except victory and honor in this outlook. It is because in this view the Islamic Republic of Iran has been the identity and prestige of the Muslims. Its founder, Imām Khomeinī, is their Imām. Its desire and stances are their desire and stances. In the purest expression, the Islamic Republic in Iran is the most sacred and inspiring political unit of the global Muslims. Imām Khomeinī believed that clear aims and strategies in relation to the Muslim world must be conceived and pursued. Before dealing with these aims and strategies, it is fitting for us to recognize first their principles and presumptions in the political thoughts of the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran.<sup>1</sup>

### **Principles and presumptions**

The principles and presumptions existing in the political thought of Imām Khomeinī can be enumerated in this manner:

1. As what can be deduced from a comparative study regarding the fundamentals of foreign policy in Islam with the practical conduct of Imām Khomeinī on issues under discussion, in choosing any strategy and aim, he has always taken into account three constant principles: *da'wah* [Islamic call], *nafti sabīl* [protection of independence and rejection of dominance by non-Muslims] and preservation of the *dār al-islām* [Abode of Islam].

2. Imām Khomeinī used to regard himself and the Islamic Republic of Iran as the responsible for the foreign and international policy of the Muslim countries vis-à-vis Zionism, communism, capitalism, and atheistic currents.

3. Imām Khomeinī believed that on account of the religious and doctrinal differences that have been mistakenly regarded as rooted in history, the Muslim world is heedless of its internal, unity-fostering and movement-engendering assets. The intellectuals of the Muslim world, especially in the

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<sup>1</sup> As what the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī, has said, the Islamic Revolution is not known anywhere in the world without the name of Imām Khomeinī. The fact of the matter is that every statesman who deals on the important and strategic affairs of the Islamic Revolution is in truth dealing with thoughts and view of Imām Khomeinī. Therefore, when we talk about presumption, unwittingly or unwittingly, we are actually considering the presumptions of Imām Khomeinī. The same is true in case of the aims and strategies.



last two centuries, have been negligent of the historical and permanent institutions that have decisive presence in the heart of their societies, and most of them have been in opposition with these institutions. Thus, so long as the nations have not been changed, power transfer or change in the policy of governments will either be impossible at all or in the end will lead to limited and insignificant reforms.

4. Imām Khomeinī regarded the political legitimacy and survival of the despotic governments in many Muslim countries, particularly in the past two centuries, whether in the hereditary monarchical systems or hereditary political systems, as relying upon strong dependence of these countries upon the big transnational powers. Since he opined that the global superpowers are not relying on themselves, he regarded this dependency as a kind of humiliation and degradation for the countries-states and Muslims. For this reason, he was about to decide attacking these powers, America in particular.

5. Imām Khomeinī accepted the political classifications and players of the international relations. He equally acknowledged and believed in the reality of nation-state except the case of the Quds-occupier regime (Israel). He used to treat the political elites as the main players and many of the international governmental and legal organizations—with the exception of the UN Security Council in some cases on account of its authoritative nature as exemplified by its veto power—as current parts and pillars of the international system.

6. The strategies of Imām Khomeinī in the Muslim world were not expecting for the response. In fact, it was a response to the demand, inclination and problems of the Muslims and the Muslim world. Of course, these strategies have targeted some particular addressees in the sovereignty of Muslim states-countries.

7. The vacuum caused by the elimination of the position and institutions for political theorization and setting important and fundamental strategies, on one hand, and the political-religious personality of Imām Khomeinī, on the other hand, prompted Imām Khomeinī to involve himself personally in the mail part of the issues relating to the foreign relations of the Islamic Republic of Iran even in the domains of tactics and political conduct. In this regard, one should not neglect mentioning two important points. The first point is that recognizing and comprehending the foreign policy of Islam and the Islamic nature or otherwise of some current principles and policies in the international relations was not that easy for all during the initial years after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and it was feared that deviation in the

foreign policy would threaten the dynamic system of the Islamic Republic. The second was that up to 1367 AHS the organ in charged with the foreign policy had experienced many limitations in its activities on account of the entanglement with the war with Iraq. For this very reason, the role of Imām Khomeinī in these strategies is not only in terms of giving approvals and giving guidelines but also in actual conduct and giving commands.

8. Imām Khomeinī would not accept a breathing space for the superpowers' animosity against the Islamic Republic of Iran, for he considered these confrontations as painful for the countries under oppression. For the same reason, he used to regard the policy of the "neither East nor West" even during the period of the Iraqi war against Iran as the international option of foreign policy.

9. In observing the mode of conduct of Imām Khomeinī one must not also be negligent on another important affair and that was the presence of two images and in some limited cases, two levels of outlook and strategy to the Muslim world. That is, it is the state-country level which is restricted to the common and customary diplomacy of the international system and the other is the level of the *ummah*, which consists of powerful and authoritative Islamic political bloc. In other words, Imām Khomeinī was of the opinion that any power whose origin is the "state-country" is necessarily pursuing national interests and it is because of this affair why the main part of the problems of the Muslim world is discussed in the national, racial and regional contexts. He believed that the power emanating from this source could not endure confronting the power emanating from the Western political and cultural bloc.

Now, it seems expedient to point out that the above items, apart from assisting us in understanding better the strategies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in relation to the Muslim world, also present to us another reality which is contrary to the subject under consideration, and that is the two-level nature of the political formation of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

#### ***A) The domain of the institution of leadership***

The domain of the institution of leadership in the outlook of Imām Khomeinī consists of the religious seminaries, universities, religious authorities, and political elites. Imām Khomeinī used to identify this assembly in the domain of the institution of leadership, regarding their station and rank in selecting the objective or objectives with the strategic nature.

### ***The domain of the institutions of foreign policy***

The domain of the institutions of foreign policy consists of the institution of the President, National Security Council, Islamic Consultative Assembly, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and others, and their station and rank are confined to the domain of political conduct and tactics.

It is also necessary to note that the above classification is absolutely understood. Instead, it is attention to a key point that guides us to the domain of the main responsibility of the two institutions; otherwise, the two institutions are mutually interrelated.

### **Objective or objectives**

In determining the objective or objectives of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world, we face many difficulties because in the course of time and based on the different circumstances and events we have engaged in defining the objective with diverse tendencies. Sometimes, they have viewed from the political perspective, with cultural tendency in another, in yet another time in unity and at times, in diversity. Sometimes our addressees have been the West and Zionism, at another the Muslims, and yet at another time, the rulers and elites. However, since the main purpose of this study is the examination of the strategies of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and not their objectives, it is only enough for us to mention some of these objectives—and only those from the ultimate to the medium levels. Along this line, we will discuss objectives which, firstly, have more permanent nature and cannot easily be obtained. Secondly, they are closer to the domain of the political thought of Imām Khomeinī and not his political views. In this manner, we will have the following classification:

1. Propagation and revival of the Islamic system of the Messenger of Allah (s), or in other words, the pure Muḥammadan Islam;
2. Explanation of the universality and potentiality of the religion of Islam in meeting the needs of the Muslim world and the world of the downtrodden;
3. Resistance against any religious tendency that portrays the present condition of administering the affairs of Muslims as desirable;
4. Acquisition of power of the religious Muslims in the Muslim countries;

5. Revival of the power of Islam transcending behind sectarianism (single *ummah*); and

6. Promotion of antipathy toward the Western political systems, America in particular, and isolating the anti-religious institutions and imported isms.

### **Strategy**

In embarking on the main part of the discussion, at the outset it is necessary for us to have a common definition of “strategy” and then we will deal on its description and explanation. As what we know, the concept of strategy from the beginning of the development of the strategic thoughts that have been founded by Sun Tsu<sup>1</sup> up to this day wherein the nations are experiencing a great political dilemma has undergone fundamental change and transformation. Similarly, its scope which was before limited only to the knowledge and technique of commanding a war, today it embraces all domains of the domestic and international activities of states. For this reason, in the recent years many institutes and institutions have tried to obtain a comprehensive and meaningful definition of it. The researchers of the American Institute of Military Studies in 1963 have defined “strategy” in this manner: “The knowledge and technique of expanding and utilizing the political, economic, cultural, and military powers of the nation—both in times of war and peace—with the aim of ensuring the maximum protection of the national policies and augmenting the desirable possibilities and results for victory and minimizing the possibility of defeat.”

In spite of its apparent comprehensiveness, the above definition cannot be desirable for the Islamic Republic of Iran because it regards the nation and national policies as the criteria of legitimacy while the Islamic Republic of Iran acquires its legitimacy, beside the national institutions, from the Islamic ideology and worldview as well as the absolute guardianship of the jurist [*wilayat-e mutlaq-e faqih*] system. So, we have to look for another definition, which in the first place have no ideological and value limitations. Secondly, we will not face ambiguity and problem in analyzing the performance of the Islamic Republic of Iran. My efforts in defining “strategy” have arrived at the following conclusion: “Strategy is the permanent and all-encompassing part with which a system is committed in all its performances, be they internal or external.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sun Tsu is the founder of strategic thoughts in the world, who has lived in China before the birth of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> The studies of Dr. Sayyid ‘Alī Qādirī of the Noble Qur’an have found out that government strategy is an incessant affair and synonymous with the term, “*tadbīr amr al-mulk*” [policy of

In this outlook, as what can be noticed, strategy is, in the first place, is not an instrument, although it can also be used as an instrument. Secondly, it is not manifold although it can possibly have different manifestations. Thus, in this definition of ours, we do not have “strategies”; we only have “strategy”, and the other matters we classify as “strategy” are either its special features, or are policy or tactics that we mistakenly called “strategy”. Of course, finding this permanent and all-encompassing characteristic<sup>1</sup> will not be an easy affair. Understanding the “strategy” of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world at that is in fact discovering the secret behind the political thought of Imām Khomeinī to search for it is so difficult. As such, not with absoluteness and clarity but through reflection on the statements and sayings as well as his conduct and method, we will embark on searching for the permanent, yet all-encompassing, feature of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. For this reason, we will first presume it and then describe and explain it, and finally, we will deal with its special features so as to obtain more tip and guideline in our research.

Keeping in view our definition of “strategy”,<sup>2</sup> we will look for it in the foreign policy performance of the Islamic Republic of Iran. “Negation of dominance” [*naḡyi sulṭeh*], “repudiation of oppression” [*ẓulm-setīzī*], “fear and hope”, and giving awareness are among the characteristics that are concordant with our definition in the first view, and since they can be deduced from the set of performances in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world, one of them can be selected as the main “mode of conduct” of the Islamic Republic:

A. “Negation of dominance”: This feature is approximately present in all conducts and stances in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, since negation of dominance has a single nature and takes form more on negation than on affirmation, although it pays attention to the performance of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the environment replete with the hostility of the present big and small powers, it is not target-oriented and objective-centered, and particularly in the course of time and in the case of

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government affair]. This term has conformity with our discussion and thus from then, we will use the coined term, “*tadbīr-e amr*” [policy of the affair] in lieu of “strategy”.

<sup>1</sup> What is meant by “all-encompassing” is that it is present in all conditions. Of course, it is not as a totality but as part of action that guides it toward the objective.

<sup>2</sup> “Strategy is the permanent and all-encompassing part with which a system is committed in all its performances, be they internal or external.”

elimination or marginalization of the issue of system of dominance, it needs change.

B. Repudiation of oppression: An equivalent of which in this context can be thought of. Yet, as what we can notice, this concept is more akin to the method of foreign policy and its feature than to a strategy. Thus, ....

C. "Fear and hope": On this basis, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has also done innumerable options and many stances which are perhaps closer to our definition of the "negation of dominance" and "repudiation of oppression". Yet, the activities can again be defined for the diplomacy of the country that cannot be confined in the domain of fear and hope, or in other words, it may not be in the category of the issues relating to the national security or national interests.

D. "Awareness": As you may remember, in the part of presumptions, principles and axioms of Imām Khomeinī, we mentioned three foundations, which in the form of the pillars of a pyramid, used to organize and regulate, control and guide his political thoughts. They are the boundaries of theoretical and practical legitimacy of foreign policy in Islam, i.e. the principles of *da'wah* [Islamic call], *naft̄ sabīl* [protection of independence and rejection of dominance by non-Muslims] and preservation of the *dār al-islām* [Abode of Islam]. If we deeply take a look at the above three principles, and compare their manifestation with the performance of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, we can observe, comprehend and discover permanent and common part, which first of all, is present in all of them, and secondly, can be found out in the interaction in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and performance of Imām Khomeinī; it is a factor which we can name as "awareness". "Giving awareness" is a permanent and all-embracing part, which in all segments of conduct of foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and international stances of Imām Khomeinī and as priority in the context of "enjoining what is good" and "forbidding what is wrong" has been famous in the Muslim world, and we can consider it as our real presumption. In other words, we can label it as the "strategy" of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world. Before embarking on any sort of description and explanation, at the outset, it is necessary to mention the fact that "awareness" in the Islamic way of thinking is first and foremost not "news" and "giving information". Secondly, by justifying and overlooking the existing problems, it has (basis) in the nature of differences. So, "giving awareness" means guiding, uncovering of veils, and incitement, and not "to inform". It is because in this "strategy" the

addressees of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the late Imām are the pure souls and dispositions of the Muslims and downtrodden in the Muslim world and other parts of the globe.

Giving awareness is the same with what the Qur'an states, i.e. facilitating the eyes and ears of the people in having the choice and provision for their thinking. This spirit and "strategy" has ever been dominant in the conduct and manner of Imām Khomeinī in the domestic and international dimensions. By giving awareness, the eminent Imām made the Islamic Republic of Iran as the Abode of Islam. This "strategy" is concordant with the international rules so long as it is not tainted, and accepts limitation when the duty is silent about it. As such, giving awareness is in reality the performance of duty. So many times that he negates: "Israel must be effaced" and so many times also that he posits: "We do share with the oppressed of the world in their adversity". So many times too that he describes: "All the difficulties of the Muslims are caused by America" and equally many instances that he would declare: "We will hoist the banner of "There is no deity but Allah and Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah" in all rooftops in the world." Giving awareness is surging in his messages, in his speeches, in his stances, and in sum, in his conduct, manner and writing. Indeed, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is the trumpet of Isrāfīl in the Muslim world, which like the divine call on the Day of Resurrection, it enthusiastically addresses everybody that supporting the Islamic Republic of Iran means supporting all the Muslims and the downtrodden in every corner of the world. Thus, the "strategy" of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as what can be noticed in the conduct and manner of the eminent Imām, is "giving awareness".

### **Examining the special features of the "strategy" of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world**

Examining the special features of the "strategy" of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world is important in the sense that, firstly, it helps us in understanding better the main option. Secondly, with "strategy" which sometimes creates ambiguity on some issues cannot be mistaken. Thirdly, in geographical and topical division of the issues in foreign policy as well as in classifying the types of addressees, it will assist us. The main features of the "strategy" of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world as the following:

1. Constantly espousing the political nature of Islam and the preeminence of the rulings relating to the policy over the broad part over the devotional rulings related to the individual duties and rights;

2. Revival of the Prophetic Sunnah in performing the Islamic obligations and mottos, especially the ritual of declaring disavowal against the polytheists during *Hajj*, and paving the ground for integration in the Muslim world through any kind of slogans;

3. Setting the view of Islam as the criterion in assessing the stances of Muslim states-countries;

4. Revival of the religious zeal and enthusiasm in opposition to its atheistic counterpart;

5. Revival of the culture of *jihād* (struggle in the way of Allah), resistance and presence in the scene as the criteria of asceticism and piety in opposition to retirement from the world;

6. Revival of the tradition and obligation of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is wrong, particularly in relation to government;

7. Preference of collective salvation to individual salvation;

8. Transformation in the juristic viewpoint and novelty of the jurists;

9. Resistance against besmirching the image of the Islamic Republic of Iran;

10. Thwarting the conspiracies of the West against Islam and the Muslims;

11. Resistance against deviant and surrogate currents; and

12. Elimination of irreligious institutions and marked with imported names.

As what we can observe, the above features have precise conformity with the “strategy” of “giving awareness”. Without any sort of ambiguity, they are “real,” “transparent,” “interesting,” and “practical” in such a manner that the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran has never retired even in the most pressing international and domestic circumstances. Although sometimes some individuals have felt the sense of retirement, everybody knows that the Islamic Republic of Iran in reality has never been isolated and alone—even during the Iraqi imposed war when it has been under the pressure of most of the Arab states.

The “strategy” of “awareness” along with above four features and characteristics has made our political slogan exactly like our religion. In the Muslim world it would be a motivation for the devoted Muslims’ acquisition of power. Those who want to resist or rise up against the domineering



powers and corrupt domestic systems will consciously or unconsciously seek refuge in the Islamic Republic of Iran. They draw the real boundaries of the Islamic Republic of Iran and they will isolate the enemies of Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world. They are the ones who, in their eagerness for martyrdom, made to explode the American military station in Beirut. Everyday, they are killed in Algeria, Bosnia, Balkan, Egypt, Jordan, Occupied Palestine, Lebanon, Turkey, Sudan, and elsewhere. They are the ones who approximately have made the Islamic Republic of Iran as the criterion for the legitimacy of their own systems, growing bigger everyday a powerful political bloc—the single *ummah*. Of course, it is needless to say that Imām Khomeinī had paid attention to these many pertinent international events. He always tried and he succeeded not to let mistakenly equate the revolutionary search for martyrdom with the revolutionary adventurism. He established the boundaries of the legitimacy of the resistances of the Muslims in the world and the Muslim world in shunning adventurism and collaboration with polytheism, unbelief and Western tendencies. In any case, these features on the “strategy” of “awareness” gives approval to the spirit of presence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Muslim world. Except victory it has not achieved anything provided that we would not neglect it along with all its features.

## **Conclusion**

This paper is an attempt to show that the criteria of integration with Muslim world have not been consisted of capital, technology, political support, and concordance on issues of human rights, etc. Instead, it is based upon giving awareness to the individuals and units whose objective is the formation of a single *ummah*. Relying upon the monotheistic values that emanated from the pure Muḥammadan Islam and resisting against the American anthropomorphic and polytheist political-philosophical system, it can be able to attain victory. Certainly, it is attainable not through capital, technology and concordance of views on some issues. The present and West-centered political system of the world is a hollow, barbaric and harsh system that gives no respite to the petitioners; it understands nothing except the language of force. This system has a clear pattern for struggle. First, it takes away the sources of power from its own opposite systems and then takes them to the farthest corner of the world and it is not convinced except through absolute surrender. Meanwhile, the “strategy” of the Islamic Republic of Iran can never be anything except to continue spreading

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awareness. It is an approach that it has formidably and honorably maintained for many years amidst the severest military, political, cultural, and propaganda onslaughts.



## **How to Attain Political Unity of the Muslim World in the Thought of Imām Khomeinī**

*Muḥammad-Akram ‘Ārif*

### **Introduction**

Proposing the idea of “unity of the Muslim world” is one of the old and essential intellectual preoccupations of Imām Khomeinī (*r*). Throughout the period of his socio-political activity—whether before or after the victory of the Islamic Revolution—he did not become negligent of it even for a moment. His sincere commitment to “unity” not only made him the most outstanding revolutionary figure in the Muslim world but he also succeeded in acquiring an extremely lofty station in the midst of the various Islamic sects and schools of thought. In raising the slogan of “unity” he did not experience any sort of generalization and superficiality. In fact, in a somewhat scholarly and technical manner he presented lengthy explanations by examining the different dimensions of unity in the theoretical and practical spheres.

One the basic dimensions of “unity” that can be discussed and studied is its methodological and procedural dimension, which is construed in this sense: In the crisis-plagued and full-of-discord Muslim world in which a ground for potential cooperation approximately does not exist how this ideal phenomenon could be attained? Seeking the answer to this question in the framework of the political thought of Imām Khomeinī constitutes the main

objective of this article. By studying the thought of Imām Khomeinī, we will discuss the practical approach to unity in the Muslim world level.

This paper is divided into main parts, each of which indicates the particular phase in the process of implementing the “unity” project: first, the intellectual-cultural movement; second, the political-practical movement. Each of these parts has numerous subtopics that specify the practical manners of the two mentioned movements. It is hoped that through the study of them we could be able to describe to some extent the method meant by Imām Khomeinī in his statements delivered on various occasions.

### **The strategy of unity**

The strategy of resistance of Imām Khomeinī in creating the necessary ground and conditions for the attainment of unity and cooperation in the Muslim world has been essentially centered on two main pivots: first, “intellectual-cultural movement” and second, “political-practical movement”. In terms of logical order and arrangement, the intellectual-cultural movement, which the Imām has labeled as “internal change,” “awakening of the heart,” and “return to the original identity,” is prior to the political-practical movement. In view of the logical order of the environments of resistance, the Imām regarded that political “training and education” under the rubric of political movement, considering the realization and promotion of the “propagation” and “teaching” affair as the foremost duty of the people. He says:

“Our duty is that now we have to endeavor to establish a truly Islamic state; to propagate; to teach; to think together; to bring about propagation and intellectual wave so as to cause a social current, and gradually conscious, responsible and religious masses would constitute the Islamic movement, rise up and form the Islamic government. Propagations and teachings are two important and fundamental activities of ours.”<sup>1</sup>

By getting inspiration from this strategy of Imām Khomeinī who has treated the “intellectual-cultural” struggle under the “political-practical” struggle, we will study in order the practical way in the thought of Imām Khomeinī in these two parts.

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh* [Governance of the Jurist] (Amīr Kabīr, 1357 AHS), p. 175.

### **Intellectual-cultural**

Basing on the thought and idea of Imām Khomeinī, effecting change in the Muslim societies and delivering them from disintegration is not a subject that is possible without designing a comprehensive and foundational intellectual program. It is because the present condition of the Muslim world caused by various factors such as intellectual and ideological degeneration of the Muslims and the dominance of imperialist powers and despotic regimes over them is such that it contributes in the metamorphosis of the true identity of the Islamic *ummah* and pillage of their underground resources. Deliverance from the present miserable condition and attainment of the desirable state are not possible except through wiping off the roots of degeneration, which itself clarifies the necessity of all-dimensional mobilization of the Muslim nations and states guided by a specific and all-embracing strategy. Therefore, the Muslim world as a single unit with common historical, cultural and political heritage is supposed to regard the return to its historical and cultural nobility as the epigraph of its movement and to comprehend and internalize well its religious and national identity.<sup>1</sup>

From the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, the emergence and growth of the intellectual-cultural movement, which will eventually lead to the formation of common beliefs in the public sphere, undergoes two predictable phases, in each of which the religious and national elites (the '*ulamā*' and intellectuals) will shoulder the burden of pioneering and coordinating the movement.

#### **First phase: Creation of the intellectual-cultural system**

In the affair of organizing a public and all-encompassing trend, the existence of strong mental and spiritual relations among the participating forces that could guide it toward the specified objectives is extremely necessary. The collective movements without the support of a creative and coherent intellectual system that would produce the uniform values, beliefs and norms will not attain victory. It is because strengthening the motive for struggle and preserving the organizational coherence, which are considered the two main elements of the successful movements are to some extent more dependent on the existence of belief-value system. Having belief in such an affair, Imām Khomeinī also used to understand well the intellectual-cultural vacuum existing in the contemporary Muslim societies. Thus, in a bid to eliminate and compensate for this intellectual vacuum, he laid down the foundation of an intellectual-political system in Najaf (Iraq), presenting the

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<sup>1</sup> *Tibyān (Waḥdat az Dīdgāh-ye Imām Khomeinī)* (The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 1374 AHS), Section 15, p. 175.

theory of “Islamic government” on the basis of political and revolutionary Islam in the religious seminary—that intellectual center of the Muslim world.

The intellectual system of Imām Khomeinī was consisted of three fundamental concepts: “Islam,” “independence,” and “freedom”. In reality, these three concepts are considered indicative of the panacea for all sufferings of the Muslim world in the past and the present. Regaining these three concepts facilitates the possibility of reconstructing the forgotten and destroyed identity of the Muslim nations and will open the window toward the creation of friendly mutual relations among the countries. As such, in the opinion of Imām Khomeinī, the main crisis of the Muslim world is caused by Muslim states and nations’ drifting away from the revitalizing teachings of Islam and the Muslims’ being under the dominance of the Western and Eastern powers as well as the self-interested acts of the despotic and surrogate regimes. The only way of deliverance from these problems is the regaining of the concepts of “Islam,” “independence,” and “freedom”. For this reason, the Imām urges the *‘ulamā’* (Prominent Religious Scholars) and religious authorities who have shown good talent and experience in correctly interpreting Islam and upholding the principle of independence and freedom to enter the scene of action in reviving these three concepts. In his words, “The *‘ulamā’* of Islam are obliged to defend the fixed laws of Islam; to support the independence of the Muslim countries; and to show abhorrence of the acts of oppression and tyranny.”<sup>1</sup>

“Islam” in the set of intellectual system of Imām Khomeinī is an extremely dynamic and revolutionary concept. But it does not refer to any “Islam”; rather, it is the “pure Islam” in which “religion” and “politics” are regarded complementary. He seeks for the panacea of all sufferings of the Muslim societies only in the revival of the “pure Muḥammadan Islam”. In his opinion, it is only the pure Muḥammadan Islam that can set aside the veils of geographical boundaries, national concerns, individual interests, and cultural dependencies, and without attachment to color and race, gather the entire *ummah* in a single pole. The pure Islam has a strong fortress among the deprived classes and strata, and it is the lower stratum of the society, which usually takes supportive action for the foundational change in the political and social systems. In the words of the Imām,

“The pure Muḥammadan Islam is the Islam of the suffering poor, the Islam of the barefooted, the Islam of the whipped ones of the bitter and disgraceful history of deprivations, the destroyer of modern capitalism and

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Justejū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām* (Amīr Kabīr, 1362 AHS), Section 14, p. 340.

blood-sucking communism, and the annihilator of the Islam of comfort and luxury, the Islam of two-facedness, the Islam of compromise and ignobility, the Islam of the indolent affluent ones, and in a single word, American Islam.”<sup>1</sup>

It is this pure Islam that has the ability to take the intellectual leadership of the Muslim world in the modern age, nay in the postmodern age. By utilizing the power of mobilization of the masses, it is capable of putting an end to the centuries-old crisis and degeneration of the Muslim societies. It has the following features:

- It is the Islam that is free from the conditions and fetters of personal inclinations and interests, which equally treats all human beings.
- It is the political and governing Islam whose most important obligation is the formation of the Islamic government and shouldering the social and political affairs of the *ummah*.
- It is the Islam of resistance and confrontation, which seriously struggles against the dominance of unbelief and imperialism in all their dimensions.
- It is the Islam supporting the human dignity and individual freedom, which has considered the elimination of *ṭawāghiyyat* at the top of its program.
- It is the unity-fostering and integration-promoting Islam, which has regarded all Muslims as constituting a “single *ummah*” and “single hand”.
- It is the Islam of work and endeavor, which has given priority to ensuring public welfare and elimination of deprivation.

The pure Islam in the thought of Imām Khomeinī is a comprehensive intellectual and practical set, which in its nature enjoys absolute abundance and in relation to the human life it has precise and all-dimensional programs.<sup>2</sup> On account of its comprehensiveness, attractiveness, universality, and enjoyment of deep ideological grounds within the nations, this Islam will have the great power of maneuver, which if properly utilized, is capable of granting to the Muslims again the glory and grandeur of Islam.

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<sup>1</sup> *Majmū‘eh-ye Āthār-e Kongre-ye Barrasī-ye Mabānī-ye Fiqhī-ye Imām Khomeinī* (The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, 1374 AHS), vol. 13, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Waṣīyatnāme-ye Siyāsī-Ilāhī-ye Imām* (Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance), pp. 7-8.



The second key concept in the intellectual system of Imām Khomeinī is the concept of “independence”, which is a reminiscence of the awakening, self-discovery, and deliverance of the Muslim *ummah* from the all-dimensional dominance of the Western and Eastern powers. This gem from his statements constitutes the foundation of his independence-seeking thought: “May God, the Blessed and Exalted, grant none of the unbelievers dominance over the Muslims, and the Muslims must not submit to this dominance.”<sup>1</sup>

From the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, “independence” can be secured in two spheres: internal and external spheres. Independence in the internal spheres has been recognized as the prerequisite for the attainment of independence in the external sphere. Therefore, as the initial step toward independence the Muslim nations are supposed to start first the movement of return to the primordial self under the aegis of Islamic and national values. Then, as the second step they have to put an end to colonialism and imperialism in all Muslim lands. Imām Khomeinī has expressed his analysis of the importance of internal independence in this manner:

“The grievous dependency of the downtrodden nations to the superpowers and arrogant (powers) is the mental and internal dependency, which is the fountainhead of all other types of dependency. So long as mental and internal independence is not attained, independence in other aspects will not be obtained. In order to gain mental and internal independence, getting out of the prison of dependency would make you discover yourselves and your national cultural prides and legacy.”<sup>2</sup>

The process of return to the “national and cultural prides and legacy” will accompany the awakening of the sense of patriotism and care for culture among the nations. The degree of profundity and extensiveness of this return will also generate the same degree of motive for repudiating the foreign culture among the people. When the independent spiritual image of the nations under the aegis of indigenous culture was created, the independence-seeking practical movements in the political and social dimensions will also commence. It is because in this stage of the cultural change, the Muslim nations have certain understanding and belief that their Islamic and national interests are in total conflict with the imperialist interests, and that the

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<sup>1</sup> *Tibyān (Wahdat az Dīdgāh-ye Imām Khomeinī)*, Section 15, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Justejū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 1, p. 186.

imperialist presence in their lands have and will achieve nothing but the pillage of their national, human, cultural, and material assets.

The last fundamental concept in the way of thinking of Imām Khomeinī is the concept of “freedom”. The discussion on “freedom” is essentially brought up and assessed in the internal dimension of the territorial states, and not in their external dimension, which is the concern of international relations. But the importance of this issue lies on the fact that the territorial states constitute the basic pillars of the “grand Islamic state” and play the key role in forming and advancing its objectives and programs. Therefore, the importance of reconstructing the pillars of the “grand Islamic state” (or according to us, the “Islamic confederation”) makes it certain the necessity of designing popular and non-*ṭāghūtī* (followers of evil) states, which are harbinger of freedom.

The despotic regimes are intrinsically discordant with the people’s interests because they mainly act along the line of the objectives of foreigners. It is on this account that the existence of surrogate and anti-people’s government are considered the greatest hindrance in the process of movements for integration and unity, which are the aspiration of the people. Thus, deliverance from the yoke of anti-people’s regimes constitutes one of the basic pillars of Imām Khomeinī’s thought on the theory of “unity”. Concerning the necessity of toppling *ṭāghūtī* regimes to pave the ground for the establishment of the Islamic government, the Imām has thus said:

“Toppling the *ṭāghūt*, i.e. the unjust powers present throughout the Islamic lands is the duty of us all. The oppressive and unpopular government organs must give up their positions for the public service institutions and must be administered based on the laws of Islam, and gradually the Islamic government would be established.”<sup>1</sup>

In giving its own desirable conclusion, this intellectual-cultural system based on the three principles of “independence,” “freedom,” and “Islam” is in need of “expansion and deepening”, and in fact, this affair composed the second phase of the intellectual movement in the general level.

### **Second phase: Expansion and deepening of the intellectual system and creating universal belief.**

As what has been indicated earlier, the intellectual-cultural system and creation of universal beliefs are considered the first step toward the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 15, p. 139.

cooperation of Muslims and emergence of the movement of the Muslim world. Yet, the desirable effect of the intellectual system in creating common beliefs and values is predictable only if the intellectual-cultural system has opened well its appropriate position among the nations and the public opinion is under its influence to some extent. For, integration, which will finally lead to unity and cooperation among the nations, will be realized when firstly, one intellectual and mental trend to the extent necessary has been materialized. Secondly, the mutual social relations have been strengthened. Thirdly, the common Islamic interests have been conceived. On the other hand, these conditions will be realized in the society when the “expansion and deepening” stage has been accomplished well. It is because only through “expansion and deepening” or in the words of Imām Khomeinī, “propagation and teaching”, that the above results would be obtained.

In the opinion of Imām Khomeinī, expansion and deepening of the intellectual-cultural system depend on some elements and bases; each of them completes this process. Among the most important effective elements and bases in completing the process of deepening are the active human resources as well as social grounds and instruments appropriate for sending message, the aggregate of which brought about an effective propagation and educational network. In this propagation and educational network two special factors are given more attention: active human resources and propagation educational sites.

### **Activating the religious and national elites in the scene of action**

The process of expansion and deepening of the intellectual-cultural system necessitates the active presence of the religious and national elites in the scene of intellectual and propagation activities. The religious elite will take the lead in the sphere of deepening the religious thought and the national elite (devoted intellectuals) in the sphere of deepening the national culture. In view of the station of belief-formation and culture-building, it is the religious elite that Imām Khomeinī informed of their noble responsibility, inviting them to launch the intellectual movement. The Imām says:

“Today, the seminary school of Qum, the seminary school of Mashhad and other religious seminaries are duty-bound to present Islam and to offer this school [*maktab*]. The people are not familiar with Islam; you have to introduce yourselves, your Islam, examples of leadership and government

of Islam to the people of the world, especially to the university group and the educated class.”<sup>1</sup>

If the forerunners of thought and idea who in terms of intellectual and cultural resources are rich and who in terms of quantity and expansion have physical presence in all Islamic lands, actively enter the scene of action while relying on their own bases, they will bring about fundamental change in the culture of societies. For, the intellectual crisis and degeneration of the Muslim societies is not caused by the lack or deficiency in the intellectual data but rather caused by the ignorance on their own intellectual data (Islamic and national). It is for this reason that the Imām identified his intellectual way in the return to the culture of the nation itself provided that the authorities on culture make an exit from this languidness and become transformed. The Imām says:

“It is the duty of us all Muslims. It is the duty of the ‘*ulamā*’ (Prominent Religious Scholars) of Islam. It is the duty of the Muslim scholars. It is the duty of the writers and speakers of the (various) classes of Muslims... to inform the Muslim countries that we ourselves have rich culture... The Muslims themselves have to find themselves; that is, for them to understand that they have their own culture and country...”<sup>2</sup>

### **Advancement and strengthening of propagatory bases and social relations**

The religious and national elites who are responsible in implementing the “spread and deepening” project will utilize to the utmost all existing facilities and resources for the improvement of the intellectual level of the people and the development and strengthening of mutual social relations among the nations. The viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī regarding the utilization of propagation facilities and grounds is so progressive and comprehensive. In contrast to the two currents of “traditional” and “modern” in the society in which the former used to insist on the use of mainly traditional resources and facilities while the latter used to emphasize the application of modern methods and instruments, he suggests the use of para-traditional and para-modern methods in the affair of propagation and deepening of national-religious beliefs. Among these currents, he used to pay more attention to the traditional bases of propagation and belief-formation owing to their influence

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 8, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 15, p. 215.

and position among the people as well as the religious elite's old and traditional dominance over them and the cost of not having them during the special circumstances of the infancy of the Islamic intellectual movement.<sup>1</sup>

Among the traditional facilities and methods that can be used in the affair of belief-formation and deepening of thought, the rites of Friday and other congregational prayers in the national level and *Hajj* in the international level have caught more than any others the attention of Imām Khomeinī. Concerning the outstanding role of the Friday and other congregational prayers and the *Hajj* in the belief-formation affair and then the creation of political-practical movements, he has this to say:

“...Islam has facilitated such gatherings so that they could be religiously used, the sense of brotherhood and cooperation of individuals be strengthened, intellectual progress be enhanced, they (Muslims) could look for the solutions to their political and social problems, and following that, they could collectively engage in *jihād* (struggle in the ay of Allah) and struggle.”<sup>2</sup>

Then, he adds:

“If only every Friday they would have gathered, the common problems of the Muslims would have been discussed and solved or the decision to solve them would have been taken, the affair would not have gone this far. Today, we have to seriously enhance these gatherings and use them for propagations and teachings. In this manner, the ideological and political movement of Islam will expand and reach its summit.”<sup>3</sup>

Imām Khomeinī has grasped well the depth of the role of religious gatherings both in the dimension of thought-formation and in the dimension of socialization. He does not regard the religious gatherings and ceremonies only for teachings and propagation purposes on intellectual subjects. Instead, more important to that, he also points to their role in thought-formation and forming new social relations through these assemblies as well as Muslims' awareness of their human and will power and force. It is on this account that the International Quds Day was proposed by him as the symbol of unity of the Muslim world, which has also revolutionary and anti-colonialist message, in the Muslim world level. Similarly, he also gave importance to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 6, 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, pp. 180-181.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

commemoration of the International Islamic Unity Week. For, from his viewpoint, the process of unity among the Muslims necessitates the creation of new symbols and institutions, which are beyond time and space, and the reflection of the conditions and sufferings in the contemporary world.

In view of its global standing, *Hajj* has occupied special place in the thought of Imām Khomeinī. He considers the *Hajj* not as a mere act of worship but rather an all-dimensional assembly for all problems of the Muslims. From the performance of individual acts of worship to the return to the collective Islamic identity and center of political decision-makings,<sup>1</sup> (the venue for the gathering of heads of states) and presenting expert proposals of the experts and specialists of the Muslim world,<sup>2</sup> exchange of information and fostering the bond of brotherhood and the formation of the downtrodden's united front,<sup>3</sup> etc. are among the important facets of the world congress of *Hajj* for which the Imām tried his best to show the true image of *Hajj* and revive anew its different dimensions, which had been forgotten for centuries.

### **Political-practical**

Based on the strategy of Imām Khomeinī, after the advancement of the organized intellectual-cultural activities in the course of which the path and objective of resistance have been well specified and the multifaceted spiritual solidarity in the societies has taken form to some extent and similarly, the Muslims have returned to their human and individual station and religious and national identity, the time to begin the second stage of the struggle, i.e. the political-practical activities will gradually arrive. In the stage of political-practical struggle, numerous phases as the methods of struggle in the thought Imām Khomeinī have been discussed, which can be examined as a whole in two levels: states level and nations level.

#### **First level: States**

In principle, the methods of struggle of Imām Khomeinī have been designed while keeping in view the actual realities in the Muslim societies. Thus, in view of the fact that the Imām has been fully aware of the decisive role of the territorial states in the collective decision-makings as well as in changing the destiny of nations, his first practical approach consists of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Aḥmad Muwaththaqī, *Istrātizhī-ye Waḥdat [The Strategy for Unity]* (Tarbiyyat Mudarris University, 1365 AHS), vol. 3, p. 963.

endeavor in the level of states. In the opinion of the Imām, the easiest way for the realization of the “Islamic unity” lies on the voluntary steps to be taken by the heads and rulers of the Muslim countries because they have at their disposal all the legal and executive facilities and leverages necessary for the establishment of the united state of Islam in such a way that if they seriously and officially take action there will not be the least problems vis-à-vis their collective steps. This very realistic and at the same time optimistic analysis of the Imām urges him by resorting to public invitation to call to action all the heads of Muslim states for the fostering of comprehensive unity:

“Our objective is for the states to come forward prior the uprising of their nations; the states themselves have to humbly come forward and to be friend to one another. They have to hold a meeting together. All presidents have to sit together and solve their problems. Each should remain as it is, but for the general welfare of Islam, for any thing which all has made an attack to Islam, they have to gather and prevent it; and this is easy.”<sup>1</sup>

“The Imām’s intellectual and practical investment in promoting this method (summit meeting) is so serious that it urges him to grant more political merits to the heads of states and endures the affair of accepting the intellectual crookedness and inadequacy of the rulers in relation to the formation and realization of “unity”. He says: “We want to be brothers for all Muslim countries. Notwithstanding their crookedness, all governments have to return back and extend their hand of brotherhood to us. We wish for the welfare of all...”<sup>2</sup>

Yet, in spite of all these efforts and giving of privileges, the recurring messages of the Imām failed to convince the territorial states, each of which used to think for its own national interests, to formulate a unity-fostering strategy. As a result, the unity-oriented diplomacy of the Imām did not emerge successful. It was at this point that the Imām became hopeless as to the effectiveness of the “summit meeting” method and studied other ways. Just as he was known for clarity of language, here also, while expressing his feeling of frustration from the effectiveness of the “summit meeting”, he directly brought up the other method of struggle, which was indicative of the “movement from bottom to top”, and says: “The nations themselves have to think for Islam. We feel dejected for the heads of most of the Muslims.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 18, 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 18, 172.

Nevertheless, the nations must think themselves and we are not dejected for them.”<sup>1</sup>

### **Second level: Nations**

The second method of struggle of Imām Khomeinī was founded on the essence of deprivation of the people, who play a significant role in changing the political systems in the so-called democratic world. The main focus of the Imām on this phase was turned toward the powerful force of the people although the deprived nations and masses of the societies from the very beginning of the struggle have occupied very sublime place in the thought of the Imām. It is because his view on the people has not been a sectional and instrumental view but rather a real and target-oriented view. However, the Imām’s approach toward the people in the second phase of the struggle has its peculiar feature, which is different from the first phase. The most important feature of this approach lies in the shift from the “reformatory” strategy to the “revolutionary” strategy. The Imām arrived at the conclusion that the reformist struggle should be converted into revolutionary struggle, and in the revolutionary struggle the masses will play the pivotal role. Therefore, the attention of the Imām to the people in reality is the public invitation of the nations toward “revolution”.

As to how this popular revolution and uprising should commence and what process it will undergo, the Imām has provided to some extended the answers. As a revolutionary and capable leader, the Imām has indicated some diverse stages for organizing and designing the political-practical struggle, drawing and guiding the nations gradually toward it.

### ***Setting up of political party (Party of the Downtrodden or Party of Allah)***

The “Party of the Downtrodden” and the “Party of Allah” are two fundamental concepts in the political literature of Imām Khomeinī’s thought, which he considered as the manifestation of the organized power of the masses in the crisis-ridden Muslim world. Setting up of the Party of the Downtrodden as a political organization was thus proposed by the Imām so that the Muslim nations, nay all the deprived people of the world, could organize their purposeful political activities within this nascent trend and strengthen more than ever their solidarity and integration through it. The aim of the Party of the Downtrodden is the strengthening of collective beliefs in the level of the Islamic *ummah* and then the examination of the solutions and

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Justejū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 15, p. 189.



putting an end to the problems and the deficiencies of the Muslim world with which the Muslim nations are facing today. The Imām expresses hope for such a party to be formed in the world, and thus, removing the problems along the way:

“We hope for the formation of a party named as the Party of the Downtrodden in the entire world, and that all the downtrodden would participate in this party and remove all the problems along their way, rise up against the arrogant and plundering West and East, and not allow anymore the arrogant (powers) to oppress the downtrodden of the world.”<sup>1</sup>

The formation of the Party of the Downtrodden or the Party of Allah can also be seen as an indication of a particular stage in the progress of the nations because the existence of this party points to the fact that the transnational common interests under the auspices of the intellectual-cultural movement has been formed to some extent, and the disorganized masses and dispersed nations have attained a level of solidarity and universal beliefs have come into being to some degree. It seems that its time has come for this political party to be formed so that the achievement attained so far in this phase will be utilized in the succeeding phases and stages.

### ***Intensification of the political struggle***

The emergence of the Party of the Downtrodden in the scene of the socio-political activities is a step toward activating and consolidating further the practical efforts of the freedom-fighting Muslims. For, the *raison d'être* of a party demands that the programs and policies should be implemented as much as possible. By highlighting the crucial station of party in the scene of action, Imām Khomeinī has this to say regarding its practical role:

“And any problem anywhere and any nation would be solved through this Party of the Downtrodden.”<sup>2</sup>

At this juncture, Imām Khomeinī assumed a very broad scope of the party's activities and has contemplated for a wide discretion for it as the only legitimate political institution (the governmental institutions from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī are presently illegitimate). On the other hand, since the main objective of the party is to struggle against surrogate regimes and dominance of the foreign powers, in the process of its struggle it will necessarily experience many difficulties. By anticipating these difficulties the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Justejū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 1, p. 186.

Imām has called on the nations to take as model the movement of the prophets (‘a) and the (pious) predecessors, admonishing them to continue the struggle up to the end.

“The life account of the prophets has been meant for that. The life account of the great personalities has been meant for it; that they would oppose the *ṭāghūt* (follower of evil) thought they would have a fall, though they get slain or slay others. It has value that man should stand firm against oppression, to stand firm against the oppressor, to clench his fist and strike it to his (oppressor’s) mouth...”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, with the downtrodden’s intensification of the political struggle, the reactions of the *ṭāghūtī* regimes and their foreign patrons will also intensify. In this phase it is also possible that peaceful political activities alone are not enough for the Muslim combatants to ensure the attainment of their objectives. As such, the existence of other instrument is necessary, which would add to the level of pressure and convince the opponent to withdraw, and this cannot be anything else except the resort to the use of force.

### ***Resort to the violent struggle***

After the party has recruited members and established branches in all or most of the Islamic homeland or the active territory and has gathered enough its sincere and revolutionary supporters, another page in the process of struggle would be opened, which is the use of violent means in the struggle. Imām Khomeinī, in this phase and stage of the process of struggle, has regarded desirable the use of force and power for the attainment of the ultimate objective, admonishing the Muslim nations to use it:

“And I do admonish the Muslim nations to take as model the government of the Islamic Republic and the striving nation of Iran, and in case the demand of the nations is that of the nation of Iran, they should not submit to their despotic governments; you have to show as best as you can that the source of adversity of the Muslims is the governments dependent on the East the West.”<sup>2</sup>

The use of violent methods in the struggle against imperialism and despotism, especially for the defense of the territorial integrity of the Islamic homeland has been given such importance that the Imām time and again has

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ-ye Siyāsī-Ilāhī-ye Imām Khomeinī*, p. 13.

called on the Muslim states of the region for the formation of a single military front against the Zionist regime and the American dominance in the region.<sup>1</sup> In the opinion of the Imām, the importance of this affair is such that if such a front is not formed in the level of states, he will seek help from the “Muslim nations minus the states” in order to begin more serious measures.<sup>2</sup> At the circumstances when he was leading the defense affair against the aggression of the Iraqi Ba‘athist regime with utmost force in the fronts of his territory, he also used to talk about the violent struggle for the liberation of al-Quds: “Our program is that Iraq must first be liberated from the evil of these corruptors and the evil of these usurpers, and from then, al-Quds, God willing.”<sup>3</sup>

Given the experience learned in the struggle against the Shāh’s regime, the Imām knew well that the final phases of the struggle are impossible without resorting to the use of force, and without which it cannot be completed and finalized.

### ***Establishment of free and independent republics***

The fourth crucial phase in the strategy of struggle of Imām Khomeinī for the forging of unity of the Muslim world, which is supposed to be accomplished by the nations, is the establishment of “free and independent territorial republics” in replacement of the present *īāghūtī* (follower of evil) regimes. Imām Khomeinī understood well that the strengthening and success of the “grand Islamic state” is largely depending on the serious cooperation of the territorial states. On the other hand, he also acknowledged this affair that cooperation and collaboration of the territorial states will depend on the reformation of their political regimes because so long as intellectual and ideological solidarity and cooperation among the states do not take place, the intellectual cooperation either from the beginning or in the continuation of the work will face extreme difficulties. The expediency of this affair urges the Imām to set the reform and change of the nation-states as the prerequisite for the attainment of comprehensive unity and to say thus:

“We want all the Muslim countries in the environment where they are, firstly, based on the law of Islam, to have no disagreement between the

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Justejū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, Section 15, pp. 268, 274.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

government and the people, they should be together and they should be united so as not to become vulnerable.”<sup>1</sup>

What is meant by the “unity and cooperation” of the nation-state in the environmental states is that regimes of the Muslim countries should become “Islamic and national” on the basis of the real demands of the nations while the anti-religious and anti-people’s *tāghūtī* regimes should be transformed into Islamic-national system so that the “free and independent republics” in its true sense in this words of the Imām will be realized:

“My advice to all Muslims and the downtrodden is that... they should gather under the honorable banner of Islam and to rise up in defense against the enemies of Islam and the deprived ones of the world, and to move toward an Islamic state with free and independent republics...”<sup>2</sup>

And once these republics are formed in actuality, the ground for the “great unity” will be paved more than ever.

### ***Establishment of the grand Islamic state***

After the materialization of the “free and independent republics”, through the Islamic systems and universal beliefs, the actual conditions for unity and cooperation among the Muslim states and nations will completely be provided. For, in this phase when the territorial and spatial systems have been favorably transformed, special hindrance for the formation of the grand Islamic state or the “global unity of Islam” will not exist. The internal elements existing in the systems of the “free and independent republics” themselves will deterministically and necessarily draw the republics toward the final unity which is the very formation of the “grand Islamic state”. The existence of these internal elements of the system has an important role in the attainment of “unity”. Some of these elements are the following:

#### **A. Unity as the ultimate philosophy behind governments**

“Unity” in the political thought of Islam constitutes the ultimate philosophy and aim of governments. A true Islamic system in principle moves toward cooperation with other Islamic units, and if it not so, it has moved against its true path. By quoting the words of the religious predecessors, the Imām points to this *raison d’être* of governments and says:

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<sup>1</sup> *Tibyān*, vol. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeh-ye Siyāsī-Ilāhī-ye Imām Khomeinī* (Farhang-e Rajā’, 1369 AHS), p. 87.

“The formation of government is meant for the preservation of the system and unity of the Muslims just as what Ḥaḍrat az-Zahrā (‘a) said in her sermon: ‘Leadership is meant for the preservation of the system and the transformation of dissension of the Muslims into unity’.”<sup>1</sup>

#### B. Unity as the religious responsibility of the government

“Unity” in the political culture of Islam is not an optional and voluntary phenomenon whose existence depends upon the freewill of the states. Rather, it is an obligation and duty which the Islamic rulers cannot overlook. Once the states became Islamic, the “unity” project as a religious duty will become the focus of its attention. By mentioning this important political responsibility of states in his address to some heads of Muslim states, the Imām has said:

“It is you, heads of Muslim states, who are supposed to pursue this Islamic thinking and desist from hostility and opposition to your own brothers. The responsibilities of the Muslim states before God, the Omnipotent, and before the nations are so great.”<sup>2</sup>

#### C. Unity as the demand of the people

As what has been indicated earlier, disagreement and disintegration apart from having internal elements have also external and foreign factors. For, it is these colonialism and governments dependent on it that have always set hindrance along the path of advancement of these movements for unity and become obstacle to the integration of states. Anytime this factor within the Muslim lands would experience fundamental change and the governments become national and Islamic, the “unity” which is the original demand of the nations and states will be realized. As Imām Khomeinī has said in expressing the decisive role of the popular states in the realization of “unity”:

“If the rulers of the Muslim countries were the representative of the people, having faith, executioner of the Islamic laws, they would have set aside the secondary differences, shunned acts of sabotage and sowing of discord, become united, and be a single hand.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Tibyān*, Section 15, pp. 157-158.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> *Tibyān*, Section 15, p. 157.

In any case, once these internal factors are set for the national and transnational interests of the “spatial” states and are collectively together, the practical conditions for the realization of the “Islamic unity” will be facilitated well. With the preservation of internal independence and national sovereignty, the Islamic “free and independent republics” will also form a higher political organization, for their potential contradictions have been removed and their interests will also be profoundly linked to one another.

## **Conclusion**

The proposed approach of Imām Khomeinī in the affair of realization of the “political unity of the Muslim world” in reality depicts a four-phase process, which finally will end up in the formation of the “grand Islamic state”. The first considerable phase in the process of unity is the creation of necessary conditions and favorable ground to facilitate the preliminaries of unity. For the realization of this affair, the Imām brought into being a new “intellectual-cultural system” in order, under its auspices, to enhance the spiritual and cultural solidarity among the numerous Muslim societies. It is because without the intellectual and cultural preliminary ground and the formation of universal beliefs, political unity will be impossible to achieve.

The second phase in the course of movement for unity of Imām Khomeinī is the stimulation of the political and religious elites as the agents of the unity project toward the advancement and deepening of culture and pillars of unity. The Imām mentions them as the heads of Muslim states, the ‘*ulamā*’ (distinguished Religious Scholars) and the intellectuals. The sincerity and stamina of the political and religious elites in setting up the “unity” project plays a very important role, which every phase cannot consider insignificant.

The third phase or axis in the process of unity is a route that the current of unity has to tread. In the opinion of the Imām, this route can be treaded in two manners: one is through the political concepts in the level of the political elite and the other is through the political and revolutionary movements on the part of the people’s groups, which suddenly would possibly resort to the use of force.

The fourth phase here is the formation of the final phase and in other words, it is an achievement which the movement for unity pursues and this phase will reach perfection with the formation of the “grand Islamic state” with the “free and independent republics”. Through this means, the real aspiration of the Muslim world will be realized.



## **The Ideal Account of Unity in the Conduct of Imām Khomeinī**

*Qāḍīzādeh*

### ***Abstract***

*Unity in the various political, cultural and religious spheres has been and is discussed. Yet, in the viewpoint of the proponents of unity, a single concept has not been always presented. In general, three kinds of unity—ideological, strategic and tactical—can be distinguished from one another. The strategic unity can also be further classified into three—national unity, unity of the ummah, and brotherhood and social understanding.*

*Among the Islamic schools of thought, what can be presented as the ideal unity of the “unity of the ummah”. In this ideal for unity the fundamental principles of each school of thought is fixed and unalterable. Unity manifests in the unity of approach, policymaking, planning, and unanimity and cooperation, though in some of branches of religion through discussion and deliberation change can also be pursued.*

*The conduct of Imām Khomeinī as an outstanding contemporary thinker is also an indication of his belief and defense of this kind of unity. This discourse has presented the testimonies that prove the conformity of the Imām’s viewpoint with the aforementioned theory.*



The idea of integration of the Islamic *umamah* and unity of the Islamic sects and schools of thought has been the old aspiration of the enlightened '*ulamā*' of Islam. Without doubt, one of the motives behind this integration is the formation of the Islamic united front against the military, economic and political aggressions of the imperialists, and for this reason, in the last one or two centuries every time the enemy's attack and aggression became more intensified, the feeling on the need for integration has increased and the voice of the proponents of unity become louder. Nowadays, as the period of direct military aggression of the Western superpowers and other imperialists came to an end, the ways for the political, economic and cultural dominations have assumed complex and modern form, and the Muslim countries have been subjected more than ever to the widespread cultural and economic aggression in the policy of the imperialists.

The clarion call of integration, which was heard in the past decades, becomes louder than ever. Yet, in view of the different accounts on unity and diverse models that have emerged out in the world of this religious and political concept, these fundamental questions are posed about the idea of Islamic unity: By the way, what account on unity is meant in the words and actions of the Islamic scholars? Do they all have a single interpretation of this concept, or different varieties of this religious and political concept have been observed in their views and deeds? In this case, which account can be regarded as the desirable and realistic image (of unity) and which one poses as undesirable? Thorough research on this context is one of the necessities of the first research societies appropriate for this kind of discussion because the danger of some accounts on integration, which gradually paves the way toward the extermination of religion, is by no means lesser than the danger of sectarianism and dissension, which for so many years is burning the Islamic *umamah* in its own fire.

What will be endeavored in this paper is a scholarly half-view on this issue. In my opinion, the integration-fostering viewpoint and actual conduct of Imām Khomeinī (*r*), the architect of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has been far from extremism and fanaticism, and his lofty ideas can be the light of guidance of those treading the path. As such, after briefly sketching five accounts of integration, analyzing them and showing their actual manifestations in the contemporary world of culture and politics, we will introduce the desirable account. While pointing out its bases and requisites, we will set its conformity with the viewpoint and actual conduct of Imām Khomeinī as the last part of this discussion.

## **Various accounts of unity**

### **1. Ideological unity (absolute unity)**

Ideological unity is defined as the unanimity of opinion in all doctrinal beliefs and collective acceptance of the fundamental principles of a school of thought. The demand of such unity is based upon the feeling of absolute truth on the part of its proponents—truth that does not entertain any chance for expediency or silence. In most cases, dogmatic regimes pursue such kind of unity in their domestic politics and sometimes in their foreign policy as well. In view of the fact that the truth of admonition and belief in One God is the most fundamental religious principle, which no expediency can ever prevail over it, the demand for union on the part of the Noble Prophet (ﷺ) can be considered as this kind of unity. The Holy Qur'an states:

*“Say: O People of the Scripture. Come to an agreement between us and you: that we shall worship none but Allah, and that we shall ascribe no partners unto Him, and that none of us shall take others for lords beside Allah. And if they turn away, then say: Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered (unto Him).”<sup>1</sup>*

In another verse it specifies the truth of unity on the basis of the centrality of “Allah”, stating:

*“He who holdeth fast to Allah, he indeed is guided unto a right path.”<sup>2</sup>*

Ideological unity is an idealistic and desirable unity, but in case its proponents have faith in the axis of the unity and its truthfulness and do not recognize the superiority of expediency, the demand of such kind of unity is inadmissible in the jurisprudential ramifications of the schools of thought and the religious edicts of the jurists in a school of thought. It is because in most instances the truthfulness of a view relative to another—for example, the superiority of the religious edict of Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī over that of Imām ash-Shāfi‘ī, or that of Imām Abū Hanīfah over Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal—is not clear.

Similarly, such a unity among the schools of thought is also neither practical nor desirable. Although in every school, the Shī‘ah at least, its principles are wholeheartedly accepted and renouncement of these principles

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah Āl-e ‘Imrān* 3:64.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah Āl-e ‘Imrān* 3:101.

is deemed renouncement of the school of truth, the existence of a superior expediency that threatens or so the Islamic *ummah* makes uncertain the two conditions necessary for the realization of, or at least officially and widely demanding for, ideological unity.

From the perspective of the Infallibles' ('a) conduct, attitude of the Prophet (s), and the pronouncement of the divine revelation to the unbelievers except in limited circumstances the demand for ideological unity was made to the People of the Book (the "Prophetic unity"). Nevertheless, the conduct and pronouncement of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) with respect to other Muslims were not so. Instead, he used to express strategic unity which will be explained later for the preservation of the superior interests of the then nascent Islamic society (the "Alawī unity").

The beautiful and sublime words of the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī ('a) regarding it is in this manner:

"You know very well that no one is more desirous of the Unity of Muslims than I and the only thing which I want to achieve by this unity is the Blessings of Allah and my salvation. I shall do what I have resolved to do even though you change the good opinion which you had about me when we last parted. Surely, unfortunate is he who possesses wisdom and acquires experience and yet does not care to make use of either."<sup>1</sup>

Ideological unity is inclined toward the belief of its proponents; unity on the basis of truth, and not contract and coalition. In this kind of unity, although the slogan, "All should be with me, all should be with my belief is the rule, and not all must be together," and the like are not desirable in particular circumstances, with the existence of two conditions we said about the ideological unity, it becomes desirable.

In the mystical wayfaring in which the spiritual guide [*murshid*] and the pupil [*murid*] have to be united, such kind of unity is clearly meant, in such a manner that the pupil has to "melt away" or be "annihilated" [*fanā*] in the spiritual guide. It is because in this case the way is also one and the spiritual guide is nearer to the destination, and the pupil has no option but to tread the path of the mentor and old wayfarer.

This kind of unity can also be termed as the unity of the "lions of God".

The point worthy of attention is that for unity to mean acceptance of the principles of other schools and eliminating one's school is not allowed by the

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<sup>1</sup> *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Letter 78. This letter has been written in reply to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī on the issue of government.

learned men of all schools. Thus, the ideological demand (for unity) among the Islamic schools of thought—if it means sticking to one’s principles and declaring as wrong, and denouncing, one’s school, and if it means inviting the others to accept one’s principles—is not practical. Therefore, raising this issue of unity in the discussions related to the Shī‘ah-Sunni unity and the like is not desirable.

## **2. Strategic unity**

Strategic unity is unlike ideological unity in which there is no disagreement whatsoever and tactical unity in which it is short-lived. In this kind of unity, instead of paying more attention to the belief and ideology, the unity in action and approach and solidarity on the basis of relatively permanent and fixed principles are given attention. The conduct and words of the Infallibles and our religious leaders point to this kind of unity among the Islamic schools of thought. While stressing the truthfulness and authenticity of the school’s principles, the practical unity and coordination of Muslims and their unanimity are emphasized. Nonetheless, before anything else, let us first mention the strategic unity, which has happened in the political scene of the world.

### **a. National unity**

In order to prepare the ground for political authority, and political independence against the foreigners, the countries with various languages, cultures, or religions have been and are in need of the solidarity of the people and their cohesion. As this unity cannot be done through the uniformity of culture and others, they facilitated a sort of unity in diversity (in its political sense) by highlighting the common feature—citizenship.

A vivid example of the national unity can be witnessed in the multi-national country of India. By raising the slogan of national strategic unity, Jawaharlal Nehru pursued so which also proved relatively successful. The former Soviet Union had also faced the same problem and inclined to this theory. The former Yugoslavia was also the same. Marshall Josip Broz Tito, the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, solve his apprehension through proposing the national unity.

### **b. Social brotherhood**

This slogan was raised during the French Revolution. The intense class and economic differences during the period prior to the Revolution remarkably popularized the slogan, “War of all against all” and “Man as the

wolf of one another”. Apart from taking into account the issue of independence, the slogan of brotherhood pay attention to the domestic political cohesion and preservation of the domestic stability and security.

### ***c. Unity of the ummah***

This unity encompasses the totality of individuals having common religious or transnational mottos. Just as the concept of *ummah* is broader than that of the nation, the unity of the *ummah* is also broader than the national unity, and as a whole, the talk is on strengthening the attachment among the various communities having linguistic, racial, religious, historical or geographical relationship. The prefix “pan”<sup>1</sup> is (usually) used in introducing this kind of unity. The Ba‘athist Party was in pursuit of the unity of the Arab world or “Pan-Arabism” while Sayyid Jamāluddīn Asadābādī used to uphold the slogan and creed of “Pan-Islamism”. Apart from these two, the various movements of pan-Iranism, pan-Turkism, pan-Americanism, pan-Turanism, etc. have been present in the world.

It is clear that some of these nationalist efforts are in conflict with others. As such, Imām Khomeinī used to sternly oppose nationalism in the sense of pan-Iranism while defending the Islamic unity.

Certainly, the desired unity among the Islamic schools of thought is this kind of strategic unity for, the first two kinds of strategic unity are related to the state, country and citizen and they cannot be brought up in the international and transnational scenes. This is while the fundamental objective of the unity of the Islamic *ummah* is focused on the solidarity of the Islamic *ummah*.<sup>2</sup>

### ***3. Tactical unity***

This kind of unity can be considered only in a specific condition and short period. Just as war tactics are used for a short-time day-to-day management of the war, tactical unity is also used here in this sense. The Tūdeh Party<sup>3</sup> used to talk about the unity of the anti-imperialist forces. This unity depends on the existence of a common enemy and as soon as the common enemy is exterminated, the underlying principle for its preservation will not remain.

Just as ideological unity among the Islamic schools of thought is not desirable, tactical unity is equally undesirable, fragile and short-lived.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, “Pan-Islamism, pan-Arabism, pan-Turkism, etc. [Trans.]

<sup>2</sup> Murtaḍā Mudarrisī Chahardahī, *Sayyid Jamāluddīn va Andīsheh-hā*, p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> Tūdeh Party was one of the communist parties in Iran founded in 1941. [Trans.]

Although the common enemy's aggression and the possibility of resistance against it under the auspices of unity and coordination have been an important motive for proposing unity on the part of many thinkers, the unity of the Islamic *ummah* has never been proposed merely for the annihilation of the common enemy. It is because in this case the driving force for unity is the capabilities of the enemy, and the impotent enemy is the source of dissension and division while it facilitates the ultimate capability of the enemy. However, in case the thrust of unity is the feeling of common bountiful grounds and the Muslims' utilization of unity for their progress, reconstruction and advancement, even in case of the weakening and extermination of the aggressing imperialists, this strategic unity will endure and go on.

Sayyid Jamāluddīn Asadābādī,<sup>1</sup> the awakener of the East and a series of anti-imperialist movements, though aware of the enemy's aggression, more than anything else, used to remind the Muslims of their hidden and concealed potentials. While pursuing for the creation of an enduring and permanent unity, he says:

“Under the rubric of the nobility of origin, they adroitly found racial bigotry, believing that theirs is the highest virtue, which they describe as patriotism. Yes, it is proved to the Europeans that the best and the highest relations among us Muslims is the same religious relationship, and the religious power also emanates from ideological fervors.”

In the public knowledge of the guidelines of Imām Khomeinī in relation to the account of unity, the admonition for the strategic unity can obviously be observed. Most of the Imām's calls for unity addressed to the various social strata inside the country or in the meeting with important figures in the Muslim world upheld strategic unity. However, he also used to enjoin strategic unity in some cases and tactical unity in a few instances.

### **The conduct of Imām Khomeinī and the desirable account of unity**

Imām Khomeinī is among the few thinkers who, from the beginning up to the end of his intellectual life, used to emphasize unity. In practice, he also used to tread the path toward the realization of the ideal of unity and took

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Jamāluddīn has been one of those considered as the champions of Islamism (see Dr. ‘Alī Aṣghar Ḥalabī, *Tārikh-e Nahḍat-e Islāhī [History of the Reformist Movements]*). He has exerted considerable influence on Pan-Islamism (see Hamid Algar, “*Nūgīrā ‘ī-ye Madhhabī*,” pp. 85-86). In principle, hiding his sect and nationality has made him pursue the integration of Muslims (see Sayyid Ḥamīd Rūḥānī, *Nahḍat-e Imām Khomeinī*, vol. 3, p. 463).

effective steps along this way. The unity-fostering slogan of the Imām embodies not only Islamic international unity. Rather, he used to call on the various arenas, both within and without the country, to this key for success. The notion of unity in these domains was also not necessarily identical; in fact, some have differences, too.

In the public knowledge of the guidelines of Imām Khomeinī in relation to the account of unity, the admonition for the strategic unity can obviously be observed. Most of the Imām's calls for unity addressed to the various social strata inside the country or in the meeting with important figures in the Muslim world upheld strategic unity. However, he also used to enjoin strategic unity in some cases and tactical unity in a few instances.

Among the arenas in which the Imām's efforts for unity can be indicated, the following cases can be cited:

### ***1. Unity of the social strata***

It refers to the unity among the clerics and the political parties, the clerics and the professionals, the businessmen and the professionals, the laborers and farmers, the IRGC and the Army, the Islamic Revolutionary Committee and the provincial governors, the Friday congregational prayer leaders and the people and the government, etc.<sup>1</sup>

“You know what made this movement and this Revolution successful was faith. And as what the Noble Qur'an has stated, the believers are brothers to one another and there is not difference among them... You know that now our country is in need for the unity of the armed forces, and if, God forbid, there is no understanding between the Committees and the IRGC you will not arrive at the destination which is Islam. Never entertain this in your mind: “I am a member of the Committee and only the Committee must have a better job,” and the IRGC would say the same. You should inculcate (instead) in your mind that the works must be done by you together under the spirit of brotherhood, and you have to accept the Qur'anic principle that the Muslims are brothers, and you must be friendly and kind to one another and like one another. And you have to abandon the inner and carnal insinuations such as “how this IRGC is of the Committee”. This is the secret behind victory.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 40; vol. 12, p. 117; vol. 20, p. 84; vol. 4, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

In the above statements, the eminent Imām substantiates brotherhood with the noble verse, “*The believers are naught else than brothers,*”<sup>1</sup> while utilizing this heavenly covenant in enjoining unity.

In these contexts, the Imām had in mind more than anything the concept of strategic unity in the sense of brotherhood while considering as necessary the realization of this kind of unity in preservation of internal security and exaltation of the Islamic system. He used to identify as the source of this disagreement, in most cases, the satanic insinuations and personal caprices while enjoining self-purification so as to foster unity.<sup>2</sup>

Imām Khomeinī has continued recommending this kind of unity throughout the period of his rule. The political strata and officials of the society were not also deprived of the Imām’s addresses and at times rebukes.

During the last period of his life, in the meeting with the provincial governors, the Imām said:

“The honorable provincial governors have to maintain the unity among themselves and their unity with the nation for, whatever we have through the blessing and grace of God, we owe it to the nation. You should have unity in order to be kept protected (from dissension). Intrigues are meant to sow discord, and you should be aware that a single divisive word is among the major sins, which God, the Blessed and Exalted, hardly forgives whether this word is uttered by our foes or released by our friends, or whether by the individuals who claim sanctimoniousness or by persons without claiming so.”<sup>3</sup>

Of course, alongside the carnal desires and selfishness that bring about the ground for this sort of difference, skepticism and error in thinking and difference in understanding also prepare the ground for the impugnation of others and career, factional and other disputes. However, while recognizing this reality, the Imām did not regard as undesirable this kind of difference, which is a reminiscence of the academic argumentations in the religious seminary, and he used to treat it as natural. In other words, in this arena the Imām was not looking for ideological unity; strategic unity was his focus of attention.

During the last years of his life, Imām Khomeinī used to highlight the legitimacy of ideological differences (in their political sense), considering thin kind of unity as a ground for further exaltation of the system.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Hujurat* 49:10. [Trans.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 84.



Setting limitation on the discretions of the Master of the Affair [*walī al-amr*] and the comments and criticisms of the Guardianship Council to the Imām and his replies to them as well as proposing the Guardianship of the Jurist [*wilāyah al-faqīh*] in the Friday prayers and the explicit response of the Imām of the *ummah* in the throes of the (Iraqi) imposed war have all demonstrated his acceptance of these diverse viewpoints.

When one of the employees of the Imām's Office asked about the two intellectual political currents in the society, Imām Khomeinī deemed legitimate the existence of both currents, declaring their difference as not harmful. Along this line, he pointed out the conduct of the past '*ulamā*' (Prominent Religious Scholars):

"The books of the great jurists of Islam are full of differences in opinions, tastes and understandings in the various areas: military, cultural, political, economic, and devotional... Thus, in the Islamic government the gate of *ijtihād* (holy struggle) must always be open and the nature of the Revolution and the system always requires that deductive-juristic views in various areas, though opposing one another, are freely expressed and no one can and should stop it."<sup>1</sup>

In continuation, Imām Khomeinī writes:

"...So long as there are differences and discussions within the confinement of the abovementioned issues, there is no threat to the Revolution. If the difference were on the principles and foundations, it would lead to the slackening of the system. The fact is clear that if there is difference among the individuals and parties affiliated to the Revolution, it is purely political although an ideological color is given to it. It is because all are in common regarding the principles and it is on this account that I confirm them (all). They are loyal to Islam and the Revolution; they are concerned of the country and the people; each (of the groups) has its own design and view for the advancement of Islam and serving the Muslims, which to my opinion, brings out deliverance. The overwhelming majority in both currents (parties) wants their country to be independent; both (parties) want to reduce for the people the wickedness and evil of the leech-like (elements) associated to the government, market and street."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 21, pp. 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 47.

This message illustrates well the distinction between favorable and unfavorable difference. From the viewpoint of the Imām, in this message difference is either doctrinal or political. Of course, what is meant by him by doctrinal difference is not difference on the general principles of the religion such as monotheism, prophethood, hereafter, Imamate, etc. Thus, the difference of the jurists, in the opinion of the Imām, is never doctrinal difference. Of course, in the doctrinal principles under consideration, belief in the Islamic movement, perception of religion as the source of guidance for the whole mankind, proper conception of the world of unbelief, capitalism, (World) Arrogance, and America are also discussed. In the viewpoint of the Imām, both currents (parties) have been in common regarding these principles.

Yet, the desirable difference is the difference of opinion in the details of implementing the methods for the realization of the common objectives or difference in some secondary objectives. In this message the Imām himself writes:

“So, the difference lies on what? The difference lies on the fact that each of them believes that its way is the one leading toward the realization of all these.”<sup>1</sup>

“In sum, the desirable unity for Imām Khomeinī is the complete unity in action and synchronizing the actions of all institutions and elements of the system as well as unity of thinking in the general principles of Islam and the Revolution. However, difference in the mechanisms of implementing the general principles and in other details does not harm the desirable unity. In admonishing the officials of the system for the attainment of this unity, he used to advise them in general to exercise silence, concordance and responsible argumentations.”

## ***2. Inviting the dissidents to unite with the Islamic ummah***

The renegade, hypocrite and hostile groups of the Islamic system did not benefit from the admonition of Imām Khomeinī. Among his admonitions to these groups was the preservation of unity with the *ummah* and joining the rank of the nation—the nation that had naturally accepted the Imām’s beliefs. This invitation is an invitation for ideological unity (“Prophetic unity”) and not strategic unity (“Alawī unity”) and there is not expediency superior to correcting the erroneous path of these groups.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 48.

### **3. Unity among the combatant forces for resistance against the enemy**

During the Revolution and the period of the (Iraqi imposed) war, one of the challenges of Imām Khomeinī to those who claimed to be nationalists and even Islamists and those who did not refrain from sowing discord and dispute was reminding them of the presence of common enemy. Prior to the victory of the Revolution, the two opposing political factions were used to admonished to be in unison with the sea of the Islamic *ummah* and not to separate themselves, and each should not choose dogmatic party and ground for itself. In other words, unity with them after their union with the nation was possible and not prior to that. For this reason, in questions that seek to know the position of the Imām in circumstances prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution in relation to these groups, the Imām used to give clear-cut negative answer. One of these questions and answers is the following:

“Question: Your Eminence Āyatullāh, are you interested or do you give importance to cooperation with the Marxist elements? Is there any point of compromise between the objectives of your movement and the Marxists?

Answer: Our objectives are in conflict with theirs. We rely on Islam and monotheism while they are hostile to both of them (Islamic and monotheism). Our laws are the laws of Islam while they do not accept Islam. And not only that we are not interested to cooperate with them. In fact, we have no cooperation with them and we will never do so.”

The basic condition of the Imām’s meeting with Bakhtiyār<sup>1</sup> and the officials of his government was resignation from the government position, in such a way that in reality the condition of cooperating with them was the announcement of their change of stance.

The clerics and the professionals had deep-rooted differences and disputes. A number in each group used to accuse the other group and even books would be published in this regard. In a bid to prove the “heresy” of some professionals, some clerics would use the station of religious authority and verdict, and even intend to convince the Imām to join in this venture. In a speech in Najaf al-Ashraf (Iraq), the Imām dealt on this issue in detail, and by pointing out the existence of the common enemy, he declared ceasefire. Although unity between these two strata is not specific at the period of existence of common enemy, attention to the common enemy magnifies the need for unity.

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<sup>1</sup> Shāpūr Bakhtiyār: the last prime minister before the victory of the Islamic Revolution. [Trans.]

#### **4. Unity of the Islamic ummah for the preservation of common interests**

This kind of unity can be advanced in two different ways: admonition to the states and admonition to the nations.

Concerning the Muslim states, Imām Khomeinī says:

“The Muslim states must act as a single state, as if they are a single society; they have one banner, one Book, one Prophet. They should always be united. They should have fondness of one another in all aspects, and if this ideal is realized such that among the Muslim states unity is achieved in every respect, it is hoped that they could overcome all their problems.”<sup>1</sup>

Of course, this point does not mean negation of the existing international borders along these Muslim countries. In his religious-political testament, the Imām has discussed his realistic idealism in the form of “toward an Islamic state with free and independent republics”<sup>2</sup> and he also says elsewhere:

“The borders are separate while the hearts are together if the Muslims were united. While preserving their borders their hearts should be united. These are an epitome of unity in diversity.”<sup>3</sup>

The political theory of the Imām on the manner of reconciling independence and the idea of Islamic internationalism can be examined, some writers have presented different models about it.<sup>4</sup>

Another form of invitation is the invitation to the whole Muslim *ummah* and thinkers to regain the lost honor of the Muslims. In this regard, the Imām says:

“We are saying that you should all be together; all Muslims must be together; not that we have relations with that one while we do not have relations with you. We have relations with everybody and we treat you all equally. All the Muslims in our view, provided they implement the laws of Islam, are beloved. The Muslim nation is dear to us, regardless of whether it is Turkish, Arab, non-Arab, from America, and wherever it likes.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeh-ye Imām*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> See the first article in this collection.

<sup>5</sup> *Dar Jostegū-ye Rāh-ye Imām az Kalām-e Imām [In Search of Imām Khomeinī's Way through His Word]*, Section 9, “*Millat va Umma*” (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1362 AHS), p. 665.

The fundamental point in the words and conduct of Imām Khomeinī is that he never pointed to the abandonment of the principles of school of thought, and he used to raise the issue of unity in the context of assistance in action, decision-making, policymaking, etc. On the contrary, in some pressing instances, during the period of his ten-year guardianship he used to emphasize the discussion and earnest defense of the principles of the domination thought.

Of course, he was unhappy with the performance of anything that would offend the other Islamic schools, but the Imām's search for unity did not sanction infringement of the principles.

We hope that the Muslims of the world would advance more toward strategic unity and solidarity and thus to be victorious and triumphant over the world of unbelief and atheism.

## The Ideal of Islamic Unity in the Thought of Imām Khomeinī

*Muḥammad-Raḥīm ‘Iwādī*

### The idea of unity

In the history of Islam replete with ups and downs, the discord among the Islamic dominations and nations has been one of intricate and rudimentary issues of the Muslim societies, which have inflicted irreparable material and non-material losses and havocs to the body of the single Islamic *ummah*. This bloody wound on the beautiful countenance of the Islamic *ummah* has remained unhidden in the view of reformers of the *ummah* and their concern has disturbed them. As such, in the different phases of history the reformers have endeavored to forge unity among the Muslims so as to heal the pain in the heart of the Islamic *ummah*. Each of them has pursued particular objectives as well.

One of the towering reformist figures of the unity of the Islamic *ummah* is Sayyid Jamāluddīn Asadābādī. Along with his student, Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh, he used to regard the Islamic unity as one of his most important ideal objectives, and along this way, he exerted great efforts. In this connection, he did not choose a homeland for himself, and throughout his life of struggle, he traveled to, and stayed in, numerous countries. Another person who took action along the path of Islamic unity was the Head of the Al-Azhar University in Egypt, Shaykh Maḥmūd Shaltūt who issued a religious edict on the permissible of following the Shī‘ah jurisprudence and

officially recognized the Shī‘ah school along with the four Sunni schools of thought. The establishment of the “Center for the Proximity of the Islamic Schools of Thought” in Cairo by Āyatullāh Muḥammad-Taqī Qummī was influential in the formation of this moderate tendency in the person of Shaykh Maḥmūd Shaltūt, and the untainted efforts of Āyatullāh Burūjerdī in Shaykh Shaltūt’s issuance of the edict and the official recognition of the Shī‘ah school along with the four Sunni schools of thought, which brought the Islamic unity to a new phase, had a crucial role.

Notwithstanding these efforts of the Shī‘ah and Sunni ‘*ulamā*’ in their search for unity, the Muslim states and nations have remained burning in the flame of schism, and by kindling the fire of discord, the Western and Eastern imperialists were engaging in plundering the resources of the Muslim countries. The conspiracies and seditions of the enemies of the Islamic *ummah* for the sowing of discord and exploitation of the discord-ridden circumstances for pillaging the underground and ground resources and reserves of the Muslim countries, their black gold (oil) in particular, on one hand, and the ignorance and unawareness of the followers of the various Islamic schools of thought on the trivial and insignificant issues and their obliviousness to the common principles, on the other hand, had complemented each other until such time that day by day the fire of discord was exacerbated and the distance among the Muslims became wider and more profound. However, the commencement of the Islamic movement of Imām Khomeinī (*r*) in 1342 AHS (1963) and the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1357 AHS (1979) were a turning point in the Islamic unity thought—Shī‘ah-Sunni unity on one hand and unity of the Muslim countries on the other hand. And Imām Khomeinī himself was the harbinger of this call for unity.

In spite of having liturgical-political dimension, Imām Khomeinī’s thought on unity was a special ideal, which this paper is trying to elucidate to some extent. It must be asked, “What were the motives of Imām Khomeinī in thinking for unity and what aims he was trying to pursue?” In reply to this question, it seems as though the idea of unity from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī was the main instrument and means to negate the dominance of non-Muslims over the Islamic *ummah* and unity is the secret behind the victory and survival of the Islamic *ummah*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ-ye Siyāsī-Ilāhī*, p. 8.

“Among the things that are necessary to mention for the uprising of the Muslims and the downtrodden of the world against the global plunderers and the world-devouring arrogant (powers) is that recently through hostile way and threat or by means of their propaganda hullabaloo or via their treacherous local mercenary agents, the tyrant powers are implementing their objectives in such a way that if the nations consciously and jointly stand against them, they will not succeed in implementing them.”<sup>1</sup>

### **The need for unity**

Imām Khomeinī knew well the consequences of schism, knowing that in the different aspects—political, economic, social, cultural, and military discord within the Islamic *ummah* has left so many negative effects whose removal is problematic and needs ample time. And the only way of averting the harms and losses resulting from this discord is brotherhood and unity in which the core power of the dear Islam and its revitalizing teachings must take form. Along this line, he had also specified the requisites of unity by means of which the Islamic *ummah* could treat the divine straight path and way.

The first requisite of unity from the viewpoint of the Imām was uprising for the sake of God in order for the human society as a whole to be reformed:

“The Exalted said: “Say (unto them, O Muḥammad): I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for Allah’s sake, by twos and singly”<sup>2</sup> In this noble words, God, the Exalted, addressed all, from the dark abode of nature to the ultimate end of humanity, and it is the best admonition that the Lord of the universe has chosen from among the admonitions, and He suggested to the whole mankind this word. This word is the only way of reform in the world.”<sup>3</sup>

Along this line, justice must be spread in the world<sup>4</sup> and the party of the downtrodden in the world must be formed: “If there is a party supposed to be formed in the world, a global party, it is the Party of the Downtrodden which is identical with the Party of Allah. All these problems will be solved”<sup>5</sup> and the global Muslims will attain enough political maturity,<sup>6</sup> return to their own

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah as-Saba’* 34:46. [Trans.]

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 278.

<sup>6</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 175.



culture, have self-confidence, try to achieve self-sufficiency, not be afraid of the West,<sup>1</sup> and stand firm against the (arrogant) powers.<sup>2</sup>

The next requisite of unity is to thwart the conspiracy and hegemony of the Global Arrogance under the stewardship of America which, by sowing discord and disagreement among the Muslims, it strives to achieve its goal. The late Imām knew that:

“The main enemy of Islam, the Holy Qur’an and the Prophet is the superpowers, particularly America and its corrupt seed, Israel, which casts a covetous eye on the Muslim countries, and with the aim of plundering their enormous underground reserves, in this satanic plot they are sowing discord among the Muslims in whatever way they can.”<sup>3</sup>

Through unity and forging of Islamic solidarity among the Muslims,<sup>4</sup> the the Imām wanted all the Muslim nations to attain freedom and independence for, the Muslims have to obtain this secret of victory for the attainment of independence and freedom, to exert efforts for the unity of expression,<sup>5</sup> and not to allow the Global Arrogance to interfere in the affairs of Muslim countries.<sup>6</sup>

Imām Khomeinī used to regard unity as indispensable for the attainment of peace and tranquility, and said: “The Islamic Republic wants to live in peace and tranquility with all the republics and others”.<sup>7</sup> And elsewhere, he said:

“I hope for the establishment of global peace on the basis of the independence of nations and absence of interference in the affairs of one another and the observance of the principle of preservation of the territorial integrity of countries.”<sup>8</sup>

In the view of the Imām, the requisite of global peace and tranquility is to live peacefully with all countries of the world: “The government and nation of the Islamic Republic are seeking for religious brotherhood with the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 228.

<sup>8</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 267.

global and regional Muslims and in quest of peaceful coexistence all countries of the world.”<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it is desirous of the expansion of relations on the basis of mutual respect. “It will be relations with all foreigners on the basis of the principle of mutual respect; in this relationship, we will neither submit to oppression nor oppress anyone.”<sup>2</sup> “We want to be friendly with nations of the world; to be friendly with all states of the world on the basis of equality; we want to have good and mutual relationship and respect with one another.”<sup>3</sup>

Imām Khomeinī is of the opinion that the Islamic government is a free and independent government and its relations with the East and the West is in form and if they have good relationship, the Islamic state will also have good relationship with them and we do not allow anyone to interfere in the domestic affairs of our country.<sup>4</sup> Thus, “...We have good relations with all strata of mankind and with all the downtrodden of the world provided that they are mutual relations and mutual respect.”<sup>5</sup> As such, it can be said that in view of his religious duties for the reformation of humanity Imām Khomeinī regarded as necessary the forging of solidarity among the downtrodden of the world and Muslims of the world; expansion of social justice; establishment of peace and tranquility in the entire world; self-reliance and negation of dominance; avoidance of the superpowers’ interference in the affairs of weak and Muslim countries and the pillage of their resources; expansion of relations on the basis of mutual respect and good neighborhood; and the unity of the Muslims and the downtrodden of the world while considering it as the only factor and secret of victory and survival of any *ummah* and thus giving extra emphasis on the fostering of unity.

### **The necessities and facilities of unity**

Every ideal and objective has its own necessities without which it is unrealizable apart from the fact that in order to attain the ideal and objectives the necessary facilities must be provided so that they would not remain as just hopes and aspirations. Instead, through these necessary facilities man could achieve his objectives and goal. Imām Khomeinī’s idea of unity as well as his ideal had necessities whose facilities for realization must be provided. The most urgent issue in this respect is justice because “justice is the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 114.

essential condition of monotheism” and in order to forge Islamic unity, Islamic justice as the fundamental ground for unity must be expanded for, in the world full of oppression and injustice and every unjust society unity will never be attained. The Imām said that “The prophets from Ādam (Adam) up to the Seal (of the Prophets) came... in order to hoist the banner of monotheism and justice in all nations.”<sup>1</sup> Independence and freedom are among the other necessities of unity and it can even be said that practical independence of the Muslim countries is among the most important ones.

“...For, once we can stand against the entire world and say that we will not go toward those who earned the divine wrath or toward those who go astray; we will move neither toward the East nor toward the West. We can be like so and act along the Straight Path when we are all together; if all of us are a single hand.”<sup>2</sup>

Imām Khomeinī used to utilize the existing facilities for the realization of his ideal of unity and even providing for the new facilities. One of these facilities was the issue of Palestine and its occupation by the Quds-occupier regime (Israel) that has in mind the goal of forming the “Greater Israel, which means from Nile to Euphrates” and in order to achieve this goal it is committing acts of aggressions against the Muslim countries and killing the Muslims residing in those lands or displacing them. In opposition to the aggressive and blood-sucking nature of the Quds-occupier regime and the effacement of Israel from the surface of the earth, Imām Khomeinī announced the last Friday of the blessed month of Ramaḍān as International Quds Day so that in a certain day all Muslims can move and express their opposition to Israel.

“...I regard the Quds Day as the day of Islam and the Noble Prophet and it is a day when we have to equip ourselves with all power and the Muslims have to abandon the state of isolation which they are in and have to stand firm to the utmost vis-à-vis the foreigners, and we have stood firm against the foreigners.”<sup>3</sup>

The Imām considered the liberation of Quds as the duty of all Muslims. “In principle, it is the duty of all Muslims to liberate Quds and to cut off the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 101.

evil of this cancerous tumor from the Islamic lands.”<sup>1</sup> And this affair is impossible except through the unity of all Muslims.

The annual Abrahamic *Hajj* pilgrimage is another facility that the Imām used to utilize for the realization of unity of the Islamic *ummah*. He revived the rites of “disavowal of the polytheists,” which were about to be relegated to the dustbin of eternal oblivion, so that all the *Hajj* pilgrims from every country, black and white, Asian and African, European and American, Shī‘ah and Sunni, etc. could manifest a small showcase of the unity of the Islamic *ummah* through participation in the pertinent march demonstrations; be aware of the affairs of Muslims and their sufferings and pains through their joint assembly; and to pay attention to and look for the solution to these sufferings. “...The Holy Mecca and its environs are a reflection of the great events of the movement of the prophets of Islam and the mission of the Noble Prophet...”<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, Imām Khomeinī used to regard independence, freedom and justice as the requisite and ground for the Islamic unity and all the downtrodden of the world. In essence, he believed in the difference in belief as an obstacle to the realization of unity. In achieving the objectives of Islam and its sovereignty in all dimensions, he regarded unity as the only possible means and for the materialization of the ideal of Islamic unity he used to take benefit from the facilities such as the Palestinian Question and the liberation of Quds, and the *Hajj* pilgrimage and the disavowal of the polytheists, which are acceptable to all Islamic sects and schools of thought, while calling on the Muslims of the world to have all-dimensional understanding and unity.

### **The motive for unity**

Imām Khomeinī had various motives for his ideal of unity, which were inspired by the school of the pure Muḥammadan Islam. In his opinion the authentic religion of Islam and the divine governments have fundamental differences with the materialist governments because the non-divine governments are only concerned with realization and preservation of order of their respective countries and the utmost thing they can do is not to allow anyone to commit acts of oppression and tyranny against others. This is while Islam and divine governments have their own particular laws for every issue<sup>3</sup> and one of these important issues is the defense of the Islamic land, which depends upon the unity of Muslims. “One of the important affairs,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, pp. 234-235.

which is obligatory for all is the defense of Islam and the defense of the Islamic Republic,”<sup>1</sup> which depends upon unity and the issue of unity is a vital affair for the protection of the Islamic land. On the other hand, discord is an evil affair should be avoided because enjoining what is good and forbidding what is bad is among the divine obligations. In obeying the command of God, what is good must be enjoined while what is bad prohibited.

“The grievous evil is the dominance of the foreigners over us. You have to negate this evil. Prevent the government from pursuing their differences with one another and with the nations, and from loving the enemies of Islam, with whom God ordered us not to have social intercourse. Now, there is no evil severer than the fact that the interests of the Muslims are put in danger. It is the duty of you all to work for the sake of God; we have to negate this animosity (among us) and Islamic unity must be our slogan through unity and be under the banner of “there is no god but Allah.”<sup>2</sup>

Unity is also an act of enjoinder of what is good that will bring about peace and tranquility in the world, and for the realization of the conditions of peace, the fundamentals of unity and brotherhood must be created and strengthened further for,

“...We are aspiring for the world in peace and tranquility. From the beginning Islam has such as objective, and particularly among the believers, among the Muslims, it has enjoined brotherhood and in fact it has enjoined its expedite realization.”<sup>3</sup>

The other motive of Imām Khomeinī is molding of human beings so that under the aegis of the existence of perfect men justice will be spread in the world and the grounds for vulnerability of the Muslim society be eliminated otherwise their vulnerability is certain. For, “...We will become vulnerable when we would decay from within; when the individuals decay from within, and this decay spread and annihilate and putrefy a group”<sup>4</sup> while those who are trained in the school of the prophets and the Imāms (may God’s peace be upon them all) will never violate and on account of this violation the society would also become vulnerable.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 98.

The other motive is the establishment of independence and freedom, and the preservation of independence, freedom and human dignity of the Muslims. Thus, the Imām said:

“If we had surrendered to America and the superpowers, we could possibly have apparent security and welfare and our cemeteries could have been full of our dear martyrs, but our independence, freedom and human dignity would have been taken away, or shall we become captives of America and infidel states so as for some items to become cheap and for us to not offer martyrs and wounded (anymore)?”<sup>1</sup>

The other motive of the Imām in the ideal of unity is to solve the difficulties of the Muslims in the world and their countries. So, the Imām calls on them all to unity and enjoins them to forge friendly relations among themselves.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, the Imām is also aware of the fact that every “great objective has also corresponding great problems and obstacles.”<sup>3</sup> The issue of unity of the Muslim *ummah* and all the downtrodden of the world is also a great objective having great hurdles along its way. However, in view of the fact that the nature and instinct of man and the universe is based upon and woven with unity and the entire universe is moving toward the Single Objective, “through revolutionary patience and fortitude, we will move forward [for us to spread in the world] the divine justice and the dear Islam.”<sup>4</sup> As such, the Imām admonishes all the Muslims in the world:

“O Muslims! Rely on the culture of Islam; struggle against the West and Westernization; stand on you own feet; combat against the Westernized and Easternized intellectuals; comprehend your identity that the hired intellectuals have brought over the nation and its country in order for you not be united and exactly not to rely on the authentic Islam. It will happen to you that which has happened so far.”<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, the Imām’s motive for unity can be summed up in the defense of the Islamic land; enjoinder of what is good and forbiddance of what is wrong; molding and training of righteous human beings; acquisition of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, pp. 73-74.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 83.

independence and defense of this independence, freedom and human dignity; spread of the divine justice and the dear Islam in the world; prevention of discord and submission to the carnal desires; etc.

### **The scope and extend of unity**

The unity meant by Imām Khomeinī is wide in scope ranging from the Shī‘ah nation of Iran to all Muslims and the downtrodden of the world and even all the human beings on the surface of the earth. So, the Imām admonishes them all to come forward by taking model from the Islamic Revolution of Iran and to acquire self-confidence as “...reliance on one’s self after reliance on God is the source of blessings.”<sup>1</sup> The Islamic Revolution of Iran caused the awakening and revival of the downtrodden, deprived and Muslims of the world and brought out ample graces and blessings. This Revolution is the harbinger of unity, freedom and independence for the Muslims and the downtrodden of the world. All of this has been made possible by the “return to the self” of the Muslim people of Iran.

Next to the Muslim people of Iran, it is the duty of the Islamic *ummah* to strive in forging unity. “The communities themselves must be a single *ummah*; they should assemble together and not be separated; they should not regard the borders as causes for separation of the hearts.”<sup>2</sup> Although nowadays the global Muslims have been divided from one another through geographical borders and have been consisted of more than 50 big and small countries, as per the divine law and based on the demands and circumstance of the time, under the aegis of common Islamic and humanistic principles they should strengthen their attachments as by the grace of God, bright horizon has been in view.

“Nowadays, a perspective of the exportation of the Islamic Revolution... can be seen in the world of the downtrodden and deprived and a movement of the downtrodden and oppressed of the world against the arrogant and despotic (powers) has commenced and is expanding.”<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the Islamic *ummah* the spiritual figures of every religion are also duty-bound to take action for the realization of the ideals of the prophets, unity being one of the most important. “The Christian clerics, the Muslim clerics and the Jewish clerics... are situated in the first row for the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 11.

realization of the ideals of the prophets which are the same divine revelation...”<sup>1</sup> In like manner, the ‘*ulamā*’ and intellectuals of the Muslim countries are obliged to endeavor for the forging of Islamic unity, which is the only path of their victory and survival. Therefore, he proposes, thus:

“The ‘*ulamā*’ and intellectuals of the Muslim countries with the motive of looking for the way of deliverance of the Muslim countries from the clutches of the Western and Eastern superpowers and for the removal of the heads of Muslim countries from the dominance of the world-devourers and for resistance against imperialism and exploitation should propose a plan for them to have more contact with one another and lay the foundation of the plan on the awakening of the deprived people. They should have certain conviction that they will find the way and will emerge triumphant.”<sup>2</sup>

Finally, the pilgrims to the Sacred House of God are obliged to prepare the ground of unity in the Abrahamic *Hajj* ceremonies. Through the performance of the “disavowal of the polytheists” rites they have to cast the actual unity of the global Muslims in the superpowers’ teeth for, the *Hajj* rituals and the “disavowal of the polytheists” rites are the manifestation and pinnacle of unity as what the Imām says:

“The cry of disavowal is the cry of all people who have already lost endurance for the vanity of America and its hegemonic presence and they do not want their voice of wrath and rancor to remain silenced and dejected forever in their throats; they have decided to live freely, to die freely and be the voice of the generations. The cry of disavowal is the cry of defense of the school and the painful cry of the nations whose hearts have been ripped by the dagger of infidelity and hypocrisy.”<sup>3</sup>

So, the Imām regarded as wide the scope of unity and urges all human beings and the downtrodden of the world, the learned Muslims and all Islamic sects and schools of thought, and even the spiritual figures of different religions and Muslim intellectuals to strive for the forging of unity of nations on the basis of common humanistic and Islamic principles, and to benefit from all poets for his idea of unity.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 111.



### **The objectives of unity**

In his ideal of unity Imām Khomeinī was pursuing objectives, which can be divided into the following: domestic objectives, external objectives, and political, economic, social, cultural, and military objectives.

The domestic objectives of unity include the following items: freedom and independence,<sup>1</sup> removal of the foreign agents,<sup>2</sup> cutting off the hands of the traitors and criminals,<sup>3</sup> dignity and honor,<sup>4</sup> advancement of the Islamic objectives, comprehensive realization of Islam in Iran,<sup>5</sup> establishment of the authentic democratic government and not the corrupt Western and Eastern democracy,<sup>6</sup> survival of the Islamic Revolution,<sup>7</sup> implementation of the social justice,<sup>8</sup> and spread of the individual and collective justice.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, the external objectives of the Imām's ideal of unity are as follow: fostering of knowledge [*ma'rifah*] for the mankind,<sup>10</sup> establishment of peace and tranquility in the world,<sup>11</sup> implementation of the real democracy and freedom,<sup>12</sup> occurrence of a profound revolution of the masses throughout the world against the anti-human world-devourers,<sup>13</sup> regaining of mental independence and abandonment of the feeling of abjectness in front of the tyrannical governments,<sup>14</sup> independence of the entire world,<sup>15</sup> ending the dominance of the world-devourers over the downtrodden nations of the world,<sup>16</sup> acquisition of the right to self-determination by the nations and the awakening of the states,<sup>17</sup> establishment of the Islamic government in all parts of the world,<sup>18</sup> forming of an invincible and fortified *ummah*,<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9; *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 77.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 143.

<sup>11</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 116.

<sup>12</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 114.

<sup>13</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 113.

<sup>14</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 162.

<sup>15</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 81.

<sup>16</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 146.

<sup>17</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 146.

<sup>18</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 169.

<sup>19</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, pp. 111-112.

development of Islamic identity for Muslims,<sup>1</sup> deliverance from scientific backwardness in the Muslim societies,<sup>2</sup> and attending to the problems of the Muslims.<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī had in mind in the short period to establish the Islamic government in Iran; by negating imperialism and despotism, and acquiring independence and freedom, to implement social justice within the nation and to expand it; and to present as special model the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran to all Muslims and the downtrodden of the world so as for them also to gain independence and freedom and to cut off the hand of the foreigners. Thus, he urged all the people, all the human beings to strengthen the Islamic state so as for them to implement justice.

Preservation of the spiritualities and strengthening the spiritualities of the people and implementation of justice among them and saving the oppressed from the hand of the oppressors (were among his short-term objectives) while the long-term objectives of the Imām were as follow: With the establishment of peace and tranquility in the world and the observance of real democracy and freedom and the spread of justice therein, mankind would attain a new gnosis and the Islamic government be established in the whole world and thus an invincible and wall-like *ummah* be formed, the Muslim societies gain their Islamic identity and be delivered from the scientific backwardness, with the formation of a joint army they would defend the Islamic land and the Muslim *ummah*, and they would never allow the world-devourers to plunder their resources.

Each of these objectives can be divided according to political, economic, social, cultural, and military clusters. The political objectives are: the independence and freedom of all Muslims and nations of the world; establishment of peace and tranquility in the world; implementation of real democracy and freedom; materialization of the individual and collective justice; acquisition of the right to self-determination of the nations; formation of the Islamic *ummah*; setting up of the party of the downtrodden in the world; preservation of honor and dignity; advancement of the political objective of Islam; implementation of Islam in all aspects; occurrence of the revolution of the masses in the world; ending the dominance of the world-devourers over the downtrodden; removal of the military base of the West and the East; organization of the Islamic defensive army; and attending to the problems and affairs of the Muslims and preservation of the Islamic Republic system.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 19; vol. 19, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 146.

The economic objectives are: acquisition of independence and self-sufficiency; spread of the economic justice; implementation of the international Islamic objectives in the world; thwarting of imperialism and exploitation; and gaining the control over their economic destinies.

Meanwhile, the social objectives are: implementation of the social justice; prevention of corruption, perversion and every sort of deviation; establishment of peace and tranquility; formation of the Islamic and fortified *ummah*; awakening from the slumber of complacency; etc.

The cultural objectives are: the preservation of honor and dignity; survival of the Islamic Revolution; prevention of corruption and perversion and the annihilation of the base of oppression and corruption; creation of real knowledge for mankind; regaining of mental independence and abandonment of the feeling of abjectness in front of the enemies; creation of the Islamic identity for all Muslims; deliverance from scientific backwardness in the Muslim societies; etc.

The organization of the joint Islamic army for the defense of the Islamic and uprooting the military base of the West and the East from the Muslim countries, meanwhile, were among the political-military objectives of the Imām in his call to unity.

### **Summary and conclusion**

Imām Khomeinī's idea of unity can be considered as one of his most important and purest ideal thoughts, which can be regarded as the historical milestone in the Islamic unity. The Imām's motto of unity emerged at the time when the discord within the Islamic *ummah* has brought about ignominious consequences whose damages are perhaps irreparable because the foreigners have overcome the Muslims; the Muslim societies have been subjected to colonialism; the Muslims have lost their human personality and dignity while lagging behind in all fields; thus, their independence, freedom and grandeur have been taken away and they became dependent to the East and the West. It is by paying attention to these gloomy circumstances that the Imām intensely feels and senses the incumbency of unity. For the reformation of the human society, he rises up so as to prevent the interference of the superpowers in the destinies of the Muslim countries by forging solidarity among Muslims, and above it, among the downtrodden of the world, and to guide them to the threshold of victory.

The Imām regarded independence, freedom and justice as the requisite and prelude to unity while taking advantage of the facilities such as the Palestinian issue, the *Hajj* rituals, the "disavowal of the polytheists" rite, etc.

for the fostering of unity. With the motives of defending the Islamic land; enjoining what is good and forbidding what is bad; molding of human beings; acquiring independence, freedom and dignity for all human beings and Muslims; spreading the divine justice and Islam in the world; and prevention of discord and dissension, the Imām expressed his idea of unity. He considered so broad the scope of unity and comprehensive such that it encompasses all the human beings, downtrodden of the world, global Muslims, all Islamic schools of thought and even the other divine religions. He used to pursue various objectives in the political, economic, social, cultural, and military dimensions, which can be divided into two levels—domestic and external—and three timeframe—short-term, mid-term and long-term.

Finally, the Islamic unity meant by Imām Khomeinī has brought forth ample achievements and it will also bear sweet fruits in the future, among which are the Islamic Revolution of Iran; liberation movements of the Muslims and the other downtrodden nations; the Global Arrogance's fear of the Muslims; and the supremacy and nobility of the Muslims. Thus, the Imām's motto of unity is the cause of victory and the key to the survival of the Islamic *ummah*.



## The Strategy of Forging Unity in the Muslim World

*Yahyā Fawzī*

### Abstract

Imām Khomeinī can be regarded as one of the greatest harbingers of unity in the Muslim world and has ample emphases in his statements and writings, juristic views and practical conduct on the exigency of unity of the Muslim nations and sects and the avoidance of dissension in the ranks of the Islamic *ummah*. This paper attempts to discuss the theoretical foundation of this ideal in the thought of Imām Khomeinī and to examine his strategy and strategic means for the realization of this unity.

In this regard, I believe that the emphasis on unity in the works of Imām Khomeinī has root in the school of mystical philosophy of Imām Khomeinī, which is based upon the real unity of the world of creation and affair as well as the real unity of the being.

Similarly, the strategy of Imām Khomeinī for the realization of this unity is based upon his perception on the factors of dissension in the Muslim world, believing that in case of removal of these factors unity can be achieved.

Imām Khomeinī regards the external factor as the cause of dissension in the Muslim world, believing that with the use of internal elements in the Muslim societies, this external factor is responsible for destructive work and extinction of unity in these societies. He used to identify the heads of the

Muslim countries and court-mullahs as the two groups of internal elements that can be the agents of the external factor. In his opinion, two very important tools are used by the mentioned factor and agents for the sowing of discord—nationalism and religious strife.

In view of this, the strategy of Imām Khomeinī to achieve unity is based on confronting the main factor, which is the superpowers and dominating powers and on resistance against the discord-sowing internal agents.

The strategic means to achieve unity in the opinion of Imām Khomeinī are the following: Conscious heads of Muslim states, the '*ulamā*' (Prominent Islamic Scholars) and the intellectuals, and the magnificent *Hajj* congress.

## **Introduction**

Power acquisition of the Muslim world is one of the fundamental ideals in the thought of Imām Khomeinī. Along this line, the presence of unity and solidarity in the internal ranks of the Muslims, in his opinion, is calculated as one the most significant elements of power, particularly in the struggle against the global enemy. On this basis, Imām Khomeinī can be recognized as one of the great harbingers of unity in the Muslim world and has ample emphases in his statements and writings, juristic views and practical conduct on the exigency of unity of the Muslim nations and sects and the avoidance of dissension in the ranks of the Islamic *ummah*. While examining the dimensions of this goal in the political thought of Imām Khomeinī, in particular this paper attempts to answer the following two specific questions:

1. Have these emphases on unity been laid only because of particular exigencies and from a tactical perspective, or they have important theoretical foundation in the thought of Imām Khomeinī?
2. What is his strategy to achieve this unity?

## **1. The theoretical foundation of Imām Khomeinī's thought on the unity of Muslims**

A survey of the works of Imām Khomeinī indicates that the emphasis on unity in his works is rooted on a strong theoretical foundation and this emphasis is based upon the school of mystical philosophy of Imām Khomeinī, which is based on the real unity of the world and creation and affair as well as the real unity of being. In the opinion of the Imām, the divine nature of man is inclined toward monotheism, and provided that it is not polluted by the satanic and carnal desires and inclinations, the intellectual faculty of man in all the periods of his life has the same inclination accordingly. Disputes, dissensions and discord have also been treated as

against the interests of human societies. The divine prophets from Ādam to the Seal of the Prophets (may the benedictions of Allah be upon them all) have also placed the basis of their religious invitation on monotheism and negating the manifestations of polytheism, dualism, trinity, and hypocrisy in all their dimensions. Belief in monotheism is the ultimate demarcation line between Islam and *kufr* (blasphemy) and inclination to real unity in the human society is, in essence, a manifestation of belief in monotheism and in its opposite end pluralism is considered one of the vivid characteristics of materialism and polytheism.

In his book, *Sirr aṣ-Ṣalāh* [Secrets of the Prayer], in expressing the spiritual stations of the '*ulamā*' (Prominent Muslim Scholars) after mentioning the three kinds of stations, the Imām regards the fourth station of the '*awliyā*' (friends and devotees of God) as the realization of the station of unity.<sup>1</sup>

The Imām considers unity as a kind of mercy and preliminary result without which it will not be realized. He says: "You have to strive hard; we have to strive hard so as to let this mercy persists. Discord emanates from Satan while the unity of expression and solidarity originates from the Most Mercy."<sup>2</sup>

The mystical poetry of Imām Khomeinī also repeats the call to unity in the system of the universe, on the basis of which he views even Manṣūr's cry of "I am the Truth" as a sign of multiplicity and dualism:

*I have departed from my self,  
Beating the drum of "I am the Truth"!  
I have become like Manṣūr,  
A buyer of a hanging rope.*

In another poem he expresses:

*The cry "I am the Truth" was the way of Manṣūr.  
Oh Lord, aid me so I might I think of a way.<sup>3</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Sirr aṣ-Ṣalāh* [Secrets of the Prayer] (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 1375 AHS), p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Dīvan-e Imām*, p. 226.



In the arena of struggle Imām Khomeinī was also a forerunner of a call to unity. The significant part of his first historic communiqué, which has been issued more than 50 years ago and begun with the blessed verse, “*Say (unto them, O Muḥammad): I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for Allah's sake, by twos and singly,*”<sup>1</sup> consists of the unity of the *ummah* as the ground for the uprising for God’s sake.

In his historical and ethical exposition of the meaning and nature of the unity of expression his book, *Sharḥ-e Chehel Ḥadīth* [An Exposition of Forty Ḥadīths], which has been written for the laity, the Imām says:

“One of the great objectives of the teachings of the great prophets (A) apart from being an independent goal in itself and a means for forwarding great goals, as well as being completely essential for the formation of a perfect society (*al-madinat al fadilah*) is unity of belief and creed and solidarity in regard to all important matters, and resistance to the unjust aggressions of oppressors, which cause the corruption of humanity and ruin the foundations of wholesome society. This great objective, on which the reform of individual and society depends, cannot be achieved except in the shadow of unity, solidarity, mutual love and brotherhood amongst the individuals of society and the sincerity of their hearts and their inner and outward purity, so that the human race and its members come to constitute a single person and personality with individuals as its parts and members. All their efforts and endeavors have revolved around this ogle great divine objective and this momentous rational goal, wherein lies the good of individual and society. Should such love and brotherhood be born in a race or tribe, it would dominate all other tribes and nations that do not possess this quality. The truth of this matter comes to light if we study history, especially that of the battles and great victories of Islam. At the advent of this divine faith, since there was a measure of this unity and solidarity amongst Muslims and their efforts were accompanied by sincerity of intention, they could achieve great victories in a short period.”<sup>2</sup>

In view of this, on the basis of philosophical and mystical foundation, Imām Khomeinī upholds unity in the methodological manner, and for him one of its manifestations is the unity among Muslims.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah Saba*’ 34:46.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *An Exposition of Ethical and Mystical Traditions*, trans. ‘Alī Qulī Qarā’ī and Mahliqā Qarā’ī (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, 2003), p. 323. [Trans.]

## **2. The main factor behind discord in the Muslim world from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī**

The strategy of Imām Khomeinī for the forging of unity is based on his outlook on the factors behind discord in the Muslim world. For this reason, in order to comprehend the reason behind this strategy, we will first briefly deal on the cause or causes of discord in the Muslim world.

Imām Khomeinī regards the external factor as the cause of dissension in the Muslim world, believing that with the use of internal elements in the Muslim societies, this external factor has done and will do destructive work and extinction of unity in these societies. He identifies dominance over the Muslim societies and plundering their resources as the objective of the external elements, about which he says:

“Those who want to exploit the Muslim land, those who want to take away the resources of the Muslims, those who want to subject the Muslim states under their yoke—they and their agents have tried hard to sow discord among the Muslims.”<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere, he views these elements as imperialist states, and he says:

The imperialist states, the states that want to take away the resources of Muslims are beguiling the Muslim states, the heads of the Muslim states through various means, through numerous tricks. Sometimes, under the guise of Shī‘ah and Sunni they are sowing discord and among the sects under the name of Islam and in the name of the school of thought they are spreading some things; they are launching the propaganda that the Muslims sects are cutting each other’s throats. By inciting Shī‘ah-Sunni conflict they want to have access to the resources of Muslims, and the Muslims could not do anything.

In other instances, he makes mention of the powerful and the superpowers in this regard, and says: “Hatching the plot of discord among the Islamic schools of thought is among the crimes perpetrated by the powerful ones which benefit from the disagreement among Muslims, and they are exacerbating it.”<sup>2</sup>

And,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 124.

“It is not that these Muslim countries that have disagreement and have serious disputes with one another have been such by chance. It is not so. These are plots of the superpowers to prevent them from uniting and to stop this one-billion force to come to the fore.”<sup>1</sup>

By pointing to the internal elements that in his opinion act as the agents of the external factors and aggravate the discord in the Muslim world, he highlights that these internal elements are in the service of the main cause of discord, i.e. the external factor: “Those who want to sow discord are neither Ahl as-Sunnah nor Shī‘ah. They are those who work for the superpower states and they are at the service of them.”<sup>2</sup>

Elsewhere, he adds:

The Great Satan has called on its stooges to sow discord among Muslims through whatever imaginable trick, to draw the monotheist *ummah* and brethren-in-faith toward hostility and animosity, and to open wider for them the way for dominance and pillage.<sup>3</sup>

Imām Khomeinī identifies particularly two groups of these internal elements, viewing some heads of the Muslims states as one of them. And he says:

One of the greatest and most fundamental problems emanates from them and the opportunist criminals who take advantage of the disagreement among nations and states are aggravating the differences through their pagan agents.<sup>4</sup>

He also says elsewhere:

“The difference in opinion and mercenary character of some heads of Muslim countries do not give to the 70 million Muslims, in spite of the natural resources, reserves and minerals, the opportunity and possibility of cutting off the hand of imperialism and Zionism and limiting the influence of foreigners.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 2, pp. 248-250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 13, pp. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 11, pp. 25-26.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 13, pp. 80-81.

<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī in support of Palestine, *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, pp. 192-194.

Imām Khomeinī identifies the cultural elements as the second key internal element acting as the agent of the main cause, particularly some measures adopted by mullahs whom he labeled as “stipendiary,”<sup>1</sup> “discord-mongers” and “court-mullahs” in sowing discord between the Islamic Iran and other Muslim countries, and he says:

“In the threshold of Iran’s relentless efforts for the unity of expression among the Muslim societies and holding fast to the great Islam and monotheism, one of the wicked pawns of America gives order to the Sunni jurists and scholars to issue a religious edict on the *kuf*r (disbelief) of the dear Iranians. Some of these pawns have also said, “Islam that the Iranians are professing is not the same with ours.”<sup>2</sup>

In another occasion, he says:

“Sowing discord among the Islamic schools of thought is one of the crimes perpetrated by the power-holders that benefit from the disunity of Muslims and their God-ignorant agents among whom are the court-mullahs who are worse than the tyrant kings. They are aggravating it day by day, rending on their collar, and at every moment, with the hope of uprooting the foundation of unity among the Muslims they are hatching this plot of sowing discord.”<sup>3</sup>

In yet another occasion, he says:

“Those who want to sow discord are neither Sunni nor Shī‘ah. They are those who work for the superpower states and they are at the service of them. They are persons who are busy plotting conspiracies for the enemies of Islam and they want the enemies of Islam prevail over the Muslims. They are on the side of America; some are siding with the Soviet Union.”<sup>4</sup>

In exposing these two factors, Imām Khomeinī utilizes some historical experiences. And particularly in relation to nationalism as a tool he makes mention of the disintegration of the great Ottoman Empire. He believes that the big powers have resorted to this tool to extinguish a great Muslim empire and divide the Muslims and by raising the issue of diverse ethnics they

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī’s message to the *Hajj* pilgrims, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, pp. 80-81.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 25.

exacerbated the division among the Kurds, Turks and Arabs in the Muslim world. He says:

“Perhaps, many of you could remember what the World War I has done to the Muslims and the Ottoman State. The Ottoman State was a Muslim state, which extended approximately from the east to the west. They realized that they could not do anything as far as this Muslim state with such a power is concerned; that its resources could not be taken away. After they prevailed over it in this war, they dismembered the Ottoman State into these awfully petty states. For each of these (states), they put up an emir, king or president for these colonized and helpless nations. In this manner, they disintegrated the Ottoman State with such a territory.”<sup>1</sup>

Concerning nationalism, he says:

“I say time and again that this nationalism is the source of misery of Muslims. In order to set the nations against one another, these have been insinuations of the superpowers that want to divide us. Regrettably, some Muslims have believed it so.”<sup>2</sup>

In another speech, he makes mention of nationalism as one of the grand plots of the big powers to plunder the Muslims. He says:

“One of the grand plots of the big powers that want to dominate over the Muslims, to usurp their resources and plunder their assets is the issue of nationalism. The plot of the big powers and their surrogates in the Muslim countries is to separate from each these strata of Muslim; under the name of Turkish nation, Kurdish nation, Arab nation, and Iranian nation, to separate them from one another, nay to make them hostile to one another. This is exactly the opposite of the path of Islam. Those who, under the name of nationality, factionalism and nationalism, want to sow discord among the Muslims are army of the Satan, associates of the big powers and inimical to the Qur’an.”<sup>3</sup>

In his speeches he mentions the second tool of imperialism, i.e. the creation of religious strife among the Muslim sects, considering it as one of the crimes of the power-holders trying to uproot the foundation of Muslim unity. And he says:

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<sup>1</sup> *Şahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, pp. 86-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Şahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, pp. 280-281.

<sup>3</sup> *Şahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 225.

“Sowing discord among the Islamic schools of thought is one of the crimes perpetrated by the power-holders that benefit from the disunity of Muslims and their God-ignorant agents among whom are the court-mullahs who are worse than the tyrant kings. They are aggravating it day by day, rending on their collar, and at every moment, with the hope of uprooting the foundation of unity among the Muslims they are hatching this plot of sowing discord. They are presenting a plot to sow discord.”<sup>1</sup>

In another occasion, he mentions discord as a form of deviation in the Muslim societies, which was sown by the powerful hand of the enemy.<sup>2</sup> And he believes that those who sow discord are neither Sunni nor Shī‘ah but rather tools of the superpower states.<sup>3</sup>

### **3. The foundations of Imām Khomeinī's strategy for the unity of the Muslim world**

Following the above discussion on which Imām Khomeinī regards as the main cause of discord in the Muslim world the external factor through its internal agents who resort to the use of two vital tools—nationalism and sectarianism—in putting an end to the unity of the *ummah*, now we will embark on the study of this topic: What is the way to achieve unity, or what is strategy for unity of the Muslim world from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī?

A survey of the published works of Imām Khomeinī shows that the foundations of his strategy to achieve unity of the Muslim world are based on two principles of negation. Along with these, through the use of a set of positive tools the unity of the Muslim world can be attained.

#### ***A. Struggle and declaring enmity against the superpowers and domineering powers***

Keeping in view of the Imām's perspective on the main cause of discord, it is natural for him to treat the act of confronting the superpowers and domineering powers as the most vital strategy for the achievement of unity while considering the rejection of the powers' dominance and influence as the most important factor for the restitution of unity of the Muslim world. In this regard, Imām Khomeinī says: “The Muslim nations have to lay the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, pp. 33-34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 6, pp. 55-56.

principle on the hostility and deception of the superpowers on them unless they actually witness and sense its opposite."<sup>1</sup>

In another occasion he says: "He who adheres to Islam has to oppose the superpowers and deliver the oppressed ones from their clutches."<sup>2</sup>

In this connection, he particularly refers to the struggle against America as the most illustrious manifestation of dominance in the Muslim world and the greatest element in sowing discord. While approving the struggle against it, he says:

"The most important and painful issue confronting the Muslim nations and the non-Muslim countries under its dominance is the issue of America. America as the most powerful country in the world is not leaving any stone unturned in devouring further the material resources of the countries under its dominance. America is the archenemy of the deprived downtrodden people of the world. America is not hesitant to commit any crime against the world under its dominance for the advancement of its political, economic, cultural, and military interests."<sup>3</sup>

In view of this, for Imām Khomeinī confronting America and its regional proxy, i.e. Israel, is not only from the perspective of relations with a powerful country in an illegitimate regime. Instead, he views it from a strategic perspective particularly in relation to the unity of the Muslim world. He regards the negation and rejection of the American influence in the Muslim countries as the cause of revival of the Muslim world and the elimination of discord in these countries. Along this line, the Imām's stress on the fact that America is the Great Satan and his particular sensitivity in negating any kind of renewed relationship that country make sense. The same is true with respect to his emphasis on the performance of "disavowal of the polytheists" during *Hajj* and the observance of the International Quds Day. Therefore, Imām Khomeinī seemingly believes that by keeping aloof from the influence and dominance of the domineering powers one of the main obstacles to unity has been eliminated to a great extent, and subsequently, the common ways and needs of the Muslim countries will lead them to one another.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 11, pp. 194-196; vol. 2, pp. 249-250.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī's meeting with Archbishop Kappuchi, *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 269.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 83.

***B. Preserving the cohesion of the Islamic ummah and resisting the discord-mongering elements***

Alongside the negation of the superpowers, Imām Khomeinī regards the negation of their internal tools as another fundamental step in the preservation of unity. For, considering that the Imām has mentioned the two important tools for discord in the Muslim world as ethnic discord (nationalism) and religious discord, it is natural for him to regard resistance against these methods of discord as one of his strategic principles while emphasizing the preservation of coherence of the Islamic *ummah* and resistance against the discord-mongering elements. In this context, by raising the common fundamentals of the Muslims he tries to portray as insignificant their religious differences while uniting them under the axis of the Qur'an and monotheism. In this connection, he says: "We have to pay attention to the fact that we are all Muslims. We are all followers of the Qur'an and followers of monotheism and we have to strive for and serve the Qur'an and monotheism."<sup>1</sup> "The essence of the issue that the Shī'ah is one group while the Sunni is another group is out of ignorance and out of propaganda that the foreigners have launched... Today is the day when the Muslims have to gather together."<sup>2</sup>

Regarding this, the Imām says:

"One group of the Muslims is Shī'ah while another is Sunni; one group is Ḥanafī, another is Hanbalī and yet another group is Akhbārī. In principle, raising this issue has not been correct from the beginning. In a society wherein everyone wants to serve Islam and to be for Islam, these issues must not be raised. We are all brothers and we are together but your '*ulamā*' (Religious Scholars) issued a set of religious edicts on a certain thing and you followed your '*ulamā*'. A group observed edict of Shāfi'ī and they became Shāfi'ī. Another group observed the edict of Ḥadrat Ṣādiq and they became Shī'ah. These are not causes of differences. We should not have disagreement and to have conflict. We are all brothers. The Shī'ah and Sunni brothers have to shun every difference."<sup>3</sup>

He regards the magnification of these differences as a mere tool of the imperialists for sowing difference and discord within the Muslim societies. While pointing to some acts of sowing discord of the Wāhhābī '*ulamā*' performed under the name of religion, he regards them as agents and he says:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 259.



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“At the center of revelation in which the Noble Messenger has invited the people to cling to the Rope of Allah and to unity, a court-mullah is raising the voice of hypocrisy and raising a hypocritical cry.”<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, Imām Khomeinī also urges the Iranian pilgrims to take practical steps to eliminate these differences while encouraging them the *Hajj* rites to perform any act that elicits discord. He even considers valid saying prayer behind a non-Shī‘ah prayer leader and without a clay-stone [*turbah*] while reproaching to leave the Masjid al-Ḥarām during the conduction of the congregational prayers.<sup>2</sup>

His practical conduct always bespeaks of eliminating these differences. He views the jurisprudential differences among the Islamic schools as so insignificant to cause dissension among the Muslims in facing the unbelievers.

On the other hand, in various instances, while opposing any sort of factionalism in the Muslim world, he regards it as the cause of discord and weakening the power of Muslims. He believes that the activity of some parties that brings about social division must be stopped while considering it as the cause of national disintegration and obstacle to the unity of Muslim nations.<sup>3</sup>

By giving preference to the interests of Islam over the national interests, he believes that the various ethnicities and nations can rally only behind Islam and ensure their Islamic interests. For this reason, he is of the opinion that with the negation of the superpowers and internal agents of discord, the main obstacle to the global Islamic unity will be removed.

#### **4. The strategic tools in forging unity among the Islamic societies**

As what has been stated earlier, Imām Khomeinī believes that the resistance against the dominance of the powers in the Muslim world as well as the struggle to uproot their internal instruments in the Muslim societies and the negation of any kind of ethnic and religious discord are among the important priorities in any endeavor for the unity of the Muslim world. Thereafter, the ground for the global Islamic unity can be prepared for the setting up of a single *ummah*. For this purpose, he suggests numerous means through which unity can be achieved. The most important of these instruments will be mentioned below:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, pp. 263-265.

<sup>2</sup> See Imām Khomeinī’s book on the *Hajj* rituals.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 172.

## **A. Muslim states**

In this regard, Imām Khomeinī believes that the Muslim states are one of the important powerful factors of unity in the Muslim world. In spite of citing the presence of some states in the world that are so dependent on the superpowers and are their mercenaries, through admonition he is trying to encourage some heads of the Muslim states to unite. In this regard, by drawing their attention to Islam and the Islamic interests as the most important factors for unity, he says:

“I have always persistently urged the Muslims throughout the world to unite and to fight against their enemies such as Israel. Unfortunately, the various regimes that have come to power in the Muslim countries have not listened to our call, and I will persist on this.”<sup>1</sup>

In another occasion he says:

“Now, it is incumbent upon the leaders of Islam, the rulers of Islam, and the presidents of Islam to set aside these seasonal trivial differences that they sometimes have. It has no Arab and non-Arab. It has no Turk and Persian. Islam is Islam. They should follow the method of the Prophet of Islam in his struggle; they should follow Islam.”<sup>2</sup>

The Imām also makes the same call to the Muslim rulers; while preserving their limits and boundaries they should also think for the greater Islamic society, which is common to all of them and to take as priority the interests of Islam:

“If these 700 million Muslims, 200 million of them, (or) 400 million of them hold hand and hand, take the hand of brotherhood, preserve their limits and boundaries, protect themselves, but in the Muslim society, which is common to all, in the formula of monotheism which is common to all, in the interests of Islam which is common to all, they have unity of expression, the Jews (Israelis) could no longer cast a covetous eye to Palestine. Yet, they do not allow us to get united.”<sup>3</sup>

Imām Khomeinī places emphasis on the exigency for the Muslim countries to render all-out support to one another. He believes that it is

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 110.

obligatory upon all Muslims to defend other Muslims against foreigners.<sup>1</sup> While cooperating in all aspects with one another they have to set up a joint front against the enemy. He is of the opinion that the enormous economic resources of these countries can be one of the important elements of power of these countries against the superpowers. Thus, he lays stress on economic cooperation as a prelude to further cooperation in all other aspects.<sup>2</sup>

In his speeches, while pointing to the ample natural and human resources of these countries, Imām Khomeinī urges these countries to put into action the great power of Muslim world through the expansion of cooperation and gathering of all facilities. In this regard, he says:

“If these Muslim states—these states that possess every thing, these states that have huge human power, these states that have enormous resources—were united, under the auspices of unity they will become needless of anything, any country and any power. Instead, the others will be in need of them.”<sup>3</sup>

In other instances, he mentions the expansion of cooperation and unity of the Muslim world as the cause of victory of Muslims against Israel, regaining of the grandeur of Muslims and their independence from the big powers. And he suggests military alliance among them in case of any attack against the Muslim countries, saying:

“Every nation has to regard the welfare of other nations as its own, and the believers wherever they might be are brothers and have to behave brotherly. And if an aggressor encroaches upon one of the Muslim countries, they have to regard this encroachment as against themselves.”<sup>4</sup>

In any case, Imām Khomeinī as a realistic reformer pays special attention to the awakening of states as the most important practical instrument for unity, and through different ways he calls on taking action to realize this affair.

## **B. The role of the ‘*ulamā*’ and intellectuals of the Muslim societies**

From the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, other important instruments for the unity of the Muslim world are the ‘*ulamā*’ (Prominent Religious

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<sup>1</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 2, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 38.

Scholars) and intellectuals of these societies. By awakening the people and making them aware of the dangers and harms of discord in the Muslim world, they could guide them toward unity. The Imām urges the *‘ulamā’* and intellectuals of these countries to reveal through their speeches and writings the plots of the imperialists; to identify the main causes of discord; and to invite the Muslim societies to the unity of expression:

“The religious scholars and intellectuals throughout the world particularly the *‘ulamā’* and thinkers of the great Islam should rise up in unison and in one direction for the deliverance of humanity under the oppressive dominance of this deceitful and conspirator minority, which has expanded its oppressive dominance over the people of the world through plots and intrigues. Through their speeches, writings and (sense of) justice, they have to remove the false fear and dread of the oppressed ones; to destroy these books, which through the hand of imperialists from the filthy sleeve of these slaves of Satan have recently been published and are kindling the flame of discord among the Muslim sects; to uproot disagreement, which is the origin of all sufferings of the oppressed people and Muslims. They have to confront these mass media that spend most of the time 24-hour a day in sedition-mongering, sowing discord, lying, and spreading rumor, and to rise up against the fountainheads of terrorism that spring from the White House.”<sup>1</sup>

In another speech Imām Khomeinī says:

“The learned men and preachers as well as the intellectuals and academics, in particular, and the others as well to say to everybody as a way of admonition to urge one another not to fall prey to the tricks of the devils who want to divide you all; you should not be deceived by them.”<sup>2</sup>

Likewise, he calls on the different strata of people to unite through the formation of the front for the downtrodden and the Muslims on the basis of Islam and struggle against the superpowers.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, for Imām Khomeinī the duty of awakening the nations is incumbent upon their *‘ulamā’* and intellectuals. He urges this group to play their historic role in the unity of the Muslim world.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 69-70.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 225.

### **C. The grand congress of *Hajj***

Imām Khomeinī mentions the *Hajj* rites as one of the important and strategic instruments of unity. He views the presence of millions of Muslims together as a good opportunity of raising the issue and paving the ground for the performance of actual unity of the Muslim world. In this connection, he says:

“In the magnificent divine assembly of *Hajj* the Muslims have to examine their common problems and look for their solutions. One of the gravest and most fundamental problems is the absence of unity among the Muslims.”<sup>1</sup>

While enumerating the political benefits of *Hajj* he says:

“Among the duties in this magnificent assembly is to invite the Muslim people and societies to the unity of expression and to remove the differences among the Muslim classes. The preachers, speakers and writers have to exert efforts and take steps in this vital affair of setting up the front of the downtrodden. Through the unity of the front, unity of expression and the slogan, “There is no god but Allah” they have to free themselves from the captivity of the satanic powers, foreigners and imperialists, and through Islamic brotherhood they have to prevail over their problems.”<sup>2</sup>

In another speech Imām Khomeinī identifies the Holy City of Mecca as the center of invitation to unity and at the time of the Muslims’ assembly for the performance of the obligatory *Hajj*.<sup>3</sup>

In view of the importance that Imām Khomeinī gives to *Hajj* in promoting the unity of the Muslim world, his stress on the performance of the “disavowal of polytheists” ritual in the same rites will become clear. It is very obvious that the disavowal of the polytheists, which is a step in the disavowal of the domineering and hegemonic powers in the world, is step in the way of unity of the Muslim world and the negation of one main cause of discord.

Imām Khomeinī, in essence, regards the unity of the Muslim world as the most important power element of the Muslim world while identifying the main obstacle to unity as the external factors, superpowers and domineering powers, which due to the perpetuation of their interests in the region they are

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, pp. 123-124.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 90.

trying to disintegrate the Muslim world through the use of two internal instruments, i.e. religious strife and ethnic discord.

On this basis, the Imām considers the foundation of his strategy in negating the external factor and ostracizing its internal agents. He believes that by negating these factors the ground for unity will be provided. In view of their commonalities to one another, the Muslim societies can be come closer together and put into action the power of the Muslim world. Along this line, the strategic instruments endorsed by Imām Khomeinī for the realization of unity are the following: the governments ruling over the Muslim societies, the ‘*ulamā*’ and intellectuals in the Muslim societies, and the utilization of the magnificent congress of *Hajj*.



## The Islamic State as a Global State

*‘Abdul-Karīm Āle Najaf*

The subject of our discussion is the global nature of the Islamic state whose importance can be summed up in the following headings:

### **1. Filling up the vacuum in the expedient and vital context**

Since the Muslim writers and scholars have not paid enough attention to this subject and that what have been written in the books and treatises are only overall indications on the universality of Islam and its quality of encompassing all races and nations, as well as its potent in eliminating all differences and discriminations among nations and countries, and by dispensing with the importance and vitality of this subject, filling this vacuum is indeed an enough motive to strive in this regard.

### **2. Exposition of the hidden or imperfect theory**

Undoubtedly, the universality of Islam is a general and axiomatic principle. In explaining this general principle, one should not merely focus on its affirmative dimension and the manifestation of this quality in Islam. Instead, one should move beyond it and embark on examining, elucidating and analyzing this principle and deducing the detailed bases and complementary theories in the political, social and legal realms. This act is in accordance with the saying, “It is for us to express the principles and for you



to deduce the branches.” In line with this, the universality of Islam is among the essential pillars of the political theory and foundation of that state in Islam.

The political scientists have engaged in lengthy analyses of the subject of state based on his perceived reliable and established method, classifying it into different elements and pillars. It is incumbent upon the Muslim thinkers not to uphold this method and to avoid promoting this affair that sciences are neutral with respect to religions and creeds (ideologies). This claim is true regarding the natural science but totally false with respect to the humanities including sociology, psychology, education, and political science; for this perspective and view is itself based on a particular belief and ideology. The basis of this outlook is belief in “scientism” and as such, having its own particular ideological roots and ramifications. Therefore, humanities cannot be described as ideologically neutral.

Among many examples of these sciences is the political science, which examines the state in three dimensions: nation, territory and sovereignty, and these elements are influenced by the notion which says, “Ad-din lillah wa’l-watan lil-jami‘ (Religion is just for the sake of God while the homeland belongs to all) ”.

It will be pointed out in the course of this discussion that the element of sovereignty is the central moral flaw in the Western view, and it makes manifest the fundamental point of divergence between it and the Islamic view in the context of the global state. This indicates the need to establish the “Islamic political science”, which will analyze the state, and its source and features according to the Islamic approach and method. That same is also true in other fields of the humanities.

It is only in one instance that the impartiality of humanities can be understood. That is when the man of expertise in this science would remove his belief in the scientism as the sole source of humanities, and assume the possibility of emergence of hidden religious views, which are capable of administering all aspects of human life based on a heavenly revelation. In other words, he has to be free from the Western monopoly on what the Westerners have usually imagined such as the case of “scientism” which according to the Westerners is natural and indisputable, and as such, they have considered it as the pillar and foundation of humanities.

### **3. Emphasis on one pure Islamic feature in the society**

Universality is indeed the salient feature of the pure and luminous Islam and the source of our honor and pride due to our connection to a single

religion, *ummah* and history. When we talk about the global state, we are indeed also striving to highlight and underline further this feature, especially in this world which is currently enthusiastically heading toward religion and God while nurturing the dream for global and human fellowship and intimacy and tired of tribal and racial prejudices and their resultant wars.

So long as we are not informed of all the details, dimensions and symbols of Islam we cannot talk about the Islamic experience and Islamic state. Universality is not only a part of the dimensions of Islam but in fact it is the spirit behind it and the method governing it. Thus, it enjoys special importance.

#### **4. Purging the society of the blemishes**

No one can deny the fact that the Muslim society is internally afflicted with a heavy and unfortunate legacy of deviations that has made offshoots of tribal and national prejudices throughout the history of Islam. These deviations finally led to conflict that preoccupied the Muslims from Andalusia to India for a very long period—a conflict which has been generally attributed to nationalism and ended up in the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate in Turkey and the Qājār rule in Iran and the formation of two nation-states in their wake.

Undoubtedly, such a legacy has left its negative effect on the society's culture and its psychological and moral atmospheres the least of which is the enhancement of the spirit of tribal prejudice and undermining of the sense of brotherhood and the condition of the early period of Islam.

If we would add in the past periods the deviations in the contemporary era, which is replete with the destruction of the Islamic and human culture and the strengthening of the ethnic culture, we can discover the magnitude and type of the blemishes permeating the Muslim society and describe its visage. In such a situation we have no option but to acknowledge the extent of need to present the moral and global concepts of Islam and to strengthen them in the society and state.

#### **5. Confronting the danger of tribalism**

Bearing witness to that which indicates the divine sovereignty over man and the universe consists of three phases: monotheism, prophethood and *imāmah* [Imamate]. If we would trace the historical development of these phases and sovereignty, we will find out that the main and common enemy in all the mentioned phases has been the tribal and racial prejudices—the same prejudice that incited Satan to protest to God, the Exalted, on the case of

bowing down to Ādam, saying in refusal: “*I am better than him. Thou createdst me of fire while him Thou didst create of mud.*”<sup>1</sup> And this is the problem of monotheism with prejudice, and it is this prejudice that has always confronted the prophets (‘a). As God says: “*And even so We sent not a warner before thee (Muhammad) into any township but its luxurious ones said: Lo! We found our fathers following a religion, and we are following their footprints.*”<sup>2</sup>

After prophethood, *imāmah* has also encountered the same problem. As the protesters against ‘Alī (‘a) were saying, “Prophethood and *imāmah* shall not be confined to a single house.”

In the recent political history the Muslims have again encountered tribalism, a danger which is more threatening than atheism and communism. It is a factor that given way to the causes of discord and following the West, as well as a danger that would possibly transform the contemporary Islamic movement into local disputes and regional animosities.

And this task, i.e. discussion and writing about the universality of Islam and its government is something that could play the role of strengthening and fortifying the internal front vis-à-vis the great danger.

## **6. Assisting the propagation of Islam**

In reality, there are many signs indicating that today’s man will be ready tomorrow to understand, accept and embrace Islam, and as such, there is the possibility of the diffusion and spread of the Islamic thought for the Muslims in such a manner that they could competently and outstandingly play such a historic role.

Similarly, there are other mounting signs indicating the contemporary man’s repugnance to tribalism and biases, and bespeaking of freedom of thinking and inclination to human compassion.

It is in this context that the discussion concerning the universality of Islam and its government will indeed be the realization of a part of the great human mission because it will lead the suffering humanity to a successful cure and inculcate in it the spirit of free thinking. Undoubtedly, this mission is on the shoulder of all Muslims, who are supposed to strive to undertake it by taking advantage of this historic opportunity.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-A‘rāf* 7:12.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah az-Zukhruf* 43:23.

### **The concept of the global state**

Before embarking on the discussion of the universality of the Islamic state, we have to clarify first the concept of the global state and what we mean by this.

The prevalent notion concerning this concept in most political and even Islamic political writings is that the global state, by overlooking its ideological essence, is a state, which extends its sovereignty over various lands and peoples in a particular territory of the world or in the entire world. As such, a clear example of this type of state is the empire. For this reason, we can see that a writer such as Aḥmad Ḥusayn, while promoting a single global government, talks about the imperial system as an example of global governments in history—governments which are abundant in human history and have been talked about more than any other.<sup>1</sup>

According to Aḥmad Ḥusayn, establishment of the new global state does not at all need revolutionary movements or serious and profound transformations. Instead, it is only up to the heads of states to formulate the principal point and initial movement from the Charter of the present United Nations, and by initiating some modifications in its charter in a bid to correct the shortcomings revealed by practical experience, they advance toward the realization of the global state.<sup>2</sup>

The issue, therefore, is not ideological and faith-anchored but rather legal and administrative! Yes, this notion also applies to any system worse than the UN system in such a manner that it in many writings the description ‘global state’ is applied to the Jewish government, which the Jews have the dream to establish throughout the world. And during the third decade of the past century, the West was promoting the idea of global state and it also found supporters among parts of the Muslim world. But the general position was that of opposition and it was because of experiencing the colonialism of that idea.

As such, we can also see writers such as Anwar al-Jundī who regards the Western idea of global state as among the destructive ideas and calls, about which he says thus:

“The voice of the call for global state was raised in Egypt and the Muslim world and the banner of this call was hoisted by Salāmah Maws and the like though its ultimate objective was not revealed.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ḥusayn Aḥmad, *Al-Ummah al-Insāniyyah*, p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>3</sup> Anwar al-Jundī, *Al-Islām wa'd-Da'wāt al-Haddāmah*, p. 159.

He also says: “This call stems from an incorrect tendency and was taken from a logic, which is basically colonial—a logic taken from the white man’s burden for the non-white world and the hidden agenda of this call has been indeed drawing the people toward the dominance of, and servitude to the sovereignty of the West, and thawing out the Islamic thought in the furnace of universality or dominance over its destiny and assimilate it in the concepts and values, which are essentially alien to the values of Islam.”<sup>1</sup>

Henrik Ralf is quoted to have said in his book translated as *Al-Insāniyyah wa’l-Waṭaniyyah*:

“The ethnic-nations must strive for humanity but if the weak nations would not cling to their particular national mores, the ethnic nations will lose them.”<sup>2</sup>

The Muslim scholar, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, has criticized this call, and he writes:

“Although the principle of universalism encompasses the principle of humanity, peace and goodness, the Western nations and imperialist governments have also used it to deceive weak minds and break the resistance of the oppressed nations in order to turn these nations into palatable morsels for them.”<sup>3</sup>

There are three points here that we have to deal with:

1. The said notion for universalism is a mere political concept, which has no moral dimension whatsoever, and as such, corrupting the essence of universalism and bring about serious impact and unpleasant reputation in such a manner that if someone is invited anew to this idea it is very hard for him to be able to prove the soundness and purity of this idea.

This is a new problem, which will be added to the main problems facing the idea of the global Islamic state—an idea which is regarded as among the principles of the Islamic political thought and its apparent needs.

2. The stance of those who oppose universalism is in reality an incorrect stance.

This idea has been the wrong victim of confusion between its principle and its utilization by the Western imperialism. In fact, so many Western scholars campaigned for universalism and uprooting tribalism (nationalism). This was under the pressure of the painful reality that the West in particular and the world in general have faced during the two world wars—a reality which has been based on the correct interpretation of the effects of tribalism

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad Ghazzālī, *Ḥaqīqah al-Qawmiyyah al-‘Arabiyyah*, p. 200.

(nationalism). In this context, there are tens of testimonies and effects. For brevity sake, however, we shall suffice to mention only one example, viz. Bertrand Russell, a British philosopher, who was one of the proponents of universalism and uprooting tribalism (nationalism). During the World War II, because of his campaign for global peace and tolerance, he was imprisoned. He believed in the role of the universities and other centers of learning in the materialization of the ideal global society, and he wished to found a university whose gates shall be open to all nations and peoples and admit everybody except those who oppose international cooperation.<sup>1</sup>

We can read his viewpoint in his book entitled *Education and the Social Order*, as he says:

“Tribalism (nationalism) in reality is exactly the main force that draws our civilization toward perdition”<sup>2</sup> and “If we ever have bright and mirthful, it will become brighter with the promotion of the concept of global citizenship.”<sup>3</sup>

Yet, the embodied political factor as a result of the imperialist tendency dominant on the Western political mindset has transformed this call into a destructive one; otherwise, the principle of universalism just like other ideas of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is not a negative affair but indeed it is a moral manifestation that has been freed from the material dominance prevailing in this century to give news of the depth of man’s existence and unveil the hidden conscience.

3. It does not mean that the idea of universalism is ought to succeed.

It is natural that this idea would turn out to be at the service of imperialism, and while being entangled with the resultant intellectual retrogression, it would be incapable of getting free from this destiny. This is while universalism is essentially a moral concept, which is founded on humanitarianism and profound understanding of the oneness of humanity and its preeminence over narrow differences and distinctions such as color, language, homeland, and nationality. This is a feeling and perception that every man possesses, but once it is not substantiated by a perfect moral belief, it will not turn into a truth influencing the thinking and behavior. It is the same factor, which is absent in the West and has made it impossible the sprouting of true humane idea, and as such, what emerged have been nothing but slogans, which though correct sometimes, it has been transformed into swift means of animosity and rivalry.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-‘Aqād, *Rudūd wa Hudūd*, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Bertrand Russell, *Education and the Social Order*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

It is on this account that we believe that the Islamic universalism is the only the true universalism in human history, and it is this kind of universalism that is in the service of humanity, exalting and giving advancement to it, and it is dangerous to no one. So, the issue is not administrative and regulatory, which is possible to solve through an organization like the United Nations Organization; verily, it is rather a moral and spiritual matter. It is the reason why the Western liberal thinkers such as Russell are incapable of comprehending it, and it is owing to this that he says:

“If nationalistic propaganda is in almost all cases successful, it is because the same is equated with the interests of the country. Thus, whenever the idea of universalism would like to succeed and accomplish something, it has no option but to clarify to the people its concordance and harmony with the interests of the country.”<sup>1</sup>

As such, the way toward universalism shall pass through patriotism, and along this path what is obvious is the preeminence and infusion of patriotism and giving priority to it over universalism. This argument arrives at the point that anyone who would strive to interpret water will arrive at the conclusion that water is water. Therefore, the conclusion will be patriotism and not universalism. This has no meaning except the fact that patriotism as a human value is affiliated to the land while universalism as a human value is linked to heaven, and it is appropriate for us to ask Russell: Is his conceived global society capable one day of convincing a British citizen to support the independence of oil-rich countries, regarding their independence as more beneficial for the British interests than the British’s domination over them?

In reality, the true global state is the moral truth and natural aspiration of man, but this truth and aspiration do not exist except in the domain of Islam because Islam is the only the belief that can strengthen and stabilize the moral essence of man, exalting and elevating him to the ideal spiritual station and making him capable of fighting and overpowering the instincts and purging himself of them—instincts whose examples are nationalism and tribalism, and in reality, its social impact is self-centeredness.

The potentiality and creativeness of the Islamic universalism actually revolve around three principles:

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-‘Aqād, *Rudūd wa Hudūd*, p. 241.

### **1. The belief in monotheism**

God, the Exalted, describes Himself in more than forty instances in the Holy Qur'an as "Lord of the worlds" [*rabb al-‘ālamīn*] the lord of the worlds. Hence, He is the Lord and Cherisher of all the worlds in which the human beings are included; thus, the creation has been composed of vast worlds, of which the human planet is but a small body. That is, universalism is a creational phenomenon before being a human phenomenon. Among the effects of such a conception of the creation is that it keeps the human planet away from haughtiness and arrogance, fosters the sense of universalism, prevails over other than this, and strengthens its authenticity in the human personality. If we would recognize the universe as a constellation of planets, the human being with all his nations and countries is but a small constellation of the dependencies of the system of creation melted in the servitude to the Lord of Creation. It is the same constructive role that the monotheistic creed plays in the realization of the Islamic universality. As such, universalism is a manifestation of monotheism in the social life, and just as it describes the power and authority of God over the universe, it enhances the sense of universalism in the personality of man and makes it prevail over other feelings.

Verily, the family which is not in need of God is a broken family and one in dispute, and humanity that does not recognize the Lordship of "the Lord of the worlds" is a humanity embroiled in dispute and at the brink of the threat of global and nuclear wars.

### **2. The spiritual and moral substance**

Universalism has one meaning and that is humanitarianism. And this meaning knows no end unless the sense of universalism reaches a point where it prevails over parochial feelings and this point will not be reached except within the framework of a balanced and perfect creed that believes in the real unseen world as greater and more important than the material world and in the real soul as greater than the body, and prefers "otherness" to "selfness" and gives priority to the interests of "others" over the "self" interests. Thus, love of humanity is in reality social manifestation of the preeminence of the unseen over the material, the superiority of the spirit over the body and the preference of "other" over the "self". It is the same spiritual and moral pillar on which universalism is based and such a pillar cannot be found except in Islam.



### **3. Enhancing the prominence of reason over instinct (desire)**

Nationalism is an instinct and a reaction and thus leads to war and clash. It is because instinct does not recognize values while universalism is a rational moral value. Therefore, it is necessary for anyone who chants the slogan of universalism to enhance the prominence of reason over instinct. This notion will not be realized perfectly unless within the framework of a moral and balanced belief such as Islam.

These are the pillars on which the Islamic universalism is based, and these cases as a whole constitute the ideological and moral rules and bases of the institution of global state in Islam

As such, “global state” is not a geographical concept, which could be equated with the expanse of lands under the control of such a state; rather, the institution of the global state is a moral concept, which is assessed through moral values. We can conclude, then, that the state of the Prophet (ﷺ) was a global state although it had no control of the entire Arabian Peninsula while the British Empire was not a global state though it had jurisdiction over two-third of the world.

### **The global state as a human and Islamic expediency**

In view of the concept that we expressed for universality, it becomes clear that the global state is a human expediency and the most vivid reason behind this affair is the humanity’s consensus and concordance, with all its religions and cultures, on the belief that the history of the world will finally witness the establishment of such a state. The Muslims believe in the establishment of the single universal government of al-Mahdī (‘a); the Jews have faith in the emergence of their dominance in the world; the Christians do believe in the return of Christ the Savior; the Marxists believe in the establishment of the Second Communist System.

While refraining from giving opinion on the validity of each of these beliefs, what can be deduced from all of them is that the global state is the living idea in the consciousness and aspirations of man and it is a natural affair for him.

The importance of the subject requires us to discuss to some extent the necessity of establishing the global state although discussing this subject in detail must be done specially. The expediency we mean is also what the humanity in general means as well as the particular expediency of the Muslim world.

Yet, the human need is indeed the manifestation and materialization of the unity of human race and its superiority over the rest as well as harmony

with the Innate disposition [*fiṭrah*] of man. God says: “O mankind! Indeed We created you from a male and a female, and made you nations and tribes that you may identify with one another. Indeed the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most God-wary among you.”<sup>1</sup>

This noble verse emphasizes that local attachments and affections have been created to highlight human attachment; that is, contrary to what has emerged in the life of human beings, which is the same drowning in the sea of local attachments and limited circles to such an extent of relegating to the dustbin of oblivion their attachment to humanity and bringing forth the belief in the division of humanity of the highest order in the human society. It is a theoretically expedient customary belief, which was stressed by a number of well known Western thinkers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, disclosed by the French “Juvinu” and given political direction by Hitler on which he based his government.<sup>2</sup> The West cannot escape from such an unpleasant conclusion because emphasis on the local features has been hidden in the fabric of materialist civilization, which does not recognize true values and therefore denies the unity of mankind. And if the possibility of dominance over nationalistic sentiments and halting them to a certain rational extent are being said, the truth of the matter is that the actual reality denies this possibility and so long as the materialist civilization is not extinguished and the moral and spiritual civilization replaced it, such a statement will be incorrect.

As such, establishment of the global state, with its Islamic and moral conception, is a human necessity, and consolidating and enhancing the authenticity of the humane and global feeling and abolition of local attachments, and as a result, concordance with the law, is an innate disposition [*fiṭrah*]. Similarly, among the dimensions of human necessity is deliverance of the human society from the menace of nationalism—the same nationalism that prompted the Germans to cry for “the superiority of Germany over the rest” and the Britons to chant the slogan, “O Britain! You rule as thou art nobler compared to the rest,” and finally, it has incited and intensified violent feelings such that it has led to the outbreak of the two world wars.

World war, in reality, was a new phenomenon, which is a gift offered by the age of nationalism in human history. This reality draws our attention to the truth that inciting local features leads to the extinction of humane features and unity of mankind, and it is incumbent upon anyone who wants to uphold

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Ḥujurāt* 49:13.

<sup>2</sup> The writer of these lines has examined and rejected the “customary theory”. See *At-Tawḥīd*, no. 71, pp. 49-55.

this feature and this unity to set this quality in its source in such a manner that local qualities would occupy secondary place and acquire color (importance) and merit on the basis of human feature and unity of mankind. This is an affair which cannot be realized except in the moral and spiritual framework; the atmosphere among whose characteristics is to face the outburst of local “I” and his deposal from the leadership of society and his subservience to the leadership of the global “I”. It is along this line that the global voices raised in the wake of the World War I and intensified after the World War II and brought about the emergence of the League of Nations in the first instance and then turned into the United Nations Organization in its evolution and development are not enough in confronting the menace of nationalism.

It is not accidental that the end of the twentieth century is a witness to the gaining momentum of the cry of globalism along with religious awakening. In one of its dimensions, this awakening is in fact indicative of a general change in the message of globalism just as preeminence of Islam in this awakening guides us to the fact that this call will lead to the universality of Islam.

Similarly, among the dimensions of the global state’s human expediency is that the general human attribute and non-subservience to local bonds, which the global state bears, embody an excellent attribute for the objectives that such a state has to pursue, and that is, the objective that man chooses for his life—so long as it does not bear the absolute and eternal attribute—will not be creative, and this attribute by its nature is based on two dimensions:

1. Creative dimension, which enhances the maximum human capabilities. In reality, limited objective enhances limited capabilities while unlimited objective urges man to move along an unlimited path and make use of his unlimited capabilities. So, if we would restrict the objective of man within his country, that objective will possibly be accomplished one day. Then, this man will be transformed into a useless and aimless being. Meanwhile, if we would expand the scope of objective in which the entire humanity is included, we will realize absoluteness on top of the human sphere. Then, from that point we will be directed toward the sphere of existence because we are worshipping the Lord of not only men but rather worshipping God Who is the “Lord of the worlds”. In this manner, our objective will be connected to the eternity of the “Lord of the worlds”. It is

for this account that the Holy Qur'an addresses mankind, thus: "*O man! You are laboring toward your Lord laboriously, and you will encounter Him.*"<sup>1</sup>

2. Ideological dimension, in the sense that values by themselves are absolute, and virtue- and value-laden attachment to the human and specific geographical domain is meaningless. Therefore, bravery, for example, in every period and place and for every man is a virtue; in the same token, cowardice is a source of meanness. And the ladder of perfection has no end because perfection is among the attributes of the Absolute Being, viz. God, the Pure and Sublime. These two mentioned dimensions compliment each other because the creative dimension enhances the capabilities of man and incites his maximum possible efforts and endeavors while the ideological dimensions give the ideal morality to these efforts.

Therefore, the slogan for Islamic state is the following word of God as He says: "*This is the abode of the hereafter, which We shall grant to those who do not desire to domineer in the earth nor to cause corruption.*"<sup>2</sup> He also says: "*Those who, if We granted them power in the land, maintain the prayer, give the zakāt, and bid what is right and forbid what is wrong. And with Allah rests the outcome of all matters.*"<sup>3</sup>

Hence, human movement knows no end and this is the same creative and constructive dimension, and the incited forces and capabilities in the course of this movement will not be used for superiority-seeking, enmity and corruption; rather, they will indeed be utilized for the establishment of values and virtues—"establish your prayer, etc."—and this is the same issue of the ideological dimension.

Meanwhile, if we would take patriotism and nationalism as the objective of man, owing to its limitation such an objective will be confined to a certain specific point and in that point man will be transformed into a useless and aimless being, and it is here that virtue is essentially absolute and is not concordant with a limited objective. Such a man is situated in a moral impasse and his patriotic and nationalist feeling will turn into egotism, enmity and profound craving for seeking superiority over others. It is the same thing that embodies one of the difficult dimensions of the objective in the Western civilization, showing therein the manifestations of corruptions and futilities.

Bertrand Russell says: "Patriotism alone is not enough and it cannot be the final goal because if such is the case, it will result in the extinction of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Inshiqāq* 84:6.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah al-Qasas* 28:83.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah al-Hajj* 22:41.

force of innovation and novelty.”<sup>1</sup> He also says: “The nationalist feeling is an indication of the open or hidden elements of enmity toward others.”<sup>2</sup> Voltaire is also reported to have said: “No one will wish for the grandeur of his country without having desire for the fall of other countries.”<sup>3</sup>

What has been discussed indicated some aspects of the human necessity for a global state. But the Muslim world has its own account. Apart from the mentioned general human dimensions, the global Islamic state is also considered expedient for the Muslim world for some other special reasons among which is the embodiment of Islam and materialization of one of its principles. The Muslim world, in reality, is responsible for the implementation and application of the principles and system of Islam on top of which is the principle of universality. This fact will be more highlighted when we would notice that Islam has delegated to the Muslims the role of leading humanity on the basis of heavenly law; the same law which gives account of the delegation of such a role to the followers of the prophets and the divine religions, the last of which is Islam. Rising up for the performance of the responsibility of leading humanity requires calling to the principles of universalism and making steps in the implementation of the global Islamic state.

Among the necessary Islamic dimensions also is to respond to the needs of the contemporary human society to universalism and discharging this affair is also a responsibility vis-à-vis humanity as well as Islam itself because it is through this way that materialization of a new, comprehensive and extensive role for Islam will be possible. Part of the necessary dimensions of Islam also is to save the Muslim society from the Western contamination such that nationalism is the greatest and the most menacing Western phenomenon that has contaminated the atmosphere of the Muslim society, which is in the verge of disintegration and adoption of contradictory concepts, some of which are Islamic and authentic while some others are Western and emanating from imperialism. It has transformed the Muslim society into isolated units, which are alien and far from one another.

Another aspect of the Islamic expediencies is that universalism, although from the viewpoint of reality and on account of the existing circumstances and conditions in the contemporary world, seems to be a far-fetched motto, the active presence of this concept in the Islamic mindset as an intellectual concept, moral value, and political and administrative

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<sup>1</sup> Šadrudđīn Qanānchī, *Al-Madhhab as-Siyāsī fī'l-Islām*, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Jawād Muḡhniyyah, *Al-Islām wa'l-'Aql*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Mahdī Ḥanbalī, *Al-Insān al-'Aqā'idī*, p. 183.

principle can be considered necessary for the preservation of the moral balance and Islamic validity in the Muslim society.

In fact, we do not deny the instinctive pressure of nationalism and its endeavor to dominate the Muslim society and to surrender to its persuasion to us. We do indeed believe that this instinct is the greatest threat facing monotheism, prophethood and Imamate. In order to confront this negative force the concept of globalism and universalism must therefore always be kept alive so as to prevent the society from the enigma of nationalism and tendency toward quest for superiority—the same yearning for superiority that deprives man of the hereafter, as God, the Exalted, has said: “This is the abode of the hereafter which we shall grant to those who do not desire to domineer in the earth nor to cause corruption.”

At this juncture, it is worthy to note that if we are talking here of the effects of the universality of Islam and its necessary dimensions, it does not mean that on account of and motivated by our interests along this path that we have acquired such a belief; rather, faith in universalism in its basic form engenders an ethical value harmonious with the natural human disposition [*fīṭrat-e insānī*] and the realization of its effects and necessities is in reality the impact of the realization of this ethical value.

Mr. “Job” in his book entitled, “How is Islam?” thus says:

“Indeed, Islam can always render so great and important services to humanity... No organization and system other than Islam can obtain such an apparent success in gathering diverse human races and ethnics on the basis of equality. The great Muslim societies in Africa, India and Indonesia, nay the small Muslim community in China and yet smaller one in Japan all show that Islam has still such a power and potential to prevail over all such different races, nations, and various groups. Thus, once there is a talk on the great confrontations between the Eastern and Western states, one should seek refuge in Islam in order to remove the root of the dispute.”<sup>1</sup>

### **The global dimensions of the Islamic state**

In the foregoing section, we talked about the global dimensions of the political theory of Islam and in this section we shall deal with the global dimensions of the Islamic state. These dimensions are as follow:

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Abdul-Hāfiẓ ‘Abdu-Rabbih, *Ath-Thawrah al-Ijtimā’iyyah fī al-Islām*, p. 334 as quoted in the book, *Hathmā Yakūnu ‘l-Islām*.

## **1. Global leadership**

Numerous definitions of “state” have been presented, one of which is the following: “State is a group of people residing in a specific area and residing permanently therein and at the top of whom is an administrative organization taking charge of their domestic and external affairs.”<sup>1</sup>

The elements of a state consist of the population (or, nation), territory and sovereignty. Sometimes sovereignty is described as control or government. Thus, a territory which is lacking a population cannot be called a state while a population having no territory cannot form a state; hence, on account of having no territory of its own, Israel cannot be considered as a state.<sup>2</sup>

If we would take a deep analysis of the stated definition and the three elements emanating from it, we will find out that this definition stems from a national and ethnic conception. Then, what is meant by “nation” is a group of people having a particular ethnic origin. And what is meant by the geographical and territorial element is a specific territory for a specific group of people while “sovereignty” means the right of nation in choosing its way and determining its destiny. Thus, sovereignty will also assume a nationalist and materialist (rational) meaning. If we would delve more in our analysis, we will find out that the theory on sovereignty represents the main point of difference between the “nationalist-materialist” liberal political thought and the political thought of Islam.

We can clarify this main point of difference by posing this question: Sovereignty emanates from whom: God or people?

If sovereignty belongs to God, the Glorious, then man has nothing to do but submit and surrender to the divine rule and heavenly law. Since God, the Glorious, will not assume a physical embodiment, He does not implement this sovereignty tangibly but manifests it in the canonical dimension, and it lies on man to abide with the heavenly laws that have been revealed in piecemeal till the perfection of Islam.

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<sup>1</sup> Manṣūr ‘Alī ‘Alī, *Ash-Sharī‘ah al-Islāmiyyah wa’l-Qānūn ad-Duwalī’l-‘Ām* [Islamic Law and the Public International Law], p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> In view of the presented description of “state” and the essential elements that constitute a state, the population or group of people can be a factor for the emergence of a state if they are residing permanently in a specific area. As such, a territory which is occupied through usurpation and aggression, which are contradictory to the established rules of international law, cannot constitute a state. Identifying such a “state” is in fact identifying the vivid and impudent defect of the fundamental principles of the international law.

Therefore, from the beginning of its emergence up to the end of human life on earth, the Islamic law has been and will be the only upright divine law.

And since God, the Glorious, executes His sovereignty on earth through the heavenly laws, it is then natural that He view mankind as a single unit having equal individuals. And since the social life of man without the existence of an administrative organization and a ruling body, which lead and administer the society, is impossible, the administrative center and leadership organization of the society must then be discussed, and at this point there is a need to determine the law, which expresses the manner of choosing the global leader of the human society.

In the preceding discussion regarding “the global dimensions of the political theory of Islam”, we stated that the chain of prophets and their schools [*makātib*] have delegated the leadership of mankind to their upright and righteous followers till the arrival of the period of Islam. This school has also entrusted the leadership to the righteous Muslims. Numerous verses in the Qur’an refer to this affair:

*“Thus We have made you a middle nation that you may be witness to the people.”*<sup>1</sup>

*“And We make such vicissitudes rotate among mankind, so that Allah may ascertain those who have faith, and that He may take martyrs from among you, and Allah does not like the wrongdoers.”*<sup>2</sup>

*“And wage jihād for the sake of Allah, a jihād which is worthy of Him. He has chosen you and has not placed for you any obstacle in the religion, the faith of your father, Abraham. He named you ‘Muslims’ before, and in this, so that the Apostle may be a witness to you, and that you may be witnesses to mankind.”*<sup>3</sup>

To conclude, the Islamic leadership for the human society is in fact the same natural manifestation of the divine sovereignty on earth. But if sovereignty belongs to man, as stated by the dominant view in the contemporary international life, it becomes natural that every man would take into account the nation with which he belongs and is attached and the geographical region to which he is related, and as a result, the human society would be divided into territories, countries and nations, and in this manner, every population and nation would claim for sovereignty right over itself and its territory.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:143.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah Āl ‘Imrān* 3:140.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah al-Ḥajj* 22:78.



With this explanation it becomes clear that the theory on the divine sovereignty naturally requires a global state such that in the view of proponents of this theory, national state (nation-state) will be rendered meaningless. Meanwhile, the theory on the human sovereignty will also naturally necessitate the national state such that the global state, according to the exponents of that theory, will be rendered futile. It is the meaning of what we have just stated, thus: “The global state will not be materialized except in the spiritual and moral civilizational domain.”

“Robert M. Mackayfer” has expressed this idea in another way when he says: “The formation of global government is not possible “except if the states constituting the international system would desist from their endeavor and persistence in establishing such a system and solving their disputes on the basis of the principle of sovereignty.”<sup>1</sup> That is to say, if they would abandon the theory on human sovereignty.

The “global government” slogan is used in most cases as a means to subjugate other nations and populations in order to realize expansionist objectives whose utmost extent take the form of imperial system. It became clear from the foregoing that this is a general form and not the truth of global state. In fact, it is among the dire consequences and effects of ethnic and national fanaticism.

The theory on the human sovereignty in reality constitutes the main pillar of the Western liberalism, and a researcher person has the right to ask which logical proof and rational reasoning has become the basis of the Western belief on this theory and of the theory on the divine sovereignty. Theories can actually be evaluated in two ways: one is practical way while the other one is social way. What is meant by practical way is the same scientific or philosophical basis on which the theory in question is anchored, whereas the social way means the positive or negative nature of accomplishments and effects that the theory in question has on human society.

The truth of the matter is that choosing this theory in the West is done from the social dimension only, and this is done on the basis flawed analysis, and it is not founded on scientific reality. This is the same profound philosophical or scientific flaw of the Western liberalism. In reality, resorting to the theory on human sovereignty is anchored on nothing except atheism and in the discussion of the question of general outlook, it returns to existence from which the issue of faith and disbelief arise. If disbelief is proved the claim for human sovereignty will become practicable, and if not,

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<sup>1</sup> Robert M. Mackayfer (?), *Takwīn ad-Dawlah*, trans. Ḥasan Ṣa‘ab, p. 202.

this claim will not find a logical basis and foundation. However, if faith is proved, the sovereignty of God on man and creation will be proved. This is while the Western liberalism has never dealt on this issue and has not been in pursuit of a philosophical foundation for itself; rather, it has been avoiding delving on this subject, describing and specifying its social stance as detached from it and based on the notion of the separation of religion and politics. And this notion is a meaningless statement because if the religion is true and authentic, the society then must have no option but to submit to the divine sovereignty and religious social system. If the religion is not true and authentic, it has to negate the individual and social existence of the two, and acceptance of which as an individual program while negating the same as a social program is meaningless.

It is on this account that Martyr Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir aṣ-Ṣadr describes the Western liberalism, thus: It either involves deceit and misguidance or afflicted with intolerance and dearth of reflection.<sup>1</sup> By highlighting this point, it does not mean that the West is devoid of atheistic philosophies but rather it does possess such philosophies, but the philosophical justification of the worldly foundation and basis of Western liberalism is impossible.

The truth is that the West, being under the pressure of the bitter trend of the Church dominance, which was transformed into the basis of oppression, corruption, injustice, and enmity, had sought refuge in secularism. This is the same flawed social analysis we mentioned on which choosing the theory on human sovereignty in the West has been anchored because in the view of the West, religion and following that theory on the divine sovereignty result in bestowing authenticity and sanctity to the kings and emperors in the self-centered rule over the people, and this is the same theocracy<sup>2</sup> which has frightened the mind of the West. This is while religion is not responsible for the theocracy and that what has happened in the West (during the Middle Ages) was a fake and incorrect form which was unpleasantly attributed to religion because not only that ecclesiastical system was not the manifestation and proof of religion but also even the authentic Christianity is not actually the manifestation of religion as it has been abrogated, it is Islam that is the only manifestation and proof of religion and line of prophethood.

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<sup>1</sup> See Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir aṣ-Ṣadr, *Falsafatunā* [Our Philosophy], p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Theocracy: a religious form of government, which is believed to be chosen by God and the officials of this government are like representatives of God on the surface of the earth. This term is Greek in origin.

The Islamic ruler has no right to have self-centered rule and allow his wish to prevail; rather, he is indeed duty-bound to perform his political responsibility, which has been delegated to him in the framework of justice, welfare and consultation. This form of his rule is invalid and rejected.

As such, we will find out that actual side of the issue does not also approve the theory on human sovereignty just as its social dimension is devoid of such an approval because this theory has resulted in the emergence of nationalism, and as a result, it is responsible for its dire effects and consequences.

This is while the theory on the divine sovereignty has the approval of both dimensions. The actual dimension of the issue corroborates this theory because this theory is substantiated by the foundation of faith and monotheistic worldview, and as such, its truth stems from the truth of monotheism. The social dimension also approves this theory as it was mentioned in the discussion regarding the importance of the global state and its necessary achievements and aspects.

The most important achievement resulted from the theory on the divine sovereignty is that it exalts and promotes the moral spirit among the individual human beings such that by the blessings of the presence of God, the Glorious, the fathers of mankind will be such fraternally kind to the single family. This is while the theory on human sovereignty ends up in the discord and division among the fathers of mankind just as the family disintegrates in the absence of the father because it will lose the center of cohesion and as a result the fraternal relationship to such an extent it will even deny the oneness of mankind; it is the very demand of the racial theory which divides humanity in regard to high or low status in numerous and diverse forms.

Among the signs of the esoteric moral spirit in the theory on the divine sovereignty is that the individual human beings will exert effort with respect to one another, and their share of the world's riches will be equal. The reason behind this is that God, the Compassionate, has distributed equally these riches among the patriarchs of mankind, admonishing them to be kind to one another in the same manner that any father in the family would do the same to his children.

This is while the theory on human sovereignty lacks such a spirit. On the contrary, it brings about the prevalence of the spirit of selfishness among the individual human beings such that everyone gives importance to the nation where he belongs, and for the monopoly of the real riches in that domain the ruling nation and people there will try their best so that others would not

benefit from those riches. It is like the case of Europe which is lavishly benefiting from its riches and it is not willing to give a portion of all those riches and divine favors to the Africans even if they are on the verge of death due to starvation. This indecency assumes its extreme form when the same Europe drowning in wealth would colonize Africa and impose its rule over there so as to plunder those riches of Africa as well, and nobody has ever asked himself what his justification is in allocating the huge riches existing in that part of the world to its inhabitants and dependents while depriving other inhabitants of the world of the same. It is because this behavior is a normal affair under the rule of the nationalist thought—an idea which puts the nationalist and tribal seal of monopoly on riches, and as a result of it, as if famine and starvation are the share and fate of the Africans and not others while satisfaction and welfare are the share and destiny of the Europeans and not other people. It is crystal clear that the theory on the divine sovereignty rejects this phenomenon because in this viewpoint man has the right to profit and benefit from their work, but raw and natural wealth belongs to no specific people and nation or land and country. If the government of Imām ‘Alī (‘a) were only materialized fully for only a day, for him a Kuwaiti and a Sudanese would have equal rights.

## **2. Universality of the law**

The Islamic state has a law which organizes the social relations on the basis of human features completely devoid of local and ethnic peculiarities just as the global essence of this state is seeking.

If we would take a look at the Qur’anic discourses we will see that the Qur’an always uses general titles in its address such as “people” [*nās*], “man” [*insān*], “those who have faith” [*alladhīna āmanū*], “those who deny the faith” [*alladhīna kafarū*], etc. And nowhere in its address in which there is a sign of prejudicial title, and addresses such as “O you Arabs,” “O you Meccans,” or “O you Quraysh” cannot be found in it.

It is natural that this Qur’anic language has been reflected in the Islamic law such that in its legal functions this law is based on the authentic human features such as faith and practice, and in its reckonings there is no place whatsoever for local features such as kinship; relationship; and tribal, national and ethnic attachments. This is itself a specialized and vast pivot to discuss, argue and demonstrate which requires enough and ample time and opportunity.

Nevertheless, the most appropriate point, which can now be stressed is the issue of citizenship in the Islamic state in such a manner that neither the

homeland nor tribal affiliation would not serve a criterion, and the only criterion is the very faith to the Islamic state and the Abode of Islam, and willingness to defend it and wage *jihād* for its expansion. Anyone, who would be engaged with these affairs, will be worthy to acquire citizenship and be related to the Islamic state, and it is incumbent upon the Islamic state to bestow citizenship to such a person except in inevitable exceptional circumstances when it cannot be done. And in this manner, citizenship and nationality in the Islamic state is among the concepts devoid of fanaticism and it acquires a global meaning itself.

### **3. Global community**

The third global dimension of the Islamic state is that the Islamic state is the state of global society—a society in which tribes, colors and countries are melted in the furnace of belief, and the louder the voice of “There is no god but Allah” becomes, the idols of fanaticism will become more vulnerable and the human features will emerge and manifest in the forms of values, virtues, perfections, and moralities.

In reality, in the Islamic society the collective idea is dominant in contrast to the European society in which the idea of competition is prevalent,<sup>1</sup> and every time we would delve on the study of the profound difference between these two societies, we will find out that collective idea and spirit in a society in which religious and moral values are dominant, is a natural affair like a family which is managed by an able and deserving father. Similarly, the dominance of the idea and spirit of competition is a natural affair for a materialist society like a family which has been deprived of the father’s management and due to the children’s desires it has ended up in discord and disintegration. Thus, the religious society is living under the aegis of the motto, “The hand (help) of Allah is with the congregation,” while the materialist society exists under the slogan, “competition for survival”. This is the purport of the word of God, the Glorious, when He said: “*Had you spent all that is in earth, you could not have united their hearts, but Allah united them together.*”<sup>2</sup>

The idea of competition in fact is the natural description of the nationalism of the new societies just as the collective idea is the natural and correct description of the global essence of the Islamic society and it is an idea which is complemented by the foundation of guardianship among the believers—guardianship which is the purport of this word of God, the

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir aṣ-Ṣadr, *Iqtisādunā* [Our Economics], p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:63.

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Glorious, when He said: “*But the faithful, men and women, are guardians of one another.*”<sup>1</sup>

#### **4. Global culture**

The foundation of firm beliefs on which the Islamic state is based requires the presentation of a culture which adheres to the authentic human features and cautiously, carefully and consciously deals with local features. Local cultures, in fact, have three types:

1. Culture which is concordant with Islam and has been formed and presented by the past Muslim generations;
2. Culture which is a product of the pre-Islamic ignorance or has been adopted during the Islamic period from principles and philosophies repugnant and contrary to Islam;
3. Culture which is neither concordant nor discordant with Islam.

The first type is the Islamic culture itself and deserves to be promoted and spread. The second type is a deviant culture and ought to be purified and purged. The third type is an acceptable culture provided that in terms of importance and promotion, it would not be deemed superior and even equal to the Islamic culture because the latter is the highest form of culture: “Islam is the highest and nothing is above it.” As such, local etiquettes, customs, rites, mores, thoughts, and traits are deemed secondary culture and below the Islamic culture in terms of splendor and importance because the Islamic culture is the “word of Allah” and certainly, the “word of Allah” must be above the “word of men”. If the local culture is of the third type mentioned above, it can be possibly accepted, but if it is of the deviant type, the third one, then there will be no option but to purge and uproot its foundation because the existence of such a culture in the Islamic society is illegitimate.

Thus, the pure Islamic culture treats the local cultures in that manner, and as a result, it preserves the universal feature of the Islamic state in the cultural domain.

#### **5. Foreign relations**

The universal nature of the Islamic state is vividly reflected in its foreign relations. The Islamic state exists between small and big domains. The small realm and domain is the Islamic realm while the big realm is that of humanity and its relationship with the Islamic realm is based on the protection of the Muslims, defending their rights and rendering possible

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah at-Tawbah* (or, *Barā‘ah*) 9:71.

assistancess to them. And its relationship with the great realm of humanity consists of steps toward the promotion and spread of the Islamic call, protection of the downtrodden and resistance against the pillars of arrogance and chiefs of sedition who are hindrance to the penetration of the light of monotheism into the hearts of people. This is the global program, course and design of Islam in foreign relations. This program at the present circumstances is facing both internal and external problems. Both of these problems narrow-mindedly emanate from selfishness, self-centeredness and the theory on tribalism and nationalism.

But the internal problem is the existence of the perception that the mentioned program entails heavy political and economic duties on the state and it will exhaust all the explored internal resources of the country. This notion stems from the belief in the fact that the assets existing in the territory of every country is the specific and exclusive right of its denizens and do not belong to the other Muslims. Such a belief is repugnant to the religious view, faith in God and good intention stemming from it and to the fact that sustenance lies in the hand of God Who distributes and allocates it in whatever He wishes. In addition, it is not harmonious with other religious beliefs such that God sets a right for the poor Muslims on the shoulder of rich Muslims and that the Muslims are duty-bound to help one another and they must be a single hand in facing others.

The said notion is also discordant with the correct political theory in view of the fact that helping the Muslims is a mutual and two-way principle; that is, on one hand, it is incumbent upon the Islamic state to assist the Muslims and on the other, in it obligatory upon the Muslims to assist the Islamic state. Thus, on account of such a principle (mutual assistance), the Muslims will be transformed into a great state power and the Islamic state will acquire great power.

In the recent past we witnessed that by the formation of the former Soviet Union, the communist parties in the world constituted the second global power, but we saw that the power of Muslims was superior to and greater than the power of these parties. That power could convert the Islamic state into the leading power in the world provided that its goal is Islam and not materialist motives, profiteering desires or tribal superiorities.

Meanwhile, the external problem consists of contradicting the international law, which regards this program and policy as a form of interference in the affairs of other countries. It is important to pay attention to the fact, however, that the international society follows the criterion of power and weakness before being a follower of international law in that a powerful

state could impose on it (international society) whatever policy it has, whereas the weak state could not acquire that which is even bestowed to it by international law. The most vivid and significant proof for this claim is the rude behavior of Israel and America, which have been regularly circumventing the standards and rules of international law.

Therefore, by acquiring power springing from faith, values and moralities and enjoying the support of the Muslims and the downtrodden, the Islamic state could also withstand against this predicament.





## Imām Khomeinī and the Unity of the *Ummah*

*Hujjat al-Islām Mahdī Ḥādīrī*

One of the issues that has been unanimously agreed upon and accepted by all the sages of the world, the divine prophets in particular, is the alchemy of unity, and it can be said perhaps that the rudimentary and fundamental principle in the teachings of Islam is the call for unity and fostering of unanimity and sympathy among human beings.

The principle of monotheism and worshipping One God among the principles of our religion, which is acknowledged by all Muslim sects, and one of the two basic pillars of every person's profession of Islam is his bearing of witness to the Oneness of God and to the Apostleship of Muḥammad (ṣ). A glance at the teachings of Islam and jurisprudential precepts shows that all religious ordinances have been issued with the aim of forming a unified, harmonious and concordant society. One *ka'bah* (House of God), one book, one Islamic language, one slogan, etc. are all symbols of unanimity and harmony. The prayer timings, fasting, *Hajj* (annual pilgrimage), religious festivals, Friday congregational prayer, congregational prayers, supplications, pilgrimage to holy shrines and mourning ceremonies held in the remembrance of doyen of martyrs, etc. have all been ordained to foster unity among the Muslims. Although all these affairs at the present have been sources of discord instead of sources of unity, this fact will not arbitrarily affect the principle of religion. The teachings of Islam have a wide

gap with our acts; for, “Islam is something while the Muslims are something else” [*Al-Islām shay’un wa’l-Muslimīn shay’un ākhar*].

Imām Khomeinī, as the reviver of the pristine Islam in the contemporary period and an individual who is regarded as among the exceptional figures after Islam, has always emphasized this fundamental principle of unity in society, not regarding it as a strategy and tactic in order to overcome the enemy and establishing government but as the essence of his understanding of the honor and power of the Muslims, socio-political nature of the school of Islam, and the devotion of his epistemology to the dictums and principles of the Islamic and Qur’anic precepts. And this method and disposition had no contradiction with his Shī‘ī belief and doctrine. While being a devoted and fundamentalist Shī‘ah Muslim and never willing to commit an iota of deviation from the well-established principles of the Shī‘ah Ithnā ‘Asharī school of thought. He was a broadminded person, and devotion and commitment to the Islamic principles and values were not an obstacle to benefit from and use the common positions of the Islamic *ummah* with the other nations of the world, let alone the positions of the Shī‘ah and Sunnīs. So, it is appropriate during these days, which correspond with the (International Islamic) Unity Week. A glance, though a cursory one, at the stances and viewpoints of the Imām that we have is already enough that the instructions of such enlightened sage would serve as torch along our way and that we could overcome the critical circumstances that shower fire of discord and rancor from every direction as well as deliver Islam and the Revolution from the evil of discord and dissension.

In this paper, I shall try to state the fundamental pivots of preserving unity in the society, which can be noticed in the attitude and speech of the late Imām, and the manifestations of his statements and recollections of his supporters in relation to each of the pivots.

The fundamental pivots of preserving unity can be divided into five:

1. Targeting the root of corruption;
2. Forming a united front;
3. Holding fast to the commonalities;
4. Keeping aloof from divisive issues; and
5. Laying the foundation of the symbols of unity.

### **1. Targeting the root of corruption**

From the initial days when he took a step in the scene of social life, by benefiting from the experiences of his predecessors and his understanding of the factors and reasons behind the failure and deviation of the Islamic

movements especially in the past one hundred years, the Imām had arrived at the conclusion that dealing with the secondary indications and elements of corruption is not only not inconsistent with the interests of the oppressors and tyrant governments but also, in some or even most cases, they themselves kindle the fire of these oppositions and will be glad that the public opinion would be diverted from them and focused on marginal and secondary issues. Thus, from the very beginning, the Imām had been calling for the toppling down of the monarchial regime and expressing regret for the refusal of ‘*ulamā*’ and clerics to concentrate their efforts on fundamental reform of the society. In the most historic document of his struggle which he had written after the fall of Riḍā Khān’s government, the Imām says:

“O Islamic clergymen! O divine ‘*ulamā*! O pious scholars! O speakers of the religion of the Friend (God)! You God-seeking pious ones! You Truth-loving God-seekers! You honorable Truth-lovers! You patriotic honorable ones! You zealous patriots! Read the admonition of the Lord of the worlds, and accept the only way He proposes for reformation, and abandon personal interests so that you will attain salvation in both worlds and embrace an honorable life in both: “Lo! There are zephyrs from God during your lifetime. Behold! Turn your faces toward them.”<sup>1</sup> Today is the day when the spiritual divine zephyr is blowing and it is the best time to rise for the reformation; if you miss the chance and don’t rise for God’s sake and restore the religious rites, a bunch of lustful vagabonds will prevail over you tomorrow and exploit all your faith and honor to their own vain ends.”<sup>2</sup>

And similarly, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Imām expressed regret from the society’s improper utilization of the atmosphere of power vacuum that had emerged after the escape of Riḍā Shāh, thus saying:

“Regrettably, at that time there was nobody among the nation to bring the people together and lead them. So, they installed the son of Riḍā Khān here. If that time, two or three cities had demonstrated against him, they would have not placed Muḥammad Riḍā in power. But nobody uttered a word as that fear had gripped the people... Perhaps, had the late Modarres<sup>3</sup> been present at that time, he would have done something.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Bihār al-Anwār*, vol. 68, p. 221; *Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, vol. 7, p. 769.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 21, dated Jumādī al-Awwal 11, 1363 AH.

<sup>3</sup> It refers to Āyatullāh Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris, the combative clergyman who was martyred in 1317 AHS at the hand of Riḍā Khān.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, pp. 381-382, dated 9/15/1359 AHS.

Given this explanation, it becomes clear that during that time also the Imām has targeted the source of corruption, and if we can observe that when confronting the trend and thought that aims at casting doubt upon the root and foundation of religious thought and beliefs of the society, the Eminent Imām would rise up to counter it, put aside the lessons and discussions in the seminary, and write the most substantial and comprehensive book in refuting doubts and skepticisms of the time, it is based on this same idea and thought. In this book also, the Imām regards Riḍā Khān himself as the origin and person behind the article (which questions the religious foundation of the society) and exposes the Shāh's detestable nature. The Imām thus says: "He had no understanding of what is advisable and what is corruption. The pressures he exerted on the clerics were not meant for goodness but to uproot it."<sup>1</sup>

Keeping in view of these explanations, the reason behind the Imām's lack of active involvement on the issue of nationalization of the oil industry and the campaigns of Āyatullāh Kāshānī becomes clear. It was because in those campaigns the principle of the existence of the monarchy had been taken for granted and they were just an attempt to bring about reforms in the system. Similarly, if we observe that the Imām did not get involve in the organization called Hujjatiyyah which was active in the campaign against Bahā'ism, it has been based on the same mindset, for the Imām was considering that type of campaign as a campaign against an effect that led to negligence of the main source of corruption.

As soon as the justification to openly confront the monarchical regime was made, the late Imām immediately made an action and directly targeted the Shāh and his puppet regime.

In his famous message after the Fayḍiyyah Madrasah tragedy, the Imām says:

"Monarchism means plunder, profanity of Islam, violating the rights of Muslims, encroaching the centers for science and knowledge; it means striking the body of the Qur'an and Islam; burning the symbols of Islam and doing away with Islamism and it means also suppressing the clergy and eliminating the signs of prophethood."<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the period of struggle, the Imām used to confront any movement that would divert the attention of the nation from the principal

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<sup>1</sup> *Kashf al-Asrār*, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 178, dated 1/13/1342 AHS.

culprit, and to try as much as he could in elucidating and presenting the correct path of the struggle. For example; when the issue about the book, *Shahīd-e Jāwīd*, was highlighted in the academic circles while some were in favor of its content and some others against the same, or when some were favoring the ideas of the late Dr. Sharīʿatī while some others were disfavoring the same, the Imām says:

“You considered the matter of the late Shamsābādī to be an ordinary one. This was also one of those plots that they would hatch in various ways. At times they would bring up the matter of *Shahīd-e Jāwīd*, from this side and that! Throughout the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafār, and beyond, all the sermons from the pulpit dealt with what *Shahīd Jāwīd* was! Some people would confirm, and others deny. Once this talk would die down a bit, they would start something else. The late Shamsābādī’s case was also one of those cases. Perhaps they had done it themselves—but I am not aware of it—that is, kill somebody to raise a hue and cry, and have groups, for and against, disputing with one another. And then bring somebody else into the picture as soon as this controversy has subsided a bit, questioning and debating over his books. One would say that he was an unbeliever; another would say that he was a Muslim. Somebody would say that he was a thorough Muslim like the prophets, for instance, while somebody else would say that he was an unbeliever, worse than Abū Jahl!<sup>1</sup> But there is a plot afoot! Those who are doing all these things have no belief in Islam and neither in spirituality. They do not believe in anything.”<sup>2</sup>

This method and approach of the Imām continued after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and prevented the diversion of the nation as well as that of others from the aggressive and corrupt nature of America. By calling America as the “Great Satan”, supporting the occupation of the Den of Espionage (American Embassy), and exposing the detestable visage of America disguising under the garb of human rights, the Imām refocuses the attention of everybody on America. In this regard, he thus says:

“All freedom fighters, with insight and eloquence, must demonstrate to the oppressed people of the Third World the procedure of hitting the big powers and the superpowers in the face, especially the United States of America. I declare with confidence that Islam will humble the superpowers and strip them away of their honor and dignity. Islam will remove all the big

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<sup>1</sup> Abū Jahl [Father of Ignorance], the nickname of ‘Amrū ibn Hishām Makhzūmī, one of the bitter opponents of the Noble Messenger (s) from among his relatives.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 460, dated 4/14/1358 AHS.

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obstacles in its way, within and without its frontiers, and one by one it will capture all the key positions throughout the world.”<sup>1</sup>

This is the gist of the manifestations that can be cited with regard to the strategy of His Eminence Imām Khomeinī in the struggle against the corrupt powers by targeting the root of corruption. Now, by contenting ourselves with those manifestations, we shall proceed to the next axis.

## **2. Forming a united front**

Another axis on the basis of which the Imām used to make steps in the struggle was the formation of a united front against the enemy. The eminent Imām used to shun schism and factionalism, and exert all his efforts in uniting the ‘*ulamā*’ and leading figures of the society. In his most historic document of the struggle, the Imām says:

“O honorable gentleman who collected these pages and presented them to the ‘*ulamā*’ and preachers of the cities! Why don’t you provide them with a booklet, for bringing them together and uniting them for Islamic purposes, collecting their signatures, all swearing that if in a corner of the country a profanity is directed against religion, they would all rise in unison from every corner?”<sup>2</sup>

In the same manner, the Imām made great effort in the transfer of the late Āyatullāh Burūjerdī to Qum and in supporting his *marja’iyyah* (religious authority). The Imām’s role in setting up a single leadership in the seminary of Qum after the heavenly departure of the late Āyatullāh Ḥā’irī has been acknowledged by those who had been in the said seminary at that time.<sup>3</sup>

Although what the Imām was aiming was not materialized, the grandeur and eminence of Shī’ah *marja’iyyah* at that time was a great obstacle vis-à-vis the implementation of the Shāh’s filthy objectives, and we can observe that while the late Āyatullāh was alive, the Shāh never allowed himself to openly oppose him, and in a bid to make up for this intricacy, he sent a telegram to Najaf immediately after the passing away of Āyatullāh Burūjerdī, claiming that there is no qualified *marja’* and leading religious figure in Iran, and in doing so, he wanted to relieve himself of it. It was after this event that he implemented the fuss, “Provincial and City Councils”. Before the Imām

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<sup>1</sup> *Shahfah-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 325, dated 5/6/1366 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> *Shahfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 21, dated Jumādī al-Awwal 11, 1363 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> *Barrasī va Tahfīlī az Nahdat-e Imām Khomeinī*, vol. 1, p. 99.

issued a statement, the Imām who knew of his design invited all the ‘*ulamā*’ (Prominent Religious Scholars) of the time and held a meeting at the house of the late Hāj Shaykh Murtaḍā Ḥā’irī on how to deal with the issue.<sup>1</sup> This is in spite of the fact that this assembly did not last long and the influence of some ambitious elements hindered the formation of a united front against the Shāh. The Imām, however, continued in his efforts and sent many letters to the different places and cities, urging the ‘*ulamā*’ and clerics in every city to conduct a weekly meeting at night to make a unified stance on the events to take place.<sup>2</sup>

After his release from prison in 1363 AHS, when the Imām was informed that talks about disparaging and abusing some of the *marāji*’ who have not sympathized with him have been current among the young seminary students, he says:

“I feel I must offer a word of advice to the young theological students who have recently joined the clergy and who are full of vigor and vitality. They need to be aware that the least insult aimed by them at any of the *marāji*’ of Islam would mean the termination of the *wilāyah* between themselves and God. I assure you that to slight a distinguished *marja*’ is no trivial matter, so much so that if this great movement was to be impaired in any way as a result of such ignorance, then you would be chastised by God Almighty and the acceptance of your repentance would be problematic, for it is the honor and dignity of Islam that would have been damaged. I swear that if my children or myself were slapped in the face by someone, an act of retaliation would not please me and I would not agree to it.”<sup>3</sup>

In this way, he prevented the creation of discord in the ranks of the combatants and dissension among the *marāji*’, and thwarted the plot of the elements who were hoping to undermine the unity between the seminary students and the clerics.

After the Imām’s exile to Najaf al-Ashraf (in Iraq), notwithstanding the unkindness expressed by the Najaf Seminary to him, the Imām tried his utmost to maintain the position and rank of Ḥaḍrat Āyatullah al-Ḥakīm and he avoided any action that might have even the least effect of weakening the general *marja’iyyah* of Āyatullah al-Ḥakīm. For example, when the book, *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, was published for the first time by his followers, the Imām noticed the title, “the leading figure of seminary schools” inscribed in

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 306, dated 1/26/1343 AHS.



the cover of the book. Thus, he immediately ordered for the said title to be crushed out, or else, "I will throw these books to the Tigris River." The insistence of his followers was to no avail and finally with much difficulty they crushed out the said title.<sup>1</sup>

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, by founding the *Hizb-e Jumhūrī-ye Khalq-e Musalmān* [Muslim People's Republic Party], some people staged rallies and demonstrations in supporting one of the *marāji* ' of the time, and although later the identity of that person who was apparently occupying the station of *marja' iyyah* was exposed, the Imām did not allow the people to express their support for him though he had information about the background and attitude of the person in question. The Imām said:

"If, for example, they insult me or burn my photograph or attack me at this sensitive moment, no one has the right to show a reaction. The enemy is waiting in ambush and hatching plots. They want to divert your minds from the mindset that you have and the path of liberation of Islam that you are traversing. They want to divert the movement from its own path."<sup>2</sup>

### **3. Holding fast to the commonalities**

With the aim of fostering unity among the Muslims and even with the non-Muslims by relying upon the common points, the Imām used to invite all to unity. In the message he issued for the Christians of the world on the occasion of Christmas, by citing verses from the Evangel, he states:

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

*"O you who have faith! Be maintainers, as witnesses for the sake of Allah, of justice, and ill feeling for a people should never lead you to be unfair. Be fair; that is nearer to God-wariness, and be wary of Allah. Allah is indeed well aware of what you do."*<sup>3</sup>

How lucky are those who are hungry and thirsty for justice! It is because they would never satiate (the Gospel according to Matthew); how lucky are the ones who endeavor for justice; it is because the sky kingdom is of theirs (the Gospel, according to Matthew). I congratulate the auspicious birthday of Jesus Christ ( 'a), the honorable Prophet of God, to the depressed nations of the world, to the Christian nations and to our Christian citizens. Jesus Christ ( 'a) was appointed by God to defend the oppressed and to establish justice, he though his divine speech and

<sup>1</sup> *Pā beh Pā-ye Āftāb*, vol. 4, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 66, dated 4/22/1358 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah al-Mā'idah* 5:8.

behavior, condemned the arrogance and the oppressors and protected the poor and the deprived. O Christian fathers and priests who follow Jesus Christ ('a): rise up to defend the oppressed in the claws of the oppressors and tyrants, and for once for God's sake toll the bells of our churches in favor of the Iranian oppressed and for the condemnation of the oppressors.

Carter, the head of the world's tyrants, asked you to toll the church bells in favor of the American spies detained in Iran in opposition to the deprived Iranian nation. How proper it is now, under the command of the Great Creator and Jesus Christ ('a), to toll the bells in favor of the oppressed nations who are being annihilated under the boots of the executioners, such as Carters. How lucky are the ones who endeavor for justice. And woe to those who, in contradiction to Jesus Christ's commands and all prophets' instructions, endeavor to violate and suppress the rights of the oppressed ones in favor of tyrants and spies! O you followers of Jesus Christ ('a): rise up and defend the dignity of Jesus Christ and his nation. Do not let the divine trainings of Jesus Christ and his divine commands be misrepresented to the oppressed and deprived nations of the world.

The very presence of the agents of the super powers at your temples and their invocations for the treacherous spies and for the infidels who are against the depressed ones should not deceive you since they will resort to any means to sustain their power of government, which is in contradiction to divine instructions, and they think of nothing else.

Our nation has been exposed to the hypocrisy of these tyrants for years and has suffered a lot. O Christian nations! How come Mr. Carter did not attend the church for invocations and did not ask for going on in Iran, Vietnam, Palestine, Lebanon and elsewhere? How come he has taken part in invocation ceremonies and has asked the church bells to be tolled now that he is seeking reelection and looking for some more years to impose tyranny and despotism over the depressed nations?

O Holy Christian Fathers! Rise up and save Jesus Christ ('a) out of the claws of these killers since that Great Prophet abhors a statesman who is using religion for tyranny, and is employing invocations for securing a position through which he could impose tyranny over God's servants. This is because the divine commands have been descended onto the earth for the salvage of the depressed ones. O feeble and oppressed ones of the world! Rise up and unite to get rid of the tyrants. This is because land is God's and its heirs are the oppressed ones!

O American nation! Do not pay heed to American presidents' election slogans: they think of nothing else except for the attainment of power. Be aware that our youth treat the spies here amicably because Islam orders us to have kind treatments towards prisoners, though they may be tyrants and spies.

O Great nation of America! Ask Carter to return the deposed and treacherous Shāh to Iran since in his hands lies the key of the spies' freedom.

O people of the church bells! Raise your hands for invocation and toll the bells and ask God to bestow justice upon your presidents. How lucky are those who pray for justice.

Rūḥūllāh al-Mūsawī al-Khomeinī<sup>1</sup>

Also, in a meeting with the Iranian Jews and Zoroastrians while citing the mission of the divine prophets of negating oppression and eliminating discrimination among nations, the Imām says:

“The great prophets of Allah, from Adam to the Seal of the Prophets who have come and the noble messengers who have lived among the people, have all been sent to hoist the banner of monotheism and justice among the nations. The prophets, all the prophets throughout history have been such that they should be unified counselors. In fact, they were commissioned to purify the morality of the people—in speech, thinking and action. And God, the Blessed and Exalted, has appointed them so as to nurture human beings, to cultivate human morality in them, and to enhance human deeds and actions in them. Given the state that they have had, they have made their utmost efforts.”<sup>2</sup>

The Imām has even taken a step higher than the unity of religions with divine origins. By calling on all the downtrodden of the world, he invites all the downtrodden on the surface of the earth of every sect, creed and religion to form a single party so as for them to be able to defend and regain their rights from the oppressors. The Imām says:

“And I hope that a party named “Party of the Oppressed” comes into being throughout the world and all the oppressed have a say in this party; and the problems that are present in the path of the oppressed are removed; and they rise up against the oppressors and the plunderers of both the East and the West; and no longer permit the oppressors to oppress the downtrodden of the world; and the call of Islam and the promise of Islam which is the rule of the oppressed over the oppressors and “inheritance of the earth” that is for the oppressed, be realized. Until now, the oppressed were disunited and with disunity, nothing can be achieved. Now that a specimen of the bond of the oppressed has been realized in a Muslim homeland, this specimen must be realized at a more extensive level throughout the strata of human beings

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, pp. 375-377, dated 10/2/1358 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 98, dated 8/27/1361 AHS.

in history; and by the name of “Party of the Oppressed” which is the same as *Ḥizbullāh* [Party of God], and which is in agreement with the will of God, the Blessed and Exalted, the oppressed must become the inheritors of the earth. We call upon all the oppressed of the world to join together in the “Party of the Oppressed” and solve their problems collectively and with a firm common resolution; and any problem that occurs in any place and among any nation be settled by means of the “Party of the Oppressed.”<sup>1</sup>

The eminent Imām does not make any distinction among races and religions in supporting the oppressed and the downtrodden. For him, the oppressed Iranians, Afghanis, Lebanese, Africans, and Americans are one and it is for this reason that when the American spies were under the custody of the Iranian nation, the Imām ordered for the release of the blacks and women among them on the ground that these strata have been oppressed in America. Meanwhile, the permission for the calling of *adhān* on the minarets of the mosques in the former Soviet Union made him glad just as he had been glad for the victory of the Iranian nation. In his message to Mikhail Gorbachev, the last head of the former Soviet Union, the Imām says:

“Mr. Gorbachev! When after 70 years the call, “Allah is Great” and the testimony to the prophethood of the Seal of the Prophets, Muḥammad (peace be upon him and his posterity) were heard from the minarets of the mosques in some of your Republics, all the followers of the pure Muḥammadan Islam were moved to tears out of ecstasy.”<sup>2</sup>

Domestically, the Imām also used to be open with the students and individuals who had been educated in the new institutions of learning sometimes including those who had un-Islamic appearances. By virtue of their feeling for Islam and love for religion, he used to try drawing their attention and guide them. He used to advise the clerics to be careful lest these individuals were driven away from them, and to enhance their capability by making utilizing the people’s endearment of the clerics and their record of struggle. In one of his messages, the Imām says:

“It is essential that the venerable clergy and the university students show mutual respect. The enlightened university students should respect the clergy and the clergymen. God, the Exalted, holds them in esteem and the God-inspired Household of the Prophet (‘a) has recommended them to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 280, dated 5/26/1358 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 222, dated 10/11/1367 AHS.

people. The clergy is a great source of strength. Losing it would cause the pillars of Islam to collapse, God forbid, thus enabling the cruel might of the enemy to go unchallenged.

Meticulous studies conducted by the alien exploiters in the course of history have led them to the conclusion that this bastion must be demolished. The widespread propaganda that they and their hirelings have been doing over several hundred years have caused some intellectuals to part with the clergy and become pessimistic about them so that the enemy remains unchallenged. In case some unqualified persons pass themselves off as being part of them, but serve and, according to the differences in their rank and service, make the people abide by the main and subsidiary principles of the faith in spite of the foreigners and their agents, this force should be assisted, protected and shown respect. The respected clergy must also respect the young intellectuals, who are serving Islam and the Islamic country and for this reason are the target of the attacks of the foreign agents. They should consider them as their dear children and their esteemed brothers. They should not give up this immense power in whose hand the destiny of the country willy-nilly will fall. They should guard against the malicious propaganda that has been going on against them for hundreds of years, showing them up in a different light to some people in order to benefit further from the disputes. They should ostracize those who either through ignorance or malicious intent have distanced this powerful group from the clergy, and not allow them to sow discord. They should rest assured that with these two great powers joining forces, victory will be attained; divided, they will never gain it.”<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, when the views and ideas of the clerics in Iran on the manner of administering the country led to the emergence of split and division among them and ended up in the separation of the *Majma‘-e Rūḥāniyyūn-e Mubāriz-e Tehrān* [Assembly of the Combatant Clerics of Tehran] from the *Majma‘-e Rūḥāniyyat-e Tehrān* [Assembly of the Combatant Clergy of Tehran]. By citing the common objectives and principles of these groups, the Imām invite all to unity under the basis of the common objectives. In his reply to the letter of Muḥammad ‘Alī Anṣārī, which is now known as the “charter of brotherhood,” the Imām says:

“The fact is clear that if there is difference among the individuals and parties affiliated to the Revolution, it is purely political although an ideological color is given to it. It is because all are in common regarding the principles and it is on this account that I confirm them (all). They are loyal

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 325, dated 11/241356 AHS.

to Islam and the Revolution; they are concerned of the country and the people; each (of the groups) has its own design and view for the advancement of Islam and serving the Muslims, which to my opinion, brings out deliverance. The overwhelming majority in both currents (parties) wants their country to be independent; both (parties) want to reduce for the people the wickedness and evil of the leech-like (elements) associated to the government, market and street. Both (parties) want noble employees, religious workers and farmers, and truthful merchants in the markets and streets to have a pure and wholesome life. Both (parties) want to have no graft and corruption in the government and private organs. In the realm of economy, both (parties) want the Islamic Iran to develop in such a way that the global market would be its own. Both (parties) want the cultural and academic conditions of Iran to be such that the students and researchers from around the world would flock toward the educational, scientific and artistic centers of Iran. Both (parties) want Islam to become the global power. So, the difference lies on what? The difference lies on the fact that each of them believes that its way is the one leading toward the realization of all these. However, both (parties) totally pay attention to the fact that assuming stances should be such that while preserving the principles of Islam throughout history, they should be the keepers of their and the people's revolutionary wrath and rancor against the Western capitalism, on top of which is the world-devouring American and the international communism and socialism, on top of which is the aggressor Soviet Union.

Both currents should exert utmost efforts that there should not be even a minute deviation from the policy of "Neither East nor West but the Islamic Republic". If there is a minute deviation from it, they should be corrected by means of the sword of Islamic justice. Both groups must pay attention to the fact that they have common arch enemies, which will have no mercy on any of them. With utmost sense of brotherhood, the two currents should beware of the world-devouring America and the treacherous Soviet Union for the Muslim *ummah*. Both currents should inform the people that it is true that the deceptive America is their arch enemy but their dear children were martyred through the Soviet bombs and missiles. Both currents should not be negligent of the tricks of these two colonialist fiends, and they should know that America and the Soviet Union are thirsty of their blood and that of Islam."<sup>1</sup>

#### **4. Keeping aloof from divisive issues**

Another fixed characteristic of the Imām was the avoidance of the affairs that would create division in the society. While the Imām was not willing to

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, pp. 176-178, dated 8/10/1367 AHS.

abandon any of his religious and ideological principles or make compromise in relation to them, he used to extremely avoid any movement whose utility is nothing but the creation of rift in the ranks of Muslims. For example; in the book, *Kashf al-Asrār*, in reply to the accusations of the deviant writer, he strongly defended the infallible and pure *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a), attacking those who usurped their rights. In the introduction of his religious-political testament, by citing the *mutawātir*<sup>1</sup> *ḥadīth ath-thaqalayn* [tradition of the two precious things], he demonstrated the highest form of defense for the truthfulness of the Shi'ah. On the other hand, never would he be willing to attend to occasions held by some individuals in the name of supporting the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a). So far, none of the Imām's supporters and comrades has ever witnessed to his attendance in this type of occasions whose objective is nothing but the creation of discord among Muslims and insult to the sanctity of the divine laws. Similarly, his opposition to the caliphs after the Prophet (ﷺ) did not hinder his expression of their positive points. For example; the Imām says:

“When ‘Umar set off to enter Egypt—after the Muslim army had conquered the country and Islam became a powerful force—he did so with a camel which he and his slave took turns in riding; as one tired the other took his turn to walk. According to historical accounts, when they entered Egypt it was the turn of the slave to ride on the camel, so when the people of Egypt turned out to greet the caliph, they found him on foot guiding the camel on which his slave rode! This was how a caliph acted. We do not accept ‘Umar (as the rightful successor to the Prophet), but this action of his was Islamic. It was Islam which made him act this way, and even though we don't accept ‘Umar, still his action was in keeping with Islamic teachings. The Prophet also acted in a similar manner. He would ride on a donkey with someone seated behind him and would answer the questions put to him by his companion and instruct him. Can you relate a similar story about the leaders of any of these democracies? Can you name any democratic leader like ‘Umar who, even though his realms were several times larger than Iran or France, treated his slave in such a way, who had a camel, nothing more, and who lacked the loftiness and embellishment that usually accompanies power. Take any democratic leader and see how he enters a vanquished country. ‘Umar was entering a conquered land, yet his slave rode upon his camel—because it was his turn to do so—while he walked in front leading the camel. The noblemen of Egypt came to greet him... they all paid

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<sup>1</sup> A *mutawātir ḥadīth* is one which has been reported by so many different chains of transmission and such a number of narrators in every generation as normally could not agree to fabricate a tradition without the fact of its fabrication becoming known. [Trans.]

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homage to him, yet this was the manner in which he entered their land, and it was the teachings of Islam which made him act in such a way.”<sup>1</sup>

Also, in his book, *Anwār al-Hidāyah*, on the discussion of the outward forms [*ẓawāhir*] of the Book (Qur’an) as proof [*ḥujjah*], after arguing on the absence of distortion [*tahrīf*] in the Qur’an, he vehemently attacked the writer of the book, *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb fī Tahrīf al-Qur’ān*, who is a prominent and honorable scholar but he has attempted to prove by citing weak traditions that there had been verses and chapters in the Qur’an in favor of Ḥaḍrat ‘Alī (‘a) that have been deleted by the enemies of the *Ahl al-Bayt* (‘a). Perhaps, it can be said that the eminent Imām has never been harsh in words, as he did to this writer, to any Shī‘ah scholar with the exception of the court-‘ulamā’. After quoting his statements, the Imām says:

“Anyone whose books have no theoretical and practical utility and only compiled weak traditions which were discarded by the companions and the learned figures and men of discernment from among the predecessors of our companions such as the “three Muḥammads” (Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Kulaynī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Bābūyah, and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭūsī) have preferred to keep aloof from these traditions. This is the state of his books on traditions, mostly like the book, *Mustadrak al-Wasā’il*, and never ask about his other books as they are replete with strange stories and accounts and they are more akin to jokes than to serious matters. Though he has been a righteous person and a researcher, he is more interested and inclined to compile strange and weak narrations and those that cannot be accepted by a sound mind and independent view, than to compile beneficial and useful statements.”<sup>2</sup>

The Imām also opposed word or action that would lead to the creation of discord within the united ranks of Muslims in a way that he said elsewhere: “Today, to dispute on the caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) is treason to Islam.”<sup>3</sup>

In this manner, he used to prevent any attempt at sowing the seed of discord, and he used to give more weight to the expediency of unity and harmony of Muslims than to other interests even to the extent of postponing the practice of some religious laws observed by the Shī‘ah. For instance, in

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, pp. 325-326, dated 8/14/1357 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> *Anwār al-Hidāyah*, vol. 1, p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 8, p. 481, dated 4/15/1358 AHS.



reply to religious questions related to *Hajj* and in the messages addressed to the Iranian *Hajj* pilgrims, he says:

“It is necessary for the Iranian brothers and Shī‘ah from other countries to abstain from foolish acts that would lead to dissension in the ranks of Muslims and it is necessary for them to join the congregations of the Ahl as-Sunnah and to avoid conducting congregational prayers at home and putting different loudspeakers.”<sup>1</sup>

“In the places of *wuqūf*<sup>2</sup> it is necessary and permissible to follow the ruling of the Sunni jurists...”<sup>3</sup>

When congregational prayers are being conducted in Maṣjid al-Ḥarām (in Mecca) or Maṣjid an-Nabī (in Medina), the faithful [*mu‘minūn*] are not supposed to go out and miss the congregational prayers, and they have to say the prayers in congregation along with other Muslims.<sup>4</sup>

The Imām did not merely give these orders. In fact, in the specified cases, he observed the same orders. For instance; when he was about to leave Najaf (in Iraq) bound for Kuwait, he and his companions made a sojourn at noon beside a mosque along the border of the city of Baṣrah. The Imām asked his companions: “Has this mosque a congregational prayer leader or not?” When they answered in affirmative, the Imām said: “If it has a designated prayer leader, you have to stand behind him in prayer. We have to leave if it is not yet noon, and if it is already noontime and you wanted to prayer individually, it is not proper.”<sup>5</sup>

Also, the Imām never initiated forming an organization, party and group for himself. Neither did the Imām allow somebody to take advantage of his position and associate to the Imām, his group or party. For example, one may point at his way of dealing at the Mehrābād Airport at the time of riding a car. The Imām did not allow taking a ride the man who took a seat beside him and was affiliated to one of the prominent groups of the time, not allowing anyone to ride except the late Sayyid Aḥmad Khomeinī.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 61, dated 6/29/1358 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> *Wuqūf*: devotional stay at ‘Arafāt, Mash‘ar, (Muzdalifah) and Mīnah, as part of *Hajj* rituals. [Trans.]

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 10, p. 62, dated 6/29/1358 AHS.

<sup>4</sup> *Manāsik-e Hajj*, p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> *Pā beh Pā-ye Āftāb*, vol. 4, p. 270.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 135.

## **5. Laying the foundation of the symbols of unity**

As the harbinger of unity in the world today, in addition to his leadership in the Islamic Revolution, the Imām had also the honor of fostering unity among the Iranian people as well as unity among the Muslims of the world through the following:

### **a. Presenting the theory of Islamic government**

Having proper understanding of the predicaments and misfortunes of the Muslim world and the main problem of the downtrodden nations, and the discernment that the reason the revolutionaries' inclination toward one of the two blocks—East and West—is the absence of proper model of the government of truth, the Imām presented a new platform of administering the society. By presenting the theory of the governance of the jurist [*wilāyah al-faqīh*] based on the Islamic principles and religious government, the Imām created a pivot for the unity of the strugglers in the contemporary period, and through the assistance and will of the people he established a government with free elections and through modern system in this country (Iran). In this regard, the Imām himself thus says in the book, *Wilāyat-e Faqih*:

“In order to assure the unity of the Islamic *ummah*, in order to liberate the Islamic homeland from occupation and penetration by the imperialists and their puppet governments, it is imperative that we establish a government. In order to attain the unity and freedom of the Muslim peoples, we must overthrow the oppressive governments installed by the imperialists and bring into existence an Islamic government of justice that will be in the service of the people. The formation of such a government will serve to preserve the disciplined unity of the Muslims; just as Fātimah az-Zahrā (‘a) said in her address: “The Imamate exists for the sake of preserving order among the Muslims and replacing their disunity with unity.”<sup>1</sup>

In this manner, the Imām set up the government in order to foster unity among the Muslims.

### **b. Declaration of the International Quds Day**

By designating the last Friday of the blessed month of Ramaḍān as the International Quds Day, which is common to all Muslims and has no racial and nationalist undertone and connotation as it is acceptable to all Muslims, the eminent laid down a milestone in the unity of Muslims around the globe

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<sup>1</sup> *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, (Guardianship or governance of the jurist) p. 27.

and it led to the unity of all Muslims in the world in that every day and every year the grandeur and dignity of this day increases. In this regard, the Imām says:

“The Quds Day is the day of Islam. The Quds Day is the day on which Islam must be revived and it shall be revived; and the canons of Islam must be implemented in the Muslim countries. The Quds Day is a day on which all the superpowers must be warned that Islam shall not come under their subjugation through their evil lackeys.”<sup>1</sup>

### **c. Holding the Friday congregational prayers**

By reviving the true Friday congregational prayers in the Islamic society of Iran, the Imām took a great leap in the unity of the Muslim people of Iran. Had it not been for these Friday prayers in Iran, it is not clear whether or not this revolution, with such a popular power, could be able to confront the world-devourers. Concerning this, the eminent Imām says: “With the splendor that it has, it is a solid backing for our sapling movement and is an important and effective element for the advancement of our Islamic Revolution.”<sup>2</sup> He also says elsewhere: “Holding the Friday prayer was one of the most magnificent blessings of Islam.”<sup>3</sup>

### **d. Revival of the Abrahamic *Hajj***

*Hajj*—this great meeting place of Islam and gathering center of the power of the Muslim world which is supposed to be a catalyst of unity of the Muslim *ummah*—had been diverted by the court-‘*ulamā*’ and ignoramuses ruling over the Muslim nations, and was turned into a ‘dry’ and spiritless rite. By reviving the (true essence of) *Hajj* and declaring disavowal of the polytheists in this great Islamic congress, Imām Khomeinī unified all Muslims against the agents of *kufir* (disbelief). Although it is facing hurdles, this religious-political has already left its impact. Although today the government of Saudi Arabia prohibits the Iranian pilgrims’ formal holding of the rite of disavowal of the polytheists, annually Muslims from other countries observe the said rite without any prior program and coordination.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 277, dated 5/25/1358 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 492, dated 6/21/1358 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 104, dated 9/3/1361 AHS.

**e. Issuance of the death sentence to the apostate Salman Rushdie**

At the time when the global arrogance exerted its utmost effort to uproot the foundation and edifice of this revolution, and at the same time, when Islamic Republic system was in a position of weakness, by targeting the root and base of the enemies' conspiracy, the Imām unified all the Muslims against the world-devourers, and by issuing the death sentence against Salman Rushdie, which is unanimously agreed upon by all Muslim sects, contributed to the revival of Islam and the unity of Muslims vis-à-vis the enemies.

**f. Inviting the Soviet leader to Islam**

During the days when the bell of the death of communism tolled, and the sound of breaking into pieces of its bones was heard, by inviting the leader of the communist camp to Islam and expressing happiness for the recital of *adhān* (prayer-call) in the minarets of mosques in the Soviet Muslim Republics, the eminent Imām created indescribable ecstasy and joy among the Muslims, and as the leader of Muslim nations of the world, he became the source of grandeur, glory and greatness of the pure Muḥammadan Islam. Specifically, by correctly predicting the downfall of this system based upon materialism and his call for divinity and spirituality, he gave a renewed credit to religion and divine schools such that the Muslim nations acquired indescribable dignity.

We conclude, therefore, that revolution and struggle in the school of the Imām is blended with unity and solidarity, and by taking inspiration from the unity-fostering teachings of Islam, the Imām called on all the downtrodden and the deprived of the world to rise up, and he set the emphasis on the commonalities and sympathizing and assisting them in combating oppression as the cornerstone of his invitation. Along this path, he also defended his principles and beliefs, not making the least deviation from them. The reaction of the Imām to the calumny against Ḥaḍrat az-Zahrā ('a) in the Islamic Republic of Iran Radio during the last months of his life is an illustrious proof of this assertion. The introduction of the Imām's religious-political testament is also a solid proof of his preservation of the principles, ideals and beliefs.

It is needed to explain that the stances of the eminent Imām in relation to the preservation of unity are not confined to the five pivots mentioned in this article, and in observing brevity we have sufficed ourselves with this extent.

For information on the views of the Imām, those who are interested may refer to the book, *Waḥdat az Dīdgāh-e Imām Khomeinī* [Unity from the

Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī] published by the Institute for the Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works and the book, *Imām Khomeinī va Wafāq-e Ijtimā'ī* [Imām Khomeinī and Social Harmony] by the same author which is published by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance of Iran.

## **Tricks of the Global Arrogance in Confronting the Muslim *Ummah***

*Muṣṭafā Ākhūndī*

### **Introduction**

Since time immemorial, the global arrogance under the stewardship of the Great Satan has been determined to take the world under its control and plunder its resources and reserves, and make the entire humanity as its slaves and servants and itself as the absolute and unchallenged sovereign of the world and mankind. Thereafter, it could go wherever it like without any trouble, do whatever it likes in the world and commit any crime it wants.

Today, the world-devourers have more than ever before focused their onslaughts upon the Muslim countries because the Muslim world enjoys special importance compared to others. It has enormous underground reserves (oil, gas, minerals, etc.) upon which the functioning of the Western factories and manufacturers have depended. Strategically, it has also the sensitive parts of the world such as Hormuz Strait, Suez Canal, etc. The most important of all is the sovereignty of Islam, which encompasses one-fourth of the world's population. This is especially true after the victory of the Islamic Revolution when the wave of Islamism in the world has gained increasing momentum, which itself has more than ever before earned the tirade of the global arrogance. It has so received a blow from Islam and the Islamic Revolution that it will not recover soon and it will not regain its lost dignity.

The more significant objective that the global arrogance is pursuing is to weaken the Muslim world so that it could easily dominate it. In the words of the beloved Imām, “The rooster shall be sacrificed both in mourning and wedding ceremonies; the weak nations are also like that.”<sup>1</sup> When the Muslims became weak, everywhere and in whatever condition (both in times of peace and war), they will become victims of the caprices of the Great Satan.

From the early period of Islam up to now, the world-devouring arrogant powers have cast a covetous eye upon the Muslim world and equipped themselves to plunder it; for they are ruling over the world with the same logic that Pharaoh had. The Pharaoh who is a symbol of arrogance had such logic: “*So summon up your ingenuity, then come in ranks. Today he who has the upper hand will be saved!*”<sup>2</sup>

The logic of force and bullying prevails. He who could defeat the opponent through the power of weapon, propaganda and the like will become the absolute and unchallengeable ruler.

Meanwhile, the enmity of the global arrogance toward Islam still continues and the Holy Qur’an has expressed this enmity in numerous verses. We shall mention below some of these cases: “*If they were to confront you they would be your enemies, and would stretch out against you their hands and their tongues with evil [intentions], and they are eager that you should be faithless.*”<sup>3</sup>

As such, it is always thinking of creating difficulty and rendering a blow to Islam and the Muslims.

In this regard, the Founder of the Islamic Republic thus says:

“America has suffered blow from Islam and fear from Islam”<sup>4</sup>

“All the involvements of the East are driven from these aliens, from this West, from this America. Now all our involvements are from America, all the Muslims’ involvements are from America. It is from the America which has strengthened the Zionism as such and is strengthening and is massacring our brothers”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah Tā Hā* 20:64.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah al-Mumtahānah* 60:2.

<sup>4</sup> *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 76.

In order to realize its wicked objectives, the global arrogance has resorted to various political, military, cultural, economic, and other strategies which may best serve them according to the circumstances.

Through his peculiar sharp-sightedness, Imām Khomeinī (may Allah be pleased with him) identified these strategies, warning the Muslims and calling upon them to confront and thwart the conspiracies of the enemy.

In this research paper, we shall deal with the strategies of the global arrogance in four dimensions—political, military, cultural, and economic—in the luminous words of the idol-breaker of the century, Imām Khomeinī (may his soul be sanctified) with the hope that by recognizing the enemies' strategies, we would rise up to rescue Islam and frustrate the enemies, and witness one day that the Muslims, having unity and solidarity, hoist the full of pride banner of Islam in the horizon.

The insightful and wary Imām deduced the following points from the visage of the Great Satan and its stooges:

“The America’s government, as the most powerful countries of the world does not leave any stone unturned to plunder the material resources of the subjugated countries as much as it can... For having political, economic, cultural, and military dominance over the subjugated world, America does not refrain from committing any crime... Along with its mysterious and treacherous allies, it sucks the bloods of the helpless people in such a manner that as if no one but it and its friends has the right to live”<sup>1</sup>

### **Political strategy**

The global arrogance under the stewardship of the Great Satan confronted the Muslim world through political means. The strategies employed in this connection are creating puppets and establishing surrogate governments; disintegrating the Muslim countries; forming political parties and supporting groups; upholding the notion of separation of religion and politics; sedition-mongering; protection of Israel; espionage; misuse human rights and international organizations; creation of turmoil, disorder and chaos; interference in the enactment of the constitution, etc. We shall deal with these cases in the precious words of Imām Khomeinī (may Allah, the Exalted, be pleased with him).

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 83.



## **1. Dependency of governments**

The cause of misfortune and degeneration of the Muslim countries is the dependency and mercenary nature of the heads of Muslim countries who have been brought to power by the superpowers and are acting as servants of the world-devourers and also refusing even to listen to the cries of the oppressed in their own countries.

These devoted agents were, for many years, under direct and indirect instruction of the superpowers to implement the colonial plans of their masters on time.

In many cases, the Imām of *ummah* (*r*) made public this trick and guile of the world-devourers:

“One of the problems of the Muslims is their governments—governments that have been imposed upon their nations and which work in the interests of the big powers. Islam is faced with the problem of the Islamic governments and not the Islamic nations.”<sup>1</sup>

He, also, said on the occasion of the International Qods Day in 1361 AHS:

“Our regret and sorrow is for the fact that Muslims are afflicted by sold-out governments enamored by superpower of US and blindly obeying the orders of the enemies of Islam and Muslims.”<sup>2</sup>

These rulers and subservient states are origin of the most painful crimes among the Muslims, which are done for their masters’ benefits. Such mercenary men not only endeavor to wipe out the precious works of the great leaders of the religion and confront with the pure Mohammedan (ṣ) Islam by spreading the American Islam, but also commit the most horrible crimes of history to preserve the arrogance’s policies, murder the pilgrims of the God’s House in the immune shrine of God, while giving credit for the usurper Israel.

In this regard, the idol-breaker of the century said:

“The massacre of the pilgrims to the House of God is a conspiracy for the protection of the policies of the (World) Arrogance and prevention of the influence of the pure Muḥammadan (ṣ) Islam, and the black and shameful

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 226

record of the impotent rulers of the Muslim countries speaks of the exacerbation of the suffering and agony of the half-dead body of Islam and the Muslims. The Muslims do not know where to bring this suffering (for complain) while the House of Sa'ūd and the *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn*<sup>1</sup> give assurance to Israel that "We will not use our weapon against you"! And in order to prove the (veracity) of their word, they sever their relationship with Iran.<sup>2</sup>

... The Prophet of Islam has been in the pursuit of the greatness and grandeur of their followers who unfortunately have been humiliated through the wrongful policies of the puppet rulers."<sup>3</sup>

### **b. Disintegration of the Muslim countries**

From other intrigues of the arrogance is the disintegration of the Muslim world. Through this technique, it divided the Muslim world into smaller countries and thus dominated over them, took their power, and by creating difference and disunity among them cause them to quarrel.

By dissolution of the Muslim countries, in every corner, the arrogance empowered one of its mercenaries and initiated to propagate, under the title of Islam, many schools and sects. Regarding the mischievous plan of the Ottoman Empire disintegration, the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran said:

"The Muslims were those whose greatness once conquered the world. Their civilization excelled all others; their spirituality was of the highest caliber; their officials were the best; the vastness of their lands was greater than all others; the power of their government dominated the world. They (the imperialists) saw that with this power, with this unity of the Islamic lands, they could not impose whatever they wanted on them; they could not seize their wealth, their black gold and their yellow gold, so they thought of a solution. The solution was to create divisiveness between the Muslim countries. The Ottoman state was that state which would sometimes prevail in its conflicts with Russia, while other governments could not stand up to her. The Ottoman state was a Muslim state, whose power spread almost from East to West. They realized that as long as this Muslim state with such power existed, they could not do anything, they could not rob the region of its wealth. So after their victory in the First World War, under those circumstances, they divided the Ottoman state into a number of petty states.

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<sup>1</sup> *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn* [the Guardian of the Two Holy Places]: the sanctimonious title assumed with much fanfare by King Fahad of Saudi Arabia.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p.231.

<sup>3</sup> *Payam-e Istiqāmat*, p. 10.

At the head of each of these states they placed a king, an amir, a sultan or a president, and each of these was in the grip of the imperialists just as the helpless nation was in their grip.”<sup>1</sup>

Also, in another statement he said:

“Throughout history, there has been concerted propaganda to create division among the Muslim nations who are spread far and wide in various territories. In order to cause disunity among Muslims, who are spread all over the world and number about one billion, there has been publicity in order not to allow the creation of unity of expression... they carved the Ottoman empire up and appointed a person for each place and made efforts to make these governments become inimical with each other, because they knew that if the Muslims, with these resources and populations, were to unite, it would not be pleasant for America and the West and perhaps the Muslims would have threatened them. For this reason, they created conflicts among the governments; and these people were their agents.”<sup>2</sup>

### **c. Discord-creating**

The “divide and rule” slogan was chanted by the old colonialist, England, and so far all the world-devourers have made use of this dirty intrigue. The malignant enemies of Islam did not suffice only to the division of the Muslim countries, but also infiltrated into the inside of this countries and sow the seed of discord between the strata of the society—disunity between Sunnī and Shīʿite clans, between the clerics and university students, between people of different languages and nationalities, between the whites and blacks, Etc. They uprooted the big tree of “*cling fast to the rope of Allah*” to, better and more convenient, plunder and loot the Muslims.

In his message to the pilgrims of the House of God, the founder of the Islamic Republic said:

“The Great Satan has summoned its supporters to sow discord among the Muslims by means of every ruse imaginable, and to create disputes and enmity among the adherents of monotheism and the brothers-in-faith so that its path to plunder and domination will lie open to the greatest extent.”<sup>3</sup>

He, also, said:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p.87.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p.

“The dirty hands of colonialism tried to sow seeds of discord among the nation’s classes of people. They fear our unity.”<sup>1</sup>

Besides, regarding the disunity created by the devoted heads of the global arrogance, the great herald of unity said:

“One of the biggest and most essential problems is lack of unity among Muslims which some of the heads of Islamic countries are its source and unfortunately nothing has been done to deal with that, on the contrary the profit-seeking criminals who make use of these disputes between nations and governments, create disputes through their Godless agents.”<sup>2</sup>

In revealing the ruse of disunity between the Sunnīs and Shī‘ahs, the Imām of the *ummaḥ*, said:

“The imperialist governments, those governments that seek to plunder the wealth of Muslims, deceive the Muslim countries, the heads of Islamic countries, through different means and numerous tricks. Sometimes they create differences in the name of Shī‘ah and Sunni... they spread ideas amongst the Muslim sects in the Islamic countries, they sow dissension so that the Muslim sects start fighting each other, so that they discover differences between the Shī‘ah and the Sunni. Thus, they find a way to get their hands on the wealth of the Muslims, and the Muslims cannot do anything about it.”<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the bitter aftermaths of disunity, he, too, said:

“If the heads of the Islamic countries put aside their internal differences, become familiar with the lofty goals of Islam and incline on Islam, they will not become such abject and prisoners of imperialism. It is these differences of the heads of Muslim countries that have created the Palestinian Question and do not allow it to be solved. If the seven-hundred-million Muslims<sup>4</sup> with their vast and wide countries had political maturity, and were united and organized in one row, it would not be possible for the powerful imperialist governments to penetrate their countries let alone a bunch of Jews who are agents of imperialism.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 15, p. 123

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> The world’s Muslim population at the time of the issuance of the message.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 157.

#### **d. Parties and groups**

From other intrigues of the arrogance is formation and strengthening of political groups and parties in a country. Because in this way they can, by making agents and fostering spies, spreading fabrications and gossips, causing chaos and difference, pave the way for the influence and plundering.

Mushroom growth of the leftist, rightist and conservative, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, is an obvious example of this trick which was followed by creation of the disputes in Gonbad-e Kāwūs, Khūzestān, Kurdistān, as well as assassination, explosion, anarchy, and espionage.

Despite the ideological clashes and their affiliation to the superpowers (*All the parties are pleased with what they have.*), all the groups take a share in hostility and enmity with Islam.

The Imām of the downtrodden said:

“One of the ways to manifest these differences and stop the people from uniting together on a matter was to create parties.”<sup>1</sup>

The Ḥaḍrat Imām elucidated the philosophy of the mercenary parties’ existence and the source of their formation, as such:

“Do not be mistaken in thinking that these parties came together as different groups and then formed various parties just by chance, for indeed this has come about as the result of a devilish conspiracy. In order to prevent the people of Iran from uniting, the powerful nations have set up one party calling it such-and-such, and another party, calling it something else. This party is hostile to that and that party is hostile to this. They have implanted different parties and groups into the heart of the society... One of the ways in which the West can use us, and in which America and Russia can benefit from our resources and wealth, is precisely by doing this; by sowing discord via various means into the very heart of a society, a society which ought to be able to stand on its own two feet and achieve some kind of progress. They engineer disputes between different camps.”<sup>2</sup>

Our informed and clear-sighted Imām believed that coming into existence of parties from the beginning of the Constitutionalism so far has taken place by the hands of the enemies of Islam to take away the people’s consolidation. In this regard, he said:

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 4, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 249.

“I must point out that the origin of these parties, which have appeared in Iran since the beginning of the constitutional revolution, as one understands it, is that they were, without knowing it themselves, founded by foreigners, and some of them have served the foreigners.”<sup>1</sup>

### **Supporting the *Munāfiqīn* (Hypocrites)**

From among the groups nourished by the Great Satan that, with the name of Islam, committed thousands of treacheries and crimes, to their masters’ interests, were the blind-hearted *Munāfiqīn*; however, passing time took off the mask of these international terrorists and disgraced the world-devouring arrogance more than before.

Imām Khomeinī, the hope of the downtrodden of the world, said:

“These people claim, and had claimed from the very beginning, to be Muslims and to be ready to do such and such things for Islam. But I realized from the very beginning that they were not frank in such claims. They say they are opposed to the United States. It was recently made clear that their claim in that respect, too, was a lie. And as you see the Americans recently revealed the untrue of that claim by declaring support for them. The White House has announced the need for supporting the hypocrite (MKO terrorists).”<sup>2</sup>

### **Nationalism**

From other intrigues of the arrogance is training a national figure and establishing nationalist parties to keep away the people from the Islam from inside and to substitute it with the inferior culture of the West from the way of which either they can profit themselves or pave the ground for plundering of the aliens. Imām of the *ummah* (*r*) unmasked these devotees of who consider the West as their worshipping object and warned the Muslim *ummah*, saying,

“The agents of the foreign powers don a different mask or a different disguise behind the curtain. For twenty or thirty years, their agents posed as nationalistic ... and the powers protected him in case one day they might find a need for him as a weapon to thrash the nation as they are doing today.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 4, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 15, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. 5, p. 67.

With respect to the nationalists' wiping out the Islam, he, too, said:

**"Those who insist that the word "Islamic" be deleted from the word "Republic" are traitors who want to cause differences within the nation. Those who want to append the term "democratic" to this phrase are obsessed with the West and do not know what they are talking about."**<sup>1</sup>

### **Forged schools**

From the techniques that the world-devourers make use of them through their agents to keep the people away, particularly the youths, from Islam is propagating and establishing political schools that misleads the people by superficial words and smoothes the ground for the colonialists.

Our late Imām said:

"They introduce our youth to certain ideologies which are neither scientifically nor politically founded, rather are they perversions that have been created and propagated in order to turn people away from Islam. For these exploiters and oil-devourers have realized that if the people recognize Islam for what it truly is, then the way would not be open for their penetration of Muslim lands and the devouring of their oil."<sup>2</sup>

### **e. Islam minus politics**

Undoubtedly, without assuming rule and power, the religious, political, social, cultural, and economic precepts of Islam is not possible. Conduct of the Prophet of Islam and the Infallible Imams (peace be upon them), too, is indicative of their endeavor to establish an Islamic government and to implement the commands of God. Thus, the plan of "separation of religion from politics" and limiting of the Islamic teachings to the personal life and religious issues originates from the naughtiness of the colonialists which is, also, exacerbated by some of sanctimonious petrified ones. Though by the triumph of the Islamic Republic of Iran this old-aged trick of the world-devourers has been some what revealed, the colonialist are adding fuel to it by their poisonous propagandas to achieve their interests and goals.

Ḥaḍrat Imām Khomeinī (may the Almighty God be pleased with him) reveals this trick as such:

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 5, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, p. 182.

The matter that the religion has to be separated from politics and the scholars of Islam ought not to interfere in social affairs as well as politics has been said and rumored by the colonialists. This is said by the irreligious ones. Have, in that period [of the Prophet of Islam (ﷺ)], been some clerics and some others politicians and statesmen? Has, at the time of the caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful ('a), been politics separated from religion? Was there two bodies? These are the talks made by colonialists and their political agents to remove the religion from assuming the world's affairs and putting into order of the Muslims' society and, moreover, to separate the Islamic scholars from the people and the combatants of the path of freedom and independence, and in this case they can rule over the people and plunder our wealth. This is their only target.<sup>1</sup>

#### **f. Israel**

For dominating the Muslim world, colonialism placed the cancerous tumor of Israel and a bunch of disgraced terrorist and Zionist in the heart of the Muslim countries and by equipping, supporting and strengthening it, and undermining the Muslim countries, followed its colonialist policies.

The Great leader of the Islamic Revolution, from the very beginning of the Islamic movement, always warned the Muslims about the danger of this cancerous tumor and by expressing intense hatred about the occupiers of Quds, revealed the satanic policy of the world-devourers as such:

“Israel was originated through the conspiracy and collaboration of the imperialist countries of the East and the West. It was created to suppress and colonize the Muslim nations. Today it is supported by all imperialists. By strengthening Israel militarily and politically and through the supply of lethal weapons, Britain and America encourage and incite it to commit continuous aggressions against the Arabs and Muslims, and to perpetuate its occupation of Palestine and other Muslim lands.”<sup>2</sup>

In explaining the unlimited goals of the enemies of Islam, he, too, said:

All of them must know that the goal of the powerful imperialist governments in creating Israel is not only the occupation of Palestine; rather, if they are given the chance, all Arab countries—God forbid—will meet the same fate of Palestine.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Wilāyat-e Faqīh (Islamic Government)*, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p.



By declaring the danger of Israel for the whole Muslim world and not only for the Arab world, Imām of the *ummah* (*r*) said:

“The heads of Islamic states should bear in mind that this seed of evil that has been planted in their midst is not only to suppress the Arabs; its dangers and perils menace the entire Middle East. The Zionists’ design of domination and hegemony over the Islamic world is to exploit its abundant resources. Only through steadfastness, devotion and unity can the Arabs rid themselves of this ghastly nightmare of Zionist expansionism.”<sup>1</sup>

“Israel has occupied Jerusalem out of the Muslim territories. It did not face any opposition on the part of the Muslim governments. Now, it has become evident that the United States and its corrupt off-shoot, Israel, are planning to occupy Masjid al-Ḥarām and Masjid an-Nabī.”<sup>2</sup>

With respect to the recognizing of the Palestine occupiers by some of the so-called Islamic states, that informed mystic such says:

“How deplorable is that Israel harms the children, women and men and old people of Lebanon, killing so many of them and making others homeless ... All these governments are unanimous that Muslims should recognize Israel, which has committed so many crimes, as an independent state. How painful is such gestures!”<sup>3</sup>

### **g. Espionage**

Espionage and spy-training in the Muslim world is from other influential and colonial crafts of the world-devourers that in the name of embassy, consulate, military advisor, expert, engineer, merchant etc. proceed with this obscene plot. The target for this trick is to collect news and information, make agents, to spread fabricated propaganda and gossips, lead the groups and affiliated parties for creating disorder and insecurity, in line with the definite policies of the arrogance.

After conquering the espionage den (the so-called embassy), the late Imām (may the Almighty God be pleased with him) took off the mask from the mercenary face of the Great Satan by the hand of the zealous sons of Islam and by calling it “den of corruption”, said:

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, p. 228

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, p 284.

Now that this den of corruption is disclosed, there are many things to be discovered by the Iranian nation. There used to be a lot of spying apparatus. However, our youth, being unaware of the secret codes, could not open the doors in time to have access to the American spying records. By the time our youth reached the basements all the documents had been changed into small pieces of paper. What our youth could get was only second hand spying documents. Most of these can not be deciphered by our youth; some experts are needed to do the job. Many boxes there can not be easily opened up. The place had turned into a spying den. The embassies are not allowed to keep gunmen. But the Americans used to keep some gunmen in the embassy. The embassies are not allowed to carry out spying or to get involved in conspiracies. However, they spied.<sup>1</sup>

#### **h. Human rights guise**

For achieving its ominous goals, the world-devouring arrogance chose the best way and guise which is that of deceiving people through deceitful slogans and writing international charters as well as issuing resolution and statement; since it is not possible to reach the goals every where by force and bayonet. Therefore, plunderers and looters of the human resources themselves turned into the human rights' proclaimers and the oppressors, seemingly, into the human rights defenders, like a thief who cried: "catch the thief".

The human rights slogan is very nice; because it speaks of the individuals' freedom and equality of them, whatever be their race and color, before the law and belonging the right to its rightful person. However, the matter is that the signers of the human rights are themselves the enemies of human beings and are wolves in the guise of ewe whose aim is nothing but misleading and stupefying the mankind. They wore the veil of "human rights" to conceal their brutal nature in far corners of the world. But, how nice the Imām of the *umma* (*r*) removed this mask from their ugly face, saying,

"I have time and again reiterated that all these world organizations and institutions are created only to be the tools for America. Likewise, the various associations are the handicraft of the powerful ones to suck the blood of the oppressed ones and to yoke them, when the organizations see that the interests or benefits of the capitalists are at stake, do nothing beyond preserving the domination of the capitalists."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, p. 60.

He, also, said:

“We live in an age that the so-called human rights organizations are guardians of the oppressive interests of the great criminals and defender of the oppressive acts of them and their relatives.”<sup>1</sup>

Heralds of the human rights, as well as the great powers, do not feel sorry for the mankind; rather, they follow their interests behind this nice guise. The beloved Imām (r) said:

“International and human right gatherings, these puppets of America and superpowers, wink at the crimes imposed on the mankind... as a matter of fact; the international gatherings are a name at the service of the great powers not at the service of the oppressed or the deprived people.”<sup>2</sup>

The Great Satan is one of the human rights’ heralds who has murdered thousands of innocent people throughout the world.

Ḥaḍrat Imām Khomeinī said in this regard:

“But just look at what crimes the US, this so-called signatory of the Declaration of Human Rights, has committed against mankind.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dated 3/28/ 1366 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 5/20/1365 (AHS).

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfē-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 23.

### **Cultural intrigue**

From the very important plots of the global arrogance, and the most dangerous one of them, is the cultural plot which has started on, with all its strength and power, against the Muslim world; since the culture is the first infrastructure and foundation of the mankind's system and if it is not correct, every thing else will be incorrect.

In referring to the importance of the issue, we suffice to the eloquent talks of the great leader of the downtrodden of the world who said:

“Culture is the source of a nation's happiness or misfortune. If the culture is not sound then the youth who are trained in this unsound culture will, in the future, create corruption. The imperialist culture produces imperialist youth for the country. A culture which is created by the designs of others—and it is the foreigners who lay their plans for us then hand them over to our society in the form of culture—is an imperialist and parasitic culture. Such a culture is a weapon more lethal than anything else; it is even worse than the arms of these ruffians.”<sup>1</sup>

In this section we will introduce the cultural intrigues of the world-devouring arrogance: Struggle against Islam and Qur'an, cultural colonialism, degradation of nations and causing affiliation, infiltration into schools, universities, and cultural centers, propaganda and gossips, misleading the youth, spreading fornications and corruptions as well as the narcotic drugs, and struggle against Islamic values (covering).

#### **a. Struggle against the pure Mohammedan (s) Islam**

For perpetuating their domination, the enemies of mankind and Islam have all the time been in fight and struggle against the religion of truth and the pure Mohammedan (s) Islam and divine leaders; since they know Islam as the only obstacle against their world-devouring and domination-seeking and on the whole, they have confronted with it in two ways. First, they concentrated their powers to eliminate the divine leaders, then, if they did not achieve their wicked goals, they would resort to distortion of the religion truths and creation of deviating and false schools; since they fear Islam which is the human-building and liberating school.

After the departure of the Noble Prophet of Islam (s), falsification and distortion of the pure Islam was expanded and the oppressive states, till now, interpreted Islam in line with their oppressive interests, and this inversion of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 273.

Islam caused the enemies of Islam to keep on their domination over the Muslims.

Reviver of the pure Mohammedan (ṣ) Islam, Ḥaḍrat Imām Khomeinī (r) said:

“Islam was oppressed in many centuries and the criminals of history strived to keep Islam in veil and did not let this liberation school, this independence nurturing school, this school that is at loggerheads with oppressors and brother in faith with the oppressed be presented.”<sup>1</sup>

The Great Satan’s struggle with the Islamic Republic of Iran is, also, in this direction.

The Imām of the *ummaḥ* (may the Almighty God be pleased with him) disclosed this trick as such:

“Today, since it is still incapable of directly confronting the Muslim world, the Eastern and Western Arrogance has experimented the way of intimidation and elimination of religious and political figures on one hand, and infusing and spreading the culture of the American Islam on the other.”<sup>2</sup>

Imām Khomeinī revealed the figures and propagators of the American Islam as such:

“The massacre of the pilgrims to the House of God is a conspiracy for the protection of the policies of the (World) Arrogance and prevention of the influence of the pure Muhammadan (ṣ) Islam, and the black and shameful record of the impotent rulers of the Muslim countries speaks of the exacerbation of the suffering and agony of the half-dead body of Islam and the Muslims... The Prophet is not in need of aristocratic mosques and decorative minarets. The Prophet of Islam has been aiming for the honor and grandeur of his followers, who unfortunately have been in wretchedness due to the wrong policies of the puppet governments... Today, the Wahnābī centers in the world has been turned into the centers for sedition and espionage which, on the one hand, spread the Islam of aristocracy, Islam of Abū Sufyān, Islam of nasty *mullās* of the court, Islam of sanctimonious foolish ones in the theological centers and universities, Islam of meanness and adversity, Islam of wealth and power, Islam of deception, reconciliation and bondage, Islam of domination of capitals and capitalists over the oppressed and the barefooted ones and, in short, the American Islam, and,

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 21, p. 8.

on the other hand, bow before the court of their master, the world-devouring America.”<sup>1</sup>

### **Cultural colonialism**

Cultural colonialism plan in the Muslim world is a topic that whatever much it be under consideration, more will the plots of devilish powers be disclosed in alienating the Muslim countries from their Islamic identity and culture. In this plot, the global arrogance strives to alienate the Muslims from the pure and inspiring culture of Islam by spreading and disseminating mundane and colonial culture.

In this regard, the reviver of the pure Mohammedan (ṣ) Islam said in his religious-political testament:

“One of the most effective conspiracies that unfortunately has left an undeniable mark on the nations, including our own, is the alienation of the people of colonized countries with their own cultures. In other words, ‘Westernized’ or ‘Easternized’ intellectuals became alienated with their own cultures and they came to regard the people related to the superpowers as having superior culture and race compared to that of their own. They looked upon the superpowers as their Qiblah<sup>2</sup> and thought that affiliation with one of the two poles of power is an inevitable issue. This sad story has a lengthy background. And the blows we have received, and still receiving, are seriously devastating and fatal. Another unhappy and mischievous target plotted by the superpowers is to prevent the oppressed and colonized nations from progression and keep them backward in order to make them consumers rather than producers. The imperialistic powers have so frightened us through their satanic might and advancement that we dare not venture into any initiatives. Rather we have submitted our minds to them and placed our fates in their hands and have become their followers with our own eyes and ears shut. This shallowness and state of feeling absurd has resulted in losing our self-reliance and power of initiation, thus blindly imitating the West and the East in every aspect. Whatever heritage we possessed whether cultural, scientific or industrial was belittled, criticized, and ridiculed by ignorant writers and lecturers bewitched by the West or the East who constantly suppressed and frustrated our own native potentiality. They promoted, propagated, and imposed on us the foreign culture, no matter how vulgar, shameful, and degrading by praising and extolling it.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Payām-e Istiqāmat*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Worshiping object.

<sup>3</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ*.

And with respect to the Western names and words, he said:

“For instance, if books contain a number of foreign words and terms they are accepted right away with wonder and awe irrespective of their meanings. And their authors and speakers are regarded as scholars and bright individuals. Wherever and whatever we look at from cradle to grave, if it has a Western or Eastern label, it is favored and valued and is considered as a sign of progress and civilization. If anything has a domestic and traditional label, it is rejected and is considered as outdated, backward, and useless. Choosing foreign names for our children is regarded as a prestigious matter, whereas choosing traditional names is considered as fanaticism and backwardness. Streets, avenues, stores, companies, drugstores, libraries and even local products must have foreign names in order to be attractive and acceptable to people.”<sup>1</sup>

### **To be proud of Western appearances**

Ḥaḍrat Imām Khomeinī (*r*) said:

“Imitating western mannerism in all walks of life and in all aspects of social association is regarded as a token of honor, civilization, and progress. On the contrary, traditional modes of conduct and customs are deemed as retrograde and ancestor-praising... Making a trip to England, France, U.S.A., or Moscow enhances one’s dignity while paying pilgrimage to Mecca or visiting other holy shrines and blessed places is considered backward and old-fashioned.

Overlooking whatever related to religion, rituals, and spirituality is a sign of open-mindedness and civilization whereas commitment to these issues is a sign of being backward and old-fashioned.

... The importation of all types of goods from abroad, particularly the entertaining and luxurious commodities such as cosmetics and childish games, which provided channels for our young men and women, and mainly the youth, was meant to make them preoccupied with such trivial things and cause them to be consumers of such things as well as items of luxury which has a long and sad story. No effort was spared in diverting the attention and the minds of our youth, who are supposed to be the most active members of the society, through establishing centers of debauchery and pleasure-seeking. Tens of these malicious plots are all conceived only for the purpose of keeping countries like ours backward.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

### **To degrade the nations**

Through extensive and expansive propagandas, the superpowers strived to make an invincible and extraordinary power out of themselves in the eyes of the colonized nations to give them fright and fear of their mock civilization. Having told the myth of power, civilization, industry, and so on, they made Muslims alienated from their national identities, in as much as some thought there exist every thing, such as technology, development, culture, etc., in the West and if any nation wishes to develop must bow down before the devils' court.

Imām of the *ummaḥ* (r) said:

“The West in sight of a class among this nation has posed an appearance as if there were nothing anywhere except the West. In its conjecture there exists no value beyond the West. Such an attachment and dependence—mental, intellectual, and ideal—upon foreign is the real source of misfortunes of the nations... One of the so-called intellectuals and thinkers<sup>1</sup> among them (at that time) had told that unless we make everything English we will not be able to ascend the ladder of progress and perfection.”<sup>2</sup>

He, also, says:

“Among the things deterring Muslims to defend their countries is the massive propaganda for presenting foreign powers bigger and more invincible than they are. In the past, Britain has been presented a ghoul by the so-called westernized intellectuals and educated people. The uninformed governments and shackled nations have been instilled the idea that if a liveried servant of the British Embassy is addressed in biting words, Iran would be annihilated... And today the two powers, particularly the US, in the lands of Muslims have been presented as a bigger and more dangerous ghoul and imagine that if either of the poles would be admonished to do something, the country would be destroyed.”<sup>3</sup>

In short, the world-devourers instilled upon the people of the world the idea that they should live under the umbrella of their rule and it is not, in any way, possible to oppose them; and they ought to blindly resign themselves to the devils' policies.

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<sup>1</sup> Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī-zādeḥ, pro-west in Iran whose last post was the presidency of Sinā Assembly.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 91.



Imām of the *ummaḥ* (r) said:

“The people ought to be awakened. By hundreds of years of propaganda, they had made these people believe that the United States and the Soviet Union cannot be opposed. The other notions also believe this at present. But they should be made to understand that they can be opposed. The best proof for the possibility of something is its occurrence. And this has happened in Iran.”<sup>1</sup>

### **c. To penetrate into schools and universities**

One of the other colonial intrigues of superpowers is penetration into the educational and scientific centers of the country, character-eliminating and making school and university students, dependent to the western culture.

While revealing this plot, the great leader of the Islamic Revolution said:

“The biggest blow that we suffered at the hands of the big powers was the blow to our identity. All their efforts were focused on alienating us from our own Iranian-Islamic identity and replacing it with an identity dependent upon the East, the West, or the European world. The corrupt upbringing that had become prevalent in the previous regime and was growing stronger by the day attempted to create grounds for making our children reliant upon outsiders, right from kindergarten on to high school and further. During that phase in which Iran had succumbed to this trend it was infected with the belief that “we are not capable of anything”. We either have to import everything from abroad or then we need their support.”<sup>2</sup>

“If our university were our own; if the university would not be a university to imitate the imported culture... Those that at that time graduated from the universities; they would line up and flow towards England and France and lately, America. See what they trained in the universities! ... What souvenir would they bring for Iran? All their efforts would be directed at appeasing at one time England and later America.”<sup>3</sup>

## **5. Poisonous propagandas**

Alongside the political, military, and economic intrigues, propaganda, as an important instrument, plays an important role and the global arrogance has made use of it to prevent the infiltration and expansion of the human and Islamic moves and do not let the people’s minds be cleared.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, p. 110

Many of the propaganda intrigues and conspiracies which the world-devouring arrogance is laying, through hundreds of radios, televisions, newspapers, magazines, conferences etc. in the world by his direct and indirect agents inside and outside the country, against the Islamic Republic of Iran in particular, and the Muslim world in general, are clear to every body.

They endeavor to make use of the distortion of truths and inversion of Islam to affiliate the nations to themselves and to imagine others as nothing.

Regarding this dangerous intrigue, the Imām of the *ummaḥ* has delivered many speeches to an instance of which we refer here:

“But through their propaganda they so altered our outlook that we always had our hands extended to the East or the West in order to obtain our needs.”<sup>1</sup>

“We who our hands are short of the propaganda can not have propaganda as much as they have. All the mass media are in the enemies’ hands and they advertise every day and condemn Iran every day, too.”<sup>2</sup>

One of the ugly features of the global arrogance’s propaganda is contamination of their propagandas by lie, hypocrisy, discord, and deception; so that if a person can not distinguish these contaminations will be deviated. Imām of the *ummaḥ* (*r*) said in this regard:

“Some of the radios change their gossip-mongering technique once in a while and when they got tired of the curse and vilification or conjectured that their listeners were tired, start falsification of letters, while all the contents are the same, even we do not have a radio that makes a comparison between the Islamic Republic of Iran and other revolutions.”<sup>3</sup>

With respect to the world’s blasphemous propaganda in support of Iraqi aggressors in the Imposed War, he, also, said:

“Fabrication is at work in every corner of the world. They bombed the Island of Khārk and then said that it was ruined. I don’t know how many times the Island of Khārk can be ruined.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, dated 11/21/1361 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol 19, p. 249.

While expressing the goal of the enemy's propaganda against Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran, the honored Imām said:

“You know that propaganda is more penetrative than weapons in the battlefields. One should be frightened at their propaganda more than their weapons... They attempted to deal a blow from within us but to no avail. In spite of this, they did not desist from propaganda; they want to disrupt our unity by means of evil propaganda.”<sup>1</sup>

“All the propaganda you see throughout the world... about Iran ... is for the reason that they have recognized that there is power over here. They have felt danger, they have felt danger from you, the youth.”<sup>2</sup>

### **Rumor-mongering**

One of the effective and efficient intrigues of the devils is rumor-mongering. Every where that the global arrogance can not reach its goals through economic scheming and military and political measures, it resorts to rumor-mongering.

In this connection, the late Imām (*r*) said:

“Today one of the major conspiracies of those who wish to plunder this country and our resources and who have lost hope in other strategies is to spread rumors... Rumor-mongering has become very rampant. Refrain from giving ear to these rumor-mongers... We have many enemies today and shall always have enemies. The blow that you have dealt out to the superpowers has been unprecedented in history. So do not expect them to remain spectators. When they can, they launch a military attack on us and if not, they attack us by spreading negative propaganda in our country.”<sup>3</sup>

He, also, said about our duty that:

“One of the religious duties and the duties of our nation and yours is to lift up the curtain as much as possible from the American and Zionist's propaganda who want to blemish the image of the Islamic republic through spreading lies, libels and rumors and in this way neutralize it.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 2/5/1364 AHS

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., vol. 15, p. 212.

**e. To lead the youth astray**

The youth are the country's efficient forces whose strong hands and passionate love can save the country from the foreigners' mischief and flourish it. Therefore, if the young forces be informed and vigilant, no colonialist will be able to achieve its ominous goals, unless it removes any obstacle by corrupting this able stratum. Hence, the world-devourers have always directed their severe attacks toward the young generation in order that, by eliminating their talent, deprive them of growth and development and, by spreading corruption, debauchery and narcotic drugs, divert the youth and pave the ground for much more plundering of the national wealth and resources.

The clear-sighted and informed Imām revealed this dangerous plot as such:

“They would employ or own all these mass media that are present such as the radio and television network, the theatre, cinema, newspapers, magazines, and so forth to keep the youth preoccupied with pleasure and entertainment; to bring them up as licentious adults.... As such he will no longer think about Carter plundering our crude oil. Basically, he has nothing to do with it. ... the centers of debauchery that they built; these houses that they built... These organizations that must be educational such as the radio and television broadcasting and the newspapers and so forth, were all quite opposite of what they are designed to be. The matter was not that something had happened on its own...the question was that there was a specific plan and conspiracy involved not to let the youth to develop and evolve naturally and in a humanistic way and to preoccupy them with these very matters. The subject of music is... If he gets habituated to music for a time, he loses the power to think seriously on matters and pursues this subject. These are the matters that they devised according to a plan to beguile our youth.”<sup>1</sup>

With regard to paralyzing the youth through the narcotic drugs, the great leader of the Islamic Revolution said:

“Do not take it as an accident that suddenly we had a bunch of addicts and drug dealers. It is the plot of the superpowers by means of which the great powers can deal a blow to us.

But the young generation is the one who we can make use of it in different ways. The young generation is the one who can manage our economy quite well. Our youth can equip themselves from the cultural,

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 8, p. 181.

political and military aspects.... However, the youth are not mentally mature to comprehend the plots easily. They desire sometimes to smoke opium or heroine. But they are unable to realize that this is a plot, not for Qum... They deliberately do this to paralyze our youth. A heroine addict can not think in politics; neither can he be active in the economic circles; nor can he take part in wars. Such an addict is an idle man. He will doze off while sitting and thinks he is enjoying his life, this is a plot they are hatching for our youth.”<sup>1</sup>

The beloved Imām such advised the youth:

“I ask the youth, boys, and girls not to compromise their freedom, independence, and human values for luxury, pleasure-seeking, and other vices that are offered to them by the corrupt agents of the West or the East. Experience has taught us that these affiliated puppets think of nothing except causing degeneration of the youth and making them to feel indifferent towards their own destinies and the lot of their country, plundering the natural resources, expanding the level of consumerism among people; in short to succeed in paving the way for colonization and exploitation. For all these reasons they try to keep a highly civilized nation such as ours in a state of backwardness, underdeveloped, and semi-primitive people.”<sup>2</sup>

### **The unveiling of women**

One of the other intrigues of arrogance in the Muslim world is the subject of removing veils and divulging debauchery to draw the youth’s attention toward corruption.

Referring to the unveiling of women at the time of Ridā Khān and the sinister goals behind it, the Imām of the *ummaḥ* (*r*) said:

“The conspiracy during the reign of the cruel and ignorant Ridā Khān was to make this noble stratum of society a cause of corruption. This plot was not only directed toward you women but it was in fact aimed at pushing the youth and the men toward the brothels and to encourage them to either remain indifferent or to support all those who wished to take over their country.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 11, p. 181

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfē-ye Imām*, vol. 14, p. 130.

### **Military intrigue**

As they deem in their interest or feel their worldly affairs are in danger, the world-devourers resort to any means and do not refrain from doing any crime. Since they regard themselves as master and guardian of the world's people and let themselves make an inroad to their considered country through different forms of military measures and attain their sinister goals through infiltrating into the army, military interference, terrorist training, and establishing military bases in the Muslim countries. It is surprising that they raise the shameless justification of "keeping security!" to deceive the world people. They pretend in such a manner that indescribable chaos is prevailing over these countries and they are the colonialists who are offering security to the Muslims.

It was with the pretext of "keeping security!" that they launched attack on the Persian Gulf from many long years before, built military bases in the heart of Muslim countries and assumed control over the basic section of them; i.e., the army. We will pursue the mentioned points with a luminous word of Ḥaḍrat Imām Khomeinī (r).

### **Infiltrating into the army**

Army of a country is guardian of that country's independence, territorial integrity, and security; however, through infiltrating into the army and dispatching their advisors, the colonialists either deprive them of their Islamic, military identity and cause them to abandon their primary duty or take away their religious zeal. On the other hand, they bring up them with the inferior culture of the West in such a manner that instead of serving their people they serve the colonialists and become the protectors of their interests. So that, if occasion arises they stage coup d'état and for the Great Satan's interest wage war, kill the oppressed ones and so on.

Having elucidated the Iranian army's stance during the *tāghūt* (follower of evil) period, while existing American, English and Russian advisors, Imām Khomeinī addressed the armed forces as such:

"You felt among yourselves what problems you had; the biggest of which was that the outsiders should come here; that foreign advisors should come here and dictate to us. For an army that must be independent that must not be under the influence of anybody it is very hard that foreigners should come; a handful of foreigners come and dictate to them, give orders and be commanders."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 132.

In another statement, he such reveals the colonialism's scheme for the army's dependence and alienation from the national identity:

“With the employment of foreign military advisors in the army and with the state of affairs that ensued, they tried their utmost to damage the morale of the army. The morale and self-reliance of an army can only be maintained if it can independently manage its own affairs instead of functioning under the direction of foreign military advisors. Functioning under foreign advisors indicates that an army is under colonial influence and has no independent identity ... the army that should be defending and protecting a country and its frontiers to depend upon another country—no matter which one and how powerful it is—amounts to the destruction of the honor and dignity of that army.”<sup>1</sup>

### **b. Warmongering**

Fanning the flames of war and blood-shedding is one of the other schemes of the global arrogance that it strikes through its overt and covert agents in the Muslim world and weak countries or through its military expedition and military interference commits instigation and crime; since according to the statement of the great leader of the Revolution:

“The aggressors look at the world from their special points of view which are diseased... so as not to see other great strata of the nations”<sup>2</sup>

Hence, they take the fate of nations onto their hands and consider themselves entitled to do any kind of aggression. Regarding the brutal attack of the Iraqi infidel Ba‘athis by order of the Great Satan, the Imām of the *ummah* (may his soul be sanctified) said:

“Iran which wants to cut all its ties to this big devil is now embroiled in imposed wars. America has compelled Iraq to shed the blood of our youth.”<sup>3</sup>

He, also, said:

“Today, all the people know that our real crime from the view of the world-devourers and aggressors is defending Islam and recognizing the Islamic

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, dated 6/21/1359 AHS.

Republic of Iran instead of the oppressive system of *tāghūt*. Our crime and sin is reviving the Prophet's *sunnah* and acting according to the Noble Qur'an orders and declaring unity among the Muslims, Shī'ah and Sunnī in particular, to confront with the global plot of infidelity and to support the oppressed nations of Palestine, Afghanistan, Lebanon,... And before the world-devourers and their subjects there is no sin higher than a person, who speaks of Islam and its dominance and invites the Muslims to the honor, independence and resistance against the aggressors' oppression."<sup>1</sup>

Addressing heads of the Persian Gulf countries which appeal to America and persuade him to wage war and aggression, the great leader of the Islamic Revolution said:

"When the superpowers deem it to their interests, they will sacrifice you and their oldest devotees and for them friend, and friendship, enmity, servitude, and honesty is of no value; they have considered only their interests and spoken of it in every where with frankness."<sup>2</sup>

And today we are witnessing how the Great Satan sacrificed Kuwait, Hījāz and the Persian Gulf countries to its interests.

### **c. Terror**

One of the other schemes of the (global) arrogance is fostering terrorism and formation of terrorist, saboteur, and assassination groups in order that, by assassinating good and religious persons and heads of the countries or by explosion of economic centers, pave the way for their world-devouring masters.

On the occasion of the Fortieth day of martyrdom of 'Allāmah 'Ārif Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī, leader of the Pakistani Shī'ahs by the American agents, the great and vigilant leader of the Muslim world, Imām, Khomeinī (r) said:

"Today, since it is still incapable of directly confronting the Muslim world, the Eastern and Western arrogance has experimented the way of intimidation and elimination of religious and political figures on one hand, and infusing and spreading the culture of the American Islam on the other."<sup>3</sup>

In another statement, he said:

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<sup>1</sup> *Payām-e Barā'at*, 1366 (AHS).

<sup>2</sup> *Payām-e Barā'at*, 1366 (AHS).

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 8.



“America is wrong to think that it can achieve anything by killings and assassinations. The phony communists are wrong in their thinking; the deviant school of thought is mistaken ... to think that with assassination they can hold back the sentiments of our people.”<sup>1</sup>

#### **d. Establishing military bases**

To stand firm on the Muslim countries and take control over the Muslims from close, the world-devourers engage in establishing military bases. As such, they both control their interests and dubious moves against themselves and take advantage of that country’s wealth to confront the enemies. Interestingly enough, they do not go to the expenses of establishing these bases. Rather, it is the host country that should prepare its equipments. And, unfortunately, today they have military bases in most of the Muslim countries and are expanding their hegemony day by day.

Regarding the existence of military bases of America in Iran during the *tāghūt* period, the Imām of the *ummah* (*r*) said:

“By our petrodollars, they have bought arms in the name of Iran but have built bases for themselves against the Soviet Union.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, p, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 6, p. 23, dated 1/28/1358 AHS.

### **Economic intrigue**

Making deprived and weakening Muslims is from among the major policies of the world-devouring arrogance to, by means of that, hold them, all the time, needy and dependent to itself and divest them of the power to expand, develop, and think of independence. Obviously, the nation that is in need and hardship can not be in the think of struggling with plunderers and profiteers; rather it is in the think of feeding themselves up.

The plundering arrogance makes use of several techniques to put this deceitful policy into effect: Plundering the huge recourse and wealth of the Muslims, political sanction, making Muslims consumer, and keeping them away of having access to advanced industries and making wealth.

While stating the roots of poverty and privation, the leader of the downtrodden of the world said:

“Through the political agents they have placed in power over the people, the imperialists have imposed on us an unjust economic order, and thereby divided our people into two groups: oppressors and oppressed. Hundreds of millions of Muslims are hungry and deprived of all forms of health care and education, while minorities comprised of the wealthy and powerful live a life of indulgence, licentiousness, and corruption.”<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the ominous consequences of economic affiliation, he, too, said:

“If we have an economic dependence, this makes us dependent politically and militarily, too. And as such our country will again return to its former condition.”<sup>2</sup>

Through exporting their goods of inferior quality, the global arrogance endeavors to make the Muslim countries be subdued by its industry and technology and it continues more with plundering.

The Imām of the *ummah* (r) said in this regard:

“You should not think that a gift will be brought to us from the West... to make us advance, to make us progressive. Unless the West keeps us in a backward state, it will not be able to derive any benefit from us. Their efforts have been such as to have made us and all the Islamic and oppressed countries lag behind in all the spheres of activity. Whatever do for us is

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<sup>1</sup> *Wilāyat-i Faqīh (Islamic Government)*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfē-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 204.

imperialistic in nature. That is, if they import knowledge of medicine, it has colonialist undertones. If they supply us with medicines, that too has a colonialistic hue to it. If they want to set up a university for us, it is a colonial type one. They want to establish or do everything so as to be of benefit to themselves and to make us submit blindly to them.”<sup>1</sup>

Economic independence is the cause of honor and power, while economic affiliation is the cause of abjectness and submission. The Imām of the *umamah* (r) said:

“In order for us to ward off the dangers of this super power we have to take care of our own economy. We should be self reliant, and for this end, we will need agriculture... You are well aware of the fact that if a country is not able to produce its needs, especially its food, it has to rely on the economy of other nations, and this economic reliance forces a country, like Iran, to be independent on other counties.”<sup>2</sup>

With respect to the economic embargo, he said:

“If America succeeds in gathering all other superpowers around itself and tries to force some economic sanctions against us, God willing, it will not succeed. However, we should be prudent. If these sanctions are carried out we will meet with food shortage and this will exert a blow over our movement, and this is against Islam. Thus, every one of us should be doing something to get rid of this dilemma.”<sup>3</sup>

“It is shameful to reach out our hand towards America to give us food... We should work so as to be self-sufficient.”<sup>4</sup>

### **Duty of the enslaved nations**

In conclusion, we point to the Muslims’ deliverance from this poisonous world which the global arrogance has created for them. Ḥadrat Imām Khomeinī (may God be pleased with him) said in this regard:

“Now, in this poisonous world in which taking breath is like gradual death, what is duty of the nations captivated by the superpowers and their allies? Whether they should sit down and be observer of these scenes of crime and with their silence let the world be burned in the fire? Don’t the clergies,

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. 11, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 179.

writers, spokesmen, intellectuals, thinkers, from every nation and creed, have at this time a humane, religious, national and moral task and should they play the role of an observer in their countries? Or these heads and statesmen must mobilize the oppressed nations with their speeches and writings so as to remove the oppressors from the scene and entrust the government to the oppressed ones, in such a manner that in Iran they gained dignity with the nation's endeavors.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Payām-e Barā’at*, 1366 AHS.



## Causes of the Backwardness of the Muslim Societies

*Sayyid Mahdī Mūsawī*

### Introduction

Research and investigation on finding causes and factors of the East's backwardness in general, and the Islamic societies in particular, is one of the issues which stems from the previous centuries and ages, and all the time the freeborn thinkers and scientists who have come on the scene of the research, have studied this foremost problem according to the existing circumstances and conditions of their own age. And, sometimes research and investigation goes beyond the domain of the Eastern people's studies and has driven many Western scientists into discovering these causes. However, what has played an important role in leaving their researches unfinished and their being unsuccessful is the unsuitable atmosphere for following up as well as the authorities' inattention towards these activities. As witnessed by the history, from among the previous freemen and thinkers there were individuals such as "Sayyid Jamāluddīn Asad Ābādī", "Iqbāl Lāhūrī", "Ṣadr"... who discovered some of the roots behind the Muslim's weakness and decline and endeavored to remove these problems; however, governance of the brutal kings and influential agents of foreigners in the society has taken away from them the power for any activity, and for undervaluing their thoughts, they have buried all their endeavors and hardships under a great deal of unvalued historical

events. While, at present that many years have passed from their lofty thoughts and ideals, the world's freemen are admiring them yet.

When colonialism faced with the Islamic thoughts and struggles in the Muslim countries and found out that by spreading and disseminating the true Islamic ideas and thoughts, it could not dominate over the Muslim countries, by exact and long term planning in line with their goals, planed to cause to dry the roots of thinking and seeking remedy of the Muslim nations for finding main causes behind the backwardness, and close the door on economic and cultural development and progress for them and keep them always in the state of need and backwardness; however, in a manner that the Muslims do not recognize their plots and always be in double ignorance. Therefore, for attaining this goal, they likened the way to the by-way and by instilling ideas and very trivial causes or even the harmful ones prevented Muslims from thinking and striving to find out the main causes and on the other hand their puppets drove the nations towards more decline and weakness in line with their masters' targets. So that, Ḥaḍrat Imām says in this regard:

“Unclean hands and sickly minds gradually deflected people from the matters underlined by Islam after the Messenger of God, engaging people with only trivial matters and neutralizing and occasionally driving them to raise voice to general public concerns needed by Islamic countries. This was a diabolic design.”<sup>1</sup>

### **The Muslims and backwardness**

Of course, it is undeniable that the Muslims themselves have a share in their weakness and backwardness; since they are indifferent to the current affairs of their societies and in their turn exacerbate the factors affecting their backwardness and only, in times, in the Arab states seemingly they gather round through holding conferences and different meetings to examine the factors of the Muslim societies' backwardness, the results of which will be put aside by finishing the conferences. Regarding these conferences, Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“Those aspects that were important at the dawn of Islam were not at all important among the Muslim countries... Now, too, when meetings are arranged to see what must be done, it is not evident whether they go beyond speeches—and who gives a better speech! It is not like they really observe

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 14, dated 5/4/1361 AHS.

why we are backward and find the solutions as to what are the things that can rescue us from this backwardness and follow them up and take action. Not that every year or every few years we hold a meeting where people from every place come, deliver a few speeches, recite verses of poetry and a little about Islamic issues and the needs of the Muslims and after departing from the meeting everything basically remains the same and neglected as before.”<sup>1</sup>

Now, the Islamic lands are filled with ignorance, negligence ... without the Muslims being in the think of it and, undoubtedly, unless the Muslims desire, they will not succeed. As to the Muslims vigilance, Ḥaḍrat Imām such says:

“My advice to the Muslim nations is: Do not look for outside help in achieving your goal, which is Islam and implementation of the Islamic rules. You yourselves must rise up and undertake this vital issue which will make liberty and independence a reality.”<sup>2</sup>

### **The need to tackle with the Muslims’ problems**

As it was pointed out, one of the causes of the former thinkers and combatants’ lack of success has been the absence of the fertile ground for exerting and implementing their policies in the society. And, at all times, there were agents in the Muslim societies who have contended against these expediencies. However, the important matter at the present time is the existence of such fertile ground for raising these thoughts and ideas. Since, on the one hand, a country like Iran is ready to receive, study, and nourish the ideas, and, on the other hand, the Muslim world is now greedy to attain the solutions and is ready to receive any kind of suggestions to deliver itself from the yoke of the imperialism. Now, the Muslim oppressed nations are like the latent energy, which can explode the world with a little spark; for, day by day, the Muslims become more flamed with the hatred and disgust they have in their hearts from their enemies.

### **Uniqueness of the Islamic Revolution of Iran compared with other movements**

With a cursory glance at the Muslim countries records during the recent decades, we will observe that though the Muslims have been in the state of backwardness and weakness during last years, at times in every corner some

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfē-ye Imām*, vol. 8, pp. 94-95.

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ*.



movements took shape by the freeborn Muslims, and sometimes they attained success to some extent which after a while it was removed as a result of discord and differences. Meanwhile, the Islamic Revolution of Iran was an exception to the rule and despite facing many problems, it achieved considerable successes. Undoubtedly, the most important factor which was effective in the victory of the Revolution was the leadership of “Ḥaḍrat Imām Khomeinī” (may God’s peace be upon him). And it was his high thought and ideals which kept the Revolution safe and sound amid the problems and disorders. Since, he had discovered the causes behind backwardness and also factors of victory over infidelity and, on the other hand, had coincided his policy with the religion and piety, and simultaneously with struggle in the trench of politics, he, too, campaigned in the trench of science, jurisprudence and *ijtihād* and as such his teachings took root in the beliefs of the world Muslims and he ruled over the hearts.

Thus, we are duty-bound to seek assistance from the lofty thoughts and ideals of this great man of history and thus pave the way for the Muslims’ growth and perfection.

### **The factors behind the Muslim societies’ backwardness from Imām Khomeinī’s viewpoint**

What is the cause, indeed, that such the Muslim nations have remained behind from the civilized world? The Islam, which has a very shining past and there was a time when the scope of its conquests had encompassed many places of the world and its expansion of science and knowledge astonished the world. Now, what has happened that it has crept into a corner and the neocolonialism has infiltrated into it a lot? The Islam which in the confess of the western scientists themselves is the infrastructure of the West’s civilization, and all sciences, from technology and industry to the human sciences, are driven from Islam, in such a manner that Gustawlobon in his work entitled “*Civilization of Islam and Arab*” quotes the French scientists as saying, “If the name of Islam had come out of the history, the age of the European restoration of science would have fallen behind for several other centuries”<sup>1</sup> and he, too, states in another section of his book “if civilization of Islam did not exist, there would be nothing of the present civilization”<sup>2</sup>

His eminence Imām, also, has repeatedly referred to the Muslims’ grandeur and splendor in the past so as to the Muslims awaken and make endeavor to restore their prestige:

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<sup>1</sup> *Civilization of Islam and Arab*, Dr. Gostawlobon.

<sup>2</sup> *Civilization of Islam and Arab*, Dr. Gostawlobon.

“The Muslims are those whose greatness once conquered the world. Their civilization excelled all others; their spirituality was of the highest caliber; their officials were the best; the vastness of their lands was greater than all others; the power of their government dominated the world.”<sup>1</sup>

However, what has happened to the Muslims now that they are in such a weakness and abjectness condition!? The farther the Muslims got from the very beginning of the Islam, the more became the power of their weakness and lassitude, and while their number and also their facilities increased at any moment, their lands became smaller and their power weaker, and foreign agents, on the one hand, and internal crisis, on the other, paved the ground for the Muslim societies’ backwardness.

### **The enemies’ hostility toward Islam**

When the true religion of Islam was established, the oppositions and saboteurs reached their climax; since, Islam was always against power-seeking, oppression and tyranny, and if Islam were put into force, undoubtedly the imperialist and oppressor would not survive any more. However, the more the Islam flourished and found more followers, the more became oppositions and saboteurs and the colonialists did their best to annihilate Islam. As, his eminence Imām (r) says:

“The left and right imperialists have agreed to struggle hand in hand to destroy the Islamic nation and Muslim countries, repress nations, and plunder their enormous capital and natural resources.”<sup>2</sup>

They had well found out that if the Muslims perceive the real notion of Islam and be bound up in it, hegemony over them and also colonizing and exploiting them is not easily possible; since they are followers of the Messenger and are from among the descendants of the same people who at the very beginning of Islam had humiliated many of the enemies of Islam with a few human forces and hoisted the glorious flag of Islam over the highest summits of the world.

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15.

### **Struggle with the basic pillars of Islam**

Since, the imperialism and the pledged enemies of Islam found out the harm of Islam for their interests, initiated an all-out struggle against it and, in this line, did not withhold from any strategy and plot. They knew that the only way for domination over the Muslims and keeping them backward is removing them from Islam. And, the only possible way for struggling against Islam is eliminating its basic principles and pillars. The enemies knew that the Qur'an is a book which has linked the Muslims with one another and as much as the Islam is beloved between the Muslims, ruling over them is not possible; therefore, they opposed with Islam, so that Glaudeston, the ex-prime minister of England, said in the parliament of this country: "as long as the Islam is dear before the Muslims, the Christians have no ease, it is incumbent upon the Europe to conceal the Book behind the Eastern women's veil."<sup>1</sup>

Also, after the conquest of Alexandria and murdering its people by Napoleon Bonaparte, he said: "in case, you wish to annihilate Islam and the Muslims, you ought to take them away from the *adhān* (prayer-call) and Qur'an."<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, they understood that in addition to the Quran, scientists and the Islamic scholars, too, play an important role in the advance of the Islam's goals. Moreover, they will face with some obstacles on their way. Thus, as far as they could and can make endeavor to keep away the committed scholars and scientists from the scene of politics and eliminate them along with the Qur'an. His eminence Imām says in this regard:

"The only thing which can come between the imperialist governments and me, and not allow their control over the resources of the Muslim countries is Islam and its distinguished '*ulamā*'... The imperialist governments' original plan is to eliminate the Qur'an, Islam, and the '*ulamā*'... From their long years of experience, they have realized that the eminent '*ulamā*' of Islam and honorable preachers have led the nations toward Islam and the Qur'an through their constant efforts and that they have never yielded to the threats and allurements in favor of the tyrannical regime and plundering foreigners. Through utmost effort they have made the mosques and religious assemblies at the service of the Holy Qur'an and dear Islam."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Jahān-e Islām (The Muslim World)*, translated and authored by 'Imād-zādeh.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahān-e Islām (The Muslim World)*, translated and authored by 'Imād-zādeh.

<sup>3</sup> *Dar Jostejuye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 14, pp. 35-36.

### **Neocolonialism and backwardness**

One of the main techniques, which the imperialism made use of it to rule and dominate over the weak and oppressed states, was military inroad and military expedition to these countries, in the manner that through placing their military power in the colonized country, the colonialist powers started plundering and looting their resources directly. However, by advance of the world and awakening of the Muslim and oppressed nations, the imperialism confronted with numerous problems which prevented it from military attacks and inroads. However, the more painful matter which was definitely more hazardous than the military attacks was creation of a phenomenon named “Neocolonialism”. Even though, there were not in this kind of imperialism any military attacks, it was filled with ideological and cultural inroads. In the neocolonialism the country under hegemony will gradually be alienated with its identity and dignity and will open his eyes when there is no hope; since in that country the imperialistic thoughts will take roots in every corner and, like a cancerous tumor, will bereave the society of all its possessions and take away its power for any kind of activity and improvement. The framework and goals of the neocolonialism are as follows: 1) Infiltrating and spreading the imperialistic culture in the colonized country; 2) Eliminating the original culture of that country, and 3) Ruining cultural legacies and eliminating the glories of that country.

Depicting the condition of a country under hegemony of the neocolonialism, his eminence Imām says:

“the nation must remain backward; the Qur’anic and Islamic culture be antiquated; laws violated; and corruption and debauchery be taken to the depth of this mourning place called Iran so that the neocolonialism can easily continue its plunder while its ill-reputed agents can pound the head of this cemetery with luxury, pleasure and wealth-accumulation. Through the noise of progressive country and its blowing of horn, this strange country must be pushed back and deprived of the necessities and main concerns of a developing country... and if they ever breath, their sound will be suppressed with a bayonet so that oil reserves and other minerals of ours can be plundered and nothing but suffering, hardship, imprisonment, and torture for the Iranian nation will be left.”<sup>1</sup>

And, at the present time, the cause of regret is existence of this great danger in the Muslim countries, and many of the causes behind the Muslim

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 189.

societies' backwardness are originated from this very matter and unless the Muslims be in the thought of remedy, they will always be under the rule of the neocolonialism.

### **Disunity and backwardness of the Muslim societies**

One of the important ways which throughout the history has been used for weakening and declining the deprived and oppressed states is adding fuel to disunity and discord; since, when discord and division is created in a society and every group and gang of starts quarrel and dispute with other groups, undoubtedly, that society will not attain prosperity and success and will at any moment fall towards decline and adversity. It is likely that a society has a huge potential power, but because of lack of unity and consolidation among the individuals, it will for ever remain in the state of weakness and stagnation.

From among the factors which has caused weakness and backwardness among the Muslims is this very issue; despite having a tremendous power and many human forces, the Muslim *ummah* has always been witness to the aggression and hegemony of foreigners. And, disunion and discord are from among the factors which inflicted irretrievable losses upon Islam and so much bloods shed and persons murdered for this ominous plot and the discord affected all the Islamic issues and affairs. His eminence Imām (r) has pointed out to the great power of the Muslims in a part of his statements and such states the reason behind the backwardness and weakness of them while having many number and powers:

“Muslims are a population of approximately one billion, but unfortunately because of the disunity that exists among them and because of the lack of foresight that is present in their governments, they have not been able to achieve the power that Islam has foreseen for them.”<sup>1</sup>

In his memoirs, the spy of England in Muslim countries says: “the English Ministry of Colonies dispatched me to Egypt, Iraq, Tehran, and Hījāz to collect enough information for finding and strengthening ways for creating disunity among the Muslims...”<sup>2</sup> His eminence Imām, too, reckons the key to victory of the Muslims in the very beginning of Islam as the aftermath of unity and lack of dispersion: “The secret of the triumph of the Muslims at the advent of Islam was in their unity of expression and the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Nūr*, vol. 6, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs of Mr. Hemfer, the British spy in Muslim countries.

power of faith. It was the power of faith that caused a weak army to overcome the great number of the Roman Empire”.<sup>1</sup>

### **5. Dispersion of Power**

After the completion of investigations in the Muslim countries by the enemies, they found out that as long as unity and concord exist among the Muslim countries, and they are correlated to each other from the geographical perspective, it is impossible to infiltrate among them and to keep them in the state of weakness and backwardness for exploitation. Then, they planned to firstly separate the Muslim countries from one another and then attain their goals easily. Following this plot, after the World War I, they overwhelmed the great Ottoman Empire. Ḥaḍrat Imām such says in this regard:

“Maybe some of you remember the international war, the First World War, and what they did with the Muslims and the great Ottoman State. The Ottoman State was that state which would sometimes prevail in its conflicts with Russia, while other governments could not stand up to her. The Ottoman State was a Muslim state, whose power spread almost from East to West. They realized that as long as this Muslim state with such power existed, they could not do anything, they could not rob the region of its wealth. So after their victory in the First World War, under those circumstances, they divided the Ottoman State into a number of petty states. At the head of each of these states they placed a king, an amir, a sultan or a president.”<sup>2</sup>

In the ninetieth century, after the European ideational developments (Renaissance), each of the Muslim countries fell under the sway of one of the great powers. At that time, a main part of the North Africa was colonized by France. Italy took a greedy view upon the Ottoman Tripoli and Arabia and Yemen fell into the hands of the *wahhābīs* who were nourished by the imperialistic powers. Iran severely became a protectorate of England and Russia and the intense competition between these two powers in Iran and Afghanistan inflicted irretrievable losses. The Ottoman capital changed into the current Turkey which was administered by the English policies. Indeed, the imperialism’s infiltration into the Muslim countries dissipated the scientific, economic and cultural basis of the Muslims.

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 14.

However, though the Ottoman rulers themselves had many deficiencies and weaknesses, the existence of an emperor, to that extent, had rendered a great power for Islam and after the Ottoman division, the colonialists endeavored through taking the reins of these small governments not to let the Muslims reestablish such a great emperor. His eminence Imām says in this regard:

“There once existed the Great Ottoman State, and that, too, the imperialists divided. Russia, Britain, Austria, and other imperialist powers united. It is true that the most of the Ottoman rulers were incompetent, that some of them were corrupt, and that they followed the monarchical system. Nonetheless, the existence of the Ottoman State represented a threat to the imperialists. It was always possible that righteous individuals might rise up among the people and, with their assistance, seize control of the state, thus putting an end to imperialism by mobilizing the unified resources of the nation. Therefore, after numerous prior wars, the imperialists at the end of World War I divided the Ottoman State, creating in its territories about ten or fifteen states. Then each of these was entrusted to one of their servants or a group of their servants.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the enemies of Islam who were for years in the pursuit of dealing a blow to, and wiping out, the Islam, took the first step and removed the basic unity among the Muslim countries and gradually paved the ground for their backwardness, weakness and decline.

After the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, imperialism planned to create discord among the Muslim countries.

## **6. Differences among the Muslim states**

When the enemies reached their old desire which was the very division and disintegration of the Muslim countries, they smoothed the ground for alienating the Muslim countries from one another through more activities. They had well perceived that Islam has connected the Muslims to one another, though they be from different nationalities; therefore, they made plans to create rift among the Muslim countries and strived to infiltrate into the iron will power of the nation by adding fuel to the flames of discord and disunion. They endeavored a lot in this direction. Some of the heads themselves were puppets and agents of the colonialist powers and many others were in step with their goals unwantedly or because of some causes.

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<sup>1</sup> *Wilāyat-e Faqīh* (Governance of jurist), p. 36.

Unfortunately, as yet these differences have a wide scope, and this is itself an important factor for the Muslims weakness and decline. His Eminence Imām (r) says:

“If the governments come together the nations will also come together. But there are some governments who will not allow the different nations to cooperate. The Islamic government and the Muslims will meet with no obstacles if they unite. There will be no power stronger than Islam. This is because there is a milliard Muslims in the world.”<sup>1</sup>

In another place, while reproaching the Muslim states for their differences, Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“Why should the Islamic governments be cut off and separated from one another like this? Why don’t the Islamic countries realize that it is Islam that they (the imperialists) have in their sights? All the people are alive to this; why not the governments? Until when must we and our governments be under foreign domination ... Why don’t the Muslims wake up?”<sup>2</sup>

When dispute and discord among heads of the Muslim countries reach its climax, it is apparent that the scope of its flames will also reach to that country’s nation and people, and consequently, rancor, enmity and hostility will exacerbate at the heart of the Muslim world. Under such circumstances, the Muslim power will be exhausted, and its weakness and inability will day by day be increased.

### **Racism and aggravation of negative nationalism**

Racial discrimination is one of the techniques which the imperialism makes use of it for weakening and declining the Muslims. Instilling the idea that, for example, the Arab race is superior than other ones or the Aryan people are prior to others, it makes endeavor to create rift among the Muslims. Unfortunately, at the present time, it has been to some extent successful in this way. This issue has caused bloody conflicts and disputes as a result of which the Muslims should find themselves and diffuse this technique of the (world) arrogance, since all of them are Muslims and followers of the Qur’an, and as a united nation. Ḥaḍrat Imām such states this plot of the (world) arrogance:

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Josteḡūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Josteḡūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*.



“The West has used one great deception to influence, tempt or intimidate the governments of Islamic countries... That great deceit which debases the Muslim governments and distances them from the Qur’an is this race business. This man is from the race of Turks, he has to do his ritual prayers in Turkish. This one is from the Iranian race; his alphabet should be as such. That one is from the Arab race, Arabism should govern not Islam!!!... The Aryan race should rule not Islam...”<sup>1</sup>

However, the important matter is the Muslims’ adding fuel to these kinds of differences. Every day heads of the Muslim states breathe into this fire of imperialism by using titles such as “Arab”, “Arab nationalism”, “the society of Turks, Kurds...” and make it more successful in reaching its goals; however, what the Muslims ought to take into consideration is that aggravating the differences will, further, pave the way for the weakness and decline of the Muslims, while these kinds of differences have been resolved among all the nations and these deeds are very naïve and reactionary. Ḥaḍrat Imām says in this respect:

“Let us see where this racism, which is being developed amongst these men and is increasing and is encouraged, leads us. This racism is a childish affair and it is as if they are making children play their games. They are making the heads of the governments play their games... Sir, what are you, where are you from? We should do such and such for our own country! ... and I don’t know where it will lead to... There are no Turks and Iranians, Arabs and non-Arabs. Islam is the pivotal point for all Muslims. Why should these kinds of revolutions be created in each of these countries? Why should fronts be created between Muslim governments?”<sup>2</sup>

## **8. Sectarian differences and provocation of prejudices**

The heaviest blows which during several decades ago have been dealt upon the holy body of Islam originate from the differences and biases in creed and sect. So that, it has inflicted the most vital losses on the Muslim society and now it suffers from numerous afflictions in this regard, since whatever the scope of these differences extends, discord and disunion among the Muslims exacerbates and consequently not only the Muslims lose their

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\* Considering that some of the Iranian zealots were on the belief that the Persian alphabetic should be other than Arabic one, his eminence Imām referred to this point.

<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15.

thinking on construction and unity for reaching to development and welfare, but also oppression, corruption and treachery reach their pinnacle.

Since time immemorial, the imperialists were thinking to find ways for creating difference among Muslim sects and for this purpose they have brought up many specialists and seasoned ones and have dispatched to the Muslim states.

In his memoirs, Mr. Hemfer states: “the English Ministry of Colonies dispatched me to Egypt, Iraq, Tehran, and Ḥijāz to collect enough information for finding and strengthening ways for creating disunity among the Muslims...”<sup>1</sup>

Through causing differences such as Shī‘ism, Sunnīsm and creating and provocation aggression among them and provocation of the partial and biased individuals like *wahhābīs*, the colonialist powers have been able to some extent to achieve their sinister targets. As, Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“The agents of the foreigners who see that their interests and the interests of their masters are in danger, in order to provoke the Sunni brothers and fan the flames of fratricide, have put forward the Shī‘ah-Sunnī issue and with this mischief they seek to create a rift between brothers.”<sup>2</sup>

If we went a little back to the past, we would observe that what killings, wars, rancor, and enmities have taken place because of this. And, at this juncture that all the opponents are hand in glove and have been mobilized to wipe out Islam, some of the Muslims, instead of standing alongside each other, are supporting these differences and are aggravating it and are weakening Islam and the Muslims more than even before. Indeed, if the Muslims, instead of attributing blasphemy and profanity to each other, become united and put aside the sectarian differences and struggle with their common enemies in one line, will they have any doubt in gaining victory? Ḥaḍrat Imām had well got the point and it is not out of reason that he at any time speaks of the unity among the Muslims: “We have no disagreement with our Sunnī brethren. We are all of one nation and Qur’an”.<sup>3</sup> In another place, addressing the Shī‘ites who are leaving for the Ḥajj, his eminence Imām (r) says:

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Mr. Hemfer, the British spy in Muslim countries.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 192.

“Iranian brothers and Shiites of other countries are required to avoid all ignorant actions, which might be a cause of separation within the lines of Muslims. They are also required to attend the gatherings of Sunnites and avoid attending and forming prayers in houses or setting up loud speakers to oppose them. They must avoid genuflecting on the holy tombs and doing whatever is not in consistent with the sacred law at all cost.”<sup>1</sup>

The Imperialists not only are creating disunity among the Muslims but also are planning to strain the relation between the Muslims and non-Muslims; for example, the Muslims clashes with the *Hindūs* are a good example in this regard. Every year, in India and Pakistan many oppressed people of the two sides are killed because of these religious differences and biases, without thinking a little where from these differences originates.

#### **e. Unity and solidarity in the Imām’s (r) word**

Since his eminence’s (r) struggle against the imperialism, he has always warned the Muslims about the danger of disunity and disagreement and has repeatedly announced it as one of the root causes of the Muslim nations’ lack of success and development. In many of his speeches, he has called the Muslims for unity and pointed out to its aftermaths. In a part of his speeches, he says:

“If nations and governments want to attain victory and attain the Islamic objectives in all their dimensions, which are for the happiness of mankind, they must cling to the rope of God<sup>2</sup> and hold fast altogether by the rope which Allah stretches out for you, and to shun differences and division and obey the command...Thus, in order to achieve independence and freedom, Muslims must get hold of this key to victory and try hard for unity of expression. You the leaders of governments must pursue this Islamic objective and shun hostility and antagonism with your brothers.”<sup>3</sup>

In another place, Ḥaḍrat Imām introduces disunity as the source of all misfortunes: “Be aware that differences and dissensions are the sources of all miseries and slaveries.”<sup>4</sup> In another place, the Imām knows the victory of the Islamic Revolution indebted to the unity of expression: “You overwhelmed and triumphed over powers, and the satanic power of the ex-Shāh through

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah Āl-e ‘Imrān* 3:103.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 186.

your unity of expression”.<sup>1</sup> In conclusion of this discussion, we shall pay heed to the Imām’s word on disunity and unity in his religio-political testament:

“What is important for the Iranian people and the Muslims of the world today and in the future, is to challenge this divisive and destructive propaganda. My recommendation to the Muslims... is to react strongly to these conspiracies and consolidate their unity in any possible way, in order to disappoint the *Kuffār* (disbelievers) and *Munāfiqīn* (hypocrites).”<sup>2</sup>

## **9. Being under the influence of the trite Western culture**

When a society loses its cultural identity and originality, and resorts to the traditions and customs with which its existence and nature are alienated, undoubtedly, it will not succeed. Scientists are on the belief that, throughout history, one of the root causes of civilizations’ decline has always been cultural corruption and taking influence from other cultures.

Islam has such a sublime culture in which all the issues related to the mankind’s happiness and welfare has been recorded and if it is acted accordingly, there is no doubt that the society will succeed. As, Ḥaḍrat Imām says in this regard:

“You know and have seen in history that the Muslims of the very beginning of Islam while having a few number united and with their faith overcome in less than a century, since they were together and the weapon of faith was at their disposal ... You observed that a nation which had a few number and no weapon and had no warfare and military force, but because of having faith it prevailed over a demonic power which all the powers, and not only the superpowers, were following it.”<sup>3</sup>

However, imperialism had found out that in case the spirit-giving ideals of Islam are implemented in the Muslims’ societies, it can never be able to infiltrate into the Muslim lands. Hence, by spreading the imperialistic culture which has no goals behind except leading the Muslims to corruption and backwardness, it planned to make the Muslims deviated from the main direction of Islam, so as through the corruption and decay of them and

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 6, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāḥ az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15, p. 213.

alienating them from their original culture it can achieve its goals. Ḥaḍrat Imām says in this regard:

“Culture is the source of a nation’s happiness or misfortune. If the culture is not sound then the youth who are trained in this unsound culture will, in the future, create corruption. The imperialist culture produces imperialist youth for the country. A culture which is created by the designs of others—and it is the foreigners who lay their plans for us then hand them over to our society in the form of culture—is an imperialist and parasitic culture. Such a culture is a weapon more lethal than anything else; it is even worse than the arms of these ruffians, for their weapons eventually fall to pieces, as they have done now. But when the culture is corrupt, our youth, who form the foundations of our society, are lost to us; they are trained to become parasites, to become infatuated with the West.”<sup>1</sup>

In another place, referring to this ominous plot of the (world) arrogance and warning the Muslims about its danger, his eminence Imām says:

“One of the most effective conspiracies that unfortunately has left an undeniable mark on the nations, including our own, is the alienation of the people of colonized countries with their own cultures. In other words, ‘Westernized’ or ‘Easternized’ intellectuals became alienated with their own cultures and they came to regard the people related to the superpowers as having superior culture and race compared to that of their own. They looked upon the superpowers as their Qiblah and thought that affiliation with one of the two poles of power is an inevitable issue.”<sup>2</sup>

Then, Ḥaḍrat Imām refers to the consequences of this ominous plot of the (world) arrogance as such:

“This sad story has a lengthy background. And the blows we have received, and still receiving, are seriously devastating and fatal. Another unhappy and mischievous target plotted by the superpowers is to prevent the oppressed and colonized nations from progression and keep them backward in order to make them consumers rather than producers.”<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ḥaḍrat Imām’s speech in the holy city of Najaf, dated 11/1/1356 AHS, “*A Collection of the Writings*”.

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeh* (The last message).

<sup>3</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeh* (The last message).

When the imperialistic culture infiltrates into a society, corruption and debauchery increase as well, the consumer policy rules over it, lassitude and languidness prevails over that society, and gradually the true Islam is eliminated and substituted with the western prosaic culture. Apparently, under such circumstances the imperialism can reach its goals easily; as Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“A time when the malicious claws of the imperialists have penetrated the depths of Muslim countries and by all possible means they endeavor to dissuade the Muslims from resorting to Islam and the Qur’an so that they could easily attain their inhuman objectives which are the exploitation of the deprived class.”<sup>1</sup>

### **10. Spreading corruption by the name of civilization**

Claiming that it wants to submit its culture to the Eastern society, the West commits various crimes and corruptions. And, whenever it is protested, raise the name of civilization. In order to infiltrate its culture into the Muslim societies easily, the West calls it civilization and in this manner it names the freemen who challenge these cultural inroads reactionaries and protestors of the civilization, and unfortunately this intrigue has inflicted a vital blow upon the body of Islam. Ḥaḍrat Imām says frankly in his word:

“We are not against development and progress, but we are opposed to the expansion of the foreigners’ culture and also prostitution. We are not against cinemas; we are opposed to brothels. We are not opposed to radio, it is prostitution that we are opposed to; we are not opposed to television; what we are opposed to are services rendered to foreigners for keeping our youth backward, and the dissipation of our manpower. When did we ever oppose modernism and its processes? When manifestations of European modernism set foot on eastern shores, particularly in Iran, instead of utilizing this (great) center of civilization, we were pushed into savagery.”<sup>2</sup>

#### **a. Corruption in the educational system**

For spreading the imperialistic culture, the imperialists has taken some measures from among of which we can refer to the establishment of Western schools aiming to make the future generation acquainted with foreign culture so that, that generation disremembers its original culture. For example, the educational advisor of Italy in Eritrea ordered in 1938 that: After finishing

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15, P. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Nūr*, vol. 5, p. 6.

the fourth year of the primary school, students have to be able to speak Italian language well, and it is sufficient for them to know from the science of history and its figures only those who have been the cause of grandeur and greatness of Italy.<sup>1</sup>

It is not causeless that Ḥaḍrat Imām shouts that the educational matters ought to be taken into consideration and be based upon the true basis. He says:

“Foreigners and their activities emptied our schools and universities of any content... We must do our best for many years to come so as to strip off our second nature and come onto ourselves and stand on our feet... We should start with children and our only aim should be turning western man into an Islamic one.”<sup>2</sup>

Referring to this great danger in his testament, too, Ḥaḍrat Imām says: “One of their (and the enemies’) major plots... is to take over the educational institutions, especially the universities”.<sup>3</sup>

### **b. Corruption in the mass media**

One of the means which the West always makes use of it to corrupt and stupefy the Muslim nations is radio, television and the press. In case the mass media of a country turns into the propagandistic means of the imperialists, and only undertake the duty of propagating and disseminating the culture of imperialism, how one can expect that the Islamic precepts be put into effect in that society. Since, radio, television and the press are from among the means which if they are used in the proper way and are based on the Islamic norms, they will bring about happiness, and if, God forbid, they fall into the abyss of corruption and destruction, they will deviate the strata of the society, particularly the young generation, from the true path of Islam, as Ḥaḍrat Imām says in his religio-political testament:

“Radio, television, the press, the cinema, and theaters are the most effective means for stupefying and corruption of the nations especially the younger generations. During the past century, especially the second half of it, great plots were hatched and executed through these media against Islam and its faithful servants, the clerics. The mass media are used, also in the colonial

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<sup>1</sup> *Isti'mār dar Sarzamīnhāye Tawhīd*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīf-e-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Waṣīyatnāmeḥ* (The last message).

propaganda networks of the West and the East. They have been used to create markets for goods, especially for the sale of luxury and decorative commodities. The media are focused to make people imitate other cultures particularly in areas like clothing, consumption of alcoholic drinks, styles of architecture, and in many other things. To look Westernized was the thing to be proud of. Especially ladies in higher or middle income groups imitated the westerners in all forms and manners.”<sup>1</sup>

Making obscene and immoral films, exciting the young women and men’s lusts, and leading the Muslims astray, the imperialists endeavor to keep the nation away from being awakened and thinking of construction and development, and cause them to remain in negligence for ever. In the colonized countries, magazines and the press are only encouraging and inciting the nation for the materialization of the imperialistic goals and make effort to expand the colonial culture of the West. As Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“Television films depicting Western or Eastern products made young men and women stray from the normal course of their work, throwing life and industry into oblivion irrespective of themselves and their personalities and produced pessimism in people vis-à-vis their own beings, their country, and culture and even about highly valuable works of art and literature, of the West and the East through the treachery of middlemen and collectors. Magazines printed pictures and articles detrimental to morality. Newspapers took pride in directing the youth towards the West or the East by publishing anti-Islamic and anti-indigenous culture and articles.”<sup>2</sup>

However, it does not mean that the mass media are of no value, but they are very valuable if they are programmed in line with the lofty teachings of Islam, they will be very successful. Referring to this issue, Ḥaḍrat Imām says that the very radio and television, which are so harmful can be used in the way of proper propaganda: “The radio and television are media to which great significance is attached for both positive and correct propagation as well as negative and corrupt propaganda”.<sup>3</sup>

In another place, the Imām counts the radio and television more important than any other publicity means: “The importance of radio and television is higher than all other things”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ* (The last message).

<sup>2</sup> *Waṣīyyatnāmeḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfe-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 203.



### **Proposing separation of religion from politics**

When Islam and politics are linked together and a composition of the Islamic policy is formed, undoubtedly it will succeed; since according to the history only with an ephemeral glance on the Islamic Revolution and its solidarity against the innumerable problems this will be clarified. Was there anything but the political sense and Ḥaḍrat Imām's commitment to Islam (*r*), the key to the victory of his leadership? What caused him to enter into the hearts? And what caused him to progress in the most dangerous political issues? Was it any thing but the Islamic politics?!

When imperialism discovered this foremost issue, it concentrated its endeavor on it to separate religion from the policy of Islamic states and gradually drive the true religion of Islam into isolation. If we take a look at Turkey, we will observe that a country which has once been the center of Islam and from which the power of Islam has been originated, now has disregarded all the Islamic disciplines and took step towards misfortune and decline. As, Kamāl Pāshā (Ātātürk), one of the kings of Turkey, believed: for the country's advancement, all the disciplines and customs as well as the Eastern heritages have to be put aside and all over the country have to be transform into a European country. His slogan was the westernization of Turkey and all his measures were taken in this line and at present we observe that how Turkey is declining for its political and social problems.

In the Islamic states, imperialism gradually started disseminating the idea that faith and religion is only peculiar to the illiterate and ignorant ones and its place is only in the tombs and mosques and Islam is unable to administer the society so as to take the solidarity and proper Islamic biases away from the society and alienate them from their national identity and then follow their ominous goals. In this way, through instilling these doubts, they are planning to remove the religious ones and on top of them the great range of the clerics from the scene. As, Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“The covert hands of the global usurpers have, with the help of local individuals and groups that have penetrated into the various strata of the Muslim nations, been working on a certain evil plan for many years now. And they have unfortunately succeeded in spreading a general belief that the clerics should be isolated in their chambers and in the mosques and that the activities of their seniors should be confined to visits from their homes to the mosques and back, with no involvement whatsoever in social issues. And that any involvement of the clergy in socio-political affairs should be tabooed since it would be against the dignity of the clergy! Subsequently,

the duty of the young clerics was to simply crawl into the damp chambers of their seminaries and to study religious books that had nothing to do with social and political affairs. According to them, it would be most improper for a cleric to ever don a military uniform...”<sup>1</sup>

The imperialism went ahead so much as even the political interference is considered as sin and crime. In many of the Muslim countries, if a person who has a scientific and Islamic status interferes into the affairs of the society, he will act contrary to his own standing. Since, the imperialists introduced the politics as telling lies and resorting to trickery. In this respect, Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“They have from the first instilled the idea that politics means telling lies and the like so as to dissuade you from the countries affairs and they be busy with their own job and you busy with saying prayers. You sit down here and they do what they wish, commit what debauchery they wish.”<sup>2</sup>

The word of the martyr of the path of freedom and independence, the late Mudarris, is yet in the minds who said: “our religion is the same as our politics”.

Indeed, does the materialization of the point that the religion and the politics are linked together give honor and dignity to Islam? And doesn't it pave the way for its progress and growth?! Certainly yes.

### **Poverty and exploitation of the Islamic countries**

One of the main causes which has always hindered the Muslim countries from growth and advance is poverty and exploitation which has been caused by the imperialism and it is exacerbated day by day. However, it is surprising that why the nations which have access to the best wealth and the richest resources, live in poverty and indigence? While, these nations can with such a great deal of capital have a great industry and technology. If we glance our eye over Africa, we will observe that in many of its parts there are great resources of gold, silver, lignite, and aluminum; however, it is always in the state of poverty and hunger. Also, there are rich resources of petroleum and gas in the Middle East; however, they are backward compared to the world

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Josteḡūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 8, P. 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Josteḡūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 8, P. 192.

of industry and technology. While describing these courtiers, Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“... The nations which, with enormous populations, vast lands, precious natural sources, a very brilliant history and culture as well as heavenly laws, under the bondage of imperialism, are dying of hunger, are entangled in nakedness, poverty, misery and backwardness, and are waiting for their death...”<sup>1</sup>

For finding the cause of this great affliction, it is enough only to take a look at imperialism’s record in the Muslim countries.

Through various techniques in the Muslim countries and in line with their ominous goals, the imperialists are plundering the oppressed and deprived nations of the region. Without the Muslim nations being in the think of a remedy, the imperialists are endeavoring to annihilate the potential economic infrastructure of the Muslim countries by plundering their natural resources and then place the Muslims in the state of backwardness and poverty and exploit them through various techniques. As, Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“It is wonderful that the main resources like petroleum which has turned into the means of other states’ progress and development are more often in the Eastern and Muslim countries; however, unfortunately, the imperialists are robbing your wealth while you ought to flatter them. Indeed, this God-given wealth which should be the cause of progress, elevation and development of this region’s people and free them from what has been the cause of their bondage and misfortune.”<sup>2</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Yes, indeed, so long as the imperialists are such infiltrating into the Muslim countries, the Muslims will never experience the sweet taste of progress and happiness, so long as Islam is not revived among the Muslim nations and its issues are not materialized exactly, we can never achieve growth and elevation and so long as the ominous shadow of hypocrisy disunion, poverty, exploitation and alienation from the cultural originality is cast among the society, how one can expect prosperity and independence?! Now, we are living in an age when a moment of negligence equals to a great deal of backwardness and affliction. Undoubtedly, if the enemies of Islam

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<sup>1</sup> Dated Ramaḍān 1389 AH, a collection of the writings, speeches..., p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 15, p. 34, dated 8/4/1343 AHS.

find the scene empty, they will make use of our weakness and will consider no mercy and compassion lawful to the Muslim world and will keep us from all aspects in the state of weakness and backwardness. As, Ḥaḍrat Imām says:

“The aim of America and all the hegemonic powers is nothing other than keeping all the weak countries in a state of backwardness in all aspects: cultural, economic, political and military. They cannot have any plan other than to benefit from our resources and those of the other backward countries; and this is the cause of all the pressures in all respects being brought to bear on us.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, we ought to be in the think of remedy and discover the main causes of weakness and backwardness and take steps for their adjustment. The founder of the Islamic Republic says in this regard:

“It is my hope that the Muslims of the world learn of their afflictions and the origins thereof as we approach the turn of the century and it is my wish that by means of multilateral unity as well as reliance upon Islam and under its glorious banner that they sever the shackles of slavery and procure their freedom from colonialist nations. Having recognized the pains that they are enduring as well as the fact that they have seen nothing but difficulties, barbarities, and crimes from the diabolic superpowers, Muslims today must achieve a solution by uniting and seeking divine help from the Almighty and our holy religion, Islam.”<sup>2</sup>

In another place, Ḥaḍrat Imām says in this regard: “This era is not the time for Muslims to sit idle and watch them (foreign powers) going on with their plundering. This is an era when Muslims must rise up and dissociate their country from the influence of foreign (powers)”<sup>3</sup>.

Now it is a time when we require struggle, endeavor, and sacrifice, and along with unity, consolidation and solidarity and also the God’s help, the victory will be imminent.

“Oh Muslims of the world, poor of the world under the hegemony of the oppressors, rise up and unite and defend Islam and your destiny and don’t fear the roar of the superpowers, for this century as God will is the century

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Josteḡūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 14, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Josteḡūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 14, pp. 164-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Dar Josteḡūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 14, pp. 148.

of domination of the poor over the superpowers and right will prevail over wrong.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Jostejūye Rāh az Kālām-e Imām*, vol. 14.

## **Impact of Imām Khomeinī's Movement on the Development of Parameters of the Muslim World**

*Murtaḍā Dūstī Thānī*

### **Abstract**

The advent of the Islamic Revolution as well as the establishment of the Islamic Republic with the leadership of Ḥadrat Imām Khomeinī (s) had profound and comprehensive reactions in all the world countries. This profound effect has been more observable among the oppressed people in particular and also the entire world Muslims.

A superficial, and even casual, review of the writings and news reports, too, substantiates this profound and global reaction. Glancing at the existing travel accounts and the books published by the Foreign Affairs Ministry on the world countries, this paper tries to study and analyze some aspect of this great religious approach which has been inspired of Ḥadrat Imām's (s) movement.

In reviewing travel accounts, it is either possible to rely on the writings of the Iranians traveled to other countries or to the reports which the foreign pressmen and authors themselves have written on the effects of the religious movement of Ḥadrat Imām (s).

In reviewing the books of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which have not dealt merely with the revolution's effects; rather focused on different issues alongside each other, too, it has been tried to comprehend the effect of the revolution from among the context and then take it into consideration and analysis.

The present paper has dealt with the effect of the religious movement in four continents of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America and in addition to the summary has made a conclusion at the end of each part and concentrated on the four pivotal topics of "an outlook to the Islamic revolution of Ḥadrat Imām (s), an outlook to, and being

touched by, the Islamic revolution, a positive public outlook to the religion and change in the outlook to Islam.

## **Introduction**

The reality of the existence of the Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Revolution in Iran with the leadership of Ḥadrat Imām Khomeinī (s) today is admitted and acceptable for the world people. This issue, and this fortune, has not been possible easily and, in the existing ups and downs, its happening roots and the scope its influence and the way of spreading its parameters of course, should not be forgotten.

From the advent of the Islamic Revolution, from the natural and human aspects, and various fields its contexts and functions have been reviewed. In the Muslim world this matter led to the occurrence of fundamental development from among of which we can refer to the effects on the leadership of the movements, practical unity, giving value to the pure Islamic manifestations and notions, and acceptance of the principles like the principle of “neither East, nor West”. Undoubtedly, the model for these changes was the manner of leadership and characteristics of Ḥadrat Imām Khomeinī (s).

In this comprehensive movement, the aliens made use of numerous means to confront with the waves of the revolution which in addition to different plots was the trick of noxious interpretations and biased propaganda so as to prevent from the exportation of the Islamic Revolution to the region as well as the entire world. Unaware of the fact that Islam is not a movement initiated by the Muslims; rather, it has been descended by God as a complete code of life, and throughout its long history has remained dynamic yet.

At the present time, the apparent strategy of the West consists of avoiding the expansion of Islamism throughout the world and affecting the Iranian young generation by spreading different kinds of doubts and negligence inside the borders of a country which introduced the Islamic Revolution to the world.

However, the manner of the Islamist movements' confronting with the laic states and the tricks of the Western world not only is different in each country, according to some considerations, but also at the present juncture mainly consists of cultural planning, for returning to the self himself, and informing the people, for accepting a real Islamic system.

In the internal atmosphere, since for the first time, a real popular and Islamic revolution has gained victory and has settled, its perseverance requires different strategies for thwarting the enemies' goals. As an example, from the cultural aspect, elucidation of all realities and ups and downs of Imām Khomeinī's movement is felt for the Revolution generation—that is, the youth who did not experienced the atmosphere of the advent and victory



of the revolution from the close and during these years have been targeted by poisonous propagandistic shots of the enemy or the internal contradictions.

This need requires various and attractive ways which as an instance we can refer to the effect of the violent wave of the Islamic Revolution on the soul of other Muslims. As such, the false borders of the minds break and the revolution generation give credence to the effect of philosophy, Gnostic, ideas, and characteristic of Imām Khomeinī (s) on the contemporary world, find answer to his queries, and make a decision with insight.

The present research tries to show the great and increasing role of the Islamic Revolution, among the parameters of the contemporary world, through presenting authentic ideas of enemies and friends. It is evident that the above study is the deliberation of some realities which after access to other researches will provide an image correspond to the status of the Muslim world's vigilance.

Before dealing with the text, it is necessary to refer to the existing conditions of the society, since it is related to the argument and also make our minds clearer as to the current problems. This hint relates to negligence from the context of religion, and viewpoints of the movement leaders on reconstruction and compilation of the specific planning system of the Muslim society, while other Muslims reconstruct the basic pillars of the social systems through contemplating into the great achievements of the Islamic movement of Iran.

The current situation of our society tangles with cultural crisis which is related to a historical process. In other words, it is dependent on paving the ground for presence of the Western social systems in Iran by the corrupt kings of Qājār, and stabilization of financial, educational, administrative, and disciplinary systems with the specific materialistic philosophy of the West by Ridā Khān and his son. The nature of subsystems of the social system of the West had a profound effect on the crisis and creating rift in the social coherence of Iran which it is not necessary to examine its various dimensions here.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Ḥadrat Imām (s), based on his influential approach, founded the revolutionary systems (Reconstruction *Jihād*, *Sipāh*, *Basīj*, etc.) beside the remaining systems. However, the procedure of this movement stagnated because of main reasons such as: change of the cultural atmosphere of the society towards the merely political incidents, missing of thoughtful elites and unexpected events like the imposed war.

In those years, out of the executive system, a group composed of intellectuals must have followed and compiled the root reconstruction of the social system in proportion to the ultimate targets of the Islamic Republic; however, it did not happen as such. Thus, amid the problems of the construction period, there was not more than one practical way for the executives and that was reconstruction of the previous false systems in the shape of superstructure for quick response to material needs of the people. Therefore, in the years after the holy defense the false Western systems disseminated their bitter cultural effects through social relations.

This hint is necessary because, in this writing, it will be clarified that other Muslims by the use of the revolutionary systems which were introduced and revived by the Islamic Iran, are reconstructing the social systems around themselves. While for our negligence from the guidelines of the supreme leader for organizing educational-administrative systems, we are afflicted with the consequences of the previous false systems which undoubtedly bring about a negative imagination for the young generation. Unfortunately, in Iran the people's expectations and anticipations, under the affect of the same culture of previous history is and has been directed towards the statesmen's measures; and this issue redoubles the existing cultural crisis as well as the negligence from the Islamic guidelines on building a monotheistic society which is echoed in the words of the Imām and the Supreme Leader.

In this regard, in the waves of this crisis, the contemporary generation forgets that:

“Islam contrary to the socialistic theories of the present time never claims of the establishment of the promised paradise on the earth. Since, according to the religion teachings, from among the various graces which God has bestowed to the mankind, he must first look for the hereafter. Thus, the Islamic civilization can never be reporter of the absolute perfection in this world. For, this civilization contrary to the utopian theories of our age, and the ideas based on their images is realistic and has never targeted the impossible.”<sup>1</sup>

Having passed fruitful years from the establishment of the Islamic Revolution, one can truly say that this movement followed and presented very effective political notions and techniques from the heart of the religion,

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<sup>1</sup> “*Islām wa Buḥrān-e ‘Aṣr-e Mā*”, p. 72.

which has been unprecedented throughout history of the Islamic movements. Through mobilization of the Muslim masses, under one leadership, and making use of the religious society organs, not only this movement made possible the objective and practical defeat of the blasphemy and its other figures (nationalist, communist, *munāfiq*) in Iran, but also with a particular enlightenment showed the mobilization of the global power of Islam to all.

Before Imām Khomeinī's movement, too, many political thoughts had been raised in the Muslim world and had been manifested in the shape of traditional movements, Islamic parties and nationalists. However, their functions either led to deviation from Islam or their way or technique did not bring about desirable result and was thwarted. But,

“In the contemporary history of Islam, for the first time, from among the Islamic movements one has attained the power to take shape a revolution and manifest and implement it in a popular way. Consequently, we can say that along with the Islamic movement in Iran, Islam has been able to become applicable and materialized from the theoretical and practical aspect.”<sup>1</sup>

During the Islamic Revolution of Iran, a distinguished political move refuted all the government organs and staged violent struggles against the ruling power. Since, this move took its revolutionary power from heart of the religion and did not fight for safeguarding of the class interests, attracted the support of the public. Contrasting decisively with the ruling system, this distinguished move delineated the lines of a new system from the heart of religion with its particular organs (such as, *Sipāh*, *Basij*, *Jihād-e Sāzandegī* and so on) and in reality, also, vanquished the dignity of supporters of the ruling system. For this reason, the success behind the design and implementation of this political system was taken severely into consideration of other Muslims and Islamic movements. The direct and evident signs of this effect, in a short time-span, were observed in the neighboring countries of Iran and regions like Egypt.

The anti-*ṭāghūtī* and guiding role of the Islamic Revolution of Iran was not, at all, as a model deniable for the Movement of the Muslim Community in Egypt. “‘Abūd az-Zumar” who had the key role in designing the operation of the revolutionary execution of *sādāt*, later on had emphasized on the important effects of patterning of the Islamic Revolution of Iran.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “*Ḥarikat-e Imām Khomeinī wa Tajdīd-e Ḥayāt-e Islām*”, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> “*Islāmgerāyī dar Miṣr*”, p. 68.

What encouraged the Islamic movements and all the Muslims in patterning, more than before, from the revolution of Iran, was despair from the moves which in spite of their popular image had sought refuge to the governments dependent on the imperialism and compromised with the Western organs. As,

“Weakness and lassitude ruling over the scholars of al-Azhar was from among the other instances which exacerbated the identity crisis and legality of the regime of Sādāt and Mubārak, since according to the submitting principle of each ruler’s having authority and limitation of the *ijtihād* chapter, that scholars did not, and do not, have any response for the people’s questions. Meanwhile, except satisfying the government’s goals, they did not imagine any other duty for themselves.”<sup>1</sup>

The advent of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, stressed on the importance and necessity of examining the leadership role in guiding the Islamic movements which mostly nourished mentally by the nationalist leaders. Thus, aside from the Shī‘ite congregations in Iraq and Lebanon which had profound historical and cultural affiliation with Iran, and for that reason the clergies were always was paid respect and honor, through analyzing the leadership role in leading a popular rise, other congregations of the Muslims, too, made endeavor to implement the model of the Islamic government of Iran in its best possible shape.

Perhaps, from among the first Islamic movements which emphasized evidently on the role of a clergy in leading the revolution, we can point to the Islamic Community in Egypt. However, since, for many years, lack of political thought based on struggle against brutal ruler among the Sunnī scholars had engraved its destructive role on the social and revolutionary organs, such moves were not devoid of mistake. Because, it was difficult for most of the Islamic, traditional movements and parties which were afflicted with the disease of self-competent, to accept, all at once, the leadership of a plenipotentiary jurist and clergy and a learned man of Qur’an and the *Sharī‘ah* (Islamic laws). The mistake allotted to the movement of Islamic Community in Egypt because this long term event was compilation of the movement’s articles of association by a person that was carried out without enough knowledge about juristic issues and with precipitance. While, it was

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

supposed that the theoretical measure of the movement be carried out by “Shaykh ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān”. (Compilation of the pamphlet “al-Jihād Farīdah al-Ghā’ibah” was done by ‘Abd as-Salām Faraj). Therefore, after the arrest of the members, regime of Egypt with the help of the al-Azhar scholars inflicted heavy blows on the ideological honor and political thought of the movement. However,

“The action of leaders of the Islamic Community of Egypt in turning the guidance of the organization over a clergy and mufti caused the Islamic Community to be distinguished thoroughly from the numerous political moves, enlightenment and Islamism, at the present and the past, and moreover be enjoyed the strong mass supports and the attraction of the public confidence.”<sup>1</sup>

The surprise rise of the revolutionaries of Egypt which immediately took place after the brilliant victory of the Iranian revolutionaries, informed other thinkers and analysts of the Islamic movements about the great role which the religious clergies and scholars can undertake in mobilization and guidance of the people.

“The rise of Rāshid al-Ghunūshī”, leader of the Islamic move of “*al-Nihdah*” in Tunisia, who had plainly written his viewpoints on Imām Khomeinī and his movement in the process of the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution. Through contemplating in this revolution, he found out particular characteristics and tried to put them into practice. Regarding the leadership of the clergy of the Islamic Revolution, he says:

“The existence of the scholars in leading the revolution of Iran is its peculiar characteristic. Unlike this revolution, we will observe in the leadership cadre of all the Islamic movements during the recent years that guidance of all these movements has been on the shoulder of the religious intellectuals. For example, in Tunisia weakness of the religious organization of the Sunnī people led to the total fall of the Islamic movement and existence of religious intellectuals in the leadership did not attract the people’s confidence, and thus people gradually put their trust in the scholars and follow them. Since, on the one hand they consider the clergies as their real guides toward God, and on the other hand, they fully understand and interpret the religious principles of the people – like Qur’an – and importantly they speak with the mass’s language.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> “*Ḥarikat-e Imām Khomeinī wa Tajdīd-e Ḥayāt-e Islām*”, p. 99.

Referring to the difference of the leadership in the revolution with other movements, the late Dr. “Kalīm Ṣiddīqī” who has so critically analyzed the characteristics of the Islamic Revolution of Iran such says:

“The leadership of the Islamic Revolution of Iran entrusted to the scholars not for the reason that they were more efficient than the intellectuals; rather, it was entrusted to the scholars since they were firstly from a stratum that were not at all under the influence of Western culture and had not been defiled. Moreover, the scholars did have enough knowledge about Islam and thus raised a complete ideology which was entirely different from that of the Western man.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the term, anti-*ṭāghūt*, and fully efficient role of “the cleric leadership” was taken into consideration in all the Muslim-dwelling regions. The objective model of this role was the Imām himself who could speak in the language of the masses and mobilize them, in the best possible way, against the internal and external enemies. Particular attention to the leadership role of the revolution, too, followed by some consequences from among of which was the revolutionary struggling organs of the Shī‘ite world. Since, contrary to the societies of the Sunnī people like Turkey which under the rule of affiliated regimes, the spiritual organs did not enjoy financial, and even political, independence, organs of the Shī‘ite societies such as: the theological centers, mosques and *ḥusayniyahs* which during many years had been able to preserve their health and firmness, played a very effective role in formation of the revolution and supporting the religious leader. Therefore, after the particular attention to the spiritual and jurist leadership role in leading the Islamic movements, the second factor which attracted the attention of the Muslim analysts for patterning from the revolution of Iran was a network of interrelated social, and nourishing the revolution, organs which as communicational, educational, fighting, and as a whole organizing the movement, centers played a key role in victory of the movement. This salient feature was an attractive characteristic which was taken into consideration by the commentators.

“In Iran, since the principle of religious following of a qualified jurist is prevalent among the people and, too, the independent financial resources are at the hand of the scholars, the clergies founded powerful religious

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<sup>1</sup> “*Niḥdathā-ye Islāmī wa Inqilāb-e Islāmī-ye Īrān*”, p. 75.

institutions. While the people paid homage to the scholars for their teachings and appraised them for their piety, this issue preserved the credit and status of the scholars in a high level.”<sup>1</sup>

“During the history, the Shī‘īte people has consistently obeyed and followed their scholars, especially if they have faith that the mentioned world has a firm and rigid stance against the enemies of the religion. For this reason, in the Shī‘īte world, the religious organizations expanded completely independent and apart from the governments, and with the philosophy of the advent of Imām of the Time (Imām az-Zamān) that the Iranians consider Imām Khomeinī as his deputy, the Shī‘īte scholars could assume the leadership. In this line, their economic independence which had made possible the financial nourishment of the movement through “*zakāt* and *khums*” of the believing and faithful masses, had a main role.”<sup>2</sup>

As such, a little time after the victory of the Islamic movement of Imām Khomeinī (s) in all the countries some signs of developing two basic element in organizing the movement, that is, the leadership and the social organs, were observed. So that, even in a country like Saudi Arabia, advent of “The Islamic Revolution Organization of the Arabian Peninsula” was confirmatory to the power increasing of the elements of the Islamic Revolution. However, what had till now taken place was the self-awareness and interest of the public of the Muslims about the revolution of a Muslim country. The third step on making the global movement of Islam comprehensive has practically been taken by Imām Khomeinī (s) through the announcement of the unity of the Shī‘īte and Sunnī world and as such, with presenting the strategy of unity in the political thought of the Islamic Revolution, he globalized the self-made moves inspired from the features of the Islamic Revolution of Iran which generally had been manifested in the acceptance of the role of the spiritual leadership and expansion of the religious centers.

“After the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, Imām Khomeinī (s) announced that thenceforth teachings of four creeds of the sunnītes should be reckoned among the taught lessons in the seminary school of Qum so as “the Shī‘īte Muslims awareness about the potential power of the Sunnītes’ traditions be increased and, if necessary, they use from this potential power for resolving problems, particularly in Iran”. In 1980, Imām Khomeinī issued a creed that the Shī‘īte Muslims can say prayers behind a Sunnī

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<sup>1</sup> “*Nihdat-e Islāmī-ye Shī‘ayān-e ‘Arāq*”, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> “*Harikat-e Imām Khomeinī wa Tajdīd-e Hayāt-e Islām*”, p. 101.

chaplain. He advised his followers that like the Sunnis say the five prayers separately every day.<sup>1</sup>

“When the Islamic Revolution of Iran gained victory, the first issue it was confronted with was propagation based on the values of the Islamic Revolution. The leadership of the revolution of Iran was a Shī‘ite one. In other words, despite the ideology of Ḥadrat Imām (s), the overall picture of the Islamic Revolution was miserly a Shī‘ite and Iranian one, while the majority of the individuals of Muslim *ummah* are neither Iranian nor Shī‘ite. However, the salient feature of the leadership and ideology peculiar to Imām Khomeinī (s) could break all the existing borders and blockades and introduce the culture of Islam in a completely superior manner to all.”<sup>2</sup>

As such, the strategy of the unity of the Muslim world which for many years had been propagated by such thinkers as: Sayyid Jamāluddīn, Muḥammad ‘Abduḥ, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Kawākibī, Dār at-Taqrīb Society, and Shaykh Muḥammad Abūzahrah in Egypt, the Shī‘ite authorities in Iraq, Ḥasan al-Banān and Abu’l-‘Alā Mawdūdī and many other personalities, was materialized with the leadership of Ḥadrat Imām (s) in an objective manner among various masses and Muslim people. And this, consequently, crystallized the notion of the Muslim *ummah* in the cotemporary world.

In a short time-span, the element of unity of the Muslim world along with two afore-mentioned elements, that is the new political leadership and the formation of particular organs of the Islamic system led to the rapid growth of the covert and overt revolutionary movements and also creation of a comprehensive phenomenon with the name of Islamism. The global move was so widespread and deep that left no remedy behind for the seemingly Muslim reactionary rulers and the dependent governments but confronting with its weakening waves and also distorting the objective realities of the movement by the Western mass media.

However, notwithstanding all the pressures, undeniable realities have been confirmatory to the ripening and growth of the global move of Islam and fortune of the Islamic Revolution. As an example for this claim, we can refer not only to the growth signs of the three afore-mentioned elements in all the Muslim countries,<sup>\*</sup> but also the self-confidence among the emigrant

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<sup>1</sup> “*Nihdat-e Islāmī-ye Shī‘ayān-e ‘Arāq*”, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> “*Nihdathā-ye Islāmī wa Inqilāb-e Islāmī-ye Īrān*”, p. 75-76.

<sup>\*</sup> For instance; it is enough to mention examples from the Muslims under the rule of laic government of Turkey, with regard to the intellectuals of that land, and also the republics



Muslims and spiritual and mental change among the European Muslims is very significant.

The year 1980 AD was a very vital year for all European Muslims. Since, after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, a new spirit was inspired into the body of all the Islamic sects, the emigrant Muslims in particular. Examining the effectiveness of what mentioned above, we can

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newly independent from the bondage of Communism system. "Since 1980, and with the advent of the Islam-seeking waves throughout the world, people of turkey give priority to the government and policy, for they can be guardians of Islam and for this reason show relish to the establishment of Islamic government. The example to this is expansion of Islamic schools in different cities like: Bursa, Irzerum, Qaysariyah, Istanbul, Izmir, Curum, and Qūniyah. It is clear that in all these schools, and moreover the mosques, the clergies play their role, and this is a response to the influence of laic intellectuals who with the trick of separation of religion from politics took the reigns of government. Later on, two kinds of educations became prevalent in the Muslim world, which are as follows:

1. Mere religious education, which was fully separated from the contemporary age, time and science.
2. New education which took its principles and bases completely from the West. Therefore, the governments could fully take under control plans and also financial resources of the scholars, Sunnis in particular, whom did not have at all independent religious organizations. During these times, the Sunnī religious organizations become gradually extinct as a result which their educations were abolished. Through abolishing the endowment system which was the only administrative financial source of the religious sciences students, the governments, too, could succeed in weakening foundations of the Islamic teachings. On the contrary, the new schools administered by Western techniques made use of the great financial assistances and considerations, and the graduates of those schools occupied key posts in cultural, political, economic, and military areas and preserved the policy of the Westerners in the Islamic lands, even after their seeming departure from these countries." See references no. 3 and 12.

"Religion is common aspect of all the newly independent republics of the Soviet Union, at the present time, despite all crises, leaders and religious organs have been recognized and received respect for their reciprocity in social life of people. Today, in Uzbekistan, only in the province of Namangān, there are over 1000 mosques which play important role in the life people. In Kyrgyzstan, 200 *talabah* in Bishkak and 500 *talabah* all over the republic are acquiring religious sciences and number of holy places, with around its 200 shrine, exceed all republics of the Central Asia. In Kazakhstan, since the people feel they will enter a new atmosphere in the new century, spiritual security has special importance for them. Thus, philosophers, historians, politicians, and culturalists of Kazakhstan have resorted to the Islamic issues with a great interest. Islamic sources and religious books are being used very much which its obvious reason is the families' use of the Qur'an. Therefore, reviving Islam among the people of Kazakhstan has many supporters, so that during the short time after the establishment of independence in all cities and villages of the country, more than 400 mosques were built with the help of governmental leaders and religious and pious people. See reference no. 11.

provide many instances. As, in a country like England, the Muslims have taken many actions for amending the laws or changing them, and also introducing and supporting the Islamic Revolution of Iran. However, perhaps no point better than France which has been the place of Ḥadrat Imām's (s) presence and perceived his personality better, can be indicative of positive effect of the revolution and the process of acceleration of the activities of Islamism.

More than four and a half million Muslims live in France from among of which we can name around forty thousand Frenchman converted to Islam, as such; Islam is the second religion in France. Increasing the propagandistic programs and teaching Islamic ideals, particularly in Paris, has affected millions of the Frenchmen intellectual in religious issues. Among the Frenchmen converted to Islam and affected from the enlightening movement of Ḥadrat Imām (s), name of several scientists and researchers like "Rajiv Gandhi" and "Morris Bezoars" is observed. According to the published statistics, there are 410 Islamic centers in France from among of which 120 centers are active in Paris and its outskirts. It is considerable that most of these centers have been established less than five years. Now, there are only in Paris 51 mosques (and at least 120 localities) for holding religious congregations and saying prayers. Thus, number of believing and true Muslims is mounting every year and the serious inclination of the Muslims toward implementing religious orders is clearly observable.\*

In this manner, Islam has gained a particular status throughout Europe, and the Noble Qur'an is exactly studied by the scientists and researchers of that region in such a way that this influence can be found in research conducted by the writers of Belgium, Germany, and former Yugoslavia. In addition to the activities of Islamists, Muslim masses, too, divulged many signs and marks based on the Islamism movement.

"Since late 1980's, this inclination was observed in the shape of using Islamic traditional covering as well as making use of congregational leaders of mosques for teaching Islamic lessons in schools. As such, most of the mosques have started teaching the Islamic lessons to the Muslim students which for the North African Muslims includes teaching Arabic language, teaching, instructing Qur'an and jurisprudence."<sup>1</sup>

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\* See reference no. 12.

<sup>1</sup> "*Musalmānān-e Urūpā-ye Gharbī*", p. 36.

In all the Islamic formations, without exception, with observing moral principles, instruction and culture has been put into effect. These programs assist the emigrant Muslims in the West — despite the social deviations — to approach God. Relying on the basics and principles of religion, acting to the secondary precepts of religion (holding prayers in five turn in a day, fasting in the blessed month of Ramadān, payment of *zakāt* and the poor's share, pilgrimage to the God's House at the time of financial capability) as well as teaching Qur'an widely are from among the propagandistic programs in Islamic societies of Europe which in the recent years have increasingly been flourishing.\*

On the whole, effect of the Islamic Revolution on the European, and generally Western, people has been such that in accordance with the article of one of the Western freelance writers, we can study this effect in three different arenas which are:

### **1. Effect of the Islamic Revolution on all creeds and religious life in the West**

The Islamic Revolution of Imām Khomeinī (s), not only presented a new image of Islam in Europe, but also evolved the religious life of non-Muslims. Today, even in Europe being religious has been reckoned a "value" in such a manner that the former president of Austria has said in a speech that: "The Islamic Revolution has bestowed to all religious people a new credit and self-confidence; the revolution of Iran has had considerable effect on the churches, too, and this effect caused many churches to become enlightened. The church authorities have come to the conclusion that the Catholics depressed of modernism convert to Islam. They find a new religious and political refuge in the Islamic movement. Thus, most of the Pop's travels to the Middle European countries, and the Third World countries in particular, are a reaction vis-à-vis the Islamic Revolution.

### **2. Effect of the Islamic Revolution on the youth, people, and groups**

Before the Islamic Revolution, movements and uprisings of the youth, especially in the university student level was nourished by leftist thoughts. There were also individuals who refuted either the West or the East; however, they were not in the conditions which can initiate a new plan. With the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, a new horizon was broadened. No one could imagine in the West that without depending on the Soviet Union, the

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\* *Ibid.*

clergies can assume the leadership of such a great anti-American movement. The solution of “neither the East, nor the West” turned into a new basis for the religious and political identity of a great number of intellectuals and youths. The slogan of neither the East nor the West of Imām Khomeinī (s), the great leader of the revolution, was really a severe shake on the body of devilish powers and in the following, negation of the thesis of “separation of religion from politics” thwarted their devilish plots. Later on, Imām Khomeinī's (s) *fatwā* on Salmān Rushdī manifested its fruitful prolific function and made clear for the youth, the “newly converted Muslims” in particular, that what a firm infrastructure their belief and faith has had. This *fatwā* was, also, a new instruction for the Western Muslims, and announced the reality that with rigid decision-makings and severe stance-takings, we can stand straight for training the newly born Muslims and perceive the meaning of the Mohammedan (s) Islam.

### **3. Effect on the Westerners' perception of Islam**

After the revolution, Islam and Muslims were regarded as severe political and religious power and reached a very firm stance for political assessment of superpowers. The Western world can not any more look at Islam and the Muslims the same as before Bahman 1357 AHS. So then, we can no more look at Islam as “a dead ogre” or “a forgotten greatness” or “a religion with a great past but without future”. Now, intellectuals of the arrogance world are investigating the principles and basis of Shī'ism and with this act of their own have inevitably accepted that the Shī'ism is the motor power of the Islamic movement. “They consider the pure Mohammedan Islam as a bomb which has put their political and cultural identity into danger and has aimed their dirty existence through disclosing nature of the “American Islam”. Promoting and strengthening “the normal Islam” by political and cultural circles of the West and regarding the revolutionary Islam and the pure Islam as “innovation”, clearly manifest this great and shocking fear. With the aim of creating rift among the Muslim masses, they introduced Islam as a strange non-Islamic phenomenon and regarded it as a kind of “innovation”. As a matter of fact, for materializing this ominous aim, they knowingly permeated the term “fundamentalism” which had been derived from Christian theology into the Muslim world and following this technique raised the term “feminism” to be indicative of a kind of innovation”.<sup>1\*</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “*Do Barg Yaddāshthā-ye Şafar be Cānādā wa Āfrīqā*”, pp. 9-12.

Familiarity with the thoughts of intellectuals and writers form the arrogance world, on the one hand, shows their unawareness and wandering in confronting with Islam, and, on the other hand, reveals the very large investments of the West and America as well as the very high sensitiveness and extensive activity of affiliated elements to the above circles.

“Studies show such that knowing the phenomenon of Islamism instead of being under consideration inside the Muslim countries and groups has more been raised by foreign countries. And, of course, the motive behind this act is, too, finding a way for confronting with those movements so as to be suppressed easier.”<sup>1</sup>

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\* For mentioning fortune of the Islamic revolution, among people of other countries, there are many objective instances which for the sake of studying Islamism dimensions in the next pages \_ which will point to these hints \_ we will suffice to mention only two of these instances, one from the deprived Africa, and the other one from the well-of Europe! However, both of them are under the effect of the spiritual and humane message of the revolution and its leaders.

Monday night, according to arrangement, brothers of Mr. Khāmene’ī and Dr. Hādī went to mosque and after performing the prayers, by invitation of one of “*tullāb* (seminary's students) had passed some hours in his house. The brothers explained that the place of stay of this *ṭalabah* was a humble room with a pileless carpet and some books and at the corner of the room, there was a loaf of bread which had been prepared for the night dinner! The room was lighted by a lantern. The reason was asked? The answer was definite: the electricity of the town (Lome in Togo) is enough only for homes of a small and well-off class as well as the foreigner-dweller hotels, and the blacks are not considered among the respectable ones. Mr. Khāmene’ī said: “under the weak lit of the lantern, I looked at every corner of the humble home of the *ṭalabah*, they had pasted up to the wall picture of the Imām, heads of the three branches, and prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran.”, “*Do Barg-e Sabz*”, p. 68.

“A young Sunnī man, from Morocco, in a small town of Italy, was such speaking about the future of Islam and that, God-willing, Mahdī will soon come, that I thought hearing and seeing these beside all fatigues and despairs in Tehran (1375 AHS), will make fresh the man’s heart. And, after he invited me to the Friday prayer, and in a small and odd mosque, we saw congregation of zealous and agreeable Muslims, residing in Bolonia, we thought that the aspiration of performing prayers some day in the church of the West is not truly so far. It was there in the booth of the Islamic Republic, at the book fair, that I become acquainted with a Shī’ite couple, residing in Bolonia. The husband was an Arab young man, and university student of dentistry, and the woman was an Italian girl converted to Islam, and university P.H.D student in law. She had changed her name and had become a Shī’ite. How enamored were they about the revolution and Iran. The man was speaking to me and with tearful eyes wanted us to send his regard to Sayyid leader Khāmene’ī and the woman willingly was paging through the Iranian books and embraced them and kissed the Persian writing and looked for pictures of minaret and dome (perhaps, it was a book on the children prayer) to kiss.”; see reference no.

<sup>1</sup> “*Islāmگیرای dar Mişr*”, p. 8.

From among these studies, is the book “*Junbishhā-ye Islāmī dar Jahān-e ‘Arab*” whose author, based on reliable sources, has interpreted the Islamic fundamentalism signs. Although the Western approach of the author, like other analysts of the material world, is merely based on socialistic rules so as to achieve its specified goals and targets; however, such studies include definite confessions on the infiltration of the elements of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, and laying out designs for confronting with those charms. The author says:

“Although it seems that the revolution of Iran has lost some of its attractiveness among the Arab Sunnī constitutionalists, except in Iraq and the Persian Gulf countries, Āyatullāh Khomeinī (s) is still the cause of admiration for the Muslims of Egypt, Algeria, Syria, Jordan, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Libya. In such a manner that it seems that the revolutionary experience of Iran is a successful model of victory. So that, at the present time, these groups and other Islamist groups have considered the Iranian revolution as a model and while changing their strategies have asked for creating populist rises in universities and streets.”<sup>1</sup>

Bringing forward some sentences from the mentioned book, we shall find out that the meaning of “changing strategy” of the Islamic groups is making use of the three mentioned writings in the Imām’s movement that is the presence of cleric leaders, the formation of particular organs of the Muslim society, and the practical unity.

Commenting the principles of the Islamic constitutionalism, the author says:

“Any religious content, either Shī‘īte or Sunnī, which the constitutionalist phenomenon has, entails a kind of return to the bases and the purely foundations of faith. The foundations of Islam are as follows: Qur’an, *sunnah* of the Prophet and his companions and, also, Rāshidīn Caliphs. Islam is the final truth and the end of revelation and a real Muslim’s final goal ought to be establishment of the God’s rule over all the mankind. Therefore, all the earth is the Islamic homeland; thus, according to the predecessor’s ideas and following the Prophet and his model life; “the *ummah*” should be a pure society from the religious aspect. For the reestablishment of such a pious society there should be virtuous people who take pattern from the life of Ḥadrat Muḥammad (s) and his companions.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 72, 74.

Other analysts who with particular aims have considered the Islamist movements in different corners of the Muslim world and its strategic regions, too, have achieved the same conclusions.

From among them is "Jewis N. Wily", author of the book "*The Islamic Movement of the Iraqi Shī'ites*". Stressing on the issue of unity among Shī'ism and Sunnīsm, he has come to the same conclusions on the ideological principles and the causes behind the Islamism growth. He writes in this regard:

"Regarding to not coming into power of an ideal government and state, the Sunnī and Shī'ite scholars, from olden times, have given their consent to, and accepted, the Muslim ruling governments. (Even when the ruler was impious and arrogant, the danger of creating rift and declining the Muslim *ummah*, due to the rise against the government, was considered an act more devilish than a bad government and has been condemned.) However, if the Muslims be under a non-Muslim government, in that case they may be enforced to make endeavor for achieving their ideal, and this is the very job that the Islamists are now doing. From the view point of the Muslims, an ideal government is a government which rule according to divine laws and in the form stated by the Prophets. Thus, constitutionalists, either Sunnī or Shī'ah, are in pursuit of achieving the ideal of ruling of law, meaning a government which is based on the basic principles and is in a form which has been assigned in the religious law of Islam. In this respect, the people who are in charge of the affairs and also those who are under their rule should follow the religious law."<sup>1</sup>

From this perspective, and according to a narration, the author of the book "*The Islamic Movements in the Arab World*" believes that:

"Even selected names for the group by the constitutionalist societies reflect their inclination toward strengthening of their divine legitimacy. In conclusion, the repeated use of some terms shows their religious and historic validity and correctness. From among of these terms are as follows:

Ḥizbullāh (the Party of God), al-Akhawān (the Brethren), al-Faṭḥ (Islamic Conquest), al-Jihād (the Holy War), Jundullāh (the Soldiers of God), al-Ḥarīr al-Islāmī (Islamic Liberation), al-Ḥaqq (the Truth of Islam), ad-Da'wah (Call to the Rise against the Tyrant Government)"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

Notwithstanding that most of such interpreters receive the main part of the documents under their use on the part the governmental elements, and in some cases are hands in glove with the spy organizations of the West, their attention in counting pure features of the global move of Islam is attentive. The manner of propagating or the particular attention of the Muslims to social organs is observed in the study. However, this peculiar attention even has entailed formation of the smallest social units like the family. The author of the book "*Junbishhā-ye Islāmī dar Jahān-e 'Arab*" says:

"For the Islamists, the family is regarded like the infrastructure of social formation, since it is here that men have the opportunity of leadership and women are the source love and affection. The sexual intercourse should be taken under control and the women should cover such that preserve their honor and stay away from temptation and misleading. Also, the Western traditions and customs are alienated with the Islamic religion and culture and have to be avoided."<sup>1</sup>

On the whole, a good Muslim should exceed to abide by the five-fold principles of Islam, and for constructing an ideal society; he should set himself to a practical live and take actions.<sup>2</sup>

To the author's confess, the Islamist ideology based on the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, thinking on the global *ummah*, social justice and the pure society of religion, entails many addressees and groups with different social combinations. The youth, university students, new citizen elements (emigrant rural people), political opponents, traditional-local strata (the middle class), and the law class (three main stratum of poor farmers, tribes and the citizen poor are included in this deformed mass.) are major supporters and followers of Islamism.

The author states that in Islamism, although "the traditional Muslims" (who according to their idea act to different degrees) and "the active Islamists" have common general signs of collective behavior, we should consider difference between "reactionary constitutionalism" and "radical constitutionalism". He believes that analysis of any kinds of Islamist behavior entails a difficult process of assessing groups and individuals, and realizing individualistic and collective identity and as such considering difference between the combatant and reactionary (non-political) Islamists is a difficult task. However, non-political constitutionalism has, more or less,

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<sup>1</sup> "*Junbishhā-ye Islāmī dar Jahān-e 'Arab*", p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> "*Junbishhā-ye Islāmī dar Jahān-e 'Arab*", p. 71.



obvious features that its agitation is toward spiritual, social notions of Islam and these clear manifestations of returning to the Islamic life styles has been widespread behavior pattern in the Western society. The powerful course of inclination toward Islamic rites and signs of the collective and individual Islamic behavior which is observed in all the daily life aspects is considered such for the reactionary (non-political) Islamism:

1. Regular presence in mosques five times a day.
2. Severe observance of the five Islamic principles: expressing faith (*shahādah*), prayer, fast, *zakāt*, and *hajj*.
3. Strive for a model life in which the Qur'anic unlawful things (such as drinking alcohol, pig meat, wanted denial of the social and sexual rites and customs of the West) is observed.
4. Regular religious worshipping and reciting Qur'an and other Islamic books.
5. Preferring popular mosques to governmental ones and taking part in collective organized activities by religious communities inside and outside the mosques.
6. Taking part in cooperative societies and mutual cooperation, especially in the fields of providing health, food, and social services to the poor.
7. Keeping the beards long and having threadlike mustache and keeping the hairs short as a token of piety.
8. Wearing particular cloths, men usually wear a cloak which does not fit the feet, and women wear light cloths or long shirts, and sometimes veils, which cover all the body. [However in relation with national characteristic of the Arab regimes, there are differences and varieties in the covering state of men and women in different regions] although the mentioned behavior features is peculiar to the Muslims who do not usually take political actions; however, they will not remain so when sedition and crisis arise. Under the circumstances which the government or foreign countries, the United States and Israel in particular, redouble the social pressure, the Islamist masses will not remain disgraced and will choose techniques that active constitutionalists have chosen from among behavior patterns of the strictly organized groups. Under those conditions the below characteristics which we call them active fundamentalists will be clearly observed:

1. The active fundamentalist might follow the afore-mentioned behavioral norms (cases 1 to 8), while making more attempt, perseverance, and continuity.
2. The active constitutionalists live with and beside one another in particular regions and in some cases keep aloof from the Muslim population, and even from the reactionary constitutionalists, from physical and social view.
3. The active constitutionalists will attend in the particular mosques in which their desirable invitation is brought forth for discussion. They usually say prayers at daybreak and their goal is thinking in private as well as collective worship. Privacy of the mosques at the daybreak gives them the opportunity to form covert small associations for organizing and raising their activities. Number of some active groups in the private mosques which are administered by pious people is more than those mosques which are supervised by governmental officials.
4. For wiping the society clean from unlawful fleshpots like night clubs as well as governmental figures, the activists in comparison with the reactionary constitutionalists take harsh actions.
5. "The constitutionalists, who are often active in Islamic environments, make use of various unique propagandistic techniques whose aim is both individuals and groups. Thus, in addition to the afore-mentioned behavior signs, we can specify another kind of the collective manifestations and symbols of this move which has been increasingly observed in the recent years. These manifestations which can be called general signs of the collective behavior can be seen in the following shapes:
  1. Constructing mosques: throughout the Arab world (and the Muslim world), this kind of activity has been strictly increased by four financial groups and sources which are as follows: 1) Governmental assistances and grants, 2) Endowments and assistances of influential people, 3) Assistances of religious people, and 4) Foreign assistances of the heads of the Arab oil-rich countries.
  2. Radio-TV Programming: Islamic programs of this media have been considerably increased, so much so that at the time of *adhān*, the radio-TV programs are discontinued.
  3. Observing the holydays: the main and minor holydays are held with more interest because of their religious ceremonies.

4. Attendance at mosques: numerous people, either men or women, attend at the mosques.
5. They have numerous presses, magazines, articles and interpretations on religious matters in which particular parts are allocated to Islam on Fridays.
6. More lights have been set up in the mosques for keeping the mosques lighted at night time.
7. Impression of Qur'an and books related to the Islamic history and religion has increased in an unprecedented manner.
8. The Qur'an editions can openly be observed at homes, offices, other governmental buildings, automobiles and taxis.
9. Religious slogans have been represented on buildings, houses walls, body of private and public transportation vehicles, newspapers, televisions, and streets.

The other technique for specifying the manifestations and symbols of Islamism is recognition of the words, slogans and important expressions from which lecturers and writers repeatedly use. Indeed, the Islamic fundamentalism move, like other ideologies, has its own slogans and terms. These terms serve as an ideological guide for the pious people and help them to express their ideas and incite their feelings and actions. Moreover, the above language shows the ideology of the faithful ones as well as their understanding about the existing realities. What comes below is an instance of these expressions which can be called oral signs and marks of the collective behavior:

*Jāhiliyyah*: the ignorant and sinful society composed of non-Muslims as well as Muslims who do not follow the straight path like the society prior to the time of Muḥammad (ṣ).

*Fisād*: moral corruption in the society, especially among the ruling elite and his allies in economic section.

*Iktināz*: goods and wealth collection for using against the interests of the Islamic society.

*Yuhlilūn al-ḥarām wa yuḥrimūn al-ḥarām*: permitting the unlawful things and prohibiting the lawful ones. This refers to the scholars' actions and orders in support of the government policy.

*A'dā'ullāh wa'l-Insān*: enemies of God and people.

*Fan al-mawt*: art of death. Readiness for giving life (*shahādah*) as a result of *jihād*.

*Bid'ah*: innovation in the religion.

*Al-mu'min al-qawī khayru min al-mu'min al-da'if*: a strong believer is better than a weak one.

*Ṭāghūt*: arrogant.

*Mulhīd*: apostate, anti-God, recreant.

*Ẓāll*: deviant from the straight path, misled.

*Al-mufsidīn fi'l-ard*: corruptors on earth.

*Al-ẓulmah*: injustice. It refers to the actions of government and exploiting groups.

*Al-masākīn*: helpless ones.

*Al-fuqarā*: needy ones.

*Tabdhīr*: overindulgence.

And also the slogan "*naṣru min Allāh wa fathun gharīb*".

In this regard, it is instructive that the slogan of one of the Islamist movements (*Akhawān al-Muslimīn*) be mentioned:

*Allāh ghāyatinā, al-Rasūl za'īmanā*: Allah is our goal and the Prophet our leader

*Al-Qur'an dastūranā, al-jihād sabīlanā*: Qur'an is our constitution and jihād our path.

*Al-mawt fī sabīl Allāh asmā'a āmāminā*: Ddeath in the way of God is the our ultimate aspirations.

*"Allāhu akbar, Allāhu akbar"*

Regarding all the mentioned cases, we can say in a word that:

"The Islamists stress on the need for monotheism and its different sub-notions and followers. In theology, by monotheism we means oneness of God and, also, obedience from the divine will (act according to the prophets' call and their followers). Thus, the idea of the Islamists movement is spiritual and intellectual interpretation of life and being."<sup>1</sup>

Through studying revolutionary literature and political works written by the pattern takers of the Islamic revolution, we can find many common points in them from the realities presented by foreign commentators. With this difference that these committed commentators openly show affective dimensions of the Imām Khomeinī's movement on the Muslim societies and the Islamic movements. And through deep investigation along with good intention on the principles and fundamentals of the movement and revolution of Ḥadrat Imām (s), they play a very positive role in theoretical and practical stance-taking and the manner of organizing the global movement of Islam.

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<sup>1</sup> "*Nihdat-e Islāmī-ye Shī'ayān-e 'Arāq*", p. 168.

Enjoying such a good feeling, “Shaykh Rāshid al-Ghanūshī” has been able to elucidate the role of particular social organs in forming and finalizing the Islamic revolution. He says:

“It seems such that the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran was indebted to the covert organizations and establishments which were in charge of leading people and had created an inseparable link between the leadership and the people. Furthermore, they could see at any moment the weak and strong points of the movement. Imām Khomeinī, leader of the movement, writes in one of his letters: “the people who accept the responsibilities and administer the affairs ought to be away from the outward scene and do not let others know them. They should use from the previous experiments and keep aloof from the people who are not cent percent reliable.”

As such, when the Shāh’s regime wanted to go toward the mosques and place its affiliated chaplain there, Imām Khomeinī ordered:

“Muslims should not admit the people appointed by corrupt governmental and endowment organizations. They should introduce them unjust and do not attend at their mosques; and essentially do not legitimize the charitable mosques.”<sup>1</sup>

Inspiring from the Imām’s (s) move, thinkers like “Rāshid al-Ghanūshī” and “Dr. Kalīm Şiddīqī” has analyzed the points of weakness and strength of other Islamic moves and endeavored to delineate the Islamic revolution’s model in generalizing its most important elements. In an article entitled “*Continuous Struggle between Islam and Anti-Islam*”, Dr. Kalīm Şiddīqī has well counted existing plagues and deficiencies of the global Islamist movement and with presenting the importance of elements like united *ummah* and leadership the hopes created from the unity among the Islamic sects, and the future of the global movement of Islam, such writes about important elements like organizational and communicational centers of the movement:

“It is clear that the Islamic movement is an open system and for this reason it enjoys all advantages of an open system. From analytic view, the most important part of the Islamic movement is groups of the people who are formed inside the mosques of all over the world. Regarding that the

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<sup>1</sup> “*Harikat-e Imām Khomeinī wa Tajdīd-e Hayāt-e Islām*”, pp. 43, 74, 52-53.

mosques are, to this extent, important this question arises that today how many mosques there are in the world? This question has very much importance for the Islamic movements, and unfortunately precise statistics from the mosques is not at hand. If we could compare the Muslim *ummah* with a potential army of one thousand million people and if there could be only one mosque for every 5 thousand Muslim people, the number of the mosques which this army has at its disposal were 200 thousand mosques which can be used as asylum, base, general staff, education centers, and communicational organs. So that, network of the mosques, during the war in Iran, played a firm role in the lengthy confronting with the Shāh and groups.

Unfortunately in other countries, most of big mosques are under the control of laic governments and practically are not in the line of the Islamic movements. Now, heads of the Islamic states have understood the effect and role of the mosques and in the cities like London, Paris, Ottawa, Rome, and Johannesburg, have built great and luxury mosques which are financed and supervised by them. For constructing a mosque in the city of "Christchurch" in "New Island", reactionary rulers have paid thousands of dollars, on the condition that it is not used by supporters of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. In this manner, it will be clarified that the importance of the mosques in view of the irreligious rulers has become an evident matter and thus they make endeavor to defuse the influence of the mosques not only inside the Muslim world but also in every corner of the world where the Muslims live.

In a main part of the Arab world, the mosques which are all endowment are under the full control of the government. Official personnel of the mosques such as the chaplains are ordained by the governments and they insist that the mosques be used only for performing religious affairs and ceremonies of the prayer. However, all the mosques, even those in front of which the board of "no political dialogue is permitted" has been set up, form some part of the Islamic movement. Even though most of the mosques have been established through the endowment and have endowment articles of association as well as their own usual ceremonies, they are generally considered as open systems. Their construction and the hierarchy in them are extremely flexible and this openness characteristic makes the mosques to be an ideal network for the Islamic movement. Even, in the countries in which the religious centers are administered under the supervision of the laic governments, the mosques will remain in the form of open systems. As far as the Muslim populations concentrated in the mosques move by the Islamic movement, the presence of chaplains and other affiliated personnel to the government, will not hinder the mosques to function as a the center for Islamic endeavors, and even the probability that, they, too, struggle

against infiltration of the foreigner and affiliated states is fully exists; since, most of them are not heartily satisfied with the ruling system.”<sup>1</sup>

In another article entitled “*Incompatibility of Islam with the West*”, Dr. Şiddīqī points to the leadership issue and says about the basic pillar of the movement:

“The reality is that the announcement of incompatibility between Islam and blasphemy has been the basic pillar of the Islamic movement in Iran. Relentless and firm eradication of the influence, power, culture, and dominance of blasphemy is the most salient feature of the Islamic Revolution of Iran that the Islamic movements should accept with the leadership of pious Iranian scholars. Today, there is no body or owner of another political status in the Muslim world who is such qualified for the leadership the global movement of Islam.”<sup>2</sup>

While considering the existing states and national borders as the calamity of the global movement, Dr. Şiddīqī says on the important element of “unity” in mobilizing the Muslims:

“The Shī‘ite scholars’ *ijtihād* prior to the Islamic Revolution of Iran and also during that time has caused the Shī‘ite and Sunnī stances to get closer. Most of the obstacles which there were in the way of creating unity among the above schools have been removed. The trivial existing differences in the speech content of both sides have no importance today and can even be ignored. The reality is that during several years ago as a result of Islamic coalition the number of Shī‘ite and Sunnī brothers who have got closer to one another is more than any time before. I know that throughout the world, a new communication between the Shī‘ite and Sunnī Muslims has been created. I know many scholars of the two groups who have come together in several parts of the world and are cooperating with each other. Throughout the world, other prominent thinkers, scholars, university students, and individuals have come into view who have not yet gained global fame. We should have in mind that the mass media are fully under the control of the enemies of Islam and the mass media network of the Islamic movement is still passing its childhood period. Indeed, every thing of the global movement of Islam is passing its primary periods. However, a completely new phase of the Islam history has begun; in such a manner that doing normal adjustments in the contents of the practical and thoughtful debates

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<sup>1</sup> “*Andīshe wa ‘Amal-e Siyāsi-ye Muslimīn-e Muqāwimat dar Barābar-e Gharb*”, pp. 205, 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

and side-takings, and will bring about great developments in line with materializing the *ummah* unity and will remove divisive issues which always have been used by the enemies.”<sup>1\*</sup>

He, also, writes in another book:

“The Imām’s impact on the Muslim world has been such that now there are many Sunnī scholars who know the Imām as the leader of the *ummah* and have found out his move, rise and message. And this is itself an indicative of the appearance of positive development in the stance of Sunnī people.”<sup>2</sup>

We will observe that the global move toward reviving Islam is not viewed by the eyes of followers of the Imām, and Iran, the same as the Western analysts in merely tight socialist forms; rather, by the true understanding of the depth of the principles of Islam and responsibilities of the Muslim man before God and also understanding of the manner of the Prophet’s move (so much as, through inspiring from the path of the Noble Prophet (ﷺ) and the Infallible Imāms, the revolutionary movement of Ḥadrat Imām gained victory), they strive to make use from the achievements of this Shī‘ite movement as much as they can and avoid from the weaknesses which had made the previous movements vulnerable. For this reason, now the issue of the quality of the great intellectual developments inside the Muslim world is even more important than the quantitative growth of the Islamist movements; as though, with regard to the future needs of the procedure of the global revolution of Islam, these signs should be valued.

While getting close to the end of this study, we will observe that in spite of the close attention that the foreign analysts have in interpreting the incidents and forecasting control of the future of the global movement of Islam, they are unaware of the depth and comprehensiveness of the change occurred among the Muslims (and the believers of other monotheistic religions) in the meaning and understanding of the principle of religiosity.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 150-151.

\* There are many proofs for the authenticity of this talk about which some of western researchers have studied. Jewis N. Viely writes: “Sunnī Kurd clergies” and members of the Movement of Iraqi Kurdistan Scholars cooperated with the Shī‘ite Iranians in the war against the government of Iraq and all called for unity among the Muslims. Importantly, the first scholar killed by the Ba‘athī government was Shaykh Badrī, from the Sunnī Islamists who cooperated with the Shī‘ite reformists. Thenceforth, some other scholars of Sunnī clergies were killed by the Ba‘athī government for having political Islamic activities.”; “*Nihdat-e Islāmī-ye Shī‘ayān-e ‘Arāq*”, p. 196-197.

<sup>2</sup> “*Nihdathā-ye Islāmī wa Inqilāb-e Islāmī-ye Īrān*”, p. 103.



Since, their endeavor is only looking for trustworthy proofs for deducting and utilizing definite search and scientific techniques. It is obvious that although these techniques can analyze the manifestations of reviving the religion, we can not understand change of the meanings and inward ways such as *intiẓār*, *taqiyyah*, *sabr* and the extraordinary flexibility of the ways which during the years of the continuance of the global movement of Islam sketch on the soul of the believers.

An example for this is the acceptable deduction, which “Herard Kamjian” presents on the elements of the Islamism, its weaknesses and future. Although, from the aspects of sociology, it has many common points with the Islamists’ views, it lacks objective understanding and inward recognition, which has been presented by the individuals like “Dr. Kalīm Şiddīqī”. Writer of the book “*Junbishhā-ye Islāmī dar Jahān-e ‘Arab*” writes about the element of the leadership of the Islamist movements and its future:

“The leadership issue is the main preoccupation of current Islamist theoreticians and activists. In the constitutionalism movement, every group has set forth the leadership notion according to its chosen characteristics and patterns. Thus, in the current phase, the movement strictly suffers from lack of the ideological, political and tactical guide. Completion of the future of the Islamic constitutionalist movement depends on the quality of its political and intellectual leadership. The pioneer activists of the Islamist combatant groups such as: Şāliḥ Suryah, Shukrī Muşţafā, Jahīmān ‘Atībī, Mūsā Şadr, ‘Abd as-Salām Faraj, Muḥammad Bāqir Şadr, and Marwān Ḥadīd have been killed and other groups have been put in prison. It might last for several years so as new leaders come into the scene. Meanwhile, it is probable that there exist wise figures in the newly established underground societies.”<sup>1</sup>

Appearance of the new scholars and thinkers is the very tide about which Dr. Kalīm Şiddīqī speaks in the quoted remarks. Having understood the importance of the scholars’ existence, about the leadership of the global movement of Islam in future, he such writes in the book “*Andīsheh wa ‘Amal-e Siyāsi-ye Muslimīn*, pp. 151, 156”:

“Without having a leader, the global movement of Islam can not take the first step. That part of the *ummah* who is outside Iran in order to take steps in line with the Islamic revolution, requires to create a leadership system which is, generally, but not specifically, composed of the scholars.”

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 250-251.

And, in the book “*Nihdathāye Islāmī wa Inqilāb-e Islami-ye Īrān*, p. 9” while emphasizing on the vigilance in this regard, he such advises:

“In the leadership of this movement, we should not at all use from those who have been trained by the Western ways. Since, these are the main tools of the West for struggling with Islam. Rather, we should use from the ones who have generated from the root of Islam itself. Let us name them scholars. If this group does not exist, it shall be formed. This movement needs the scholars who while recognizing the existing position of the *ummah*, are not affiliated to the secular regimes are not in need of their support.”

While criticizing the ideological background and function of the traditional Islamic parties which are involved in the national policy, and also the plagues which are directed toward the global movement of Islam by the intellectuals and the seemingly Muslim rulers, he says in the same book in the pages 9 and 42 that:

“The February change of direction, which we need at the present time, is to create a global movement which denies the nationalism and the nation-state and believes in the incompatibility of civilization of Islam with the West. On the one hand, the most important group of the *ummah*, which we should recognize them, clearly are the individuals who form the active tools and the global power of *kufṛ*. That is, the national states and a main part of the Westernized intellectuals in the *ummah*, the largest Muslim group who, of course, today, in an active form are as the tools of *kufṛ* in the *ummah*, are from among the very group on the top of which there are of course the rulers of the Muslim countries.”

The foreign commentator has also faced with this theory in examining the Islamism movement, as he says:

“In its final logic, the Islamic constitutionalism denies the notion of the contemporary nation-state and its effects in the Arabic-Islamic environment. The Islamic is in the pursuit of superiority over in the Arab countries so as to solve the new nation-state system in its integrity, since the constitutionalist Islam does not recognize the national borders.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “*Junbishhā-ye Islāmī dar Jahān-e ‘Arab*”, p. 264.

From the viewpoint of these analysts, what kinds of capabilities and techniques the global movement of Islam has for continuing its move?

“In the current phase of perfection, the direct and open resort to the activity and harshness has scarcely happened. However, all the proofs are indicative that the Islamic politicizing process is continuing in different manners, which depend on the position and nature of the regime. The greater Islamist societies incline to Islamize the political system through gradual and steady peaceful policies. This Islamic act can be observed in Sudan and Egypt. For other Islamist groups commitment to permanent activity makes possible compatibility of religious law with the new circumstances through *ijtihād* against the affiliated religious organs as well as the government power. In this manner, mere imitation from the tradition will not set forth and for restraining from the *jāhiliyyah*, reviving the religious life will be necessary. Charisma of the Islamist movements stems from their position in the composition of theory and action and the Islamic ideological power in absorbing the adherents reflects in its capability for accomplishing important social, political and psychological duties which the governments have not been able to carry them out. Thus, the constitutionalism (through its intellectual flexibility) offers solutions for curing social ailments and delivering from the self-alienation in a chaotic environment and as a mechanism for social mobilization can absorb the political opponents and provides the remedy to those who are in the pursuit of spiritual salvation. Therefore, with regard to the popular charisma of the constitutional claim in the atmosphere of the existing crisis, power of the government can not effectively be an obstacle on the way of the constitutionalism.”<sup>1</sup>

While referring to the comprehensive and different ways of the Islamists in the continuation of struggle, the author confesses to the weakness and deficiency of common analysis from the global movement of Islam. This confession is indicative of the depth of the Islamist movement's effect and seclusion of the materialistic world, the Western world in particular. He writes:

“As a matter of fact, as long as the crisis conditions exist, and groups of “sincere believers” are present and sacrifice their life in the God's way for the establishment of God's rule on earth, the Islamic struggle will also remain and persist. In this manner, the Western and Marxist techniques of the study of the constitutionalist phenomenon from the socio-economic point of view will response only to a few questions. Since, the absolute faith

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 84, 251, 268.

and commitment of the men like Ḥasan al-Bannā, Sayyid Quṭb, Muḥammad Bāqir Sadr, and Āyatullāh Khomeinī (s) to the Islamic ideals can not be elucidated only through their class roots. The spiritual and moral struggle of the Islamists with the ruling power does not arise only from material interests of particular strata or self-interests. Rather, it stems from where they are reckoned completely and absolutely the tools of materializing the God's will.”<sup>1</sup>

Referring to the witnesses of spiritual and thoughtful transformation among all strata of the *ummah*, Dr. Kalīm Ṣiddīqī has some talks on some of the functions which the global movement of Islam will proceed during its struggle which while emphasizing on the seclusion of the Western world and laic governments vis-à-vis techniques of the movement endorses utilizing the three mentioned elements in the context of this research (that is, *ummah*, leadership and particular social organs). He such says in the book “*Andīshe wa ‘Amal-e Siyāsi-ye Muslimān*”:

“The global movement of Islam, today, is indicative of new self-confidence of the *ummah* based on vincibility of the West and the increase of optimism and hope to the future's perspective. Witnesses of this intellectual transformation are visible everywhere. It recognize no border in our houses, Muslim families and societies, and Muslim cities and countries all over the world and the environment which is now ruling over the *ummah*, and passes easily from the obstacles such as nationalism, racism, domain-seeking, tribalism. There exist authoritative proofs based on the fact that all the Muslims \_ notwithstanding the sectarian, language or cultural differences are gradually finding out the strict need for creating consensus (*ijmā'*) on the major social, economic and political issues of the day and are understanding that what should be their reflect on these issues.

Thus, with the unity and vigilance of the *ummah*, mobilization of the people for an Islamic movement is indeed the easiest revolutionary step, on the condition that the leadership be also a revolutionary and an Islamic one. Such a mobilization by Islamic parties, which act under the existing political systems and try to reform the existing system under the title of Islam will not come into existence. Undoubtedly, when the Islamic movement is committed to eliminate any influence of the Western civilization which has been crystallized in the affiliated governments and the establishment of the Islamic government, the mosques will be main centers of the mobilization of the Islamic movement. The mosques are centers of the *ummah* in which the Muslim man's “will” day by day and

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

consistently, naturally and consciously, submit to the will of God. And, essentially, the mosques are as the foundations on which the pyramid of the Islamic movement and the government after it will be built.”<sup>1</sup>

Referring to the extraordinary capability of the Islamist movement for establishing the Islamic government, author of the book “*Junbishhā-ye Islamī dar Jahān-e ‘Arab*” raise this question in the final point of his lengthy analysis that if the combatant Islam is considered an effective tool for creating revolution at the contemporary age? He himself such answers that:

“With regard to the triumph and dominance of the Islamic power in Iran, answer to this question is positive; however, the important factor is non-existence of a cleric pioneer who is radical and fully political and has fundamental religio-political and moral authority. Indeed, Sunnī scholars are generally devoid of the spiritual and political influence of the Shī‘ite scholars and moreover they do not have necessary jurisprudential power for implementing *ijtihād* principle. More important than these two is that the Sunnī scholars in the context of an organizational network do not enjoy a systematic hierarchy like the Shī‘ites. However, there are signs at hand, which the Sunnī scholars are taking step toward the advanced organizing. This issue has been observed in Syria, and to some extent in Egypt, Jordan, and other countries of North Africa. Based on all these proofs, it is expected that emergence of the future comprehensive and great clerical stratum, like Iran, exacerbates the long-term Islamic struggle with the political power.”<sup>2</sup>

Through studying the global movement of Islam, we will observe that although the Islamist movements in most of Muslim countries had been willing to materialize an Islamic movement like ours, because of numerous obstacles such as: the ruling political system, racial combination, deficiency of particular social revolutionary organs, have been unable to establish successfully an Islamic system. However, they are well taking step in the way of development. They have fully understood importance of the elements, which made the Islamic revolution victorious in Iran, and, therefore, at the turn of the new century, the world will touch moves of the Islamic movement with more vigilant and decisive ways.

It is more interesting to hear the final word based on the sayings of the supporter of the Islamic revolution Imām Khomeinī (*r*). “Shaykh al-Ghanūshī” says: “By the victory of the revolution of Iran, for the first time,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 151, 209-210.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

Islam has had the power to become mooted as the theory of “global revolution.” And this movement, in view of the late Dr. Kalīm Ṣiddīqī is the greatest transformation of the mankind history which through proper planning based on Qur’an and the *sunnaḥ* give glad tidings of the formation of the “one global *ummah*” and although “we have a long way ahead for the complete transformation towards the formation of the *ummah*, this is like a historic evolution and we do not expect it to be materialized in a day”.

## **Conclusion**

1. The Islamic Revolution of Iran organized and initiated its move, under the supervision of the clergy, and from the specific organs like the mosques and ḥusayniyahs. Ḥadrat Imām Khomeinī (s) who had revived function of the above centers could establish connection between that two elements and unity of all strata of the society. Thus, the collection of political heritage of the Shī‘ism became the pillars of the victory of the Islamic movement in Iran, which was taken into consideration as a model by the Muslim masses, and the Islamic movements throughout the world.

2. This movement and its leadership has well shown the role which the scholars can assume for the *jihād* in the path of God and elevation of Islam. Therefore, now the scholars have undertaken a more effective role in the Islamic movements and, compared to the intellectuals, are respected more by the masses of people and have stronger relationship with them.

3. The Islamic Revolution of Iran, made clear to all the believers, the Muslims in particular, that it is as the “faith” which triumphed the revolutions. Thus, with its occurrence, the grounds were prepared for strengthening of spiritual and intellectual organs all over the world. Today, with inspiration from the Islamic revolution the notions of hope, self-sacrifice, martyrdom, and patience are accustomed notions for all Muslims of the world.

4. Through drawing inspiration from the religious rise of Ḥadtat Imām Khomeinī (s), the contemporary jurisprudence in the Muslim countries is strengthening day by day and is affecting socio-political trends (even in the manner of dressing and apparent customs). In this transformation, the valuable role of the women and as well as the family is given value for organizing the Islamic activities and their deserved position is reckoned as inspiration from the women’s status in the revolution of Iran.

5. Undoubtedly, fundamental Islamism is from among the most important and comprehensive and the deepest socio-political phenomenons of the contemporary age more than which it is affected by economic or social factors, enjoys strong basics of profound philosophical and mystical ideology of all Muslim believers throughout the world, in a manner that regardless of national borders and the rulerships, it is supported by various social masses and strata of the Muslims in any form.

6. Through inspiring from the revolutionary elements and the way of Imām Khomeinī's struggle, the root of racism in most of Muslim societies has been eliminated and this positive transformation is regarded as a turning point which should be emphasized and strengthened.

7. No Muslim, considering any jurisprudential creed he has, can deny the need for eradicating of blasphemy in the Muslim society, and also no Muslim can deny the need for the establishment of an Islamic government with the leadership of an Imam, or no Muslim can renounce the need for putting an end to corruption and destruction and establishing a pious society. Based on these instances, and according to the objective and successful model of a contemporary Islamic government in Iran, revival of Islam and continuance of an Islamic movement is an unavoidable matter.

8. Now, in all congregations, university students and Muslim youth, are in pursuit of learning sciences. Even, the youth who have mostly Western educations, along with common people go beside the scholars and clerics for taking guidelines. Thus, through an Islamic tradition, the science will gradually emerge the scholars and leaders of future generation to response to the needs of the global movement of Islam and at the onset of the new century, the world will be witness to their intelligent emergence in theoretical and practical scenes.

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## Belief in the Necessity of Solidarity among the Islamic Schools of Thought

*Bīzhan Shahrāmī*

### Abstract

The Messenger of God (ﷺ) said: *“Any one who professes his faith in the unity of God and faces toward our Qiblah and performs prayer like us and eat from the meat the Muslim has slaughtered, he is Muslim and whatever is to the benefit or against the Muslim is applicable with respect to him as well”*.

It is a long time since the body of the Islamic *ummah* is afflicted with the illness of disunity—a painful complication which the Messenger of God feared from his *ummah*’s being affected by it. A comprehensive illness which Islam-quarrelers have found their joy in its continuance and this is at the time when the call of *“Cling fast to the Rope of God and not separate”*<sup>1</sup> from the Holy Qur’an invites the Muslims to consentience and unity. The spirit-sustaining sermon of the Messenger of God (ﷺ); delivered on the occasion of Hajjat al veda, are yet ringing in the ears which oh “people! Listen to my speech. I don’t know maybe I don’t see you later on here. Oh people! Your blood and property are unlawful things to one another (to be shed or robbed) like the veneration of this month so as you meat God. Know that any Muslim

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah Āl-e ‘Imrān*, 3:99.

is the other Muslim's brother and Muslims are brothers with one another. No one is permitted to take possession of what is for his brother except what he gives him willingly..."<sup>1</sup>

Yes, we can still hear the cry of the Messenger of God (ﷺ) heartily be heard who call for the unity. However, what is the unity?

"Unity has been recommended and called for in the Quran. Imāms of Muslims have called for it. Basically the call for Islam is a call for unity that is all should be united by the word Islam and be tranquil. But as you have seen they did not let this unity materialize especially in lately they have aggravated the disputes and their main point which their experts realized is that if this big Islamic community ever come together and get united, no power can stand up against it and no power can dominate it."<sup>2</sup>

Simultaneous with the explosion of light and establishment of the Islamic Republic system in Iran by the qualified hand of a great authority from among the great Shī'ite authorities, heart and soul of the Muslims were filled with an indescribable joy and delight, from the south eastern Asia to the eastern banks of Atlantic ocean, from the banks of Adriatic and Balkan Seas to the southern Muslim-dweller parts of Africa, just the same as its opposite point which the frozen hearts of the global Islam-quarrelers was filled with fear, anxiety, hatred, and enmity.

Under such circumstances the Islam-quarrelers did not draw back and with the hope of rubbing off the sweetness of the establishment of the Islamic system from the Muslims and making its global brilliancy weak initiated different schemes, as an example they made endeavor to manifest this revolution a sectarian, merely Shī'ite incident, and even opposing and against with other Islamic sects and keep away non-Shī'ite Muslims from it and incite them against it.

The founder of the Islamic Republic who were from the prime of his youth among the most prominent adherents to the unity of the Islamic schools of thoughts, and during the times of his being authority, and also prior to it, made particular effort in this direction, with profound understanding of the aspects of this ominous plot and other schemes of the enemies and believing that "in cooperation with and sympathizing one another, the Muslims are like a body which if a limb of it suffers pain, other

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<sup>1</sup> *Sīrah-ye ibn Hishām*, 276/4.

<sup>2</sup> In meeting with the Friday Prayer leader of Rasht and the congregation Imāms of the Gīlān province, dated 10/23/1360 AHS.

limbs sympathize it with not sleeping at night and fever”<sup>\*</sup> was resolved to make it public and through sending luminous and enlightening messages to the world Muslims and delineating general principles of the foreign policy of the country which has given priority to the establishment of communications with other Islamic nations and states and instigation of scholars and Islam's devoted ones to strive in line with the Islamic unity and other wisely measures marked the death of sinister intimations of the world Islam-quarrelers and once again made apparent his belief on the necessity of solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought.

“We refuse the differences between the Shī‘ah and the Sunnī and consider it a devilish trick for creating discord and also know the divisive endeavor of some policies, intentions and pens, that have aimed the separation among the Muslims, nor their unity, a part of the public policy of imperialism and condemn it.”<sup>1</sup>

Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) paid attention to the true unity among followers of the Islamic schools of thought and the objective manifestation of and numerous blessings, and contrary to those whose aim was only seeming unity of the Muslims and were convinced to a little unity, he believed in a unity which can remove root difficulties of the Muslims. A unity under which “roots of corruption be eliminated from all lands of the Muslims and the very corrupt root of Israel be eliminated from Masjid al-Aqṣā and our Islamic country” the hand of aliens be curtailed from the Islamic borders and the Imperialists of the world be disappeared. A unity under which the *kalimatullāh* be exalted and the spirit-sustaining breeze of the Islamic lightening laws become prevalent.

As regards to this point, we will observe that while inviting to the Islamic dignity-creating and enemy-defeating unity, in his messages to the world Muslims, the Imām of the *ummah* has ordered to the materialization of its numerous blessings and says:

“Oh Muslims of the world who have genuine faith in Islam: Rise and unite under the banner of monotheism and the guidance of Islamic teachings. Sever the treacherous links of the super powers to your country and deprive them of its abundant resources. Re-establish Islam’s pre-eminence. Put aside your differences and your selfish desires as you have everything... Oh Muslims of the world, poor of the world under the hegemony of the

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<sup>\*</sup> *Safīnah al-Bihār*, Sanā‘ī Printing House Publications, 13:1.

<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*.

oppressors, rise up and unite and defend Islam and your destiny and don't fear the roar of the superpowers, for this century as God will is the century of domination of the deprived over the superpowers where right prevails over wrong.”<sup>1</sup>

Through raising this lofty thought that: “In Islam there exists no discord, at all, between the Shī‘ah and Sunnī; there should not be any discord between the Shī‘ah and Sunnī”<sup>2</sup> and “Anyone who speaks a word that will foment discord between Muslims is either an ignoramus or someone who wants to create differences between Muslims.”<sup>3</sup> Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) made clear falsity of the far-reaching idea of solidarity among the Islamic schools of thoughts and sects and pointed out the way of attaining to the Islamic unity and its resulted numerous blessings.

Today, the numerous blessings of brotherly coexistence of the Shī‘ite and Sunnī Muslims in Iran and endeavor of the Islamic system for consolidation with other Islamic nations and states are being made clear and clearer. This matter not only has not let the Islam-quarrelers sleep, but also has given the glad tiding of reviving once more the Islamic united *ummah* (formed of the Islamic schools of thoughts) to the public. The glad tiding which its great herald in “the century of the oppressed ones’ ruling over the imperialists and the truth over the false”<sup>4</sup> is Imām Khomeinī. It is hoped that in the essence of the paper we can appropriately deal with this issue and other issues that this abstract entitled “*Belief in the necessity of solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought*” has been following to examine them. Thanks to God from the beginning to end the end in overt and covert.

Oh God! Close our hearts to one another and make us successful in performing what You admire.

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<sup>1</sup> The message on the occasion of *hajj* ceremonies.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*.

<sup>4</sup> The message on the occasion of *hajj* ceremonies, dated 6/15/1360 AHS.

The Messenger of God (s) said: “Any one who professes his faith to the unity of God and faces toward our Qiblah and performs prayer like us and eat from the meat the Muslim has slaughtered, he is Muslim and whatever is to the benefit or against the Muslim is applicable with respect to him as well”.<sup>1</sup>

It is a long time since the body of the Islamic *ummah* is afflicted with the illness of discord—a painful complication which the Messenger of God feared from his *ummah*’s being affected by it. A comprehensive illness which Islam-quarrelers have found their joy in its continuance and this is at the time when the call of “Cling fast to the Rope of God and do not separate”<sup>2</sup> from the Holy Qur’an invites the Muslims to consentience and unity.

“Unity has been recommended and called for in the Quran. Infallible Imāms (God’s peace be upon them) of Muslims have called for it. Basically the call for Islam is a call for unity that is all should be united by the word Islam and be tranquil. But as you have seen they did not let this unity materialize especially in lately they have aggravated the disputes and their main point which their experts realized is that if this big Islamic community ever come together and get united, no power can stand up against it and no power can dominate it.”<sup>3</sup>

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Under such circumstances the Islam-quarrelers did not draw back and with the hope of rubbing off the sweetness of the establishment of the Islamic system from the Muslims and making its global brilliancy weak initiated different schemes, as an example they made endeavor to manifest this revolution a sectarian, merely Shī‘ite incident, and even opposing and against

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<sup>1</sup> *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah Āl-e ‘Imrān*, 3:99.

<sup>3</sup> In meeting with the Friday Prayer leader of Rasht and the congregation Imāms of the Gīlān province, dated 10/23/1360 AHS.

with other Islamic sects and keep away non-Shī'ite Muslims from it and incite them against it.

The founder of the Islamic Republic who were from the prime of his youth among the most prominent adherents to the unity of the Islamic schools of thoughts, and during the times of his being authority, and also prior to it, made particular effort in this direction, with profound understanding of the aspects of this ominous plot and other schemes of the enemies and believing that "in cooperation with and sympathizing one another, the Muslims are like a body which if a limb of it suffers pain, other limbs sympathize it with not sleeping at night and fever"<sup>1</sup> was resolved to make it public and through sending luminous and enlightening messages to the world Muslims and delineating general principles of the foreign policy of the country which has given priority to the establishment of communication with other Islamic nations and states and instigation of scholars and Islam's devoted ones to strive in line with the Islamic unity and other wisely measures marked the death of sinister intimations of the world Islam-quarrelers and once again made apparent his belief on the necessity of solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought.

Basically, the unity and solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought is from the main characteristics of the pure political idea of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) or in another finer word it is a sweet-smelling flower which its life-sustaining sweet adour can be smelled in every corner of indestructible garden of his eminence's theoretical and practical conduct and behavior (*sīrah*).

Since, in this writing we are going to gain success of casting glance at the flower garden of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) as regard to the consolidation of the Islamic schools of thought, in the continuation we will look into some of its objective perspectives of that blessed belief and sanative prescription, though in brief.

#### **a. Establishment of Islamic government**

"Lack of political power" has been reckoned as the main and fundamental factor behind the existing differences in the Islamic *ummah* which is, of course, a true thought; that is why we see many of those who have entered to the blessed scene of the Islamic unity could not find their way for lack of attention to this point. The reason behind this lack of attention should be found in the instill of the sinister idea of separation of religion from politics on the part of those who have found materialization of

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<sup>1</sup> *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

the Islamic unity against their ominous goals or in their unsuitable time and place circumstances.

Undoubtedly, in the coldness of lack of the Islamic political power in Jerusalem the warm breath of no reformist can find a way and fundamental reforms will not be created. In this condition, the resolution and will of one billion and some Muslims will not find an axis around of which manifests and unavoidably will undermined amid the differences resulted from multiplicity of decision-making centers and this is what has directed numerous difficulties toward the Islamic society and has decreased its activation and development speed.

At the present age, despite intensifying endeavors based on the sinister idea of separation of religion from politics and not so desirable time and place conditions at once the glorious Islamic revolution of the nation of Iran with the leadership of the great Khomeinī like a stormy storm started blowing to destroy the fragile palace of the *tāghūt* and substitute it with the decorated, splendid and magnificent building of the Islamic rulership.

Taking into consideration the limited results of the endeavors of Muslims reformist who had become heedless of the pain cause of the Muslims' distressed condition, Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) show ambition to establish the Islamic government as the only healing prescription of the pains of the Muslim *ummah*—a government which based on lofty teachings and true commands of the noble Mohammedan (s) *sharī'ah* is seeking guarantee of the happiness both the Muslims and the mankind.

The idea of establishment of the Islamic government is indicative of the lofty, deliberating, and based on the true commands of Islam, beliefs and thoughts of the Imām, glorious thoughts from among which we can observe the belief on solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought. This belief along with the like beliefs is only attainable under the rule of the Islamic government and this was a point which was not neglected from the keen-sighted view of the Imām of the *ummah* (s).

In the way of establishing the Islamic government and creating political power, companions of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) were not only the Ja'farī Shī'ites and lovers, but also many of the followers of other Islamic creeds who had discovered the necessity of the establishment of the Islamic government and convergence of the Islamic sects were from among them; in the same manner which the enlightening and anti-*tāghūt* messages of His Eminence a little time after its issuance was passing on from hand to hand among the people of Kurdistān, Sīstān wa Balūchestān, Gunbad and Gorgān and the like regions,



was taking into consideration among the people of Qum, Tehran and other main centers of the Islamic Revolution.

The glorious and honor-creating martyrdom of the founders and guardians of the Islamic Revolution either Sunnī or Shī'ite is well confirmatory to the point that the idea of the establishment of the Islamic government has been from the very beginning indicative of the belief on solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought.

**b. The Islamic government's obligation to having amicable relations with Muslim governments and nations**

A cursory look at function of the *ṭāghūt* system in various aspects, the aspect of foreign policy in particular, shows that former statesmen of the previous system instead of creating relation with the Islamic countries and nations and strengthen existing relationships, had thought to create relation with imperialistic governments of Europe and the U.S and the blocs of West and East, relations which left no achievement behind for the nation but unluckiness, plundering of the overflowing national wealth, cultural inroad, becoming weak of the value and religious principles of the society, ever-increasing degrading of people, ever-increasing attachments, concluding ruinous agreements, and the like.

The material and spiritual supports of the *pahlavī* regime from the occupying regime of Israel at a juncture when Arab countries had risen to confront it, is a salient example from the anti-Islamic foreign policy structure of the *ṭāghūt* in line with the endeavor for creating rift among Muslims, the *ṭāghūt* regime did not refrain a moment from disseminating the inferior Western culture and this endeavor was comprehensive and some times effective so long as if we return to that juncture we will see that:

“For instance; if books contain a number of foreign words and terms they are accepted right away with wonder and awe irrespective of their meanings. And their authors and speakers are regarded as scholars and bright individuals. Wherever and whatever we look at from cradle to grave, if it has a Western or Eastern label, it is favored and valued and is considered as a sign of progress and civilization. If anything has a domestic and traditional label, it is rejected and is considered as outdated, backward, and useless. Choosing foreign names for our children is regarded as a prestigious matter, whereas choosing traditional names is considered as fanaticism and backwardness. Streets, avenues, stores, companies, drugstores, libraries and even local products must have foreign names in order to be attractive and acceptable to people.

Imitating western mannerism in all walks of life and in all aspects of social association is regarded as a token of honor, civilization, and progress. On the contrary, traditional modes of conduct and customs are deemed as retrograde and ancestor-praising. Going abroad for treatment even for minor ailments that are easily cured at home, is the thing to do, thus causing disappointment and degradation for our well-qualified physicians. Making a trip to England, France, U.S.A., or Moscow enhances one's dignity while paying pilgrimage to Mecca or visiting other holy shrines and blessed places is considered backward and old-fashioned...<sup>1</sup>

Comparing the foreign policy of the *ṭāghūt* regime and its sorry manifestation with the firm, solid and anti-imperialist policy of the Islamic Republic and its splendid manifestations shows well that the Islamic government has taken step in the opposite direction with the *ṭāghūt*. The Islamic government's commitment, by the great leader of the revolution, to give priority in creating amicable relations with the Islamic governments and nations and severing any kind of relation with the governments which take steps contrary to the interests of Islam and the Muslims is another clear sign of the profound belief of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) as regards to the solidarity among the world Muslims.

Severance of political, economic, and military relations of the government of Iran with the Occupying Israel, the unpopular regime of the treacherous Anwar Sādāt and severance or decrease of diplomatic ties with the affiliated and puppet governments to the West and East and also material and spiritual support from the Muslim governments and nations disputing with the world arrogance and the like should be taken under consideration in this line.

### **c. Commitment of the Islamic government to support anti-colonialist Islamic movements in every corner of the world**

As we pointed out in the previous discussion, the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic is completely contrary to foreign policy of the *ṭāghūt* system, as much as we see that support from the anti-imperialist Islamic movements is among one of the goals of foreign policy of the Islamic system. The very movements for suppress of some of which the *ṭāghūt* employed soldiers of this native country. That set of the Islamic groups which in Palestine, Lebanon, Kashmir, Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia..., Afghanistan, and recently in Tajikistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Inqilāb*, p. 15.

regions have risen up against the endless oppression and aggression to Islam and the Muslims, have always been exposed to the hatred and animus of the heads of the world *kufr* (disbelief). Some times, labels like terrorist is given to them, and some times they were exposed to different kinds and sorts of schemes of frightful information and espionage services of the world arrogance.

Oppression of these combatant and self-sacrificing groups has been intensified when the governments under the pressure of the world arrogance desist from their support of them and incited them to the disgraceful and humiliating compromise.

Under such grave conditions and circumstances, the Islamic revolution of the nation of Iran bore fruit and its great leader, who during his pure life had not spared a moment from assisting combatants of Islam in every corner of abode of Islam, with respect to “*Any body who hear a man’s call for the Muslims’ assistance, and do not respond, is not a Muslim*”<sup>1</sup> which has bound the newly established government over support from the anti-imperialist Islamic movements in every corner of the Muslim world. The importance of these assistance, which has been mostly from spiritual kinds, is so much as today with their blessing; the Islamic movements have not let the unpropitious eyes of the enemies of Islam to have a pleasant sleep at every hook and corner of the world.

In spite of the fact that the majority of the Muslims in Palestine, Kashmir, Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia, Afghanistan and other regions are Sunnī, Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) responded in the best possible way to their call for assistance and imploration:

“We are always ready to defend Islam, the Muslim countries and their independence. Our programs are the programs of Islam: unity of expression of the Muslims; unity of all Muslim countries; brotherhood with all Muslim schools of thought all around the world; alliance with all; all Muslim governments around the world, against Zionism, against Israel, against the imperialist governments, against those who take the resources of this poor people away free of any charge and leave the poor nation alone with its misery, unemployment and poverty.”<sup>2</sup>

**The attachment of the ‘ulamā’ of Islam to the Islamic countries and laws is a permanent divine one. It is our divine duty to protect the Muslim countries and their independence, and in our opinion shirking the duty of advising and keeping silence in case Islam and**

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<sup>1</sup> *Biḥār al-Anwār*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 119.

independence of the county are at risk, are grievous crimes, unforgivable sins, and welcoming ignominious death.<sup>1</sup>

Islamic duties are not just ours, they are the duty of all classes of people; they are duties of the Islamic authorities, duties of the ‘*ulamā*’ (distinguished religious scholars) of Islam, duties of the preachers of Islam; duties of all nations; duties of all Muslim countries and nations. We firmly believe that the Muslim nations will overcome imperialism in the near future and we will spare no self-sacrifice when it is time. We ask God, the Exalted, for the best for Muslim countries, nations and governments.”<sup>2</sup>

Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) views followers of the Islamic sects as members of one body and was bound to this noble *ḥadīth* more than his coevals that: “Whoever begins a day and does not endeavor for the Muslims affairs is not a Muslim”.

**d. The Islamic government’s commitment to endeavor in line with removing differences within the Muslim *ummah***

*“The believers are naught else than brothers. Therefore make peace between your brethren and observe your duty to Allah that haply ye may obtain mercy”.*<sup>3</sup>

One of the plagues, which can intimidate the solidarity among the Islamic schools of thoughts, is the differences which overshadow the communalities, unless existence of difference is a natural matter in the logical extent, which the scholarly and critical approach of scholars of the Islamic schools of thought to it can be followed by numerous blessings.

Differences of the first kind can weaken foundation of the Islamic society and drive it into the slope of decline. In this regard it is due to refer to the sad fate of the last Islamic caliphate (Ottoman caliphate). The caliphate which prior to its defeat by military powers of colonialism, had been subdued by the bloody and lengthy conflicts of the Shī‘ite Ṣafavīds and Ottoman Sunnī governments.

Many proofs indicate that through following the principle of “divide and rule”, the imperialists have always strived to add fuel to the flames of difference and diversity of opinions among followers of the Islamic sects and creeds so as to, firstly, prevent from joining drops and making a flood water

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah al-Ḥujarāt* 49:10.

which ruins the despotism palace; secondly, to find a firm position in the Muslim countries and follow their sinister goals.

With obtaining full information about this point and profound knowledge on the negative aftermaths of existence of difference within the Muslim *ummah* and understanding the liberating message of the Holy Qur'an on the Muslims' unity and removing enmities and differences, at different junctures, either before or after the triumph of the revolution and formation of the Islamic government, Ḥaḍrat Imām strived to remove differences among the Muslim *ummah* and through sending enlightening messages to, and establishing communication with, scholars of the Islamic sects and creeds followed this important matter.

Yes, "In the battle field, too, Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) was one of the pioneers of call to unity. A main part of his first announcement which had been issued 50 years ago with the Noble *āyah* of "Say, (unto them, O Muḥammad): I extort you unto one thing only: that ye awake for Allah's sake by twos and singly, and then reflect...", was about the *ummah* unity, as a ground for "the rise for the sake of God".<sup>1</sup>

With the formation of the Islamic government we are witness to the government's bound, on his part, over striving to remove the difference among the *ummah* which this is also a dimension from various dimensions of his eminence's belief on the necessity of solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought. Since, the Islamic revolution is indicative of unity of Shī'ite and Sunnī thoughts, has had and has the capability to tackle with the differences among the Islamic sects and creeds in the best possible manner and pave the ground for materializing a deep and permanent unity among abode of Islam residents, as, till now, it has put an end to many differences such as removing differences among the Islamic anti-imperialist groups, removing disputes among the Islamic governments (the groups such as the movement of Amal and Ḥizbullāh of Lebanon, the Mujāhidīn of Afghanistan and the governments like Chad and Sudan).

With complete belief in the necessity of solidarity among the Islamic schools of thoughts for removing the differences among the Muslim *ummah*, the Islamic Republic system has taken big steps and has been able to attract confidence of the Islamic combatant governments, nations and also groups, as we have been witness to mediation of our country among the Sunnī Islamic governments (like Chad and Sudan).

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<sup>1</sup> "Taqrīb-e Madhāhib-e Islāmī", no. 5, p. 17.

**e. Instigating Islamic nations and governments to endeavor for the establishment of a united Islamic government**

Regarding the demarcated boundaries imposed to the Muslim world which have caused formation of fifty-odd Islamic countries in the recent centuries based on nationalism, formation of the Islamic government in a country can not prepare the ground, as it is proper and worthy, for the solidarity among followers the Islamic schools of thoughts in the world arena.

If the Muslims' will and determination gather around one Islamic united government, can be the source of effect and bring about astounding transformations to the benefit of the humane and Islamic world.

However, materialization of this matter necessitates that, firstly, Islamic governments rule over every one of the countries formed the abode of Islam, then through the solidarity and unity among these governments around the Islamic commonalities' axis, one united powerful government be shaped.

Today, many of the world countries are planning to create a kind of unity among themselves, and for this reason we are observant to the formation of tens of regional and international unions throughout the world. The plan of complete unity among the European Union member countries in the shape of one united and broad country with federal states and central government, one army, one currency, one parliament and common bodies of this kind is a salient instance from among these kinds of endeavors.

Although the philosophy of formation of these unions is mostly uni-dimensional and imperfect, their results and fruits are observable. Meanwhile, this is when different countries of the world are nearly in the recent century, in its final decades in particular, thinking of establishing such unions; however, the true religion of Islam, from the outset of its appearance, has called the Muslims to unity and solidarity under the shadow of the Islamic government-a call that unfortunately for some reasons (such as entrusting the helm of affairs of the Islamic government to the competent hand of 'Alī ibn Abīṭālib ('a), after the Messenger of God (s), the oppressor's accession to the throne of the Muslims caliphate, minor and major schemes and tricks of the internal and external enemies of the Muslim world, the court *ākhūnds*' worldliness, the people's avoidance from the lightening commands of Islam, and the like) has not been responded by Muslims as it is proper and deserving.

Formation of the united Islamic government is one of the most important manifestations of the founder of the Islamic Republic's belief in solidarity

among followers of different Islamic schools of thought, in a manner that we can observe its reflex in His Eminence's written works.

“...Gather together, all of you, under the honoring banner of Islam and fight the enemies of Islam and of the deprived peoples of the world. Advance toward an Islamic sovereign government with so many free and independent republics. If you realize this, the arrogant powers shall retreat to their own places and all the deprived people will come to inherit the earth and attain guardianship over it. Looking forward to the day when Allah's Promise shall be fulfilled...”<sup>1</sup>

It is worth mentioning this point that the formation of the united Islamic government is incumbent upon solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought. The solidarity and union which are based on the common features among the creeds. The common features like (Qur'an, the Prophet's (s) *sunnah*, the infallible Household (s)...) )

“All Muslims should be one hand against the aliens. Everyone in his own environment with whatever government and whatever sect should be independent, but Muslims should be brothers and friends to one another and they should relate to each other and the armies of all the Islamic countries should support one another.”<sup>2</sup>

The call to Islamic convergence and unity which is necessary for the formation of the united government of Islam can be observed in most of the historical messages of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s), addressed to the world Muslims and this is itself another proof for that sagacious leader's belief on the necessity for solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought according to the appellation to *thiq̃l akbar* and *thiq̃l kabīr*, and other common features which were mentioned before.

**f. Keeping followers of the Islamic schools of thought avoid raising discord-sowing issues and inciting scholars of Islamic sects to make use of scientific experiences and resources of each other**

*“Any one who professes his faith to the unity of God and faces toward our Qiblah and performs prayer like us and eat from the meat the Muslim has*

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Inqilāb*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Addressed to the foreign quests of the Unity Week, dated 10/20/1360 AHS.

*slaughtered, he is Muslim and whatever is to the benefit or against the Muslim is applicable with respect to him as well*".<sup>1</sup>

This noble *ḥadīth* which we have received from the holy existence of the Noble Prophet is confirmatory to the point that many of the norms which are taken into consideration by some scholars of the Islamic sects and schools of thought in considering a man or a nation as Muslim are inaccurate. However, this inaccuracy has two parts:

Sometimes those norms are related to the man's degrees and levels in the faith valley and naturally are not indicative of the norms distinguishing faith from blasphemy and in times they are essentially baseless and are derived from the blindly biases, ignorance, and conscious or unconscious mistakes.

Today, among the sects and creeds of Islam there are misleading sects and creeds which essentially are out of Islam. From among of them, some are related to Shi'ism the four religions of Sunnism, such as *Ghalāt*, for the first case, and *khawārij* and *nawāṣib* for the other.

Surely, if we do not separate "*Ghalāt*" from the Shi'ism and "*Khawārij*" from the Sunnism, we will be misled, the same people who, even in some cases, have made such a mistake and have blamed of blasphemy and denied the opposite group. Meanwhile, the fall of these people into such a wretched hole has been the aftermath of nothing but their suffering with one or some of the following causes:

- 1) Little knowledge and ignorance
- 2) Blindly biases
- 3) Unawareness from the schemes of the enemies of Islam
- 4) Sectarianism
- 5) Political desire and innovation
- 6) To consider unscientific or popular sayings as a base for action

Today, there are not few people who reckon Qur'an of Imāmiah religion "*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Faṭimiyah*", "*Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Jafr-u Jāmi*" 'Alī ibn Abīṭālib ('*a*)' or on the whole a book different from Qur'an, other Muslims in Ḥijāz and elsewhere and moreover attribute inadmissible accusations and wonderful calumnies to the Shi'ites, without having knowledge about its verity or untruth.

On the other hand, too, there are not few people who confine love and affection to the Household ('*a*) to followers of the holy religion of Imāmiyyah and do not respect other Islamic sects as such.

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<sup>1</sup> *Biḥār al-Anwār*.



Unawareness of the followers of every one of the Islamic sects about theological principles and religious viewpoints of other religions paves the ground for denying the opposite side and raising divisive issues. And this is a danger which will be defused only by the expansion of information level of each side from the other side and, of course, materialization of this important matter is incumbent upon dialogue among the religions.

Having realized the numerous dangers which have been directed toward Islam by raising the divisive disputable issues, Ḥaḍrat Imām has addressed followers of the Islamic schools of thought and shunned them of diversity of opinions and difference and called for the solidarity.

“As I have time and again warned of the danger if the Islamic nation does not wake up and become aware of its responsibility; if the ‘*ulamā*’ of Islam do not feel the sense of responsibility and act; if the authentic Islam which is the cause of unity and movement of all Muslim schools of thought vis-à-vis the foreigners and the guarantor of supremacy and independence of the Muslim nations and Islamic countries remains hidden in the hands of the agents and lackeys of the foreigners under the dark curtain of imperialism and kindles the fire of differences and discord among the Muslims, then more dismal and ominous days are lying ahead for the Islamic society and a menacing threat is posing against the foundation of Islam and the ordinances of the Qur’an.”<sup>1</sup>

Expressing the truth that the creators of difference among the Shī‘ites and Sunnīs are neither Shī‘ite nor Sunnī, and in a better word they are out of the Islamic schools of thought, Ḥaḍrat Imām warned severely all followers of the Islamic schools of thought to refrain from raising the divisive and secondary issues which will be led to death of the bringing up ones, and while considering the Islamic *ummah*’s interests traverse the unity and solidarity way.

Inciting scholars of the Islamic sects to make helpful use of each other is another important manifestation of Ḥaḍrat Imām’s (s) belief on solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought.

His Eminence himself acted accordingly and also advised others to do so.

Regarding to the high influence and interesting effect which scholars of religion have on the Islamic societies, their convergence can led to solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 343.

**g. Revealing plots of global opponents of the Islamic unity and inciting the Muslims to confront it**

During the history, there exist many people who have thought like William Gladstone, the prime minister of England, in the middle years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. And, also, he who had said in the Common House of England that:

“As long as the Muslims obey Qur’an, our foreign policy can not attain victory and we should take away Qur’an, which is the means of unity, from among the Muslims”.

The global opponents of the Islamic unity have made very extensive efforts to eliminate the unity-creating factors from the Islamic societies so much as, at times, they have followed their sinister schemes through misleading and employing people from among abode of Islam itself.

Realizing this kinds of ominous plots and taking due decisions against them is a very difficult task and this very difficulty has caused the Islamic *ummah* to receive numerous blows from this part.

Fortunately, at the most sensitive time of the Islamic *ummah*’s confronting with the discord-creating incidents, a light from the holy city Qum shined over the Muslim world horizons and revealed many of the schemes of the global opponents of the Islamic unity and made public their ominous goals and targets.

“The imperialist governments, those governments that seek to plunder the wealth of Muslims, deceive the Muslim countries, the heads of Islamic countries, through different means and numerous tricks. Sometimes they create differences in the name of Shī‘ah and Sunnī. Even in the East those who are not Muslims have been deceived. It has been said that in India on the Festival of Sacrifices<sup>1</sup> a large number of cows, which are sacred for the cow worshippers,<sup>2</sup> are brought to the Muslims and sold to them very cheaply. They make them slaughter these cows and then they tell them: “The Muslims have slaughtered your sacred cows.” Disturbances are created between Hindus and Muslims, between the Indian sects, resulting in disputes which attract a lot of attention. They use these disputes to devour the East. Acting in the name of Islam and religion, they spread ideas amongst the Muslim sects in the Islamic countries, they sow dissension so that the Muslim sects start fighting each other, so that they discover

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<sup>1</sup> *‘Id al-Qurbān*.

<sup>2</sup> It refers to the Hindus. Hinduism is one of the religions of India whose followers are greater in number than those of any of the other religions in that country. The cow in Hinduism is held as being holy and sacred; to kill a cow and eat its meat is considered unlawful and a sin.

differences between the Shī'ah and the Sunnī. Thus, they find a way to get their hands on the wealth of the Muslims, and the Muslims cannot do anything about it.”<sup>1</sup>

The enlightening messages of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) to the Muslims have always played the main role in making public the schemes of the opponents of the Islamic unity and their inciting to confront it. A glance to these valuable messages shows that His Eminence's keen-sightedness and minuteness is very remarkable in this regard.

“In this grand gathering of *hajj*, which must be exploited in favor of Islam and the Muslims, it can indeed regrettably be witnessed that contrary to the objectives of the Revealer of revelation some venomous pens of the agents of imperialism distribute for years pamphlets entitled, *Al-Khuṭūṭ al-'Arīḍah*<sup>2</sup> and the like at the center of revelation with the aim of dividing the Muslim ranks, and thus, helping the imperialists. Through lies and calumnies they want to separate a population of approximately one-hundred-and-fifty million persons<sup>3</sup> from the ranks of the Muslims. It is a surprise as to how the government of Hijāz allows these misleading pamphlets to be distributed in the center of revelation!”<sup>4</sup>

It is necessary for the Muslim nations to avoid this type of divisive and imperialist books and publications, and to ostracize those who are against the unity of Muslims. In this sacred gathering of *hajj* exchange views firstly, on fundamentals issues of Islam and secondly, on the particular issues of the Muslim countries such as those happening inside the countries to their Muslim brothers through the hands of imperialists and their agents. In this sacred congregation the populace of every country must give a report of their nation's sufferings to the Muslims of the world.”<sup>5</sup>

Insight, keen-sightedness, farsightedness, and comprehensiveness of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) along with his trust in the Almighty God made public many of the schemes of the global opponents of Islam and made the Islamic *ummah* sensitive to the dangers which were directed toward it.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Khuṭūṭ al-'Arīḍah*: an anti-Shī'ism pamphlet that the Saudi Wahhābīs have been massively publishing and distributing during the *hajj* season as well as throughout the Muslim world.

<sup>3</sup> It refers to the Shī'ah population in the world at that time.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 295.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

This extraordinary important awareness and sensitiveness is from among the blessings of His Eminence's belief in the necessity of solidarity among the Islamic dominations.

**h. Guarantee for followers of the Islamic school of thought to freely act to the related commands**

One of the other very luminous manifestations of Ḥaḍrat Imām's (s) belief in solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought is giving guarantee to followers of Islamic dominations to act freely to the related commands, after the establishment of the holy system of the Islamic Republic in Iran.

In the final years of the Islamic revolution's victory, the internal and external enemies tried to instill the unsubstantial idea of introducing the revolution as a racist and merely Shī'ite phenomenon which after the establishment will completely remove the minorities from the society scene and will attack on the religious minorities (Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian). The anxieties caused as a result of these evil propagandas can be observed in most of the questions raised in the press and radio-television interview of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) with international mass media correspondents.

“First of all the Sunnī brothers are not at all religious minorities. And then we have said several times that we will treat the religious minorities properly. Islam respects them. We will grant them all their rights. They have the right to have a representative in the Parliament and perform their politico-religious activities and practice their religious rites and rituals freely.<sup>1</sup>

Our infallible Imāms had enjoined on us to be welded together and to maintain our congregation, and anyone who wishes to break up this assembly is either ignorant or of malicious intent. These words should not be heeded. Our Sunnī brothers should not be influenced by the publicity created by the enemies of Islam. We are their brothers and they are our brothers. This country belongs to all of us. It belongs to the religious minorities, to the religious people among us, and to our Sunnī brothers. We are all together (with one united stand) and you are duty bound to scatter in the lands, and propagate our issues in the lands, propagate the issues in the far lands so as these differences be resolved and the mistakes be removed.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

All Muslims, in our view, if they act upon Islamic laws, are dear to us. We hold dear the nation of Islam, whether it be Turkish, Arab, Iranian, or from any other country, Africa, America, or wherever.”<sup>1</sup>

In addition to elucidating the lofty position of followers of other Islamic schools of thought in the promised Islamic government structure, Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) removed anxieties of the followers of other divine religions on the manner of the Islamic government treat them:

“All religious minorities of Iran would be free to perform their religious and social activities, and the Islamic republic views it as its duty to protect their rights and safety.”<sup>2</sup>

Today, in the Islamic Iran, followers of the four schools and creeds of the Sunnīs like their Shī‘īte brothers are free to act to the related commands, even jurisprudential ideas of their religions are observed in the broadcasting centers of their localities, so that in every day five times the Mohammedan shout of *adhān* (call of prayer) is released from transmitters of the said centers and following it the religious precepts lesson is presented to the interested ones.

Courts of justice, too, observe jurisprudential points of the school of thoughts and creeds in the provinces which are the residence place of the followers of four dominations of the Sunnīs. Also, through making use of the material and spiritual supports of the Islamic government, the theological centers are busy with training of seminary students (*tullāb*) and like mosques and other religious centers, these regions receive followers of the five religions (Shāfi‘īte, Mālikīte, Ḥanafīte, Ḥanbalīte, and Ja‘farī sects). Streets, passages, educational centers were given the names of Muslim luminaries, either Sunnī or Shī‘īte, so as to be, in their turn, a nice symbol of solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought. The guarantee of the followers of the four creeds of Sunnīs to act freely to the religious precepts of and commands is one of the honors of the Islamic Republic, which has been gained through Ḥaḍrat Imām’s (s) belief on the necessity of solidarity among the Islamic sects.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 282.

**i. Reminding the old supremacy of Muslims**

“The Muslims are those whose greatness once conquered the world. Their civilization excelled all others; their spirituality was of the highest caliber; their officials were the best; the vastness of their lands was greater than all others; the power of their government dominated the world. They (the imperialists) saw that with this power, with this unity of the Islamic lands, they could not impose whatever they wanted on them; they could not seize their wealth, their black gold and their yellow gold, so they thought of a solution. The solution was to create divisiveness between the Muslim countries.”<sup>1</sup>

One of the other effective and very important measures of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) for creating solidarity among followers of the Islamic schools of thought is to remind the old supremacy of Muslims. An old supremacy which its brightness and luminosity during long centuries and ages, had directed the astonished eyes of the Westerners and Easterners to itself. Meanwhile, the goal behind this remembrance was that the Muslims be awakened and initiate a new strive and revive their previous honors in a more comprehensive and advanced dimensions, not that to live in the past and be satisfied with the previous honors and consider themselves needless of reviving them.

The manifestation and showing off of al-Ḥumarā’ and Qurṭbah palaces and other heritages remained of the Islamic civilization in Andalusia still cause the ancient and modern luxury buildings, peered from the Alp lap, to heave sigh.

Still, scientific discoveries of the people like Khayyām, Būālī (Avicenna), Rāzī, Khwārazmī, Sadrā, and the likes form infrastructure of the lofty palace of science and knowledge of the mankind world. Still, the grandeur and splendid of the Islamic civilization shakes up the biased historian's pens who were busy with distorting the truth. The Muslims’ paying attention to their old grandeur and supremacy makes them not to feel as being rootless at any time and are not driven toward discord and disunity. On the other hand, this consideration opens the way of progress and improvement and strengthens their will and resolution for traversing this blessed way. The Muslim *ummah*’s making use of the very long and brilliant background which is indescribable is an extraordinary valuable resource for repeating those valuable achievements and honors in the coming ages – a resource which can be taken into consideration as a unity-creating factor by all the Islamic sects and schools of thought.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 124.

Yes, reminding the old lordship of the Muslims on the part of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s), paved the way for unity of the school. If thoughts and creeds from the attractive manifestation of which is the brotherly and affectionate life of the followers of all Islamic creeds under the shadow of the Islamic Republic.

#### **j. Struggle against extremist nationalism**

The most important trick of the imperialism in dividing the Muslim world to more than fifty countries is, indeed, adding fuel to the extreme nationalistic thoughts among the people of abode of Islam.

When the imperialism was hindered to confront with a single and united state, planned to divide it and when it was planning to find a way for the materialization of this ominous aspiration, did not find any weapon more effective and cutting than spreading nationalistic ideas among the Muslims.

Making use of this frightful weapon very soon revealed its ominous effects which are indeed division of the powerful Islamic empire, exacerbating differences, inflaming the religious wars, hindrance from scientific economic, social, military and cultural developments, dissipation of ethnic and national resources and wealth, remarkable increase of affiliation to imperialism and despotism and the affiliated and puppet governments' coming to power.

Meanwhile, some intellectuals of the Muslim world rose against this hazardous plot; however, because of the very extensive dimensions of the plot, they could not completely neutralize it. From among of them, Iqbāl Lāhūrī has such said:

“At that time when the call to tribe-worshipping in India, and in the Muslim world in general, had not come into view, it was openly clear through the books I was reading from European authors that the imperialistic plan of Europe have targeted the call to nationalism and, by this technique, would like to disturb the people's lines. Since, in their view, the call to nationalism is a cutting weapon which the need to it necessitated to invite people to nationalistic principles so as to remove religious unity in the Muslim countries.”<sup>1</sup>

Āyatullāh Martyr Murtadā Muṭahharī who received training for years at the presence of the great founder of the Islamic Republic, also, writes:

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<sup>1</sup> “*Siyar-e Tafakkur-e Aṣr-e Jadīd dar Urūpā*”, p. 169.

“In order to implement the principle of “divide and rule” the imperialism did not find any way better than directing Islamic people and nations toward their ethnicity, nationality, and race and make them busy with imaginary honors. It says to the Indian one that your background is such and says to the Turk to form the “Turk Young Movement” and establish “pan-Turkism” says to the Arab to rely on “Arabism” and “pan-Arabism” and says to the Iranian that you are from the Aryan race and you should not consider yourself the same as the Arabs who are from the Semitic race.”<sup>1</sup>

A glance at the previous years of the Pahlavī regime shows that through exacerbating the nationalistic ideas, the ruling system has tried to eliminate Islam from this Islamic land. Holding so and so 2500-year-old celebrations, changing country’s formal history origin from migration of the holy Prophjet (s) to crowning of the progenitor of Achaemenid dynasty, struggle with the language of Qur’an, ḥadīth, and Fārsī originated from the Tāzī language, dessiminating the Zoroastrian ideas, Ariaism, and tens of such cases, were put in force by the followers of evil (*tāghūt*).

Under such circumstances, through elucidating the contrast between extremist nationalism and the Islamism of the Iranian nation, Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) divulged the sinister plot of the global enemies of Islam which had been given effect by the sinister system of the Pahlavī’s becoming a puppet in the hand of others.

The effort of that great leader to struggle with the extreme nationalism is another manifestation of his belief on solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought.

“One of the issues that the plotters have raised for the sake of fomenting discord among Muslims, and about which the agents of the oppressors have started making propaganda, is that of ethnicity and nationalism and making the Muslims to stand against one another. The type of nationalism that results in antagonism among the Muslims and creates a schism among the ranks of the believers, is against Islam and the good of the Muslims, being, as it is, one of the ruses employed by the foreigners who are smarting because of Islam and its expansion.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “*Khadamāt-e Mutiqābil-e Islām wa Īrān*”, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Message to pilgrims of the Holy House of God, dated 6/2/1359 AHS.



**k. Elucidation of common interests of the Islamic sects and the grounds of creating unity**

*The messenger believeth in that which hath been revealed unto him from his Lord and (so do) the believers. Each one believeth in Allah and His angels and His scriptures and His messengers we make no distinction between any of His messengers and they say: we hear and we obey. (Grant us) Thy forgiveness, our Lord. Unto Thee is the journeying.*<sup>1</sup>

The world Muslims, either Shī'ite or Sunnī, have faith in the Only God, unseen world, resurrection day, holy Qur'an, Prophethood, and the Noble Prophet of Islam's mission, perform prayers toward one holy land, keep within bounds at one time, make haste at a specified season, pay *zakāt* in common, and observe many other religious affairs of Islamic religious *Sharī'ah* like each other; however, politics, religion, ethnicity and nationality, and, in addition, schemes of the enemies of Islam, ignorance of some leaders, spiritual decline of some societies, the *ummah* wise men's being indifference about difference and rift among the Islamic sects, and the same instances has hindered the Muslims to gather around the common features, we pointed to, and sit down under the shadow of one Islamic governments.

Despite having in common the religious principles and the *Sharī'ah*'s certain points and whatever is the proof of Islam and blasphemy, the Muslims have difference of opinion in some cases such as jurisprudential and practical issues like the secondary precepts, servitudes, transactions, inheritance, retaliation (*qisās*), blood money, and other points projected in the jurisprudence, and this difference of opinion has been originated from raising the above-mentioned issues at the juncture after the Noble Prophet (s) and issuance of the occasionally unequal ideas by heads of religious as well as the theologians (*mutikallims*) and qualified jurisprudent (*mujtahids*) around them.

With regard to the fact that the faith and blasphemy norm in the Islamic *Sharī'ah* is religious and definite principles and followers of the five religions have no difference on believing in them, we can be hopeful to the solidarity among Muslims, notwithstanding the creed they follow, and this is a point which in "theoretical and practical conduct of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) on Islamic unity" has been well placed in the direction of the founder of the Islamic Republic's view. However, it is essential for the world Muslims to acknowledge their faith once again to this forgotten fact that "what calls us

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<sup>1</sup> Sūrah al-Baqarah, 2:285.

together is more than what separate us”, and this matter does not get possible, unless they firstly recognize the common and difference aspects and extensiveness of that and limitation of this. This recognition is itself dependent upon the endeavors and strives of unity-thinkers to elucidate common interests of the Islamic sects as well as the ways for creating unity. That is why we see a great unity-thinker like Ḥaḍrat Imām Khomeinī (s) make particular endeavor to elucidate common interests of the Islamic schools of thought and make the Islamic nations and governments abstain from negligence to it.

“Islamic governments must be like a single government; as if they are a single society, they have a single flag; they have a single holy book; they have a single prophet. They must always be united; they should have multilateral interests together. In addition, if these aspirations are fulfilled and among the Islamic governments, and there is unity from all aspects, then there will be hope that they can overcome their problems and become a bigger power than the other powers in relation to the rest of the powers.”<sup>1</sup>

Our interests and the interests of the neighboring and Muslim nations share certain Islamic characteristics; therefore, we seek as close ties with these nations as possible. It is colonialism and the foreigners that have and will create disputes among these Muslims.”<sup>2</sup>

In elucidating the common interests of the Islamic sects, the severe endeavors of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) have made clear this important reality for the Muslims, either Shīʿīte or Sunnī that the common points are excessively more than difference ones. This reality’s becoming manifest has removed the most important obstacle from the way of creating solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought.

### **I. To make known the obstacles on the way of creating Islamic unity**

As we pointed before, there are some obstacles on the way of the solidarity among followers of the Islamic schools such as policy (the policies which from the outset of Islam until now have been disturber to unity not the policies which are indicative of the establishment of Islamic government), religion (when it is the source of dispute and discord among the Muslims), ethnicity and nationality (to consider as base the emotions which are indicative of the collective exclusive bias), lack of knowledge and correct understanding of the followers of Islamic schools of thought about one

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 232.

another, plot of the global enemies of Islam, blindly biases, ignorance of some religious leaders and the like. Among the afore-mentioned factors, one factor has been more effective and that is the lack of knowledge and correct understanding of followers of the Islamic schools of thought about one another.

If we take a look at the books written by Sunnī scholars on the Shī'ite religion or the books written by the Shī'ite scholars on the Sunnī schools, we will observe that without having scientific morale and observing impartiality, some authors put pen to paper and instead of stating the reality have criticized the opposite side. Now that the behavior of some schools scholars is as such, it is not surprisingly that we see followers of the Sunnī schools also know about the Shī'ites and vice versa nothing but a hand of superstitions and extravagant talks.

Having complete recognition about the obstacles we mentioned, The great unity-thinker of the age, Ḥaḍrat Imām Khomeinī (s) made endeavor to fundamentally and logically struggle with them and in this line laid much emphasis on making known the existing obstacles to the Muslims in general, and scholars of the Islamic sects and schools of thought in particular.

One of the Imām's companions quoted that prior to the victory of the Islamic revolution, in a writing entitled "unity", one of the court *ākhūnds* attributed many chimerical accusations to the Shī'ites. I, also, drawn up a reply letter being around a hundred pages and submitted it to the Imām before publishing. After adding some notes to it, in order to withhold expressing the difference issues among the Shī'ites and Sunnīs the Ḥaḍrat said: "If this pamphlet is going to be published, it ought to be published only in that region and, if possible, among only those who have read the pamphlet of that court *ākhūnd*".<sup>1</sup>

Today the lofty thoughts of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) have more than before dominance over this arena so much as his disciple and pious successor, Ḥaḍrat Āyatullāh Khāmene'ī has said to the officials: "Put aside whatever books of this kind (books contrary to the Shī'ism and the Islamic revolution) which comes and do not discuss over them at all".<sup>2</sup>

Making known the existing obstacles on the way of creating Islamic solidarity among the Muslims in general, and scholars of the Islamic sects and schools of thought and inciting them to eliminate them is a long step toward creating the Islamic united *ummah* which its importance and effect

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<sup>1</sup> Speech of Āyatullāh Yazdī in the Islamic Unity Conference.

<sup>2</sup> "Manshūr-e Hambastig", p. 104.

have well been taken into consideration by the founder of the Islamic Republic.

**m. Particular attention to the political aspect of *hajj***

The great congress on *hajj* which include the greatest annual gathering of the world Muslims in the *wahy* land, is a very useful and advantageous occasion to raise the Muslim world issues and difficulties, to strengthen the truth front in confrontation with the wrong and also to construct the Islamic united *ummah* through dialogue among followers of schools of thought, the sect scholars in particular, and to eliminate incorrect imaginations and understandings of followers and scholars of a school of thought with respect to other schools. Unfortunately the political aspect of *hajj* which is from among its important and definite aspects, had been forgotten because of the long-term rulership of unqualified persons over the abode of Islam and also ostentation of the court *ākhūnds* and despair and hopelessness of the pious and virtuous scholars so that with the divine will and power it was revived at the present age by the competent hand of the Imām of the *ummah* in the shape of the rally of detestations from pagans.

In elucidating this blessed measure, in a message to the *hujjāj* of the Holy House of God in 1407 AH (Murdād 1366 AHS) said:

“What is true religiosity and piety except declaring loyalty and attachment to Truth and proclaiming disaffection and disgust with falsehood? The sincerity of the monotheist’s love of Truth is never complete without the fullest expression of disgust with polytheists and hypocrites. And what place is more proper for it than the *Ka’bah*, the very house of purity and peace and the sanctuary of the masses? Bit its side, every kind of aggression, injustice, exploitation, slavery and every inhuman or unmanly trait is negated in word and act. And it is here that all the idols are broken and all false gods and authorities rejected through the renewal of the covenant signified by the verse: “*Am I not your Lord?*”<sup>1</sup> It is here that we should revive the memory of the most important and significant of the Prophet’s political moves, as brought to mind by this verse of the *Sūrah al-Barā’ah*: “*And a proclamation from Allah and His messenger to all men on the day of the Greater Pilgrimage that Allah is free from obligation to the idolaters, and (so is) His messenger.*”<sup>2,3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-A’rāf* 7:172.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah at-Tawbah* (or *Barā’ah*) 9:3

<sup>3</sup> “*Faryād-e Barāah*”, Imām Khomeinī’s message to pilgrims of the Holy House of God., pp. 8-9.

The Ḥaḍrat Imām's (s) firm belief in solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought is manifest in every part of this historic message; when he wrote:

“*Hajj* provides the best rendezvous for Islamic peoples, where Muslims become acquainted with their brothers and sisters from all over the world. They assemble together in that home of all Islamic societies and all followers of Abraham, the Ḥanīf. There, while observing noble Islamic manners and abstaining from disputes and discarding all bothersome accessories, they make a show of the sincerity of Islamic brotherhood and set in perspective the reformation of the Mohammedan *ummah* throughout the world.”<sup>1</sup>

The particular attention of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) to the political aspect of *hajj* has involved numerous blessings from among which is that the Muslim's convergence in abode of Islam and out of it has been increased and many of the enemies' plots has been neutralized and has not let them sleep pleasantly, and in addition the forgotten and obsolete aspect of the *hajj* has also been revived.

The serious attention of the Muslims to this important aspect of the *hajj* can remove many of the major and unsolved problems of the Muslim world; the problems, which through the Muslims' disunity and unawareness about one another has been inflicted upon the Muslim world and has had many deplorable consequences.

#### **n. Determining the last Friday of the blessed month of Ramadan as the International Quds Day**

“I call on the Muslims of the world as well as on all Muslim governments to join forces to cut down this usurper and its supporters. I invite Muslims all over the globe to consecrate the last Friday of the holy month of Ramadan—which is a ‘day of fate’ and which could also become the day on which the fate of the Palestinian people might be determined—as ‘Quds Day’ and to proclaim the international solidarity of Muslims in support of the legitimate rights of the Muslim people (of Palestine). I pray to the Almighty for the victory of the Muslims over the infidels.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 279.

Although the Muslim countries' attack on the occupied lands through incompetence of the Islamic countries and the enemies' schemes did not had desirable consequence yet the announcement of last Friday of the blessed month of Ramadan as the International Quds Day could manifest stormy rage of the Muslim *ummah* for the Zionist occupiers, enhance solidarity and unity among the Muslims, and give the glad tiding of the annihilation of the occupier regime of Israel.

“The Quds Day is the day of Islam. Quds Day is the day on which Islam must be revived and it shall be revived; and the canons of Islam must be implemented in the Muslim countries. Quds Day is a day on which all the superpowers must be warned that Islam shall not come under their subjugation through their evil lackeys. Quds Day is the day of revival of Islam. The Muslims must come to their senses; they must be aware of the power that the Muslims possess; material powers, spiritual powers. Muslims are a one billion-strong population and enjoy divine support and Islam is their backing.”<sup>1</sup>

Although the determination of the International Quds Day by Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) in support of the cause of the holy Quds and the Muslim Sunnī nation of Palestine can be inferred as his particular attention to the fate of the Muslim *ummah*, either Shī‘īte or Sunnī, it does not only follow liberation of Palestine and the Holy Quds; rather, it takes into consideration the lofty goal of creating solidarity and unity among more than one billion Muslims of the world.

“The Quds Day is not only Palestine day; it is a day of Islam; it is a day of Islamic rule. It is a day on which the flag of the Islamic Republic is to be hoisted in all countries. It is a day on which to persuade the superpowers that they can no longer move ahead in Muslim countries. I regard Quds Day to be the day of Islam and the day of the Noble Messenger; and it is a day on which we must mobilize all our forces; and Muslims should come out of the isolation that they were confined to and resist the foreigners with all their strength and power.”<sup>2</sup>

#### **o. Assigning unity week**

Setting up of the birthday ceremonies of His Eminence Messenger (s) in two separate days of the month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal not only did not involve

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 287-288.

the splendid and grandeur every one expected, but also it was a manifestation of the Muslims disunity and separation: those who honored merely twelfth day of the Month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal and those who marked and celebrated only the seventeenth day of that month. This undesirable condition continued so as with the victory of the Islamic Revolution by the leadership of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s), the twelfth to seventeenth days of Rabī‘ al-Awwal of every year announced as the unity week and as such Muslims of the world unanimously and in one direction marked one week by the celebrated name of the Noble Prophet (s). In 1360 AHS, simultaneous with the first unity week, the heart-stealing fragrance of unity was smelled from every corner of our country, the western and southeastern regions in particular. The caravans composed of different strata of the people left for the Sunnī-dweller regions, and vice versa, to announce the Islamic solidarity and friendship, while chanting in unison that:

There is no difference between Shī‘ah and Sunnī

The leader is only Imām Khomeinī

At the same year a great gathering was held in Tehran with the presence of intellectuals and leaders of the two sects that the participators in it were fortunate enough to meet and listen to the useful and constructive advises of the Imām of the *ummah*.

Under the shadow of the extensive attentions of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s), the unity week has been honored every year more than the year before. During 1366-67 AHS, the first and second world conferences of the Islamic unity were held with extensive and great participation of the Muslim scholars from all over the abode of Islam and beyond it so as in 1368 another part of the Imām’s endeavors bore fruit by the competent hand of his successor disciple, Ḥaḍrat Āyatullāh Khāmene’ī, and the Approximation Assembly of the Islamic Schools of thought was established by him. Formation of the unity week is also a nice and fine manifestation from the firm belief of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) on solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought.

#### **p. Issuance of the historic decree about the author of *Satanic Verses***

Publication of the insulting book of *Satanic Verses* written by Salmān Rushdī, the apostate Indian author of British subject gave information about sinister and hazardous plot of the world opponents of Islam in distorting religious facts, weakening religious beliefs of the young Muslim generation and confronting with the pure Mohammedan (s) *Sharī‘ah*.

As regards the Western goals from publishing this book, Dr. Kalīm Ṣiddīqī, the jurist leader of the parliament of the English Muslims writes:

“The Western civilization has been able to annihilate all its enemies except Islam and they know that the only obstacle in front of them for absolute hegemony over all parts of the world is Islam. Publication of the book *Satanic Verses* was the first step in this line to remove this obstacle. They have found out that as a political system and with the belief and religion power and through a regular ideological system is regressing and reappearing Islam and can absorb hearts and minds, in such a manner that had never been happened. In this regard, they tried to make use of a new technique. This technique is nothing but that of popular culture, which manifests itself in the shapes, like novel, play, cinema, poetry, and video.”<sup>1</sup>

A little time after the publication of this book, through the issuance of a divine verdict, the great leader of the Islamic Revolution announced Salmān Rushdī as being an apostate to the Muslim world and rather the mankind of the world as a result of which the Muslim world quickly reacted positively. Issuance of this divine decree caused such a great revolution throughout abode of Islam and beyond it which defused all ominous plots and profound schemes of the agents of this sinister plot and confronted them with astounding and great unity of the Muslims.

Demonstration of millions of the world Muslims in Asia, Europe, Africa, America and Australia demonstrated the grandeur of Islam in an unprecedented manner to the world people and made manifest the great power of Muslim minorities of the lands out of abode of Islam.

The Imām’s decree inflicted a vital blow upon all the West civilization. The blow that Ḥaḍrat Imām stroke, was a blow to the entire West civilization. For this reason, the reaction they showed was the reaction of all the West civilization vis-à-vis this blow, not the reaction of one person in his defense. Also, the support which Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) gained for issuing such a decree was on the part of all different strata of the Islamic schools of thought and all the Muslim world backed him up. The most important and surprising aspect of the Rushdī issue was that of the world unity of idea that the Muslim world attained it in one issue and under the guidance of one leader. Words of the Imām caused the world to tremble in such a manner that had not been trembled by declaration of any other leader at any juncture in the history. No war or peace declaration in small and big countries of the world

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<sup>1</sup> “*Payām-e Waḥdat*”, dialogue between Dr. Kalīm Ṣiddīqī and Āyatullāh Wā’iz-zādeh, Publications of Majma’-e Jahānī-ye Taqrīb-e Madhāhib-e Islāmī.

The interview of al-‘Ālam magazine with Kalīm Ṣiddīqī, as quoted by the Bi’that Weekly, seventh year, no. 4, dated 2/17/1375 AHS.



has had the effect of this decree of the Imām at any corner of the world; since it is continuing and undoubtedly will be continued for a long time in future.<sup>1</sup>

The positive reaction of Shī‘īte and Sunnī Muslims to the historic decree of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) showed that the Islamic unity is not an unattainable goal and the ground for its materialization is paved in all dimensions, although magnification of some minor difference of opinions has been a main obstacle on the way of the formation of this goal.

#### **q. Announcement of solidarity among Islamic schools of thought**

One of the other manifestations of Ḥaḍrat Imām’s (s) belief on solidarity among Islamic schools of thought is announcement of solidarity among them. That Ḥaḍrat, either before the Islamic Revolution victory or after it, has always stressed on this blessed matter and made manifest their heart commitment to it.

“Our Sunnī brethren should not be under the assumption that there is this question raised in Islam to imply any difference between you and us. Just as there are four schools of thought<sup>2</sup> among the Sunnīs in the same way that one school is different from the other yet they are all brethren and not enemies, this is another fifth school where there exists no enmity among them and they are all brethren, all Muslims, and all are the people of the Book—the Holy Qur’aan, and all are followers of the Noble Messenger.<sup>3</sup> They who are trying to divide our Sunnī and Shī‘ah brothers are the ones that are busy in hatching plots for the sake of the enemies of Islam. They want the enemies of Islam to prevail over the Muslims.”<sup>4</sup>

The theoretical basis and practical conduct of Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) on other Islamic schools of thought was completely based on the Noble *ayah* of “*Verily, the believers are as brother with one another*”, as we see, in his historic messages, His Eminence addresses all the Muslims, either Shī‘īte or Sunnī, and when he attains the divine success of establishing the Islamic government, considers the Sunnī followers as the Muslim brothers and sisters (who are free in performing all the religious affairs) not a religious minority

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<sup>1</sup> “*Nihādashāye Islāmī wa Inqilāb-e Islāmī-ye Īrān*”, Kalīm Şiddīqī, trns. Sayyid Hādī Khosrow-shāhī, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> These four schools of thought are the Ḥanafī, Shāfi‘ī, Malikī, and Ḥanbalī.

<sup>3</sup> *Şahīfeh-ye Nūr*, vol. 5, p. 346.

<sup>4</sup> Addressed to members of the Reconstruction *Jihād*, dated 5/27/1359 AHS.

and receives them the same as the Shī'ite ones and cause them to make use of the *kauthar* of his valuable words. In assisting captive Muslims of the world, either Shiah or Sunnī, His Eminence does not spare any effort and he will get so pleased, if he attains martyrdom in this way.

The die-hard defense of that great leader from the theological and religious bounds of the Muslims and ---and the limits of the noble Mohammedan (*s*) *Shari'ah* has had numerous blessings. Importance of these blessings which can be observed in different political, social, cultural, religious, and economic arenas is so remarkable that dealing with it is beyond this writing.

#### **r. Reminding the responsibility of governments for creating the united Islamic *ummah***

Today, many of the problems with which the Muslim world is afflicted arise from discord and disunity among Muslims; meanwhile, a main portion of this discord and difference stems from manner of the Islamic governments' attitude with one another.

“We know and so do the Muslims; rather the important Muslim governments also; everybody knows that what we have got and inherited are two problems. One is the problem between the governments themselves that unfortunately they have not been able to resolve as yet and that problem is the differences between themselves, and that they know that the source of all the sufferings of the Muslims are these differences; and we also have been counseling on this subject since approximately twenty years; we have repeatedly written, spoken and called upon the leaders of the governments to maintain this unity; but unfortunately, so far it has not been achieved. And the second problem is the problem that the governments have with the nations whereby the governments behave in such a manner with the nations that the nations do not support them.”<sup>1</sup>

The Islamic governments' affliction with extremist nationalism, imperialistic reforms, undue competition with one another, and ruinous affiliations delayed materialization of the Islamic united *ummah*. The fact is that today some of the governments ruling over the Muslim countries are taking step contrary to the interests of the Islamic *ummah*, since they are either puppets of the imperialists or have been led astray and have lost their just-seeking view.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 478.

“Many of the afflictions of the Muslims spring from their governments. Muslim governments that must speak with one voice, think alike. They are of a single religion; they have one Book yet everybody sees that others are exploiting the differences that exist among them. However, nobody goes after the remedy; rather every day their differences become greater and their division also becomes greater. The superpowers also say the same thing that we should be alienated from each other and even be the enemies of one another and be preoccupied with each other so that they benefit from it. Muslims must think seriously for themselves and so must the Muslim governments.”<sup>1</sup>

Along with inviting the Muslims in general, and scholars and leaders of religions in particular, to endeavor for creating Islamic solidarity and unity, Ḥaḍrat Imām (s) has called upon statesmen of the Muslim world to strive in line with materializing this vital idea and has pointed out to them times and again the results of disunity and separation, while unmasking ominous plots of the enemies of Islam in separating the Islamic nations and governments.

“The leaders of the Muslim countries should bear in mind that the differences that are created in Iraq, Iran and other Islamic countries are differences, which will destroy their existence. They should act wisely and prudently and realize that the imperialists want to destroy Islam in the name of religion and in the name of Islam. The wicked hands that create differences between the Shī‘ah and Sunnīs in these countries, belong to neither Shī‘ah nor Sunnī. They are the hands of the imperialist agents who want to seize the Islamic countries from them. They want to take their resources and create a black market for these so-called advanced countries... The imperialists weaken the Muslim governments with the creation of religious differences so they can take away their ideology and religion. I seek refuge with God.”<sup>2</sup>

Ḥaḍrat Imām’s (s) belief in solidarity among the Islamic schools of thought and its luminous manifestations is an endless sea the description of which is not possible in this research paper.

What we presented in this writing was only statement of courtesy to a life of that great unity-thinker and great leader’s strive and endeavor in the way of approximating the Islamic schools of thought; the strive and endeavor through which we can recognize the root causes of the Muslim world’s

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 125.

afflictions and problems and can incite the Muslim *ummah* to uproot them and open a clear horizon in front of the Muslims' eyes. The endeavor and strive which, God-willing, will lead to the establishment of the united Islamic government and *ummah* in a near future.